TRAVEL LITERATURE OF MOROCCAN PILGRIMS DURING THE 11-12TH/17-18TH CENTURIES: THEMATIC AND ARTISTIC STUDY

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SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC AND MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES
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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own work and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.
Abstract

Previous research has mostly focused on various literary genres such as poetry, short story and novels. In contrast to the great concern shown for these genres, little attention has been given to an interesting genre of literature that is worth appreciation and deserves examination and care, this is 'Travel Literature'. Therefore, I preferred to approach this under explored and vibrant field, which is concerned with al-Riḥlāt compiled by the pilgrims known as al-Riḥlāt al-Ḥijāziyya, during the 11-12th/17-18th centuries, and to the Riḥlāt of the Moroccans, specifically of Far Morocco, (al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā). The target texts that are analysed are from the following Riḥlāt of Abū Madyan, al-ʿĀmiri, al-Ṣayyid, al-ʿAyyāshi, al-Hashtūki, al-Ḥūdayki, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Ibn Abī Mahli, Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Ibn Maliḥ, Ibn Nāṣir, al-Īṣāqi, al-Murābiṭ, al-Qādiri, al-Rāfī, al-Shāwi, al-Yūsī and al-Zabādi.

This study is divided into two major parts. In the first part, which constitutes the first half of the focus of this study, the poetry composed by Moroccan travellers is analysed and investigated in terms of two main methods. The first is a descriptive thematic study. The descriptive method is represented in the analysis of the poetic texts according to its poetic themes, such as religious verse, brotherly poems, estrangement, longing, yearning and complaint, description, elegy and other themes. In addition to this, there is an outline of the significant role of Ṣūfis with special emphasis on al-Zāwiya in all aspects of life, and more specifically academic activities as well as literary life for the period in which the travellers lived. The second is an analytical artistic study. The poetry is analysed and discussed according to the following artistic features: poem structure, content (meanings and ideas), imagery, the language (words and syntax), emotion and experience.

The second part, which is considered the second half of the focus of this study, is prose material, where the same method is applied. It is classified according to two main sections. In the first the prose material is analysed according to thematic features. These are religious, geographical, academic, political and security, commerce, social, literary and humorous content. In the second, the prose is examined in terms of its artistic features. These are Riḥlā structure, the language (style and vocabulary) and the content. In addition, this study provides a summary of the most significant motives and aims, which led, or encouraged travellers to journey from one place to another. It includes a brief summary of the biographies of the most famous Arab travellers of non-Moroccan origin and their travels from the pre-Islamic period until the 10th/15th century, as well as details about the Moroccan travellers, including their biographies and Riḥlāt in the centuries prior to the main period studied. In addition, there is a section concentrating
on the main period studied within this thesis, and due to this, more details are given about Moroccan travellers and their Rihlät recorded in the 11th and 12th/18th and 19th centuries. In addition to this, there is a brief summary of the political and educational aspects and al-Ḥajj as a main motive for travel. The final chapter is the conclusion and epilogue. It outlines the findings of the research, and suggests further areas of study for future research in the light of the results obtained.
# TABLE OF CONTENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENT</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATION</td>
<td>XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>XIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENT</td>
<td>XIV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSLITERATION SCHEME</td>
<td>XVI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABBREVIATION</td>
<td>XVII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## INTRODUCTION

1. REASONS LEADING UP TO THIS STUDY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE: 1
2. THE CONCEPT OF TRAVEL LITERATURE: 3
3. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY: 4
4. OVERVIEW OF THE CONTENTS OF THE THESIS: 5

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE TRAVELS: THEIR MOTIVES, AIMS AND PROMINENT TRAVELLERS AND THEIR \(RIH\LAT\)

#### SECTION ONE

### THE TRAVELS: THEIR AIMS AND MOTIVES

1. PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD: 8
   1.1. TRADE: 8
   1.2. TRAVEL FOR FUNDAMENTAL LIFE NEEDS: 9
   1.3. TRAVEL OF GIFTS OR REWARDS: 10
   1.4. TRAVEL FOR KNOWLEDGE: 10
2. THE ISLAMIC PERIOD: 10
   2.1. SPREADING THE MASSAGE OF ISLAM AND THE CHRISTIAN MISSION: 11
   2.2. \(AL-\HAJJ, AL-\UMRA, AL-ZIY\A\RA AND VISITING PALESTINE: 12
   2.3. SEEKING KNOWLEDGE (\(TALAB AL-ILM\)): 13
   2.4. COLLECTION OF THE PROPHET \(HADITH\): 14
   2.5. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL FACILITATION OF TRAVEL: 15
3. THE DEMANDS OF THE NEW STATE

3.1. DESCRIPTION OF NEW ISLAMIC COUNTRIES

3.2. THE POSTAL SERVICE

3.3. INCREASING TRADE

3.4. RECONNAISSANCE TRAVELS

3.5. ESCAPE FROM THE WAR AND POLITICAL TURBULENCE

CONCLUSION

SECTION TWO

PROMINENT TRAVELLERS AND THEIR RIHŁĀT

1. PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD/PRIOR TO 622

2. THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD/622-662

3. FROM THE 1ST-5TH/7TH-11TH CENTURIES

4. FROM THE 6TH-10TH/12TH-16TH CENTURIES

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER TWO

MOROCCAN TRAVELLERS AND THEIR RIHŁĀT

SECTION ONE

MOROCCAN TRAVELLERS AND THEIR RIHŁĀT IN THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE 11TH/16TH

1. PRIOR TO THE 7TH/13TH CENTURY

2. FROM THE 7TH/13TH UNTIL THE FIRST HALF OF THE 8TH/13TH CENTURY

3. FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE 8TH/14TH UNTIL THE 10TH/16TH CENTURY

CONCLUSION

SECTION TWO

MOROCCAN PILGRIMS AND THEIR RIHŁĀT IN THE 11TH-12TH/17TH-18TH CENTURIES

1. POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS

2. AL-HAJJ AS MAIN MOTIVE FOR TRAVEL

3. MOROCCAN TRAVELLERS AND THEIR RIHŁĀT IN THE 11TH-12TH/17TH-18TH CENTURIES
3.1. IBN ABĪ MAḤLİ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.2. IBN MALĪḤ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.3. AL-ʿAYYĀSHĪ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.4. AL-MURĀBĪṬ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.5. AL-RĀFIʿ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.6. AL-HASHTŪKĪ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.7. IBN NĀṢĪR AND HIS RIḤLA
3.8. AL-QĀDIRĪ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.9. AL-YŪSĪ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.10. IBN AL-ṬAYYĪB AND HIS RIḤLA
3.11. AL-SHĀWĪ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.12. AL-ISḤĀQĪ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.13. ABŪ MĀDYĀN AND HIS RIḤLA
3.14. AL-ḤUḌAYKĪ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.15. AL-ZABĀDĪ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.16. AL-ʿĀMIRĪ AND HIS RIḤLA
3.17. IBN ʿABD AL-SALĀM AND HIS RIḤLA
3.18. AL-ʿAYNĪ AND HIS RIḤLA

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER THREE

THE POETRY: THEMATIC STUDY

1. THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ROLE OF THE ŠÜFĪS ZAWĀYĀ
2. THE LITERARY MOVEMENT
3. THE POETIC THEMES
   3.1 RELIGIOUS VERSE
      3.1.1. SUPPLICATION AND RELIANCE TO ALLAH
      3.1.2. PROPHETIC commendations AND ŠÜFISM
      3.1.3. PRAISE AND ENTREATY OF THE PROPHET'S KIN AND HIS COMPANIONS
      3.1.4. PRAISE AND ENTREATY OF THE PROPHETS AND SCHOLARS
   3.2 PURE PRAISE POEMS
3.3. AL-IKHWANIYAT (BROTHERLY POEMS) 102
3.4. ESTRANGEMENT, LONGING, YEARNING AND COMPLAINT 109
3.5. DESCRIPTION 114
3.6. ELEGY 120
3.7. OTHER THEMES 121
CONCLUSION 124

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POETRY: ARTISTIC STUDY

SECTION ONE

POEM STRUCTURE

1. THE FRAMEWORK OF AL-RIHILA 127
2. THE LENGTH OF POEM THE UNITY OF THEME AND THE LENGTH 128
3. THE ORGANIC UNITY 130
4. THE OPENING VERSES 132
5. POEM INTRODUCTION 135
  5.1. DIRECT INTRODUCTION 135
  5.2. INTRODUCTION OF PRAISE AND BLESSING 136
  5.3. ROMANTIC INTRODUCTION 137
  5.4. HIJAZIYYA INTRODUCTION 138
  5.5. SYMBOLIC LOVE INTRODUCTION 139
6. MOVING FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO THE MAIN THEME OR FROM ONE THEME TO ANOTHER 139
7. THE ENDING OF THE POEM 142

SECTION TWO

CONTENT (MEANINGS AND IDEAS)

1. ENTREATY (TAWASSUL) 145
2. AL-HAQIQA AL-MUHAMMADIYYA (THE MUHAMMADAN REALITY) 149
3. OTHER ŞUFI IDEAS 153
4. ISLAMIC OBLIGATION 154
5. THE MEANING OF OTHER THEMES 155
6. CLARITY AND EASINESS 156

SECTION THREE

IMAGERY

1. RHETORICAL IMAGERY 156
   1.1. SIMILE 156
   1.2. METAPHOR 159
2. PSYCHOLOGICAL IMAGERY 161
3. SYMBOLIC IMAGERY 162
4. THE INTENSIVE PICTURE 164

SECTION FOUR

THE LANGUAGE (WORDS AND SYNTAX)

1. THE WORDS 167
   1.1. SIMPLICITY 167
   1.2. STRANGE WORDS AND BEDOUIN AND EASTERN INFLUENCE 168
   1.3. URBAN INFLUENCES 169
2. SYNTAX 170
   2.1. LENGTH AND BREVITY 171
   2.2. REPETITION 173
   2.3. AL-JINĀS (PARONOMASIA) 177
   2.4. DIVERSITY AND RECITAL 177
3. THE STYLE 178
   3.1. SIMPLICITY 178
   3.2. AL-BADĪ‘ (ORNAMENTAL) STYLE 181
      3.2.1. AL-JINĀS (PARONOMASIA) 183
      3.2.2. AL-ṬIBĀQ (ANTITHESIS) AND MUQĀBALA (OPPOSITION) 184
      3.2.3. DATING THE POEM 186
      3.2.4. AL-IQTĪBĀS AND AL-ṬADMĪN 187
      3.2.5. AL-TAWRIYA 188
   3.3. RECITAL STYLE 189
   3.4. NARRATIVE STYLE 189
# SECTION FIVE

EMOTION AND EXPERIENCE

EMOTION AND EXPERIENCE  
CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER  

# CHAPTER FIVE

THE PROSE: THEMATIC STUDY

INTRODUCTION  

## 1. RELIGIOUS ASPECT

### 1.1. ŞÛFI ASPECT

#### 1.1.1. VISITING GRAVES AND SUPPLICATION TO THE DEAD  
#### 1.1.2. KARĀMĀT AND EXALTATION OF AL-AWLIYĀ’  
#### 1.1.3. ŞÛFI ORDERS AND THEIR RITUALS, CUSTOMS AND STATES

## 2. GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT

#### 2.1. ROAD STAGES, VALLEYS AND WELLS  
#### 2.2. CITIES VILLAGES AND WEATHER

## 3. ACADEMIC ASPECT

#### 3.1. MEETING THE SCHOLARS AND RECORDING THEIR BIOGRAPHIES  
#### 3.2. ACADEMIC MOVEMENTS  
#### 3.3. ACADEMIC ISSUES, BOOKS AND LIBRARIES

## 4. POLITICAL AND SECURITY ASPECT

#### 4.1. POLITICAL EVENTS  
#### 4.2. TURKISH RULE  
#### 4.3. BEDOUIN ATTACK

## 5. ECONOMIC ASPECT

#### 5.1. COMMERCE  
#### 5.1.1. COMMERCIAL MARKETS  
#### 5.2. AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES  
#### 5.3. TRANSPORTATION SERVICE
CHAPTER SIX

THE PROSE: ARTISTIC STUDY

1. AL-RIHLAT STRUCTURE 247
   1.1. PREFACE OF AL-RIHLAT 247
   1.2. ENDING OF AL-RIHLAT 247
   1.3. ARRANGING THE MATERIAL OF AL-RIHLAT 248
   1.4. THE HARMONY BETWEEN THE POETRY AND THE PROSE 249
   1.5. NOTARIZING THE INFORMATION QUOTED 250
   1.6. THE METHOD 253

2. THE LANGUAGE (THE STYLE AND VOCABULARY) 255
   2.1. THE STYLE 255
      2.1.1. AL-SAJ' (RHYMED STYLE) 255
      2.1.2. THE STYLE OF COMBINING BETWEEN AL-SAJ' AND NORMAL STYLE 256
      2.1.3. THE NORMAL STYLE 258
      2.1.4. RHETORICAL STYLE 259
      2.1.5. THE NARRATIVE STYLE 263
   2.2. THE VOCABULARY 264
      2.2.1. SIMPLICITY 264
      2.2.2. THE FOREIGN AND COLLOQUIAL WORDS 265

3. CONTENT 265
   3.1 ACCURACY, PERSUASION, TRUTH AND EXAGGERATION 265
   3.2. PROFUNDITY OF EDUCATION 268

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER 270
CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND EPILOGUE

1. FINDINGS 274
2. RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES 288

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. THE TRAVELLERS' RIḤLĀT 291
2. OTHERS SOURCES 292
Declaration

I, the author of this thesis, declare that none of the material in this thesis has been previously submitted by me or any other candidate for a degree in this or any other university.
This work is kindly dedicated to my beloved mother who has been so patient during my several long absences from the country. Without her pray – and definitely the help of Allah – I would certainly not have embarked upon the work at all. Special thanks and prayers for forgiveness for my beloved father who was my first teacher and died before he could witness the achievements of his sons.
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I also would like to express my deep gratitude to the Saudi National Guard, my sponsor, for offering me this opportunity to continue my higher studies.

I also would like to deeply thank the Department of Arabic and Middle Eastern Studies, for offering me this place to continue my higher studies.
My deepest appreciation goes to all my family and relatives, for their love, patience and moral support during the long years of my research. Special gratitude is owed to my beloved mother who has been so patient during my several long absences from the country. Special thanks and prayers for forgiveness for my beloved father who died before he could witness the achievements of his sons.

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The Library of Congress (LC) system of transliteration has been followed throughout
the thesis.

1. Consonants

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- أ (aw)

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<th>Arabic</th>
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### ABBREVIATIONS

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<td>AD</td>
<td>(Anno Domini) Christian era</td>
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<td>(Anno Hegirae) Muslim era</td>
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Introduction

This introduction is divided into four sections. Section One explains the reasons leading up to this study and its significance. Section Two investigates the concept of 'Travel Literature'. Section Three discusses the methodology that I have followed in investigating and analysing the poetic and prose material of the travellers' Rihlät. Section Four provides a brief overview of the content of each chapter.

1. Reasons leading up to this study and its significance

A number of incentives led me to approach this kind of literature, and this topic in particular, which include but not are limited to, the following:

Previous research has mostly focused on various literary genres such as poetry, short story and novel. Researchers have continued to read them, extract their beauties and compete to present a constantly updated and novel critical treatment, which may make the observer imagine that there remains nothing deserving study. Such studies have looked at these genres through their different ages, and the literary personae of poets and prose writers. In contrast to the great concern shown for these genres, which is represented by these publications and researches, which follow in close succession, there remained a genre of literature that is worth appreciation and deserves attention and care. It is an art that has witnessed a number of compilations and has been tackled by several distinguished Arab writers, and this is 'Travel Literature'. Therefore, I preferred to approach this under explored and vibrant field and more specifically the "Travel Literature of Moroccan Pilgrims during the 11-12th/17-18th centuries."

The travel books (al-Rihlät) of Moroccan Pilgrims are considered, as the erudite Hamad al-Jäsir stated, "Among the most adequate, reliable and inclusive references regarding al-Ḥijāz region's historical, social, economic and geographical aspects since the beginning of travel recording up to the present time."²

Since al-Rihlät contain diverse knowledge and sciences, they include a blend of literary, religious, historical, social, economic and geographical information. For this reason, each team of scholars concerned has to extract from these Rihlät what falls within their

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¹ Rihla [pl. al-Rihlät] will be used instead of travel books.
interest, and study their part in a specific science or specialization, whose works have become a public property which no one could claim for himself.

It became necessary for Arabic literature specialists to define the genre, "Travel Literature" (as will be discussed later) in its strict form and to adopt a scientific stance towards it, and set certain criteria to be applied to this kind of literature, by those concerned with travel literature.

Such travels are considered a fundamental literary source equivalent to poetical collections and compilations and the original versions (ummahāt al-kutub) of literary books. Those great travellers were poets of literary taste, who recorded in their Rihlāt their poetry and that of those whom they met on their travels. Ā'id al-Raddādi, for example depended in his study, "al-Shī'r al-Hijāzi fī al-Qarn al-Hādi 'Ashar" upon al-Rihlāt, specifically those of the Moroccan pilgrims studied here, and considered them as one of the most significant sources of his research. He says:

"Nothing has been written on travels to my knowledge about a region in all centuries like that which was written on al-Hijāz, and it is a rich topic, suitable for being a subject for independent study, if the research was not limited to the study of Rihlāt of certain travellers, like that of Moroccan travellers."

This study, simply, is an attempt to express appreciation for the travellers' deeds, in recording their journeys in relation to multiple aspects and how they expressed their viewpoints on all issues. In addition, most of them were poets who embellished their Rihlāt with marvelous, fine and genuine poems that disclose their loves and longing for their people, brothers and homeland, in addition to many other themes. All these poems originate from real experience and true affection. Often these poets composed their poetry during their journeys only; yet these Rihlāt were the main reason for the appearance of a particular scholar or poet and propagation of his poetry. Al-'Ayyāshi, for instance, was a highly educated scholar, poet and critic who manifested this through his Rihla.

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The significance of this study arises from the fact that this research is a vital and under researched topic that has not been studied methodically at universities or elsewhere. In addition, this study is an attempt to serve this kind of literature, especially as most of these *Rihlät* have not been completely edited, with three exceptions, two of which were edited as a lithograph tens of years ago and are out of print at present time, the third being edited in 1968. Therefore, one of the main difficulties I have encountered in this study is collecting these manuscripts kept in different remote places.

Many writers have drawn attention to the significance of this field. Shawqi Dayf described *al-Rihlät* as ‘precious treasures’, saying that we would not exaggerate if we said that *al-Rihlät* are one of the most important Arabic literary genres for a simple reason, namely that it is the best reply to the accusation that always targets this literature, i.e. its deficiency of narrative art. Ignatii Krachovski asserted that travel literature presents a rich multiform subject, unique among the literature of any nation contemporary to the Arabs.

### 2. The Concept of Travel Literature

Travel Literature simply means such graceful artistic prose as it takes as its subject the affairs and sorrows of the journey; or that journey when as written in a unique literary prose form, especially when the style of the author progresses to a certain level of expression, in which rhetorical devices are manifested.

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1. Muhammad Makāmān studied these *Rihlät* obtaining a Diploma in History in 1986 at the University of Muhammad al-Khāmis in Fes. This study is a historical study including the travellers’ biographies with a descriptive study of some thematic features of the prose material. I am gratefully indebted to this study in some aspects of which I benefited referring to this reference.

2. In fact, Ḥamad al-Jāsir was greatly concerned about the Moroccan Pilgrims’ *Rihlät* in all centuries. He was eager, when visiting libraries, during his trips to the countries of North west Africa, to get copies of these *Rihlät* and study them, and collecting a considerable number. Then he published a summary of topics relating to al-Ḥijāz region in his renowned magazine *al-Arab* in various issues under the title of ‘Fi Rihāb al-Ḥaramayn’. (See for examples, year 3, vol. 6, 1968, p. 442; year 3, vol. 5, p. 507; year 9, vol. 5 and 6, 1975, p. 321). Once more he published a summary of some topics relating to al-Ḥijāz region recorded in al-‘Ayyāši’s and Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Rihla* (see for details about these two books in the bibliography, under al-Jāsir name). Although these considerable efforts are highly appreciated, these individual efforts are not enough because they are confined to the topics relating to al-Ḥijāz region which represent only part, while many parts are still awaiting for someone to continue publishing, studying and extracting their beauties and invaluable contents.

3. For complete details about these *Rihlät*, see chapter two, section two, pp. 51-73.


the author embellishing his *Rihla* and decorating it with graceful poetic verses, whether composed by him or by others. In our case, we have found that some of these travellers are poets of literary taste who embellished their *Rihlat* with marvelous, fine and genuine verses, originating from real experience and true affection. In addition, they recorded poems of others whom they met throughout their journeys. We entirely agree with I. R. Netton, who commented that, "The *Rihla* in mediaeval Islam must be conceived of, and appreciated as, a literary genre..." He asserts that, "It is a species of *Adab*, rather than *Tarîkh* [sic] or *Djugrâfiyâ* [sic]" considering that, "With the *Rihla* of Ibn Battuta we reach the peak in the articulation of a genre, which should be perceived much more in terms of a literary art form than a formal geography." This work is an attempt to prove that the travel books are a distinct literary genre.

### 3. Methodology of the Study

The technique being used in this study can be summarised as follows:

The methodology followed in this study as mentioned above is the descriptive and analytical approach. Therefore, this study is divided into two major parts. In the first part, which constitutes the first half of the focus of this study, the poetry composed by Moroccan travellers is analysed and investigated in terms of two main methods. The first is a descriptive thematic study. The descriptive method is represented in the analysis of the poetic texts according to its poetic themes, such as religious verse, brotherly poems, estrangement, longing, yearning and complaint, description, elegy and other themes (see, chapter three, the poetry: thematic study). In addition to discussing and drawing attention to some ideological issues at variance from Islamic teachings (see, chapter three, the Religious verse and these issues are discussed in more details in chapter four, section two, parts 1, 2 and 3). The second is an analytical artistic study. The poetry is analysed and discussed according to the following artistic features: poem structure, content (meanings and ideas), imagery, the language (words and syntax), emotion and experience.

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2. Ibid., p. 528.
3. Ibid., p. 528.
The second part, which is considered the second half of the focus of this study, is prose material, where the same method is applied. It is classified according to two main sections. In the first the prose material is analysed according to thematic features. These are religious, geographical, academic, political and security, commerce, social, literary and humorous content. In the second, the prose is examined in terms of its artistic features. These are Riḥla structure, the language (style and vocabulary) and the content.

In order to limit the scope of the study to a manageable corpus, I have confined myself to al-Riḥlāt compiled by the pilgrims known as al-Riḥlāt al-Hijāziyya during the 11-12th/17-18th centuries in terms of time, and to the Riḥlāt of the Moroccans, specifically of Far Morocco, (al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā), in terms of geographical boundary.

The source text that is analysed is, in essence, a selection of poetic texts and prose taken from Riḥlāt of the travellers compiled by the travellers themselves. Therefore, these texts studied here, as examples, are carefully examined to ensure that they were actually compiled by the travellers and are not quoted from other sources (see the introduction of chapter three).


All the findings based or extracted from either the descriptive thematic or analytical artistic study of these texts are supported by sufficient examples to clarify the conclusions drawn.

4. Overview of the Contents of the Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters in addition to this introduction. For the reader who wishes to have a rapid representation of the contents of each chapter, the following outline is provided:

Chapter One is divided into two main sections, each with a brief introduction and conclusion. Section One displays a summary of the most significant motives and aims, which led, or encouraged travellers to journey from one place to another. Section Two
deals with the most famous Arab travellers of non-Moroccan origin and their Rihlät. The travellers are classified chronologically from the pre-Islamic period until the 10th/15th century, which is the period preceding that which is the main focus of this study.

Chapter Two deals with the history of the Moroccan travellers, including their biographies. It consists of two main sections; each section begins with a brief introduction and ends with conclusion. Section One is devoted to the Moroccan travellers and their Rihlät in the centuries prior to the main period studied. Section Two concentrates on the main period studied within this thesis. Due to this, more details are given about Moroccan travellers and their Rihlät recorded in the 11th and 12th/18th and 19th centuries. In addition to this, there is a brief summary of the political and educational aspects and al-Ḥajj as a main motive to travel.

Chapters Three and Four deal with the poetry of the Moroccan travellers in the two centuries studied in this research.

In Chapter Three the poetry is analysed according to its thematic features such as Prophetic praise, Ṣūfism, other panegyrical poetry, description, yearning and complaint, al-Ikhwāniyāt (brotherly poems) and other themes. This thematic analysis is preceded by a brief introduction, an outline of the significant role of Ṣūfis with special emphasis on al-Zāwīya and its role in all aspects of life, and more specifically academic activities as well as literary life for the period in which the travellers lived. There is also a general conclusion to this chapter.

In Chapter Four the poetry is discussed according to its artistic features. It is divided into five sections. The first concerns poem structure. The second section discusses the poetry's meanings and ideas. The third section analyses the use of imagery. The fourth section investigates the language of the poems, including words, syntax and style. The last section analyses the emotion and experience depicted in the poetry. Each section is preceded by a brief introduction. There is also a general conclusion to this chapter.

Chapters five and six deal with the prose material in al-Rihlät.

In Chapter Five the prose is analysed according to its thematic features. The chapter is divided into nine sections. Section One is devoted to the religious aspect of the prose.
Section Two analyses the geographical aspect. Section Three analyses the academic aspect. Section Four discusses the economic aspect. Section Five analyses the political and security aspect. Section Six is about the social aspect. Section Seven studies the literary aspect. Section Eight analyses the humorous aspect. In addition to this, there is also a general conclusion.

In Chapter Six the prose is investigated according to its artistic features. It is divided into three main sections. The first studies the structure of *al-Rihlät*. The second analyses the language (style and vocabulary). The third discusses the content of *al-Rihlät*, i.e. profundity of learning. Each section is preceded by a brief introduction, and there is a general conclusion at end of the chapter.

Chapter Seven is the conclusion and epilogue. It outlines the findings of the research, and suggests further areas of study for future research in the light of the results obtained.

Finally, it is hoped that this research will be a useful contribution to this specific invaluable field, which I feel is worthy to be served.
Chapter One
The Travels: their Aims, Motives and Prominent Travellers and their Riḥlāt

This chapter consists of two main sections; each section begins with a brief introduction and ends with a conclusion. The first section displays the motives and aims, which led to or encouraged travellers to journey from one place to another. The second section deals with the most famous Arab travellers of non-Moroccan origin and their travels.

Section One
The Travels: their Aims and Motivations

In fact, it is rather difficult to mention here all the motives and aims which led to or encouraged travelling, because our aim is to give only a brief summary of the most significant motives. This approach will also be applied to the travellers themselves. It should be noted that both motives and travellers are classified chronologically.

1. The Pre-Islamic Period
1.1. Trade

For years before the coming of Islam, Arabs had been known as travellers and merchants. They reached, by sea and land, places located far away from their homelands such as China, Persia and India in Asia, as well as Somalia and Zanzibar on the Eastern coast of Africa. Chinese historical documents have demonstrated that Arabs were living in China at the time of Tābikh rule, which began in 618 AD.¹

The strategic location of most Arab countries has heightened their mercantile interests and led to communication and commercial exchange with other nations. For instance Yemen, which is located in the south of the Arabian Peninsula and whose coast is longer than its inland border, was a great trade market as a result of its strategic location; it has been considered a connecting link between Africa and Asia and more specifically, between India and Egypt since the fifteenth century BC., if not before. Besides its strategic location, Yemen, and more specifically Ḥaḍramawt was a unique producer of incense, i.e. al-ʿUd, of which huge amounts were burned in ancient temples as part of major religious ceremonies. Therefore, it was exported to many countries including

Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Greece and Italy. This was a clear reason for the emergence of civilized states in ancient times such as Saba', Himyar and Ma'in.¹ For these reasons, Yemeni Arabs specifically al-Ḥadā'irima and also the inhabitants of 'Umān were well known to be among the world's earliest seafarers.² They sailed through the Indian Ocean to Persia, India, China and through the Red Sea in the opposite direction to present-day Somalia, Eritrea and other African countries, until they reached places on the east African coast such as Rahābātā near Zanzibar.³ They supplied these countries with valuable commodities such as gold, brass, precious stones and raw ingredients, which were used in the manufacturing of perfumes and ointments. The Saba' and Garhā tribes from Yemen were responsible for everything that was carried from and to Asia and Europe during the third century BC., according to the Greek historian Ajāthārkhidis.⁴

Civilized Arabs before Islam such as al-Anbār lived in Batrā city located between Palestine and the Sinai peninsula (sometimes between 169 BC. and 106 AD.), were well known as travellers, exporting and importing mercantile commodities between the east and the west.⁵

Quraysh Arabs who were living in Mecca made two famous journeys during the year, as stated in the Qurʾān; one in the winter towards the south of the Peninsula and the other in the summer to the north, towards bilād al-Shām.⁶

1.2. Travel for Fundamental Life Needs

The Arabs of the central Peninsula living in the arid deserts of Najd were forced constantly to move from one place to another, within their borders and beyond, in

³It is located now in the northern branch of the Zambian Delta.
⁶Sūrat Quraysh, verse 2.
search of the fundamental needs of life such as water and pasturage. But details of these travels have not come down to us, except what was included in *al-Jāhili* (pre-Islamic) poetry and language books. Indeed the description of a journey is considered an important component of the pre-Islamic poem.

1.3. Travel for Gifts and Rewards

Some Arabs, especially poets living in the Arabian Peninsula, travelled outside their land in order to gain gifts from the governors of rich countries. For instance, al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī travelled to al-NuḤmān b. al-Mundhir, the governor of Ḥira, and praised him in a famous poem known as *al-Mu‘allaga*. At that time, Ḥira's governmental palace hosted other Arab poets such as Aws b. Ḥajar, al-Muthaqqab al-‘Abdī and Labid b. Rabi‘a.¹ Al-A‘shā travelled frequently to Yemen, Ḥira, Persia, ‘Umān, Abyssinia and bilād al-Shām,² as reflected by his poetry and news.³

1.4. Travel for Knowledge

Some Arabs travelled from one country to another in search for knowledge. Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl, for instance, had doubts about the worship of idols; so he travelled to bilād al-Shām and Yemen to seek guidance on the true religion of Ibrahim.⁴

2. The Islamic Period

The founding of Islam was a significant turning point in Arab history. Within just a few years from the Prophet's mission of calling people to embrace Islam in 610 AD., Islam expanded extremely rapidly towards East and West as Pier Giovanni Donini says, explaining this in the following summary:

> ¹Amr ibn Al-‘Ās conquered Egypt in 641 AD and by 711 AD Tariq [sic] [b. Ziyād] ... reached Spain, ... Soon the whole of Spain or *al-Andalus* up to the Pyrenees, was under Islamic rule and by the time the battle of Poitiers ... in 732 AD, the Arab Caliphate had reached its maximum extension towards Europe and the west. Progress was equally rapid towards the east, where

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²Present-day Syria, Lebanon and Palestine.
lower Iraq had been conquered as early as 633 AD: the Persians were defeated at Qadisiyyah [sic] in 636 AD, the whole of Iran was under Arab rule by 642 AD, and Muslim armies kept pushing eastwards during the following decades. By the beginning of the eighth century AD, Qutaybah [sic] Ibn Muslim was deeply entrenched in Central Asia, and the battle on the river Talas fought in 751 AD was to mark the boundary between the Arab and Chinese empires, putting a stop to Chinese westward expansion.¹

Islam created a considerable number of motivations, which led to increase travel. For example, Muslims have been urged by the Qur’an to travel by land and sea in order to consider the creation of Allah. Thus, a Muslim’s belief could be strengthened by seeing and discovering creatures, which were unknown to him before, or to learn lessons from what happened to extinct nations.² Muslims also travelled to recognise and identify places, mountains and countries, which were mentioned in the Qur’an and Hadith. Thus, numerous writings were compiled about these subjects, particularly descriptions of the Arabian Peninsula, such as al-Ḥamadānī’s Ṣifāt Jazīrat al-ʿArab.

In addition, the experience acquired by seeing other lands and other nations provided a great opportunity, particularly to the scholars who completed their journey and returned home, not only with expanded religious knowledge, but also - and perhaps more importantly - with the experience of other lands and other Muslims. This went to heighten their appreciation of their native land, and increase their reputation.

Thus, Islam not only encouraged the faithful to travel, but in some cases it made travel a religious duty, for instance, to call other nations to embrace Islam, or for other reasons which will be mentioned below:

2.1. Spreading the Message of Islam

The mission of Islam is universal; it is not just for Arabs, but for all nations. Therefore, the most important duty of Muslims is to invite other nations to embrace Islam by wisdom and sermon, as the Qur’an stated.³ A number of the Prophet Mohammed’s

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² There are number of verses such as, "Have they not travelled through the earth, and seen what was the end of the those before them? Allah destroyed them completely and a similar (fate awaits) the disbelievers." Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur’an, trans. Muhammad Muhsin Khan and Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din (sic) al-Hilali, 17th edn (Riyadh: Dar-us-Salam [sic] Publications, 1997), surat Muhammad, verse. 10, p. 727.
³ Allah said in surat al-Nahl, verse. 125, “Invite (mankind, O Muhammad) to the Way of your Lord (i.e. Islam) with wisdom (i.e. with the Divine Revelation and the Qur'an) and fair preaching, and argue with them in a way that is better.” Ibid., pp. 397-8.
messengers were sent abroad to spread Islam and invite people from other countries to embrace the new faith. For instance, 'Umar b. Umayya was sent to the King of Abyssinia, Usâma b. al-Abjar. The second messenger, Ḥâṭîb b. Baltâ‘a was sent to Muqawqas the Vicegerent of Egypt. The Prophet sent other envoys to Caesar, King of Rome, to the Governor of Bahrain, Mundhir b. Sawâ and to al-Ḥârith al-Ghassâni, the King of Damascus. The Prophet's four Caliphs and the governors who came later continued to promulgate the message.

Thus, messengers continued performing the same duty of introducing Islam to other nations. Aḥmad b. Faḍlân, for example, was sent by the Abbasid Caliph al- Muqtadir bi Allah in 309/921 as the leader of a deputation to the King of Bulgaria, in response to his request to instruct him in Islam after embracing the religion.

Arab Christians were also performing the same duty for their religion. Ibn al-Nadim mentioned in al-Fihrist that he had obtained news of China from a monk from Najrân who had been sent with five priests to care for Chinese Christians.

2.2. Al-Ḥajj, al-'Umra and al-Ziyāra

In the 2/624 al-Ḥajj was made compulsory on Muslims, as one of the five pillars of Islam. This means that every Muslim who can afford the cost of conveyance, provisions and residence and is physically capable must go to Mecca to perform al-Ḥajj on specific days once during his lifetime. Thus, thousands, or rather millions of Muslims now travel from various places around the world to Mecca every year. Furthermore, the motivation of al-Ḥajj has encouraged pilgrims to travel to other places. For example, the two famous travellers, Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūta, first travelled to perform al-Ḥajj and then continued to travel extensively for many years.

3 A historic city located in the south of the Arabian Peninsula.
5 For details about Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūta and their Riḥlār, see supra, pp. 30-1, 40-2.
Al-'Umra is considered as the lesser pilgrimage. It is permitted at any time, even during al-Ḥajj season; in addition al-'Umra can be combined with al-Ḥajj. Although al-'Umra does not have the same significance as al-Ḥajj as a main pillar of Islam. However, performing al-'Umra, especially during Ramaḍān (the fasting month), is equal to al-Ḥajj in reward.¹

Moreover, all Muslims have been recommended to visit the Prophet’s mosque (al-Ziyāra) in order to pray in his mosque,³ then to bless or invoke peace upon the Prophet and his companions.

Arab Christians also went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but unfortunately nothing of these early travels has reached us. The earliest such journey recorded was made by an Egyptian called Afrām in the last few years of the tenth/sixteenth century.⁴ In addition, Muslims have also been recommended to pray at al-Aqṣā Mosque in Jerusalem.⁵

2.3. Seeking Knowledge (talab al-Ilm)

Islam has strongly urged Muslims to travel for the sake of acquiring religious knowledge. It is a necessary duty of all Muslims specifically with respect to learning the main doctrines related to the five Islamic pillars. There are a number of prophetic traditions, which encourage Muslims to seek knowledge, such as the following prophetic Hadith: “He who follows a road seeking knowledge, God will make the path to heaven

²In addition to al-Masjid (mosque) al-Ḥarām in Mecca and al-Masjid al-Aqṣā in al-Qūds (Jerusalem) as the Prophet said, “Do not undertake journey but to three mosques: this mosque of mine, the mosque of al-Ḥaram and the mosque of Aqṣā.” Siddiqi (trans), Sahih Muslim, vol. II, p. 699.
³The Salāt [prayer] in the Prophet's Mosque as he (peace be upon him) said, “Is a thousand times more excellent than a prayer in any other mosque, except al-Masjid al-Ḥarām [in Mecca].” Ibid., p. 697.
⁴He recorded in his Riḥla detailed information about churches, the life of the saints and a description of the road stages between Cairo and Jerusalem, see Naṣṣār, Adab al-Riḥla, pp. 23-4.
⁵As in the Hadith mentioned in the above footnote. 2. Therefore, some of the travellers such as al-Ayyāshi visited Palestine to pray in al-Masjid al-Aqṣā and visit some of its cities such as al-Qūds and al-Khalil (Hebron) and Bayt Lahm (Bethlehem), see supra, pp. 95, 98, 193. Also al-‘Amiri visited and advised pilgrims to do so, see supra, p. 132.
easy for him..." Thus, travel for the sake of scholarship was given the intense interest in al-Hadith literature and became a normative feature of Medieval Muslim education.

Moreover, attending scholars’ classes was one of only two methods of learning during the first two centuries of Islam, due to the scarcity of books; the alternative was written correspondence with a selected scholar. Therefore, Muslims were forced to travel from one city to another in order to attend famous scholars’ classes which sprang up in various remote centres, as result of the rapid growth of the Islamic State. This study displays how the travellers studied here exploited their journeys effectively to perform al-Hajj to seek knowledge.

2.4. The Collection of Hadith (Prophetic Sayings)

Prophetic Hadiths were written down with extreme care to ensure that they were indeed accurate and correct, as enjoined by the Prophet Muhammad, and in addition, to ensure that Hadith narrators were trustworthy. For instance, the most famous traditionist al-Bukhari was examined by the scholars in order to ensure that his memory was sound. As a result of the expansion of the Islamic State and the spread of

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1 Ibn Mäja, Sunan Ibn Mäja, ed. fu‘ād ‘Abd al-Bäqi ([n.p.]: Där İlyâ’ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya, 1952), vol. 1, p. 81. Hadith, no. 223. There are many Hadiths that urge Muslims to travel in search of knowledge which are often singled out on a separate chapter in the Prophet traditions, see, for example, Sunan Ibn Mäja, vol. 1, pp. 80-98.


3 Aḥmad, al-Rihla wa al-Rahṭāl al-Muslimûn, pp. 8-10.


6 His full name is Muḥammad b. Ismâ’il b. Ibriḥîm al-Bukhârî. He was born in 194/810 in Bukhârâ. His most famous work is the Sahih, which took sixteen years to compile arranging in 97 books with 3450 bâb (chapters) containing 7397 traditions with full isnâds. Al-Bukhârî died in 256/870. J. Robson, ‘al-Bukhârî’, in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), vol. 1, p. 1296.

7 When a group of traditionists heard that al-Bukhârî arrived to Baghdad they got together and resorted to one hundred Hadiths putting one Hadith’s isnâd (chain of authorities at the beginning) to another Hadith’s main (the main text). These Hadiths were given to ten men in order to be delivered in al-Bukhârî’s lesson. When they did al-Bukhârî just replied: ‘I do not know it’ after each Hadith was delivered. When they finished, al-Bukhârî managed perfectly to correct them putting back the correct
centres of learning, moreover, there was a dispersion of the Companions of the Prophet who had memorized these Hadiths, to distant centres of learning. Hadith collectors were therefore forced to travel from a place located in the east to another in the west, just to write down one Hadith, or to check the veracity or accuracy of a certain Hadith. Hadith science books in particular al-Tabaqāt works relate many stories of how hard the Hadith collectors’ travels were as they strove to do their duty and achieve their goal.

Al-Bukhārī, for example, “Travelled widely in search of traditions, visiting the main centres from Khurāsān to Egypt, and claimed to have heard traditions from over 1000 shaykhs.” Moreover, while Abū al-Dardā’, a younger contemporary of the Prophet, was teaching one day in the mosque of Damascus, he was interrupted by a man from Medina who had come to ascertain the validity of a Prophetic Hadith, which Abū al-Dardā’ had transmitted, and he went back to Medina after attaining what he came for.

2.5. Religious and Social Facilitation of Travel

Islam paid special attention to the traveller in regard to his religious observances and worship. For instance, Muslim travellers were exempted from fasting during the day in Ramadān, provided that they fast an equivalent number of days after arriving home.

In addition, the traveller is permitted to shorten the Zuhr and ‘Asr prayers to two rak‘āt, instead of four Rak‘āt while travelling. Not only that, but two prayers such as the Zuhr and ‘Asr or Maghrib and ‘Ishā’ can be combined, so the traveller prays only three times instead of five times a day.

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2 Nawwāb, al-Rihlāt al-Maghribiyya wa al Andalusiyya, p. 45.
6 Allah said in the Qur‘ān, sūrat al-Baqara, verse, 185, “Whoever is ill or on a journey, the same number [of days which one did not observe Sawm (fasts) must be made up] from other days. Allah intends for you ease, and does not want to make things difficult for you.” Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur‘ān, trans. M. Khan and M. al-Hilali, p. 49.
7 Allah said in the Qur‘ān, sūrat al-Nisā’, verse. 101, “And when you (Muslims) travel in the land, there is no sin on you if you shorten As-Salāt (sic)(the prayer).” See Ibid., p. 144.
Zaki Muhammad Hasan believes that probably one of the reasons for allowing marriage to four wives at the same time is to relieve the traveller of the hardships of his journey and prevent him from doing forbidden actions. Ibn Battūta, for example, married six wives [not at the same time] during his sojourn in the Maldive islands.

The expansion of Islam over such vast areas was another factor encouraging Arabs to travel, because the traveller does not feel that he is a stranger in any of the Islamic countries he visits. He finds his needs easily met and receives a warm reception and help in each region, which cements his ties to the international Muslim community of which he is a member. Sam I. Gellens confirms Ross Dunn's observation, noted in his study of the renowned Muslim traveller, Ibn Battūta, whom he contrasted with the European traveller Marco Polo who:

visited China as a stranger and alien, whereas his Muslim counterpart compiled a Rihla on the basis of distant journeys to lands either wholly or to some degree Muslim. Ibn Battūta may not have known the local language of the places he visited, but he did know the cultural language of Muslims and hence felt at home.

In addition, the traveller, as a stranger, was treated respectfully and given special attention by the rulers and inhabitants of the countries he visited. Hotels and houses of hospitality (some of them free of charge) specialized in catering for such travellers. Ibn Jubayr, for instance, counts the virtues of the benefits available to the travellers in Alexandria under the aegis of the Sultan Salah al-Din including:

...the colleges and hostels erected there for students and pious men from other lands. There each may find lodging where he might retreat, and a tutor to teach him... and allowance to cover all his needs. The care of the Sultan for these strangers from afar extends to the assigning of baths in which they may cleanse themselves when they need, to the setting up of a hospital for the treatment of those of them who sick, and to appointment of doctors to attend to them. At their disposal are servants charged with ministering to them in the manner prescribed both as regards treatment and sustenance. Persons have also been appointed to it who may visit those of the strangers who are too modest to come to the hospital,
and who can thus describe their condition to the doctors, who would then be answerable for their cure.¹

3. The Demands of the New State

3.1. Description of New Islamic Countries

The new Islamic state, which extended over a sizable area of the world, as mentioned above², was in urgent need of important information for its immediate requirements, because substantial decisions would have to be made according to the nature of the gathered information, such as the application of al-Shari‘a (Islamic law) in these countries. ‘Umar b. al-Khattāb, the second caliph, who ruled between 13-23/634-644 was the first Muslim Caliph to write to learned men for descriptions of the conquered towns in terms of their climate, their position, and how the people were affected by the land and the climate.³ Muslim rulers who came later, “Had to know what the recently conquered lands were like, which crops they grew, how much they could yield in taxes, what kind of people, and how many, lived in them.”⁴ Important decisions had to be taken on the basis of this information. For instance, how Islamic law was to be applied in these countries according to the faiths of the inhabitants, and how much tax should be paid, which was determined according to the quantity of wealth they possessed. Furthermore, it was necessary to pave and facilitate the roads and establish the mail system.⁵ Therefore, the, “Arab travellers and geographers left us valuable descriptions of the four corners of the earth, of the life and customs of the remotest tribes with which they had contacts.”⁶

²See infra, p. 10.
⁴P. G. Donini, Arab Travellers Geographers, p. 20.
⁵Aḥmad, al-Rihla wa al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn, pp. 8-10.
⁶P. G. Donini, Arab Travellers Geographers, p. 97. See examples of the travellers’ work in the next section.
3.2. The Postal Service

The post office was established by the founder of the Umayyad state, Mu'awiyah b. Abi Sufyān (ruled between 41-60/661-680), who had realized the significance of the post as a means of speedy communication between central government and distant territories. This, "Required an elaborate list of routes showing distances, stages and so on." Indeed, it has been noted that some of the earliest travellers and geographers were originally Postmasters, such as Ibn Khurraḍāḥaba, as will be mentioned later. Ibn Khurraḍāḥaba himself in *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, "Does not deal only with overland journeys, but there is a very interesting section that deals with sea-route to the East."

Thus, establishing the postal system was one of the most important means of increasing the number of journeys. This led to an increase in the travels of learned men who were gathering information required by the state. Then, travel became easier later, encouraging travellers who were now able to find their way clearly because the mail routes were marked by milestones, showing the distance from one place to another. Ahmad Ramadān urges those who concern themselves with writing about travel to start by studying the mail system because it was the first administrative purpose for which the roads were paved, encouraging Muslims to travel.

3.3. Increasing Trade

Arabs were well known as traders, even before the advent of Islam, as has been mentioned above. These activities were doubled when Islam emerged, because the Islamic state created considerable commercial opportunities for Arabs, which led to the prospering of trade and greatly increased the trading expeditions both qualitatively and quantitatively. Indeed the new Islamic state's reach extended over great distances: many countries were conquered and came under Islamic rule, such as China in the Far East.

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1Ibid., p. 26.
2See, supra, p. 27.
6See infra, pp. 8-9.
Spain in the West and large tracts of Africa. In addition to that, Arabs were able to develop extensive trade relations with Russia, known as, "The land of al-Rūs," "because it lay on the important trade route to the Baltic and was the source of many valuable commodities."¹ In addition to the extremely important and heavily travelled routes connecting China to the Mediterranean, known as the 'silk route,' via countries including Turkestan, Samarkand, Bukhara and Iran, then past Rayy, near present-day Tehran, the route reached a fork at Qazavin, where the northern branch leading to Tabriz and Trabzon on the Black Sea. The other led on to Hamadan and Baghdad, and then upriver to Mawṣil (Mosul), Nisibis and Antioch on the Syrian shore of the Mediterranean.² Donini indicates that trade along this route continued to prosper under Islam, and its benefits were felt far and wide, to an extent that even a town such as Quasar in Baluchistan, located on a branch route, became extremely wealthy.³ Moreover the goods travelling increased in value and number and some new items were added.⁴ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa refers to the existence of Muslims in China, observing that in, "Every Chinese city there is a quarter for Muslims in which they live by themselves, and in which they have a Mosque both for the Friday services and for other religious purposes. The Muslims are honoured and respected."⁵ For that reason it has been noted that Arab merchants travelling along the silk route were, "Invaluable sources for geographical descriptions of central Asia."⁶

The second example of trade route is in another continent. "After conquering North Africa, Arabs found themselves in control of the seaward end of an extensive network of trade routes linking Sub-Saharan Africa with the Mediterranean,"⁷ such as the

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¹ P. G. Donini, Arab Travellers Geographers, p. 43.
² Ziyāda, al-Guqrīṭīyā wa al-Riḥlāt, pp. 205-6; P. G. Donini, Arab Travellers Geographers, p. 47.
³ P. G. Donini, Arab Travellers Geographers, p. 48.
⁴ Ibid., p. 49.
⁶ P. G. Donini, Arab Travellers Geographers, p. 49.
⁷ Ibid., p. 53.
important trade routes connecting the Lake Chad area with Mediterranean, and the one from Egypt to Ghana.

Arab merchants also increased their trading activities in Europe, particularly in *bilād al-Šaqāliba* (present-day Russia), as already mentioned, to which they exported the commodities of southern countries such as dry fruits, cloths and perfumes, and from which they imported commodities of the northern countries such as furs, amber, honey, and various woods. Furthermore, some Arab traders reached as far as Brague, which contained the biggest slave market in Europe. Indeed, many Arab coins have been found along the Baltic coast, in the islands of Denmark, in Sweden and in other European countries.  

### 3.4. Reconnaissance Travels

By this, we mean travel organized for discovering the hitherto unknown. One of the earliest journeys for this purpose was undertaken by a team sent by Hārūn al-Rashid (ruled between 170-193/786-809) to Yemen to find out the source of *al-Anbar* (ambergris), which was used as a medicine and a perfume and played a crucial role in the economy of the state.

### 3.5. Escape from War and Political Turbulence

Some travellers were forced to travel in order to escape from war or political turbulence. For instance, “From the late 5th/11th century, Muslim Spain was increasingly threatened by a militant crusading movement, fervently Spanish Catholic in orientation. Spanish Muslims had every reason to seek spiritual refreshment in areas where Islam was the majority culture [such as Morocco and Egypt].”

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1Ibid., p. 59.
2Ibid., p. 60.
Conclusion

This section has discussed the most significant motives and aims which led to, or encouraged travelling in the pre-Islamic period and Islamic period. The Arabs had been known as merchant travellers for years before the advent of Islam having reached remote places such as China. The strategic location of most Arab countries as a connecting link between Asia, Africa and Europe, heightened their mercantile activities, exporting and importing goods between the three continents. Hadramawat in Yemen was the unique producer of incense of which huge amounts were exported to many countries to burn in ancient temples as part of their religious ceremonies. The Arabs living in the arid desert of the central Peninsula were forced to be constantly on the move in search of the fundamental needs of life such as water and pasturage. In addition, some of them travelled to seek knowledge, or to gain gifts from rich governors.

Islam created a number of motivations which increased travel. Some of them were religious duties such as spreading the message of Islam, performing al-Hajj, al-Umra, visiting the Prophet’s mosque and grave, seeking knowledge and collecting the Prophetic Hadith. Islam urges Muslims to travel to consider the creatures of Allah. The Islamic state which extended over a sizable distance of the world in a short period was in urgent need of significant information for its immediate requirements, therefore Muslim rulers urge learned men to travel to gather information on the basis of which important decisions would be taken, such as how the Islamic law, al-Shari‘a, was to be applied in these countries according to the faith of the inhabitants, or how much tax should be paid according to the quantity of the inhabitants’ wealth. Establishing the postal service also required an elaborate list of routes showing distances and stages, which must be made by travelling. Then this service increased the number of journeys because it became easy for the travellers to find their way clearly. The expansion of the Islamic State also created considerable commercial opportunities for Arabs where important routes became available and flourished. The renowned merchant route ‘the silk route’ connecting China to the Mediterranean, flourished after the Islamic conquering of Central Asia, and the Arabs found themselves in control of an extensive network of trade routes linking Sub-Saharan Africa with the Mediterranean after conquering North Africa. Travellers were accorded special treatment, such as exemption from fasting and being allowed to shorten and combine prayers. In addition, the expansion of Islam over such vast areas was another factor encouraging Arabs to travel because they easily found their needs met and received a warm reception and assistance in each region,
whether it was an Islamic country, or had an Islamic minority, which cemented their ties to the international Muslim community of which they were members. The last two motivations, which led to travel, were to discover the hitherto unknown and escape from war, or political turbulence.

The next section is an attempt to cover the most famous travellers of non-Moroccan origin from the pre-Islamic period/before 622 until the 10th/15th century.

Section Two: Prominent Travellers and their Riḥlat

Since it is impossible to discuss all the Arab travellers with respect to their biographies, I will choose the most renowned of them in order to focus and concentrate on the topic of Arab travellers. It is worth noting here that this section will cover the most famous travellers of non-Moroccan origin. These travellers will be classified chronologically from the pre-Islamic period/before 622 until the 10th/15th century, which means the period preceding the studied period of Moroccan Pilgrims during the 11th/16th and 12th/17th centuries.

1. The Pre-Islamic Period/prior to 622

Arabs were known as travellers for hundreds of years before the advent of Islam. Historical evidence confirms that Arabs lived in China during that time: Arabs were mentioned in Chinese history at the time of the founding of the Tābikh state in 618 AD.° Unfortunately, we cannot obtain any of these travels, whether they were recorded or recorded as they have not reached us. All we know about them comes from Arabic poetry, where the description of travel constitutes one of the main components of the Pre-Islamic poem. Arab poets of the Arabian Peninsula such as ‘Alqama, al-Nābigha al-Dhubyāni and al-A’šā, were moving from one place to another seeking gifts and rewards from the rich governors of Ḥira, and Ghassān. Some Arabs travelled to other countries to seek knowledge. For example, Zayd b. Nufayl who entertained doubts about the worship of idols travelled to bilād al-Shām and Yemen to seek out guidance on the true religion, as mentioned previously.²

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¹Hasan, Tārikh al-‘Arab qabla al-ISlām, p. 30.
²See, infra, p. 8.
2. The Early Islamic Period/622-662

Two renowned journeys were made in this period, [of the Prophet Muhammad and his four Caliphs], the first one took place during the era of the Prophet. It is ascribed to Tamim al-Däri who had been given an estate near Hebron, in Palestine by the Prophet. He relates that while he was sailing along the Mediterranean, he was driven by a storm onto a desert island where he saw al-Dajjäl, who will appear at the end of time. The second journey, which occurred in 11/632, is said in two different versions to have been made by 'Ubäda b. al-Šämit. The first story was related by al-Mas‘üdi as it was told to him by 'Ubäda, who relates that he was sent by the first Caliph Abü Bakr in the first year of his caliphate to the king of the Byzantine in order to invite him to embrace Islam. The king received them in Constantinople, and after a period of silence he started questioning them on several matters concerning Islam. On the following day he summoned them again, and called a servant who went and fetched a small box with many partitions, each of them was closed by a little door. He opened one of the little doors and drew out a black cloth enclosing a small white statue, the image of the most handsome among men. He asked them if they know who it was? When they replied "No," he told them, "That is our father Adam". Then he opened another small door showing them other prophets including the Prophet Muhammad.

This story, with additional details, was ascribed also to the traveller Ibn Wahb who lived during the second half of the third/ninth century, by the traveller al-Siräfi.

'Ubäda b. al-Šämit tells us in the second story that when they were about to reach Constantinople on their way to the King of the Byzantine, the travellers saw a red mountain within which, it was said, lay the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. Then they asked the inhabitants of the Abbey about the cave men, and were shown a vault in the

1Al-Dajjäl means 'the Cheat or the Charlatan'. His appearance is one of the proofs of the end of the time. He will have miracles including killing and bringing to life again. His era will be distinguished by injustice and tyranny until he eventually will be killed at the hand of the Prophet Jesus according to correct of narration of Hadiths. For more details see, A. Abel, the Encyclopaedia of Islam, (1965), vol. 11, pp. 76-7; I. R. Netton, A popular Dictionary of Islam, p. 66; Yusuf b. ‘Abd Allah al-Wäbil, Ashrät al-Ša‘a, 13th edn (Dammam: Dâr Ibn al-Jawzi, 2000), pp. 275-335.


3This is a summary of the translation made by P. G. Donini, Arab Travellers Geographers, pp. 19-20.

4Mä1 Allah, Adab al-Rihlat, p. 18.
mountain. They again insisted on seeing the cave men, and after giving the inhabitants one Dinar, they entered with them, and opened an iron door showing them a huge cave dug into the mountain. Inside it were thirteen men lying on their backs.¹

In the caliphate of the second caliph 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, no reference was made to any travel, except some journeys carried out by armies, such as the extensive attack carried out by the subordinate ruler of Bahrain al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍrami who crossed Persia and penetrated deeply as far as Aṣṭakhar but his ship was wrecked there, and he was forced to cross enemy land back to Basra in 15/615, in a journey full of risk.²

3. From the 1st - 5th/7th - 11th century

In spite of establishing the first Islamic navy in the first/seventh century, leading to an increase in the number of sea journeys, no travels are known except some events from the journey of al-Maṣrī. There are however some accounts of travels to China which were written in the second/eight century such as those of Ibn al-Qāsim and Ibn Maymūn, in addition to the famous travels of al-Sindibād. Two kinds of travellers emerged in the third/ninth century. They were non-geographer travellers such as al-Ghazāl, al-Turjumān, Ibn Wahb and al-Tājīr, and geographer travellers such as Ibn Khurradādhaba, Ibn al-Yaʿqūbī and Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamdhānī. Also a great number of renowned travellers appeared in the forth and fifth/tenth and eleventh centuries, such as Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Maqdisī. The fifth/eleventh century witnessed the appearance of renowned travellers such as al-Bayrūnī and Ibn al-Harawi.

Although Muʿāwiya b. Abi Sufyān, the founder of the Umayyad state (ruled between 41-60 /661-680), established the first Islamic navy, thus giving rise to an increase in the number of sea journeys, no travels are known to have been written down except some events from the journey of al-Maṣrī. We know nothing regarding al-Maṣrī except that he was as related by al-Tanūkhi,³ arrested by the Byzantine authorities in the era of

¹Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allah al-Ḥamawi, Murjam al-Buldān, ed. Farīd 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jundī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1990), vol. 3, pp. 70-1. There is a separate sūra named al-Kahf (the Cave) in the Qurʾān to relate the story of these men.
²Māl Allah, Adab al-Riḥlāt, p. 19.
Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyän, and then freed during the era of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwän who ruled from 65-86/685-705.  

As mentioned before, trade relationships between the Arabs and other nations flourished, especially between the Arabs and Chinese, for whom the Arab market became the main market, especially at the beginning of the second century. So, some accounts of travels to China were written, such as those of ‘Abd Allah b. al-Qāsim al-‘Umāni before 141/758. Al-Ṭabarî, also, reports that an Iraqi trader from Basra called al-Nadr b. Maymūn visited China at the end of the second/eighth century and described the route between Canton (Kuang-Chou) and Baghdad.

The famous travels known as the voyages of al-Sindibād presumably occurred in this period, specifically during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashid (170-193/786-808). Their events took place in India, Malayo and Arkhabil Islands. Therefore, Māl Allah considers that the spread of travel literature began in the second century, not the third as other researchers believe.

In the third/ninth century, there were two kinds of travellers. The first were renowned non-geographer travellers such as Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam al-Bakrī, nicknamed al-Ghazālī, Salām al-Turjumān and Sulaymān al-Tājir. The news of these travellers' Rihlah have not reached us by the travellers themselves, but by succeeding travellers, historians or geographers including Abū Zayd, al-Maṣʿūdi, al-Tanūkhī and al-Aṣṭakhīrī, who depended on them as the most significant sources regarding description of remote countries.

Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam al-Bakrī known as al-Ghazālī was sent as an ambassador by the Umayyad Caliph in Andalusia, ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. al-Ḥakam, to the Norman after their attack on Ishbiliya in 208/824. This journey was recorded by some Andalusian

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4 Al-Ṭabarî, Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk, vol. 3, p. 272
6 Māl Allah, Adab al-Rihlah, p. 25.
historians including Ibn Duḥayya al-Sibti in al-Muṭrib min Ashrūr Ahl al-Maghrib and al-Maqrizi in Naḥ al-Ṭib.¹

Salām al-Turjumān was sent by the `Abbasid caliph al-Wāthiq bi Allah (ruled between 208-213/842-847), who dreamed that the wall built by Dhū al-Qarnayn to separate the Yājūj and Mājūj from their neighbors, had been breached, and so sent Salām to visit and report on its condition.²

Sulaymān al-Tājir was a great traveller. The account of his voyages is considered one of the most significant Arabic references, regarding travel through the China seas and Indian Ocean, during the third/ninth century. It remains perhaps the only reference which is an account of personal experiences.³ Sulaymān’s Riḥla was collected by the traveller Abū Zayd Ḥasan, who added a postscript in the forth/tenth century.⁴

The second kind of travellers were the geographer-travellers who were not content to read Greek geographical books translated into Arabic but travelled and recorded their personal observations about the places they visited. They were successful in obtaining much extra information and correcting the mistakes made by some Indian and Greek geographers. The first ten years of this century (third/ninth century) witnessed for the first time the emergence of writings about their travels by geographers such as Ibn Khurradādhaba, Ibn al-Yacqūb and Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamdhānī. Their books were largely devoted to the description of countries, while the political and social aspects were kept

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²Ahmad, al-Riḥla wa al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn, pp. 38-9. The appearance of the Yājūj and Mājūj, (Gog and Magog), is one of the proofs of the end of time. The Qur’ān related their story in sūrat al-Kahf, verses. 93-9, which can be summarised as follows, “When a righteous man called Dhū al-Qarnayn reached in the East (the rising place of the sun), he was told by people living near two mountains that Yājūj and Mājūj were doing great mischief in the land and they helped each other to build a barrier between them and Yājūj and Mājūj. Therefore, they could not scale it or dig through it, but one day Allah will level the barrier down to the ground and they will come out. See M. Khan and M. al-Hilali, Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur’ān, pp. 431-2.


⁴Some of this journey’s events were recorded by al-Mas’ūdī in Murūj al-Dhahab, and this Riḥla was published by Langles in 1811, then published again with French translation by Reinaud in 1845, as Ḥasan says in al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn, p. 23.
to a minimum. These books are known as the books of *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* or *Taqwīm al-Buldān*.

‘Ubayd Allah b. Khurradādhaba (205-272/ 807-873) is considered one of the earliest geographer-travellers who worked in this field. His writings, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, described the sea roads from Dijla (Tigris) in Iraq to India and China. He demonstrated that Arabs had settled in the southern Chinese port of Canton (Kuang-Chou) since the last years of the second century AH.

Ahmad b. al-Ya‘qūbī (died in 284/897) was a traveller, geographer and historian. He travelled to Persia, Khurasan, Armenia, India, Egypt and Morocco. His book *Kitāb al-Buldān* is one of the oldest in descriptions of countries that have reached us; it, “Claims to be based on wide travels in the author’s youth and first-hand questioning of information.”

Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Faqīh al-Hamadhāni travelled to many countries, and composed his famous book *Mukhtasar Tārikh al-Buldān* in 279/892. The book contains significant information regarding China and India as well as Arab countries, and scholars who came later, such as al-Maqdisi and al-Ḥamawi, quoted much information supplied by his book.

Also a number of geographer-travellers appeared in the fourth/tenth century and left great books such as Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Maqdisi.

Muḥammad b. Ḥawqal al-Nasibī started traveling in 331/942 and continued for thirty years. Ibn Ḥawqal first travelled to Morocco, Andalusia and Sudan, then to Egypt, Armenia and Azerbaijan; after that he travelled to Iraq and Khurasan and finally, he visited Sicily in 362/972. Ibn Ḥawqal left an accurate description of the cities and

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1Ahmad, *al-Rihla wa al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn*, p. 53.
2Ibid., p.58.
countries he passed through in his writing entitled *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* or *Ṣūrat al-Ard*.

As to Muhammad b. Abi Bakr known as al-Maqdisi (335/946-390/1000) travelled to many countries and he did not compose his book, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsim fi Mā‘rifat al-Aqālim* in 375/986, until he had attended boards of governors, judicial hearings and the lessons of scholars, enjoyed the companionship of ascetics and Sūfis and worked as a trader. Because of visiting so many countries, he was forced to disguise himself, adopting many names and characters, in order to be able to gain the information he wanted about the many countries he visited, as he confesses in his book. As a consequence he was able to describe in detail the languages, accents, faiths, currency, foods and many other aspects of the inhabitants of the countries he visited.

Also there were a number of renowned travellers in this century such as al-Bayrüni and al-Harawi.

Al-Bayrüni (died in 440/1048) travelled to many countries in the Far East learning their languages and correcting mistakes made by other geographer-travellers. He composed some books as a result of his travels such as *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ‘an al-Qurūn al-Khāliya, Kitāb Tārikh Khuwārizm, Tārikh al-Hind*, as well as others.

‘Ali b. al-Harawi was born in Mosul but his family was originally from Herāt. He spent his life travelling to many countries including India, Sicily, Morocco, and Constantinople. Ibn Khalikān confirms that al-Harawi never left unvisited any land, or sea or mountain or anything, which could be visited and which had hitherto been unvisited. He composed *al-Ishārāt fi Mā‘rifat al-Ziyārāt*, as a response to the demand of his colleagues and friends to record his travels and observations of the countries he visited. He died in 611/1214 in Aleppo in Syria.

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1. Ibid., pp. 117-8, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* or *Ṣūrat al-Ard* was edited by De Goeje in 1783 and reprinted 1938.
2. Ḥamīda, *‘Ālām al-Jughrāfiyin al-‘Arab*, p. 131.
3. Ibid., p. 137.
4. From the 6th – 10th/12th – 16th Centuries

While the sixth, seventh and eighth/twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed the appearance of a great number of distinguished travellers such as al-Samʿāni, ʿUmāra al-Yamani, al-Ḥamawi, al-Qazwini, Ibn Khaldūn and al-Balawi, in addition to Ibn Jubayr who is regarded as one of the two most famous Arab travellers in all history. In contrast, the ninth and tenth/fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed a decline in travel in general because fighting enemies was given priority even over performing al-Ḥajj. Of these rare travels are those of al-Qalsādi and al-Juzayri.

ʿAbd al-Karim al-Samʿāni was born in Marū (capital of Khurasan) in 506/1112 and was from an educated family. He travelled for the sake of knowledge to many countries such as Iraq, al-Ḥijāz, and bilād al-Shām, Isfahān, the countries of East Asia and others. Al-Samʿāni wrote important accounts of his numerous travels. His most important and famous work was undoubtedly al-Ansāb which he began to compile in 550/1155.

ʿUmāra b. ʿAlī al-Yamani was born in Yemen in 515/1116. He was one of the distinguished travellers who left the southern Peninsula and travelled to many countries for pleasure. He was known as a famous poet and not as a traveller, although he did not record all the incidents of his travels in one work, he devoted a book to each country he visited. ʿUmāra started his travels when he was 16 years old. He travelled to Zabid where he attended some academic lessons. Then he travelled to Aden in Yemen, after which he travelled to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj in 549/1154. The ruler of Mecca sent him to the Caliph of Egypt as a peace messenger. One year later he returned to Mecca. He compiled several works, one of which was al-Mufiḍ fi Akhbār Zabid. He died in 569/1173.

Yāqūt b. ʿAbd Allah al-Rūmi al-Ḥamawi was born in 575/1179. He belonged to a Byzantine family living in a part of Anatolia held by the Byzantines where, “He was taken captive and sold as slave at Baghdad,” to a trader named al-Harawi who,

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1 Ahmad, al-Rihla wa al-Rabbaḍa al-Muslimin, pp. 265-6
2 Ibid., pp. 271-81.
“Educated him and employed him on trading visits to the Gulf, ‘Umān and Syria,”¹ then freed him later.² He attained a huge reputation through his famous compilation *Mujjam al-Buldān*. He loved travelling to such an extent that he never settled down in any country, visiting many lands including the Mongol, Asia Minor, Iran, Egypt and eventually dying in Aleppo in 626/1228.³

Zakariyyā al-Qazwini was born in Persia in 600/1203. As a youth he moved to Damascus where he spent some time. He then travelled to Iraq, where he was appointed as a judge. He benefited from his communication with many other travellers and their works in the composition of his own *Rihla Āthār al-`lbād wa Akhbār al-Bilād*. His writings not only included the incidents of his travels, but also news of other travellers whom he met or read about, or who came before him. Thus, the value of his book lies in his inclusion of news of other travellers that otherwise would have been lost, or written down in other books. For instance, he wrote down some accounts which he heard from their own mouths, by Salām al-Turjumān, Abū Dalaf al-Khazraji (his journeys to China and India) and Ibrāhīm al-Tartūshi. Al-Qazwini was very concerned to mention everything he could about the countries he visited, in order to give his readers the whole picture.⁴

In the sixth/twelfth century the traveller Ibn Jubayr (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kinānī) emerged, who is considered one of the most famous travellers, or rather one of the two most famous travellers, not only of this century but of all centuries until now. He was born in 540/1145, in Valencia. He was undoubtedly the foremost pioneer traveller particularly among Andalusian and Moroccan travellers. His *Rihla* has been published, edited and translated into many languages including English, Russian, French and Italian.⁵ He travelled from Andalusia to the East three times, performing *al-Ḥajj* on each journey. On the first journey, he left his hometown in 578/1183 and returned in 581/1185 where he recorded his renowned *Rihla*, which gave lasting fame to him. The reason for this journey to perform *al-Ḥajj* as a penance for drinking wine, which he was

¹Ibid., vol. 2, p. 811.
⁴Ibid., p. 301.
⁵Ibid., pp. 323-7
forced to do by the governor of Granada, Abū Sa‘īd ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Mu‘min. His second journey was to al-Qūds (Jerusalem) when it came under Islamic rule in 585/1189, and his last and third journey was to relieve the great sorrow caused by his wife’s death in 601/1204. He spent more than ten years moving between Mecca, al-Qūds, Cairo and Alexandria, where he died in 614/1217. Unfortunately, we have no account of the latter journeys.\(^1\) I. R. Netton agrees with Pellat who has described the *Riḥla* of Ibn Jubayr as:

‘The first and one of the best of the works of this kind’ which has ‘served as model to many other pilgrims’ and asserted that not only is the work a mine of valuable information but, in J. N. Mattock’s words, it ‘is interesting simply written and well-detailed; it does very well that it is intended to do: describe the places that he [Ibn Jubayr] visits, so that their main features are clear to his audience.’\(^2\)

Khālid b. ʿĪsā al-Balawi, he was born in 713/1322 in Qantūria, present-day Canteria, in Andalusia. His *Riḥla* entitled Ṭāj al-Mafriq fi Taḥliyat ʿUlamāʾ al-Mashriq, is regarded as one of the greatest Andalusian *Riḥlāt*, and it indeed gives an impressive picture of all educational and intellectual aspects of the Islamic nations and specifically of Andalusia.\(^3\)

As for ʿAbd al- Раḥmān b. Khaldūn was a descendant of a Ḥaḍramī family (from Yemen) as it is supposed and settled in Seville in the eighth century AH. Afterwards they emigrated to Ceuta and shortly thereafter to Tunis, where he was born in 723/1322.\(^4\) He traveled and stayed in Fes between 1345 and 1362, then he moved to Granada in 1361, where, “He was given sundry duties including an embassy to Pedro El Cruel in Seville in 1364, but had to leave Granada soon afterwards because of obscure disagreement with [al-wazīr] Ibn al-Khaṭīb,\(^5\) to return to Morocco, then to Qalat Ibn Salāma (near the contemporary Tawghzur, close to Mouaskr, in Algeria), where he wrote *al-Muqaddima*, which he completed in November 1377. Then he left to Tunis at


\(^5\)Ibid., p. 3.
the end of 1378, traveling eastwards to Egypt (Alexandria and Cairo), where he undertook duties including the position of grand Mālikī judge in 1384 and a professor of al-Madhhab al-Mālikī. He was to travel four times during his stay in Cairo, twice on pilgrimages to Mecca, then to Jerusalem, and one to Damascus. Ibn Khaldūn died in Cairo in 808/1408. He recorded many incidents in al-Taʾrīf bi Ibn Khaldūn wa Riḥlatihi Sharqan wa Gharban.

In contrast, the ninth/fifteenth and the tenth/sixteenth centuries witnessed a decline in travel in general. Even travel for performing al-Ḥajj became extremely rare because of scholars’ inviting the faithful to fight their enemies, which was given priority even over al-Ḥajj. Of these rare journeys are those of al-Qalsādi and al-Juzayri.

ʿAli Al-Qalsādi was born in 815/1425 in Busta in Andalusia. He travelled to many cities within and outside Andalusia including Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, and the Arabian Peninsula, spending 15 years on his journeys. He died in Bāja in Tunisia in 891/1486.

The only traveller in the tenth/sixteenth century as far as we know, was ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Juzayri born in Egypt in 911/1512, but he was a descendant of an Iraqi family lived in al-Farrāniyya (near Baghdad). He was brought up in a educated family, where his father was a doctor, in particular as an ophthalmologist, at al-Manṣūri Bimārstān (Hospital), then became the director of the Bimārstān. Al-Juzayri studied under the most famous scholars of Egypt, until he was granted ijāzāt, which enabled him to teach and give fatwāʾ. He was appointed as a Kātib (clerk) at the pilgrimage Office in 940/1549 and remained there until 976/1585. His date of his death

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1 Al-Madhhab al-Mālikī is one of the four main schools of law in Sunni Islam [see supra, pp. 202 and 226], named after the Imām Mālik b. Anas [94-179/716-795]. Mālikī law gained a dominance in North Africa as well as the West and Centre of that continent. I. R. Netton, A popular Dictionary of Islam, p. 159.
2 Ibid., pp. 3-6.
5 Ijāza [pl. ijāzāt] is a certificate authenticating the holder’s mastery of an Islamic text, conveys the right to teach text to others, see R. E. Dunn, The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, p. 321. For other types of ijāzāt given by Sūfis, see supra, p. 209 and 218.
6 Fatwāʾ [pl. fatwāʾ] is, “A technical term used in Islamic law to indicate a formal legal judgement or view.” I. R. Netton, A popular Dictionary of Islam, p. 82.
is unknown and in thought to be somewhere between 976/1585 and 981/1590.\(^1\) He travelled to many countries and compiled *al-Durar al-Farahid al-Muna'dhama fi Akhbar al-Hajj wa Tariq Makka al-Mukarrama*. Hamad al-Jäsir considered it among the most significant sources with terms of studying the history of Egypt during the Ottoman era (approx. from 920/1521 until 975/1576). Despite this, this invaluable source was neglected which might due to, as al-Jäsir says, the fact that it contains severe criticism of the Ottoman rulers and their officers including judges and scholars.\(^2\)

**Conclusion**

This section dealt with the most renowned Arab travellers of non-Moroccan origin. They have been classified chronologically from the pre-Islamic period until the tenth/fifteenth century. Although, Arabs travelled to remote countries such as China before the coming of Islam, as the historical evidences confirm, no news of these travellers have reached us. All we know from this period is some names of poets of the Arabian Peninsula, such as ‘Aqama and al-Näbigha, in addition to Zayd b. Nufayl who travelled to seek knowledge. In the period of the Prophet and his four Caliphs, two renowned journeys were ascribed to Tamim al-Däri and ‘Ubäda b. al-Şämît, while travels were carried out by armies during the era of the second Caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. In spite of establishing the first Islamic navy in the first/seventh century, leading to an increase in the number of sea journeys, no travels are known except some events from the journey of al-Masri. In the second/eighth century, some sources indicate that an Iraqi trader called Ibn Maymûn and another called Ibn al-Qâsim visited China. The famous travels known as the voyages of al-Sindibâd presumably occurred in this period [the second/eighth century]. In the third/ninth century two kind of travellers emerged. The first were renowned travellers such as Saläm al-Turjumân and Sulaymân al-Tâjir, whose travels have reached us through other travellers, or historians. The second were geographers-travellers such as Ibn Khurdâdhâba, al-Ya‘qûbî and Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamdâni. A number of geographer-travellers such as Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Maqdisî appeared in the fourth/sixth century and left great books. Al-Bayrûnî and Ibn al-Harawi are regarded as representatives of travelling in the fifth/eleventh century. The sixth and seventh/twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the appearance of a great number.

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\(^2\) Ibid., vol. 1, p. 25.
of distinguished travellers such as Ibn Jubayr, al-Samani, al-Yamani, al-Ḥamawi and al-Qazwini. Ibn Khaldūn and al-Balawi are representative of the travellers in the eighth/fourteenth century. In contrast, the ninth and tenth/fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed a decline in travel in general. Of these rare journeys, one of the most famous travellers is al-Qalṣādi. Al-Juzayri was the only traveller mentioned in the tenth/sixteenth century.

The forthcoming chapter is divided into two sections; the first of which is devoted to the Moroccan travellers and their Rihlah from the pre-Islamic period until the main period studied, while the second concentrates on Moroccan pilgrims in the main period studied within this work.
Chapter Two

Moroccan Travellers and their Riḥlāt

This chapter deals with the history of Moroccan travellers including their biographies. It is divided into two main sections, each with a brief introduction and conclusion. Section one is devoted to Moroccan travellers and their Riḥlāt in the centuries prior to the main period studied. Section two concentrates on the main period studied within this thesis, so more details are given about Moroccan travellers and their Riḥlāt in the eleventh and twelfth /eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition to this, there is a brief summary of the political and educational aspects and al-Ḥajj as a main motive to travel.

It has been mentioned in the foregoing chapter that Arabs generally wrote about their experiences and observations during their various long journeys across the world. The Moroccan travellers especially, left behind them a tremendous contribution to this particular genre of literature. The Travel Literature reached the peak of creativeness through the Arabs of Morocco and Andalusia. With them, Travel Literature became a fully-fledged art as it was written down in a unique literary prose form and specific language, including the date of leaving and arriving at each city. Each work gives ample description and detail about the cities and stages of the road, in addition to the various social, educational and political aspects of countries they visited or passed through.

The Moroccans’ excellence can be proved by mentioning that one of the most renowned travellers, who is proverbial for carrying out the longest journey was Ibn Battūta, a Moroccan traveller, who spent twenty eight years of his life travelling around countries known to him. It is agreed that the traveller who initiated the genre of Travel Literature was [the Andalusian traveller] Ibn al-‘Arabī (468-543/1076-1146), then later, “With the Riḥla of [the Moroccan traveller] Ibn Battūta [703-70/1304-68 or to 779/1377] we reached the peak in the articulation of a genre which should be perceived much more in term of a literary art form than a formal geography.”

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1 Al-Shāhidi, Adab al-Riḥla fi al-Maghrib, vol. 1, p. 47.
2 Nawwāb, al-Riḥlāt a/-Maghribiya wa al-Andalusiyya, p. 71.
It has been noted that Moroccan journeys to the East are considered to have been more frequent than those of Easterners travelling to the Arab West, in consequence of the existence of some significant religious and academic centres in the East. Such centres include the two holy cities and centres of learning: Mecca where the pilgrimage centre is and Medina where the Prophet’s grave and Mosque are. Then Baghdad, Damascus and al-Quds (Jerusalem), the home of al-Masjid (Mosque) al-Aqṣā. Furthermore, Moroccan travellers travelled to Asia, Africa and Europe for merchant purposes, benefiting from their strategic location which is considered a connecting link between Europe and Africa, enabling them to establish tremendous mercantile relationships with them. Moroccan caravans reached many European and African countries. Moroccan travellers contributed in spreading Islam in some parts of Africa and Asia. For instance, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in his Riḥla reports that the inhabitants of the Maldivian Islands embraced Islam in the middle of the twelfth century by a Moroccan traveller, a pious Berber called Abū al-Barakāt.1 Islam was spread in Indonesia in the eighth and ninth/fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by a Moroccan family known as al-Kattānīn, whose names can be seen on their graves.2 Moroccans journeyed for other purposes as well. However, very few Riḥlār have reached us, as will be discussed.

Section One: the Period Prior to 11th/16th Century

This section consists of three sub-sections. Section one is devoted to the earliest Moroccan travellers in the centuries prior to the seventh-eighth /thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. Section two deals with the travellers from the seventh/ thirteenth century until the first half of the eighth /fourteenth century. Section three concentrates on the Moroccan travellers from the second half of the eighth/fourteenth, until the tenth/sixteenth centuries.

1. Prior to the 7th/13th Century

It is rare to read a renowned Moroccan or Andalusian’s biography without finding that he had journeyed somewhere. For instance, al-Maqarī in Naḥf al-Ṭib referred to more than three hundred Andalusian travellers who travelled just to seek knowledge, (talab al-‘ilm), saying, “Counting travellers can be impossible, no one can count them except

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2 Makāmān, al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya, p. 10.
Allah, so I will mention some of them without exaggeration leading to weariness, or conciseness, leading to blame."\(^1\) If al-Maqarri could not count the number of travellers at the time of the composition of his work in Egypt, relying on his memory, how can we imagine the number of Moroccan travellers, especially if we consider that the interest of Moroccans in travel, as Krachkovski asserts, surpassed even Andalusian interest, which was in itself prolific.\(^2\) Despite this, nothing is known about the travellers and their journeys, whether they were recorded by them or by others, prior to the fifth/eleventh century. Through the whole of the two succeeding centuries, we know of just two Moroccan travellers: Abū Hārūn al-Aghmātī and al-Sharīf al-Adrīsī respectively.

Abū Hārūn al-Aghmātī is the earliest Moroccan traveller whose biography reports have come down to us. He left his country in the last years of the fifth century AH., when he travelled to Egypt, al-Ḥijāz, Iraq and some countries in Asia Minor.\(^3\)

Muḥammad b. al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī born in Sebta (Ceuta) in Morocco in 493/1100 and is considered to be one of the earlier Moroccan traveller-geographers. He started his journey when he was youth of sixteen years old. He travelled to France, Spain, Greece and the British Isles in Europe. He journeyed to most of the northern African countries as well. He travelled to al-Ḥijāz, and some Asian countries. Al-Idrīsī stayed at the Norman court where he was invited by King Roger II King of Sicily in 1138/1739, on whose behalf he compiled in 548/1154 the famous work known as \textit{Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fi Ikhtirāq al-‘Alāq}, also known as \textit{Kitāb Rujar} or the “Book of Roger,” spending about fifteen years completing it. Al-Idrīsī remained in Sicily even after Roger’s death and compiled another renowned book, \textit{al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik}. Al-Idrīsī surpassed other travellers in his accurate detailed writing about Europe as a result of the considerable information he obtained from the pioneers sent by King Roger to far Europe to report its conditions and positions, or from the travellers, traders and pilgrims coming to Sicily. This in addition to the documents and information he managed to obtain information about Christian countries due to being close to King Roger. So most of the travellers

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who came after al-Idrisi utilised from his works. Al-Idrisi returned to his hometown of Sebta (Ceuta) and died in 560/1166.1

2. From the 7th – 1st half of the 8th/13th – 14th Centuries

Travel flourished and the number of travellers increased dramatically during the first period of the Marinid2 era in Morocco which lasted between 613-869/1216-1465. Indeed, there is no comparison between the Marinid era and the preceding period. Whereas in that period as has been mentioned above, only two journeys were recorded, a considerable number of Riḥlāt were recorded in just less than one century of the Marinid era, which are considered unique examples of travel literature in both Western and Eastern Arabian countries. In consequence of that, it is very difficult to have complete knowledge about those who travelled in this age, and whether their travels were known or not.3 There were a number of renowned Moroccan travellers in this period such as Ibn Rashid, al-Abdari, al-Tajibi, Ibn Batūta as well as others.


2The first appearance of Banū Marin was when they participated with Almohad army in battle of Alarcos in Spain in 591/1195 where their chief leader Muḥyū b. Abī Bakr died from wounds received in this battle. A few years later his son ʿAbd al-Ḥāqq managed successfully to lead Banū Marīn into Morocco, first occupying the north-eastern area, then Tāzā in 613/1216. Occupation of Qasr al-Kabir and Tangier by the Portuguese in 1458 and reliance on Jewish officials, led to the rebellion which ended of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥāqq's reign and the Marinid dynasty in 869/1465. See Jamīl M. Abūn-Nāṣr, A History of the Maghrib, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971-8; repr. 1980), pp. 120-35


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5Imām, "Has the primary meaning of prayer leader. Islam has no priests and thus the imām attached to a mosque is not ordained. However, any male Muslim may lead the prayer in the absence of mosque imām." I. R. Netton, A popular Dictionary of Islam, p. 121.
death of his close friend Ibn al-Ḥakim in 708/1309 led him to relinquish his position and return to Marrakech, where he was appointed once again imām and Khatib of the Jumʿa prayer in the Grand Mosque. After this Ibn Rashid was invited to Fes by its ruler, where he stayed until he died in 721/1322.² It seems that Ibn Rashid’s Rihla entitled Milʿu al-ʿAyba bimā jumʿa bi ṭūl al-Ḡayba, consists of seven parts but unfortunately, the first, fourth and sixth parts are still missing.² Ibn Rashid’s Rihla has occupied a prominent position among the significant references, which are indispensable to any study of academic activities in that period, and has become a great source and trustworthy reference until the present.⁴

As for Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAbdārī al-Ḥiḥī, he was a descendant of ʿAbd al-Ḍār from Qusayy, of the tribe of Quraysh in Mecca. Although he had a great reputation and was renowned, nothing is known about the dates of his birth and death or his origin. Even Ibn al-Qādī, the only author who in Jadhwat al-Iqtibās, when recording al-ʿAbdārī’s biography, he extracted it from his Rihla. Al-Fāsī, the editor of al-Rihla, suggested that al-ʿAbdārī’s death probably happened shortly after arriving at his city Ḥāḥa, after his journey in 691/1292.⁵ Al-ʿAbdārī was born in Ḥāḥa in Morocco, but some references have incorrectly traced him to Valencia in Andalusia.⁶ Al-ʿAbdārī travelled extensively and stayed in Marrakech. He travelled to perform al-Ḥajj while he was still a youth in 688/1289.

The high value of al-ʿAbdārī’s Rihla and its influence are described by the Encyclopedia of Islam as follows,

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¹Khatib is the person who deliver a religious speech on Fridays at the time of zuhr, or meridian prayer as well as to the two payers of Ṭāḍ (festival) al-Fitr and al-Idhā in the morning after sunrise.


³Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 153-4. While the second and fifth parts were edited by Muḥammad al-Ḥālib b. al-Khūja in Tunis in 1402/1982, the third and seventh parts are still in manuscript form in the Escorial library in Spain. See Ibid., vol. 1, p. 165 and 168.


Can be traced in the geographical and historical literature of the 14th to the 18th centuries. For instance, Ibn Battûta's description of the Pharos of Alexandria (I, 29-30) was derived from it; other travellers, e.g. al-Balawi, and also biographers like Ahmad Bakri and Ibn al-Kadi used it extensively. [In addition]... its moral purpose, to lay bare the material and spiritual shortcoming of contemporary Africa and Middle Magrib makes the Riḥla a document of considerable interest.¹

Al-Qāsim b. Yūsuf al-Tajibi was born in Sebta (Ceuta) in 670/1271, but his family was originally from Valencia in Andalusia. Little is known about his early life and family in Sebta except the information specific to his scholarly life included by him in his Barnāmāj, which shows the high standard of education he gained in Sebta prior to travelling to the East to perform al-Hāji.² This journey, which lasted from 696/1296 to 700/1300, was an extremely significant stage in his life. It was a tremendous opportunity for him to meet renowned scholars and attend their lessons in the most famous learning centres in Andalusia, Moroccan countries, Egypt, bilād al-Shām and al-Hijāz. His Riḥla Mustafād al-Riḥla wa al-Ightirāb consists of three volumes but unfortunately, the first volume and parts of the second and the third are missing.³

The most well known of the travellers of this period is Abū ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allah al-Lawāti known as Ibn Battûta. Although he, “Has been celebrated as the greatest traveller of premodern times”;⁴ and “the traveller of the travellers’, or ‘the Marco Polo of Islam’;⁵ little is known about his life except what we have been told by his Riḥla’s editor, Ibn Juzzayy, that he was born at Tangier in 703/1304⁶, and what the traveller himself tells us, or from a brief reference in a later book of biographies. From these we know that he was appointed qādi (judge) in Delhi, Maldives Islands and in a Moroccan city after returning, and died there in 770/1368-9 or 779/1377. In addition to

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³The existing part of the second volume was edited ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiz Mansūr in Libya in 1975.
⁶See the Arabic text of al-Riḥla (Cairo: [n. pub.], 1928), vol. 1, p. 5.
this we know that he belonged to a Berber tribe. It appears from his first journey that he was already a learned man when he started travelling which, can be concluded from the fact that he was given full honour and respect wherever he visited or passed through, in addition to the fact that he was chosen to be the qādi of a pilgrimage caravan after leaving Tunisia.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa undertook three journeys which, especially the first, were wider and richer than previous Moroccan journeys, because he journeyed not just to the Eastern Arabian countries, which Moroccan travellers normally passed through on their way to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-ḤaJJ, but he also journeyed into Asia and Europe. He left his native town on the first journey, which lasted for twenty-five years, when he was a youth of twenty-two in 725/1325, with no aim other than that of performing al-ḤaJJ to Mecca, as usual visiting Tunisia and Egypt on the way. In order to avoid the war in ʿIdhāb (a port on the Red Sea) he was forced to depart from the normal route to al-Ḥijāz and decided to join the pilgrim caravan from Damascus. After performing the first HajJ in 725/1326, he accompanied the Iraqi caravan to Iraq then visited Persia, then returned to Mecca performing al-HajJ three more times. He travelled to Yemen and across to some countries in Africa as far as modern Tanzania, turning to Yemen and al-Ḥijāz. He intended to travel to India but, “The journey was to be longer and more adventurous than he anticipated.” This was due to the fact that there was no ship travelling through the normal ocean route across the Arabian sea to the western coast of India. Instead, he travelled through Egypt and Syria to Asia Minor, crossing the Black Sea to the West Central Asia, gaining a great opportunity to visit Constantinople, capital of the Byzantine Empire, in the company of the wife of the Mongol Sultān who was returning to visit her father the King. At last he entered India in 734/1335 by the north-western gateway, visiting many cities on his way in Central Asia, Transoxiana, Khurasan and Afghanistan. In India, he was received with honor and escorted to Delhi, where he obtained a full share of the Sultān’s bounty and was appointed to a rich secure position as Malikite qādi of Delhi. For eight or ten years Ibn Baṭṭūṭa remained in this position until he had

4For details about al-Madhhab al-Māliki, see infra, p. 32.
gained a great reputation, to such an extent that he was trusted to lead a diplomatic mission to the most powerful ruler at that time, the Emperor of China. However, he could not complete his duty and was forced instead to go to the Maldives Islands, where he was once again appointed as a qādi, then he journeyed to China across Bengal, the coast of Burma and the islands of Sumatra, and thence to Canton, the renowned merchant port for foreign traders. After performing his last Ḥajj, Ibn Battūta decided to return to his native land. It seems that Ibn Battūta loved to travel extensively because after just a short while in Morocco, he decided to travel again, but this time not so far away and not for as many years as the previous journey. He travelled to the south of Andalusia visiting some cities including Granada, Malaga and Marbela. Ibn Battūta undertook his final adventure to Mali in West Africa.¹

The *Rihla* of Ibn Battūta has been translated into several languages and as R. E. Dunn states, it is:

Cited and quoted in hundred of historical works, not only those relating to Islamic countries but to China and the Byzantine empire as well. For the history of certain regions, Sudanic West Africa, Asia Minor, or the Malabar coast of India, for example, the *Rihla* stands as the only eye-witness report on political events, human geography, and social or economic conditions for a period of century or more.²

3. From the 2nd half of the 8th – 10th/14th – 16th Centuries

The death in 759/1357 of the famous Marinid Sultān Abū ‘Inān³ who had encouraged journeys for gathering news and to learn of conditions in other countries, led to the weakening of the academic movement, specifically travel literature.⁴ In addition, it is considered a crucial turning point in Moroccan history, which led to a division of the State of Morocco. Many small and weak emergent divisions began to fight each other, and this instability was coupled with disease and starvation, which spread particularly in

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¹R. E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battūta*, pp. 1-3. Dunn estimates in p. 3 and footnote no. 2, that Ibn Battūta travelled of a total distance of approximately 73,000 miles, while others estimate 75,000 or 77,000 miles.
the northern part of Morocco. This produced a great opportunity for the ruler of Granada to intervene in Moroccan internal affairs. Eventually, the final blow came from the Spanish and Portuguese, who found a great opportunity to occupy strategic places along the Moroccan coast of the Atlantic Ocean. The discovery of the Indian sea around the Horn of south of Africa had led to an increase in the significance of the Atlantic Ocean because it became the new trading route connecting the trading markets of India and the Far East. So, for the first quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century, Moroccan coasts were subjected to many attacks, which were carried out by the Portuguese and the Spanish. The Portuguese occupied some important coastal cities such as Sebta (Ceuta) in 821/1415, al-Qaṣr al-Ṣaghir in 865/1458 and Tangier in 878/1471. The Spanish occupied Mālī in 903/1497, then Aqadīr in 911/1505. These woeful events also led to a weakening of the strong trade relationship between Morocco and West African countries.

Obviously, travel for any purpose, even travel to perform religious duties such as al-Ḥajj under these circumstances became very rare because Moroccans, including scholars, were preoccupied with the defence of their own country against invaders, which was regarded as more important than religious duty (al-Ḥajj). Thus, from 759/1357 until almost the end of the ninth/sixteenth century, travels became very rare. Nothing is reported known during these two and half centuries, as far as we are aware, except for three journeys recorded by Aḥmad b. Zarrūq, al-Ḥasan al-Wazzān and al-Tamkrūtī.

Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Zarrūq was born in Fes in 846/1457, and started his studies when he was 5 years old. When he became a youth of twenty-four years he travelled to the East to perform al-Ḥajj and attend scholars’ lessons in Mecca and Medina. On his way to Mecca, he stayed in Egypt for more than one year to attend some academic lessons at al-Azhar al-Sharif in Cairo. Ibn Zarrūq journeyed extensively after 880/1491 as a renowned Ṣūfī scholar, to al-Ḥijāz and Egypt where as it is said, about six thousand

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The derivation of Ṣūfī was in dispute. Most Ṣūfīs have derived it from an Arabic root which conveys the notion of 'purity'; this would make 'Ṣūfī' mean 'one who is pure in heart' or 'one of the elect.' However, Noldeke showed conclusively that the name was derived from sūf (wool), [in reference to the garments worn by the early Ṣūfīs]. The earliest Ṣūfīs were, in fact, ascetics rather than mystics who had an overwhelming consciousness of sin, combined with dread. In the 3rd/9th Ṣūfīs who were influenced by Greek theology and philosophy, began to regard asceticism as only the first stage of a long journey, the
students attended his lessons in al-Azhar. Then he eventually settled down in Libya, where he spent the last four years of his life in Miṣrāta (Misurata), and his Zāwiya became a destination to a number of his muridin (Ṣūfī disciples). The Ṣūfīs order al-Zarrūqīyya⁴ affiliated to him spread extensively to such an extent that his tomb has become a sacred shrine for Ṣūfīs,³ after his death in 899/1509.² Ibn Zarrūq’s Riḥla known as Zarrūq’s Kannāsha is found in al-Khizāna al-Āmma in Rabat under the number 1385,³ as an unedited manuscript.

Another traveller to be known in this period is al-Uasan b. Muhammad al-Wazzān belongs to the Banū Zyyāt al-Zanātiyya tribe which lived in the far west of Ghumra in the Rif Mountain located in the north of Morocco near the Mediterranean Sea. However, his family moved to Granada in Andalusia, where he was born in 888/1483. A few years later he moved with his family to Morocco, and in particular to Fes, where he began his study at the famous centre of learning Jāmi‘ al-Qarawiyin. He distinguished himself academically, especially in the literary and juristic fields, to such extent that he was summoned by the Sultān al-Wattāsi Muhammad al-Burtughāli,⁴ who took him as a close companion and entrusted him with political and mercantile duties.⁵ These required him to travel extensively to many places including cities in the West and Middle of Morocco in 914-5/1508-9, Sudan in 917/1511, Atlas Mountains, Ḥāhā and Sūs in 918-20/1513-5, East Arabian countries in 922-3/1516-7 and North Africa in 923-6/1517-20.⁶ In 927/1520 al-Wazzān intended to travel to other parts of the world but he was

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⁴He became the ruler after his father’s death in 910/1505. In his era the Portuguese continued to occupy other cities such as Azmūr (Azemmour) in 919/1513 and al-Mahdiyya in 921/1515. However, he was able to retake al-Mahdiyya in 926/1520. Ḥarākāt, al-Maghrib ‘Abra al-Tāriḥ, pp. 172-3
arrested in 927/1520 by Italian pirates who handed him over to Pope John X in Rome. The latter treated him with honor and gave him the title “Lion of Africa”. Al-Wazzân remained in Rome, very close to the Vatican, where he became the professor of Arabic in Bologna University in Italy. There are various narrations about the last years of al-Wazzân’s life; the first indication is that he returned to Tunisia in 934/1528 956/1550. The second indicates that he stayed in Rome, where he died in 965/1550, while the third indicates that he died in Tunisia in 967/1552 and the fourth believes that al-Wazzân returned to Fes where he died in 944/1537. His Rihla, Waṣf al-Fiqiya compiled in Rome in 932/1526 included his experiences and observations during his journeys in the countries he visited and it is considered by European Scholars to be one of the main sources regarding the history of Africa throughout the modern age. Al-Rihla was edited and translated from French into Arabic by Muḥammad Ḥijji and Muḥammad al-Akhḍar in Morocco in 1980.

As to Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Ali b. Muḥammad al-Tamkurūṭi. He was born about 967/1560 in Tamkurūṭ located south of the High Atlas Mountains where he attended the famous Zāwiya known al-Zawīya al-Nāṣiriyya. In this Zawīya, al-Tamkurūti studied various disciplines under a number of scholars, until he became one of the most famous scholars of his time. He travelled to Constantinople in 997/1589 as the ambassador of the Sa‘di

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3Ḥarakāt, al-Siyása wa al-Mujtama‘, p. 441.
6Al-Zawīya [pl. Zawāyā] can be defined as a small house or mosque in which Sūfis gather to worship and teach the rituals of the order, in addition, it is sometimes as a guest house. Al-Zawīya named Dār al-Karāma was known in Morocco just after the fifth/eleventh century, and the oldest Zawīya which carried this name were al-Zawīya established by al-Shaykh Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Mājirī (d. 631/1234) which reached forty-six Zawīya. See Ḥijji, al-Zawīya al-Dilā‘iyya: wa Dawruḥā al-Dini wa al-Imāmi wa al-Siyāsī, 2nd edn (Casablanca: Maṭbā‘at al-Naṣir al-Jādila, 1988), p. 24. In case of al-Zawīya al-Dilā‘iyya and al-Nāṣiriyya, for example, they started as small houses or mosques, then expanded until they became a whole town or big village, as well as renowned academic centres. Seekers of knowledge travelled vast distances to reach them as mentioned above. See Ibid., p. 60.
7Al-Nāṣiriyya was founded by Abū Haṣf ʿUmār al-Anṣārī in 983/1576 in Tamkurūt located in Wādī Dra‘a, then al-Zawīya was known as al-Zawīya al-Nāṣiriyya when al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. Naṣir al-Dra‘ (the father of the traveller Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Naṣir) became the leader. See Ḥijji, al-Zawīya al-Dilā‘iyya, pp. 60-1.
Sultan Ahmad al-Mansur to the Ottoman Sultan Murad III. He compiled his *Riḥla* entitled *al-Nafḥa al-Miskiyya fi al-Sifâra al-Turkiyya*, when he returned to Morocco in 999/1591, recording the educational and political relationships between Morocco and Turkey in addition to numerous historical, geographical and literary aspects and events. Al-Tamkruti's *Riḥla* was published and translated into French by the French Orientalist, Henry De Castries, in Paris in 1929.

**Conclusion**

This section is devoted to the Moroccan travellers and their *Riḥlät* in the centuries prior to the studied period. Although we find that renowned books of biography including *Naḥḥ al-Tib* compiled by al-Maqarri refer to hundreds of learned men and writers who undertook journeys in the centuries prior to the seventh/thirteenth century, al- Ağhmäti and al-İdrisî are the only two travellers whose news have reached us. On the other hand, the period lasted from the seventh/thirteenth until the first half of eighth/fourteenth centuries, witnessing the appearance of a number of renowned travellers, including Ibn Rashid, al-‘Abdari, al- Ağmäti and the most renowned traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta. Afterwards, the period lasted from the second half of the eight /fourteenth until the tenth /sixteenth centuries, witnessed a decline again in the travel for any purpose, even travel to perform religious duties such as *al-Hajj* became very rare as result of the ruinous civil wars and foreign attacks. Nothing is known during this period, as far as we are aware, except for three journeys recorded by Ibn Zarrûq, al-Wazzân and al-Tamkruti.

The next section concentrates on the main period studied within this work. Due to this, more details are given about Moroccan pilgrims and their *Riḥlät*.

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1 Al-Mansur was born in 956/1548 in Fes. His rule lasted from 985/1578 until 1010/1603. He imposed his authority beyond the borders of Morocco until Sudan came under his rule in 999/1591. Ḥarākāt, al-Maghrib *ʿAbra al-Tārikh*, pp. 262-76.


3 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 49.


Section Two
Moroccan Pilgrims and their Riḥlat in 11th-12th/17th-18th Centuries

There are two important points, which are worth stressing at the beginning of this section. The first is that it is preferred to start this section with a brief summary of the political and educational aspects in these two centuries, before discussing the Moroccan travellers and their travels. This is because of the flourishing or decline of the journeys, whether to the East to perform al-Ḥajj, or for seeking knowledge (talab al-ʾilm), was influenced by political and educational circumstances. In addition to this, we need to know the social and contemporary conditions experienced by the travellers. Another significant point to be mentioned, is that some of these political and educational conditions, were debated and recorded by the Moroccan travellers, as will be studied in the next two chapters, so it is preferred to draw a clear picture of these events prior to the study of these journeys. In addition to this, there is a brief summary of al-Ḥajj as a main motive to travel.

1. Political and Cultural aspects

The battle of Wādī al-Makhāzīn, led by the most renowned Sa’dī Caliph, Ahmad al-Manṣūr,² against the Portuguese in 986/1578, is regarded as one of the most famous battles in Moroccan history thus far. This significant Moroccan victory led to valuable results including the re-opening of Morocco to the external world. This victory also increased the power and the experience of Sulṭān al-Manṣūr’s army, who found it a great opportunity to occupy Sudan.³ For political and economic purpose al-Manṣūr’s army achieved a significant victory against the Sudanese army in 999/1591, near Kāghū (the capital of Sudan), which became a rich country under Moroccan rule.⁴ Thus, Sulṭān al-Manṣūr’s era (which lasted from 985/1578 until 1012/1603), witnessed great stability.

¹The Sa’dī State was established by Abū ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad al-Qā'im bi Amrī Allah who ruled from 915/1510 to 923/1517). The most significant achievement by this state was freeing the Moroccan cities occupied by the Portuguese invaders. This state lasted until the last caliph Abū al-ʾAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Shaykh was killed in 1069/1658. For more details see, Ḥarakāt, al-Siyāsa wa al-Mujāma‘, pp. 41-101.
²For some details about al-Mansur, see intra, p. 46.
³Sudan extended over a vast area of western Africa between the African desert in the north and the tropics forests of Negro tribes in the south. See Karīm, al-Maghrib fi Aḥd al-Dawla al-Sa’dīyya, p. 145.
⁴Ibid., p. 162.
and prosperity, both economically and politically. This led to pilgrimage caravans benefiting from the care of the government, who desired to build a substantial relationship with the Eastern Arabian countries. Moreover, because al-Manṣūr aspired to replace the Ottoman Caliph as the caliph of all Muslims, he prepared a suitable atmosphere for travellers, so that they would be honored representatives of his external politics, spreading news of his remarkable deeds and his fairness, in contrast to the injustice of the Ottoman Caliph. For instance, the traveller Aḥmad b. al-Qāḍī, who is regarded as the most famous Moroccan traveller, was sent twice to the East for that purpose.

With the death of the powerful Sulṭān al-Manṣūr in 1012/1603, the travellers lost a strong supporter and a wise guide. With this a completely different era began, an era where trouble spread over the country as a result of the long civil wars between al-Manṣūr’s three sons and later, his grandsons. This lasted for a century, until the last Caliph of the Saʿdī State, Aḥmad b. al-Shaykh Zaydān, was killed in 1069/1658. However, the academic movement was not affected by these painful circumstances because the academic learning centres known as al-Zawāyā, many of which were founded during this period, were far away from cities, in safe places such as the bedouin territories of Sūs, Tadla, Tamkrūt and the Atlas Mountains. These Zawāyā, became safe havens and not just alternatives to the traditional famous academic centres of learning in such places as Fes and Marrakech, which were blown away by these woeful troubles, but these Zawāyā played a notable role in academic life in this troubled period. For instance, al-Zawāiya al-Dilā'iyya in Tadla, played a prominent academic role, and attracted a great number of notable scholars. It became not just a vital centre of the

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1Muḥammad Ḥijji, al-Zawāiya al-Dilā'iyya, p. 19.
3Detailed description are given by the travellers about the political and security situation at that time, when most Arab countries were under Turkish rule, which did not help to provide stability and security, see supra, pp. 224-9.
5Ḥijji, al-Zawāiya al-Dilā'iyya, p. 21.
6It was founded by Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Dilā'i about 974/1566 century, in al-Dilā‘ located to the southwest of the Middle Atlas Mountains overlooking the Tadla plains. See Ḥijji, al-Haraka al-Fikriyya, vol. 2, p. 499.
academic and educational movement but the main cause of the academic revival, after a period of long decline, as demonstrated by historians.¹

Then, Sultän al-Rashid founded al-`Alawiyya State in 1075/1664, when he became the ruler after the assassination of his brother Muhammad. Al-Rashid managed to unify the Moroccan territories gradually and the most difficult task he faced in order to achieve his great aim was defeating his mortal enemies the men of al-Zāwīya al-Dilā'īyya after some quarrelsome battles. Therefore, al-Zāwīya al-Dilā'īyya was demolished in 1081/1670, and its men transferred to Fes. This led to the flourishing of educational activities as a result of the marvelous scholarly competition between the native scholars of Fes and the new scholars of al-Zāwīya.²

When al-Rashid died in 1084/1674, his brother Ismā'īl assumed the caliphate. He faced many rebellions, which he managed to suppress. Thus, he succeeded in recapturing some of the occupied coastal cities, such as Tangier in 1091/1681 and Asila in 1112/1700. He was considered one of the greatest caliphs of the al-cAlawiya state because his long era lasted more than half a century and witnessed considerable prosperity in the educational, social, structural and security aspects.³ The movement of the travellers prospered as a result of the Sultän Ismā'īl's concern to build friendships with the rulers and scholars of Eastern Arab countries.⁴

After the death of the Sultän Ismā'īl in 1139/1727, Morocco entered an era which is similar to that following the death of the Sultän al-Manṣūr, where the seven sons of the Sultän Ismā'īl began another civil war which lasted 15 years. Each one fought the other in order to be the ruler, until Sultän ‘Abd Allah eventually ended these wars by holding power from 1154/1740 until 1171/1757. However, education remained unaffected by these difficult events.⁵

The Sultän Muhammad came to power following the death of his father ‘Abd Allah in 1171/1757, and ruled the country until 1204/1789. Educational activities reached their

¹Abd al-Jawād al-Saqqāt, al-Shi‘r al-Dilā‘ (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma‘ārif, 1985), pp. 36 and 49. For more details about the social, political and literary role of al-Zawāiyā, see supra, p. 76-9.
³Ibid., p. 74.
⁵Al-Akhdār, al-/Hayāt al-Adabiyya fi al-Maghrib, p. 269.
peak as a result of his great concern to encourage scholars, as he himself was a great scholar and author of many books.¹

2. Al-ḤaJJ as a main motive for travel

Al-Rihlāt al-Ḥijāziyya surpassed all kinds of al-Rihlāt in quantity in these two centuries. Almost all recorded travels were regarding the journeys to al-Ḥijāz, particularly to Mecca to perform al-ḤaJJ and to Medina to visit the Prophet Muhammad’s grave and Mosque. The few exceptions to this were journeys made by travellers for diplomatic purposes. For example, Rihlat al-Wazir fī Iftikāk al-Asīr compiled by al-Wazir al-Ghassānī (d. 1119/1707) which were written to record his journey made on the behalf of Sultan Ismā’il to King Carlos II of Spain in 1102/1690. He made this journey as a negotiator regarding the exchange of captured prisoners by both countries and the recovering of Arabic manuscripts and works, which remained in the Andalusian mosques after the Muslims were forced out of Spain. Other examples are Rihlat Nārijat al-Ijtihād fī al-Muhādana wa al-Jihād compiled by al-Ghazāl and Rihlat al-Iksir fī Fikāk al-Asīr compiled by al-Miknāsī, who both were sent to King Carlos III in 1179/1766 and 1193/1779 respectively, for the same purpose. In addition to this there was an internal Rihla whose title is unknown compiled by al-Zarhīnī.²

The number of al-Rihlāt al-Ḥijāziyya, on the other hand, is much larger as mentioned above, compared with the other kinds of travel because al-ḤaJJ was still considered the main religious motive for Moroccan travels. In addition to its being one of the five Islamic pillars, al-ḤaJJ is the best occasion for pilgrims from various places to exchange religious, intellectual and social experiences, serving as a cultural and educational annual conference.³

The ḤaJJ season constitutes an inspiration supplying libraries and academic schools with numerous benefits and new experiences by virtue of pilgrims recording their observations about various aspects, including educational, constructional and social features. Furthermore, they record biographies of the scholars they meet and the

¹Ibid., p. 271. The royal journey of Sultan Muḥammad while he was youth and his grandmother Khunātha to perform al-ḤaJJ was recorded by the traveller al-Ishāqī as will be discussed later on p. 68.
academic issues they discuss, whether in Mecca and Medina, or other cities they visit during their journeys to perform *al-Ḥājj*. Although the strategic location of Morocco enabled them to travel to various countries, the journey to the East, in particular Mecca and Medina dominated their interest and attracted them. Thus, when they just arrived to their homeland they yearned to go back once again to al-Ḥijāz and some of them stayed as long as they could or may settled down for the rest of their lives. Ibn Khalūd states that Moroccan travel was mainly to al-Ḥijāz, which was the end of their journey and Medina, as a centre of learning. Under the influence of a great desire and the appreciation of this journey, Moroccan travellers felt that these great experiences were worth recording. This was done to acquaint their compatriots (who shared their desire to visit the holy places) with news of these holy places and also to serve as a religious, social and economic guide for future pilgrims. Thus, informing them the easiest and safest roads which should be followed and the dangers which should be avoided, as will be mentioned later. Therefore, *al-Ḥājj* certainly was the main reason led to the prosperity and distinction of the Moroccans in recording these specific journeys. This is contrary to the view of Krachkovski, who states that travel for knowledge, (*talab al-ʾilm*), dominated other kinds of travel in Morocco from the seventh/thirteenth century.

### 3. Moroccan Travellers and their *Rihlāt* in 11th–12th/17th–18th Centuries

In contrast to the preceding centuries the counting of written *Rihlāt* in these two centuries is difficult, due to the fact that documented *Rihlāt* are kept not only in public libraries but also in private collections. They could be the property of al-Zawāyā or that of the travellers’ families, or relatives who might restrict them to limited circle of readers. There is also reference to a number of *Rihlat* records which have been lost. For instance, ‘Abd al-Salām b. Sūda counted some *Rihlāt* records such as *al-Rihla al-Shāfiyya* compiled by Aḥmad al-Draʾī, and *al-Rihla al-Ḥijāziyya* by Muḥammad al-Sallāwī who was sent to al-Ḥijāz and Constantinople in 1179/1655. This *Rihla* was mentioned by the

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4. See supra, pp. 115-6, 124, 214-5.
author of *Ithāf Ishrāf al-Mala*. In addition, al-Kattāni indicates that Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Qādī (died in 1040/1630) compiled a *Ḥijāziyya Rīḥla*. The traveller al-Zabādī also stated that he saw the text of Muḥammad al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Rīḥla* in the Moroccan *Riwaq* in al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo. In addition, some of the documented travels, although not lost completely, exist as a few fragments or paragraphs included in some general works. The first example to be cited is that of Ahmad al-Ḥajari known as Avūqāy. He compiled two accounts of travels; The first, which recorded his journey to al-Ḥijāz to perform *al-Ḥajj*, is entitled *al-Shihāb ilā Liqā’ al-Aḥbāb*, has been lost, except for some parts which were cited in other works. An example of which is a paragraph with reference to his escape from Azmūr (Azemmour) to Marrakech, in Morocco, which was included in *al-Bustān fi Aḥwāl Mawlānā Zaydān* by Abū ʿAbd Allah al-‘Ayyāshī and *Nuzhat al-Ḥādi* by Abū Muḥammad al-Afrānī. Avūqāy’s second missing *Rīḥla* was about his journey to Europe where he visited France and met some French writers and poets. He travelled also to the Netherlands where he entered into debates about religion.

Many more travel records are missing, such as the *Rīḥla* of Aḥmad al-Fāsī al-Fihri (died in 1137/1784), recording his journey to al-Ḥijāz. The all of it have been lost except the biography of Ibrāhīm al-Shāwi which was quoted in *Nashr al-Mathānī* by al-Qādirī. As mentioned above, an accurate count of *al-Riḥlat al-Ḥijāziyya* is extremely difficult. However, the number of recorded travels in these centuries have reached 18 being classified chronologically, according to the date of the first journey to al-Ḥijāz. This order is extremely significant by which we know the chronological development of common features, which the travellers recorded in their *Rīḥlat*, such as the security aspects along *al-Ḥaḍij* road, which will be discussed later. In addition, our concern is

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1Ibid., p. 348.
3Al-‘Ayyāshī performed *al-Ḥajj* in 1134/1624 and died in Cairo in 1149/1639.
5Al-Zabādī’s *Rīḥla*, p. 288. Al-Zabādī is one of the Moroccan travellers studied here, see supra, pp. 70-1.
8See supra, p. 229.
mainly to discuss the material recorded in these *Rihlat*, not the travellers themselves. Moreover, putting the travellers in order according to their dates of birth or death, for example, would be impossible because some traveller's dates of birth or death are unknown, as will be noticed later. However, information about the travellers themselves is of prime importance.

3.1. Ibn Abi Mahli and his *Rihla*

Ahmad b. 'Abd Allah b. Abi Mahli al-Sijilmäsi was a renowned Sufi scholar and one of the leaders of the rebellion movement against the Sa'di State. He was born in 967/1560 in Sijilmäsa, from an educated family distinguished in knowledge and the undertaking of judgeship, he was therefore known as Ibn al-Qāḍi (son of the judge). Ibn Abi Mahli started his basic studies in his hometown under the strict supervision of his father. As a youth of thirteenth, he moved with his father to Fes to continue his study in Jāmi‘ al-Qarawiyin. He remained there for five years between 961/986-1573/1578, concentrating on the study of grammar and philology, as advised by his father. Then Ibn Abi Mahli took the significant decision to convert to Sufism and lived in isolation from 987/1579 until 1001/1594, which was a critical stage, from the age of nineteen until the age of thirty-three. One of the most important reasons which led to his taking this decision might be his feeling of guilt for not participating in the battle of Wādi al-Makhäzin, in which the Moroccans achieved a crucial victory against the Portuguese in 986/1578. Therefore, Ibn Abi Mahli, left Fes to Täsüt where he joined *al-shaykh* Muhammad b. Mubärak al-Zârit’s Zwiya, remaining constantly with him and learning from him for fourteen years, joining the Sufi order known as *al-Jazüliyya*. In this Zawiya, Ibn Abi Mahli obtained a wide knowledge of Sufism. He did not however, confine himself merely to Sufi knowledge, but learned various kinds of knowledge. Then he moved to Fajij to study under the learned Shaykh Abmad b. cAbd al-Jabbär, who

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2Ibid., pp. 39-42.
3Ibn Abi Mahli justified this saying that he was a youth keen on seeking knowledge in Fes in 986/1578 until the cost of living became extremely high and the Christians army blockaded the city at the same period. Therefore, he consulted one righteous student about what he should do, and the latter advised him to leave to bedouin territories. See his *Rihla* ed. al-Qaddürî, pp. 84-5.
gave him an *ijāzah* for prophetic *hadith.* After his return from the first *Hajj* in 1002/1596, the life of Ibn Abī Mabli entered an entirely different phase because he did not just abandon and regret adopting that kind of *Ṣufism* but he attacked it and recanted his previous deeds and sayings. Ibn Abī Mabli settled in the villages of Banū al-‘Abbās’ situated in Wādi al-Sāwira in the east of Morocco, where he embarked upon teaching until he became well-known to such an extent that a great number of pupils and *muridins* (disciples) from various places attended his lessons. This strong position among the inhabitants of Wādi al-Sāwira arising from his educational role enabled him to impose his spiritual authority upon the eastern territories. Therefore, Sultan Ahmad al-Manṣūr appointed him as a counsellor of Tawāt and Tikūrarin territories. When Ibn Abī Mahli returned from his second *Hajj* in 1014/1605, he found a tremendous opportunity to achieve his political ambitions and increase his authority by exploiting the security and economic destruction which resulted from the civil wars between the sons of Sultan al-Manṣūr. Thus, he claimed to be *al-Mahdi al-Muntaza* and called the tribes to revolt against the state, especially after Larache was handed over to the Spanish by Sultan al-Ma’mūn in 1019/1610. He managed to gather a number of fighters to begin his rebellion against the state and achieved the first victory against Sultan Zaydān b. al-Manṣūr’s army and captured Sijilmasa in 1611/1020. Then in Dra’a, Ibn Abī Mahli continued his victories by defeating Sultan Zaydān whom he removed from his government centre in Marrakech, where Ibn Abī Mahli became Sultan of Marrakech. It was not long before he was killed by al-Hādi, whose assistance was required by Sultan Zaydān in the battle of Jaliz in 1613/1022.

Ibn Abī Mahli left a great number of works, among them his *Rihla* known as *Iṣlīl al-Khrrit fi Qat‘ Bal‘ūm al-‘Īfrīt al-Nafrit* or, as he also named it, ‘*Adhrā‘ al-Wasā’il wa..."
Hawdaj al-Rasä'il. This work is a kind of unorganised Rihlätin which the news of his two journeys to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj in 1002/1593 and 1012/1602 respectively, constitute a very small part among other topics, being compiled to send to scholars in Egypt. Ibn Abī Mahli's Rihla was compiled in response to the request of his two-friend 'Abd al-Hādi al-Marsā'ī and Muḥammad al-Sharif. It contains four sections; the first two sections are about scholars and writers under whom he had studied. The news of his journey to al-Ḥijāz are included in the third section and in this section Ibn Abī Mahli relates how he encountered, on his first journey to al-Ḥijāz, terrible circumstances such as illness, hunger and thirst, to such an extent that he was close to death. Furthermore, when he entered Cairo, he was wearing a ragged gowns and for that reason no one paid attention to him, as he mentioned in his Rihla. In contrast, when he performed his second Ḥajj he was a respected scholar and scholars of the East paid attention to him and he forged a strong relationship with the scholars of Egypt in particular. The fourth section is about a variety of incidents, some of which occurred in his lifetime and others of which he had been told. There are four copies of manuscripts of his Rihla; three of them are found at al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma in Rabat in Morocco, under no. 100, 4442 and 4009 respectively and the fourth is found at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya in Cairo under no. 431. The part in which Ibn Abī Mahli recorded his Shuyūkh's biographies was edited by ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qaddūri, together with a study of the traveller's life.

3.2. Ibn Malīḥ and his Rihla

Ibn Malīḥ would be unknown if his Rihla had not reached us, which unfortunately contains nothing about the various aspects of his life, except his name and descent. Even al-Marrākishi, the only biographer to mention Ibn Malīḥ, who might be expected to tell us about some aspects of Ibn Malīḥ' life in al-ʿĀlām bīman Ḥalla bī Marrākishe wa Aghmāt min al-ʿĀlām, as he specialised in the inhabitants of Marrakech, confined himself to transferring Ibn Malīḥ's name exactly as cited in his Rihla, with no other

1Al-Qaddūri, Ibn Abī Mahli al-Faqīh al-Thā'ir, p. 95.
2A title is given to scholars.
3For more details about al-Qaddūri's book, see infra, p. 53, footnote, no. 1.
information. He is Abū ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Qaysi, nicknamed known as al-Sirāj and Ibn Malih, being from Marrakech, in addition to this he was an educated man as appear from his Riḥla. It might be concluded from the Riḥla that he was a Şūfi writer and a governmental officer, who was appointed to accompany the pilgrimage caravan because he was very interested, in discussing the most significant, governmental officers as appear in his Riḥla.

In his Riḥla entitled Uns al-Sāri wa al-Sārib min Aqṭār al-Maghārib ilā Muntahā al-Ma’ārib Sayyid al-Aʿājīm wa al-Aʿārib, Ibn Malih recorded the events of his journey to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥaḍā in 1040/1631. The significance of his Riḥla stems from the fact that it might be the only Riḥla to reach us from an inhabitant of Marrakech, which occupied a strong academic and political position at that time. In addition, Ibn Malih’s Riḥla is regarded as unique with regard to its character because its author journeyed to al-Ḥijāz through the desert road passing through Drā’a and Tedikalt. Although it had been a pilgrim route before that time, none of the Riḥlāt that have reached us describe this road, the dwellings and watering wells, which pilgrims passed through to the East (al-Ḥijāz), as accurately as Ibn Malih’s Riḥla. Even the famous Riḥla of al-‘Abdari, which described this desert road, did not give such a detailed description as in Ibn Malih’s Riḥla. It was edited by Muḥammad al-Fāsī in Fes in 1968.

3.3. Al-‘Ayāshī and his Riḥla

‘Abd Allah b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Yūsuf al-‘Ayāshī known as Abū Sālim al-‘Ayāshī was descended from al-Adārisa. His father moved between some villages until he eventually settled down in Tazrouft village, which lies on the bank of river Ziz south of Midelt in the Eastern High Atlas Mountains south of Midelt. In 1044/1634, he

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1Ibid., p. 19.
2Ibid., p. 19.
4Ibid., p. 147.
5For more details about al-‘Abdari and his Riḥla, see, infra, p. 39.
founded al-Zawiya al-'Ayyåshìyya, known today as Zawiya Sidi Hamza. In this small village al-'Ayyåshi was born in 1037/1628, but his family was originally from Fajij. He was educated under his father and scholars from their Zawiya such as his uncle 'Abd al-Jabbar b. Abi Bakr al-'Ayyåshi. Then he desired to extend his knowledge by travelling to other academic centres, such as al-Zawiya al-Näsiriyya in Tamkrüt in 1053/1643-44, to attend Shaykh Muhammed b. Nåsir al-Nåsirî's lessons. Then he went to Marrakech where the Şüfi Shaykh Abû Bakr al-Saktânî taught and performed al-dhikr, the Şüfi ritual, awarded him al-Khirqa (the robe) and seated him on the mat, which means that al-'Ayyåshi became capable to teach and educate. Al-'Ayyåshi became the head of al-Zawiya al-'Ayyåshìyya after the death of his father, and began teaching and educating his adherents, whose numbers increased within a few years, which made him expand his Zawiya in 1066/1656. Al-Zawiya however, was close to being closed down, as had al-Zawiya al-Dilä'ìyya before it, by the Rulers of Morocco who felt fear of al-'Ayyåshi and his great number of followers. They expelled him twice, first to Fes during al-Sa'dî era in 1063/1652, when he refused to be a Qâdi (judge) in Marrakech, as he was directed by

3 Dhîkr is, "Literary, ' remembrance ', ' recollection ', ' mention '. In taşawwuf the word has acquired a [the] technical sense of ' litany ' in which the name of God, or [a] formula like ' God is most great ' (Allâhu Akbar), are repeated over again in either a high or a low voice, often linked to bodily movement or breathing [as in the example given in chapter five, p. 210]." I. R. Netton, A popular Dictionary of Islam, pp. 70-1. We can add to this definition that al-dhikr in al-Zawiya al-Dilä’ìyya, to which most of the travellers belonged repeated a certain prayer one hundred times, twice a day, such as saying, "La ilaha illa Allah", there is no deity but Allah", "ask Allah forgiveness, and O Allah, pray and peace be upon Muhammad". See Hijji, al-Zawiya al-Dilä’ìyya, pp. 54-6. A. Knysh refers in Islamic Mysticism; A Short History (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 176, to that, "The important of the dhikr formulae for the self-identification of the order's members is attested to by the fact that on admission into the order the teacher solemnly disclosed it to the novice in a special ceremony called the "recitation of the dhikr" (talgin al-dhikr)." See also J. Spencer Trimingham, The Sufî Orders in Islam (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 182.
4 According to a Şüfi scholar al-khirqa is a symbol of the radical aspect of Şüfi life, and the granting of a khirqa was categorised by him as: one awarded in recognition of a disciple's personal spiritual achievement [named khirqat al-şuhab], or one given by a shaykh to a person seeking the blessing [named khirqat al-Tabarrûk], and might lead to a total acceptance of the mystic path. See, Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, Şûfism in India (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1978), vol. 1, p.92. In fact, obtaining the robe of blessing, "Is open not only to "full-time" Şûfis, but, in principle, to any Muslim, thereby dramatically expanding Şûfism's popular base and facilitating the recruitment of new members." Alexander Knysh, Islamic Mysticism p. 177. See the examples of wearing al-khirqa in chapter five, pp. 209-10.
5 Seating on the mat has as much significance as granting of al-khirqa mentioned above, which means that disciple completed his training and was capable to instruct his own disciples. More examples given about these Şüfi rituals and discussed according to the Islamic teaching in the fifth chapter, pp. 202-11.
Sultan Muhammad al-Shaykh and he remained in Fes for a whole year. The second time was in the al-Alawiyin era, by Sultan al-Rashid in 1079/1668, who expelled al-'Ayyashi and his family to Fes, where he remained until Sultan Ismail came to power in 1083/1672 and allowed them to return to their home-town. His expulsion to Fes was a great opportunity for him to learn under the most famous scholar in that time, 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fasi. He then took part in vigorous academic debates, both in learning and teaching and gained a notable position. Al-'Ayyashi died in 1090/1679.

Although al-'Ayyashi travelled three times to al-Hijaz in 1059/1649, 1064/1653, and 1072/1661 respectively, to perform al-Hajj and deepen his knowledge, he recorded the news of his three journeys only on his return from the last journey. He explains that he felt none of the previous journeys deserved recording, except for a few reports of scholars, which was not enough. Although he intended to record the second journey, he dismissed the idea after compiling Iqtifā' al-Athar ba'da Dhahāb Ahl al-Athar, in which he recorded the biographies of the scholars, who taught him or he met. Then, he recorded his Riḥla entitled Mā'u al-Mawā'id, which was printed as a lithograph in 1316/1898 and reprinted in two volumes in 1397/1977, with an index by Muḥammad Hijji. Al-Jāsir summarised and published some topics related to al-Hijaz in his magazine al-'Arab then he published the part of al-Hijaz region. Indeed, the accumulated experiences and knowledge al-'Ayyashi obtained during his three travel periods enabled him to compile the most significant Moroccan Riḥlāt. Al-'Ayyashi's Riḥla therefore became an example to be emulated. In addition to this, it is considered an essential source for many Moroccan travellers who have extensively drawn from it, such as Ibn Nāṣir, Abū Madyan and Ibn Khyrān. Orientalists have paid a great attention to al-'Ayyāshi's Riḥla and translated some parts of it into their languages. Such scholars include the French author Berbrugger in 1846 and Motylinski, in 1990.
Al-‘Ayyāshi in 1068/1657 also wrote a small report known as Rihlat al-‘Ayyāshi al-
Ṣughrā and submitted it as a gift in the form of a report, which contains valuable advice
to his close friend Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Makīlī. The reason for compiling
this small Rihla was that he had hoped that his friend al-Makīlī would postpone his
journey to al-Ḥijāz to the following year, (1069/1658) so they could journey together.
However, when this wish was not fulfilled for some reason, al-‘Ayyāshi wrote down his
experiences gained from the two previous journeys to al-Ḥijāz. His account covers the
geographical, social and economical aspects of countries the traveller would pass
through and contains invaluable advice, such as the things the traveller must carry with
him and the difficulties he may encounter. This Rihla is still a manuscript and has not
been published,1 but it was as Muḥammad al-Akhḍar says, translated into French by his
[al-Akhḍar’s] father.2

3.4. Al-Murābit and his Rihla

His full name was Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Murābit b.
Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Dilāʿī. In the last few years of the tenth/sixteenth century,
his grandfather Abū Bakr founded the renowned Zāwiya known as al-Zāwiya al-
Dilāʿīyya, which played a significant religious, educational, political and literary role, as
will be mentioned.3 Al-Murābit was born in this academic environment in Tadla in
1021/1611.4 The date of his birth is unknown, but al-Saqqāṭ suggests that it was most
likely during the fifth decade of the eleventh A.H. Since he grew up in this Zāwiya,
where he found a great opportunity to attend the famous lessons delivered by his father
and scholars of al-Zāwiya such as ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAli al-Fāsī, then under those of Egypt
and al-Ḥijāz such as Ibrāḥīm al-Kurdi and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shabāmalsī.5 Eventually, he
himself became a renowned scholar, in particular in the explanation of the Qurʿān,

3See supra, pp. 76-9. For more details about al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿīyya, see infra, pp. 45 and 48.
5Ibid., p. 239.
prophetic Hadith, jurisprudence and the Arabic grammar. This religious and linguistic education, associated with literature, enabled him to polish his poetic talent, which is apparent in his poems. Thus, Al-Murābit was one of the most famous scholars in al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾīyya and gained a wide reputation, to the extent that he was chosen by the inhabitants to be imām and khātib for the prayers, in particular prayers for rain. Al-Murābit also witnessed the disaster which occurred to al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾīyya when it was demolished by Sultān al-Rashid in 1079/1668. He and his family were forced to leave his home-town and move to Fes, they then were ordered to leave Morocco to go Algeria, where they settled down in Tlemcen, until they were allowed to return to Fes in 1085/1674, by Sultān Ismāʿīl. Al-Murābit remained in Fes where he continued teaching until he died in 1089/1678.

Al-Murābit performed al-Ḥajj accompanying his father in 1069/1659, and compiled his Riḥla entitled al-Riḥla al-Muqaddasa in the form of a long poem, containing 136 lines. His Riḥla included a description of the road stages from Morocco to al-Hijāz, with advice and directions for pilgrims who might pass through these roads. This poem was included in a collection, which gathered the poetry of both the son and the father. Al-Murābit's Riḥla is still in manuscript form at al-Khizāna al-ʿAmma in Rabat under no. 3644 D.

3.5. Al-Rāfī and his Riḥla

Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Rāfī was born in 1040/1630 in Tatuan but he was originally from Andalusia. He was regarded as one of the most

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2See infra, pp. 38-9.
4Hijji, al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾīyya, pp. 252-60.
6Ibid., p. 238.
renowned scholars and writers of Tatuan during the eleventh-twelfth/seventh-eighteenth centuries.¹

Al-Rāfi`i started his journey to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥaḍj in 1196/1685 and returned in 1197/1689. Al-Rāfi`i recorded this journey in his Rihla entitled al-Maʿārif al-Marqiyya fi al-Rihla al-Mashriqiyya. It is the only Ḥijāzi Rihla, which has reached us from the residents of Tatuan before the modern period, as far as we are aware.² Al-Rihla was printed on a typewriter and found in the library of the historian of Tatuan, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, who summarized it in Tārikh Tatwān.

3.6. Al-Hashtūki and his Rihlāt

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Jazuli al-Tamali known as al-Hashtūki was born in 1057/1647. He travelled frequently between Moroccan cities seeking knowledge, (talab al-ʿIlm). Then he worked as a teacher in the renowned Zāwiya, known as al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣirīyya in Tamkrūt. Al-Hashtūki was also appointed as a teacher and judge in Taghāzi in Sudan, which was under Moroccan rule during Sultān Ismāʿīl’s era. He spent his life as a teacher, judge, muftī, and author, until he died in 1127/1715.⁶

He performed al-Ḥaḍj twice, accompanying his Shaykh, the traveller Aḥmad b. Nāsir al-Drafi. The first was in 1096/1685 and compiled this journey in his Rihla named Hidāyat al-Malik al-ʿIlm ilā Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām. The second was in 1119/1707, as he stated⁵ and not in 1121/1709, as some references quote.⁶ He compiled another Rihla about this second journey. The two Rihla are both still in manuscript form in al-Khizāna al-ʿArūm in Rabat under no. 190 and 147.

²Ibid., p. 153.
³The person who issues legal opinions according to al-Shariʿa (Islamic law). For the definition of fatwā, see infra, p. 32.
⁵See the preface of his Rihla, p. 22.
3.7. Ibn Nāṣir and his Rihla

Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Draʿi was born in 1057/1647 in Tamkrūt, where the renowned al-Zawiya al-Nāṣiriyya lies. He was therefore born in an atmosphere of deep academic and Śūfi activities, where he belonged to an educated and well-known family. His father was a famous scholar and the leader of al-Zawiya al-Nāṣiriyya, where Ibn Nāṣir and the two famous travellers al-Ḥāyāshi and al-Ḥāṣṭūkī started their studies under his father, then under the most famous scholars of southern Morocco such as Abū Sālim al-Ḥāyāshi, Muḥammad al-Talmasānī and Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Jazūlī al-Ḥāṣṭūkī.

Ibn Nāṣir followed in his father’s footsteps and his reputation widely spread, particularly after the death of his father in 1085/1674, when he became the leader of al-Zawiya al-Nāṣiriyya. Thus, he became the Shaykh of al-Nāṣiriyya Śūfi order, which branched from the renowned al-Shādhiliyya order. In addition to this, he became the leader of the pilgrimage caravan of Sūs and Draʿa. Ibn Nāṣir founded a Zawiya known as Zawiya al-Fadl, as well as other schools and mosques. He died in Tamkrūt in Draʿa in 1129/1717.

Ibn Nāṣir travelled to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj four times. There are three different points of view as to whether Ibn Nāṣir compiled just one Rihla or more. Some references state that Ibn Nāṣir compiled just one Rihla after the last Ḥajj, whereas, Ibn Sūdā indicates that Ibn Nāṣir first compiled two short Rihla, and then compiled another Rihla in which he gathered the news of the previous two Rihla. Ibn Nāṣir’s relative, Muḥammad al-Makki al-Nāṣiri reports that Ibn Nāṣir compiled a short initial Rihla, in

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1a village lies on the river bank of Wādi Draʿa, in southern Morocco.


3Al-Shādhiliyya is a “Major Śūfi order named after Abū ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Shādhili (593/1196-656/1258). The order, which achieved popularity in North Africa, Arabia and Syria, gave rise to numerous offshoots and sub-groups [such as al-Jazūlīyya and al-Zarrūqīyya (see infra, pp. 44, 53)].” I. R. Netton, A popular Dictionary of Islam, p. 228. For details about the spread of Al-Shādhiliyya in Morocco, see supra, p. 76.


8For example, see Lévi-Provençal, Muʿarrīkhu al-Shurafāʾ, p. 207; al-Akhdār, al-Ḥayāṭ al-Adabiyya, p. 172.

which he recorded the news of his second Hajj after 1096/1685. After this he compiled a marvelous Rihla, which was longer than the former, after the third Hajj in 1109/1697. After performing the fourth Hajj in 1121/1709, he compiled a wonderful Rihla in two volumes, in which he gathered the news of the former two Rihlat. Obviously, we tend to accept al-Makki al-Näsiri’s view, since he was an eyewitness and he himself saw the three Rihlat and identified their editors, saying that the first two Rihlat were edited by al-Jazüli and al-Makki al-Näsiri’s father, respectively. However, the last Rihla is the one by which Ibn Näsir became widely known. It has been cited and quoted extensively by a number of travellers and historians, including Aḥmad al-Sallāwī al-Näsiri in Ṭal‘at al-Mushtari, the Algerian traveller al-Warthilānī in his Rihla entitled Nuzhat al-Anḡār fi faḍl ‘Ilm al-Tārikh wa al-Akhbār and the Tunisian traveller al-Hashā’ishi in his Rihla named Jalā‘u al-Kurab ‘an Ṭarāblus al-Gharb. In addition, it was summarized and translated into French by Briga, as Lévi-Provençal states, considering it of similar value to al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla. It was printed as a lithograph in two volumes in 1320/1902.

3.8. Al-Qādirī and his Rihla

Abū ‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Ali b. Muḥammad al-Qādirī al-Hasani al-Fāsī was one of the most renowned scholars of Fes. He belonged to al-Shura‘a’ al-Qādiriyin, living in Fes, where he was born in 1050/1640. Al-Qādirī grew up and learned in Fes, then he moved to al-Dilā’ī to continue his study under the scholars of al-Zāwiya al-Dilā‘īyya in its heydays such as [the travellers studied here] al-Masan al-Yūsi and Muhammad al-Murābiṭ. He remained there until he was forced, together with the inhabitants of al-Zāwiya, to leave after it was destroyed by Sultan al-Rashīd in 1079/1668. He then journeyed to Zāwiya al-Sawma‘a in Tadla. Al-Qādirī travelled to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Hajj twice, the first was in 1083/1672. Before his return to Morocco, he stayed in Cairo for seven years, where he studied under the scholars of al-Azhar al-Sharīf such as ‘Ali al-Ajhūrī and ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Zarqānī until he became well-

4Lévi-Provençal, Mu‘arrīkhū al-Shurafā’, p. 207.
5Ibid., p. 209.
informed about the famous Sufi order known as al-Qadiriyya. Then, he performed the second Hajj in 1100/1688. Al-Qadiri died in Fes in 1133/1720.

When he performed the second Hajj in 1100/1688, al-Qadiri was a companion to his Shaykh, Abū al-Abbās Ṭāhir b. Ṣāliḥ al-Andalusi, who was a famous Sufi scholar. He desired to record the news of this journey, in particular the virtues of his Shaykh, in a Rihla named Nasrat al-Āas fi Ḥajjat Sayyidin Abī al-Abbās. Al-Rihla is still in manuscript form in three copies. Two of them are kept at al-Khizāna al-Āmma under no. 1418 and 3216 respectively, and the third at al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya under no. 8787 in Rabat.

3.9. Al-Yūsi and his Rihla

Abū ‘Ali al-Ḥasan b. Masūd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ali al-Yūsi was from Ait Yūsi, the Berber tribe, living in southern Fes. He was born in 1040/1630, in Malawiyyat al-‘Ulayyā where he started his study by joining the village Kuttāb (school). Then he got permission from his father to travel to seek knowledge, (talab al-‘ilm), to bilād al-Qibla, i.e. Mecca and Medina, and then returned to his village. His teacher Abū Ishaq taught him Sufi books particularly Ibn al-Jawzī’s work Al-Mawrid al-‘Adhb. A few years later he journeyed to various places in the south of Morocco, where he studied under the scholars of Tafilat, Sūs, Marrakech, Dukala and Tarudant such as Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Adib, ‘Isā al-Saktānī and ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Alī al-Sijīmāsī. There, he was appointed as a teacher, while he was still a youth of nineteen years old. He left for Dra’a to join al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣirīyya where he delved deeply into Sufism, then he moved to al-Zāwiya al-Dilā‘īyya and remained there for twenty years until he became well-known. When al-Zāwiya al-Dilā‘īyya was demolished by Sulṭān Ismā‘īl in 1079/1668, he was forced to leave with the inhabitants of al-Zāwiya to Fes, then Tlemcen in Algeria. He returned to Fes and left it when its inhabitants revolted against Sulṭān al-Rashīd in 1083/1672 and then he travelled to Zāwiyyat Tatuan. Later he founded a Zāwiya in Khalfūn to teach the bedouins, but he was ordered by Sulṭān Ismā‘īl to leave Khalfūn immediately, because

1It is a, “Major Sufi order named after ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī who, when more than fifty years old, established a reputation by his preaching in Baghdad.” For more details, see I. R. Netton, A popular Dictionary of Islam, p. 201.

2Lévi-Provençal, Mu‘rrikhū al-Shurafā‘, p. 209.


he feared that if al-Yūsī settled down in a certain place for a long time, he would gather a strong group around him, particularly as the Sultan at that time was waging war against al-Yūsī’s tribe and others. Al-Yūsī moved to Marrakech in 1085/1674, where he taught in the grand mosque for five years, until he was permitted to return to Khalfūn in 1090/1679. Then he was asked to move to Meknes (the government centre), but after only five months he was forced to leave for Marrakech, where he spent three years. Then he was ordered again to leave to the demolished al-Zāwiya al-Dilā’īyya, where he remained exiled for 3 years, from 1095/1684 to 1098/1687. He travelled to Fes, Larache and some Zawāyā of the north and returned to Fes once again in 100/1688. Al-Yūsī performed al-Ḥa[j in 1101/1690 and visited Egypt. He died after returning to his village, Tamzizit, located near Fes, in 1102/1691.

Al-Yūsī travelled to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥāj in 1101/1690. He intended to record this journey but he could not, so his son Muḥammad wrote it down instead. Although al-Yūsī’s Rihla is a small volume, it contains significant remarks with relevance to educational, social and other matters, in addition to the description of roads and their security conditions. Al-Yūsī’s Rihla is still in manuscript and has not been published. There are three copies; the first is kept in al-Khizāna al-Āmma under no. 1418. The second is in al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya under no. 2343 in Rabat. The Irāqi magazine al-Mawrid indicated in its fifth volume, issued in 1976, that there is a copy held at al-Maktaba al-Wataniyya in Algeria, under no. 1896.

3.10. Ibn al-Ṭayyib and his Rihla

Abū ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib b. Muḥammad al-Ṣumayli can be traced back to family belonging to the Shurāqa bedouin tribe which emigrated from their homeland in Tlemcen in Algeria and settled down in Fes in Morocco at the beginning of eleventh/seventeenth century. He therefore was known as Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Shargi. Ibn

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3Al-Yūsī’s Rihla, p. 67.
5Ibid., p. 163.
al-Ṭayyib was born in 1110/1698. He started his studies under the most famous scholars of Jāmīr al-Qarawīyīn such as Muḥammad b. Malqāb al-Fāṣi and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allah al-‘Alāmī known as al-Ḥawwāt. Ibn al-Ṭayyib devoted himself to linguistic studies, and studied under the lexicologist and grammarian of his time, Abū ʿAbdābās Ahmad al-Wajārī and others. In order to diversify his learning, he journeyed extensively to many Moroccan cities.

When Ibn al-Ṭayyib travelled to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj in 1139/1728, he had attained a wide severe knowledge. Therefore, he effectively exploited this great opportunity on his outward and return journeys, to participate in various academic debates, with the scholars of Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and al-Ḥijāz. One year later when he returned to Fes, he devoted himself energetically to the teaching and composition, in particular, of linguistics until he became well known in this specific field. Following his compilation of the renowned commentary Iṣā‘at al-Rāmūs to the famous dictionary of al-Fayrūzabādī, known as al-Qāmūs al-Muhīt, which increased Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s reputation and gave him lasting fame. Despite that, he journeyed once again to al-Ḥijāz and visited Egypt, bilād al-Shām and Irāq, then he stayed in Mecca for two years and finally settled down in Medina where he became the destination of a great number of seekers of knowledge, coming to visit the Prophet’s Mosque. Some of them became famous scholars, including the renowned linguist Murtaḍā al-Zubaydī, the author of the famous dictionary, Tāj al-ʿArūṣ, who praised Ibn al-Ṭayyib, referring to his great academic abilities. Ibn al-Ṭayyib compiled more than sixty-one works. He died in Medina in 1170/1756.

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1 For more details about his šaykhūs in Morocco, see al-Wadghīrī, al-Taʿrif bi Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Shargī (Rabat: Māshūrät ʿUkād, 1990), pp. 62-76.
3 Muhammad al-Fāṣi, ʿAbū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Shargī: ʿUmdat al-Shaykh Murtaḍā al-Zubaydī, al-Manāhil, July 1976, pp. 82-6. Al-Akhdār also, in al-Ḥayāt al-Adabīyya fī al-Maghrib, p. 258, asserts that Ibn al-Ṭayyib was one of the greatest scholars of linguistics and Prophetic Ḥadīth, not only among Moroccan scholars but among Arab scholars in general.
4 Al-Fāṣi, ʿAbū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Shargī, p. 85.
5 Abd al-ʿĀlī al-Wadghīrī, al-Taʿrif bi Ibn al-Ṭayyib p. 137. For more details about all aspects of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s life and works, see this invaluable study (by al-Wadghīrī) above, which was part of a doctoral thesis, Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Shargī: Ḥalqat min Tārikh al-Fikr al-Lughawi, submitted to the college of al-Ādāb in Rabat in 1986.
6 Ibid., p. 133.
While Ibn Süda indicates that Ibn al-Tayyib compiled three *Rihlat* without giving any details,\(^1\) al-Fāsi claims that Ibn al-Tayyib compiled two *Rihlat*. In the first, he recorded his journey from Morocco to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj in 1139/1728, and the second was about his journeys to bilād al-Shām, Egypt, Turkey and al-Ḥijāz but unfortunately, it is considered to be lost.\(^2\) These two opinions have been carefully investigated by al-Wadghiri, who asserts that Ibn al-Ṭayyib compiled one single *Rihla* which was about his journey to al-Ḥijāz but in two different drafts. This is because he first recorded his journey from Fes to al-Ḥijāz and intended to complete his *Rihla* by recording his return journey from al-Ḥijāz to Fes, but this first draft was stolen after leaving Medina in Maghārat [the Prophet] Shuʿayb.\(^3\) Then he was requested by a close friend to rewrite his *Rihla*, adding the news of his journey to Fes.\(^4\) Al-Wadghiri asserts that despite the long time he had spent dealing with this matter, he never found any proof of al-Fāsi’s claim, and no one else has referred to the same matter.\(^5\) This unique *Rihla* is kept at the Library of Leipzig in Germany, under no. 746 of K. Vollers’.

### 3.11. Al-Shāwi and his *Rihla*

Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāwi al-Mazmizi al-Ghannāmi was an unknown jurist, about whom nothing is known except that he was judge in Tamsnā.\(^6\)

Al-Shāwi travelled to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj in 1141/1730 and left a short *Rihla* of around 23 pages named, *Rihlat aṣ-Ṣāṣidin wa Raghbat al-Zaʿirin*. It is still in manuscript form at al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya in Rabat under no. 5656.

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\(^3\) He is Shuʿayb b. Ẓayʿūn b. ‘Anqā b. Madyan, the son of Ibrahim al-Khallīl (the father of the Prophets). He was a prophet was sent to the people of Madyan (Midian) [a city in bilād al-Shām] to invite them to worship Allah. See al-Qurʾān, surat al-Aʿrāf, verses 85-93. Ibn al-Athīr refers in al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh, (Beirut: Dār Sādir, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 176-7 that the Prophet Moses married one of his daughters, and thus, the era of Shuʿayb was before the era of Moses. While Ibn Kathīr reports in *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm* (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm, [n.d.]), vol. 3, p. 330, that the some of the commentators referred to that the man mentioned in surat al-Qasuṣ, verses 23-7, whom Moses married his daughter was the Prophet Shuʿayb, while others stated that he was his nephew Thīrūn mentioned in books of Israel.

\(^4\) See his *Rihla*, pp. 3 and 114. For details about the security aspects, see supra, pp. 227-9.

\(^5\) Ibid., p. 4. The name of his friend was not mentioned by Ibn al-Tayyib.

\(^6\) For more details about this discussion presented by al-Wadghiri, see al-Taʾrif bi Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī, pp. 158-61.

\(^7\) Al-Afrānī, *Nuzhat al-Hādi*, p. 268.
3.12. Al-Ishāqi and his Riḥla

'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, known as al-Shārqi al-Ishāqi, was one of Sūltān Ismā'īl's closest allies, who were charged with putting down the rebellion of the inhabitants of Jabal Fāzār in 1104/1695.¹ He belonged to the Ait Ishāq tribe living in Malawiyya. He died in Morocco, sometime after 1150/1739.²

Al-Ishāqi was one of the officials accompanying Khunātha, the mother of Sūltān 'Abd Allah b. Sūltān Ismā'īl and her grandson Muḥammad, who later became King of Morocco,³ on their journey to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj in 1143/1732. Thus he recorded this royal journey in his Riḥla known as Riḥlat al-Wazīr al-Ishāqi. Al-Riḥla includes the first part of the journey, which ends by recording the places, which should be visited in Medina. While the second part, which should contain the return journey from al-Ḥijāz to Morocco, has been lost, or rather was not recorded by al-Ishāqi himself as al-Tāzī (who edited the part of Libya) believes because there are some brief and accurate indications which describe the warm reception the pilgrimage caravan received by the ruler of Tripoli al-Bāshā Ṭāḥam al-Qurmāli, during the return journey from al-Ḥijāz.⁴ This might be due to the fact that al-Ishāqi might had doubted that he would be able to complete recording this journey as result of his illness, so he described the two receptions together.⁵ Al-Jāṣir published topics related to al-Ḥijāz region in al-Arab Magazine.⁶ This Riḥla is still a manuscript at Khizāna al-Qarawiyin in Fes under no. 1258.

3.13. Abū Madyan and his Riḥla

Little is known about Abū Madyan 'Abd Allah b. Aḥmad al-Saghīr al-Rawdānī al-Dra‘ī, except that he studied at al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣirīyya in Tamkrūt.⁷ His Riḥla clarifies that he

³See infra, pp. 49-50.
⁴Al-Tāzī, Amir Maghrībi, p. 62.
⁵Ibid., p. 62.
⁶For example, see al-Arab, April and May 1985, vol. 1 and 2, pp. 108-18; June and July 1985, vol. 3 and 4, pp. 264-71; September and October 1985, vol. 7 and 8, pp. 528-37.
obtained some *ijāzāt* from some scholars proving that he completed some academic courses.¹ Two different dates are given for Abū Madyan's death, in 1157/1746,² or in 1160/1749.³

Abū Madyan journeyed to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj in 1152/1741 and recorded this journey in his *Rihla*, which is still a manuscript, having not been published. It is kept at al-Khizāna al-Āmma under no. 297 〈.

### 3.14. Al-Ḥudaykī and his *Rihla*

Abū ʿAbd Allah Muhammad b. Ahmad b. ʿAbd Allah al-Lakūsi al-Jazūli al-Ḥudaykī was born in Batsrāt in Wādi Lakūsa territory in 1118/1707. After attaining a basic education in his hometown, he journeyed to continue his studies in the schools of Sūs, then Fes, Tatuan, Meknes and Rabat. When he journeyed to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj in 1152/1741, he found a tremendous opportunity to study under renowned scholars in Mecca and Medina, then he stayed for a while in Cairo to attend academic lessons in Jāmiʿ al-Azhār as well as collect valuable books. He founded a school in his hometown, spending the remainder of his life as a teacher, a Ṣūfī scholar who taught *al-muridīn*, (disciples), the Ṣūfī path and an author who left more than thirty books on many academic fields,⁴ until he died in 1189/1777.⁵

Al-Ḥudaykī recorded the events of his journey to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj in 1152/1741. His *Rihla* entitled *Rihlat al-Ḥaramayn al-Shariʿayn*, is still a manuscript in three copies; the first of which is kept at al-Khizāna al-Āmma under no. 986 〈, the second is at al-Khizāna al-Malākiyya under no. 0405 and the third is kept at al-Khizāna al-Kubrā belonging to the University of al-Qarawīyīn in Fes.

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¹See his *Rihla*, pp. 192-3.
3.15. Al-Zabādi and his Riḥla

Al-Zabādi introduces himself in the introduction of his Riḥla saying that he is ʿAbd al-Majid b. ʿAli b. Muḥammad al-Mūḍhin called al-Zabādi b. ʿAlī al-Ṣūfī, stating a long list of his ancestors, until he reaches al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.1 He therefore, belonged to al-Shurafāʿ al-Hasaniyin2. His family was originally from the village Mañana which lies in al-Sūs territory in Morocco, after which they moved to Fes, where he was born in 1113/1693. He started his studies at an early stage of his life. He accompanied his father to al-Zāwiya and mosques where academic lessons were held, and he scarcely played with boys of his age, to such an extent that one of his teachers noted he never saw al-Zabādi play with boys in the mosque square. When he became a youth of thirteenth years, he joined lessons in various academic delivered by the scholars of Jāmiʿ al-Qarawiyin such as Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Fāsi, Muḥammad al-Misnāwi and Ṭāhir al-Sijilmāsi. After this then he journeyed to Egypt where he learned about the Ṣūfī order under the scholars of al-Azhar al-Sharif such as Muḥammad al-Ahmādī ʿAlawi and Sulaymān al-Tantāwi.3 He paid great attention to Arabic grammar and literature and consequently, was ordered by his Shaykh Muḥammad Fatḥā b. Qāsim Jassūs to start teaching in Jāmiʿ al-Qarawiyin, where a great number of students attended his lessons. He devoted himself to literature, whereas the other scholars dedicated themselves to religious knowledge.4 He also learned medicine until he became able to treat patients. Al-Qādirī explains that al-Zabādi was motivated to study medicine as a result of having been ill himself. Al-Qādirī also states that he himself was treated by al-Zabādi for three months while sick.5 He eventually died in Fes in 1163/1751.6

Al-Zabādi travelled to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥaǧj in 1158/1746 and recorded this journey in his Riḥla Bulūgh al-Marām bi al-Riḥla ilā Bayt Allah al-Ḥarām. The significance of this Riḥla is highly appreciated by al-Akhdār who states that although al-Zabādi’s Riḥla is shorter than al-ʿAyyāshi’s, it is not a less significant Riḥla. He then

1Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is the son of the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭima and his father ʿAlī is the Prophet Muḥammad’s cousin and the fourth Caliph.
2Which means that al-Zabādi can be traced back to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.
5Al-Qādirī, Nashr al-Mathānī, vol. 4, p. 78.
6Ibid., vol. 4, p. 80.
asserts that al-Zabādi's Rihla contains descriptions and more observations than al-`Ayyāshi's, and is distinguished by an easy and concise style, and not being overly decorated. In addition to this, his poetry displays his great talent and wonderful ability.\(^1\) Makāmān praises the literary style in which this Rihla was compiled, which has attracted researchers concerned with travel literature.\(^2\) This Rihla also included a long poem entitled Iṭḥāf al-Miskīn al-Nāṣik bi Bayān al-Marāhil wa al-Manāsik. It describes the road stages from Morocco to al-Hijāz. Al-Jāsir published the part of al-Hijāz region in al-`Arab Magazine.\(^3\) Al-Zabādi's Rihla is still in manuscript form and has not been published. There are two copies held at al-Khizāna al-`Āmma in Rabat under no. 1808 and 398 Ḍ.

3.16. Al-ʾĀmirī and his Rihla

Nothing is known about the life of the traveller Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj b. Manṣūr al-ʾĀmirī, except that he studied in Fes, then he moved to Tāzā where he worked as an imām and writer for al-Shaykh Muḥammad Fathā b. al-Ṭūzānī. Al-Ḥawwāt indicates in al-Sīr al-Zāhir that al-ʾĀmirī died in an East Arabian country in 1170/1662.\(^4\)

Al-ʾĀmirī performed al-Ḥajj and visited al-Qūds, (Jerusalem), in 1162/1750. He recorded his Rihla in the form of a long poem of 335 lines. This Rihla was published at the end of al-Mannūnī's book Min Ḥadīth al-Rakb al-Maghribī. It is found as a manuscript at al-Subayḥiyā Library in Salā under no. 3902.

3.17. Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām and his Rihla

Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbd Allah b. Nāṣir al-Draʾī was the greatest scholar in the Nāṣirī family, after [the traveller studied here] Ibn Nāṣir and his father. He attended scholars' lessons in Fes such as Muḥammad Banāní, Muḥammad al-Tāwīdī b. Sūda and [the traveller studied here] Muḥammad al-Ḥudayki, gaining several

\(^1\)See, al-Hayāt al-Adabiyya li al-Maghrib, p. 250.
\(^2\)See `al-Riḥlat al-Maghribiyā`, p. 181.
\(^3\)See al-ʿArab, year 12, January and February, vol. 7 and 8, pp. 526-60.
ijāzāt, which proves that he became well-informed, particularly in Prophetic Ḥadīth. He was honoured by Sūtān Sulaymān b. Muḥammad who entrusted to him a huge amount of money to give to the scholars of Egypt and al-Ḥijāz in each of his two journeys to perform al-Ḥa[j. Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām was very interested in collecting invaluable manuscripts and books from countries he visited. Little is known about Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, despite his being one of the greatest scholars and thinkers, because biographers who came after him ignored and neglected him as a consequence of his reputation for frankness and for fighting heterodoxies. He died in 1239/1823.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām journeyed to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥa[j in 1196/1783 and 1211/1798. He recorded these in two Rihlāt. The first, entitled al-Rihla al-Kubrā, is longer than the latter which is not our principal concern, because it was compiled beyond the centuries studied. His first Rihla is highly appreciated. Al-Akhḍar, for instance, notes that Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām emerges through his Rihla as an accurate observer, and a learned critic who wrote down significant notable observations and personal comments based on logical and objective examination. Al-Fāsi, also, considers Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's Rihla to be one of the most significant Rihlāt compiled in this field. This Rihla was summarised by al-ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm. Al-Jāsir also summarised and published some topics related to al-Ḥijāz. The original copy is kept in Rabat at al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya under no. 5658, and a copy at al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma under no. 2651.

1He was born in Sijilmāsa in 1180/1766 and became Sūtān of Morocco after the death of his brother al-Yazīd in 1206/1792. He died in Marrakech in 1238/1822. Al-Akhḍar, al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya, p. 360.
8See al-Jāsir, Mulakhās Rīḥātay Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām.
3.18. Al-‘Aynī and his Rihla

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Aynī al-Tūmānārī came from an educated family from the village of ‘Ayn al-Ṭalaba in Batazarwāt in Sūs. Al-Sūsī says that al-‘Aynī studied under the scholar Muḥammad al-Waskhīnī, during the eighth decade of the Hijrī century. Al-Sūsī, therefore, assumes that al-‘Aynī’s birth was prior to 1160/1749, saying that he was a great scholar, having expensive knowledge, as can be seen from his Rihla.1 He died in 1199/1786.2

Al-‘Aynī journeyed to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj in 1198/1785. He left a huge Rihla in consequence of inclusion of considerable quotations from the previous Rihlat of al-‘Ayyāshī, Ibn Nāṣir and particularly from Abū Madyan’s Rihla as al-‘Aynī states in his Rihla, saying that he depends on many quotations, mainly from the Rihla of the Shaykh and the jurist Abū Madyan b. Aḥmad al-Saghir al-Draʿī.3 Al-‘Aynī’s Rihla was summarised by Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-Būnīmānī, then al-Būnīmānī’s summary was published by Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Sūsī in al-Maṣā’il. Al-Sūsī says that he found out that al-‘Aynī’s Rihla was kept by al-‘Aynī’s relatives.4

Conclusion

This section concentrates on the travellers and their Rihlat in the main period studied. It is noticeable that, contrary to the preceding centuries, the counting of written travels in these two centuries is extremely difficult. This is due to the fact that the documented Rihlat were kept not only in public libraries but also in private collections, belonging to al-Zawāyā or the travellers’ families or relatives. This in addition to a number of recorded Rihlat, which are counted among the missing Rihlat, or have not been lost completely but they exist as a few fragments or paragraphs included in some general works. Therefore, an accurate count of al-Rihlat al-Ḥijāziyya is very difficult. However, the number of written travels in these centuries which we have found are few, they only number eighteen Rihlat. They are classified chronologically according to the date of the

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2Ibid., p. 300.
5Ibid., vol. 13, p. 299.
first journey to al-Ḥijāz. These are of Ibn Abī Mahlī (1002/1593), Ibn Malīḥ (1040/1631), al-Ḥaṣṣāsī (1059/1649), al-Murābīt (1069/1659), al-Rāfī and al-
Hashtūkī (1096/1685), Ibn Nāṣir (after 1096/1685), al-Qādirī (1100/1688), al-Yūsī
(1101/1690), Ibn al-Ṭayyib (1139/1728), al-Shāwī (1141/1730), al-Ishāqī
(1143/1732), Abū Madyan and al-Ḥuṭaykī (1152/1741), al-Zabādī (1158/1746), al-
Ḥārī (1162/1750), Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām (1196/1783) and al-ʿAynī (1198/1785).

The next two chapters are the first half of the focus of this study. They deal with the
poetry of Moroccan travellers in the two centuries studied in this research; in the first of
which the poetry is analysed according to its thematic features, while in the second
section, the poetry is investigated according to its artistic features.
Chapter three
The Poetry: Thematic Study

This chapter and the following chapter deal with the poetry of Moroccan travellers in the two centuries studied in this research. In this chapter the poetry is analysed according to its thematic features such as prophetic praise, Ṣūfīsm, other panegyric, description, yearning and complaint, al-īkhwāniyyāt (brotherly poems) and other themes. This thematic analysis is preceded by a brief introduction, an outline of the significant role of Ṣūfis with special emphasis on al-Zāwiya and its role in all aspects of life, and academic activities in particular, and the literary life in the period in which the travellers lived.

It should be noted that the poetry studied in this research is the poetry composed by the travellers themselves, and is included only in their Rihlāt. The poetry cited in their collections, or works and the poetry of non-travellers, which is included by the travellers in the Rihlāt are beyond the scope of this study, whose aim is to discuss and analyse travel literature, both in the form of prose and poetry, compiled by Moroccan travellers during their journeys to perform al-Hajj. Even the examples given in this chapter are carefully selected to insure that these poems were composed by the travellers themselves. Although most of the Moroccan travellers' Rihlāt include huge quotations, which seem almost like small poetry collections, it is easy to identify the author of the poems because in most of their writings, the travellers clearly distinguished between their own poems and prose and those compiled by other poets, or authors. They followed a clear method of citing the authors whose poems, or sayings were included in al-Rihla and with regard to the travellers' poems, they are often preceded by words, which indicate their origin such as “On this occasion I said or composed”. Before starting to analyse and investigate the travellers' poetry and prose, it is very important to begin with a summary of the literary and scientific activities in that period, as an attempt to give a clear and general picture of the environment, since environmental factors usually have a considerable influence on the academic production. Many characteristics of the literature, which are discussed in this chapter and the next, can not be discussed without knowing the various aspects of that period.

\footnote{For more details about notarizing the information quoted, see supra, pp. 250-3.}
1. The Social and Political Role of the Şūfis Zawāyā

Political life in Morocco during the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries was not stable, except for the era of Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, which lasted from 986/1578 until 1012/1603 and the era of Sultan Ismāʿīl, which lasted between 1082/1672 until 1139/1727. The rest of the time, the country witnessed long painful civil wars between the sons of al-Manṣūr and later, the sons of Ismāʿīl, as well as local leaders who participated in these wars, in addition to other events previously mentioned. Nevertheless, academic life did not suffer because although these troubles demolished the renowned centres of learning, such as Fes, they led to the flourishing of renowned Şūfis centres known as al-Zawāyā, most of them belonging to al-Shādhiliyya order, which is the major Şūfī order in North Africa. For instance the death of Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 1012/1603, which opened the door to civil war among his sons, is considered a turning point in al-Zawāyā activity, due to the emigration of great scholars from famous academic centres in cities like Jāmiʿ al-Qarawīyīn in Fes, to bedouin territories and villages as a safe scientific haven where al-Zawāyā such as al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya, al-Nāṣirīyya and al-ʿAyyāshiyya were located. These were regarded as the most renowned Zawāyā at that time. The number of scholars and students in al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya, for instance, in the second third of the eleventh A.H. century increased to thousands, housed in 1400 houses, with meals supplied free of charge by the leader of al-Zāwiya Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr. These Zawāyā played a great role in teaching and educating people and qualifying scholars to enrich the academic life by efforts and works. This flourishing of learning is evident in many works on various subjects.

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1See infra, chapter 2, section 2, pp. 47-9.
2See infra, p. 62.
3The spread of al-Shādhiliyya in Morocco was associated with the activities of the scholars Zarrūq (d. 899/1494), [see his biography in p. 43] and Muḥammad al-Jazāʿīl (d. 870/1464). When Zarrūq returned from Egypt where he was introduced to the doctrines of al-Shādhiliyya during his studies, he engaged in active propaganda of al-Shādhiliyya ideas and rituals, breathing fresh life into the order's spiritual heritage. His writing gained wide popularity among other orders. Al-Jazāʿīl was initiated into al-Shādhiliyya brotherhood after his return from Mecca and Medina where he stayed almost for forty years. Surrounded by numerous disciples and admirers, he settled and established his main Şīʿī Zāwiya in Afūghal in the Ašʿī territory. See A. Knysh, Islamic Mysticism, pp. 214 and 247. For some details about the shaykh Ibn Mashish who is seen as one of the principle masters of the founder of al-Shādhiliyya order, see supra, p. 150.
4For more details, see infra, pp. 46-8.
5For details about these Zawāyā, see infra, pp. 45, 48, 56-7.
6Hijji, al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya, p. 74.
7Ibid., pp. 48-9. See also supra, p. 77.
compiled by the Moroccan scholars including the travellers studied in this research. For example, al-Wadghiri states that al-Qādiri listed in his biography, *Itiqāt al-Durar*, more than two hundred and forty three works compiled by fifty-three scholars, and he wrote biographies of one hundred and ninety-one scholars during the period from 1100/1688 until 1180/1767 alone. Moreover, these scholars and their works, do not present the whole picture, as al-Qādiri omitted some scholars, including renowned scholars, such as the traveller Ibn al-Ṭayyib who is considered the Shaykh, (the leader) of authors and perhaps the most famous linguist in Moroccan history, leaving more than sixty works. In addition to that, al-Qādiri did not list all the works of those scholars he included, but simply gave examples of a few of them as al-Wadghiri stated. The traveller al-Yūsī for instance, left thirty-seven books as ‘Abbās al-Jarrārī listed, but al-Qādiri referred to six works only. Thus, it is thought that the number of scholars and writers was probably at least double those included by al-Qādiri. Al-Zawāyā impressed the stamp of the Sufism on educational life, as will appear later when we discuss and investigate the characteristic features of the travellers’ literature. On the social side, al-Zawāyā offered a wonderful service by providing free accommodation and meals for poor and stranger people, spreading virtues and countering corruption. Therefore, the Sufi leaders became an important factor of social and political life. They acted as mediators between warring parties and tribes and frequently stepped in to protect the local agricultural population from their depredations. Moreover, when the Muslims were expelled from Andalusia by the Christians in the tenth/sixteenth century, the latter went further and occupied some parts of Morocco, particularly coastal areas and cities in the south. The Waṭṭāsiyya State was not strong enough to protect the country. Al-Zawāyā therefore intervened in political affairs and the men of al-Zawāyā took the lead in fighting and encouraging

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3See religious verse, entreaty, *al-Hagiga al-Muḥamadiyya* and other Sufi ideas on pp. 80-100 and 145-54.
4Ḥijji, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾiyya*, p. 49. Ḥijji says that food was served by the leader of al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾiyya Muhammad b. Abū Bakr to about seven thousand people daily, during a year when the cost of living was very high. We may feel that the number is exaggerated, however, this statement presents a general picture of how much these Zawāya perform a magnificent social role.
6Al-Waṭṭāsiyya State was established by Muḥammad al-Shaykh in 876 and lasted until the last Caliph Abū Ḥasan was killed in a battle against al-Saḍī army in Tadla in 961/1553. They failed to unify Morocco, where many parts of which were ruled by Spanish, Portuguese or local rulers such as Banū Marīn, Banū Rāshid and al-Saḍiyyin. The Sufi activities prospered considerably and great number of Zawāyā were established in the era of this State. For more details see, Ḥarakāt, *al-Maghirib ‘Abra al-Tārikh*, pp. 168-237.
people to defend their country against the invaders. They managed to achieve a crucial victory against the Portuguese and retook occupied areas. Then they appointed al-Sharif al-Qā'im al-Sa'di as the first Sa'di ruler of the country in 915/1510. In addition, the Sufi scholars and leaders of al-Zawāyā, such as [the traveller studied here] Ibn Abi Mahli, Muḥammad al-'Ayyāshī and Muḥammad al-Ḥājj al-Dilā'i, were the most intense leaders of the rebellion against the state in that period of time.²

2. The Literary Movement

Literature occupied an important position in the era of the Sa'di State (962-1074/1555-1663). As a result of the Sa'di Caliphs' interest in poetry, they founded poetic aswäq,³ in particular on the prophet's birthday, in places such as Fes, Marrakech and al-Moḥammadia. Al-Dilā'iyyin imitated them in their Zāwiya and so did others in various places. Poetry was recited not only in public places but even in the assemblies of judges and scholars as well as on the battle field. There was plenty of literary activity due to the great number of writers and poets even from the Atlas Mountains, Sūs and rural areas.⁴ In addition, the Sufi Zawāyā paid considerable attention to literature. For example, it is generally agreed that in al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya, learning reached its highest point, surpassing Fes in the excellence of its education, particularly in literary and linguistic studies, to the extent that 'Abd Allah Kannūn argued that it was the solid linguistic foundation in al-Zāwiya where al-Yūsi (one of the travellers studied in this research) studied that led to the literary revival after his death.⁵ Most scholars of al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya were writers and poets and many of them taught their students literary lessons based on well-known works, such as poetic collections, the famous al-Maqāmāt, including al-Ḥariri's Maqāmāt, and al-Qazwini's Talkhis al-Miftāh as well.⁶ Poetry writing flourished to an extent that it might be said there was no educated man in that era who did not compose poetry.⁷ Poems of prophetic commendation including Karb b.

¹Hijji, al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya, pp. 24-7. For some details about the Sa'di State, see infra, p. 47.
²For more details, see infra, pp. 49 and 54.
³These are meeting-places for poets to declaim their poems.
⁴Hijji, al-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyya, vol. 1, p. 49.
⁵See Hijji, al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya, pp. 74-5.
⁶Ibid., p. 79.
⁷Al-Wadghiri, al-Tarīf bi Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi, p. 49.
Zuhayr's *Bānat Su‘ād (al-Burda)* and al-Būṣīri's *al-Burda* were studied in *al-Zawāyā*. Poetry constituted a significant part of their life and in particular, in Şūfi's life. It was taken as *wird* or *dhikr* to be recited at certain times in *al-Zawāyā* and mosques and at wedding ceremonies. As will be shown throughout this chapter and the coming one, almost all the travellers who studied and taught in these *Zawāyā* were poets and their *Rihlät* included many of their poems. Moreover, some of them, such as al-Āmīrī and al-Murābīṭ composed their *Rihlät* in poetic form. Al-Yūsī was a creative poet and he claimed, “If I wished to speak only in verse, I could do so.”

3. The Poetic Themes

The *Rihlät* were compiled in order to record the incidents and news of the journey that were made primarily to perform *al-Hajj* and visit the Prophet's mosque and his grave and secondly, to meet renowned scholars and attend their lessons. Consequently, we find that the poetry composed by the travellers, most of whom were originally Şūfi scholars, is characterised by certain themes connected to the aim of this journey. Most of this poetry is religious, consisting of supplication and entreaty to Allah, prophetic commendations, praise and entreaty to the kin of the Prophet's house and his companions, as well as praise and entreaty to scholars and Şūfi *awliyā* (pious men). Other themes include pure praise, description, yearning and complaint, satire and *al-Ikhwāniyāt* (brotherly communication).

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1. He was a poet of repute in pre- and (mainly) early Islamic times, owing his fame to the poem *al-Burda*, which addressed to the Prophet apologizing after having satirized Islam. The prophet accepted his excuse, rewarding him with a Burda (mantle) which gave the poem its name. T. Bauer, ‘Ka‘b ibn Zuhayr’ in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, vol. 2, p. 421.

2. His full name is Sharaf al-Din Abū °Abd Allah Muhammad al-Būṣīri of Berber origin (born in 608/c. 1212. and d. 694/c. 1294). He was An Egyptian author of poems in praise of the Prophet including his famous poem *al-Burda*, which gave his great lasting fame. For more details about this poem, see C. E. Bosworth, ‘al-Buṣīrī’, in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, vol. 1, p. 163.


4. For the significance of *al-dhikr*, see infra, p. 57.

Although themes such as Sufism and entreaty dominate most of the poetry included in *al-Rihla*, they are not the subject of separate poems but were included within verse of prophetic commendation and praise of the Prophet's family and companions or Sufi Awliyā' and others.

The amount of poetry composed on one theme varied, according to the nature of the journey. Themes such as prophetic commendation, *Ikhwāniyāt* and praise or entreaty of dead or alive Sufi Awliyā' and others, predominate over other themes including description, yearning and complaint, which appear in fewer poems. Satire came in a few lines within verse of other themes.

### 3.1. Religious verse

The travellers directed entreaties and supplications to humans such as the Prophet, his family, his companions, scholars and Awliyā', in order to achieve their desires instead of praying directly to the All Mighty creator. A massive number of supplications and entreaties are directed to the dead, who cannot benefit themselves let alone others, while very few poems include supplication and entreaty to Allah. However this seems less strange when one knows the basis on which Sufism was established. As well as glorifying Allah, Sufis love the Prophet and the kin of his house and Sufi Awliyā' to the extent that they sometimes elevate them to the status of Allah, in order to be as intermediaries between them and Allah, as in examples given below.

#### 3.1.1. Supplication and Entreaty to Allah

As indicated above, although the travellers journeyed to worship Allah by performing *al-Hajj* and *Umra* rituals, we find that only a few poems, perhaps not more than five, were compiled on this theme. Al-ʿAyyāshī for instance, whose *Rihla* included a great deal of his poems on various themes did not compose on this theme except for two lines in his *Rihla* of two volumes. He composed them while his colleagues were trying to persuade him to delay his journey to perform *al-Hajj* until the next year:

```
فوض الأمر إلى من حكمه
نافذ في كل ورد وصدر
وإذا ما نازعك الوعوم فقل
كل شيء بقضاء وقادر
```

Even the three poems he composed to supplicate and entreat Allah, ended with entreaty to the Prophet, which reflects the domination of this belief as a consequence of his Sufi

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1 Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 8.
education. For example, he prays to Allah in the holy places showing his weakness, humbleness and submission to him, asking for forgiveness and benefaction:

Then he ends this poem by invoking the Prophet as a means:

The most obvious example of entreaty to Allah might be al-Ămiri’s Rihla, which starts with advice to the pilgrim prior to leaving home. The poet advises the pilgrim to provide provisions for his family before leaving and at the same time trust in Allah, because his father and brothers might became tired of this responsibility. Then he asserts that Allah is the only provider, generous and most powerful:

When a lake in Turkey named Rüdis was blockaded by an enemy and the pilgrims could not continue their way to al-Ĥijăz, al-Răfî entreated and supplicated Allah to end this tragic crisis and enable them to leave the Lake safely:

---

1Ibid., vol. 2, p. 212.
2Ibid., vol. 2, p. 212.
3Al-Ămiri’s Rihla, p. 89. For more details about this poem, see supra, pp. 130-2.
3.1.2 Prophetic Commendations and Şûfîsm

A point worth stressing at the beginning of this discussion is that the Şûfîs we refer to are those among the Moroccan travellers; their beliefs were very different from the religious Şûfîsm which reached its peak in the fourth/tenth century with Şûfi thinkers and poets such as al-Ḥallâj (d. 309/922), Ibn al-Fârid (d. 632/1235), and Ibn ʿArabî (d. 638/1240). These held some beliefs, which, "Deny the principle of unity on which Islam is based", such as wihdat al-wujûd, (pantheism) al-ittiḥâd, (union) and al-iu1ü1 (immanentism). In addition to this, their poems were characterised by obscurity and the use of symbols. However, the main stream of Şûfîsm prevailing in Morocco at that time was that of al-Shâdîliyya, which was much closer to Sunni belief. However, Moroccan Şûfîsm was based on the glorification of Allah, and submissiveness to him, asking for his forgiveness, in addition to the love of the Prophet and a genuine wish to imitate his words and deeds. This led in most cases to exaggeration in asking him to achieve things no one can do except Allah, as will be mentioned later. Furthermore, they favoured asceticism and renunciation in life.

Although the impact of Şûfîsm was felt in all aspects of academic life because education was based on Şûfîsm and most scholars and poets were originally Şûfîs, the travellers

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1 Al-Râfiʿi's Rihla, p. 104.
3 These three doctrines mean, as R. A. Nicholson tries to explain in The Mystics of Islam, (p. 149) that the unitive state can be described as, "The culmination of the simplifying process by which the soul is gradually isolated from all that is foreign to itself, from all that is not god...", referring to (p. 155) that theory of Man is God, "According to Ibn ʿArabî, the eternal and the phenomenal are two complementary aspects of the One, each of which is necessary to the other. The creatures are the external manifestation of the creator, and Man is God's consciousness (ṣîr) as revealed in creation." Regarding hulûl as can be understood (in p. 157) from the Abu Nasr al-Sarrâj's criticism in Kitâb al-Lumaʿ to Şûfîs who believe that, "When they pass away from their qualities they enter into the qualities of God. This leads to incarnation (hulûl) or to the Christian belief concerning Jesus." Then al-Sarrâj (p. 158) refutes those who believe in ittiḥâd doctrines in which they, "Have abstained from food and drink, fancying that when a man's body is weakened it is possible that he may lose his humanity and be invested with the attributes of divinity." Then Nicholson refers to the definition of Hujwîrî regarding union, "As concentration of thought upon the desired object." Giving examples of Majnûn Laylâ [living in the Umayyad period] who saw only her Laylâ in the whole world, and all created things assumed the form of his beloved Laylâ, also, the cell of Bâyazîd who when he was asked by someone who came to him, "Is Bâyazîd here?" He answered, "Is any one here but God?" These doctrines are taken from the Nestorian Christian theory that the divinity (lîḥûd) unites with the humanity (nâsûh).
4 For details about this order, see infra, pp. 62 and 76.
5 Hijji, al-Zâwiya al-Dilâʾîyya, p. 50. See the examples given in chapter five on pp. pp. 202-3 and 211.
did not compose in their *Rihlah*, separate poems on Sufi themes. However, the influence of Sufism is apparent in their poems, in the use of Sufi expressions and in the reflection of Sufi beliefs, particularly in prophetic commendation and praise of the Prophet's family, his companions and Sufi Awliya'.

The travellers paid considerable attention to prophetic commendations. For instance al-Murābit followed his father's steps in his interest in composing prophetic commendations. Al-Murābit devoted himself to this poetic theme and never diverted to any other. He not only praised the Prophet but also entreated him. Al-'Ayyāshi, also, dedicated most of his poetry to prophetic commendations, composing more than forty-two poems on this theme. He said in one of his poems that true praise is the praise of the Prophet, the praise of others is satire:

\[
\text{فَما المَدَّحِ إلَّا ما يَخَلَص جَنَابهُ وَمَدَّحُ سَوَاءَ في الْحَقِيقَةِ كَافِعُهُ.}
\]

Another sign which indicates the travellers' interest in prophetic commendations is the imitation of the example of *al-Burda*, compiled by al-Būṣīrī, which is regarded as the most famous prophetic commendation so far.

Thus, if this poetic theme occupied a key position in the life of the travellers, as Sufi scholars, as mentioned above, it is to be expected that the travellers' *Rihlah* would be filled with prophetic commendations. These *Rihlah* were like diaries which recorded important religious duties including performing *al-Hajj* and visiting the Prophet's mosque and his grave. *Al-Rihla* writings start from the first day of the journey, or even before, and continue till the day of the travellers' return. So, prophetic commendation is one of the three dominant themes in the poems.

Prophetic commendation poems, in *al-Rihla*, were not isolated examples composed for a special occasion such as the Prophet's birthday celebrations which were organized by some governments and public organizations every year. Rather, the travellers turned to this theme on various occasions. For example, when they saw a pilgrims' caravan leave for al-Hijāz, and for some reasons they were not able to accompany them. However,

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they wrote of their wish that they could do so, and when they were able to do so, they celebrated this great opportunity by composing prophetic commendations from the beginning of the journey until they came near or saw, or entered or left the holy places.

Prophetic commendations usually included various general matters related to the Prophet such as the longing to visit the Prophet's grave and the holy places in Mecca and Medina, happiness on reaching them, performance of the rituals of visiting the Prophet's mosque and grave and the moment of leaving Medina. In addition they described the Prophet's character and miracles. A few poems consisted solely of an account of his great characteristic of the Prophet. These were to be read at his grave, believing they would bring a baraka for the poet.

A further significant point is that the praise of the Prophet was mostly used as a prelude to entreary to him, in the hope of achieving something which can not be granted by anyone, but by Allah alone, not even the Prophet.

The first meaning which is expressed is the amount of suffering endured by the poet traveller as a result of his longing to go to the holy places, a wish which can not be achieved at that moment for some reason such as poverty, distance, or the accumulation of sins. For instance al-`Ayyāshi, after praising the Prophet asks how he can manage to go to visit the Prophet's grave, since there is such a long distance and huge mountains between them. It is an inaccessible aspiration because of his considerable sins and lack of finance ability. Al-`Ayyāshi asserts that he has done everything in his power to achieve his wishes, but is unable to do so because of being subject to so many sins:

Al-Zabādi expresses his longing to visit the holy lands in two poems. The first is loaded with names of places in al-Ḥiṣāz. Typical Sufi themes appear in this poem, such as passionate love for the places where the Prophet lived and moved around:

1Al-`Ayyāshi’s Riḥla, vol. 1, p. 11.
Al-Zabādi ordered pilgrims to give the Prophet his regards and apologised for not coming to visit his grave. He suggests the light of the sun and the full moon were created from the Prophet’s light. This idea and expression are often found in the work of Şūfi writers. Al-Zabādi says:

Some poets content themselves with describing pilgrim caravans leaving, which have moved their longing to go to the holy places, without mentioning the reasons which prevent them from doing so. For instance al-Zabādi says:

Travellers describe their joy as they get close to Medina, the site of the Prophet’s Mosque and grave and other places where he lived. Al-Zabādi says:

---

1 Al-Zabādi’s Rihla, p. 75.
2 This issue is discussed in detail in chapter four, see supra, pp. 149-52.
4 Al-Zabādi’s Rihla, p. 320.
5 Ibid., p. 320. Al-Zabādi mentioned in the last line to the ṭajd state which will be discussed later in detail as Şūfī ritual on p. 209.
Al-'Ayyāshi paints an attractive picture, whereby he portrays their camels as sharing the happiness at approaching Medina, as follows:

After praising the Prophet, he says that pilgrims' souls were about to fly as result of longing for Medina, but their bodies bound them:

Al-Murābit describing in verse his journey to perform al-Hajj praises the Prophet and describes the feelings of the traveller when he arrives at Medina and enjoys himself by moving around the places where the revelation was revealed to the Prophet from heaven:

---

1Ibid., p. 98.
3Ibid., vol. 1, p. 232.
4Al-Murābit’s Ribla, pp. 121.
Then, he says:

When the travellers stand at the Prophet's grave to greet him, they describe that great moment. For instance, Ibn Nāšir asks his eyes to enjoy seeing the grave:

Poets composed a large number of poems while leaving Medina, expressing their sadness at leaving and his desire to return again in the future. For example al-Zabādī says:

Ibn Nāšir describes his sorrow at leaving the Prophet's place and says that he will never be happy, far away from him:

Then he wishes that he will come closer again to the Prophet, saying:

Ibid., p. 122.


Al-Zabādī's Rihla, p. 138.

Praise of the Prophet appears sometimes within poems on other themes. For instance al-Āmīrī composed a poem containing a description of the road of al-Haǧj. When he reached the Medina section, he enumerated the qualities of the Prophet using superlative as in the followings:

بلد المصطفى الرسول شفيع
اول الخلق أعدل الناس أركى
أحرص الخلق أعظم أركى الخلق
أعلم من هم علماء

Sometimes the Prophet was praised by poems devoted solely to extolling his virtues. For example, some poets sent their poems from Morocco, or composed them when they arrived at Medina, or stood at the Prophet's grave, or when they left. Al-Zābādī composed such a poem to be recited at the Prophet's grave for a baraka, according to his belief. This poem is full of Sufi meanings, such as that light was created from his light and souls were created from his soul. He ended his poem by asserting that even if all seas were made of ink, it would not be enough to enumerate a tenth of a tenth of the Prophet's virtues:

رسول حياه الله كل فضيلة
وأولاه ما أولاهم من غاية القرب
خليغه في خلقه وحجابه وآسباً سراً في الكون وآياته في السرب
فمن نوره الألوان والسر سره
ومن روته الأرواح والطين للطيب
فلو أن تحيا الأرواح حزراً وما ها
لضاعت ولم يبلغ من المجد والثنا

---

1Ibid., p. 122. Also see the poem of Ibn al-Ṭayyib given as an example of psychological imagery on p. 161.
2Al-Āmīrī’s Riḥla, p. 98.
3As mentioned above, this Sufi theory is known as al-Haqqa al-Muḥammadiyya or al-Nūr al-Muḥammadi, is investigated in detail in the next chapter, see, supra, p. 149-52.
4Al-Zābādī’s Riḥla, p. 108.
When travellers come to those places in which the Prophet lived, migrated and fought his enemies, some of them were not content with the praise of the Prophet, but went so far as to express a wish that they had been alive at the time of the Prophet, to participate in his migration to Medina and his battles against the unbelievers. Al-Zabādi says in one of his poems:

\[
\text{فَلَوْ كَتَبَ فِي زَمَنِ الْمَصْطَفِي}
\]
\[
\text{وَهَا جَرَتْ مَعَهُ أَهْلُ الْجُفَا}
\]
\[
\text{وَأَرْكِبَ عَنْهُ عِنْدَمَا أَرَادُ}
\]
\[
\text{رَمَاهُ وَأَدْمَاهُ مَنْ قَدْ جَفَا}
\]
\[
\text{وَلِمَ أُقْصِرَ بُيْدَرَ عَنَّ الْعِرْفَةِ}
\]

As already mentioned, a large number of prophetic commendation poems were used by travellers as an introduction to entreaty in which they told the Prophet about everything that worried them, and asked him to help them achieve their religious and worldly aims. They asked the Prophet (and others, as will be mentioned later) to grant favours that cannot be granted by anyone except Allah. This is a result of Şūfis' exaggerated attachment to the Prophet, awliyā' and scholars, which led them to fall into a dangerous attitude which contradicts pure Islamic belief. Thus, entreaty was a common subject in al-Dila'i poetry produced by scholars of the renowned al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya to which most of the travellers belonged. It is distinguished by servility and obedience, and the poets sometimes elevate the Prophet to Allah's level, entreating him as they would entreat Allah. It is astonishing to think that al-Dilā'iyyin loved the Prophet to such a great degree that this love might dominate their love for Allah. This is a subject typical of al-Zāwiya writing and falls within its aims and attitudes. For instance, al-Murābiṭ says:

\[
\text{الَّذِي الْأَحْدَ وَمُحَمَّدٌ وَالْمَصْطَفِي}
\]
\[
\text{فِي فَعْذَةٍ وَتَلَوْدَ بَيْدَمَاهُ}
\]
\[
\text{وُسَلَ الْرَّهَّامِ لِكَ الْهَيْاَنِ فِي غَدِّ}
\]
\[
\text{وَالْوَالِدِينِ وَجَمْهُلَةِ الْأَلَابِ}
\]

Al-Zabādi expresses his sorrow to the Prophet, seeking for aid:

\[
\text{يا أَكَرَمَ الْخَلْقِ مَسْكِينَ قدّ اكْتَطَعَ أَسْبَابَهُ مِنْ سُوَى عَلَيْكَ فَاسْتَجْبَبَ}
\]

1Ibid., p. 58.
2Al-Saqqāṭ, al-Shī’r al-Dīlā‘i, p. 126.
3Al-Murābiṭ’s Riḥla, p. 121.
Some travellers also carried friends' messages, in order to give the Prophet their regards and entreat him to achieve their wishes and demands.² Al-Zabādi says:

أيا سيد السادات في المجم والعرب
وصاحبنا الخلفاء بالشروق والغرَب
فأكررهم إكرارا أكرم مرسل
وقد كان يفاضي في توصله المجم

3.1.3. Praise and Entreaty of the Prophet's Kin and his Companions

The significant point worth stressing at the beginning here is that entreaty of persons, whether prophets, scholars, or pious men is not often direct entreaty, which means asking them directly to achieve what the supplicant wants, but is sometimes indirect, the prophet or pious men are being viewed as mediators between the supplicant and Allah.

Praise and entreaty of the Prophet's kin and his companions come sometimes in separate poems and sometimes included within poems containing various subjects. This is because some of the travellers composed long poems explaining what the pilgrim, or visitor should do when he arrives at Mecca and Medina, such as visiting the graves of the Prophet's kin and his companions. Entreaty is a predominant theme, even of the praise poems. Praise poems were sometimes composed as an access to entreaty.

The travellers praised and entreated the kin of the family of Prophet, Ahl al-Bayr, such as 'Ali b. Abī Ţalib and Nafisa, daughter of al-Hasan b. Zayd b. al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. Abī Ŧalib. Travellers praised and entreated the first two Caliphs, Abū Bakr and 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, in addition to some of the Prophet's companions.

Ṣūfism is full of such symbolic expressions of reunion, passion and fondness.⁴ Al-Zabādi praised the Prophet's family in two separate poems. In one of them, he states his love for

¹Al-Zabādi's Rihla, p. 107.
²Details about the forbidden and lawful types of entreaty according to the Sunni teaching are given in the coming chapter see supra, pp. 145-9.
³Al-Zabādi's Rihla, p. 111.
them by relating a wonderful symbolic Sūfi love story, in which the poet writes of his longing to meet his mistress:

Then al-Zabādī uses this story as an access to praise the Prophet’s family, maintaining that their virtues cannot be counted and there is irrelevant:

Then he emphasizes that their love is obligatory as recommended by the Prophet and that their merits were stated by the Qur’ān, so any praise beside that is immaterial:

Then al-Zabādī singles out for the praise of Fāṭima al-Zahrā’, the daughter of the Prophet, saying that her qualities surpassed those of all people whether they are dead or still alive:

---

1Al-Zabādī’s Riḥla, p. 180. For more details about this poem, see supra, p. 141.

2Ibid., p. 181.
After that, al-Zabādi uses praise as an access to entreat Fāṭima and her sons for guidance and recovery for himself and his family. Sūfī imagery\(^2\) appears when he expresses his deep love for them by mentioning cups of full of passion:

\[
\text{Al al-bīt mā lā tājūr \\
es lā lā rūshdād fāṣībūr \\
tqūdūn ī mā fīhā nūr \\
wālā wālā dī wālā bīḥī  \\
kūnus wulasūmī fīlālādīr.}\]

Al-Zabādi praises Nafisa, daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. ʿAbī Ṭalīb, asserting that no matter how bad the circumstances are, there is no need for fear, because he believes that anyone who comes to the grave of Nafisa will gain what he desires:

\[
\text{wa rā‘ bālā sūtāt ʿanāsā \\
īn ḥṣān al-sūtāt bīnṣ \\
zhī cīn ārāf ʿalānāl nūṣīsā \\
wīryī mī sāḥāh tīnīsā.}\]

Al-ʿAyyāshi also, praises ʿAlī b. ʿAbī Ṭalīb and entreats in him as a means to achieve his hope to return home safely and swiftly:

\[
\text{ala ʿalā ʿabābīn yā fārās al-harb \\
wīyā qīdūdī aṭālālīn yā ṭalū lālārūk \\
qāsūtī yā zūlī bīnī wīyāmūn \\
līnṣī lī fīmīdī \(\text{fīlī fīhī ʾafrāh yīṣīr ʿalīhīm-fīrāqātī ṣāhī ṭārūkū} \)  \\
wa lādīlā īdārī ṭālīlī hā ṣāhī  \\
\text{ibid., p. 182.}\]

\(^1\)For more details about this imagery, see supra, pp. 139 and 153-4.

\(^2\)Al-Zabādi’s Rīḥā, p. 182. For more explanation, see supra, pp. 141-2.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 180.
Al-Murābit praises and entreats the Prophet’s companions, in particular, the first two caliphs, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, then the Prophet’s uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Al-Murābit’s poems reflect the attitude of al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya; entreaty characterises most poems produced by its scholars, including al-Murābit, who praises and entreats the first Caliph, saying that he does so because he is the second best man, after the Prophet in the whole world, mentioning that Abū Bakr was the unique companion of the Prophet when he emigrated from Mecca to Medina:

فلات أكرم من حي مضرعا
والثالث من نسمامي أملا
أو لست ثانيا من خير من وثني اثرا
غيث بغى ذور الأنفاك
عظممت مزايا عن التعداد
وفركة الضخم العري نجمد
وغيرني وأحبني من كل ممتعة تخشى عواقب يوم تناد

Then al-Murābit moves to praise the second Caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb:

وإذا ظفرت ممن الخليفة الملي
فادي لصاحبه نزل في فؤاد
في الحجيرة الشما بلا استعاد
عمر الضي عليها وثالث من غذا
ونصره في أزمة وجهاد

He goes on to entreat him, describing him as most generous to those who seek his aid:

ومؤمل في كل خطب قد دها
فدع الرحال بابه متوذا
بقبابه تعصم من الأكبد
فلهو أكرم من أجل ميما

---

2 Al-Murābit’s Rihla, p. 123.
3 Ibid., p. 123.
4 Ibid., p. 123.
Al-Murābit continues praising and entreating the rest of the Prophet’s companions at the graves of al-Baqi‘ and al-Shuhadā’ in Uhud and singles out the Prophet’s uncle, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib:

Then he states his deep love for them, asking them to intercede on the Day of Judgment, though in reality, the Prophet is the only person who has the right to intercede for people on that day through the permission of Allah, and those who have the permission to do this, Al-Murābit says:

3.1.4. Praise and Entreaty of Prophets and Scholars

The Moroccan travellers desired to visit bilâd al-Shām where a large number of graves of the Prophet’s companions are situated and then Palestine, Qūds (Jerusalem), the site of al-Qūds al-Sharīf, and the graves of the prophets, al-Khalīl (Hebron) where ʿIbrāhīm

1Ibid., p. 124.

2According to orthodox Islamic teaching the only known human personality with the ability to intercede is the Prophet Muḥammad on the day of Judgment and even this is only through the permission of Allah as in the Ḥadīth reported by Abū Hūrayra that the Prophet said, “There is for every apostle a prayer which is granted, but every prophet showed haste in his prayer. I have, however, reserved my prayer for the intercession of my Ummah [sic] nation on the day of resurrection, and it would be granted, if Allah so willed, in case of everyone amongst Muḥammad’s Ummah, [sic] provided he does without associating any thing with Allah.” Muslim, Sāḥīḥ Muslim, trans. Şiddiqi, vol. 1, p. 134. no. 389. Apart from this there is no evidence that a particular person has the ability to intercede with Allah no matter how religious or pious he might be, except if he has the permission of Allah to do this, and therefore, it is not something which would be known generally as it is only known by Allah as said in the Qur’an, surat Tāhā, verse 109, “On that day [of Judgment] no intercession shall avail, except the one for whom the Most Beneficent (Allah) has given permission and whose word is acceptable to Him.” See also, surat Sābīt, verse 23. See Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur’ān, trans. M. Khan and M. al-Hilali, pp. 456 and 608.

3Al-Murābit’s Ṭibla, p. 125.
al-Khalil is buried and Bayt Lahm (Bethlehem), the home of the Prophet Jesus's grave. As consequence, they composed some poems that praise and entreat those prophets. In addition, it was customary for the travellers to read poems of praise at these graves, or leave them to be read by others, to seek a baraka. Al-'Ayyashi, for instance, says that during his stay in Hebron, he composed a poem praising the Prophet Ibrahim al-Khalil as a means to obtain his hopes and left it with the scholar, Ibrahim al-Marwānī at al-Khalil's Mosque, in order to attain a blessing by having it read in that blessed place. Al-'Ayyashi says that he has come to the father of prophets, seeking for assistance to attain his hopes:

\[
\text{ألا يا خليل الله جئتكم زائراً}
\]

\[
\text{بقوه بين التوفيق والشوق سائناً}
\]

\[
\text{ودك كنت قدما أرجح الوصلها أنا}
\]

\[
\text{وقفت بباب الجود بابك خاضعاً}
\]

\[
\text{ذللا مبيبا حامداً لله شاكراً}
\]

\[
\text{أبا الرسول عنك أن ترد حواسراً}
\]

\[
\text{لأم القرى لما انتشلت الأورى}
\]

Then he indicates that al-Khalil was the first person to honour his guests, and that now he is al-Khalil's guest, he is therefore fully confident that this generosity will lead to his being granted what he desires, such as wide knowledge, a long life, and health, in addition to being a righteous man:

\[
\text{وانت خليل الله أول من قرأ}
\]

\[
\text{ضيوفاً وقد أصبحت ضيفاً حاضراً}
\]

\[
\text{واى قرأى أن أجاب بك ك ما}
\]

\[
\text{طلبت من الموالي وانت كنت آثراً}
\]

Then he lists his hopes:

\[
\text{تسله بما قلبا مبيبا مقارناً}
\]

\[
\text{وكأريا طوبل بالعروفا عامراً}
\]

\[
\text{وعافية مقرونة كل خظة}
\]

\[
\text{له الا قبر ل alm غافراً}
\]

---

1 Al-'Ayyashi's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 347.
2 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 348.
3 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 348.
Al-ʿAyyāshi, when he passed a grave in bilād al-Zāb in Algeria alleged to be the grave of an unknown prophet called Khālid b. Sinān, praised him and entreated him to protect him from dangers and to forgive his misdeeds. He says:

![Arabic text]

As already mentioned, praise poems were sometimes composed as an access to entreaty. Al-ʿAyyāshi frankly states at the end of this poem, that he praised the Prophet Khālid in order that he should reward him by granting his wishes and giving him access to paradise:

![Arabic text]

Visiting graves of scholars and Awliyā’ is a common theme in the travellers’ Rihlāt. They express desire to start their journeys by visiting such graves in order to obtain the baraka resulting from entreating the Awliyā’ to achieve their goals on the journey.²

Al-Zabādi, for instance, visited the grave of the renowned Sufi scholar known as al-Badawi, when he was staying in Egypt on his way to al-Ḥijāz, and he praised and

---

¹ Al-ʿAyyāshi states that he could not manage to find any information about the Prophet Khālid b. Sinān except that he was a prophet from the Arabs, died in al-Ḥijāz, and in another narration that he was not buried in al-Ḥijāz, but he was carried by a camel. It might be suggested that the camel reached this place. Al-ʿAyyāshi confirms that the most correct view is what he was told by his Shaykh al-Sijistāni, that Ibn Sinān is one of the three messengers who were send by the Prophet Jesus to the inhabitants of the village referred to in the Qur’ān, (ṣūrat, Yāsin, verse 13), this opinion is supported by those who say that Bilād al-Zāb is made of the inhabitants of the village. See al-ʿAyyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 2, p. 414. In fact this was mentioned by al-Masʿūdī in Murūj al-Dhahab, vol. 1, p. 67 and vol. 2, p. 226. However, Ibn Kathir mentions in Tafsir al-Qur’an al-Karīm (Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, [n.d.]), vol. 3, p. 482 that the messengers of Jesus were Ṣādīq, Ṣaddūq and Shālūm, or in another narration Shamʿūn, Yūḥannā and Būls, and they were send to Antākya in Turkey.


³ This matter is discussed in detail in the fifth chapter, see supra, pp. 203-6.

⁴ He is Ṣāmīd al-Badawi was born in Fes in 596/1199-1200. He performed al-Ḥajj while he was a child, and then later he visited Iraq but returned to Ṭanṭā in Egypt where he lived and died in 675/1276. The Sufi order of the Aḥmadiyya, which is named after him, is immensely popular in Egypt. For more details,
entreated him. This poem was read, as usual at al-Badawi's grave. Al-Zabādī exaggerates his praise and entreaty of al-Badawi to an unacceptable degree, urging people who are looking for assistance just to come to visit this scholar's grave, no matter how they come, across the sea or the desert, because they will undoubtedly be saved and all their desires will be achieved. Al-Zabādī says:

Then al-Zabādī praises al-Badawi by saying that the sun is jealous of his light and the moon is ashamed of the perfection of his dominion, urging people to entreat him:

Then al-Zabādī enumerates the qualities of al-Badawi, again saying that he has achieved all moral virtues and moral constitutions:

Al-Zabādī asserts that he was so overwhelmed by the occasion, that he cannot find sufficient praise to extol him, saying:


1Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 160.

2Ibid., p. 160.

3Ibid., p. 161.
When Moroccan pilgrims, including al-`Ayyāshi, entered Egypt, they were warned against going to Alexandria, where the plague was rife, al-`Ayyāshi turned immediately to compose a poem entreaty to the famous Ṣūfī scholar al-Mursi, as a mediator with Allah, not just to protect them from this disease but also to enable them to perform al-Hajj, visiting al-Qūds (Jerusalem) and returning safely to their homeland. Al-`Ayyāshi asserted that he surely would not be in fear, whether from humankind or jinn. Then he sent this poem to Alexandria to be read at al-Mursi’s grave and then to be suspended on the right corner of the prayer niche of his mosque for its baraka. This was a tradition followed by the Moroccan travellers. Al-`Ayyāshi starts his poem saying:

Then, he ends his poem by entreating al-Mursi to fulfil his hopes:

1Ibid., p. 161.
2His full name is Abū al-`Abbas Ahmad b. `Uniar al-Mursi. He belonged to an Andalusian family, but he lived and died in Alexandria in 686/1287. See Al-Zirkli, al-A /ām, vol. 1, p. 179. Al-Mursi was the chief disciple of al-Shädhili to whom the Shädhibīyya order is attributed and his successor, who was able not only to maintain its cohesion but also to expand its base among Egyptian population by founding a number of Shädhili Zarawäyä. See A. Knysh, Islamic Mysticism, p. 212.
3Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, p. 115.
4As mentioned previously that Moroccan travellers were keen to travel to al-Qūds (Jerusalem) in order to pray at al-Aqṣā Mosque, see infra, p. 13.
Although in another poem al-'Ayyāshi started by looking forward to Allah to clear away this plague, as follows:

**Arabic Text:**

إنا رجوناك لنبيل المـن
لاسيما هذا الوباء الذي
وظاهر الأرض بفضلك من
ودفع ما قد يتبقى من ولـال
أمامنا عجل له باتـفل
رجـي يذيع الحقـق مـر الكـال

He then, turned back to entreat the Prophet and his companions and more scholars, in particular renowned Sufi scholars, whose names he listed in the poem as well as the *Qutb* of his time, *Awtād*, *Gawth* (helper) and *Abdāl*:

**Arabic Text:**

بالبدوي بالدسـوقي من في النـسل مـنهم أو رؤوس الجـنال
بـالخامي بالـرفاعي من في الـشرق والـغرب عدم المـنال
بـقطـب ذلك الوقت بأوتاده بالـغوث والأبدال أـهل النوـال
من هذا الوباء شـديد الإخـال

When he came near to Cairo, the site of the grave of the *Imām al-Shāfi`i* and a large number of famous scholars and righteous men, al-'Ayyāshi composed another poem distinguished by unacceptable exaggeration, such as is found in his previous poem or al-Zabādi's poem mentioned above. He first entreats *al-Imām al-Shāfi`i*, whom he credits with unlimited influence in this country, so no hopes in him can be disappointed:

**Arabic Text:**

يا أيها الشـافعي الخـير عـبدك
كل سوء بفضـل الله قد منـاك
ملك من يمنع الجـار فـجارك من
لح التصرف في هـاذي البلاد فـلا
فحام أجر أعـث عـبدا لاباك قد

---

1Ibid., vol. 1, p. 113.

2The *qutb*, (Axis) [pl. *Aqtāb*] is commonly called today, the *ghawth* (help). The *qutb* is called as such because he is the centre on which the world pivots. Below the *Qutb* stand various classes and grades of sanctity including four *Awtād* [sing. *warad*] on which the universe rests. Below them are seven or forty *Abdāl* [sing. *Badāl*] who are called such, because they able to create a likeness, a 'substitute' for themselves and appear to be in more than one place at a time. See Valerie J. Hoffman, *Sufism, Mystics and Saints in Modern Egypt* (South Carolina: the University of South Carolina Press, 1995), pp. 93-5.

3Al-'Ayyāshi's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 114.

4Muhammad b. Idris al-Shāfi`i was born in 150/767. He was, “Outstanding Muslim jurist, widely recognized in Islam as ‘the father of Islamic jurisprudence’. He later gave his name to the Shāfi`i School of jurisprudence founded by his disciples [students as one of the four main law schools of Sunni Islam, see supra, pp. 202 and 226].” This school, “Became popular in Eastern Africa, Southeast Asia, Malaya, and parts of southern Arabia like Yemen.” I. R. Netton, *A popular Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 228-9.

5Al-'Ayyāshi's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 118.
Obviously, it is extraordinary and not in accordance with Islamic teaching, that the travellers directed entreaties and supplications to humans such as the Prophet, his family, his companions, scholars and Awliyā; in order to achieve their desires instead of praying directly to the All-Mighty creator. As can be noticed from the examples given above, a massive number of supplications and entreaties are directed to the dead, who cannot even benefit themselves, while very few poems include supplication and entreaty to Allah.¹

### 3.2. Pure Praise Poems

Beside the large number of poems in which praise is linked with entreaty, as described above, and numerous praises included in brotherly poems, which will be mentioned later, there are a few poems that are considered as pure praise poems, without entreaty.

Praise poems were restricted to scholars and friends. Al-ʿAyyāshi, for instance, asserted that he committed himself not to praise rulers out of desire for their reward.² He firmly applied this obligation in his Rihla. He did not praise any ruler except the ruler of Warrakalā, ʿAlähm, who had discussed academic topics with him and had given al-ʿAyyāshi access to his library. When al-ʿAyyāshi wanted to leave, the ruler ordered him to write down the discussion, which had occurred between them. So, al-ʿAyyāshi wrote it down including two lines in the praise of the ruler, saying that the rulers are great many, none of them as [the ruler] ʿAlähm in his justice:

\[
	ext{فإن ولادة الأمر في كل بلد}
\text{من العدل والمدعو رقم خلاهم}
\]

Al-Zabādi praised the Prophet's companions who fought in the battle of Badr, where they obtained a unique virtue the like of which has never been gained by anyone:

\[
	ext{باهل بدر فلزم ممزة}
\text{منصور دين المصطفى المختار}
\]

¹This matter is discussed in detail in the next chapter, see supra, pp. 145-9.
³Ibid., vol. 1, p. 48
⁴Al-Zabādi's Rihla, p. 58
Al-Rāfiʿ praised the scholar `Ali Baraka for his wide knowledge, particularly in some kind of knowledge such as grammar, interpretation of the Qurān and jurisprudence:

فَنْفِسِي لَكَمْ وَالآبَانَ فَدَا هُمْ وَفَكَّرُوا لَكَمْ فِي دِقَّةِ النَّحْوِ بِأَيْضَانِهِ وَفِي مَقَانِهِا أَفْقُّتُ فَدَا النَّسَاء
وَأَجْلِبْتُ إِشْكَالًا فِلَاحُ الْمَشْيَاء مَقَامُ عَلَى ابْنِهِنَّ الْارْتِفَاء فَحَبِّ لَنَا الْجَنْدَ وَحَبِّ اللَّوَاء وَنُظُّمْتُمْ دْرَا بِهِ بِعَضْيَاءٍ

Al-ʿAyyāshi in narrative style, praises one of his friends who had entertained and served him lavishly while they were living in Medina:

بَطْيَةٌ قَدْ خَيَّمَتْ بَعْدَ تَعْسِف وَصَحْحَتْ عَزْمِي فِي الْحُوَارِ بَأَرْضَهْ أَحْيَى وَخَلَيْيِ بِـلُّإِمَامِ وَسَيْدَي وَقَامَ مَقَامُ اخْتَادَمِ اللَّطْفِ وَلَكِنُّ زِيدَةَ فِي الْمُشْرَفُ وَدَامَ عَلَى حَسْنِ اللَّقَا وَالْخَلَافُ

Al-Qādiri accompanied his Shaykh, the scholar Abū al-`Abbās, in his journey to perform al-Hājj in 1100/1688. So, he confined his praise poems included in his Riḥla to his Shaykh Abū al-`Abbās. This is due to the fact that he initially compiled his Riḥla to record the accounts of his Shaykh's journey to perform a-Hājj. For instance, when al-Qādiri praises Abū al-`Abbās he enumerates some of his Shaykh's virtues which are often platitude in praise poems:

بِدَا مَحْلَةَ الْعَرْفَانِ أَمْهَيْ طَرَاز عَزْزُ بَهَا الْسَّنَةَ إِلَى اعْتَزَاز سَيْدَانَا الْتَّفْرُدُ الإِلَامِ الَّذِي وَجَاز خَيْرَ الْأَخِيرِ مِنْ أَصِلْهَا

\[3\] Al-Qādiri's Riḥla, p. 27
In another poem, al-Qādiri moved from describing the nature and caravans to praising Abū al-'Abbās:

والشمس ساحة الضياء
ذاك ابن عبد الله غوث زمانا
السيد المهدي لنا في عصرنا
عبارات مجتمع الفضائل كلها
القصصي سر النسيم الهادي
وها السؤال الفياض بالإمداد

3.3. *al-Ikhwāniyāt* (Brotherly Poems)

*Al-Ikhwāniyāt* is a type of social poetry, and it is also known as social relationship poetry. It represents poetic communication exchanged among a certain class of poets. The most significant feature of *Al-Ikhwāniyāt* is that it is subjective poetry, about the poet's personal concerns and does not cover general social concerns. The poets exchange poems on various themes, such as friendship, asking about religious or academic questions, asking for *ijāza* (a certificate), or borrowing books, apology, complaint and congratulation. Some poets express a desire to compose in the same metre and rhyme as their friends.

Since the Moroccan travellers were scholars, we find that meeting other scholars, whether renowned or not, and attending their lessons in the cities the travellers visited on their way to Mecca and Medina, was the second significant aim of the journey, after performing *al-Hajj* and visiting the Prophet's Mosque and his grave. The first thing al-‘Ayyāshi did, for instance, when he entered any city, or village on his long journey was to ask about scholars and their lessons. When they arrived at renowned centres of learning, in particular at al-Azhar al-Sharif in Cairo, or al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca and al-Masjid al-Nabawi in Medina, they devoted time to attending lessons sometimes as students seeking for further knowledge and sometimes, as scholars effectively participating in teaching and academic discussions with other scholars. Indeed, recording scholars' biographies, *ijāzāt* they gained from them, news about meeting with scholars and the academic issues discussed in those lessons, were among the main

1Ibid., p. 42.
reasons why the travellers wrote about their journeys, as they state in the introductions to their Rihlāt.¹

In addition, some travellers who settled in Medina and Mecca, or Egypt, forming strong friendships with scholars of these places, continued to exchange letters on their return home. The travellers also exchanged letters with their teachers or colleagues, not only during their stay in Mecca and Medina, but also when they send letters with pilgrim caravans returning to Morocco, when they met each other on the way.

Thus, much of their writing is concerned with scholarly meetings and debates, or correspondence exchanged between them. The best example is al-ʻAyyāshi, who performed al-Ḥajj three times, spent years in Medina and Mecca and stayed in several other cities including Tripoli, Cairo, Gaza and al-Qūds (Jerusalem). During this period he formed friendships with its scholars, in addition to his strong relationships with the scholars of his own country. Also, as a great scholar, he was followed by a great number of adherents, to the extent that he was twice expelled from his Zāwiya by the rulers of that time, because they feared the strength of his influence.² Therefore, al-ʻAyyāshi's Rihla is full of correspondence exchanged between himself and other scholars. His brotherly poems predominate over other poetic themes, even prophetic commendations, which were given a great attention by him and other travellers as mentioned above.

Al-ʻAyyāshi referred to some correspondence exchanged with his teachers and colleagues in Fes while he was staying in Tripoli, including a long poem of two hundred lines containing various topics, such as praise of his scholars and colleagues, nostalgia for his last meetings with them and jokes, and even elegy. Al-ʻAyyāshi starts his poem by praying and remembering the enjoyable days which he and his friends had spent together in Fes, especially in the evening and early morning:

```
بفضل بقيتم دائمًا في مسورة
ولا زلت في نعمة مسيرة
بدوراً أضاءت في خلالة الجنة
ولا إما إن جاء برد العشبة
ذكراً لكم كل رفاق رأيت
كذلك إن هبت الصبا ممراً فيا
```

¹ More details about these valuable parts of their Rihlāt are given in the fifth chapter, pp. 217-224.
² As mentioned previously, see infra, p. 57-8.
Then he wonders if they still remember him when they go to visit the grave of one of the scholar, Abū Jīda, every Wednesday night in al-Bulayda. He doubts this, however, especially when they are busy eating al-Qasabiyya meal, because they remember and feel nothing except enjoying every mouthful of that free meal, despite their accounts of the desirability of abstinence and criticism of satiety:

Immediately, however, he apologises, and assures them that he is only joking and knows they will appreciate it, otherwise he would not have done it, because he highly respects them:

---

1 Al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 69
2 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 69.
3 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 70.
Al-'Ayyāshi exchanges praise poems with scholars of the cities he visited, or stayed in, during his journeys to perform al-Hājī. He wrote from Morocco to his friend, the scholar ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsi in Medina to complain of his distress of being so far away from him, saying:

The travellers did not confine themselves to attending scholars' lessons and discussing academic issues but even when they left they kept in touch with their scholarly colleagues, to explore various issues or, ask to borrow books. For instance, religious debates about the prohibition of alcohol and drugs occurred between Ibn Abī Mabli and some scholars from Morocco and Egypt and thus, they exchanged letters and poems. Ibn Abī Mahli sent a letter to Sālim al-Ṣadīr in Egypt asking him about this issue, with a praise poem enclosed:

Ibn Abī Mahli sent a question to some scholars in Egypt such as Sulaymān al-Bābīlī and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fayūmī but he received no answer, thus he composed a poem gently reproaching them:

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1Ibid., vol. 2, P. 52.
2Ibn Abī Mahli's Rihla, ed. al-Qaddūrī, p. 177.
Al-‘Ayyāshi sent a messenger with a letter containing a praise poem to his friend scholar, Muhammad al-Makki in Tripoli, asking to borrow *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, but the messenger returned with nothing, so al-‘Ayyāshi wrote another poem including praise and friendly reproach. Al-‘Ayyāshi says:

Authors sometimes, immediately after finishing composing a compilation, send it to their closest colleagues, as an expression of deep friendship. The recipient then wrote an eulogy on the work. For example, when one corner of *al-Ka‘ba* fell down in 1039/1630,

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1Ibid., p. 154.

2Al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, vol. 2, P. 387.
people were confused about how they should deal with this significant matter, for example, what they should do with the debris, how and by whom it should be rebuilt, and how the repairs should be financed, not to mention whether the rebuilding should be done immediately, or whether they should await the permission of the Ottoman Sultan in Istanbul. One of scholars of Mecca, İbrahim al-Maymûni, therefore composed *Tahni’atu al-Islâm bi Binä’ Bayt Allah al-Ḥarām*, discussing these issues, and he dedicated a copy to his friend, al-ʿAyyāshi, who wrote a commendation of it, saying:

The travellers sometimes exchanged gifts and poems, which show the strong relationship between them. Ibn al-Ṭayyib, for instance, stayed nearly one month in Tripoli on his way to al-Ḥijāz and formed strong friendships with its scholars, in particular with the Tunisian writer Ibn al-ʿAṣram, who was staying there at that time. They devoted their time to debates on various issues and exchanged praise poems. Ibn al-Ṭayyib praises his friend in one of the poems exchanged between them:

Ibn Ṭāʾīb’s *Rihla*, p. 44.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām was given Arabian jasmine as a present by one friend while he was staying in Tripoli and rewarded him with a praise poem, though one which appears of weak structure and vocabulary, saying:

---

1Ibid., vol. 1, p. 143.
2Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Rihla*, p. 44.
Travellers in general and pilgrims in particular were asked by their colleagues to pray to Allah during their journey, in order that their desires should be fulfilled. This kind of poetry seems to be unique and not found except in *al-Rihla*.

Al-Zabädi, for instance, says that from when he left Fes until he returned to it, he prayed to Allah to achieve his colleagues' desires, because pilgrim's prayers are especially acceptable to Allah. He included in his *Rihla* some of those he remembered. He for example says:

Al-'Ayyāshi composed a poem replying to a poem sent from his friend the grammarian, Yahyā b. al-Bāshā al-Ahsā‘ī, which contains a grammatical riddle:

Al-'Ayyāshi composed five poems of congratulations, four of which were dedicated to some Egyptian scholars such as Ibrāhīm al-Maymūnī and ‘Umar Fakrūn on the occasion of ‘Īd al-Fitr, while he was staying in Cairo. The fifth was to congratulate a scholar on the birth of a baby. Al-'Ayyāshi combined congratulations of the scholar known as Abū ‘Umran Mūsā al-Mālikī on the occasion of al-Eid with asking for permission to visit him:

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1Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Rihla*, p. 145.
2Ibid., p. 338.
3Al-'Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 54.
Most of the travellers were scholars who participated effectively in academic activities in the cities where they stayed during their journey to perform al-Hajj. They were asked sometimes by those who attended their lessons to grant them an ijāza. Al-‘Ayyāshi has granted an ijāza to his colleague, al-Mullā Ibrahim al-Kūrāni in Medina, saying that he is the one who should be given an ijāza from his colleague:

Ibid., vol. 1, p. 137.

Although the Moroccan pilgrim travellers expressed their great desire to go to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Hajj and visit the Prophet’s mosque and his grave, particularly in prophetic commendations, some of which have previously been mentioned, when the first steps started and the long awaited hope became reality, they experienced feelings of separation, nostalgia and yearning for home. These feelings remained to some extent

3.4. Estrangement, Longing, Yearning and Complaint

Human beings are attached to the land of their birth, where they grew up and lived among their family, relatives, and friends and this attachment increases with the years. People often enjoy remembering early days and places where they studied and played as they get older, even if they still live in these places and with the same members of the family, relatives and friends. This is a general human feeling towards one’s home, particularly when one is forced to leave it.

Although the Moroccan pilgrim travellers expressed their great desire to go to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Hajj and visit the Prophet’s mosque and his grave, particularly in prophetic commendations, some of which have previously been mentioned, when the first steps started and the long awaited hope became reality, they experienced feelings of separation, nostalgia and yearning for home. These feelings remained to some extent

Ibid., vol. 1, p. 332

1Ibid., vol. 1, p. 137.

2Ibid., vol. 1, p. 332
even when they came to the holy places and were enjoying these ritual forms of worship. However, some of the travellers tried to comfort themselves by remembering the great duty for which they were leaving their loved ones. So, a number of yearning, complaint and separation poems are included in al-Rihla, from the first moments of the journey until they came within a few miles of their homeland, when they sent letters to inform their families, relatives and friends that they would be home shortly.

When relatives and colleagues gathered to bid farewell to the pilgrims, the travellers recorded these difficult moments, expressing their sorrow at leaving them. Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, for instance, describes the moment of farewell, saying in his poem, which reflects his Sufi education through the use of Sufi images such as intoxication and cups,¹ that his relatives and colleagues passed around “separation cups”, from which there is no “sobering up”. Then he indicates that when they turned back, his tears followed them until they imagined that he had drowned, but he was burning from the blaze of the flames caused by the pain of separation:

\[
\text{ولا بـرنا لـوديعهم}
\]
\[
\text{فـيـهـات من سكاـرها أن نـيـقا}
\]
\[
\text{فصاحوا الفريق فصحت الحريقا}.
\]

Al-`Ayyāshi describes in a marvelous dialogue narrative, the pain of his separation from his wife, which appears in this slight conversation between them, in which he quotes words from a poem of the renowned poet, al-Ḥuṭay'a (d. after 41/661).² He says that he can not forget the appearance of his wife as she attempted to dissuade him from leaving, until she gave up in despair, and he ends his lines by mentioning that there is no meeting between them except through the vision:

\[
\text{ ولم أنسها بقـطـانـة الـهـم في الحـشا}
\]
\[
\text{تقول وقد جد الرحبيل أهـاكذا}
\]
\[
\text{أترك أفراحـا كزـغـ البـط وـمـا}
\]
\[
\text{كخـسـ النـفا تستعـرض الدمع بالكـف}
\]
\[
\text{أسـهـ ودمعي لا يلـ من الوكـف}
\]

¹These Sufi images and others are discussed in chapter four, pp. 139 and 153-4.
³The quotation is underlined in the poem above. Al-Ḥuṭay'a's full name is al-Ḥuṭay'a b. Mālik al-ʿAbsi. He was born in the pre-Islamic era and died in 45/665. Al-Zirklī, al-ʿAšām, vol. 2, p. 118.
Some of the travellers tried to comfort themselves by remembering the great duty for which they were travelling, because they were leaving their families, friends and relatives to visit the Prophet's mosque and grave, the greatest and dearest person to whom they were passionately attached. Al-Zabādi, for example, orders himself to leave amusement and to look for seriousness to leave the inhabitants of Morocco and journey to Medina, home of the Prophet and Minā where pilgrims perform their rituals:

Al-‘Ayyāshi says that at the moment of farewell, the sweetness of expectation is mixed with the bitterness of the present reality. He describes his intensive weeping in the final hours before his journey, as he reassures his son and daughter of his great love for them but explains that he is going to meet the one for whom he has greater love and it is for his sake that he leaves his dear children behind. Despite this, they will both suffer from being far way from each other. Al-‘Ayyāshi says:

Al-‘Ayyāshi also describes how, while watching the al-‘Aqiq River of Medina flowing, it stimulated and moved his deep feelings and yearnings for his family, teacher and colleagues, as will be mentioned later, he rushed to comfort himself with the thought that he was replacing them by coming close to the Prophet:

---

1Al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 14.
2Al-Zabādi’s *Rihla*, p. 93.
3Al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 13.
Poets generally state the reasons and motives which aroused their yearning and longing for their loved ones. These include the smooth light breeze known as al-Sibä breeze coming from the north, the cool evenings, the sight of lightning from the direction of the lover's country i.e. From the west, or the bird songs. This poetic tradition was followed by the travellers who stated also these, or other reasons as motives and stimulus of their yearning for their families and homelands.

Al-Zabädi says in a poem sent from al-Ḥijāz to his colleagues in Fes that every time he saw lightning flash from Najd, or smells the sirocco (east wind), he remembered them, then he expressed his deep longing and yearning to meet them again, especially his colleague Abü al-Abbās:

While al-Yūsi was staying in Tunis on his return from Morocco, he heard these lines recited by his son:

This aroused his yearning and longing for his family and he composed three poems, in two of which he appealed to the west wind to blow, bringing him news of his family,

1Ibid., vol. 2, p. 272.
2Al-Zabädi's Riḥla, p. 347.
whether they are still in such good condition as he left them or not. Al-Yūsi says in one of them:

\[
\text{يا نسَميم هـب بِربك وأت خَيْر}
\]

\[
\text{كيف كأنوا منذ غِشيِي إنعمت أو بـش}
\]

\[
\text{قد عهدناهم خِيْر بـحـد الله وستر}
\]

\[
\text{فهل الدهر كما كان أمير حلف بـر}
\]

When al-'Aqīq River flowed and the inhabitants of Medina, including al-`Ayyāshi, enjoyed camping on the banks of the river, he commented that his tears streamed like the river, because it reminded him of his previous enjoyable time among family, teachers and colleagues. However, he ends his poem with the assurance that he has replaced all that with closeness to the Prophet:

\[
\text{فلا تسل سألي عـما جرى}
\]

\[
\text{جري العَالِق ودمعي كالعالِق جرى}
\]

\[
\text{الودج أورى نارا في الخشا فصلي}
\]

\[
\text{اذكرى جريه جرى السوابق بي}
\]

\[
\text{وظله وناسيم بجوانه أكرِبى}
\]

\[
\text{الذكرى زمنا عند الذين هم أفـ عىْـاخر الشهاب في وسط الدجا حسرا}
\]

\[
\text{شـرخ الشباب نظيفا طيبا عطرا}
\]

\[
\text{فاستبالت منهم نفس المشوق سوى}
\]

\[
\text{طيب مجاورة المختار من حضرًا}
\]

\[
\text{ليم أنه في الشراء أدْفع الـحـمًا}
\]

It seems that the rainy season was the time that most reminded al-`Ayyāshi of his country and its inhabitants. This is because as he came very near to his country, heavy rain fell, which made him remember it and made him wish for the same rain to fall on his country:

\[
\text{بلادي التي كنت فيها هـنيا}
\]

\[
\text{سقاك على البعـد نوء الـريا}
\]

\[
\text{وحيا الإله جـآها ومن نَـوى بفناـها وبيـا}
\]

\[
\text{فسفبا ورعيا لمبعـننا}
\]

\[
\text{فكم قد حيا الحي سقفا ورعيا}
\]

\[
2\text{Al-`Ayyāshi's Riḥla, vol. 2, p. 272.}
\]

\[
3\text{Ibid., vol. 2, p. 418.}
\]

\[
1\text{Ibid., p. 102. The other poem is given as an example of metaphor in the next chapter, p. 159.}
\]
Al-‘Ayyāshi’s yearning and longing for his country increased sharply when his long journey was about to finish, because he began to feel that those final days were much longer and a month felt like a year. In these lines, he imagines the twenty-nine months of his journey as a hundred years:

\[
\text{يا رحلة كلما قصرت شفتها} \\
\text{بالسيرة طالت فعادت شهرها حينا} \\
\text{تسعا وعشرين شرا أتوهمها} \\
\text{من السنين غدت عشرة وتسعينا} \]

Also, when the pilgrims sent messengers to inform their families that they would be arriving shortly, al-‘Ayyāshi sent a letter including two lines in which he presents a unique picture of his yearning. He describes it as an embryo that was conceived in Mecca and which he carried for a long period until the time came for it to be born, then he started growing up until he became fully grown by the end of his journey which lasted for thirty months:

\[
\text{حملت جنين الشوق في بطن مكة} \\
\text{زماناً إلى أن آن منها انفصاله} \\
\text{فراد غوا فاستوى عندما غدا} \\
\text{ثلاثين شراً جمله وفصلان} \]

3.5. Description

In general, all poetic themes depend on the poet’s imagination and descriptive expressions. So, Ibn Rashiq believes that all poetry, with only a few exceptions, falls under the wasf (description) category. However, what we mean here is pure description, such as description of natural scenes, pilgrims’ caravan, the road stages and performing al-Ḥajj and al-‘Umra rituals. Description appears to have been of great interest to the travellers in particular descriptions of the most significant stages of the road from Morocco to Medina and Mecca. The two Ṣaḥābī of al-‘Amīrī, for instance, devoted hundreds of lines to this aim. Invaluable advice is given at every stage, about the cities or villages where pilgrims stay to take on supplies, wells that will supply sufficient water to see them through to the next stage, or rest stations to take a short break. Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, composed a separate poem on this theme, in his Ṣaḥāba. Other travellers included description, in poems on other themes, commenting on the caravan, roads, cities and natural phenomena such as rain and wind. However, when they arrive in al-Ḥijāz they almost all happily describe al-Ka‘ba and the holy places,

\[\text{1Ibid., vol.2, p. 418.} \]
\[\text{2Ibid., vol. 2, p. 419.} \]
including 'Arafāt and Minā, performing the rituals of al-Ḥajj, or the visiting of the Prophet's Mosque.

As previously mentioned, al-Murābit compiled his Rihla in poetic form including invaluable advice from an expert guide, to make the pilgrim aware of the most significant points to be taken into consideration while passing in, or through these stages. Each stage is followed by particular advice. For instance, when the pilgrims arrive at Wādi Khālid,¹ they should supply themselves with water and after visiting the Prophet Khālid's grave to entreat his aid against aggressive bedouin attacks, every precaution should be taken to fight them. In addition, pilgrims should avoid passing through al-Zāb where vile bedouins attack them. When they arrive at Biskra, they must obtain supplies to meet their needs until the next stage, then they should visit 'Uqba b. Nāfi' 's grave² in Tawzar to entreat him:

Then he praises Barqa, describing it as a city in which all contradictions are gathered, the masterpieces of the seas with the pleasures of the desert, made it a most unusual city. After mentioning Tripoli he says:

¹Wādi the Prophet Khālid, al-Zāb and Biskra are in Algeria, for more details about the Propher Khālid, see infra, p. 96.
²'Uqba b. Nāfi' was one of the renowned military leaders in the Umayyad era, and was the ruler of Barqa and Tripoli in Libya in 94/669, then he founded al-Qayrawān in 50/670 and he was killed in 63/683. See al-Zabādi's Rihla, pp. 13-5.
³Al-Murābit's Rihla, p. 117.
Water is a predominant motive almost amounting to an obsession in al-ʿĀmirī's *Rihla*. For almost every stage he mentions the lack of water, or describes the quality and amount of water they came across. He says:

Other travellers did not compose special poems to describe the stages of the road, but they described other sights. Al-Qādirī, for instance, started his poem by describing the pilgrims' caravan, which was well supplied with military equipment and brave horsemen, to protect the pilgrims from robbers:

Then he moved to describe natural scenes, such as animals, birds, and landscapes covered by beautiful desert flowers of many colours, and the sun, which is used as an access to praise the leader of the caravan, the scholar Abū al-ʿAbbās. In addition, he describes the pilgrims and riding camels carrying howdah:

---

1Ibid., p. 118.
2Al-ʿĀmirī's *Rihla*, p. 97.
3Al-Qādirī's *Rihla*, p. 41. This poem is analysed and given more explanation according to the intensive imagery, see supra, pp. 165-6.
Al-‘Ayyāshi, in an attractive picture, likens the pilgrims moving behind their fast camels to shooting stars through a desert dressed in a green gown:

انظر بعينك هل ترى غمّ السماة فوق النرى
الأرض من يشي الحياء
اللي جدت في السرى
والناس يبئعوها مثل المجرة مزروعاً

Al-‘Ayyāshi also describes the travellers' suffering from thirst in al-Tayh, a land known for its fierce heat, where they were so thirsty that they slaughtered some of the camels in order to drink the water inside them. He described water, in this strong heat, as being the drink *al-Muhl*, referred to in the Qur’ān:

ولم أنسي بالنبي ي ولمه/Tafana al-khayj cida wula owa
والن يغدوا يعووا بجاه عجوو دكالسه يشوي الوجوہ

Al-‘Ayyāshi describes in a unique style, the heavy rain, which fell on them by means of riddle (*lughz*). He was amazed because, although, with their urgent need for water, they stopped moving for a whole day, at the same time, they were unable to benefit from the rain because it fell on sandy land, which does not retain water:

يا صاحب هل علمت شيئا كثورته سيب الإقامة

---

1Ibid., p. 42.
2Al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 52.
3This image is discussed in detail in the next chapter, see supra, p. 187.
4Al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 163.
When the pilgrim travellers arrived at al-Hijāz they happily described the performance of *al-Hajj* and *Umra* rituals. Al-Ayyāshi describes moving around the holy places such as Minā, 'Arafāt and Muzdalīfah during *al-Hajj*:

\[
\text{كَلَّا،} \\
\text{وَلَمْ يَضَعَهُمُ الْكَلَّا،} \\
\text{يَتَشَقَّقَانِي لِيَغْلِبِي،} \\
\text{فَطَفَّقَ بِهِ مَرْيَةَ.}
\]

Then, al-Ayyāshi goes on to describe pilgrims’ going to Minā in order to stay for two or three days to complete *al-Hajj* rituals:

\[
\text{وَلَمْ يَضَعَهُمُ الْكَلَّا،} \\
\text{وَلَمْ يَضَعَهُمُ الْكَلَّا،} \\
\text{يَتَشَقَّقَانِي لِيَغْلِبِي،} \\
\text{فَطَفَّقَ بِهِ مَرْيَةَ.}
\]

Ibn 'Abd al-Salām excelled in drawing a wonderful picture of *al-Hajj* performance. He gives an excellent description of his walking around *al-Ka'ba*, using the image of a person encountering his lover:

\[
\text{لَا احْتَمِيتُ شَأْناً،} \\
\text{ذَلِي وَشَأْناً أَطْهَا،} \\
\text{فَقَالُوا:} \\
\text{قَدْ حَلَّ رَوْضَ فَناً}
\]

\[\text{Ibid., vol. 1, p. 52.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., vol. 1, p. 203.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., vol. 1, p. 203.}\]
Al-‘Ayyāshi described al-‘Ka‘ba in a unique picture. He described the lifting of its screen for the pilgrims during al-Hajj season, the pilgrims walking around as like when a king stands to receive those who come to visit him and the slaves rush to raise the train of his gown and then, when he turns, they release it:

وَفَكَّانَهُ لَمَّا بَدَأ مَشَّى مُّمْرًا
فَذَارَ وَلَهُ إِلَيْهِ تَشَيَّقَ
فَبِئْدِ الْعَلِيمِينَ رَفَعَ ذِيْلَهُ
حَتَّى إِذَا رَجَعَوْا جِيْعًا أَطْقَوْا

The travellers also described the rituals of visiting the Prophet’s mosque and his grave in Medina. For instance, al-‘Ayyāshi says, comparing the public unrest in Morocco and the peace in Medina:

فَكَّمُ بِينُ مِنْ فِي طَبِيَّةٍ آنَا بِهَا
فَذَكَ يَغْدُوُ في عَيْنٍ وَبَرَوحٍ فِي
وَهُذَا بِرَوحٍ فِي عَيْنٍ وَبَرَوحٍ فِي
يُصِلِّي صَلاَةَ الْفَرْضِ مَنْ بِنَبِيٍّ مِنْهُ
وَمَنْ بَعْدَهُ يَشَّيَّيْهِ عَلَيْهِ سَكِيْنَةٍ
فِي قِيْمِ أَمَامَ المُصْطَفِي وَأَفَقَهَا لَهُ
إِذَا رَأَا أُمَّةَ الْوَرَى عَزْمُهُمْ فِي
يُصِلِّي عَلَيْهِ أَوْ يَسَلِّمُ أَوْ وَهَمُّ

1 Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s Rihla, p. 220.
3 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 313.
3.6. Elegy

The poetry of elegy is only found in the Rihla of al-'Ayyāshi and al-Zabādi. Al-Zabādi composed elegies on two scholars who were among his closest friends. He began by expressing his deep sorrow at their loss, which has changed the enjoyable and happy life he had with them, to one of sorrow and sadness, then he asks that he should not be blamed for that because it is a difficult time:

وقال ليما مما التأسف والبهك
وككل مصائب الزمن وجدت
فأوى فرقة الأحباء هيئة الخطب
ولكن ما على الموت من عتب

Then, he enumerates some of the virtues for which they were known, such as generosity, knowledge, bravery and nobility of descent:

 فلا تلمني يا عاذلي في تأسيفي علّم الحب وأقدر فرقة الحب للحب
خصوصا خليلى الذين كلامهما من الشرق مفقود ومن الغرب
في الخالين السهيل والصعب
وهذا شريف أرخي منسجد
فلم تلبسنا أن زدتنا شرف الحرب

When al-'Ayyāshi completed a brotherly poem that he was intending to send to colleagues in Fes, he was informed that one of his closest friends, Muhammad b. Abū al-Shitä had died. He ended this poem by elegizing his friend, saying:

أني نعب عنه المصالح صمت
فأذهل فكري عن جميع أموره
وأوقد نيرنا بطي حذوه
واقبل ولم تخمد سائل دمعة
فأن شقيق الروح غابة أنسه
واقب في كل خير ولدته
على نفسه في كل خير ولدته
حبيب خليلى لا خليل سواء لي
توقب ذهبا في صفاء الطوية

1Al-Zabādi’s Rihla, p. 344.
2Ibid., p. 345.
Then he mentions the circumstances of his death and lists his virtues, repeating his name in lament, and claiming that his academic activities, generosity, good manners and patience can not be compensated:

Al-'Ayyashī also sent to his friend Hasan al-Bār and one of Medina's scholars, an elegy on his son's death because he was unable to meet and give him condolence in person, through illness. Al-'Ayyashī comforts his friend and urges him to be patient, reminding him that he will be given a great reward as Allah's true promise for those who accept their fate:

3.7. Other Themes

Other themes such as satire, admonition, eroticism, wisdom and advice come as a few lines within poems composed on other themes, or in very few poems of just a few lines.

---

1Al-'Ayyashī's Riḥla, vol. 1, p. 74.
2Ibid., vol. 1, p. 75.
3Ibid., vol. 2, p. 46.
Bedouins who attacked pilgrims’ caravan, or who were used as a guide in the desert were the only target of satire in the poetry of al-Riḥla. Al-Murābīt, For example, warns pilgrims and orders them to take precautions against attacks of bedouins looking for quarrels and fighting:

والخضرة البحر الشوسي فائدة
واحذر إنا عرمان غزرة وابتداء
ماء المغامير ناهضا بجمال
أقصى البلدان لفارة وفساد

Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām condemns the guides of a hired camel called Ṣālih al-Farajānī, who betrayed them and did not abide by their agreement. He prays to Allah to punish him:

يا رب يا عزيز يا جبار
واشد اليطب يا قهار
عليك بالجمال ذاك الجاني
يدعى بصلى بن الفرجائي
لا فرجت عليه ربي كربا
ولا تمثلت له بعين رتب
ذهب بالجمال في فلالة
أبقى بحماه ملقات
 تركنا في حيرة لا الرك قام
 عن طيب بعين إقامة رام

Then he says:

والله روبيان العزيز المقتدر
يدعمه الزمان بالمصاب
ويوله الأوصاب والمعانب
وبتأتيه الله غارات العدا
وعبد الله عليه قبل
من بعد ما يلي بكل علة

Admonitions of a few lines appear only in al-ʿAyyāshi’s Riḥla. He was blamed by his colleagues for leaving Morocco and accused of doing so to escape from the evil public unrest, which the country was suffering from during that year. Thus, he intelligently retorted to this accusation and said, comforting himself, that he was escaping to the Prophet:

وقالوا فرت وليس الفرار
لم(interp) في القوم من فعله
فقلت فرت إلى المصطفى
ومنلي من يفر إلى مساه

1 Al-Murābīt’s Riḥla, p. 120.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām’s Riḥla, p. 296.
3 Ibid., p. 296.
Also, al-ʿAyyāshī was blamed by other colleagues for intending to leave them in danger at time when they were in urgent need of each other, particularly in these same evil circumstances. He refuted this accusation as well and assured them that he would benefit them by praying for them in the Holy places:

أحبة قلبي لا ضرار ولا ضجر
ولكن حبنا رفض بما ساقه القدر
سأفنعكم في غيبي بالدعاء في مواقف حاجي حيث أفرض من الكدر
ولست بناس عهدكم روداكم وإن طالت الأيام واتصل السفر
يذكرونكم كل حسن رأيته ولا سببا بدبر العشية والصحر

The travellers never rhapsodized about women. The few lines which were included within other themes were purely symbolic. Poems composed to praise, or entreat someone, are often likened to a beautiful girl, whose attractions are enumerated. This was done in imitation of previous poets who followed this method. Ibn Abi Mahli, for example, describes his poem which he sent to two Şūfi scholars, as being like a beautiful girl:

مررخفة الأطلواق ذات الردا
الذاهبة التي تُنسى يبكي، إذا ابتسمت تفرج عن جوهر النوا
فائق القامة، تغيب الحروف، وممسود
ترة دها تنسأل ممن بارع اللد
وسار نذير الشيب في حالم القود
طويل الليالي من تسأسي بما ورد
ويصب من أنفاسها وح_ROW

Al-ʿĀmīri's Riḥla, which was compiled entirely in poetic form as a guide for pilgrims, was full of invaluable advice on how pilgrims should behave, in order to be respected and dearly loved by their companions. He provides the pilgrim with some significant advice. For instance, he recommends that they should be extremely patient, generous, modest, not lazy and frequently glorify Allah and invoke blessing and peace upon his Prophet. One who does this will be respected and loved by all the pilgrims who accompany him on the journey:

Al-ʿĀmīri's Riḥla, which was compiled entirely in poetic form as a guide for pilgrims, was full of invaluable advice on how pilgrims should behave, in order to be respected and dearly loved by their companions. He provides the pilgrim with some significant advice. For instance, he recommends that they should be extremely patient, generous, modest, not lazy and frequently glorify Allah and invoke blessing and peace upon his Prophet. One who does this will be respected and loved by all the pilgrims who accompany him on the journey:

1Ibid., vol. 1, p. 9.
2Ibn Abi Mahli's Riḥla, p. 8.
Conclusion

In this chapter we have analysed the poetry of the travellers according to its thematic features. As a consequence al-Rihlāt were compiled in order to record the incidents and news of the journey that were made primarily to perform al-Hajj and visit the Prophet’s mosque and his grave. Secondly, al-Rihlāt were compiled to meet renowned scholars and attend their lessons, in addition to this most of the travellers were originally Sūfi scholars. We have found that the amount of poetry composed on one theme varied, connected to these aims because of the nature of the journey. Themes such as prophetic commendation, consisting of supplication and entreaty to the Prophet, praise and entreaty to the kin of the Prophet’s house, his companions, scholars and Sūfi awliyā’ and brotherly communication, predominate over other themes. These include supplication and entreaty to Allah, description, yearning and complaint, which appear in fewer poems. Satire came in a few lines within verses of other themes.

Although the impact of Sūfism was felt in all aspects of academic life because education was based on Sūfism and most scholars and poets were originally Sūfis, the travellers did not compose separate poems on Sūfi themes in their Rihlāt. However, the influence of Sūfism is apparent in their poems, in the use of Sūfi expressions and in the reflection of Sūfi beliefs, particularly in prophetic commendation. Thus, if this poetic theme occupied a key position in the life of the travellers, as Sūfi scholars, as mentioned above,

1Al-‘Āmirī’s Rihla, p. 93. Ibn al-Ṭayyib also make a use of wisdom and proverbs to explain the meaning, see his poem given as an example of symbolic imagery on pp. 163-4.
it is to be expected that the travellers' *Rihlat* would be filled with prophetic commendations.

These *Rihlat* were like diaries which recorded important religious duties including performing *al-Ḥajj* and visiting the Prophet's mosque and his grave. So, prophetic commendation is one of the three dominant themes in the poems. Prophetic commendation poems, in *al-Rihla*, were not isolated examples composed for a special occasion, such as the Prophet's birthday celebrations, rather, the travellers turned to this theme on various occasions. For example, when they saw a pilgrims' caravan leave for al-Ḥijāz, and for some reason they were not able to accompany them, they wrote of their wish to do so. Alternatively, and when they were able to do so, they celebrated this great opportunity by composing prophetic commendations from the beginning of the journey until they came near or saw, or entered, or left the holy places.

Visiting graves of scholars and *Awliyā* is a common theme in the travellers' *Rihlat*. They express their desire to start their journeys by visiting such graves in order to obtain the blessing resulting from entreating the *Awliyā* to achieve their goals on the journey. Besides the large number of poems in which praise is linked with entreaty, and numerous praises included in brotherly poems, there are a few poems that are considered as pure praise poems, without entreaty.

The poets exchange poems on various themes, such as friendship, asking about religious, or academic questions, asking for *ijāza*, or borrowing books, apology, complaint and congratulation. Some poets express a desire to compose in the same metre and rhyme as their friends.

Although the Moroccan pilgrim travellers expressed their great desire to go to al-Ḥijāz to perform *al-Ḥajj* and visit the Prophet's mosque and his grave, particularly in prophetic commendations, when they took their first steps and their long awaited hopes became a reality, they experienced feelings of separation, nostalgia and yearning for home. These feelings remained to some extent even when they came to the holy places and were enjoying these ritual forms of worship. However, some of the travellers tried to comfort themselves by remembering the great duty for which they were leaving their loved ones. So, a number of yearning, complaint and separation poems are included in *al-Rihla*, from the first moments of the journey until they came within a few miles of their homeland.
Other themes such as satire, admonition, eroticism, wisdom and advice come as a few lines within poems composed on other themes, or in very few poems of just a few lines.

Bedouins who attacked pilgrims' caravan, or who were used as guides in the desert were the only target of satire in the poetry of al-Rihla. Admonitions of a few lines appear only in al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla, when he was blamed by his colleagues for leaving Morocco and accused of doing so to escape from the evil public unrest, which the country was suffering from during that year.

The travellers never rhapsodized about women. The few lines, which were included within other themes were purely symbolic. Poems composed to praise, or entreat someone, are often likened to a beautiful girl, whose attractions are enumerated.

Al-‘Āmīrī’s Rihla, which was compiled entirely in poetic form as a guide for pilgrims, was full of invaluable advice on how pilgrims should behave, in order to be respected and dearly loved by their companions. He provides the pilgrim with some significant advice.

The next chapter discusses the poetry according to its artistic features including the following: the structure of the poem, its content, i.e. meanings and ideas, imagery, the style and emotion and experience.
Chapter Four
The Poetry: Artistic Study

Like the previous chapter, this chapter deals with the poetry of Moroccan travellers (pilgrims) in the period studied in this research. Unlike the previous chapter it discusses the poetry according to its artistic features. It is divided into five sections, the first of which studies the structure of the poem. The second section discusses the content of this poetry i.e. its meanings and ideas. The third section analyses the use of imagery. The fourth section investigates the language of the poetry, including wording and idioms. The last section analyses the experience and emotion depicted in the poetry.

Section One: the Structure of the Poem

A point worth stressing at the beginning of this section is that in studying the structure of the poem, or any other literary issue, it is sometimes necessary to isolate separate elements, even if they, or some of them at least, are in fact integrated and difficult to separate. For instance, topics such as the opening of the poem, its movement from one theme to another and the ending of the poem, can be discussed under the heading of 'organic unity' because both of them demonstrate the ability of the poet to link the various elements, or themes of his poem, in order to create an integrated unity. However, the significance of these issues and the need for some organising principle for the chapter make it necessary that they must be discussed as separate items. Therefore, this section consists of eight items; the first is the framework of al-Rihla. The second discusses the length of the poem and the unity of theme, with regard to the relationship between the length of the poem and the theme, or various themes it displays. The third investigates the unity of the poem. The fourth considers the opening verse or skill of opening. The fifth deals with the introduction of poems. The sixth analyses movement from one theme to another, in particular from the introduction to the main theme, known as the excellence of conversion. The seventh explains how the poets end their poems.

1. The Framework of al-Rihla

As indicated previously, al-Rihlat in the studied period consists of two types. The great majority of them were compiled in prose form, because prose has a better ability to contain all the extensive details of various topics that the traveler might desire to record
in his *Rihla*, which cannot be done through poetry. For that reason, we find that only two *Rihlāt*, composed by al-`Āmirī and al-Murābīt, were in poetic form. There is also al-Zabādī's long poem entitled *Iṭḥāf al-Miskīn al-Nāṣik bi bayān al-Marāḥil wa al-Manāsik*, which can also be considered as a small *Rihla*, because it concentrates on describing the stages of *al-Ḥajj* roads, as well as other features.

2. The Length of the Poem and the Unity of the Theme

The term *qasīda* is used to describe a poem of no less than seven lines, which is considered the minimum according to the majority of critics, whereas a shorter poem is named *maqtūra*. The traveler poets composed poetry of both types. The number of lines in *maqtūra* ranged from 2 to 5, while in the case of the *qasīda*, it was between 10 and 30, which means that the *qasīda* included poems of medium and short lengths. The longest poems, which extended beyond a hundred lines, were the *Rihla* of al-`Āmirī and that of al-Murābīt and certain poems of al-`Ayyāshi and al-Zabādī. The length of al-`Āmirī's *Rihla* not only surpassed the hundred-line threshold but also reached three hundred and thirty-five lines, whereas al-Murābīt's *Rihla* consisted of one hundred and thirty-six lines. Al-Zabādī's poem included one hundred and thirty lines. Among the poems in popular themes such as brotherly, longing or elegy, the only case of a poem of more than a hundred lines is that of al-`Ayyāshi, which consisted of one hundred and eighty-five lines. A very small number of poems contained between forty and sixty lines, for instance, al-Zabādī's two poems of fifty-eight and forty-six lines and al-`Ayyāshi's poem of fifty-one lines.

Obviously, poems of extreme length should contain a variety of main and sub-partial themes and some early and contemporary critics have argued that there is a strong connection between the theme of a poem and its length. A panegyric poem, for instance,

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1This poem was included in his *Rihla*, *Bulūgh al-Maram*, pp. 147-53.


3Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, pp. 147-53.

4Al-`Ayyāshi's *Rihla*, vol. 1, pp. 69-76.

5Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 349.

6Ibid., p. 180.

should consist of a large number of lines, as a sign of the poet's care for the praised person and proof of his effort to distinguish his great deeds and so, give lasting fame to him. Applying this principle to the poetry of travelers, it is found, consistent with the first hypothesis, that a variety of themes are contained within longer poems such as the Riḥla of al-ʿĀmirī, that of al-Murābīṭ and that of al-Zabādi, which were generally devoted to describing stages of al-Ḥajj road and the performance of al-Ḥajj and al-Ziyāra rituals. Al-ʿĀmirī's Riḥla of three hundred and thirty-five lines, for example, started by presenting invaluable advice which should be followed by pilgrims before leaving home, and the important things he might need during this hard and long journey, as well as how the pilgrim should behave in order to be respected by his companions. After that, al-ʿĀmirī describes the stages of road, then the best course of action to be followed by pilgrims when arriving at Medina, the site of the Prophet's mosque and grave. The final parts of his Riḥla single out the holy places in Palestine, the site of al-Masjid al-Aqṣā and the graves of various Prophets', including those of Ibrahim al-Khalil and Jesus, explaining what pilgrims should do while visiting these holy places.

Al-ʿAyyāšī's brotherly poem of one hundred and eighty-five lines also contains more than one theme. It encompasses nostalgia for his last meeting with his colleagues, jokes and panegyric of his scholars and colleagues, then ends on an elegy. In contrast, poems of medium length, i.e. forty to sixty lines concentrate on a single theme. Examples include al-Zabādi's entreaty to the Prophet's daughter Fātima of forty-six lines, another brotherly poem of fifty-eight lines and al-ʿAyyāšī's brotherly poem of fifty-one lines. The shorter poems, muqatāʿāt, are restricted to one theme only.

In terms of the connection between the length and theme we conclude that except for the Riḥlät of al-ʿĀmirī, al-Murābīṭ and al-Zabādi, which all contain prophetic commendation, entreaty, yearning and longing, and brotherly themes, which go along with the aims of their journeys to perform al-Ḥajj, visit the Prophet's mosque and grave, meet scholars and attend their lessons. This does not mean that these themes are

1 Al-Harrāma, al-Qaṣīda al-Andahsiyya, vol. 2, p. 58
2 Al-ʿĀmirī's Riḥla, pp. 89-104.
3 Al-ʿAyyāšī's Riḥla, vol. 1, pp. 69-76.
5 Ibid., p. 349.
7 See al-ʿAyyāšī's two lines given previously as an example on pp. 80 and 122.
restricted to the *qaṣīda* only, they can also be found in *maqṣūra*. On the other hand, elegy, separation moments and admonition, are themes that are only found in *maqṣūra*.

### 3. The Organic Unity

Organic unity means that the poem should be an integrated, vivid complete composition in which the elements of feeling, ideas and imagery form a unity. Whereas unity of theme might imply that no more than one theme is to be covered in one poem. Organic unity is based on three elements according to Muḥammad Nāyīl who explain that, saying that the first is the unity of ideas which means harmony and connection between the constituents of the poem, in terms of ideas and imagery, whether the poem consists of one theme or many themes. The second is the unity of feeling, which means that the feeling must not weaken, or slacken after strength, and the third is artistic unity, which means that the poem must be consistent regarding its style and artistic composition; it must not be strong in one part and weak in another.² Thus, early critics emphasised the links between the various themes of the pre-Islamic, *Jāhili*, poems. Ibn Qutayba (d. 336/947), for example, notices that he heard, as in R. A. Nicholson’s translation,

> From a man of learning that the composer of Odes began by mentioning the deserted dwelling-places and the relics and traces of habitation. Then he wept and complained and addressed the desolate encampment, and begged his companion to make a halt, in order that he might have [an] occasion to speak of those who had once lived there and afterwards departed... Then to this he linked the erotic prelude (*nasīb*), and bewailed the violence of his love and the anguish of separation from his mistress and the extremity of his passion and desire, so as to win the hearts of hearers and divert their eyes towards him and invite their ears to listen to him, since the song of love touches men's souls and takes hold of their hearts.³

Perhaps the best example of organic unity is to be found in al-ʿĀmirī’s *Rihla*. Although it contains many ideas and themes, these are well presented, and are displayed in a logical sequence and the connection between them is so well woven, to the point that the given order cannot accept any alterations. It is a complete and thorough description of everything that should be done by the pilgrim, step by step, starting from being financially and physically able to perform *al-Ḥajj* until he returns home, which seems like a complete narrative sequence. Also, there is a psychological unity in the poem, as

---

well as artistic unity, whereby all parts of the poem are build with the same level eloquence. Al-Āmīri starts with the urge to perform al-Ḥajj as a main Islamic pillar, which must be done once in a lifetime by those who are financially and physically capable of it. He advises the pilgrim to clear his debts, if any, and provide support for his family during his absence, but at the same time place his trust in Allah, because ones father and brothers might became tired of this responsibility:

AZMAM SIR EN DHA'T ADWA'U
FILADA MAS'ATU QAYO QARIRU
WAFAQ DIBAL EN IKAN BIK DIN
FAQID'ABA MIN AL-KAREM WAFA'
WAFAQH QULILA AL-HIJAB, FA LAD TAD
QAD IMAL AL-FAWQAN WALA'-ABA
1

Then he moves on to the next stage, indicating many significant things which should be prepared by the pilgrim for the hard and long journey, including purchasing faster horses and the strongest camels and appropriate clothing for various seasons, particularly warm ones to protect himself from the winter, especially in al-Ḥijāz which is considered the coldest region in Arabia. He also gives advice as to appropriate cooking utensils and bedding:

WANFAQH AS-MA'RAB QURAB SIBA'
SI'HAMA UNDAMA BIQIN QUNIAN
2 QAD ABBIQ IN TAKN QID'ABA
I'N BRID AL-HIJAB AUSAR BRID

He then says:

TI'M ALAYTI MUSUL QA'AD QASAM
TI'M RA'QA WA MURRAFAH SHAMMA TQUMA TIKRAH YLIA' GAUTHAM
QA'AD QA'AD WA'INA WIND WIND
3 QA'AD QAD'ABA WAHIBA WIND AMIN.

Al-Āmīri describes the behaviour, which the pilgrim should adopt in order to be respected and dearly loved by his companions, then he starts describing the stages of the road and performance of al-Ḥajj and al-Ziyāra rituals.4

1Al-Āmīri's Rihla, p. 89.
2Ibid., p. 89.
3Ibid., p. 90.
4For more details and examples see infra, pp. 116 and 123-4.
The last part of his *Rihla* is about Palestine, where Moroccan pilgrims desired to visit the site of Jerusalem and the graves of various prophets including Jesus and Yūnus and the Prophet Muhammad's companions, urging pilgrims not to neglect visiting such places:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ثم لا تنسى بيت خم إذا ما} & \quad \\
\text{فد مسقى رأس عيسى وفيه} & \quad \\
\text{ونجي الاله يونس زره} & \quad \\
\text{وينب الطريقي حيث البناء} & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

Then he ends his *Rihla* by asking the reader to pray for him, states that his *Rihla* included seven lines of other poets, and in the last line, invokes Allah's blessing and peace upon the Prophet, a traditional conclusion, as will be mentioned later. He ends saying:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ولناصبها ادع باختب بالحسنى} & \quad \\
\text{وتاريخ نظمها بشفيع} & \quad \\
\text{وإن حاج محمد قد جللاها} & \quad \\
\text{وإن حاج محمدهن أقداء} & \quad \\
\text{وعلى المصطفى وآل صلاة} & \quad \\
\text{ وسلم وما له إفاء} & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

4. The Opening Verses

Poets and critics pay tremendous attention to the opening verse. The poet makes much effort to excel in eloquence whilst opening his *qasida*, in order to impress the public, to stimulate him to give his attention to the remainder of the poem. It gives them the first impression and therefore, it must be attractive and enjoyable. Early Arab critics established some important requirements such as, that the opening should contain simple and eloquent, not obscure or ordinary words, and that the rhythm plays a major role in adding attractiveness. Furthermore, the opening should be relevant to the poems' general theme, which should be identified by it.  

1 Al-Āmirī’s *Rihla*, p. 103.
2 See supra, pp. 142-3.
3 Al-Āmirī’s *Rihla*, p. 104.
Al-‘Ayyāshi starts one of his poems with the remembrance of one of his closest and dearest friends, expressing his longing to meet him again, saying, “Is there no end to this separation? When will the meeting moment comes?”

In this opening, the rhythm originates from the repetition of the word يا أين لك انقطاع يا وصل أين لك ارتفاع, called balanced repeat, repeating the letters أين, ان, ان, and balance between syllables of words, which is called al-taqsim, (dividing). He also, embellishes it and makes its meaning clearer and stronger by the use of contrast between the first hemistich and the second. In addition, this opening is suitable to the poem’s theme and is related to it.

Also, a poet sometimes chooses a certain word in order to embellish his opening verse, for example, to achieve this aim he depends on jinäs (paronomasia), whereby words of similar letters are repeated, which creates a rhythm, especially if this word contains one of the sibilant letters such as س. The early renowned critic al-Qaratjanni referred to another significant point, observing that some poets support the opening by taking care of the next line in order to complete the meaning. Al-Zābādi, for example, started one of his poems by repeating سأى and سأىل twice in order to show his great sorrow and deep feeling at not accompanying the pilgrim caravan leaving for al-Ḥijāz. In the following line asserts the reason for his sorrow, repeating the word أرض twice and using two words containing the letter س. He laments, “They left without anyone of them asking about me, while my tears were falling. They went to the land of al-Ḥijāz, to a land where those who ask have a place (to ask).”

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1Al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 2, P. 51. [The emphasis is mine]
2Repetition and jinäs, are studied in more detail in the style, see supra, pp. 173-7 and 181-4.
Al-‘Ayyāshi, also, repeats sibilant letters such as س ص،،،،ز in order to develop an attractive rhythm saying:

الذي لم تجع خير أصابها كما جزعت بالأمس إذ منها الجهد

Some poets beautify their opening poems by including some types of Badi‘ (ornamentation), such as al-‘tībāq (antithesis) or al-muqābala (opposition).\(^3\) They also choose words suitable for the theme. For instance, strong and imposing words are considered suitable for panegyric and boasting, soft and calm words are used for love and elegy.

Al-‘Ayyāshi praised one of his scholars starting with:

إن لكي العبد مورونا ومكستا زكاء أصل وفرع آخر الخمسا

There is tībāq between فرع أصل and مكستا، then between فرع أصل and مكستا، in addition to the use of strong and imposing words, as the reader might observe.

Al-Zabādi sent a poem from Fes to his friend while performing al-Hajj, expressing his deep longing and sorrow at being far away from him, saying that his heart is absent in the East [al-Ḥijāz], whereas, his body is in Fes:

الله قلب غائب في مشرق والجسم رهن حاضر في فاس

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1Al-Zabādi’s Rihla, p. 320.
2Al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, p. 232. See the translation of these lines on p. 140.
3Al-‘tībāq and al-muqābala both refer to the juxtaposition of opposites, but al-‘tībāq combines just two words of contradictory meaning. While, muqābala brings together more than two words. See Badawi Ṭabāna, Muqam al-Balagha al-‘Arabiyya 3\(^{rd}\) edn (Jadda: Dār al-Manārā, 1988), p. 526; Ahmad Abū Ḥāqa, al-Balagha wa al-Ṭahill al-Adabī, pp. 185-6.
5Al-Zabādi’s Rihla, p. 347.
In this line, al-Zabādi employed two rhetorical devices to beautify the opening of the poem. The first is the muqābala, between his absent heart in the East (al-Ḥijāz) and his body found in Fes (in the West of the Arab world) which asserts the meaning. The second is the balanced division between the sentences of the first hemistich and the second, which, as previously mentioned, creates a wonderful rhythm.

5. Poem Introduction

There is often a relationship between the introduction and the main theme of the poem. Elegiac poetry, for example, should not be started by any kind of introduction because the painful occasion requires elegizing the dead directly. On the other hand, it is customary in panegyric poems that include prophetic commendations, to start with a romantic prelude or symbolic love introduction examples being the two famous poems Ka'b b. Zuhayr's *al-Burda* and al-Buṣīri’s *al-Burda*, which have been frequently imitated by poets. However, most travelers did not start their prophetic commendations in accordance with this traditional introduction, the exception being Ibn al-Ṭayyib, as will be mentioned later. They might not start their poems with a romantic prelude, respecting and glorifying the Prophet, but they sometimes started prophetic commendations with a hijāziyya introduction, or by describing their happiness at arriving to al-Ḥijāz or complaining about their condition. In a few cases, they start their poems with other introductions, such as a praise of Allah and blessing and peace upon the Prophet, a romantic introduction or they liken the poem to a beautiful girl, as will be mentioned later. In contrast, the travelers started most of their poems by stating the main theme directly.

5.1. Direct Introduction

As mentioned above most of the travelers’ poems start with direct introductions, stating the main theme of the poem. Al-Zabādi starts his elegy directly, stating his deep sorrow resulting from the loss of two of his closest friens, saying that the happy and enjoyable life he had with them changed to one of sorrow and sadness:

\[
\text{مَلَّتُ وَمَا جَرَّتُ مِنْ فُرَقَةِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يَفْتَّرُوا}
\]

\[
	ext{شَرِيْتُ كُورَسًا مِنْ حَلاوةَ وَدِهُمْ حِيْاَقُمْ إِذْ عَمّالُونُ بِالْقَرْبِ}
\]

\[
\text{١} \text{Al-tībāg and al-muqābala are studied in more detail in the ornamentation style, see supra, p. 184-6.}
\]

\[
\text{٢} \text{For details about the poets Ka'b and al-Buṣīri and their two famous poems, see infra, p. 79.}
\]
Al-‘Ayyāshi expresses directly his great joy at being very close to Medina, the site of the Prophet’s mosque and grave saying, “O, my companion, you attained your wish to be close to the Prophet’s grave.”:

يا صاحبى نلت المتنى فاستبشر ودنتو من دار الرسول الأطهر

Al-Zabādi, also, starts with the same meaning saying, “O, my heart, these are the beloved’s dwellings, O, my eyes, this is what you wished to see. As Medina’s sights appeared to me and my heart seas like flying dove.”:

فؤادي هذا منزل الحب فاحضر وما عين ذا كنت تبغين فانظر

5.2. Introduction of Praise and Blessing

A few poems start with praise and gratitude to Allah, and peace and blessing be upon his Prophet Muhammad, his family, his companions, and those who rightly follow them. Four poems of al-‘Ayyāshi, two poems of al-Zabādi and one of Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām begin with this introduction. Al-‘Ayyāshi uses this introduction to begin poems containing supplication and entreaty to Allah and the Prophet, prophetic commendation and a brotherly poem, in which he answered an academic question from one of his friends. ² Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām opens only one of his poems in this way. It is on a brotherly theme including an answer to an academic question from one of his friends. ³ Al-Zabādi’s poems are on brotherly themes, including sub themes such as praise, longing and dedication of the poem to one of his friends. ⁵

Al-‘Ayyāshi, for instance, composed a poem supplicating and entreating Allah and the Prophet for protection from the plague, asking that it be cleared away from Egypt. He opens this poem by saying, “Praise and gratitude be to Allah, and peace and blessing be

1 Al-Zabādi’s Rihla, p. 344.
³ Al-Zabādi’s Rihla, p. 98.
⁵ Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām’s Rihla, p. 267.
⁶ Al-Zabādi’s Rihla, pp. 349 and 359.
on his Prophet Muhammad, his family, his companions, and those who rightly follow them”:

الحمد لله محمد من بلي فدعا
والشكر لله شكر من إليه سعي
فضل من لذمام الوافدين رعي
صلاة وسلام على أصحابه وجميع من له تعا

al-Zabādi, as mentioned previously, begins a brotherly poem by saying, “praise be to Allah and peace be on the Prophet.”:

حمدا معلق قادر
ولهرايا فاطر
ثم على من جاء
نا بسبا وفاطر
أركي صلاة كلمة
سري الإهى بخاطر

5.3. Romantic Introduction

None of the travelers’ poems use this type of introduction, as far I am aware, except Al-Murābiṭ in his Ribla. Al-Murābiṭ opens his poetic Ribla, composed of various themes, by asking the camel herd to tighten the howdah and take care because it carried his heart and left him distracted. Then, he asks how could he enjoy life while he is in this state, and asks the camel herd to handle his heart with kindness and take his suffering into consideration. Then al-Murābiṭ says that the next day the love [passion] star will be seen, and again complains about his difficult situation in being far away from his lover. He talks to his heart, admonishing it for not considering his great sorrow for him, then once again, al-Murābiṭ asks the camel herd to be gentle with his heart and choose the easiest and most comfortable roads:

زم الهواء والتركتني عافي الخشا ونوفها
ذا زفة تذكى بقلبي الصاد
فنسى أجود ممجزي حيى متي
يهوى الحياة منزع الأكباب
رفا بقلبي فهو بين رحالك
فأرى أنكاس مراعه إذ خلق
وجدو المطافبا والب الأوهاد
جسم المعنى في عرب الأسفاد
فغدا برى نجم الغرام وعده
واقد وقوفي شاكبا مستعرا ما دهاسي معن أليم بعاد

1 Al-Ayyāshi’s Ribla, vol. 1, p. 117.
2 Al-Zabādi’s Ribla, p. 359.
In fact, this introduction is associated with the general objective of the Rihla which was composed to describe the journey to perform al-Ḥajj and visit the Prophet's mosque and grave. Thus, this introduction reveals the poet's considerable sorrow at being far away from the Prophet and his great longing to visit him, performing al-Ḥajj and Ziyāra rituals and enjoy staying in the holy places in al-Hijāz.

5.4. Hijāziyya Introduction

It is obvious that some of the prophetic commendations open with the names of places in al-Hijāz where the Prophet and his companions lived and moved around. These places represent the remaining witnesses to that particular period of prophetic mission, which is considered the most significant in Islamic history. So, the poets opened some prophetic commendations by mentioning these places, the objects of their longing, as symbols of the Prophet himself. Al-Zabādi, for example, opens a poem of prophetic commendation by mentioning a number of Hijāzi places such as Najd, Raḥma, Kūthā, Um al-Qurā, Sil', Qubā and Tayba. He also mentioned some desert plants such as al-'Arār, al-Rand, al-Athl, al-Sarw and al-Ghada, and places such as al-Liwā and al-Raqmatayn, which are usually referred to in poems about ruins. These tremendous feelings towards places in al-Hijāz appear clearly in the repetition of the word 'salām', (greeting) to these places in the beginning of each line, from the opening till the 16th line:

In the first 16 lines:

1 Al-Murābīt's Rihla, p. 116.
2 Al-Zabādi's Rihla, p. 142.
Until he says:

سلام علی وادی العقیق و بارق
وطیبیة رضی الله مَرْؤوقة الود
سلام علی سلم ومن حبل فی فی
فآختم سکان فلسفی والکبد

5.5. Symbolic Love Introduction

As mentioned previously, none of the travelers start their poems with this type of introduction except for Ibn al-Tayyib, who starts one of his prophetic commendations by indicating that a flash of lightning, which emerged from Qubā, stimulated his memories of the enjoyable days he had previously spent with his beloved Su'ād, in that nice meadow with its beautiful plants, flowers and river:

6. Moving from the Introduction to the Main Theme (or from one Theme to Another)

Early Arab critics favoured a smooth and interesting transition from the introduction to the main theme or from one theme to another. The reader or listener must feel that there is a wonderful connection and harmonisation between them. The skill of the poet in moving from one part to another demonstrates his ability to control his text. An abrupt breaking of a theme, or sudden change should not be observed in a poetic text. Various methods were used to connect the introduction to the next or the main theme. For instance, there were moral links, which asserted the relationship between them and structural links, such as the use of simile, particles, assertion, or narrative style. Al-Qādiri moved from describing the sights of creation to praise for his shaykh, Abū al-

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1Ibid., p. 142.

2Qubā is the site of the historic mosque built near Medina, in era of the Prophet.

3Ibn al-Tayyib's Rīḥā, p. 111.
"Abbās, by likening the light of the bright sun to his praised face, [Abū al-`Abbās's face], which seems an easy and accepted transfer. He continues his praise saying, “That son of `Abd Allah, the source of aid in our time, the reviver of hearts and the quencher for the seeker.”

Ibn al-Ṭayyib, in one of his Prophetic commendations, moved from a symbolic love introduction to the praise of the Prophet, by using the interrogative particle مُثّل as a connector, saying, “When will I enjoy the most pleasant of times in ṭayba (Medina) and return to the sweetest of its perfumes? When will I sing in its spaciousness, a praise for the Messenger sent from (the tribe of) Muḍjar?”:

Some introductions were abbreviated in order to move to the main theme quickly. This is considered one of the skills of transition according to some critics such as al-Qartājanni and Ibn al-Munqidh. Al-`Ayyāshi indicated the main theme in the second line, comparing the camels' case before and on arriving at Medina, the site of the Prophet's mosque and grave, and using assertion ذ. Sentry, saying, “My close friends, my riding mount speeds on her journey, whereas previously she ignored both her rider and guide. It has become clear to her, with a knowledge that is certain, that she has become near to the grave of the Messenger. So she didn't become concerned for the heat that befell her, like the concern she showed yesterday, when she was touched by fatigue. So don't be surprised by the fact she knows how close she is without having any previous experience of it. The excellence of Allah's Messenger is clear on the creation, as testified by the mute and the hard stone.”

---

1 Al-Qādiri’s Rihla, p. 42.
2 Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Rihla, p. 111.
3 Al-Qartājanni, Minhāj al-Bulaghā, p. 320.
5 This translation and subsequent translations of the poems are mine.
On the other hand, al-ʿAyāshī moved from praise to elegy in a weak style which came very near to common prose style:

Al-Zabādi's poem also includes a good symbolic love story, as previously mentioned, however he fails to connect it to the praise for the Prophet's family. Although there is a link in the great love and genuine passion expressed in both parts, the weak style of the transition gives a feeling of being cutting off, which might be the result of the lack of any structural link. In addition, there is a sudden change in the use of pronoun shifting from the third person, to the first person, which might show that there are two separate and different positions. Thus he says, "She promises him, so he hopes and doesn't know, if the promise is a lie. He remains awake through the night, as perhaps she will come, visiting when the covers are drawn. Her visit is only a promise and her coming is only displeasure. So he remains submerged in worry and yearning, as his tears flow." Then he suddenly moves to describe his love to the Prophet's family saying, "With something to meet him with my love for them, as indeed, their anger is ruin. My yearning will never dwindle and my desire will never decline."

1 Al-ʿAyāshī's Rihla, vol. 1, p. 232.
2 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 74.
3 See the previous chapter, pp. 90-2.
7. The Ending of the Poem

The ending is an expression that leaves the reader or the hearer with the sense that the text is complete. The significance of the conclusion comes from the fact that it is the last impression that remains in the mind of the receiver. The travelers ended their poems in various ways. Most of them ended, "Blessing and peace be upon the Prophet and his family, companions and followers." A small number ended by calling peace upon the praised person, or with an invocation for him, or them. Very few poems end with other conclusions such as entreaty, invocation of Allah to sprinkle the dead person's grave with rain, dating the occasion of the poem, or dedicating the poem to the person it praised.

Travelers, in particular al-Zabädi and Al-‘Ayyäshi, end most of their poems with, 'Blessing and peace be upon the Prophet', and sometimes add prayer and entreaty to his glory and high rank. The best examples are endings linking blessing and peace with an assertion of the main theme. Al-‘Ayyäshi, for instance, ended one of his prophetic commendations by praying for the Prophet's glory, calling blessing and peace upon him and asserting his longing for Najd, which is considered a significant symbol of the Prophet who lived there:

Al-Zabädi also, asserts his great passionate love for the Prophet by ending his poem saying, 'Allah's blessing and peace be upon him, his family and followers as much as the birds' song, the breeze of Şabä and remembrance of a beloved':

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1 Al-Zabädi's Riḥla, p. 181
Some poets end their poems by invoking peace upon their family or the praised person or persons. Al-‘Ayyāši ends his poem of farewell to his wife with ‘peace be upon her’, asserting in a wonderful expression that there is no meeting between them, except through the vision:

فودتـها والقلب منطقـ على
أيامـ دمعي لا يمل من الوکف
عليكم سلام لا زيارة بینا معا
البعد إلا أن أзор مع الطيف

It is customary that some poems are ended by a prayer for the praised person. Al-‘Ayyāši drew attention to the conclusion line, with his prayer for the praised person by repeating the letter ‘r’ which generates an attractive rhythm:

شـاد بـها من بناء الـذين ما اهدـها
جزاء روب الوـرى خيرا وصرـة
بـحشرة الله طـول الـدهر مخبرـا

It is also customary that an elegy ends with a prayer for the dead, because it is acceptable and expected in these particular circumstances, since the dead is considered in urgent need for prayers. Al-‘Ayyāši prays for one of his closest friends Muḥammad for forgiveness and that he might be in paradise and promises that he will keep praying for him, in particular during the rituals of al-Ḥajj, al-‘Umra and al-Ziyāra. He ends with glorification of Allah:

ورـفاك في الفرـدوس أـعلى مكانـة
وجدروا له ما دمت حيـا ولم أكن
لا إثر حـسـم الذكرـ في كـل ختمـا

Al-Zabādi prays that the grave may be sprinkled, in a traditional style found, “In the poetry of earlier generations.” Then he prays that peace be upon him, as much as the lover is passionately in love with his beloved, and the pigeon coos:

أُسْفِنَ اللهِ أَرْضًا حَلَّاءٌ فِي مَالَكَ
ذَهَابَ الْمَغَادِيْينَ المَبْتَنِيِّينَ فَأَمْرُهَا

---

2 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 76.
3 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 76.
4 Alan Jones, Early Arabic Poetry; volume one: Marāthi and Sīrīq Poems (Oxford: Ithaca Press Reading, 1992), p. 115. For example, Mutanunim b. Nūayra (d. 30/651) elegizes his brother Mālik saying:

“May God [Allah] bring rain to land where Mālik’s grave lies— heavy rain coming in abundance from the morning clouds, and may He make it verdant.” See Ibid., p. 115.
Some travelers end their poems by dedicating it to the praised person. Al-Qādirī, for example dedicated his poem to the scholar Abū al-ʿAbbās, describing it as a virgin girl that has been conducted to him:

\[
\text{عَرَوْةُ فَكْرٍ أَنْشَدَتِ فِي مَذْيَكَمْ}
\]
\[
\text{مَقْنَعَةَ بِكَرَا تَزْفُ إِلَى بِكَرِ}
\]
\[
\text{مِنَ القَادِريِّ المَغْرِبيِّ مَحْكِمَ قَصَرِ}
\]
\[
\text{خِطَا نَظَمُ الطَّوْبِ مِنَ الْشَّعْرِ}
\]

Al-Zabādī ended two brotherly poems by dating them, saying, “Your companion, ‘Abd al-Majīd, wrote on Tuesday night, the Third of Rajab, in the year eleven forty one.”:

\[
\text{صَنَوْكِمْ عَبْدٌ اَلْمَجِيِّدُ قَدْ كَتِبَ}
\]
\[
\text{لِبَلَةَ الأَرْبَعِاءِ ثَلَاثٌ رَجَبِ}
\]
\[
\text{مِنَ عَامٍ وَاحَدٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ وَمَائَةٌ أَفْفٌ مِنَ السَّنَينَ}
\]

Abū Madyān ended one of his poems by repeating the first hemistich as the second hemistich of the last line. In addition to, ‘Blessing and peace of Allah be upon the Prophet’, he said in the opening, “To you Abū al-ʿAbbās I turn to, crossing the desert, after performing my Ḥaḍj:”

\[
\text{إِلِيكَ أَبا الْعَبْسَ وَجَهَتُ وَجَهَيٌّ أَجَوَابُ الْفِيَانِ بَعْدَ أَدَاَهُ حَجَّيْنِ}
\]

Then he ended the poem saying, “And send blessings oh Lord of the Throne, as long as your dominion lasts, upon the Chosen One [the Prophet], my treasure and hope. And upon his family and Companions as long as the poet turns to you Abū al-ʿAbbās.”:

\[
\text{وَصُلُّ إِلَىِّ الْأَرْضِ مَا دَامَ مَلَكُهُ}
\]
\[
\text{عَلَىِّ الْمِكْتَارَ ذَخْرِيِّ وَمِنْيِّ}
\]
\[
\text{وَأَلَّهُ وَالأَصْحَابُ مَا قَالَ مِنْهُدِ إِلِيكَ أَبا الْعَبْسَ وَجَهَتُ وَجَهَيٌّ}
\]

Al-Ḥudayyī ended his poem by quoting a whole famous line containing invaluable wisdom, which had become proverbial, saying, “And strive for majesty and embrace the majesty of those who have died and who were patient. And don’t think that majesty is a date for you to eat, as you won’t reach the pinnacle of majesty until you taste aloevera.”:

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1 Al-Zabādī’s Riḥla, p. 345.
2 Al-Qādirī’s Riḥla, p. 15.
4 Abū Madyān’s Riḥla, p. 214.
5 Ibid., p. 214.
One of the indications of the poet’s care for the conclusion is the concentration on the main theme, so the conclusion arises naturally out of the previous meaning. Ibn Nāṣir ended his prophetic commendation by asserting his tremendous passionate love for the Prophet, saying “Let me die longing for the Prophet and write on my grave that I love him”:

دُعِوَنِي أمِتُ شَوْقاً إِلَيْهِ وَحَتَّى وَخَطَّوا عَلَى قُبْرِي بِأَهَوَاهُ

Section Two

Content (Meanings and ideas)

The ideas included in the travelers’ poetry clearly reflect the religious education the travelers had received in Ṣūfī Zawāyā, such as the entreaty and al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadīyya (Muhammadan Reality), which will be investigated in the light of orthodox Sunni belief. The distinguishing features by which the meaning of their poetry is characterised, such as clearness and easiness are also analysed in this section.

1. Entreaty (Tawassul)

The travelers paid great attention to this theme. It was a key feature not only in the travelers’ poetry but also in Moroccan poetry in general. Al-Dilā‘īyyīn, for example, put the Prophet on the same level as Allah and asked the Prophet for forgiveness just as they invoked Allah. This exaggeration is not strange, when we find out that the Moroccans’ love of the Prophet was even equal to the love of Allah. Entreaty, whether to the prophet Muḥammad, other prophets, or to Awliyā’, predominates over other ideas, themes, or issues. The travelers composed a huge number of poems entreating such persons while visiting their graves. The travelers call upon the deceased Awliyā’

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1Al-Ḥuḍaykī’s Ṣūfī Rihla, p. 3. See this line in Amal Shalaq, Muḥ̄ajr al-Muḥ̄ajr al-Muḥ̄ajr, Muḥ̄ajr al-Muḥ̄ajr al-Muḥ̄ajr (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭibīb al-Muḥ̄ajrī), p. 362. The word means taste the bitter juice obtained from various species of aloe.


3Al-Dilā‘īyyīn is applied to poets who belonged to al-Zawāyī al-Dilā‘īyyī, which was considered the most renowned Ṣūfī Zawāyī in Morocco in that time. For more details, see infra, pp. 48 and 76-9.

4Al-Saqqāṭ, al-Shīr al-Dilā‘ī, p. 126.
and pious occupants of graves for assistance, requesting them to fulfil needs, such as removing distress, curing illness and granting them a safe return to their homes. It was common practice among them to visit graves, compose poems of entreaty and suspend these over the graves, seeking the baraka of the dead person. Even when they composed poems, which should have been pure supplication and entreaty to Allah, they ended with entreaty to the Prophet's right or rank. The travelers used to entertain through imploring the Prophet or other Awliya', to whom they sometimes supplicate, or entreat directly, without mentioning Allah. Ibn al-Ţayyib, for example, composed a poem while visiting the grave of al-Badawi, exaggerating his praise of him, saying that he is unique in demeanor throughout the whole world, with no equal, dead or alive, named as the Qutb of all Aqtab:

واعتراضي لفقهدي أو شاي
.execution of deeds to the grave of him

Also, the travelers could refer to those Awliya' by terms such as qutb and ghawth. Al-Hashtüki, for instance, composed a whole poem containing an explicit entreaty to the famous Sufi scholar Ibn Zarrüq, saying, "O Qutb of his age. Are not you, the one who said if you were in distress, just call me and I would come immediately to help. Abü al-'Abbás is in distress, O, our imām help him."

Also for some details about his biography, see infra, p. 96 and the Ahmadiyya order on p. 209.

Footnotes:
1 For some details about his biography, see infra, p. 96 and the Ahmadiyya order on p. 209.
2 For details about Qutb [pl. aqṭāb] and other words such as ghawth, watad and badal, see infra, p. 99.
3 Ibn al-Ţayyib’s Riḥla, p. 119.
4 For some details about his biography, see infra, pp. 43-4.
5 Al-Hashtüki's Riḥla, p. 68.
Al-‘Ayyāshi in a poem given previously entreated renowned Ṣūfī scholars, as well as the Qurāb of his time, the Awtād, the Ghawth and the Abdāl in order to clear away the plague.

In fact, this is considered a significant dogmatic issue, and this kind of supplication, tawassul is indeed prohibited and forbidden according to Islamic Sunni teaching. As al-Albaanee [sic] clearly asserts that, “Contrary to the greatest foundation of Islam, which is that all worship is to be for Allah, the most high, alone, and that he is to be singled out with all the types and branches of worship." He confirms that every matter must be referred back to the book of Allah, the Qurān, and the Sunna of his Messenger. He continues, saying that this indeed, is, “What our Messenger Muhammad command us to do in his saying: I have left amongst you two things; you will not go astray as long as you cling to them: the book of Allah and the Sunnah [sic] of his messenger”.

Al-Albaanee went further saying:

After careful research, of what is reported in the Noble Book and the pure Sunnah, [sic] there are three types of Tawassul which Allah, the Most High, has prescribed and encouraged. Some of them are reported in the Qurān [sic] and were used by the messenger صلى الله عليه وسلم, and he encouraged their use. Amongst them is not to be found any Tawassul by means of any person, nor their status, nor their rights, nor their station. So this shows that this is not prescribed and does not enter into the general Ṣawilah which is mentioned in the Qurān.

Al-Albaanee indicated that the three prescribed types of tawassul are, “Tawassul (seeking a means of nearness) to Allah, the most high, by means of his perfect and most beautiful names or his exalted attributes.” The second Tawassul is to Allah by, “Means of righteous deeds which the person supplicating has done, such as the Muslim’s saying: O Allah by my Ḥman [belief] in you, and my love for you, and my following of your

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1See infra, p. 99. See also many examples clarifying this issue in chapter three, pp. 90-100.


3Ibid., pp. 6-7.

4Ibid., pp. 23-4. Al-Albaanee indicated to some verses such as the saying of Allah in suratul-Kahf, verse 110, “So, whoever hopes for the meeting with his Lord, let him work righteousness and associate none as a partner in the worship of his Lord.” See also surat Ghāfr, verse 60 and suratul-Baqara, verse 189.
Messenger, forgive me," The third type, as Al-Albaanee says, is seeking a means of nearness to Allah, by the supplication of a [alive] righteous man. He gives the example of a Muslim who falls into great difficulty and he wishes to use a strong help in drawing nearer to Allah. So he goes to a man whom he believes to be righteous and to be one who fears Allah, or a person possessing excellence and knowledge of the Book and the Sunna and he asks him to supplicate to his Lord for him that he (i.e. Allah) should relieve his distress and remove what had befallen him.¹

Al-Albaanee supported his view on this significant matter by pointing out mentioning that he was not alone in criticising these innovated forms of tawassul, rather great imāms and scholars of the past had preceded him in this criticism, confirming that:

At least one of the scholars of thought which people follow, and that is the madhhab of Abu Hanifah, [sic] rahimahullah [sic]. There occurs in al-Durr al-Mukhtar (2/630), and it is one of the most famous of the books of the Hanafis, "From Abu Hanifah [sic]: it is not fitting at all that anyone should supplicate to Allah except by him, and using such supplications as have been permitted and ordered.²

Al-Albaanee confirms that those who seek to permit innovated forms of tawassul use many hadiths as evidence which after careful consideration fall into two categories; the first are authentic from the Prophet, but not show what they claim, nor support their view, such as the hadith of the blind man³ which revolves around tawassul by his du‘ā’ (prayer) which falls into the third prescribed type mentioned above, and no connection

¹Ibid., p. 27.
²Ibid., pp. 43-7.
³Ibid., p. 45. Al-Albaanee also quoted other scholars' views in support of his view such as that of shaykh al-Islām Ahmad b. Taymiyya, who is considered one of the greatest and most renowned scholars in Islamic history so far, who strongly denied that any kind of tawassul, by means of the Prophet after his death, had been allowed by any of the known four imāms. See Ibid., pp. 77-8.
⁴Uthmān b. Hanif related that, "A blind man came to the Prophet and said, 'Supplicate to Allah that He should cure me.' So he said, if you wish I will supplicate for you and if you wish I will delay that, for that is better.' So he said, 'Supplicate to Him.' So the Prophet order him to make wudū twice and prayer two rak‘āt and to make this du‘ā', 'O Allah I ask you and turn to you by means of your Prophet Muhammad, the Prophet of your mercy, O Muhammad I have turned by means of you (i.e. your du‘ā') to my Lord in this need of mind, so that it may be fulfilled for me, O Allah accept him as a supplicant on my behalf, and accept Muhammad supplication for him (to be accepted for me).' He said, 'So the man did it and he was cured.' [This translation is taken from Al-Albaanee. Tawassul: Seeking a Means of Nearness to Allah, p. 68.] This Hadith is reported by Ibn Māja, Sunni Ibn Māja, vol. 1, p. 441, no. 1385.
to *tawassul* by his status. The second are not authentic\(^1\) from the Prophet,\(^2\) and therefore do not merit consideration.

In addition *al-Shaykh* al-Madkhalee [sic] asserts that Calling upon others besides Allah, calling and supplication to the dead is, “A very dangerous manifestation of Şüfism\(^3\)” referring that it is, “Major *shirk* which is warned against in many verses of the Noble Qur’aan [sic]”\(^4\), Allah said, for instance, “And invoke not besides Allah any such that neither profit you nor hurt you, but if (in case) you did so, you shall certainly be one of the *Zālimūn* (polytheists and wrongdoers).\(^5\)

2. *Al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadīyya*, (the Muḥammadan Reality)

*Al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadīyya* as a concept and Şüfi doctrine was first known as *al-Nūr al-Muḥammadī* (the Muḥammadan Light). The first explicit mention of *al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadīyya*, according to Julian Johansen, is as traditionally understood to have been in the work of ‘Abd al-Karim al-Jili (d. 832/1428) in his reference *al-Insān al-Kāmil* who speaks of the Muḥammadan form (*al-ṣūra al-Muḥammadīyya*) which he glosses as, “The light from which God created the Garden and the Fire and the prolongation (*mumtadd*) from which were created torture and blessed repose,”\(^6\) which, for instance, means that it, “Is not fully constituted and active before the appearance in this world of the person named Muḥammed [the Prophet \(s.a.w\) ], but is also

\(^1\) Such the *Ḥadīth* from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudārī, quoted as the saying of the Prophet, “Whoever goes out from his house for the prayer and says: ‘O Allah, I ask you by the right of those who ask of you...’ then Allah turn His face to him.” This *Ḥadīth*’s chain of narration is weak since it is narrated through ‘Atīyya al-‘Awfī who is weak as declared by al-Nawawī in *Al-Adhkār*. For more details, see Al-Albaanee. *Tawassul: Seeking a Means of Nearness to Allah*, pp. 94-8.


\(^4\) Ibid., p. 36.

\(^5\) M. Khan and M. Al-Hilali, *The interpretation of the meaning of the Noble Qur’ān*, *ṣūrat Yūnus*, verse. 106, p. 313. Also Allah said, “Surely, the religion (i.e. the worship and the obedience) is for Allah only. And those who take *Awliyā’* (protectors, helpers, lords, gods) beside Him (say): ‘We worship them only that they may bring us near to Allah.’ Verily, Allah will judge between them concerning that wherein they differ. Truly, Allah guides not him who is a liar, and a disbeliever.” Ibid., *ṣūrat al-Zumar*, verse. 3, p. 653.

situated prior to history.\textsuperscript{1} Süfi scholars stated in their works that the Prophet existed before the creation, that all creations including the earth and the sky were created for him, that he is the original created reservoir from which the lights of the creation shine forth, that souls were created from his soul and that he is the source of all kinds of knowledge. In addition to this they assert that he is the perfect man. Ibn 'Arabi, for example sees that the first being to be endowed with existence was \textit{al-Haqiqa al-Muḥammadiyya} out of which all things were created.\textsuperscript{2} Al-Hallāj (died 309/922) says that the tabernacle \textit{mishkāt} mentioned in the Qur'ān (\textit{sūrat al-Nūr}, verse 35) is Muḥammad and the torch \textit{miṣbāḥ} in the tabernacle is \textit{al-Nūr al-Muḥammadi}.\textsuperscript{3}

Some travelers, in particular, al-'Ayyāshi, al-Zabādi and Ibn al-Tayyib, believed in the so-called \textit{al-Haqiqa al-Muḥammadiyya}. The travellers adopted these ideas from the great Süfi scholars such as 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashish,\textsuperscript{4} the Moroccan Shaykh of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhili, the founder of the famous Süfi order known as \textit{al-Shādhiliyya},\textsuperscript{5} to which most of the travelers belonged.

Al-'Ayyāshi says that the Prophet is the basis of creation and source of generosity, which prevails in all aspects of life during all ages. In addition to that, he is Allah's light from which all people obtained light:

\begin{align*}
\text{أصل الوجود ومنبع الجدود الذي} & \\
\text{عمّ المظاهر في جميع الأعصور} & \\
\text{نور الاله به استنداً عبادة} & \\
\text{دنيا وأخرى في أخيا الأزهر} & 
\end{align*}

Ibn al-Tayyib says that he left his family and country to maintain a close relationship with the Prophet, who is the basis of creation:


\textsuperscript{3}M. Chodkiewicz, \textit{Seal of the Saints}, p. 66.

\textsuperscript{4}He was regarded by V. Cornell in \textit{Realm of the Saint} as, “Among whose were of special importance for the subsequent history of Sufism in Morocco and in Africa as a whole. They are often seen as the principle masters of the founder of the Shādhiliyya orders.” See A. Knysh, \textit{Islamic Mysticism}, p. 246. He gained a reputation as a notable Süfi teacher in the sixth/twelfth century, in particular when his chief disciple al-Shādhili spread widely his instructions. He was killed in 625/1240 by Ibn Abī al-Ṭawājin and buried in Ghamar where it became one of the most sacred shrines, that the Süfis visit to seek \textit{Baraka}. Ḥarakāt, \textit{al-Siyāṣa wa al-Mujāmā}, p. 326.

\textsuperscript{5}For details about this order, see infra, p. 62.

\textsuperscript{6}Al-'Ayyāshi’s \textit{Rihla}, vol. 1, p. 234.
The lights of the cosmos shone from the Prophet's light, because he is the source of light:

Ibn al-Ṭayyib asserted these ideas in other poems saying that if the Prophet had not been created, the crescent would never have appeared and the cosmos would not have been created, and it was all created for his sake only:

Al-Zabādī believes, not only that the Prophet is the basis of the cosmos, but also that he is the one from whom secrets were brought forth, and he is the source of all knowledge and talents that scholars have gained:

Some Sunni scholars, intellectuals and Orientalists assert that the idea of al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadīyya is taken from other religious texts prior to Islam, under various forms. For instance, Zākī Mubārak in al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmi fi al-Adab wa al-Akhlāq believes that this idea was taken from Christian origins, where the Prophet Jesus is the son of God, which means as Mubārak supposes, that he is the link between God and His creation. Thus, the Prophet Muhammad is the first creature who without whom the creation would not be brought into existence, as indeed the Christians say, drawing on Greek philosophy.

1Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Ribla, p. 25.
2Ibid., p. 104.
3Ibid., p. 111. See also p. 119.
M. Chodkiewicz believes that, "Goldziher was the first of the Orientalists to look for traces of neo-Platonic and gnostic influence in the texts relating to the Nür Muḥammadī. There is evidence that analogies exist with Manichean beliefs as well as with the Hindu concept of avatāra." ¹ Nicholson also sees that the same expressions are applied to the Prophet Muḥammad which are used by St. John, St. Paul, and later mystical theologians concerning Christ.²

Muslims undoubtedly see the Prophet as the greatest example of human dignity, courage and wisdom. He was the one who was chosen by Allah to be the last Prophet and messenger to receive the divine revelation from the Angel Gabriel, and bore the significant duty of calling people to worship Allah alone. Indeed, neither Sunni Scholars nor ordinary people believe in the concept of al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya; they believe that the Prophet is Allah's Messenger and slave and that this is the most honorable and most exalted character in which he was described by Allah in many verses of the Qur'ān.³

The Prophet himself warned Muslims against exaggerating in his praise, saying: "Do not exaggerate in praising me as the Christians exaggerated in their praise of Ibn Maryam [Jesus]. For indeed I am a slave, so say, 'The slave of Allah and his messenger.'" ⁴

This doctrine was and still is a matter of continuous debate between Śūfī and Sunni scholars and writers. The latter have proved that al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya is an innovation and aberration (bid'ā) by discussing the main sources on which the Śūfis have depended to demonstrate the authenticity of their ideas.⁵

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¹ See, M. Chodkiewicz, Seal of the Saints, p. 64.
² R. A. Nicholson, The Mystic of Islam, p. 82.
³ Such as, "Glorified be He (Allah) who took His slave (Muḥammad) for a journey by night from al-Masjid-al-Ḥarām (at Mecca) to the farthest mosque (in Jerusalem)..." The Interpretation of the Meaning of the Noble Qur'ān, by M. Khan and M. Al-Hilali, sūrat al-İsra', verse. 1, p. 401, "And if you (Arab pagans, Jews, and Christians) are in doubt concerning that which we have sent down (i.e. the Qur'ān) to our slave (Muḥammad), then produce a Surah [sic] (chapter) of the like thereof and call your witnesses (supporters and helpers) besides Allah, if you are truthful." sūrat al-Baqara, verse. 23, Ibid., p. 38.
⁵ For more details see al-Tustari’s Tafsīr, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī’s al-Insān al-Kāmil and al-Hallāj’s al-Ṭawāsin, in addition to Ibn ‘Arabī’s al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya. For a detailed discussion on these ideas according to the Sunni belief see Ibn Taymiyya’s Majmū‘at al-Rasā‘īl, Zaki Mubārīk’s al-Ṭasawwuf al-İslāmi fi al-Adab wa al-Αkhīlāq, Muḥammad Fāhr Shaqāft’s al-Ṭasawwuf bayna al-Ĥagg wa al-Khalq ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Wakīl’s Ḥādhīhī Hiyā al-Ṣūfīyya.
3. Other Şūfī Ideas

Love is considered one of the Şūfī doctrines and the center of Şūfī literature. So, we find that the travelers' poetry is full of expressions of love, such as ardent, passionate, longing, fondness. They speak of the Prophet, his family, and his Companions as if they were speaking of their beloved.

Ibn Nāṣir ended one of his prophetic commendations by asserting his tremendous love for the Prophet, saying he cannot be delighted or enjoy anything after losing his beloved, so he says, “Let me die longing for him, and write on my grave that I loved him.”:

Also, al-Murābit says, praising the first Caliph Abū Bakr al-Şiddiq as if he spoke to his beloved, saying, “The hearts became attached to your beauty, your majesty, your completeness and your customary generosity.”:

Even readers with little knowledge of Şūfī poetry can realize that Şūfī poets express their love and longing to Allah, for instance, in words that are very similar to that used by poets of love. They were known for their use of the word ` intoxication ', ` cups ' and ` wine ' as symbols of love and passion. It seems that wine came in the travellers poetry as a poetic image in customary use since the early Şūfī poets, such as Ibn al-Fārid who, expressed this idea in the first line of the famous poem known as al-Khamriyya, saying:

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3 Al-Murābit’s Rihla, p. 14. Also see al-Zabādi’s poem in praise of Nafisa, the daughter of al-Hasan b. ‘Ali b. Abī “Atib, which seems to be a love poem in the Şūfī symbolic style, rather than a praise poem, see infra, pp. 91-2 and 141-2.
4 Mubārak, al-Tasawwuf, p. 100.
5 Abd al-Dā‘im, al-Adab Al-Şūfī, p. 118.
6 His full name is Abū al-Qāsim Sharaf al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAli b. al-Fārid. He was a famous mystical poet who as it is said to have written most of his poetry in Medina, the site of the Prophet’s mosque and grave. He was born in 576/1181 and died in Cairo in 632/1235. J. S. Meisami, ‘Ibn al-Fārid’, in Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature, vol. 1, p. 324.
“We quaffed upon the remembrance of beloved a wine where— with we were drunk, before ever the vine was created.” He also expressed this in the first verse of another poem saying:

“Pass round the remembrance of her I desire, though it be to reproach me— for the tales of the beloved are my wine.” Arberry commented on the latter verse as, “Simple yet eloquent hymn to the spirit of [the Prophet] Muḥammad, personified as a female beloved.” Referring to that the imagery of first verse of al-Kharnīyya, “Is extended here to make it clear that the Wine of which the poet speaks is the mention of Beloved.”

References to wine, or intoxication came in not more than three poems. The first of them, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām’s poem, it is not stated frankly that the poet drank wine but it is used as a symbol of the meaning he wants to express. The second was of that of al-Zabādī. The third case was that of Ibn al-Ṭayyib, who began a prophetic commendation with a symbolic love introduction, remembering the enjoyable days he spent with his beloved, when they drank wine:

و أذكر العهد من سعاد ولم روض يشاقل زهره الزهرا

أمس وهاج الأحزان والفكرا

4. Islamic Obligation

Through other ideas the travellers (as scholars or at least pious men who had received a high Islamic education), maintained the true Islamic spirit, and the meanings within their poems were characterised by their education. So, their poems did not contain
explicit love or bacchanalian poetry, except for the two cases mentioned above, which were poetic images in customary use. In addition, their ideas were characterized by their education. Therefore, Panegyric poems were distinguished by being truthful and avoiding flattery. The poets never praised for reward, so almost all panegyrics were composed in order to praise and express regard for scholars under whom the travelers had studied, or scholars they visited during their journey to perform *al-Ha'i*.

If they admonished someone, they did so in a friendly and gentle manner. Moreover, wisdom is derived from the principles of Islam and its comprehensive view of all aspects of life. Also, modesty and self-denial were distinctive features in the traveler's poetry. Although, most of them were scholars, they were humble and did not glorify themselves.

5. The Meaning of Other Themes

The travelers frequently praised moral virtues such as knowledge, courage, intellect, and wisdom. They praised their scholars and colleagues for ethical virtues, by which they can be distinguished from others, such as knowledge, prudence, courage, and chastity. They did not praise any physical attributes except brightness of the face, which they often liken to the light of the sun or the full moon.

6. Clarity and Easiness

Except for riddles, which must by nature be vague, few words taken from eastern heritage, and Sufi terms such as *al-Ha'iqa al-Muhammadiyya*, discussed above in this chapter, the travelers’ poetry is mainly distinguished by clarity and ease of understanding, whether it was composed in a weak, or strong style according to the difference of poets’ abilities, or the difference of themes. There is no vagueness, confusion, complication in this poetry, nor is it artificial.
Section Three: Imagery

We cannot expect the poetry of travellers, most of whom were scholars rather than professional poets, to show a great deal of creativity in the field of imagery, especially as their work mostly consists of religious and brotherly poetry. It seems that these poets only aimed to express their feelings, without making any effort to excel in depicting them in creative and original images, this may also be due to their lack of poetic talent and to the nature of the theme itself. Nevertheless, there are some poets who are creative in this way including al-‘Ayyāshi, Ibn al-Ṭayyib and al-Qādiri. The travellers employed the commonly known types of imagery such as rhetorical, psychological, symbolic, and intensive imageries.

It should be noted that this classification does not in any way mean that each type stands as completely separate; indeed, there is often or at least sometimes integration between them. Thus, one poem might contain all or some other types, as will be clarified later. But, each type is studied according to its dominant features.

1. Rhetorical Imagery

Rhetorical types have been given priority over the other kinds of imagery by poets and critics, and simile is considered one of the main rhetorical devises used in poetry. It clarifies the vague and brings closer the far reaching meaning, as Ibn Rashiq says.

Rhetorical images, in particular simile and metaphor, predominated in the imagery of the travelers' poetry. Simile was used more than metaphor. This is because the simile can simply draw attention to the similarity between two subjects, whereas the metaphor needs more effort and wide imagination.

1.1. Simile

The travellers in particular al-‘Ayyāshi and al-Zabādi, used simile frequently in their poetry, because the simile is one of the easiest ingredients of imagery. Their materials for some of the smiles are borrowed from other poets. It is obvious that these images,

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1See, al-‘Umda, vol. 1, p. 493.
such as likening human beauty, or the light of the face to the full moon or the sun, or the knowledge of scholars to the sea, or the brave man to the lion, were already common in Arabic poetry. They are simple and not complex, although, some of these similes were successfully employed and developed in a vivid way.

Al-‘Ayyāshi, al-Zabādi and al-Qādirī frequently liken the object of praise to the full moon, the sun, or the sea. Some of these images are sometimes simple to the point of platitude and weakness and have no life, beauty or creativity. Al-Qādirī, for instance, praised his shaykh Abū al-‘Abbās by likening him to the sun:

\[
ya šams ḥaṣṣa al-ʿuscūr ʿayn bāna ḫilal al-ṣurūf fātī ṭarāz
\]

Also, al-Rāfī praised one of his shaykh using these inherited images without trying to embody the idea and create life enabling him to convey his feelings successfully and accurately. Al-Rāfī described him as a lion, who protects others in battle and as a full moon by which people would be rightly guided:

\[
\text{‘adā al-ṣūr fī ḥaṣso amīn bāna ḫalī ṭabta} \\
\text{lāhu bāšīr Ǧaḥiḥa bāna ḫalī ṭabta}
\]

Some of the travellers made extensive use of the simile. Similes sometimes followed in succession, in a single line. Al-‘Ayyāshi, for example, started one of his brotherly poems by using three similes in the first line, likening his greetings sent to his colleague to the smell of musk, the taste of honey or the touch of rainfall in the time of drought:

\[
\text{ṣālam ḫurūr al-misk ʿaw ḫiṣān al-nahl ḫirāt al-ghīb fī zmīn al-khīl}
\]

Al-‘Ayyāshi himself employed five similes in succession in the first four lines of one of his poems. He did not merely make comparison of like to like, but he also added extra details. He likened the poem sent by his friend, Aḥmad al-Sab‘ to the sharp stars, pearls which adorn a girl’s neck, or flowers which shake hands with the clouds, the full moon which shines its light, or wine which showed its’ beads, and took its revenge on the drunk’s intellect, but al-‘Ayyāshi added to correct any misunderstanding, that this is lawful magic, accomplished by his colleague’s talent:

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1 Al-Qādirī’s Riḥla, p. 27. See the same simile in praise of one of scholars of Egypt in his Riḥla, p. 17.
Also, some poets excelled in employing these common similes as part of their general imagery. Al-`Ayyāshi, for instance, did not restrict himself to these inherited similes, but tried to raise them up from commonness and platitude, and give them some kind of originality by adding new details, in order to give the object of his praise a higher position. In his poems al-`Ayyāshi often likens the praised person to the full moon and to the sea. However, he does not satisfy himself by simply drawing attention to the likeness between two subjects but adds some details and explanations to illustrate it and make it convincing and exciting. In the following example for instance, he tries to make his picture clearer and more vivid by emphasizing that this moon is one whose light is never eclipsed, and the sea is one whose bottom cannot be reached. A sea whose water is sweet and its' waves are like the praised One's merits and whose knowledge is like pearls:

\[
\text{هو القدر لكن ليس يكشف فجره} \\
\text{على أنه عذاب زلال وموجه غرائر فضيل والمعرف دره}
\]

Under the influence of strong genuine passion and a deep truthful love, some of the travellers took to exaggeration by using \emph{al-maqlāb} simile, which means that the person who was the object of the simile became subject of the simile. Ibn al-Tayyib for example, likens the morning light to the lineaments of the Prophet's face, and the darkness of the night to his hair:

\[
\text{نور الصباح يحكى أمره} \\
\text{وسفقة الليل تشبه الشعره}
\]

Also, there is a sort of exaggeration which comes from indirect simile, such as describing the sun as being embarrassed by, or jealous of the praised's light, as the full moon is

---

1Ibid., vol. 2, p. 131.
2Al-`Ayyāshi's \emph{Rihla}, vol. 2, p. 320. For more examples, see his \emph{Rihla}, vol. 2, pp. 90, 312, 323, 385.
3Ibn al-Tayyib's \emph{Rihla}, p. 111. See other examples in his \emph{Rihla}, p. 104.
with the completeness of his personality. Al-Zabādi praised the renowned Sufi Wali al-
Badawi saying:

شمس السماء تغار من أُنواره 
والبر يحلذ من كمال السوادد

1.2. Metaphor

As mentioned above, metaphor is not frequent in the travellers' poetry because of its
tendency towards directness and spontaneity; while the metaphor's creation generally
requires more effort and a wider imagination to give such personified portraits of people,
or things. Poets have mainly been interested in intensification metaphors in the poetry
of describing nature, a journey, farewell moments and psychological situations in
general. In these metaphors the poets have personified inanimate beings and given
concrete form to abstracts.

Al-Yūsi, for example, appeals to the west wind to blow and personifies it in a human
way, asking it to bring down news of his family:

بِسْمِ وَبَعْرُف
عرف أحبابي خصوصًا
فلذات الكبد مسن لم
بعدنا في كل طرف
قد تركناهم تخير
أمسى حلف عطف

Ibn al-Ṭayyib described a beautiful garden, making the branches of the trees exultant
and describing the north wind as bending over it in order to kiss the river:

أيام تسقي معها الشمول على
وجصبُهُ طرحاً تمسيله
ربيع الشمال لياؤم الْهَرَا

---

1Al-Zabādi’s Riḥla, p. 160. See similar examples in Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Riḥla, pp. 104, 111, 112.
2Metaphor has many definitions; one of them as defined by Abū Hilāl al-Askari, is transferring a word
from the original content in which it has been used to another, for purposes such as explaining the
meaning, asserting, exaggerating it, mentioning it in fewer words or beautifying it. See Tabāna, Muṣjam al-
Balāgha al-‘Arabīyya, p. 458.
3Al-Yūsi’s Riḥla, p. 102. A similar example was given previously, see infra, pp. 112-3.
4Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Riḥla, p. 111. For the rest of this poem, see infra, p. 139.
Sometimes simile and metaphor cooperate in order to draw an attractive picture, as we find in al-`Ayyāshi's poem likening the pilgrims moving behind their fast camels to falling stars through a desert, which he personified as a woman dressed in a green gown:

المَآتَمُ وَالْمَمْدُودُاتُ وَالْخَيْلُ،
ذُو الْمَيْتَاتِ وَالْمَحْرُومَاتِ وَالْمُحْتَدَمَاتِ.

As mentioned above, the travellers also embody abstract concepts. Ignorance is frequently embodied as a dark night and knowledge as a light by which people is guided in the dark night of ignorance. Al-`Ayyāshi sent a poem to the scholar, Ahmad b. al-Tāj asking him to borrow him a book and praising him by embodying his knowledge as a light shining in the night of ignorance, as a beacon for those who were walking deep in that night:

Also, they embody knowledge as a sea, praising the scholar as one who waded into seas of knowledge until he extracted beautiful pearls of priceless worth, as al-`Ayyāshi praised the one of the scholars of Ghazza (Gaza), `Umar b. `Abd al-Qādir al-Mashraqi, saying:

Al-`Ayyāshi uses an attractive metaphor presenting a creative unique picture. He personified his yearning for his family as an embryo that was conceived in Mecca and which he carried for a time until it was ready to be born, then the newborn started growing up until he became fully grown by the end of the journey, which lasted for thirty months:

---

1Al-`Ayyāshi, vol. 1, p. 52.
2Ibid., vol. 2, p. 17. See also, vol. 1, p. 59.
2. Psychological Imagery

Poets sometimes have expressed their deep psychological feelings by drawing an artistic picture that expresses these feelings in an enjoyable literary form. It is not a different sort of picture; it might come as rhetoric, direct, or symbolic imagery, but the psychological feeling is the dominant and most obvious element, as will be seen in the following examples.

Al-‘Ayyāshi used dialogue, simile and quotation to make this psychological image in which he expressed his deep pain at his separation from his wife:

The travellers describe the heat of yearning to visit the Prophet’s mosque and grave, or deep sorrow at leaving it. Ibn al-Ṭayyib describes his deep sorrow at leaving his beloved saying, “I sent my eyes with heavy tears and my chest contains flames and fire. My patience ran out and would there be any patience left after separation, and can the yearner be patient? The abode of the beloved is my choice, to see it in the morning and the evening. This is if time permitted but it is not for me to object to destiny. It is not my pleasure to desire (leaving) but it is only my fate and has no choice. My choice is never to leave you but I do not command my choice.”:

---

1Ibid., vol. 2, p. 419. These lines have already been given as example of yearning, see infra, p. 114.

2Ibid., vol. 1, p. 14. These lines was translated, see infra, p. 110.
This imagery is made yet more vivid by the smooth and melodious rhythm of these lines originating from the repetition of the letter ‘،’ which is usually used when the words became gentle, in addition to repeat words containing of long syllables such as ‘إَي’ and ‘ي’.

This repetition may seem to be psychologically necessary if the catastrophe is very heavy.\(^2\)

3. **Symbolic Imagery**

By using the symbol,\(^3\) the meaning gains clarification, because if the symbol, whether it is a place, person, wisdom or proverb is familiar to the listener or reader, the meaning gains another dimension based on the connotations of that symbol to the receiver. Therefore, this meaning gained by the symbol will attain acceptance and pleasure. The Hijaziyya places including Najd and Tayba, for instance, are considered in people’s minds as holy places. Reference to these places, therefore, is not mere literal description, but is used as a symbol of the poet’s love and attachment to the Prophet and his companions who lived and moved around these places. Also, the names of some desert plants, which grow in these places, are sometimes included in poems with similar symbolic effect.

Al-Zabädi, for example, expresses his longing to visit the holy lands by composing a poem full of the names of places in al-Hijaz, but in fact he uses them as a symbol of longing and love to visit these places where the Prophet and his companions lived, moved around and were buried:

\[

tرأى هل لي مني صلى وهل لي لدمض السمع في الجحيم
وهل بالخيف كيف أو بسجف
وهل بالجزع لي جزع التمني
وهل بالشعب شعب الحال مني

\]

\(^1\)Ibn al-Tayyib’s *Rihla*, p. 113.
\(^3\)A symbol is defined as a mark or sign, used to represent something else in order to invoke a particular meaning in people’s mind. The dove, for instance, is a symbol of peace and the dog symbol of loyalty. See ‘Abd al-Nur, *al-Mujam al-Adabi* (Beirut: [n.pub.], 1979), p. 123.
Al-Zabādī, also, opened one of his Prophetic commendation poems by referring to many places in al-Ḥijāz, including Najd\(^2\). Al-Zabādī also, referred to some desert plants such as al-Ghaḍā, al-Athl and al-Sarg:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{سلام على نجد ومن حل في نجد} \\
\text{سلام على ذي الأثل والسرور والغضا} \\
\text{الروي من العصر والرعد}
\end{align*}
\]

The symbol sometimes takes the form of names associated in people’s minds with a certain attribute until they come to be cited as an example of it, such as the generosity of Ḥātam al-Ṭa‘ī, the courage of `Amrū b. al-‘Ās, the intelligence of al-Mughira and the knowledge of ‘Abd Allah b. al-‘Abbās.

Al-‘Ayyāshi for example, praised one scholar by referring to several attributes of renowned persons:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{له نطق سحبان وجودة حام} \\
\text{وجرعة عمرو في ذكاء الغيرة} \\
\text{وعلم ابن عباس وزيد ابن أدهم} \\
\text{وحلم ابن حرب في فصاحة ثوبة}
\end{align*}
\]

Some poets make use of wisdom and proverbs to explain their meaning. Ibn al-Tayyib for instance, composed a poem which is considered one of the rare poems composed by Moroccan poets on the theme of travelling and its benefits, and it is considered the most ancient on expatriation.\(^5\) Ibn al-Ṭayyib urges the reader to travel and not stay in one place for a long time, enumerating the benefits the traveller can gain. He quotes some wisdom and proverbs which support his position, claiming that staying in your country causes boredom and causes the body all sorts of harm. Then he supports his opinion by commenting that water would be stagnant if it remained in one place without flowing,

---

\(^1\)Al-Zabādī’s *Riḥla*, p. 75.

\(^2\)Najd does not refer to the region between Iraq and al-Ḥijāz, but means Medina, the site of the Prophet’s grave and mosque, in addition to Mecca, the site of a great number of holy places.

\(^3\)Al-Zabādī’s *Riḥla*, p. 142. See the rest of poem, infra, p. 138-9.

\(^4\)Al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 72.

pearls would be unknown if they were not taken out of the deep seas, gold would remain in the soil if it were not dug out and incense would remain a sort of plant if it had not been extracted:

واعلم بأن المكّة في الأوطان يدعو للضرر
ويورث الأخلاط والأحسام أنواع الضجر
والبدر لو لزم الإقامة في مهل ما بدر
وألبدر لو أبقىّوه في قهر البحر لم افشتى.
والسير ترب في المعادن وهو أعبر بدر
والبدر المعمود لو لم يخرجوه لما بدر.

Al-Zabādi expressed his great love to the Prophet's family in a good symbolic love story.²

4. The Intensive Picture

The picture sometimes comes as a single element, such as likening a generous person to the sea, and sometimes, even if it is composed of separate parts linked together, these parts can be dislocated in order, and each part is regarded as a single picture. In contrast, the intensive picture can be defined as a picture composed from various components which cannot be dislocated from each other because the picture loses its meaning and becomes useless if any part is removed.³

The following example illustrates the way in which al-'Ayyāshi succeeded in creating a developed image like this, which is considered a rare image in the traveller’s poetry. He managed to draw a unique, intensive picture when he likened al-Ka’ba and the pilgrims circumambulating it during al-Hajj season, when its screen was lifted, to a gallant king rising to receive those who came to visit him with longing, while his servants hurried to raise the train of his gown not releasing it until he returns:

فكان له ما بدأ متشمّموا
والطلائقون به جميعاً أحدثوا
ملك همام ناهض للقاء من
قد زاره وله إليه تشوق
فبادر الغلمان رفع ذيوله
حتى إذا رجعوا جميعاً أطلقو.

¹Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Riḥla, p. 12.
²See infra, pp. 91-2.
³Al-Ḥāmid, Kayfa Tuhlil al-Nas al-Adabi, p. 232.
⁴Al-'Ayyāshi’s Riḥla, vol. 1, p. 191. This poem has already been given as an example of the description of al-Ka’ba in the previous chapter p. 119.
This imagery may not be very profound, but it does give an accurate and lively image, which develops throughout the poem. We might see that the beauty of this image lies in the fact that it is built through the whole poem; in other words it cannot be appreciated by looking at only one line, but must be taken as a whole to give an integrated picture. It is worth noticing here that this picture was highly praised by most of the travellers as will be mentioned later.\(^1\)

Al-Qādiri started one of his poems by describing the pilgrims’ caravan as a wide flowing river, and this caravan is surrounded by brave horsemen, being supplied by military equipment such as spears, swords, muskets and cannons ready for action:

\[
egin{align*}
\text{مَتْلَامَمْ بِمَحْوَاضِرِ وَصُوَّاقِ} & \quad \text{كَسِيَّتَتْ بِهِ تَلَكَ الْمَرَابِعَ وَ}
\\
\text{الرَّبَّا بِجَهَالَ فَوْقَ الْبِسْبِيْةِ غَادَ} & \quad \text{وَجَمُوعُهُ مَوْفُوْرَةَ الأَعْمَادَ}
\\
\text{وَصَوَّاقٌ فِي غَيَاةِ اسْتَعَنَادٍ} & \quad \text{وَكَانَتْ بَاسِنَةَ وَصَوَّاَرَخَ}
\\
\text{وَيُسِرُّنْ خَلَفَ الرَّكْبِ بَلَا مِصَادَ} & \quad \text{تَحِيمَ حُوَلَ الْقُوَّمِ مَنْ كَلِّ جَانِبٍ}
\\
\end{align*}
\]

Then, he moved to describe natural scenes such as animals, birds, landscapes, and gave a detailed picture of how the wild animals and birds were frighten because of the birds of prey carried by huntsmen. He once again moved to draw another scene full of animals and birds, with many killed gazelles, strutting bawāzil birds, which fly reveling in the desert, and riding camels carrying howdah. The last part of this vivid image was describing the land, which he likened to a bride adorned by aquamarine, flowers and perfumed with jād. Beautiful desert flowers of many colours cover this land and the sun is splendid. Al-Qādiri was successful in capturing a theatrical scene full of people, events, movement and colour. He was capable of transferring various scenes by the intensive use of images, and completing every side of his general picture, concisely and clearly:

\[
egin{align*}
\text{وَالْحَشَّةُ فِي فَلْوَاقَهَا مَدْعَوَةٌ} & \quad \text{مَنْ فَوْقِ مَعَ الْرَوَادِ}
\\
\text{وَجَوَارِحُ يَحْرُرُي مَعَ الصِّيَادِ} & \quad \text{وَصَوَّاقٌ تَلْقَى بَلَا مِصَادُ}
\\
\text{وَكَمْ ظُنْبُهَا مَيْ بَنْهَا مَضْعَوَةٌ} & \quad \text{فَمِن صُوْلَةِ الْفَرْسَانِ يَهْضُمُ إِثْرَهَا}
\\
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\)See supra, p. 269.

\(^2\)Al-Qādiri's Rihla, p. 41.

\(^3\)Unclear words.
Section Four

The Language (Words, Syntax and Style)

This section is an attempt to investigate the travellers' poetic language in respect of three elements. The first analyses the words in relation to issues such as simplicity, strangeness and Bedouin and Eastern influence, as well as urban influence. The second discusses the syntax in terms of length and brevity, repetition, diversity and recital. The third investigates the style in general with reference to the predominant characteristics, such as simple, ornamental, recital and narrative styles.

1 Al-Qādiri's Rihla, p. 41. This poem has already been given as an example of the description on pp. 116-7.
2 Al-‘Ayyāshī’s Rihla, vol. 1, p. 203.
1. The Words

The word is the material from which the poem is built. Therefore, the choice of word is a significant basic element in composing the style. It is related usually to the theme of the poetic text, words used at that time or the nature of educational influences on the poet. Strong words, for instance, fit themes such as panegyric and boast and smooth ones suit love poems and descriptions of nature. The concept of eloquence and smoothness differs from one period of time to another and from one community to another.¹

1.1. Simplicity

The simplicity and clarity of the words are the dominant feature of the travellers' poetry, to the extent that there is no need to resort to any lexicon to know the meaning of the words, as appear from the poetic examples given in this study, except for a few words, as will be mentioned later. This simplicity is due to their tendency towards direct and spontaneous expression. This does not mean vulgarity or weakness; it comes in both the powerful eloquence (jazāla) and smooth (raqiq) styles, which demonstrate that the simplicity of words does not affect the eloquence and strength of style. Al-'Ayyāshi, for instance, praised a scholar saying:

In this poem we find that the words occupy the middle ground between vulgarity and platitude on the one hand and ambiguity and strangeness on the other. In addition, these words, regardless of their clearness and simplicity, convey strong meanings, which the poet desired to convey to his public by an eloquent style associated with the panegyric theme.

¹Al-Harrāmma, al-Qasida al-Andalusiyya, p. 293.
²Al-'Ayyāshi, vol. 2, p. 387. See the rest of this poem, infra, p. 106.
1.2. Strange Words and Bedouin and Eastern Influence

It is unusual for the reader of the travellers' poetry to find difficult words, such as those in the following lines by al-Zabādi in which he had spoken to pilgrims who moved to al-Hijāz, saying:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{يا سائقة إبسلا بُحَّثْتُها عجّالا،} \\
\text{ويقطع الفقر من دعصب ومن عقد،} \\
\text{والركض يريري بمنحوق وتفوق،} \\
\text{والإبل يتحمهم رفقة ودادة بالخمـمـمـر وقد وصفت والصهب والهيـنف.}
\end{align*}
\]

Such lines are the most difficult in their poetry, containing specialised words such as "al-mahāma, bid, mabaf, al-qafr, diṣ, aqd, and da'da'a," which are names of different sorts of desert topographic relief, and "al-ḥumr, al-ṣuhb and al-hif" which are different names of camels.

Al-ʿAyyāshi also, likened a camel using the word "ṣIr" to a bull, adding two different names "al-ṣafr, al-ṣafar":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{وعلى ميناك قد بدأ عـىـر برى} \\
\text{بالقرب كالدور العـيـر الأعفر.}
\end{align*}
\]

Such vocabulary needs the use of the lexicon in order to be understood, but such cases are, as mentioned, very rare in proportion to the poetry as a whole, which tends towards simplicity and clarity. This difficulty appears to be acceptable, because these poets are in the position to use a special diction to portray something which is known to them by a particular vocabulary. Most of these words are taken from an eastern heritage, which confirms that although the travellers lived in the Moroccan urban community, they were influenced by many features of the eastern bedouin environment. This clearly emerges in some of their poetry, in particular prophetic commendations and descriptions of the journey, such as the words mentioned above, which were taken from the eastern heritage.

---

1 Al-Zabādi's Rihla, p. 348.
3 For example, diṣ means a circular flat sandy earth, aqd means drift of sand, da'da'a, means the fastest running of the camel, al-ṣafr means a kind of deer whose colour is white mixed with redness. See Ismāʾīl al-Jawhīrī, Taj al-Lughā and Sihāh al-ʿArabiyya, (Cairo: Būlāq, 1282 A.H.), vol. 1, pp. 218, 246, 367, 506.
1.3. Urban Influences

The travelers' poetry employs terms related to the academic life and civilization, such as academic and Şûfi terms, names of instruments, gardens, rivers, flowers and occupations. Some poems include Şûfi terms, whether indicative of ranks of scholars such as “quṭb, ḥarād, ghwath”¹, beliefs such as “al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya”², terms related to the teaching system such as, “al-tariqa, (order), al-murid, (desciple), talqin, (instruction), al-wajd and al-hizb”³. Al-Qādirī for instance, praised his Shaykh Abū al-`Abbās saying:

![Translation of the verse](attachment:image1)

Then he said:

![Translation of the verse](attachment:image2)

Al-`Ayyāshi also, praised one of Şûfi scholars saying:

![Translation of the verse](attachment:image3)

In addition to Şûfi terms, there are academic terms in general indicative of the sort of education that dominated at that time, based on religious, literary and lexical education. Words of the Qur'ān, for instance, constitute a dominant element⁶. While justice terms reflect the religious education the poets had. Al-`Ayyāshi employed jurisprudential terms such as “al-qiyās, al-nas, al-Asl and al-far” in his poems. He, for instance, used the terms “al-qiyās, al-nas” in praising a scholar, saying:

![Translation of the verse](attachment:image4)

---

¹See the definition of these terms on p. 99.
²These terms were discussed, see infra, pp. 149-52.
³These terms will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, see supra, pp. 209-10.
⁴Al-Qādirī's Rihla, p. 41.
⁵Al-`Ayyāshi's Rihla, vol. 1, p. 452.
⁶Examples are given on p. 187.
Al-‘Ayyāshi criticises himself and apologises to his colleagues for the stylistic weakness of the poem he sent to them, because it was composed in a rush:

\[
\text{فَان لم تكن أرضكم لروآكة ما فاتمها إني كنت بعجلة}
\]

Also, this poem contains words reflecting a linguistic education, such as morphological forms \( fa'ala, fi'l, fi'ala, fi'lān \) in the following line:

\[
\text{ولو شت حمي قالك فعالل فعلت فعلت فعلل من أي صيغة}
\]

The influence of the environment clearly emerges from the following line:

\[
\text{فله في اليوم بالأنس والصفا أرق وأصفر من زلال على الصفا}
\]

In this line al-Qādirī described the day he met a number of Egyptian scholars, saying that it was smoother and purer than pure water on the smooth stone. Such rare pictures are taken from the Moroccan environment, which drew the attention of one of the Moroccan scholars, who immediately commented saying the poet must be Moroccan. When he was asked how he reached to this conclusion, he replied that the scenery was familiar to him and alien to the Egyptians.

2. Syntax

Early Arab critics paid great attention to syntax, particularly al-Jurjāni who argued that words do not contend for precedence or superiority as single words, but attain excellence through harmony between the meaning of one word and the next, which is quite

\[1\text{Al-‘Ayyāshi’s Riḥla, vol. 2, p. 323.}\]
\[2\text{Ibid., vol. 1, p. 74.}\]
\[3\text{Ibid., vol. 1, p. 73.}\]
\[4\text{Al-Qādirī’s Riḥla, p. 16.}\]
\[5\text{Ibid., p. 16.}\]
different from the meaning of each word in isolation. Al-Jurjâni refers to what is called theory of al-Nâzîm, (context) by contemporary linguistic scholars. De-Saussure\(^2\) argues that language is not just a group of words but a group of relationships between expressive units.\(^3\)

Analysing syntax in the travellers’ poetry is concerned with some issues related to the sentence, such as length, conciseness, repetition, negation and confirmation and connection between sentences.

### 2.1. Length and Brevity

Long and medium length sentences are predominant. Shorter sentences are not rare but are fewer in comparison to the long and medium ones.

A long sentence is one that takes up a full line or more. One of the examples is Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s description of a nice garden composed of flowers, plants and a river:

\[
\text{أيام نسفي معها الشمول على روح يشـأكـل زهـرـه الـزهـرـا}
\]

\[
\text{وعـصـنة طـرباً عـمـيله رـبـبـع الشـمـال لـلـدـم الـنـهـرا}
\]

\[
\text{وـفـرـه كـاخـسـام جـرـدـي في وـسط الـرـبـاـض يـسـيل منـهـرا}
\]

\[
\text{مـا غـدـا القـطـر فيـه مـتـسـشـرا}
\]

Early Arab critics believed that meaning must be understood completely within a single line, without the need for the following line. They consider the need for a following line in order for the first line to be understood as ‘taḍmîn’ i.e. defective. The travellers’ poetry is free from this defect except for a few cases, perhaps not more than three. But al-Ayyâshi committed an extreme example of this defect when he only completes the meaning after seven lines. Al-Ayyâshi engaged in listing the virtues of his deceased closest friend, forgetting to complete his sentence; it seems that the great shock and massive pain resulting from hearing this painful news made him do that, or forgetting himself whilst eulogizing his friend:


\[^2\]Ferdinand De-Saussure, (1857-1913) is one of the founders of modern linguistics.

\[^3\]For more details, see al-Hâmîd, Kayfa Tuha’il a/-Nasal-Adabi, p. 346.

\[^4\]Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Riḥla*, p. 111. These lines have been already given as an example of symbolic love introduction on p. 139 and other Sûfi ideas on p. 159.
Al-Zabādi completed the meaning in the third line, ordering his two friends to give the Prophet his greeting and apologies for not coming to visit him:

\[
\text{أخي وحيدي القلب في كل طحة}
\]

\[
\text{وافقني في كل حال ومؤثرٍ}
\]

\[
\text{حبني خليلي في كل سواه}
\]

\[
\text{توقين ذهنا في صفاء الطوية}
\]

\[
\text{وعزة نفس لا ترم دناءة}
\]

\[
\text{وغاية صبر الهام ورفعة}
\]

\[
\text{عليه من الرحمن سباع رحة}
\]

\[
\text{كمللا وغالته أكف النية}
\]

As we see, long sentences give more scope for additional details and allow the poet to express freely his ideas without imperfection or acceleration.

The medium sentence means that the line is divided into two sentences. One example of a medium sentence is Ibn al-Tayyib's line, which describes his great sorrow while leaving Medina, the site of the Prophet's mosque and grave:

\[
\text{أرسلت مقلتي دموعا غزارة}
\]

\[
\text{حوت أضصره فيا ونارا}
\]

Then he ends his poem, wishing to come back again:

\[
\text{فضلى الله أن ييمن بعودة}
\]

\[
\text{وعساه يلقي فيها ونارا}
\]

---

1 Al-Ayyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 74.
2 Al-Zabādi's *Rihla*, p. 320.
3 Ibn al-Tayyib's *Rihla*, p. 113.
4 Ibid., p. 114.
But if the line consists of three sentences or more, it means these sentences are short. Poets sometimes choose short sentences in order to emphasise their ideas and sometimes to create a wonderful rhythm as the result of these short sentences following in succession, or to beautify his poem by including rhetorical devices such as rhyme and division. These aims might be achieved together in some lines as in al-‘Ayyāshi’s lines. He was able to emphasise the many virtues of the object of his praise and create a nice rhythm resulting from rhyme and division:

فِحْرَفَهُ التَّقْوَى وَصَنَعَهُ النَّدَى
وَمُكْسَبَ النَّفْوِيَّةِ خَيرُ المَكْاسِبِ
رَئِيسُ المعالي غَلْظَةُ الْدَّهْرِ مَاجِدَ
وَعَقْدُ لَآْوَهَا الحَمْدُ تَأَجَّلَ المُرَاكِبٌ

2.2. Repetition

Early and contemporary Arab critics such as al-Jahiz (255/869), Ibn Rashiq (463/1070) and al-Aqqād (1384/1964) have paid great attention to repetition and indicated the sound value originating from its melody and the ideational value resulting from its meaning. Even non-Arab critics such as the Orientalist Blachère stated that the Arabic language is rich in musical features. In addition, repetition strengthens the meaning and imparts a musical nature to a poetic line, and it seems sometimes to be a psychological necessity if the catastrophe is very heavy. Repetition is not restricted to sentences or words, but occurs also in single letters, which are rich in suggestiveness and nuance.

Repetition of a certain letter or sometimes more creates an attractive rhythm and beautifies the expression. Al-‘Ayyāshi ended a brotherly poem by repeating the letter ‘r’ in most of the words of the following line:

جَزَاءُ رَبِّ الْوَرِى حَبِيرًا وَصَبَرًا
بِحَمَّةِ اللَّهِ طَوْلُ الْدَّهْرِ عَضُومًا

This repetition creates a special effect, giving the line a rhythm that the ear enjoys listening to, especially as this letter is usually used when the words are gentle. Also, we

---

1 Al-‘Ayyāshi’s Riḥla, vol. 2, p. 130.
3 Al-‘Ayyāshi’s Riḥla, vol. 1, p. 143.
might see that the beauty of this line results from the fact repetition comes in a natural way, without affectation.

Al-Zabādi opened a Prophetic commendation repeating the letter ‘م’ five times and ‘س’ three times. ‘م، ن، س’ are the main letters related to the sound which is considered an emotional melody reflecting the soul’s desire.¹ But this emotional and sorrowful melody is affected by repeating the letter ‘س’ which is one of the sibilant letters, which does not suit the moment, when al-Zabādi describes his great sorrow at seeing the pilgrims leave:

Also, repeating the long vowels ‘ا’ and ‘ي’ makes the voice linger and offers a psychological comfort to the poet and listener, and increases the melody of the lines, as found in the following lines of Ibn al-Ṭayyib, who shows a strong tendency to repetition in general, to increase the melody of his lines:

Repeating words sometimes grants the line, or poem in general a wonderful rhythm and emphasises the meaning conveying it to the receiver more clearly, by presenting it in various ways. In contrast, repetition sometimes becomes irritating if it is not rhythmical, or spoils the meaning and weakens the style, or at least, if nothing is gained from the repetition, or it becomes a mere stylistic habit.

Repetition is highly preferable in certain places. Ibn Rashiq, for example, mentioned certain places in which repetition is preferable, such as elegy, yearning and longing, threat, entreaty and panegyric poems asserting that elegy is the most deserving place in which words should be repeated.⁴

¹ Al-Sayyid, al-Takrij, p. 15.
² Al-Zabādi’s Rihla, p. 320.
³ Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Rihla, p. 119.
Repetition appears, as mentioned previously, to be psychologically necessary if the catastrophe is very heavy, as when al-'Ayyāshi repeated the name of his dead friend more than seven times in an elegy, opening each line with his friend’s name, Muhammad, as in the following three lines:

محمد لا والله ما كنت ناسيا
فوانده في الناس من دون هجينة
وقد كنت بسم الكف جم العطية

It is clear that he uses this method in these lines to show the value and the status of his friend and to express his strong and close friendship with him. Al-'Ayyāshi repeats his friend’s name, accompanied with the interrogative particle `مَنْ` to express the disappointment and despair which resulted from his loss of his friend; he intends by this interrogative to indicate that no scholar can take his place or fill the gap he left.

Repeating the name of Najd is approved as a sign of longing and yearning for al-Hijāz in prophetic commendations. The poets repeat this name in sorrow at being far away from it and wishing to visit it. There is nothing most enjoyable for a lover than repeating the letters of his beloved’s name. Poets frequently repeat the name Najd until it becomes proverbial. Al-Zabādī repeated Najd twice in the opening of a prophetic commendation:

سلام على نجد ومن حل في نجد سلام محمد زائد النواق والوجود

Ibn al-Tayyib shows a strong tendency towards repetition, which is readily noticeable as a feature of his poetry. For instance, he repeated وَلَه* twenty five times, or perhaps even more, because he recorded only some lines of his poem and not all of them, as he said. He opened each line by this word, accompanied by الذي, as in the following three lines enumerating his attributes:

هذا الرجل الطاهر الأخلاق و الأعلاق والأعراق وهو الأظهر
فاحسن فيه كامل لا يشترط

1Al-'Ayyāshi’s Riḥla, vol. 1, p. 75. See the rest of this poem on pp. 120-1.
2Al-Sayyid, al-Takrir, p. 111.
3Al-Zabādī’s Riḥla, p. 142.
This repetition appears natural here because he is in the position of listing the Prophet's attributes but the adoption of this habit became the hallmark of Ibn al-Tayyib's style, in most of his poems in his Riḥla and in particular in the prophetic commendations and entreaty poems. Therefore, we might consider it as a reflection of his state of mind when he composed these poems, in order to create a special effect. Ibn al-Ṭayyib, for instance, in one of his poems in which he entreats the Prophet Khālid b. Sinān, repeats his name five times, asserting his command. He also repeats this word but in another meaning:

Sometimes the effect of the repetition is dulled, when we feel that the poet gains nothing from the repetition, or it is nothing more than to complete the poetic line. Al-ʿAyyāshi, for example, praised one of his Shaykhs, ʿAbd al-Qādir, saying:

In addition to repeating the words twice with in the last part of the second hemistich can be dispensed with, which means that no benefit was gained from it in terms of adding meaning, or creating a nice rhythm. Repeating 'Imāmi ʿImāmi with two words with nearly the same letters corrupts the meaning and weakens the style, making it flimsy and uninspirational. This might arise from the length of this poem, as it contains two hundred lines with various themes, leading the poet to exhaust his vocabulary and resort to repeating words to complete the line, or poem in general.

1 Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Riḥla, p. 104.
2 Ibid., p. 34. See also his Riḥla, p. 135. For details about the Prophet Ibn Sinān, see infra, p. 96.
4 For more details about this poem see, pp. 103-5, 120-1,141, 143, 172, 175, 180, 194.
Al-‘Ayyāshi himself composed a single line consisting only of the word طاب with words derived from the same root, making it heavy on the hearing:

بطيئة طاب الطيون نطييها ٍ طيب طيب مطبب

2.2.3. Paronomasia (jinās)

Jinās is a repetition, but the repeated word must have a different meaning; in addition, it has certain types depending, for instance, on the position of the repeated words, as will be discussed later in relation to ornamental style.2

2.2.4. Diversity and Recital

The sentences of the travellers' poetry are predominantly in the recitative style, which will be discussed as one of the main style types later.3 However, there are a few poems that depend on diversity in proportion to the recitative style. Diversity means that the sentences of a poem must consist of a verbal clause in the verb form, nominal clause and shibha al-jumla (such as preposition close and the noun in the genitive). Moreover, the sentences should sometimes start with a verb in the past tense and in another place, with a present or imperative, or a single line may contain all the three types of verb. The nominal clauses should be diversified between performative and informative clauses. Al-‘Ayyāshi praised a scholar and at the same time gently blamed him for not fulfilling his desire to borrow a book, requesting him not to disappoint him again, saying:

وفي سما أمتسي إليك تقدمه ٌ جميل فلا تدرده مكتباً

In this line the verbal clauses come in various types. The first starts with a past verb, the second with a present verb and the third with an imperative. This diversity of sentences gives this poem liveliness and give it varied colours, in contrast to the humdrum recital style using mainly one type of sentence, which will be illustrated later on.

1Al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, p. 444.
2See supra, p. 181-4.
3See supra, p. 189.
3. The Style

It should be noted that discussing style separately does not mean that it is totally distinct from words and syntax; rather it is considered a combined output of them. It obviously deals with general dominant feature which distinguish and stamp the style, such as simplicity and clarity, vagueness, recital or narrative style.

A significant point worth stressing is that the style [language] of the travellers' poetry is easy, clear and understandable, except for very few poems as will be mentioned later. In addition, most of their poetry was spontaneous, without affectation, varying considerably in quality. This seems to be acceptable if strong high quality verse is ascribed to a certain group of poets, who can on that basis be placed in the category of illustrious professional poets, while the remainder is in the amateur category who only dabble in poetry. We find a poem of one of them is written in an abundant eloquent, marvelous style and evocative rhythm, but when we read another poem we find it weak and flimsy, as if it were not by the same poet. This might arise out of matters such as weak, or strong passion, or experience and difference in theme. This can be said only in the case of prolific poets such as al-'Ayyāshi, al-Zabādī, al-Qādiri and Ibn al-Ṭayyīb. This is because such general judgments cannot be made from the few poems composed by travellers like al-Ḥuḍayki, Abū Madyan and Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, whose little poetry is nearer to be poetry of jurisprudence, resembling plain speech and lacking in poetic suggestive, musical melody and vivid imagery.

3.1. Simplicity

It would not be an exaggeration to say that, apart from a few lines of al-Zabādī and al-‘Ayyāshi's poems containing strange words, the whole of the poetry is simple. This simplicity is due to the poets' tendency towards expressing their feeling and ideas directly and spontaneously, without trying to choose words that are difficult. They use everyday poetic resources, which suit the situation. This simplicity does not mean vulgarity or weakness, nor does it mean that there is a resemblance between those traveler poets, because the language differs even between poems of the same traveller, according to the theme, or for some other reasons.

1See the example given previously on p. 168.
Ibn Abī Maḥli, for example, defended himself against those who derided the title of his *Riḥla* saying:

في لَيْتِ شُعَرِي مَا تَقُولُ الْمُشَارَقَ
وقُولُ أَفْكِ أمْ هَذِي وَحَاقَ
هُوَ حَقَّ هُوَ وَحَاقَ
وَحَكَمَيُ السَّيْسَةِ فِي كُلِّ وَأَرَى
أَنِمْكَمْ وَالْعَلْبِ لِلْوَهْمِ مَاحِقَ
إِذَا مَا أَقُولُ تَضَكَّكُوا أَوْ تَنَافُقُوا
كَمَا قَالَ جَافِ أمْ حَدِيجَ حَارِقَ
جَرَى سَفَهَا بَالِدَةَ مَا هُوَ صَادِقٌ 1

In these lines we may see that strength, harshness, sharpness and his high spirit dominate. As he is very angry, he repeats the *أم* introduction of the second member of an alternative question in four lines, accompanied with two words of opposite meanings such as *أم* وَحَاقَ. He did that to make the public aware of his strong reaction and harsh challenge to those who had derided the title of his *Riḥla*. This attitude reflects the insubordinate personality of this traveler, who was in fact one of the rebel leaders of his time. 2 Although the poem is composed in strong language and contains harsh, rough and powerful words, the meanings are simple and clear, except for the word مَحَارِقُ 3 which is somewhat vague and strange but might be understood from the context.

In contrast, al-Murābit opened his *Riḥla* saying:

فَلْقُدْ جَلَّتْ مَا جَمِيعُ فُؤَادِ
وَتَرَكْتُ عَلَى الْحَمَا مَسَوْهَا
ذَا زَفْرَةٍ تَذْكِرْيَ بَقْلِي الصَّادِ
فَعَمَيْ أُجَدُّ مِمَّهْجِي حَتَّى مَقْ

2 For more details, see the biography of Ibn Abī Maḥli, pp. 53-5.
3 The term means to lie.
4 Al-Murābit’s *Riḥla*, p. 123. For more details about this poem, see infra, pp. 137-8.
These words are rich in meaning, which express simply and clearly his own feelings. The simplicity, calmness and smoothness of the vocabulary is very clear, especially if we compare it to the previous poem of Ibn Abi Mahli.

As mentioned above, al-‘Ayyāshi might be the best example of a poet whose poetry ranges from an abundant marvelous style of melodious words to a weak style and flimsy synthesis. Nevertheless, in both styles, simplicity is still a dominant feature.

Al-‘Ayyāshi for example, praised the scholar Muḥammad al-Makki who he met in Tripoli, saying:

إن لك المجد موروثا ومكتسبا
ماه الصبا ووقار العلم إذ موجزا
عبدا الى بابك الآمال فيض ندا
وقد سما أملنا إليك يقدمه

ظن جليل فلตรدد مكتب

This poem might be considered the best and most vivid example to demonstrate that simplicity does not mean vulgarity or weakness. In these lines we feel that the words are vibrant and carefully chosen. Its sentences are joined together without leaving the meaning obscure. Generally speaking, this language strikes the middle course, avoiding both vagueness and mustiness, in line with the strict condition which asserts that an eloquent style must rise above the vulgar, without resorting to bedouin vagueness.

Also, the simplicity comes in poems of a weak, flimsy, recital style that seems to be nearer to common prose than poetry. Al-‘Ayyāshi as previously mentioned is one of the poets whose poetry varied enormously in quality. In contrast to the good example given above, he praised someone in a long brotherly poem saying:

فأكبرم به من عالم أي عالم
له حالة لم يرض ذو العقل غيرها
إلى رقة في القلب من خوف ربه
فعلم قطعا أن ذاك إشارة

فما رتبة فوق السهى أي ربه
ودين متسمين لم يدنس بريبه
إني شنت فانظر حاله عند خطبة
من القلب قبل اليوم كامن خشية

1Al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 387. See the rest of this poem given on p. 106

2Ibid., vol. 1, p. 72.
These lines are composed in a style lacking in poetic suggestion, melody of rhythm, or magnificence of synthesis. His words do not convey accurate and lively meanings. His repetition of words does not add extra meaning, but is just to complete the poetic metre. It is clearly similar to common language and reads more like a report than poetry.

In fact, many examples can be given about the lack of eloquence resulting from weak poetic talent, or the fact that the poets paid more attention to the simplicity, directness and spontaneity of the expression than to the aesthetic of the style, or magnificence of the words. In particular, this is found in poetry on certain themes such as entreaty, prophetic commendations and brotherly poems.

Abū Madyan, for instance, entreats a renowned Sufi scholar Zarrūq\(^1\) to find a solution to the critical circumstances of the pilgrims who were prevented from entering Tripoli on health grounds. Therefore, he composed a poem saying:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{إذا ما رماي الدهر يوما بنكية} \\
\text{افتكع عقدها وحل عقفاها} \\
\text{حانيك فالفحاج قاد طاق ذرعة} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3.2. Ornamental (\textit{Badi'}) Style

This is the style that contains types of ornamentation such as \textit{jinās}, (paronomasia), \textit{tibāq}, (antithesis), \textit{muqābala}, (opposition), dating the poem, quotation, inclusion and \textit{al-tawriya}, as will explained later.

Ornamentation is not much used by the travellers, except Ibn al-Tayyib, who shows a stronger tendency towards repetition than others.\(^3\) When ornamentation does occur, in a few lines, it does so in a very natural and unconscious manner, except for a few cases, as will be illustrated later on. One of the best examples of these ornamental devices is the following lines from al-'Ayyāshi's poem:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{فكم بين من في طيبه آمنا هما} \\
\text{ومن في فأصي الغرب ما بين أهوال}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\)See the biography of Zarrūq on pp. 43-4.

\(^2\)Abū Madyan's \textit{Rihla}, p. 217. See examples in the previous chapter, particularly examples given in themes such as entreaty and brotherly poems on pp. 90-100 and 102-9.

\(^3\)For more details and examples, see infra, pp. 173-7.
Then, he said:

فيقى أمام المصطفي وافقا له
منساوية ما بين غير وإذلال
إذا ما رأى خير الوري عز ثم إن
رأى نفسه فالذل أولى هذا الحال

In these lines we find *muqābala* between the bad security circumstances in Morocco and the peace fullness of Medina. *Al-muqābala* occurs between the first hemistich and the second hemistich in the first line, between the second line and third and also, between his state when he visited the Prophet's grave and describes his feelings in the last line. Furthermore, there is antithesis between عز and إذلال and between بروح and بيت in the second line and between بروح and بيت in the third line. In addition, rhyme and *muqābala* between ضنى and ها and between غنى and ضنى. Paronomasia is found also, between ضنى and غنى and between ها and ها. These devices are introduced by al-'Ayyāshi naturally, simply to put more emphasis on the meaning. At other times, such figures of speech are used artificially. The same poet provides one of the best examples, where he uses these devices in order to compensate for the weak expression, as he said.  

In praising a scholar named أبو مهدي, al-'Ayyāshi consciously selected words derivative from the same root, مهدي, in the opening of his poem, saying:

أتينك قديم الرشاد أبا مهدي
فمتلي من استهدى ومثلث من يهدى
سواك هذا العصر من خالص الجيد
جبت خصالة لم تكن جمعت لن
فحرت كلا الجديدين بالجسد والجند

Then, he said:

غيت به بعد العنا غاية الغني
فأتت به كفي وأورى به زند

---

1 Al-'Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 313.
2 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 313.
3 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 137.
5 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 137.
Al-Jinās is found in the repetition of three verbs with different inflected forms, in addition to a noun in the first line, and خَالَصَاءَلا َغَيْبَتِي in the second line, and and نَعَمْيَنَ in the fourth line. Contrast occurs between جِنَبَتِي and نَعَمْيَنَ and antithesis between جِنَبَتِي and نَعَمْيَنَ. Rhyme is found between جِنَبَتِي and نَعَمْيَنَ and between جِنَبَتِي and نَعَمْيَنَ. We might notice the repetition of four words containing دَ and هـ in the first line and three words containing غ in the fourth line, which need effort to utter them. Moreover, the effect of this repetition is dull in particular the repetition of جِنَبَتِي in the last part of the third line, from which nothing was gained.

These ornamental devices and other matters are discussed separately in more detail, as follows:

3.2.1. Paronomasia, jinās

The use of Al-Jinās in most cases comes in a normal and simple way. It is used sometimes by the travellers as a consequence of the musical nature, which it can impart to a line of poetry. Furthermore, it strengthens the meaning and confirms it in the attention of the listener. It is preferable when it comes in a natural and spontaneous way, not used artificially, which corrupts the meaning, as in examples given previously or will be given later.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib, as mentioned previously, is the only poet who shows a strong tendency towards using Al-Jinās, or repetition in general. Ibn al-Ṭayyib entreats repeating words derived from the same root, as the name of the person entreated وَعَقَبَتَةَ وَعَقَبَةَ and words derived from طَبَّةٍ, one of the names of Medina saying:

أَعْقَبَةٌ طَبَّةٍ جَلَالُ جَلَالِهِ وَعَقَابَةٌ يَوْمُنَا كِي لا نَخَافُ عَقَابًا وَعَقَابَا أَضْلَتُ مُوَيْمِهِ جَيْبًا وَعَقَابَا

1 Al-Jinās (Paronomasia) is similarity in the word, with difference in the meaning. See _Tabāna, Murjām al-Balāgha al-ʿArabīyya, p. 136.

See infra, pp. 176-7 and 182, supra, p. 184.
In the first line he repeats the word ٤٦٩٩٩٩٠٠ which has two different meanings, once in the first hemistich, and another time in the second which is known ردد الْعِجْز †الاً الْثَّاَدِر. This frequently occurs in Ibn al-Ťayyib's poetry. In the line below he demonstrates his intention at repetition:

فَهَذَا يَحْلُو الْمَدْحِ دُونَ تَرْدِدِ وَبِتِيبِ تَكْرَارِ الْنَّى وَتَرْدِدِ

He claims that he is conscious of the ornamentation his poem contains such as complete الْجِنَّاَس and الْتَوارِيَّا arising out of repeating the two words تَرْدِدِ and تَرْدِدِ of two different meanings.⁴⁴

Al-Ĥmîrî opened his رِّيْحَْا by using this type of الْجِنَّاَس in a simple and nice way, in order to put more emphasis on the meaning, as in the following line:

أَزْمِعُ الْسِّيَّرَ إِنَّ دُهْتُ أَدْوَٰيْ لِشَفُّ‬ الطَّٰنُم فَهَمُ الدَّوَٰاَٰء

One of the few examples in which we might notice that الْجِنَّاَس was used in an artificial way are the following lines composed by Ibn al-Ťayyib:

بِلَغْنَا الْمَنِيْلَ ﻟَمَّا بِلَغْنَا إِلَى ﻟَمِيْنَ وَزَالَ العِنْدَ عَنْهَا ﻓِلَمْ نَعَنَّ بِالْعَنْهَا وَرَحْصَّتُ الْآَنِمَّاثُ اِنْدَمِمْ نَحْصُبُ وَباَخْفَفَ زَالَ الخَوْفُ عَنْ كُلِّ مِنْ عُنْا

This repetition corrupts the meaning. In addition, there is some heaviness resulting from certain letters coming successively, which is distasteful to the ear.

3.2.2. تَبْعُقَ and مَعْقَبَالا

ِتَبْعُقَ and مَعْقَبَالا are not much used in the traveller's poetry; when they do occur, it is in a very natural and unconscious way, like other devices. Therefore we find a word or sentence and its opposite introduced by the traveller simply because the

---

¹Ibn al-Ťayyib's رِّيْحَْا, p. 37.
²Ibid., p. 21.
³Ibid., p. 21. See also, his رِّيْحَْا, pp. 26, 46, 79, 119.
⁴Al-Ĥmîrî's رِّيْحَْا, p. 89. See also, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's رِّيْحَْا, p. 268.
⁵Ibn al-Ťayyib's رِّيْحَْا, p. 84. For more examples, see infra, pp. 176-7 and 182.
meaning demands them and the idea which he wishes to express requires this. The words and sentences used are very simple.

*Al-tibāq* sometimes occurs between two contradictory nouns, as in al-‘Ayyāshi’s following line, where he opposed مرونأ to أصل and فرع in the first hemistich, and فرع to أصل in the second:

إن لك امجد مرونا ومكتسبا زكاء أصل وفرع أشقر الحسبة

It may occur between two verbs, as in the following line of the same poem, where the poet opposed يعودان to يعودان:

ما كان ظني أن الوحد من أملي ومن كسبان يعو Dixon كذا ذهبا

Al-Zabādi expressed his great longing for al-Ḥijāz, while he was in Fes, saying that his heart was absent in the East [al-Ḥijāz], whereas, he had left his body in Fes [in the West]. In doing so, he opposed جسم، رهن حاضر، (الغرب) to قلب، غائب، مشرق (الحجاز) فاس:

الله قلب غائب في مشرق والجسم رهن حاضر في فاس

Ibn al-Ṭayyib combined *al-tibāq* and *al-muqābala*, opposing رابكى to فلتضحكى and يعموا to يهجروا, and also opposing the first hemistich and the second:

٣Al-Zabādi’s *Rihla*, p. 347.
٤Ibid., p. 104.
These contradictory meanings presented by *al-tibāq* and *al-mugābala*, were employed in a simple but effective way, to make the idea or expression the poet desires to convey, much clearer and stronger. In addition, these lines represent a genuine expressive echo of his tremendous passion and great love for the Prophet, as he likens his state while arriving in Medina, the site of the Prophet’s grave and mosque, to the lover who is always weeping, whether he is very close to his beloved or far away, because if they are together, he weeps for fear that she will leave him, and he does so with longing when he is apart. We might feel in these lines that *al-tibāq* and *al-mugābala* in the hands of Ibn al-Ṭayyib are impressive and effective.

3.2.3. Dating the Poem (تاريخ القصيدة)

Poetic dating is a device whereby in one or more words in the poem, each letter has a digital value,1 and the sum of the digits is the date (A.D) of the event, which the poet desires to record in his poem. The dating word or words must be preceded by a word such as *arrakha* أرخ or something similar derived from the word *al-tārikh* التاريخ. 2 The best examples of poetic dating include the name of the person who dated for him or his nickname and its words are simple, clear and free of artifice,3 as found in the following lines by al-ʿAyyāshi, where he dates the death of one of the scholars of Mecca, Muḥammad b. ʿAlawi, saying:

وكان غوث مكة تاریحه قولك قطب وقیمة مات به

If we total the digits of this sentence, قطب مكة مات به، we find that the total is the date of his death, 1071 A.H.5

---

1As follows: ی=1، ی=2، ی=3، ی=4، ی=5، ی=6، ی=7، ی=8، ی=9، ی=10، ی=20، ی=30، ی=40، ی=50، ی=60، ی=70، ی=80، ی=90، ی=100، ی=200، ی=300، ی=400، ی=500، ی=600، ی=700، ی=800، ی=900، ی=1000. See al-Raddādī, *al-Shīr al-Hijāzi*, vol. 2, p. 854.


5As follows: (ی=1) 1 = 1071.
Also, al-'Ayyāshi dates the birthday of the scholar ‘Isā al-Thā‘alibī’s son, saying:

وأقر أعينكم بِهِ فِي نَعَمَة وَلَدِ سَعيد سَرْكَم مِيلاده

تاريخ الميمنة قُوْيٌ صادقاً

3.2.4. Al-İqtibās and al-Taḍmīn

Al-'Ayyāshi quoted a whole verse and put it in the second line, just adding a single word ‘عُرَود’ . He described the most critical day the pilgrims had ever faced during their journey, as a result of two days without water to the extent that they slaughtered some of their camels, in order to drink the water stored in their stomachs. He likened that state to the state of unbelievers on the day of judgement, where Allah said, describing that day, “If they ask for help (relief, water, etc.) they will be granted water like boiling oil, that will scald their faces.” Al-'Ayyāshi says describing that day:

وَلَمْ أُسَنْ بَالْيَوْمِ يَوْمًا بِهَذهِ

إِنْ يَسْتَغْفِرُونَ يُغَانِهُ رَبُّهُ عَجَرَو

Ibn Nāṣir ends one of his poems with the clause “وَقَابُ قُوْسِينَ أَدْنَاهُ “was at a distance of about two bows’ lengths or (even) nearer”, taken from one of the verses of the Qur‘ān. He ended his line with this clause saying:

أَيْتِصْرُ ذُو عَقْلٍ لُفْرَقةٍ أَحْمَدُ فلاَ وَالذِّي مِن قَابِ قُوْسِينَ أَدْنَاهُ

The travellers sometimes quoted a whole line or more in their poems. Al-Ḥuḍaykī ended one of his poems with the following line:

__________________________

2 Al-İqtibās and al-Taḍmīn refer to the incorporation of something from another source into the poem, but al-İqtibās as a, “Technical term is defined as the unacknowledged borrowing, in poetry or prose, of phrases taken from the Koran [sic] or the Hadith.” G. J. H. Van Gelder, ‘İqtibās’, in Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature, vol. 1, pp. 396-7. Al-Taḍmīn however, is quoting a line, or lines from another poet, and it tends to be used in order to strengthen the meaning.
3 M. Khan and M. al-Hilāli, The Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur‘ān, sūrat al-Kahf, verse, 29, p. 422.
4 Al-'Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, p. 163. These lines have already been given as example of the description on p. 117. For more examples see al-'Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, p. 52; Ibn Nāṣir’s Rihla, p. 102.
5 M. Khan and M. al-Hilāli, The Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur‘ān, sūrat al-Najm, verse, 9, p. 750.
6 Ibn Nāṣir’s Rihla, p. 102.
Al-‘Āmirî included seven lines in his *Rihla*, four lines from the most famous prophetic commendations known *al-Būrđa* composed by al-Būsîrî, and three lines from a poet named Ibn Ḥammâd. Al-‘Āmirî reminds the reader or the listener before quoting these lines that they are the lines of *al-Shaykh* [al-Būsîrî] in the second hemistich of his following line:

\[
\text{وتعاهد معاهد الخير فيها ومن الشيخ ناحا الإنسانياء}
\]

Then, he states al-Būsîrî’s lines. In another place, he draws attention to the fact that the following line is by Ibn Ḥammâd saying:

\[
\text{ولقد صدق ابن حمام إذ قا ل وقد سلمت له البلاغ}
\]

He also, asserts that he has borrowed seven lines:

\[
\text{وإن حاج محمد قد جللاها غير سابع أعاره في الداما}
\]

3.2.5. *Al-Tawriya*

It means that the word has two meanings, one literal or *qarîb* (close) and the other metaphorical or *ba’îd* (far). The poet means to conceal the literal by stating the metaphorical. Al-‘Ayyāshī sent two lines to one of his friends using his nickname saying:

\[
\text{يذكرني بالطير برد نسيمه بلادي فعشي نام متكرر}
\]

\[
\text{فقال خليلي على النفس واصطرر عسى فرج يأتي به لك المخبر}
\]

---

1. Al-Ḥūdaykî’s *Rihla*, p. 3. For details about this famous line, see infra, pp. 144-5.
2. Al-‘Āmirî’s *Rihla*, p. 98.
3. For some details about al-Būsîrî and *al-Būrđa*, see infra, p. 79.
4. Ibid., p. 99.
5. Ibid., p. 104.
The word مخبر has two meanings. The first, the literal or qarib, means the person who brings the news, and the second, metaphorical or ba`id, means the nickname of the friend who sent him the two lines. Al-‘Ayyāshi means the second meaning.

3.3. Recital Style

This Recital style1 is used frequently by the travellers, particularly in prophetic commendations, entreaty, descriptions of performing al-Hajj and al-Ziyāra rituals and panegyric, because these themes, as mentioned previously, require listing the Prophet's attributes and praised person's virtues, or acts of worship. Ibn al-Ṭayyib is considered one of the main users of recital style. He enumerated the Prophet's miracles saying:

\[
\text{قد خصـه به الحـكم بـمـعـجـز الكـبـاب فأعـجـز الشـعـراء}
\]

\[
\text{وـبـوم مولـده بـعـبـر لـن رأـه با حـسنـها عـبـرا}
\]

\[
\text{كـذاك كـسـرـى إيوانه كـسـرا}
\]

Al-Zabādi described the pilgrims' journey to al-Ḥijāz by a recital style with a succession of verbs in the past tense:

\[
\text{رحلوا وهم ماضيـ عـبي سائق}
\]

\[
\text{أرضا بما للـسـانـذـيـن مـسائيـن}
\]

\[
\text{وأرامه لرَضى الخـيـبـب وسـائـل}
\]

\[
\text{فـتـواجـدوا فـالـكـل منـهم مامتل}
\]

3.4. Narrative Style

The narrative style does not mean presenting a whole story, including the known main artistic elements, but it means a simple attempt to relate an event in a short poetic form.

---

1 Recital is a style in which the sentences succeed in a single form, mainly in the past or imperative form, to document events or matters or list certain virtues, usually in documentary and panegyric poems. See al-ʿHarrāma, al-Qasida al-Andalusiyya, vol. 2, p. 281.

2 Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Rihla, p. 111.

3 Al-Zabādi's Rihla, p. 320. See more examples in themes of prophetic commendations, entreaty, description of natural scenes, pilgrims' caravan, the road stages and performing al-Hajj and al-Ziyāra rituals, or wishing to do that, elegy and praise on pp. 80-102 and 114-21.
Al-‘Ayyāshi related the great hospitality and generosity he received from his friend during his stay in Medina, saying:

Also, al-‘Ayyāshi relates in a marvelous dialogue narrative, the moment of separation from his wife, showing his tender feelings, which are poured into the poem from the beginning until the end, by a simple narrative style, depending on this light conversation between them:

Section Five
Emotion and Experience

Emotion is the most important element in literature, especially in poetry and the main influence from which the ideas, imagery and rhythm have been created. The poem is mainly an expression of emotions resulting from the experiences of the poet in life and

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Ahmad Amin believes that it is emotion that gives literature immortality and makes us never fed up with reading poetry, as we do with science, because poetry is made of human emotions, which remain unaffected by time, and any literature that does not arise from emotion does not deserve to be called literature.¹

The literary work, as Shawqi Qayf states, "Is the expression of poetic experience in suggestive form, and experience is an emotional event, which springs from the poet's soul, mind and all his feelings."² And in this regard we have found that some of the travellers' poems, particularly some poems of prophetic commendations, longing and yearning, fulfill the criteria of successful experience, such as the heat of emotion and exalted ideas, in addition to imagination, images, music and language. Al-Ayyashi's poem, which describes the pain of his separation from his wife, conveys truthful experience, deep emotion, warm feelings and exalted ideas, enabling him to successfully express his feelings and experience.³ The same thing happens in Ibn al-Tayyib's poems in which he describes the moment of leaving Medina, the site of the Prophet's mosque and grave. His lines are full of intimate discourse which springs from a truthful heart, deep feelings and impassioned emotion.⁴

Al-Ámri in his Rihla, especially his invaluable advice in the first part and his advice to pilgrims in order to be respected by other pilgrims, manages to give value to his experience, expressing in his Rihla superior emotions, which encourage the hearer and reader to respond.⁵ In addition to that, the motif of water which is predominant, almost amounting to an obsession in al-Murabiţ's Rihla, as mentioned previously constitutes a special vocabulary reflecting the deep psychological experience and painful suffering the poet traveller endured during his previous journeys. Also, Ibn al-Tayyib's poem in which he argues for travel and its benefits, shows truth and strong determination, resulting

³This poem was given as an example of yearning on p. 110 and psychological imagery on p. 161.
⁴This poem was given as an example of psychological imagery, see infra, p. 161.
⁵Examples were given on p. 123-4.
from his philosophy of life and prolonged reflection upon it, until he reaches this conclusion.¹

Repetition sometimes assists the expression of the emotion, particularly in elegies, poems which are, as already mentioned, considered the most preferable place for repetition.² This is only if it comes in a simple, natural and spontaneous way, but it may prevent the expression of emotion if it comes in an affected way, as in the following lines of Ibn Nāṣir:

وسألنا إليه وتصالنا بقره
واقتنا وسلمنا عليه وإنه
وقد زادنا فوق الذي خسندنا³

We find in these lines that repetition prevents the expression of the strong and great love the poet undoubtedly has for the Prophet, whom the pilgrims, including the poet, had traveled an immensely long distance to visit.

Beside that, there are many cases, where the poet can not manage to convey his strong and genuine feelings to the hearer or the reader. One of the reasons is obviously due to the weak language in which the poem is written, as a result of the poet’s lack of talent and skill. Al-Hashtūki, for instance entreats a number of renowned Šūfi scholars, appealing to them to improve the difficult circumstances the pilgrims are facing, saying:

بالسلاسلة الإبراز أضواء من بدر
من الهول والهوان والضيق والحرص
فيا نجل ناصر ويا أحمد ابنه

After listing a number of Šūfi scholars, he said:

وبالفور من ضيق وحصر ومن ضير
سامعا انتترك هذا الركب في العلم

¹Example was given on pp. 163-4.
²See elegy poem of al-`Ayyāshi on p. 121.
⁴Al-Hashtūki’s Rihla, p. 68.
If we may recall that mention was made previously about the impact of Sufi education, such as great love for Sufi awliyā', and strong belief in their unlimited abilities to resolve all difficulties, which the living might encounter in their lives when they entreat them. Therefore, we feel undoubtedly that his feelings and emotion towards these scholars is highly truthful, his suffering is genuine and deep. However, the weakness of his poem results from his lack of poetic talent, which prevents him from conveying his feeling and expressing it without warmth, or excitement.

Another reason why the poet cannot show his strong emotion is because the time at which he composed his poem was not appropriate, or his feelings were not active, or strong enough to enable him to convey successfully his genuine emotion, or create vivid poetic lines. The best example of that is a brotherly poem by al-ʿAyyāshi sent to his colleagues in Fes. Al-ʿAyyāshi frankly stated in this poem that he did not expect much praise for the poem as a result of its weakness, for which he apologises, explaining that he composed it in a rush on the day of leaving, when bad circumstances and distress affected him:

Some poems are naturally free from emotion, such as poems of academic purposes, which cannot contain any kind of emotion. Al-ʿAyyāshi for instance, during his stay in Palestine gave one of the scholars of al-Khalil, Ibrāhīm b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Marawāni an academic Ijāza in poetic form as he desired, saying:

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1Ibid., p. 68.
2For detailed explanation and examples about this matter, see infra, pp. 96-100, 146-7 and supra, pp. 203-8.
until he said:

أبا إسحاق إبراهيم أكرم
به حترا يفوق البحر عيرا
آزبل له شروطا ثم أخرى

Or the poem is one which should have contained emotion such as an elegy poem, but for some reason, we may not sense that emotion in the poem. Al-'Ayyāšī, for instance, eulogizes one of the scholars of Mecca in the following lines, dating his death:

مات فق الحمد من آل علوي
قد كان بجرا في المعارف فلا
وكان غوث مكة تاريخه
إن نسأ الله به ما نرتجه

In these lines, we feel that the emotion is very weak if not absent altogether. This might be due to the weakness of the relationship between the poet and the subject of his elegy. The aim of this poem seems to be to record the date of this scholar's death, as one of the main aims in writing down his Rihla. This is highlighted if we compare this poem to his elegy on his closest friend, which shows deep sorrow.

Conclusion of the chapter

Five basic points have been discussed in this chapter. These are poem structure, content (meanings and ideas), imagery, the language and emotion and experience. Each point contains many sub-points, as follows:

The great majority of Rihla of those travellers were compiled in prose form, whereas only two Rihla were composed in poetic form. These are of al-Āmīrī and al-Murābīṭ, in addition to a long poem of al-Zabādī, which can be considered as a small Rihla. The length of the poem in most cases ranged from two to five lines in al-maqtū'a, and

1Ibid., vol. 2, p. 346.
3Ibid., vol. 2, p. 90. See also, dating of the poem on p. 186.
4See some lines of this poem on p. 121.
between ten and thirty lines in *al-qasida*. A few poems extended beyond a hundred lines and *Riḥla* of al-ʿAmiri reached three hundred and thirty-five lines. Regarding the connection between the theme of a poem and its length, it was found that a variety of themes are contained within longer poems, which exceed a hundred lines. In contrast, poems of medium length, i.e., forty to sixty lines, concentrate on a single theme.

With respect to the organic unity, which means that the poem should be an integrated, vivid complete composition, which has a unity of feeling including ideas and images; we may consider that al-ʿĀmirī's *Riḥla* is the best example of achieving the main conditions of that unity.

Some of the travelers paid tremendous attention to beautifying the opening of their poems by using repetition, rhetoric or ornamental devices. Almost all poems enter directly on their main theme, although a few poems open with various kinds of introductions, such as praise and blessing, romantic prelude, *ḥijāziyya* and symbolic introductions. Various methods were used by the travellers to connect the introduction to the next or to the main theme.

The travellers ended most of the poems with 'peace be upon the Prophet', and sometimes added praise for his glory. Some of them ended their poems by invoking their family or the praised person or praying for them. In a few cases, the poems were ended by other conclusions, such as praying for rain to sprinkle the grave of the dead, or dedicating their poem to the praised person.

The ideas included in the travellers' poetry reflect clearly the Sufi education they had received in Sufi *Zawāyā*, such as entreaty and *al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*. Entreaty, to the prophet Muḥammad, other prophets, or to *Awliyāʾ*, predominates over other ideas, themes, or issues.

The travelers composed a huge number of poems entreating such persons while visiting their graves. The travelers call upon the deceased *Awliyāʾ* and pious occupants of graves for assistance, requesting them to fulfil their needs, such as removing distress, curing illness and granting them a safe return to their homes. It was common practice among them to visit graves, compose poems of entreaty and suspend these over the graves,

1 In fact we find this theory only in the poetry of al-ʿAyyāshi, Ibn al-Ṭayyib and al-Zabādi.
seeking the blessing of the dead person. Even when they composed poems, which should have been pure supplication and entreaty to Allah, they ended with entreaty to the Prophet's right, or rank. These ideas are discussed in detail concluding that this significant dogmatic issue, and this kind of tawassul (supplication) in particular, is indeed prohibited and forbidden according to Islamic Sunni teaching.

Some travelers, in particular al-'Ayyāshi, al-Zabādi and Ibn al-Ṭayyib, believe in the so-called al-Ḥaqiqā al-Muḥammadiyya, which means that the Prophet is the basis of creation and source of generosity, which prevails in all aspects of life during all ages. In addition to that, he is Allah's light from which all people obtained light. Some Sunni scholars, intellectuals and Orientalists assert that the idea of al-Ḥaqiqā al-Muḥammadiyya is taken from other religious texts prior to Islam, under various forms. Muslims undoubtedly see the Prophet as the greatest example of human dignity, courage and wisdom. He was the one who was chosen by Allah to be the last Prophet and messenger to receive divine revelation via the Angel Gabriel, bearing the significant duty of calling people to worship Allah alone. Indeed, neither Sunni Scholars nor ordinary people believe in the concept of al-Ḥaqiqā al-Muḥammadiyya; they believe that the Prophet is Allah's Messenger and slave and that he possesses the most honorable and most exalted character which is described by Allah in many verses of the Qur'ān. Even the Prophet himself warned Muslims against exaggerating in his praise.

Love is considered one of the Şūfi doctrines and the center of Şūfi literature. So, we find that the travelers' poetry is full of expressions of love, such as the terms ardent, passionate, longing and fondness. The travellers express their love and longing for the Prophet, his family, and his Companions in words which are very similar to that used by poets of love. They used of the words 'intoxication', 'cups' and 'wine' as symbols of love and passion. It seems that these words became customary in travellers' poetry as poetic images since the early Şūfi poets, such as Ibn al-Fārid.

However, through other ideas the travellers maintained the true Islamic spirit, and the meanings of their poetry were characterised by their education. Therefore, their poetry did not contain explicit love, or bacchanalian poetry, except for two cases, which were poetic images in customary use. It was truthful and avoided flattery, they never praised anyone to receive a reward, and their panegyrics were mostly restricted to scholars. If they admonished someone, they did so in a friendly and gentle manner. Modesty and self-denial were distinctive features in their poetry. The traveller frequently praised
moral virtues, and did not praise any physical attributes, except brightness of the face. Except in a few places, the travellers’ poetry is mainly distinguished by clarity and ease of understanding.

The travellers’ poetry did not show a great deal of creativity in the field of imagery, especially as their work mostly consists of religious and brotherly poetry. It seems that these poets only aimed to express their feelings, without making any effort to excel in depicting them by creating original images. This may be due to their lack of poetic talent or to the nature of the theme itself. Nevertheless, there are some poets who are creative in this way including al-‘Ayyāshi, Ibn al-‘Uyyib and al-Qādiri. The travellers employed the commonly known types of imagery such as rhetorical, psychological, symbolic, and intensive imageries.

Rhetorical images, in particular simile and metaphor, predominated in the imagery of the travellers’ poetry. Simile was used more than metaphor.

Poets sometimes expressed their deep psychological feelings by drawing an artistic picture that expresses these feelings in an enjoyable literary form.

The travellers sometimes use symbols to clarify the meaning because if the symbol, whether it is a place, person, wisdom or proverb, is familiar to the listener or reader, the meaning gains another dimension based on the connotations of that symbol to the receiver. Therefore, this meaning gained by the symbol will attain acceptance and pleasure. The Hijāziyya places including Najd and Tayba, for instance, are considered in people’s minds as holy places. Reference to these places, therefore, is not mere literal description, but is used as a symbol of the poet’s love and attachment to the Prophet and his companions, who lived and moved around in these places. Also, the names of some desert plants, which grow in these places, are sometimes included in poems with a similar symbolic effect. Some poets, in particular Ibn al-‘Uyyib, make use of wisdom and proverbs to explain their meaning.

The travellers drew intensive pictures composed from various components, which cannot be dislocated from each other because the picture loses its meaning and becomes useless, if any part is removed.

The language was analysed according to words, syntax and style.
Most of the words are easy and understandable. In the rare cases where strange and
difficult words are used, it seems to be acceptable, because the poets are in a position to
use a special diction to portray something, which is known to them by a particular
vocabulary. Most of these words are taken from Eastern heritage which confirms the
Eastern influence on them. The travellers used religious, academic, civilized, literary and
lexical terms, which reflect the education they had received.

Analysing syntax in the travellers' poetry highlights such issues as the sentence length,
briefing, repetition of certain letters and words, paronomasia, diversity and recital. These
issues were analysed to assess the impact of their use, whether on the single poetic line,
or the whole poem. Long and medium length sentences are predominant, and shorter
sentences are not rare but are fewer in comparison to the long and medium ones.
Repetition strengthens the meaning and imparts a musical nature to a poetic line
Repetition is not restricted to sentences or words, but occurs also in single letters, which
are rich in suggestiveness and nuance. Repetition of a certain letter or sometimes more
creates an attractive rhythm and beautifies the expression. This repetition creates a
special effect, giving the line a rhythm that the ear enjoys listening to, especially as this
letter is usually used when the words are gentle. Also, we might see that the beauty of
this line results from the fact repetition comes in a natural way, without affectation.
Repeating words sometimes grants the line or poem in general a wonderful rhythm and
emphasises the meaning conveying it to the receiver more clearly, by presenting it in
various ways. In contrast, repetition sometimes becomes irritating if it is not rhythmical,
or spoils the meaning and weakens the style, or at least, if nothing is gained from the
repetition, or it becomes a mere stylistic habit. Repetition appears to be psychologically
necessary if the catastrophe is very heavy, as found in al-'Ayyashi's poem. Ibn al-Ṭayyib
shows a strong tendency towards repetition, which is readily noticeable as a feature of
his poetry. The effect of the repetition sometimes is dulled, when we feel that the poet
gains nothing from the repetition, or it is nothing more than to complete the poetic line.
The sentences of the travellers' poetry are predominantly in the recitative style.
However, there are a few poems that depend on diversity in proportion to the recitative
style.

The language of the travellers' poetry is easy, clear and understandable, except for very
few poems. In addition, most of their poetry was spontaneous, without affectation,
varying considerably in quality. This seems to be acceptable if strong high quality verse
is ascribed to a certain group of poets, who can on that basis be placed in the category of illustrious professional poets, while the remainder is in the amateur category who only dabble in poetry. We find a poem of one of them is written in an abundant eloquent, marvelous style and evocative rhythm, but when we read another poem we find it weak and flimsy, as if it were not by the same poet. This might arise out of matters such as weak or strong passion, or experience and difference in theme. This can be said only in the case of prolific poets such as al-'Ayyāshi, al-Zabādi, al-Qādiri and Ibn al-Ṭayyib. This is because such general judgments cannot be made from the few poems composed by travellers like al-Ḥuḍaykī, Abū Madyan and Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, whose little poetry is nearer to be poetry of jurist prudence, resembling plain speech and lacking in poetic suggestive, musical melody and vivid imagery.

The style is investigated and analysed according to the dominant features. These are simplicity, ornament, recital and narrative styles. It would not be an exaggeration to say that, apart from a few lines of al-Zabādi and Al-'Ayyāshi's poems containing strange words, the whole of the poetry is simple. This simplicity is due to the poets' tendency towards expressing their feeling and ideas directly and spontaneously, without trying to choose words that are difficult. They use everyday poetic resources, which suit the situation. This simplicity does not mean vulgarity or weakness, nor does it mean that there is a resemblance between those traveler poets, because the language differs even between poems of the same traveller, according to the theme, or for some other reasons. Ornamentation is not much used by the travellers, except Ibn al-Ṭayyib, who shows a strong tendency towards paronomasia, or repetition in general. The use of paronomasia in most cases comes in a normal and simple way. It is used sometimes by the travellers as a consequence of the musical nature, which it can impart to a line of poetry. Furthermore, it strengthens the meaning and confirms it in the attention of the listener. However, it was sometimes used by artificial way, which corrupts the meaning. Al-ṭibāq and al-muqābala are not much used in the traveller's poetry; when they do occur, it is in a very natural and unconscious way, like other features. Therefore we find a word or sentence and its opposite introduced by the traveller simply because the meaning demands them and the idea which he wishes to express requires this. The travellers tend to strengthen the meaning of their poetry by quoting phrases from the Qur'ān or, the Ḥadīth, a line, or lines from another poet. The Recital style is used frequently by the travellers, particularly in prophetic commendations, entreaty, descriptions of performing al-Hajj and al-Ziyāra rituals and panegyric, because these themes require listing the Prophet's miracles and praised person's virtues, or acts of worship. Ibn al-Ṭayyib is
considered one of the main users of recital style. The narrative style used by the travellers does not mean presenting a whole story, including the known main artistic elements, but it means a simple attempt to relate an event in a short poetic form.

The travellers expressed their emotions and experiences in life. Some poems were free from the emotion and experience, either because of the theme of the poem itself, such as poems of academic purposes, or because the poet failed to convey his emotion or experience to the receiver, as a result of his lack of poetic talent, or his tendency towards an affected style.

The two forthcoming chapters are considered as the second half of the focus of this study. They deal with the prose material of the travellers' Rihlät, which will be discussed according to the thematic and artistic features. As al-Rihlät are one of the most significant truthful, reliable sources and live contemporary witness of various aspects of the time period the travellers lived, they are analysed and investigated as an attempt to draw a clear picture of various aspects of that era.
Chapter Five
The Prose: Thematic Study

This chapter and its successor deal with the prose material in *al-Rihlāt*. In this chapter the prose is analysed according to its thematic aspects. The chapter is divided into nine sections, in addition to a general introduction to this chapter. Section One is devoted to the religious aspect. Section Two analyses the geographical aspect. Section Three analyses the academic aspect. Section Four discusses the economic aspect. Section Five analyses the political and security aspect. Section Six is about the social aspect. Section Seven studies the literary aspect. Section Eight analyses the humorous aspect. Section Nine presents a brief conclusion.

The Moroccan pilgrims' *Rihlāt* undoubtedly occupy a significant position among other main sources as a truthful, reliable source and live contemporary witness of various aspects of the days in which the travellers lived. Their significance increases, as they are, in some cases, the only source of such information. Thus, these *Rihlāt*, or sometimes a single *Rihla*, have been depended upon as one of the most important and reliable sources of information, if not the only source, in historical, academic, political, literary and geographical studies of the countries or cities the travellers visited or passed through during their journeys to perform *al-Hajj* in the two studied centuries.

In the preface to their *Rihlāt* the travellers identify accurately the main aims for which they compiled their *Rihlāt*, such as describing the stages of the road, cities and villages and recording the news of meetings with scholars and the academic issues, which they discussed with them or with scholars or students, or with ordinary people. Some of the travellers add visits to shrines, particularly those of Sufi *awliyā*; as a third aim. The fact that these main elements, which are classified in general under the religious, geographical and academic aspect, does not mean that the *Rihlāt* contain only these elements. Description of the road stages, cities and villages include, in addition to the geographical aspect, a number of other main topics such as the social, economic, historical and political aspects as well. Also, these main elements contain a great number of subsidiary elements, as will be shown later. The extent to which these main elements

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or their subsidiaries are dealt with differs greatly from one traveller to another, according to their interests or to their primary aim in compiling these Rihlät. Ibn ‘Abd al-Salâm, for instance, is interested in discussing the academic issues, al-Ishâqi concentrates on political and security matters as a natural result of his being a politician, a minister in the Sa‘di State and also, compiled his Rihla to record the journey of the mother of Sulṭān ‘Abd Allah b. Ismā‘il and his son, while al-Zabädi pays a considerable attention to Şüfism and the leading Şüfi men and their karâmāt (miracles). On the other hand, al-‘Ayyāshi managed successfully to cover most issues.

1. Religious Aspect

Obviously, the religious and particularly Şüfi aspect predominate as one of the three main aspects in al-Rihlät, specifically in some Rihlät such as these of al-‘Ayyāshi, al-Zabädi and al-‘Ayni, because the journey was undertaken to perform a religious duty. In addition, some of the travellers were Şüfi scholars adhering to visiting the Şufis’ shrines, meeting Şüfi scholars and performing the Şüfi rituals such as reciting dhikr, wearing the khirqa (robe) and reading prophetic commendation poems, as well as relating Şufis’ karâmāt. The only exception to this Ibn ‘Abd al-Salâm’s Rihla, which is free of any reference to Şüfi rituals.

1.1. Şüfi aspect

The point which is worthy of note is that the Şüfi order known as al-Shâdhiliyya, to which the travellers belong, is considered the main order in Morocco, and the closest to the Sunna. So, some travellers such as Ibn ‘Abd al-Salâm, Ibn Nāṣir and al-Yūsī adopted a strong attitude against the Şüfi bid‘a, (innovations) such as the sanctity of al-awliyā’. Ibn ‘Abd al-Salâm, for instance, although his preliminary education was in Şüfism, turned to learning the science of Hadith (the Sunna) until he became well-informed in this field, which enabled him to correct and fight al-bid‘a which were prevalent in his

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1For more details about the Sa‘di State, see infra, p. 47.
2See infra, p. 57.
3For the significance of wearing al-khîrqa, see infra, p. 57 and supra, p. 209-10.
4More details are already given in previously three, see infra, pp. 62, 67, 150.
age,¹ such as the heresies related to the graves of al-awliyāʾ and pious men. Therefore, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām’s Rihla, as mentioned above, is free of any reference to Ṣūfī rituals. Also, the founder of al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Dilāʿi, did not conform to al-subḥa² and wearing Khirqa, nor did he impose a certain wīrd or hizb³ because no authentic narration from the Sunna has reached us on this topic.⁴ Moreover, the travellers did not wear muraqqaʿāt (patched garments)⁵. For example, al-Ḥuḍayki, although he was a Ṣūfī scholar, never wore muraqqaʿāt, but only clean white clothes.⁶ However, some of the travellers in general showed a considerable attention to recording Ṣūfī matters, which they encountered on their journeys, and showed a strong fanaticism towards Ṣūfī scholars. Ibn Nāṣir, for instance, says that the Ṣūfī scholars never say anything but the truth and Allah supports them,⁷ and al-ʿAyyāshi holds a similar view.⁸ Also, the Ṣūfī stamp dominates some of al-Rihlátsuch as Rihlátof al-Zabādi, al-Qādiri, Ibn al-Ṭayyib and Ibn Malīḥ.

1.1.1. Visiting Graves and Supplication to the Dead

Most of the travellers visited the graves of the Prophet’s kin and companions, prophets, renowned scholars such as al-Shāfiʿi and Ṣūfī awliyāʾsuch as Zarrūq and al-Badawi. These graves were greatly venerated by them to such an extent that Ibn Malīḥ carried with him earth belonging to the grave of Muḥammad b. Bilāl al-Qayrawānī (died and buried in Aḫmāt in 485/1090), in the belief that the earth had special healing powers, due to the effect of the blessing manifest in him. He did this because he had heard that the inhabitants of Aḫmāt and others gained recovery from the earth and carried it in

¹al-Ǧāṣir, Mulakhkhas Rihlatay Ibn ʿAbd al-Saʿīm, p. 36.
²It is a rosary of ninety-nine beads, and is used for repeating al-dhikr.
³Recitation of al-wīrd (pl. awrād) is the basic discipline that each disciple practices daily once he has been initiated into the order. It consists of prayers of forgiveness, a formula of dhikr, prayers and blessings on the Prophet and supplications (duʿāʾ). AWRĀD are recited at particular times each day, usually after the five daily prayers, or in the morning and at night. AL-dHikr recited in al-awrād may vary not only from one order to another but also from one person to another within the order. The hizb, on the other hand, may be recited at any time. It consists of some Qur’ānic verses as well as prayers and repeating the names of Allah. Most orders have more than one hizb of varying lengths. V. J. Hoffman, Sufism, Mystics and Saints, pp. 131-2.
⁴Hijji, al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya, pp. 62 and 68.
⁵It is one aspect of the Ṣūfī tradition.
⁸See supra, p. 208.
order to meet their needs, and Ibn Malih asserts that he carried it until he returned.\(^1\) Some of them, including al-Hashtuki, Abu Madyan\(^2\) and Ibn Malih\(^3\) started their journey by visiting the graves, and never left any grave they could visit throughout their journey. For example, al-Hashtuki states that he visited every grave on his journey, even if he did not know the name of the person it belonged to.\(^4\) Some of them asked about graves in order to visit them such as al-'Ayni and al-Zabadi, who made a point of asking about the scholars' graves found in the cities or villages they visited. For example al-'Ayni asked about al-Baskar'i's grave when he reached Biskra.\(^5\) Travellers such as al-Zabadi, al-Shawi, al-'Ayyashi and Ibn al-Ṭayyib devoted a huge part of their Rihla to recording the graves they visited throughout the journey.\(^6\) Besides that, they visited graves basically to seek intercession of the dead to obtain baraka\(^7\)' (blessing), particularly when visiting Zarruq's\(^8\) grave in Misrata (Misurata) in Libya. This was the last of the inhabited stages, after which the pilgrims started facing possibly the most difficult stage, a stretch of arid desert, so as al-Tāzi states, they found in the supplication of Zarruq a spiritual supply.\(^9\) Some of the travellers refer to some habits and rituals practiced by visitors. Al-Qādiri, for instance, states that al-shaykh Abū al-Abbās, when he visited the grave of ʿUqba b. Nāfi',\(^10\) in eastern Biskra in Algeria, started by praying, reading surat-ul-Fātiha, then put his turban on the grave.\(^11\) Ibn al-Ṭayyib says that they read some suwar of the Qurʾān such as suwar al-Kahf, Yāsin and Ṭāhā and some prophetic commendations during their visit to Zarruq's grave in Misrata in Libya.\(^12\) Visits to graves were sometimes undertaken by all the inhabitants of some cities as a religious habit. Al-'Ayyashi, for example, says that it was customary for Medina's inhabitants to visit the

\(^1\) Ibn Malih's Rihla, p. 14.  
\(^2\) See his Rihla, p. 51.  
\(^3\) See his Rihla, pp. 13-21.  
\(^4\) Al-Hashtuki's Rihla, Hidāyat al-Malik, p. 51.  
\(^5\) Al-'Ayni's Rihla summerised by al-Sūsi, p. 291. See also, p. 293 and, al-Zabādi's Rihla, p. 12.  
\(^6\) See, for examples, al-Zabādi's Rihla, pp. 9, 39, 64, 163, 166, 193, 334; al-Shawi's Rihla, pp. 6-23.  
\(^7\) The entreaty in both parts, the lawful and forbidden, were investigated in detail on pp. 145-9.  
\(^8\) For details about Zarruq, see his biography on pp. 43-4.  
\(^9\) Al-Tāzi, Amir Maghribi, p. 59.  
\(^10\) For details about his biography, see infra, p. 115.  
\(^11\) Al-Qādiri's Rihla, p. 7.  
\(^12\) Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Rihla, p. 46.
grave of ɻ̣amza b. ɻ̣abd al-Muṭṭalib (the uncle of the Prophet) every Thursday. In addition, they and other people coming from Mecca, Yemen, Yanbu' and Ṭā'īf had a great annual celebration, on which they visited the grave of ɻ̣amza and other graves of the Prophet’s companions in al-Shuhada' cemetery. They started moving to al-Shuhada' from the first days of Rajab until the twelfth of the same month, which was considered the day of celebration, and they spent that day and its night in fun, playing with fire and reading the Qur’an by the light of a great number of candles. Al-ɻ̣udayki also reports that the Egyptians visited the graves of al-Qarah al-Kubra and al-Sughra cemeteries every Friday morning. As some travellers started their journeys by visiting the graves, others such as Ibn Nāṣir ended his journey by doing so.

In fact, visiting graves was forbidden in the formative years of Islam and not until Tawhid (belief in Allah’s unity) was firmly established among Muslims was the ban lifted by the Prophet, who was reported to have said: “I used to forbid you from visiting graves, but now you should visit them, for surely they are reminders of the next life.” However, in spite of this permission, the Prophet placed certain restrictions on the visiting of graves in order to avoid its deterioration into grave worship in later generations. For example, formal praying, praying in the direction of graves, reciting the Qur’an, were totally forbidden in graveyards regardless of the intention. On the other hand, the Prophet used to visit the graves of his companions in al-Baqi’ and al-

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1 Al-Shuhada’ cemetery is the cemetery in which lie the graves of seventy of the Prophet’s companions who were martyred in the battle of Uhud against the disbelievers of Mecca in 3/624.
3 Al-Qarah al-Kubra and al-Sughra cemeteries are the cemeteries in which lie the graves of number of the Prophets, such the Prophet Sālih and the Prophet Muhammad’s family, such ‘Ali b. al-ɻ̣ussayn b. ‘All b. Abī Tālib, as well as his companions such as Murād b. Jābal and Uqba b. ɻ̣ām. In addition to number of renowned scholars such as the Imam al-Shāfi‘i and al-ɻ̣abarī. See Ibn Malih’s Rihla, pp. 55-61.
4 Al-ɻ̣udayki’s Rihla, p. 53.
7 Muslim, Sahih Muslin, vol. 2, pp. 463-4. no. 2131.
9 For more details, see Ibid., pp. 192-4.
10 Al-Baqi’ is the cemetery in Medina; Ahl al-Bayt, (the Prophet’s family) and many of his companions were buried in it, being located very close to the Prophet’s mosque.
Shuhadä' graveyards in Medina and gave them salām, (the greeting of peace), and pray to Allah for them, and teach people what they should say.¹

A point which is worth stressing before leaving this discussion is that veneration of graves was prevalent in the age of the travellers which, as Fāṭima al-Qibli states, makes the action of the traveller al-Yūsî in reminding people in many messages of the prohibition against veneration of pious men and entreaty to them, as very brave.² However, we have found those among the travellers themselves who fought steadfastly against these heresies related to the graves of awliyā' and pious men, such as Ibn 'Abd al-Salām who compiled in this regard al-Mazāyā fīmā Uḥditha min al-Bida' fi Umm al-Zawāyā, which led to his being neglected by biographers.³ We prefer to end this discussion by the following valuable verse, which was often on the tongue of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-'Aṭṭār:

"How long will you worship at tombs of holy men? Busy yourself with the works of holy men, and be saved!"⁴

1.1.2. Karāmāt, and Exaltation of Awliyā';

Some travellers, particularly al-Zabādī, al-'Aynī and al-Ḥudayki, paid considerable attention to relating karāmāt, (the miracles)⁵ of al-awliyā' (friend of Allah). Al-Ḥudayki, who starts his Riḥla with recording the biographies and their karāmāt of his shaykhs, such as Aḥmad al-Ṣawābi, 'Abd Allah al-Rasmūki and Muḥammad al-Ḥamidi, warning against having doubts about their karāmāt, or denying them.⁶ Al-Zabādī relates many stories; for instance, he reports that al-shaykh Abü 'Uniar 'Uthmān b. Marzūq

¹Aḥmad b. Ṭaymiyya, al-Jawāb al-Bāhir fi Zuwvār al-Maṣābir (Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1997), pp. 29-30. The prayer (duʿā') which the Prophet teaches his companions and all graves' visitors are as follows, "Peace be upon the Believers and Muslims among the inhabitants of these dwellings. May Allah have mercy on those who have gone ahead of us, and those who follow us. And we shall-Allah willing-be joining you." See, Muslim, Sahih Muslim, vol. 2, pp. 461-2, no. 2127-8.
²Al-Qibli (ed.), Rasā'il Abī 'Alī, p. 95.
⁵It is, "supernatural powers which contrary to custom, one of its terms is karāmā, pl. karāmāt, wonders wrought by saints [al-awliyā'] for the good people as well as in proof of their saintship [high rank]." Thomas Patrick. Hughes, Dictionary of Islam (London: W. H. Allen & Co, repr. 1935), pp. 350-1.
⁶Al-Ḥudayki's Riḥla, pp. 2-8.
546/1151 in Cairo) used to go at night to pray at al-Masjid al-Ḥaram in Mecca, then at the Prophet's mosque in Medina, after that at al-Aqsā in al-Qūds, (Jerusalem), and return to Cairo in the same night. Al-Zabādi relates other two karāmāt saying that one day the Nile river over flowed, causing damage to farms, so the farmers complained to him and asked him to sort it out. He performed wuḍū' 1 from the river which immediately abated and the land was uncovered again. In another year, the Nile was lower than the usual level, so, those who could not farm as a result turned to him again. He did the same as before and the water level immediately rose. 2 Al-Zabādi also refers to a miracle that happened to 'Ali al-Rifā'i, saying that the Prophet brought out his hand and shook Rifā'i's hand after he had read two poetic lines at the Prophet's grave. 3 Ibn Maliḥ relates that a woman supplicated to Aḥmad al-Badawi 4 to free her son arrested by Europeans, and he managed to bring him back to her in his chains. 5

Although we believe in the miracles proved in the Qur'ān and the Sunna, and miracles brought by the Prophets and pious men, 6 however, many Sūfi stories are very hard to believe such as the stories mentioned above, and we believe that either they can be sometimes traced back to satanic psychological and emotional states such as those in which magicians and mediums perform. The best example is the renowned story 7 of the

1It is minor ritual washing of parts of the body before prayer. I. R. Netton, A Popular Dictionary of Islam, p. 259.
2Al-Zabādi's Rihla, p. 217.
3Ibid., p. 220. For other stories, see his Rihla, pp. 178, 204, 210, 227, 306.
4See his biography on p. 96.
5Ibn Maliḥ's Rihla, p. 65. See also other stories in al-Ḥuḍayki's Rihla, p. 6; al-Ḥasanīki's Rihla, Hidayat al-Malik, p. 84; al-Isḥāqī's Rihla, p. 104.
6Such as the journey of the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) from al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca to al-Masjid al-Aqsā in Jerusalem during one night, as it was stated in the Qur'ān, surat al-Isrā’, verse. 1. Also that the Prophet Jesus (peace be upon him) who was born with no father and spoke to his people while he was a child in the cradle, saying, “Verily, I am a slave of Allah, He has given me the Scripture and made me a Prophet.” See more details stated in the Qur'ān, surat Maryam, verses. 16-35, as well as being able to heal that who was born blind, the leper and bring the dead to life by Allah’s leave, as in surat Ṭāl‘ūn, verse. 49.
7The story is as follows, “One day”, he [‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jālānī] said, “I was deeply involved in worship when all of a sudden I saw before me a grand throne with a brilliantly shining light surrounding it. A thunderous voice then struck my ears, ‘Oh ‘Abd al-Qādir, I am your lord, for you I have made lawful that which I have forbidden for others.’ ‘Abd al-Qādir asked, “Are you Allah besides whom there is no god?” When there was no answer, he said, “Get away, Oh enemy of Allah.” And with that the light vanished and darkness blanketed him. The voice then said, “‘Abd al-Qādir, you have succeeded in defeating my strategies because of your understanding of the religion and your knowledge. I have managed to misguide over seventy saintly worshippers by such incidents.” A. B. Phillips, The Fundamentals of Tawheed, pp. 141-2. See also, Aḥmad b. Ṣayyid, Majmū‘ Fatūwā shaikh al-‘Ilm Ahmad b. Ṣayyid, collected by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim (Riyadh, Dār Ṭālim al-Kutub, 1991), vol. 1, p. 172.
Süfi scholar ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilāni (470-561/1077 or 8/1166), or they fabricated stories because, as R. A. Nicholson asserts:

The popular demand for miracles far exceeded the supply, but where the walīs [Awlıyā] failed, a vivid and credulous imagination came to their rescue and represented them, not as they were, but as they ought to be. Year by year the Legend of the Saints [Süfi Awlıyā] grew more glorious... The pretensions made by the walīs, or on their behalf, steadily increased, and the stories told of them were ever becoming more fantastic and extravagant.2

Al-Qādiri’s Rihla, which was compiled basically to record the journey of his shaykh, the Süfi scholar Abū al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd Allah, is the best example which obviously demonstrates the high status of the Süfi scholar in the community. Al-Qādiri describes in his Rihla the great reception the scholar received and how he was treated by ordinary people in particular. He, for example, recounts that a large number of people crowded around Abū al-ʿAbbās in al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo after the prayer, to give him the greeting of peace and obtain a baraka by kissing his hands. This went on for a long time, until he managed to escape.3 Al-Qādirī, also describes how the scholar was received when he returned home, to the extent that people who were not able to reach him as result of the huge crowd around him, touched his mule.4 Al-ʿAyyāshi has exaggerated in his veneration of the Süfi scholars, to the extent that he believes that they never made any mistake, which led him to fall into contradiction. He, for example, contradicts the Shi‘a5 belief that the twelfth Imām6 has not died; however, he says, he will not contradict this view if the Süfi imāms share with them in this belief, because one can be perfectly sure of the truth of their claims, as the best of the nation.7

1He was a Notable Ḥanbali preacher and ascetic after whom the famous tariqa [order] of the Qādiriyya was later named. He spent large parts of his life in Baghdad where he is buried. I. R. Netton, A Popular Dictionary of Islam, p. 137.
4Ibid., p. 50.
5It is a branch of Islam, which its adherents differ from the Sunnis [see infra, p. 202 and supra, p. 226] on a variety of matters, the principal of which are the questions of succession, authority and law. The majority of the world’s Shi‘ites today are concentrated in Iran and Southern Iraq. For more details, see I. R. Netton, A popular Dictionary of Islam, pp. 230-1.
6He is Muhammad al-Qā'im, “The son of Hasan al-‘Askari. At his father’s funeral, as a young boy, he made a single appearance and then, according to Shi‘ite belief, entered a state of ghayba [absence]. The returning figure of the twelfth Imām identified by the Shi‘ite with the eschatological figure of the Mahdi [awaited, see infra, p. 54] whose return will signal the approaching Day of Judgement.” Ibid., p. 176.
1.1.3. Sufi orders and their rituals, customs, and states

Al-Zabädi paid considerable attention to recording in accurate detail the Sufi orders and their rituals, customs, and states (manners). In addition to this he records observations on meeting Sufi scholars in the cities or villages he visited, to an extent that his Rihla is considered a significant resource that clarifies the Sufi movement at that time. Other travellers such as al-`Ayyāshi, Ibn Nāṣir and al-Hashtūki paid great attention to this matter, but not as much as al-Zabädi did.

Al-Zabädi records frequently all his meetings with Sufi scholars, attending their lessons, halaqāt of dhikr and wearing al-khirqa. In addition, he refers to the emotional states such as al-wajd which occurred to them during al-samā'. Al-Zabädi, for example, states that he went to al-shaykh Ali al-Bayūmi in his home in Cairo, and asked him to teach him al-ṭariqa al-Ahmadiyya, and he shook his hand, granted him al-khirqa, instructed him in al-dhikr and gave him an ijāza. He indicated that when they recited al-dhikr with al-shaykh, he suddenly screamed loudly and lost consciousness, to the extent that

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1.Halaqāt [sing. Ḥalqa], "Circle, link, ring. The term has a number of technical meanings in tasawwuf (Sufism): it can mean, for example, a group of students studying with a Sufi shaykh, or the circle of Sufis formed to perform a dhikr." I. R. Netton, A Popular Dictionary of Islam, p. 94.

2.See infra, p. 57.

3.For details, see infra, p. 57.

4.Al-wajd or ecstasy, "Is attained through the repeated enunciation of short invocations, with control of the breath, co-ordinated with bodily exercises, balancing and inclinations. This is done to the accompaniment of both vocal and instrumental music." J. S. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders, p. 200. Al-wajd as was defined by al-Junayd is, "A state of revelation from God. In some people it causes a strong emotion and in others calmness. It may be interrupted owing to worldly inclinations, but it remains undisturbed in those who lose their worldly consciousness." A. M. Shustery, 'Eight Major Scriptures And Vedantists' in The Sufi Mystery, ed. Nathaniel P. Archer (London: The Octagon Press, 1980), p. 85.

5.Usually denotes the hearing of music or audition" and on the theoretical level, this term samā'; "implies more than a simple hearing of poetry or music, accompanied by a dance or other bodily movements. It is described by some Sufi authors as an unveiling of mysteries and a main of attaining a higher spiritual state and awareness." On the other hand, it became for some Sufis, "A form of entertainment and sensual pleasure. Often participants in samā' placed more emphasis on the dance and on the subsequent sumptuous meal than on its spiritual and pedagogical dimensions." A. Knysh, Islamic Mysticism, pp. 323-4.

6.Al-Ṭariqa, "[pl. ṭaruq] The word is very frequently used to designate a Sufi order. Technically speaking, however, in ṭasawwuf it has the primary sense of mystical way or path." I. R. Netton, A Popular Dictionary of Islam, pp. 245-55.

7.It is, "The name of a major Sufi order, established initially in Egypt, which is called after the Sufi saint [al-Wali], Aḥmad al-Badawi [see infra, p. 96]." Ibid., p. 24.

8.According to Trimingham, there are three types of ijāza: the first is that given to a disciple or adept giving his qualifications and permitting him to practice in the name of his master; the second is given to a khālit or muqaddam authorizing him to confer the wīrd, that is admit others into the order; whilst the third type simply affirms that the holder has followed a particular course of Sufi instruction. J. S. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders, p. 192. See also the ijāza by al-muṣṭafā (handclasp), supra, p. 218.
they thought he had died, and all the people around him screamed with him; some of
them lost consciousness as well. Then when al-shaykh recovered, he said something
they could not understand, and spoke to some women using obscene language. 1 Al-
‘Ayyāshi, also, wore not one khirqa but eight from the Sūfi scholar ‘Isa al-Tha‘alibī in
Mecca, 2 who instructed him in al-dhikr of al-tariqa al-Nagshabandiyya. 3 Al-‘Ayyāshi
gave detailed information about this, because it was unknown in Morocco. 4 In fact, the
travellers themselves such as Ibn Nāsir and al-Zabādi as Sūfi scholars played a role in
spreading their tariqa and instructing people in al-dhikr and giving ijāzāt. Al-Zabādi
reports that he met a man called ‘Abd Allah in Tripoli and instructed him in al-dhikr. 5
Al-Ishāqi recorded a Sūfi majlis (assembly) of al-dhikr or ḥadra 6 was held in al-
Husayn’s 7 mosque in Cairo, and the site where his head is believed to be buried, which
is considered, “An arena for the performance of zikr [sic] or ḥadra by the Burhāniyya 8
especially in Ramaḍān [month].” 9 He reports that al-majlis took place on one Friday
after the ‘Aṣr prayer, and started with reading some verses from the Qurʾān, then
chanting peace be upon the Prophet for an hour, taḥlil (saying: there is no God but
Allah), and repeating the name of Allah in a certain formula, for another hour. After
that, someone else read at the grave some lines of the renowned prophetic

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1Al-Zabādi’s Riḥla, pp. 266-7. See also his Riḥla, pp. 70, 156, 216, 268.
2This confirms the A. Knysh’s remark in Islamic Mysticism, p. 216, who observed that the Sūfis of al-
Shādhīyya, “Were often steeped in several Sūfī [sic] traditions and received their Sufi robes from many
different masters. These multiple affiliations, which became quite common in the Maghrib in the modern
period, make it difficult to attribute a given shaykh to just one tradition.”
3It is a “Major Sufi order which became popular in Central Asia, Kurdistan and the Indian subcontinent
but much less so in the Arab world. The order derives its name from Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Nagshabandi (died
791/1389) who is not, however, considered to be the founder.” I. R. Netton, A Popular Dictionary of
Islam, p. 190.
4Al-‘Ayyāshi’s Riḥla, vol. 1, pp. 207-24
5Al-Zabādi’s Riḥla, p. 321. See also his Riḥla, pp. 95 and 121; Ibn Nāsir’s Riḥla, vol. 2, pp. 141, 165, 188.
6This word means ‘presence’, which refers to presence of the Prophet. It consists of two parts: the
reading of the office (ḥizb, waṣīla, etc. see infra, p. 203) of the order, other prayers and the dhikr proper,
accompanied [sometimes] throughout by music and songs (anāshīd). J. S. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders,
pp. 204-5.
7He is “one of the grandsons of the Prophet and the son of the 4th caliph ‘Ali b. ʿAbī Ṭalib. He was
massacred...[by the Umayyad army] at the battle of Karbalā in 61/680...” I. R. Netton, A Popular
8It is “Popular Sufi order in Egypt, especially in Cairo, and elsewhere, also called the Dasūqiyya. It derives
its names from its founder Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbī l-Majd ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Dasūqi (c. 644/1246-
684/1288 but other dates are given). The present-day order in Egypt characterise itself as Shādhilī as
well Dasūqi and Burhānī.” Ibid., pp. 59-60.
9Ibid., p. 108.
commendation, al-Būṣīrī's *Būrda*, then they returned to repeat the name of Allah in a different formula. Then a group of them stood up, holding each other, forming a circle surrounding the four columns of the grave, and some of them continued repeating the name of Allah and others repeated ḥū ḥū, [He He], then four of them moved to the centre of the circle holding each other, repeating the name of Allah and circulating until the *Ishā* prayer. All that, as al-Ishāqī recited, was accompanied by beautiful voice songs and melodies. Al-Zabādī attended one of ḥalaqāt al-dhikr while staying in Cairo, and reported that some of those present lost consciousness while repeating the name of Allah.

It is worthy of note that except for al-Zabādī, who indicates once that he reached the state of *al-wajd* during ḥalaqāt al-dhikr, the travellers confined themselves to teaching al-dhikr and wearing al-khirqa and never participated in the rituals of the dance, al-samā` or al-ḥadra. They indeed, rejected them. For example, al-Hashtūkī was asked in Fajīj about them and answered that they are forbidden according to Islamic teaching. Al-Ayyāshi also, criticises sharply the songs (*al-anāšid*) accompanied by music. In fact music is prohibited in a number of Sufi orders.

1.2. Other Religious Aspects

The travellers also, recorded other religions and Islamic doctrines, which they encountered in some of the cities they visited, in addition to claims and customs, *ahkām* (ordinances) and advice related to travel and *al-Ḥajj*.

The travellers refer to the Egyptian Christian monks who lived isolated from people in three, or four abbeys in Wādi al-Ruhbān, near Alexandria. Al-Ayyāshi, for example, reports that four groups of monks existed, each in its own monastery. No one outside their orders was allowed to enter these monasteries, and the Egyptian Christians

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1. For details about al-Būṣīrī's and his poem, *Būrda*, see infra, 79.
4. Ibid., p. 275.
supplied the monks with food and other needs. Al-Ḥudayki describes three monasteries with no doors. Supplies were put in baskets, then hauled up from the roof of the monastery.

The travellers also referred to Islamic doctrines such as the Shi`ism and al-Khārijites. Al-Ṣa`īḍah reports that the ruler of Mecca and al-Ḥijāz in general al-Sharif Zayd b. Muḥsin converted from al-Zaydiyya, as his family conforms to the Sunni doctrine, supporting its scholars and advising his family to do so because he believed that Sunni doctrine is the right way. Al-Ṣa`īḍah also reports that he witnessed the Shiʿites from Iraq who he called ṭafiwāfīd visit the grave of Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (died 145/765) and he describes how they extolled the grave. He reports that they had gone to a well and the leader told them that al-Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, who is one of the twelve Shiʿite Imāms, had entered into this well and hidden from people, who supposed that he had died. Al-Ishāqī recounts that the inhabitants of Jerba island in Tunisia who are Khawārij, and consider a Muslim who has committed a grave offence to be a disbeliever.

1 Al-Ṣa`īḍah’s Riḥla, vol. 1, p. 118.
2 Al-Ḥudayki’s Riḥla, p. 15.
3 See details about it on p. 208.
4 It is, “An early Islamic sect... The name of the group’s members, in Arabic khawarij means ‘those who seceded’ (i.e. from supporting ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭalib; it is derived from the Arabic verb ‘to go out’, ‘to secede’ (khāraja).” They were soldiers of ‘Ali’s army at the battle of Siffin, then they left the army after rejecting any form of arbitration except Allah’s judgement. For more details, see, I. R. Netton, A popular Dictionary of Islam, pp. 145-6.
6 It is the, “Third of the three branches of Shi`ism [see infra, p. 208] after the Ithnā `Asharis and the Iṣmaʿilis. The Zaydis are named after a grandson of al-Ḥusayn [the son of the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭima] b. ‘Ali, whom they followed as an Imām, called Zayd b. ‘Ali (died c. 122/740). Zaydi theology has a Muʿātāzili orientation but from the point of view of law, the Zaydis are close to the four Sunni madhāhib [see infra, p. 203 and supra, p. 226]. Today Zaydis are still to be found mainly in the Yemen.” I. R. Netton, A popular Dictionary of Islam, pp. 264-5.
9 “They are called ‘Twelvers’ because they [the Shi`a] acknowledge twelve principal Imāms after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad.” Ibid., p. 131.
10 Al-Ṣa`īḍah’s Riḥla, vol. 1, p. 241. In fact, the awaited man according to the Shi`a belief is the twelfth Imām Muḥammad al-Qāʾim [see infra, p. 208], not Ja`far al-Ṣādiq, which may be a mistake from al-Ṣa`īḍah.
Then he gives some details such as they must have a shower every morning, and they never eat from the same dish as one who is not of the *Khawārij*.

The travellers investigate the claims made by pilgrims and the customs they observe during their journey to perform *al-Ḥajj*, such as hearing the sound of drums, seeing the light of Medina and lighting candles.

Al-‘Ayyāshi, for example, reports that some pilgrims claimed that they heard the sound of drums while passing through Badr near Medina, the site of the renowned battle.\(^2\) Al-‘Ayyāshi states that some reliable historians believe that it is the sound of the drum of the victory, which will last until the day of judgement. Al-‘Ayyāshi was very keen to be sure of this matter, so he made every effort to hear it, but he did not hear it. He also asked his *shaykh*, al-Sijistāni, who told him that he had passed through that place twenty-seven times, but heard nothing.\(^3\) The travellers who came after al-‘Ayyāshi, including Ibn al-Ṭayyib, al-Ishāqi and Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, asserted that they heard nothing when they passed through this area.\(^4\) Al-‘Ayyāshi also, reports that some pilgrims claimed to see a bright light appearing from Medina, but he denies that, asserting that it was just lightning.\(^5\) Al-‘Ayyāshi, also, criticized the custom of lighting a huge number of candles, observed by Egyptian pilgrim caravans when they arrived at al-Saqā‘if or Dār al-Waqda near Badr, because they supposed that the companions of the Prophet lit fires on the night of the Badr battle. He denied that such a thing had happened in that battle, and said that even if it did, it was done in order to show the enemy their power, and the need to do that no longer existed. He indicates that this has led a number of pilgrims, who had no candles, to ask him if they must purchase candles, believing that this custom is one of the rituals of *al-Ḥajj*.

Obviously, matters such as *ahkām* (ordinances) superiority and advice related to *al-Ḥajj*, *al-‘Umra*, *al-Ziyāra* (visiting the Prophet’s mosque, then his grave) and travel in general

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1. Al-Ishāqi’s *Rihla*, pp. 75-6.
2. It is the first major battle at which the Prophet with Medina’s Muslims achieved a significant victory against the disbelievers of Mecca in 2/624.
5. Al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, 183.
6. Ibid., p. 181. More examples are given in chapter six, see supra, pp. 251-3.
are included in *al-Rihlät*, which were compiled for this purpose. Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, for example, singled out the introduction to record these matters. Ibn al-Ṭayyib also, devoted a long introduction, emphasizing these matters. In addition, the travellers refer to other religious matters, such as the virtues of the prayer in the two holy mosques in Mecca and Medina, the places, which should be visited in Medina, and the wisdom of performing the rituals of *al-Ḥajj*.

2. Geographical Aspect

As previously mentioned, description of the road stages, cities, villages and wells is one of the most significant aims writing *al-Rihlät*. The travellers compiled their *Rihlät* in order to be, as Abī Madyan states, a complete useful guide for those in need of knowing the hard stages, places of wells, the dangerous places, and where highway robbers were likely to be encountered. Therefore, these *Rihlät* were much appreciated by researchers including al-Fāsi, who indicated the significance of Ibn Malīḥ’s *Rihla*, as a unique source regarding description of the southern desert route which few pilgrim caravans travelled. He also referred to the significance of Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Rihla*, which gave accurate details about the stages between Tamkrūt and Tafilat in Morocco.

2.1. Road Stages, Valleys and Wells

Ibn Malīḥ, for instance, describes in details the road, which passes through a desert called Azkar, saying that it is fifty days travel including stops. The first six days are arid barren desert, then comes the Afīsās valley with abundant trees, pasture and one well, then long seven stages, at which one sees nothing except dust. On the eighth day he encountered a high mountain pass, then he came down to renowned wellsprings. After

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1 Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Rihla*, pp. 3-23.
2 Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Rihla*, pp. 4-18. See also al-‘Aynī’s *Rihla* summerised by al-Sūsī, pp. 284-5.
3 See, for example, Abū Madyan’s *Rihla*, pp. 144 and 146; al-Ḥudaykī’s *Rihla*, pp. 36 and 38. For some details about the virtues of the prayer in these two holy mosques, see infra, p. 13.
5 See, for example, al-Shāwī’s *Rihla*, pp. 4-5.
8 Ibid., 1959, p. 23.
that come three arid desert stages, then a valley known as Arsam al-Layl, where there are many trees, pastures and wells. He continued describing this hard stage and how the pilgrims suffered until they were about to die, indicating that some of their riding camels and mules died or gave up.¹

Also the travellers paid considerable attention to the wells, springs and valleys, as a result of the urgent need for them during the journey. Thus, they gave comprehensive information about their locations, types, the diseases they cause and their treatment.

Al-Zabādi singles out a section to record the wells and springs in Barqa in Libya, which pilgrims often cannot dispense with, and he indicated that some them are close to the pilgrims' road, whereas some are far away, after that he starts to give details about them. He says, for example, that the first is fresh water spring, it is named al-Nā'im, located in white smooth sand. The second is al-Man'am spring by the seaside, and its water is very good. The third is Ajdābiyya, located after three days travelling from al-Man'am, where many great wells are dug in the rock. Then after two days is the well of Sulūk, the level of which declines in the summer, and its water is not good. Thus, he continues recording the eleven wells and springs found in Barqa.² Al-Zabādi also, indicates the various kinds of water and gives medical advice to treat the diseases caused by some of them.³

Ibn al-Ṭayyib describes a river named Blāzes, in Morocco, as a snake circling around the mountains from the south to the north, and going deeply into the hills.⁴ Al-İshāqi notes that they crossed al-Ishbūr River about fourteen times, because it wound among the surrounding mountains.⁵

2.2. Cities, Villages and Weather

The travellers describe the cities and villages including their streets, schools, hospitals, seaports, virtues and antiquities. Al-İyyāshi, for example, says that Alexandria is one of ummahāt al-mudun (the mothers of cities) in the world. Then he indicates its marvels

¹Ibn Malîh's Rihla, pp. 31-2. See also al-İyyāshi's Rihla, vol. 1, p. 18.
²Al-Zabādi's Rihla, pp. 32-7. See also Ibn 'Abd al-Salām's Rihla, pp. 69 and 107; Ibn Malîh's Rihla, pp. 27-8; Abū Madyan's Rihla, pp. 61 and 110.
³Ibid., pp. 50-3
⁵Al-İshāqi's Rihla, p. 42. See also his Rihla, pp. 210-11.
saying that one of them is the column known as ʿAmūd al-Ṣawārī, which reaches up to the sky; no one knew how it was built, though it was claimed that there were four columns with a dome over them. The other is the renowned lighthouse of which remains nothing. Then al-ʿAyyāshī reports that Alexandria combined many virtues such as fine location linking the sea and desert, bedouin and urban areas. Then he explains that the eastern gate is connected to the rural areas of Egypt, the site of farms which have no equal in the world. The western gate is linked to Barqa desert, situated between the East and the West, which has no equal regarding its wide distance, good pastures and the fresh air. The sea gate is linked to the land of Byzantine, from which invaluable goods are imported. Ibn Maliḥ reports that there is a marstān (hospital) in Cairo, and says that it is a great palace, goodly for its beauty and spaciousness, which has no equal. He continues saying that it has been cited from al-shaykh al-Karkī that the number of patients is about four thousand a day. Then he notes the high quality of foods and the high standard of the rooms provided for the patients. In addition to that, every person leaving the hospital is given clothes and money. Al-Ishāqi states that the streets of Tripoli are very wide and arranged across the city in a grid pattern like a chessboard, similar to Rabat al-Fatih in Morocco.

Also the travellers recorded various aspects of the weather such as winds, dust, snow, rain, heat and cold that they encountered on their journeys. Ibn al-Ṭayyib, for example, says that their bodies were about to fly, their souls were about to perish, and their faces and eyes were filled by a very strong wind when they passed thorough the Wādī of the Prophet Khālid b. Sinān in Algeria. Al-ʿAyyāshī gives a nice description of their state while passing through Saṭḥ al-Ḥamād al-Kabīr in Morocco, when a strong wind blew one day carrying a huge amount of sand, similar to the mountain, until no one could tell who was walking next to who, or hear his conversation, and the colour of white people became similar to that of the black. Al-ʿAyyāshī, also, describes how the camels entered

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2 Ibn Maliḥ’s Rihla, p. 67.
3 Al-Ishāqi’s Rihla, p. 97. Al-Tāzi comments on this in Amīr Maghribi, p. 145, saying that it means that the city is accurately planned according to the length and the width, and indicates that al-Ishāqi had knowledge about chess, is typical of notable politicians.
4 Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Rihla, p. 34. For details about the Prophet Khālid, see infra, p. 96.
under the trees seeking for shade and many pilgrims died as a result of the fierce heat they encountered near Medina.¹

3. Academic aspect

Obviously, the travellers as scholars, state in the prefaces to their Rihlat that one of the two most significant aims for which they compiled their Rihlat is to record their meetings with the scholars and the academic issues which they discussed with them. Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, for instance, says that one of the two main aims is to record his meetings with scholars and the academic questions he answered.² Al-Ayyāshi asserts the significance of meeting the scholars and recording their biographies.³ Al-Qādiri compiled his Rihla only to record his shaykh Abū al-Abbās's journey to perform al-Ḥajj in 1100/1689, so, he named it Nasmat al-Ās fī Ḥajjat Sayyidinā Abī al-Abbās. Therefore, they paid considerable attention to recording various academic matters, to such an extent that such a Rihla as that of al-Ayyāshi is considered an encyclopedia on academic issues and Ṣūfism as Krachkovski mentioned.⁴ Thus, Moroccan Rihlāt have become unique resources on many various aspects, since the loss of original sources from which the travellers quoted their accounts, according to the known principle which affirms that if the original has been lost, secondary sources replace it.⁵

3.1. Meeting the Scholars and Recording their biographies

As mentioned previously meeting scholars, attending their lessons, obtaining the ijāzāt, and discussing various academic issues with them, was one of the main reasons for which the travellers compiled their Rihlāt. So, they strictly devoted their time to achieving this purpose in any city, or village they visited or stayed in. The travellers received a warm welcome and were treated with hospitably by the scholars and tukāb al-ʿilm (students of knowledge) in most countries, as a result of their great reputation as

¹Ibid., vol. 1, p. 231.
³Al-Ayyāshi applied this principle in practice after his return from his second Ḥajj performed in 1064/1653, and had an intention to write down the news of this journey, but he changed his mind after compiling Iṭṭiḥād al-Athar b'adā Dhaḥāb Aḥī al-Athar which contains his shaykhs’ biographies, and as he said nothing left worth recording. See infra, p. 58
⁴Krachkovski, Tārikh al-Adab al-Gūghrā/Iā/-Arabi, p. 809.
⁵Karim, al-Maghrib li `hd al-Dawla al-Suḍiyya, p. 201.
scholars. So, they were quickly and easily able to make strong relationships with scholars and not only did they visit them in their own accommodation, but the scholars visited the travellers in the places where they were lodging.\(^1\) Al-Ishāqi, for instance, devotes certain sections to the scholars he met, under the heading, “Referring to the scholars whom we met in Mecca.” He mentions that the first was `Umar al-Bār al-Ḥusaynī, then he talks about his Sūfī order, and says that he visited him in his own special accommodation, where he usually held closed meetings with his own close companions. He treated him hospitably, showed him his work, discussed some academic issues and granted him an Ģāza, then al-Ishāqi asked him for Ģāza by al-muṣāfaḥā.\(^2\) Al-Zabādī also, entitles certain sections referring to the scholars and men of righteousness he met in Egypt, then he starts naming them and mentioning their lessons, different subjects they taught, their shaykhīs and works. Al-Zabādī says, for example, that the first was al-shaykh Abmad b. Mustafā al-Iskandari, who lived in Alexandria, where he taught the Ḥadīth (prophetic tradition) for three months, then he moved to Cairo and taught the Ḥadīth and jurisprudence at al-Azhar Mosque for the rest of the year, after which he mentions his shaykhīs.\(^3\) The scholars themselves sometimes received the travellers, as soon as they arrived at the city, or village or prior their arrival, especially if the city or the village was not on al-Ḥajj road, and discussed various academic issues with them. Al-Ḥashtūkī says, “The scholars and student of knowledge of ‘Ayn Mādi came out to receive us while there were still miles to go”, then he states that some of them claimed to be specialists in grammar, while others were experts in jurisprudence, or theology, recording the various issues discussed with them such as pillars of ímān (belief).\(^4\) The

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\(^1\) For the travellers’ scholarly position, see also supra, p. 223.

\(^2\) The ġāza by muṣāfaḥa (handclasp) is the unique strange type of ġāza we found in the travellers’ Rihlah which means according to my understanding that when a student of knowledge was granted ġāza by the scholar shaking his hand he had completed his study under him. Thus, a student who became a scholar did that with his students after they completed their studies under them. The scholar mentioned his ġāza to the scholars who inherited this ġāza, known as al-Isnād. For other types of ġāza, see infra, pp. 32, 209.

\(^3\) Al-Ishāqi’s Rihlah, pp. 281-302. Al-Ishāqi continued referring to the scholars he met in Mecca such as Muhammad b. Ahmad ‘Aqīla who praised his wide knowledge mentioning some works which numbered over twenty, such as al-Ihsān fi ‘Ullam al-Qurān and Tafsīr al-Mafaṣṣil al-Musīb al-Qurān. He also praised some scholars of Medina, while recording their biographies, such as Zayn al-Abidīn al-Manūfī and Tāj al-Dīn b. ‘Arif al-Manūfī, which is contradictory to his attitude towards the academic activities in al-Hijjāz and Egypt, which will be mentioned on pp. 220-2.

\(^4\) Al-Zabādī’s Rihla, p. 230. See also his Rihla, pp. 19, 159, 220. Ibn al-Ṭayyib reported in his Rihla, p. 128, the accounts of his meeting with some scholars of Tripoli, where he stayed for twenty days such as Muhammad al-Ma‘zawī, who had wide knowledge in some sciences and in particular al-Ṭayyibī. There was also Muhammad b. Muṣāhil with whom Ibn al-Ṭayyib discussed some Ḥadīth matters, referring to his nobility of character, see also his Rihla, pp. 43 and 129. For other examples in other Rihlah, see Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s Rihla, pp. 97, 144, 233.

\(^5\) Al-Ḥashtūkī’s Rihla, Hidāyat al-Malik, pp. 62-4. The names of the scholars and students of ‘Ayn Mādi were not mentioned by al-Ḥashtūkī.
travellers mention *al-ijāzāt* they were granted by the scholars after studying under them. Abū Madyan says that he gained an *ijāza* from one of the Mecca scholars named Sālim b. ‘Abd Allah al-Bāṣrī, after reading parts of the six books of prophetic tradition such as *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* in his academic class.¹

In addition, some of the travellers, particularly al-Ishāqi, al-Zabādi, al-‘Ayyāshī and Ibn Malīḥ are interested in recording scholars’ biographies. Ibn Malīḥ’s *Rihla* is full of information about deceased scholars, specifically Şūfī scholars. He records the biography and *karāmāt* of every scholar, whose grave he visited throughout the journey, in both directions. The pilgrims’ caravan started, as usual, by visiting Aghmāt and Rīka to gain *baraka* by visiting the graves of Şūfī *awliyāʾ*. Ibn Malīḥ, for instance, records the biographies of the twelve *awliyāʾ* buried there such as Muḥammad b. Sa’dūn al-Qayrāwānī, Abū ‘Abd Allah al-Tūnisī and Abū Muḥammad al-Khazraji.²

### 3.2. Academic Movements

In their capacity as scholars, most of them paid great attention to describing the academic activities in the cities and villages they stayed, in or passed through. However, they differed in giving details. Al-‘Ayyāshī, for instance, hardly ever passed, or stayed in a place without referring to the academic activities in detail and Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām presents a complete picture about the academic activities in Libya,³ while travellers such as al-Yūsī were less interested in giving details. Also, their attitudes towards these activities are very different as will be mentioned later. A point which is worth noticing here is that some of the travellers, including al-‘Ayyāshī and Ibn al-Ṭayyib, did not confine themselves to description, as observers, but they effectively participated in teaching in Cairo and Medina. Therefore, both of them were influenced and affected by these activities, as will be mentioned later,⁴ and thus, their accounts sometimes acquire a special significance.

Describing the academic movement kept the attention of al-‘Ayyāshī along his journey, even before he left the Moroccan border. When he arrived at Tawāt, for example, he

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¹Abū Madyan’s *Rihla*, p. 190.
²Ibn Malīḥ’s *Rihla*, pp. 14-25. Thus, he does with other scholars buried in another places, see for example, his *Rihla*, pp. 54, 61, 108-113; al-Zabādi’s *Rihla*, pp. 344-5.
⁴See the travellers’ high scholarly position on p. 223.
found its inhabitants had no interest except in trade. He said that he did not meet any educated men, and most of them were merchants. Then in Tikrit he introduces a Tawât family known for their learning. He also recorded the academic movements in Medina and Mecca, mentioning that in Medina, Tuesday and Friday are official holidays, as in the al-Haţj season, which starts from the twenty-seventh of Dhū al-Qa‘da, when all books are returned to al-makhâzin (storerooms). When the pilgrims leave, academic activities are resumed as usual. Al-İşhaqi entered Biskra in Algeria and did not find any one interested in learning or teaching. Thus, the travellers describe other cities including Tlemcen, Tawzar, ‘Ayn Madi and Tripoli, as will be discussed later.

Although the travellers give detailed descriptions of the academic movements in Cairo, Mecca and Medina, which were among the most significant centres of learning, if not the most significant in the Islamic world for centuries, the travellers' attitudes towards these activities varied considerably. While al-İşhaqi and his shaykh al-Yüsî alone adopted a very critical position towards these centres, the rest of the travellers were highly impressed by their activities. Al-Yüsî who performed al-Haţj in 1101/1690 criticises sharply the academic movement in Egypt and the East in general, saying that after returning from al-Haţj he had not seen anything of the academic activities, or a great many scholars and educated people of which he have heard before arriving there. He assumes that this was either because of the extinction of learning or the death of the scholars, or that other travellers had wished him to impress by boasting of meeting scholars and righteous men. He asserts that there was no one who was worth travelling to study under. Forty-two years later, al-Yüsî's student al-İşhaqi performed al-Haţj and described at length the academic activities, saying that al-Azhar Mosque is wide, big and has multi arwaqa, one of which was allocated for accommodation of Moroccan students. These arwaqa contain bookcases and places for keeping their effects, and free meals were

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1 Al-‘Ayyâshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, p. 20.
2 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 50.
3 The reason why Tuesday is officially holiday is unknown
4 Al-‘Ayyâshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, and p. 284.
5 Al-İşhaqi’s Rihla, p. 57.
6 Al-Yüsî’s Rihla, p. 97.
7 Ibid., p. 99.
8 For the definition of riwâq, see infra, p. 52.
served twice daily, morning and evening, and the mosque was full of people in the learning *halaqāt*, during the day and at night. Then he mentions the discussions with some of the scholars he met such as ‘Ali al-Hanafi, who was a renowned grammarian. However, he says that he was totally dissatisfied with the academic lessons he attended, commenting that learning in the [Arabic] eastern countries is about to disappear. He supports his opinion by quoting his shaykh’s opinion mentioned previously, which might have influenced him. Indeed, this attitude strongly contrasts to the rest of the travellers’ attitudes, as they were enormously impressed by academic activities in Egypt, Mecca and Medina.

Ibn Malih who performed *al-Hajj* in 1040/1631 highly praises al-Azhar, indicating that its doors had not been closed and food and clothing had been served to the students free of charge, as well as referring to some notable scholars such as ‘Ali al-Ajhūri and Ahmad al-Kalbi. Al-Ḥudayki, who was a contemporary of al-Iṣḥāqi and performed *al-Hajj* just ten years later in 1152/1741 for instance, was highly impressed by the academic activities in al-Azhar Mosque, and its notable scholars and their lessons commenting that about thirty lessons in jurisprudence were held at the same time. He says that al-Azhar is ahead of al-Ḥijāz, Yemen, Iraq, bilād al-Shām and Morocco, in the search for knowledge asserting that there is no place as well known as al-Azhar. Al-‘Ayyāshi praises the great academic abilities of the scholars of Mecca such as ‘Īsā al-Thaʿālibī Zayn al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī and scholars of Medina such as ʿAlī al-Rabī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī whom he met and studied under, and referred to the great number of notable scholars he met in al-Azhar such as Ibrāhīm al-Maymūnī and ‘Abd al-Salām al-Laqqānī, asserting that the academic activities carry on throughout the day and night. Ibn al-Ṭayyib who performed *al-Hajj* in 1139/1728 praised the scholars of al-Azhar, and

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1See the definition of *halaqāt* on p. 209.
2Al-Ḥanafi, for example, was asked about the difference between indeclinable nouns such as the interrogative particle, adverb and declinable nouns.
3Al-Iṣḥāqi’s *Riḥla*, pp. 156-61. In fact this sharp criticism towards the academic activities in the East (al-Ḥijāz and Egypt) is contradictory to his praise the great scholars of Mecca and Medina, as mentioned previously on p. 218.
4Ibn Malih’s *Riḥla*, pp. 48-9 and 130.
5Al-Ḥudayki’s *Riḥla*, pp. 49-53.
6Al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 284.
7Ibid., vol. 1, p. 126.
recorded the biographies of some of them such as Ahmad al-'Ammawi, Sālim al-Nafrawi and Muhammad al-Jaddawi, adding that he had forgotten many of them.¹ Al-Zabādi who performed al-Hajj in 1158/1746 also praised the academic movement at al-Azhar and recorded some details, mentioning that he did not meet many scholars because he was lazy, asserting that if he wanted to record all Al-Azhar's scholars, he would need a big volume.² We tend to accept the latter attitude because apart from al-Yūsī and his student al-Isḥāqī, who may be influenced by his shaykh’s view, all the travellers were enormously impressed by academic activities in Egypt, Mecca and Medina, supporting their presentation by accurate documented descriptions as mentioned above. In addition to this, we find that these academic activities were not restricted to men, but there were ladies participated in these activities. Al-'Ayyāshi, for instance, referred to the shaykha Na‘īma, who he visited twice in Alexandria.³ Al-Murābīt reported that his father was granted an ijāza by the lady scholars Mubāraka and Zayn al-Sharaf, the daughters of the renowned scholar Isā al-Tha‘alibi in Mecca, commenting that he has never seen his father so delighted as he was on this occasion, saying that he [his father] did not know which one delighted him more; the granting of this ijāza or these two notable ladies being here [in Mecca] capable to teach and grant ijāzāt.⁴

3.3. Academic Issues, books and Libraries

Al-Rihlāt are loaded with academic issues, as one of the main aims for which they were compiled. Al-'Ayyāshi, for example, states frankly that his main aim for compiling his Rihla is to be an academic book, not humorous or pleasant, though if these qualities were found, it would stimulate the reader, especially if he likes variety.⁵ His Rihla as he mentioned, is indeed, an academic book which contains topics covering many disciplines.⁶ Other travellers noted that they have included in their Rihlāt the academic issues they discussed, studied, taught or answered along their journeys.⁷ Therefore, it is obvious that al-Rihlāt of the travellers who had this clear plan would be full of academic

¹ Ibn al-Tayyib’s Rihla, pp. 117-20.
⁷ See for examples, al-Hashtūkī’s Rihla, p. 21; Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s Rihla, p. 2; Ibn al-Tayyib’s Rihla, p. 3.
issues. This is due to the fact that most of them were renowned scholars who participated in a great deal of academic discussion with other scholars, and they were asked questions by students at the many places where they stayed, or passed through. Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, for instance, singles out a section referring to his meetings with scholars such as Muḥammad b. Qāsim Jassūs and 'Abd al-Rahman b. Idrīs al-Maghribi and the academic topics he learned or taught during his stay in Sijilmāsā.1 Al-Hashtūkī refers to questions which he was asked by students of 'Ayn Mādī.2 This emphasises the scholarly position of the travellers and reputation in the countries, they visited, or passed through.

Also the travellers paid considerable attention to libraries and books recording the books and manuscripts they found, borrowed, read or bought. Al-'Āmirī refers to the significance of taking books to study and benefit from during the journey,3 and in al-Ishāqi's caravan, the pilgrims organised academic lessons at stops on the journey.4 The travellers desired to visit libraries and write down books or manuscripts, particularly those which were scarce, or which they had borrowed. Al-'Ayyāshi singles out a section to refer to the rare books he found in the library of al-Masjid al-Ḥaram in Mecca such as Ibn Rashīd's Rihla, Umar b. Fahd's Ithāf al-Warā bi Akhbār Ummma al-Qurā and al-Mannawi's Tabaqāt al-Ṣāfiyya.5 Al-'Ayyāshi refers to the libraries of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, which were open for the public to borrow from.6 Al-Hashtūkī entered the library of Fajīj and saw rare books, such as Ikhtisār Tafsir al-Qurtubi of twelve volumes.7 Abū Madyan made a strong relationship with one of scholars of Mecca, Sālim al-Bāṣrī, who opened his library for him and said, "You can borrow any book you need", and Abū Madyan borrowed Sahih al-Bukhārī.8 Al-Zabādī saw a copy of Al-'Ayyāshi's Rihla hand written by him in riwāq of Moroccan in al-Azhar Mosque in

1 Ibn 'Abd al-Salām's Rihla, pp. 27-62.
2 Such as the pillars of imān (belief) and al-Muqimīn mentioned in sūrat Āl 'Umrān, verse, 7, is genitive or accusative. See other examples in Hashtūkī's Rihla, Hidāyat al-Malik, pp. 62-4.
3 Al-'Āmirī says in his Rihla, p. 91:

4 Al-Ishāqi's Rihla, p. 106.
6 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 284.
8 Abū Madyan's Rihla, p. 176. Al-Ishāqi also borrowed a book from one of scholars of Tawzar and returned it when he arrived to Tripoli, see his Rihla, p. 67.
Cairo. Medina was distinguished by being the place of Muslim scholars, who prefer to be close to the Prophet's grave, so many books were sent as gifts to the Prophet's Mosque. Al-Shāwī said he was told that any book compiled on any subject was sent to Medina by its author for baraka, and to become known, so any book could be found here. Sometimes a whole collection was donated; the Moroccan Muḥammad b. Ismā'il bequeathed his library of one thousand five hundred books to be sent to Medina after his death. The travellers, in particular al-ʿAyyāshi, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām and Ibn Nāṣir, were deeply attracted to purchasing books, despite their bad financial circumstances, which forced them to borrow the money from their friends for that aim. Al-ʿAyyāshi, for instance, reports that in Cairo he bought about fifty books; one of them was al-Zamakhshāri's al-Kashshāf and was forced to borrow some money from his friend Ahmad al-Ṭarābulṣī.

4. Political and Security Aspect

The Moroccan travellers' Rihlah accurately reflect the various security situations, the dangers they encountered and the political events they experienced along their long journeys to perform al-Hāj in the studied period. The travellers for instance, describe the retaking of occupied Moroccan cities from its occupiers, the Spanish attack carried out on Tripoli and the revolution of the inhabitants of Tripoli against Turkish rule. Also al-Rihlah reflect the political and security situation at that time, when most Arab countries were under Turkish rule, which did not help to provide stability, security and protect the pilgrims' caravans from bedouin attacks. In addition, the Turks imposed heavy taxes on their subjects. Also al-Rihlah compared the security situation at the time of their travels and those described by their predecessors, which is considered significant to know the security situation throughout successive periods. So, the political and security observations which were presented by the travellers have been highly appreciated as significant documents as the travellers recorded these events as eyewitnesses.

1Al-Zabādi's Rihla, p. 208.
2Al-Shāwī's Rihla, p. 9.
3Al-ʿAyyāshi's Rihla, vol. 1, pp. 40-1. Unfortunately al-ʿAyyāshi says that they were had all been lost except one hundred-seventy books which reached Medina, as he saw it in his third Ḥajj in 1072/1661 and described them as being invaluable books.
Al-Ishāqi's *Rihla* which recorded the journey of the Sultan 'Abd Allah b. Ismā'īl's mother Khunthātha and his son Muḥammad who became king later on has been depended on by Moroccan and European scholars as a significant source regarding international relations. The Sultan Muḥammad's visit to Libya, for instance, resulted in influencing the relations between the two countries to an extent that the United States requested Sultan Muḥammad's help to act as a peace mediator between the U.S. and the Libyans to prevent war between the two countries. Also, the letters sent from Khunthātha to her son the King 'Abd Allah to forgive the rebel tribes including the tribe of al-Aḥlāf reflects the crucial role played by her in drawing up the state policy.

4.1. Political Events

Some of the travellers describe the retaking of occupied Moroccan cities from its occupiers. Al-Qādiri for instance, describes the retaking of Larache from its occupier, according to the letter sent to his *shaykh* Abū al-ʿAbbās. Ibn Nāṣir's *Rihla*, also provided the Moroccan library with significant information, whether about the Spanish attack carried out on the Libyan capital, Tripoli during the era ofʿAbd Allah al-Azmirli in 1096/1684-5, or the revolution of the inhabitants of Tripoli against the Ottoman ruler, Khalil Bāshā, in 1121/1709-10. Ibn Nāṣir describes the Spanish attack in detail, saying that when the pilgrims arrived at Tripoli, they saw three warships at the beginning, then they increased to twenty-two and blockaded the city for four days. Then the Spanish started an aggressive bombardment on the Saturday night. He describes these attacks and the great destruction caused and huge sound they made. These cannon balls sometimes passed over the travellers' heads, or fell down close to them. He says that on one of these terrifying nights, more than nine hundred cannon balls were dropped in an attack which lasted throughout the night until the morning, as he was told by one of the jurists. Then he says that the defenders turned the Spanish away by bombarding them, and the inhabitants and the pilgrims prepared themselves to fight. After that, a peace

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1For more details about the Sultan 'Abd Allah and his son Sultan Muḥammad as well as al-Ishāqi's *Rihla*, see infra, pp. 49-50 and 68.


3Ibid., p. 9. Al-Tāzi referred also (p. 27) to the mediations which the Sultan made between Italy and Libya.


5Al-Qādiri's *Rihla*, p. 40.

6The name of the jurist is not mentioned by Ibn Nāṣir.
agreement was concluded, whereby the inhabitants of Tripoli agreed to pay two hundred *riyāl garmiliyya* and exchange the prisoners, who had been arrested before this attack. The attackers were allowed to buy goods in the city, and the inhabitants were warned that they would be strongly punished by the Turkish ruler, if they treated them badly. Ibn Nāṣir mentioned that the scholars of the *Mālikī* doctrine were completely dissatisfied with this unfair agreement made by the Turkish ruler. Therefore, they left Tripoli in order not to be forced to attend this offensive act, as Ibn Nāṣir relates.

### 4.2. Turkish Rule

The attitude mentioned above, against the Turkish rulers, who ruled most Arab countries during this period, or the bad security situation in general, even within the Moroccan borders, is clearly shared by almost all the travellers. However, discussion about the rulers, or Morocco security is very limited in proportion to that of the situation in other countries. Therefore, we rarely hear from the travellers, as we read, a single praise or thanks to any of the rulers. Most of the few exceptions were recorded by al-ʿAyyāši, for example, who praised one of the rulers who, although he was unjust, succeeded in establishing security in Wādi Ḥir in Morocco, which was the most terrifying province. In addition to this praise, he observes the wonderful safety between Jadda and Mecca, the great care taken by the Turkish rulers of the road between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾīf, and in particular the wells. He also praised the ruler of Mecca, Zayd b. Muḥsin on two occasions; the first was for treating the people of Mecca with great humbleness and justice and he was highly supportive of the Sunni doctrine. On the second occasion al-ʿAyyāši praised him and his son Muḥsin for their strict policy to establish security. Also, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām praised the Turkish ruler of Tunis because he

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1. The Turkish rule in Libya started in 958/1551 after the defeat of the organisation of Fursān al-Qidīs Yūḥannā known as Fursān Malta who ruled after the Italians. ʿAbd al-Salām, *Libyā min Khilāl Kirābār al-Rahbālīn al-Maghāribā*, pp. 29-30. The name of the Turkish ruler is not mentioned by Ibn Nāṣir.


3. Al-ʿAyyāši's *Rīḥla*, vol. 1, p. 18. The name of ruler of Wādi Ḥir is not mentioned by al-ʿAyyāši.

4. For details about the biographies of Sultan Zayd, see infra, p. 212.

5. Sunni is the one, "Who adheres to the Sunna [see infra, p. 202]. This word is used to designate the mainstream or majority branch of Islam, and contrasted with Shiʿism [see infra, p. 208]." I. R. Netton, *A popular Dictionary of Islam*, p. 238.

6. His full name is Muḥsin b. Ḥusayn b. Abī Nmay. He became the ruler of Mecca in 1034/1625 until 1037/1628 after he was defeated by the army of his cousin Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Mṭalīb supported by Turkish troops, escaping to Yemen where he died in 1038/1629. Al-Zirkī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 6, pp. 173-4.

returned the pilgrims' goods, which had been stolen by the bedouins and had the thieves severely punished.  

Beside these few indications we hear nothing except complaint about the injustice and oppression of the Turkish rulers, their officers and other rulers, the lack of security and the dangers of being robbed, or even killed in raids carried out by the bedouins along the journey. The travellers refer to the hardship imposed on the pilgrims, or the inhabitants of the cities or villages, by the heavy tolls which were collected by the Turkish rulers, or their vassals. In addition, they accuse these rulers of not applying the law, or imposing security in the territories located under their authority. Instead, they allowed the bedouins to attack pilgrims and steal their goods, and the traders to increase prices, without any punishment. Al-‘Ayyāshi reports the extent of the taxes taken from the Iranian pilgrims, starting from Bāhra (a town near Jadda) until Mecca and Medina, where heavy tolls were imposed upon them by the Ruler of Mecca. Al-‘Ayyāshi himself grieves at the state of Biskra which was destroyed by the Turkish and sometimes by the Bedouins. He says that the Turkish built a fort and prevented the city from being supplied with water as well as imposing heavy tolls. Al-‘Ayyāshi blames the government of Medina for the traders' manipulating the market prices during al-Hajj season, saying the standard measures were never complied with, and the government did nothing about it.

4.3. Bedouin Attacks

Al-Hajj season presented great opportunities to bedouin robbers, who carried out raids along the road, causing great danger and considerable concern for the Moroccan pilgrims, even before they left their borders. Consequently, the caravans were heavily equipped with weapons such as field guns and muskets, for protection. The caravan of Khunātha, the mother of Sulṭān of Morocco, ‘Abd Allah b. Ismā’īl, for example, was so strong that it frightened the bedouins, who were not able to carry out any attack, and the Egyptian caravan joined to it for protection. Al-Ishāqi indicates this power by

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1 Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Rihla*, p. 106. He does not mention the name of ruler of Tunis.
2 Al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 281. Al-‘Ayyāshi calls the Iranian pilgrims ‘Iraq al-Ajam and refers that they come from Asfahān.
3 ibid., vol. 2, pp. 411-2
5 Al-Ishāqi’s *Rihla*, p. 205.
asserting that the caravan guards fired when they passed through territories known to be inhabited by bandits, but they remained in hiding due to their strong fear. Although the robbers were frightened of the power of the Moroccan pilgrim caravans, they managed to attack, rob, or even kill some of the Moroccans, but there were few cases in proportion to those in which the Moroccans succeeded in deterring them. Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and Al-'Ayyāshi are the travellers who refer most to the security state along al-Hajj road. Ibn 'Abd al-Salām refers to a fight between the Moroccan caravan and the bedouins of Yanbū in al-Ḥijāz, in which some men from both sides were killed and goods were stolen. Rugged places such as narrow mountain pass, or watercourses, were much exploited by the robbers to attack the pilgrims. Ibn Nāṣir describes al-'Aqaba as a pass, not a strait between the mountains and the sea, so narrow that camels could not pass except one by one, then he says that the place was rarely free of robbers, who attacked the pilgrims.

The travellers refer to the tribes and places known for robbery, in addition to other pilgrim caravans that encounter much worse treatment, such as the Egyptian caravan, as will be mentioned. Ibn al-Ṭayyib, for example, says that his caravan prepared for action when they stopped to buy goods at 'Ayn Mādi because they were accustomed to robbers' attacks. It is worth noticing here that the first draft of Rihla of Ibn al-Ṭayyib was stolen with other invaluable books and goods in Maghārat Shu'ayb (near Medina). The Ḩarb tribe, living in al-Ḥijāz, was famous for terrorising and attacking pilgrims, as happened with the Tunisian pilgrim caravan. Revenge was one of the motives for attacking the pilgrims, as happened with the Egyptian caravan. Abū Madyan says that they found bedouins gathered in 'Asafān in al-Ḥijāz to wreak revenge on the Egyptian pilgrims, and they sent a messenger to reassure the Moroccans by telling them that they had no

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1Ibid., p. 42. See also al-Qādiri's description of the caravan of al-shaykh Abū al-'Abbās, infra, pp. 116-7.
2Ibn 'Abd al-Salām's Rihla, p. 176.
3Ibid., p. 204.
6Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Rihla, p. 32. Al-Hashtūki also, referred in his Rihla, Hidāyat al-Malik, (p. 140) to territories such as Biskra, Sidi Khālid in Algeria and Barqa in Libya and al-Murābit in his Rihla (p. 117) referred also to bilād al-Zāb in Algeria as places known for robbery.
7As he said in his second draft of his Rihla, p. 3 and 114. For more details, see infra, p. 67.
grievance with them and asked them to leave, so that they could deal with the Egyptians separately. The travellers blame the rulers for not doing anything to protect the pilgrims. Al-Yūsī, for instance, criticises the Turkish rulers in Egypt for not protecting the pilgrims against the bedouins attacks.

These attacks were not restricted to stealing goods or animals; sometimes pilgrims were kidnapped and sold as slaves. Ibn Nāṣir reports that one of the pilgrims was captured and sold a slave to the Byzantine after he got lost. Al-`Ayyāshi describes an attempt to kidnap a pilgrim in order to be sold as a slave because he was black. Ibn Nāṣir says that the pilgrims avoided passing through one place close to Tripoli in Libya, because its inhabitants were known for kidnapping pilgrims and selling them to the Byzantine.

As most of the travellers depended on preceding travellers' Riḥlāt as main sources, they sometimes compared the security circumstances at the time of their travels and those described by their predecessors, which is considered significant in knowing the security conditions throughout successive periods. Ibn `Abd al-Salām, for instance, says that the wonderful safety in which Tunis basked as described by Ibn Nāṣir's Riḥla, has gone.

The travellers' Riḥlāt reflect the width of the Turkish empire and their authority in that time. Abū Madyan who performed al-Ḥaḍāj in 1152/1740-1 says that the first time he saw Turkish soldiers was in Biskra in Algeria, which means that Turkish authority extended along al-Ḥaḍāj road until al-Ḥiḍāj, where al-`Ayyāshi saw great numbers of their soldiers in Medina.

5. Economic Aspects

The travellers' Riḥlāt reflect the various aspects of the economic life such as commerce, agriculture and pasture in the countries they stayed in, or passed through. The travellers

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1Abū Madyan's Riḥla, p. 138.
2Al-Yūsī's Riḥla, p. 96. The name of the ruler is not mentioned. See also al-`Ayyāshi's Riḥla, vol. 2, p. 192.
4Al-`Ayyāshi's Riḥla, vol. 1, p. 120.
5Ibn Nāṣir's Riḥla, vol. 1, p. 120.
6Ibn `Abd al-Salām's Riḥla, p. 102.
7Abū Madyan's Riḥla, p. 93.
sometimes show their sound economic and commercial sense, in the useful advice they give to pilgrims, as will be mentioned later.

5.1. Commerce

Al-Hajj season was an enormous opportunity, not just for the traders in the cities and villages but also for the bedouin shepherds who depended on these caravans to establish mobile markets which, for some of them provided their main source of revenue for the year. In addition, al-Hajj is not just a religious duty but indeed a tremendous commercial season for the pilgrims, for trade exchange with people from Mecca, Medina and along al-Hajj road. Therefore, the travellers paid considerable attention to describing the commercial markets, whether in the urban, rural or bedouin areas. Moreover, they gave useful information about prices, measures and invaluable advice about commerce and money exchange.

5.1.1. Commercial Markets

Al-Hajj season played a significant role in encouraging trade in the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina and the cities and villages along the pilgrim roads, some of which were established trade centres. In addition, al-Hajj season, as mentioned previously, was a great, perhaps unique opportunity to the bedouins, particularly those who lived far away from urban areas, to sell their goods and purchase supplies.

The travellers give an accurate description of the markets in the cities and villages they stayed in or passed through. Al-Ishäqi, for example, describes the great market in Mecca, saying that the goods which are sold in just a single day in al-Hajj season cannot be counted, as a result of the huge number of pilgrims coming from everywhere. He indicates the types of goods sold, such as Indian clothes, Chinese house goods, jewels, perfumes, honey, sweets and medicines. Then he describes the fruits, particularly watermelon, which is distinguished by its enticing smell and delicious taste, after which he describes dates and how they were displayed attractively on multi coloured tables. He goes on to explain that fruits and vegetables are brought from al-Ṭäʿif and the suburbs. Al-Ḥuḍayki asserts that performance of al-Hajj as a religious duty also offers

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1Allah said in sūrat al-Hajj, verse 28, “That they [pilgrims] may witness things that are of benefit to them (i.e. reward of Hajj in the Hereafter, and also some worldly gain from trade), and mention the name of Allah on appointed days (i.e. 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th day of Dhul-Hijja),” M. Khan and M. al-Hilali, Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qurān, p. 480.

2Al-Ishäqi’s Rihla, pp. 278-9.
great commercial opportunities for all the pilgrims, who after performing *al-Ḥajj* rituals, trade in various goods.¹

Ibn Nāṣir describes how trading in Medina market took place among the bedouins. He explains that there is a group of bedouins living in Medina who are known to Moroccans as al-Burghāziyin. In places close to Medina they meet rural bedouins who bring their goods such as cheese, cured meet, cooking fat and sheep. The Burghāziyin purchase these from them, then take them to the market to sell. Ibn Nāṣir says this system was so familiar and satisfactory to all groups, that if anyone else desired to buy from the bedouins, they would not sell to him, or would charge double the price charged to the usual traders, who knew how to deal with them because of their common bedouin origins. In addition, the latter were satisfied with small profits.² Ibn Nāṣir also says that the most useful caravan is al-Shām caravan, which brings many commercial goods such as food, drink and oil to sell in Medina.³ Women were commercially active, as most of the travellers who passed through ‘Ayn Mādi in Morocco, for example, report that it was usually women who traded with the pilgrims.⁴

As mentioned previously the bedouins, or some of them, depended completely on the pilgrim caravans for their livelihood. Al-‘Ayyāshī, for instance, indicates that he was told that the bedouins prepared themselves from the beginning of the year by cutting the desert herbage during the spring, then drying it and transported it to the caravan roads for sale, to support themselves for the whole year.⁵ Ibn Maliḥ refers to one of the bedouin mobile markets, saying that when the pilgrims arrived in the morning at Shu‘ayb’s grave⁶ in Northern Arabia Peninsula, the bedouins came running with dates, curd and sheep, and the pilgrims bought from them and sold to them until the dusk.⁷

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¹ Al-Huṣaykī’s *Riḥla*, p. 20. The types of goods are not mentioned.
² Ibn Nāṣir’s *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 60.
³ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 17.
⁴ See for instance, Abū Madyan’s *Riḥla*, p. 66; al-Huṣaykī’s *Riḥla*, p. 12; al-‘Aynī’s *Riḥla* summarised by al-Sūsī, vol. 13, p. 289; Al-‘Ayyāshī also, indicates that all the women of Medina used to go to the market to buy and sell during *al-Ḥajj* season, see his *Riḥla* vol. 1, p. 245.
⁵ Al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 300.
⁶ See the Prophet Shu‘ayb’s biography on p. 67.
⁷ Ibn Maliḥ’s *Riḥla*, p. 127.
5.2. Agriculture Activities

The travellers recorded the agricultural activities in the territories they visited or passed through during their journeys. Al-'Ayyāshi notes that there are many farms, watered by many wells in Rābigh (a town near Medina), and they produce corn, millet and many varieties of dates. He also refers to the next village where many farms produce delicious watermelon sold at very low prices throughout the year, then he says that he has been told that most of the watermelons grows by themselves in the desert, depending on the rain, as most of the farms of al-Ḥijāz depend on rain. Then al-'Ayyāshi describes how the farms are watered in Khulays (a town near Mecca), saying that the water comes out from a wide spring through perfect ditches, to a big pool outside the village, which he says is the biggest he has ever seen, after which it comes out to the farms close to the village.¹

Ibn Nāṣir gave a detailed description of Tawzar city reporting that it has a huge forest and plenty of water, which comes out naturally from springs lying in sandy land. The water gathered outside the city in a wide river, where the water goes through a number of small streams, then every stream branch out to many sub-streams. The water is then distributed to farmers according to a certain quota taking into consideration accurate estimates as to how much water is utilised during the day and night by officials known for their honesty.²

Al-'Ayyāshi astonishingly reports that he found that the most of farmer of Niqzāwa in Morocco were using a cow to till the land, which was unknown to him, then to his astonishment he saw others were using camels because it was a common proverb among Moroccan that using camels causes more damage than repair as he said. After this he saw two men till the land by themselves; one holds the plow and the other pulls it. It was so astonishing that he and his companions dismounted from their horses to see this scene.³

5.3. Transportation Service

The travellers report that in some cities such as Medina, Mecca and Yanbu' there were people who knew some owners of camels or mules and if pilgrims needed transport, they

¹Al-'Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, pp. 185-6.
³Ibid., vol. 1, p. 54.
would act as mediators between them and the owners of the animals and draw up a contract to ensure that everyone undertakes his duty in good conditions, and they charged both sides. Al-'Ayyāshi, also, indicates that every camel, or mule owner had an agent in other cities, authorised to collect the animals when the person who had hired them reached his destination.

Al-Rāfi‘i who travelled to al-Ḥijāz by sea, gave some details about the ships he saw. He says, for instance, that ten ships left the port of Algeria on the 14th of Jumādā al-Ākhir in 1096 A.H, where he boarded the best one, which was the ship of the president Muḥammad ‘Arūj. He continues saying that they arrived to the Turkish port of Rūdis lying to the south of Turkey on the 13th of Rajab, after a trip full of risk, because they had been attacked by foreign ships. Al-Rāfi‘i says that there are thirty ships; one of them was built of five floors and was equipped with seventy-five brass cannons. He reported that this ship was manufactured by Sultān Muḥammad Khan in Constantinople. Al-Rāfi‘i also referred to the fact that the sea journey from Alexandria to the island of Malta lasted for twenty-five days, and they never saw the land.

5.4. Money Exchange and Trade

Some of the travellers, in particular al-Ḥudaykı, al-Ḥashtükı and al-Qādirı, show a strong commercial sense by presenting invaluable advice regarding money exchange and trade. Al-Ḥudaykı reminds pilgrims of the significance of exchanging the Moroccan darāhim for gold to gain two important benefits; the first is because gold is cheaper in each country the pilgrims entered than in Morocco, where it is most wanted and pilgrims can buy what they want with it, in contrast to the Moroccan darāhim which are worth very little outside Morocco. The second is that gold is light and easy to carry. He also presents another invaluable advice, with respect to trade exchange, recommending that pilgrims purchase goods wanted by the bedouins, such as eyeliner (kohl), combs, mirrors, matches, shoes and yellow and red leather. These are required by the bedouins, who would not sell them the meat, fat, curd and fruits they needed, and would only

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1Ibid., vol. 1, p. 301.
2Ibid., vol. 2, p. 110.
exchange them for such goods. Al-Hashtüki presented a similar advice, calling pilgrims to carry goods such as bullets, blankets and red clothes, even if they are worn-out which are of more benefit and are more valuable than money. This is because they are the items most desired by bedouins who were resident along the Hajj road until al-Ḥijāz and those who were resident between Sijilmāsa and Tripoli in particular, who would exchange them for fat, dates, meat and fodder. Al-Qādiri also notes that fabric and perfume are much desired by the inhabitants of al-ʿAmārat in Morocco.

6. Social Aspect

The travellers did not only visit scholars, but also met ordinary people, and spoke to them in the places they visited or passed through. This enabled the travellers to have a wide knowledge about the state of the people, their customs, characteristics, genealogy and accents. This is in addition to their doctrines and faiths, which were already discussed in the religious aspect.

6.1. Relationships between the Pilgrims and Others

The travellers paid considerable attention to recording their relationships with ordinary people and those with whom they had dealings, such as camel-herds. They frequently describe the warm greetings, reception and generosity with which they were received and served by the inhabitants of the cities and the villages they visited, or passed through. Al-Ishāqi notes that the inhabitants of Fes celebrated the memorable day on which the Pilgrims' caravan left the city, when almost everyone used to participate in the farewell to the pilgrims. Then al-Ishāqi noted that reception and farewell celebrations are customary in Fes. The pilgrims were received by poetic songs recited by youths of Yanbu, and by flags, horses and drums in al-Aghwāt. Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām praises the hospitality of the sons of al-Ḥajj b. ʿAli, in one of villages of Tawzar, where

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1 Al-Hudayki's Rihla, pp. 10-1.
2 Al-Hashtüki's Rihla, Hidāyat al-Malik, p. 49.
3 Al-Qādiri's Rihla, p. 46. Also see al-Hashtüki's Rihla, Hidāyat al-Malik, p. 49.
4 See infra, pp. 211-4.
5 Al-Ishāqi's Rihla, p. 27. He also, reports in his Rihla, p. 176 the farewell celebration organised by the Egyptians.
6 Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Rihla, p. 69.
7 Abū Madyan's Rihla, p. 125.
they used to serve the pilgrims with various types of foods such as the famous meal al-Coscousi, as well as fruits and vegetables. Abū Madyan says that they forgot the hardships of the journey, as a result of the great hospitality presented by the inhabitants of Salā and Mashra‘ al-Raml in Morocco, who served them with food and other needs, and set some men to guard their possessions over night. In contrast, the travellers criticised the camel-herds because most of them treat the pilgrims badly and try to force them to pay as much money as possible, by various sly and malicious means, so the travellers gave advice on how pilgrims should deal with them. Ibn al-Ṭayyib, for instance, advice pilgrims to treat them in a noble manners and to deal with them cautiously, telling them the exact weight of their belonging to be carried, and the pilgrims should be neither weak nor harsh.

6.2. Standard of Living, Accents and Genealogy

The travellers recorded the standards of living, accents and the genealogy of the inhabitants of some cities and villages they visited, or passed through on their journeys. Al-‘Ayyāshi states that the inhabitants of Medina love luxury and riches and they are influenced by the huge number of Turkish soldiers who live in the city, whom they imitate in their eating, drinking and exaggeration in wearing splendid clothes. Then al-‘Ayyāshi recalls being told that the women of Medina used to purchase flowers as an adornment every day. In contrast to the inhabitants of Mecca, who are influenced by association with the bedouins and living with them, thus, the bedouin nature predominates, as they do not pay much attention to eating and clothes. Even the rulers of Mecca live most of their time in the desert, and their clothes are very similar to those of the bedouins. Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām comments on the poverty of most of the inhabitants of Badr (a town near Medina).

The travellers recorded the genealogy of the inhabitants of some cities. Al-Ishāqi gives details of the genealogy of the Moroccan Royal family which as, he asserts, traced back

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1 Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s Rihla, p. 102. For other examples, see also his Rihla, pp. 64, 69, 150, 284.
2 Abū Madyan’s Rihla, p. 258. He also reports in p. 95, that the pilgrims in Sijilmāsa were served with foods generosity each day and barley straw for their riding beasts. See also his Rihla, pp. 54 and 237.
3 See examples in Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Rihla, pp. 15 and 65; al-Hash̄ūkī’s Rihla, p. 84; Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s Rihla, p. 269; Abū Madyan’s Rihla, p. 43.
to al-Ashraf (who traced back to the Prophet) living in Yanbu' in al-Ḥijāz, and how they moved to Morocco. Ibn Nāṣir reports that the inhabitants of Tawzar can be traced back to the remaining of the Romans living in Africa prior to the coming of Islam, in addition to the Arabs who came later when it came under Islamic rule, and the Berbers who entered it after leaving their native lands in Palestine and bilād al-Shām. After which he explains in more detail how the Berbers left and describes their clash with the Romans, saying that the Berbers had separated after the killing of their leader Goliath by David and most of them went to Africa and Moroccan countries in particular. They then managed to expel the Romans to Islands such as Sicily, then they returned later on when peace was established between them. Al-Hashtūkī notes that most of the inhabitants of Tunis are Berbers.

The travellers, also, recorded their observations about the accents or the pure language in which some people speak. Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, for example, states that he could not understand the language spoken by the inhabitants of Surt in Libya, which is not Arabic, Berber or Persian.

6.3. Customs and Traditions

The travellers recorded customs and traditions such as the marriage ceremonies, the serving of Arab coffee, smoking and celebrating the Nile overflow. Al-Ishäqi reports that it is customary in Egypt for the bride to go to the bridegroom's home in a very slow procession accompanied by music. When she arrives at the groom's home, he carries her to the bedroom, then he throws money to the attendants. Al-Ishäqi says that he had

1Al-Ishäqi's Rihla, pp. 4-8.

2David was a prophet and king of Israel. His story with Goliath is mentioned in al-Qur'ān sūrat al-Baqara, verse 249-51, which can be summarised as follows: Dāwūd (David) was a fighter in the Israel army leading by King Ṭālūt (Saul) against the mighty hosts lead by Jālūt (Goliath). David managed to kill Goliath in this battle and was given the kingdom (after the death of Saul and [the Prophet] Samuel) and Al-Ḥikmah (Prophethood), and taught him of that which He willed.” See the translation of these verses in M. Khan and M. al-Hilali, Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'ān, p. 68. The era of David's prophethood was after the era of Moses.

3This point of view is taken from al-Bakri's al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik, (see for instance, this book edited by Idrīyān Fān and Andri Firi ([Tunis]: al-Dār al-'Arabiyya li al-Kitāb, 1992), vol. 1, p. 328). In fact all can be said, as G. Yver reported, "For certain is that the Berbers had been established in Northern Africa from a remote period." For details, see G. Yver's article 'Berber, Before Islam ', in The Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. 1, p. 1174.


6Ibn 'Abd al-Salām's Rihla, p. 158.
been told that a Moroccan married an Egyptian woman, and when she arrived at his home he tried to carry her according to the Egyptian tradition, but he could not, because she was very fat, while he was very slight. Al-'Ayyāshi describeed that the customs in Medina, whereby the groom goes to visit the Prophet's grave, then he goes to the bride's home, and he moves to his home to make a banquet for guests, coming to congratulate him on this occasion, then the bride comes to the groom's home in the evening. Al-'Ayyāshi comments that this custom is contradictory to those of other Arab countries.

The travellers refer to the custom of drinking Arab Coffee in Egypt and al-Ḥijāz which is unknown in Morocco. Al-Ishāqi, for instance, reports that the only thing that Egyptians serve to guests is the Arab coffee, and in a very few cases, it is served with food, incense and rose water. He asserts that none of them can dispense with drinking coffee, so coffee shops are widespread everywhere. Al-Ishāqi also comments that the Egyptians smoke frequently; even the judges themselves smoke in the court. Then he says that one of his Moroccan pilgrim friends told him that one day he was sitting with Turks, who were drinking coffee and smoking cigarettes, and they asked him to drink, but he refused, then they asked him to smoke, but again he refused, which astonished them and then said to him, "You are not human!"

Al-Ishāqi and Ibn al-Ṭayyib witnessed the great celebration made by the Egyptians for the occasion of the Nile overflow. Al-Ishāqi reports that the Egyptians celebrate the Nile overflow by organising a great celebration. They board boats full of lights and candles until the night becomes daylight, accompanied by music so that you would think that all the musical instruments in Cairo are on the Nile. They also build, in the middle of a large boat, a high lighthouse made from wood and surrounded by about two thousand lights, turned on from afternoon until the sun rises. It is called al-ʿArūs. Al-Ishāqi states that the celebration lasts for seven days, and on the seventh they call people to attend the ceremony of breaching one of the Nile dams, in order to allow the water to flow to other lands.

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1 Al-Ishāqi's Riḥla, pp. 169-70.
3 Al-Ishāqi's Riḥla, pp. 166-7.
5 Al-Ishāqi's Riḥla, p. 139. See also, Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Riḥla, pp. 154-5.
7. Literary Aspect

Obviously, this research which deals with *al-Rihla*, in both its poetic and prose texts, as one of the literary genres, demonstrates the considerable significance of *al-Rihla* in this respect. With respect to the poetic part we have found that the travellers recorded in their *Rihlät* a large number of the poems composed by them during the journey, or prior to it. These have been examined in the two foregoing chapters. They also recorded a tremendous number of poems of others, whether they met them and exchanged the poems with them, or not as previously mentioned. Regarding the prose part, we believe that the literary style of the prose texts in *al-Rihla*, whether compiled by the travellers or others, is very important to understand the literary movement at that time. In addition to that, the travellers recorded biographies of some poets, or men of letters in general. Therefore, *al-Rihlät* are considered a fundamental literary source on which researchers depend to study the literary movements in the countries the travellers visited during their journeys. Al-Raddādi, for example, depended in his study about the poetry in al-Ḥijāz in the eleventh/seventeenth century upon *al-Rihlät* studied here, and considered it one of the most important sources of his research as the travellers recorded their observations and productions of literary men, whom they met in al-Ḥijāz.

*Al-Rihlät* sometimes are unique sources containing rare literary texts and samples which are not recorded elsewhere, and became the divan of such poets who were previously unknown for their poetry. Al-Tāzi, for example, reports that Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām was the first to record the poem of Ibn ‘Abd al-Dā’im. The travellers, also, met poets and men of letters and exchanged poems and messages with them, as well as recording poems which had been recited for them by poets. Some of these poems might not be recorded in any other source. Some of the travellers recorded the biographies of the poets and men of letters whom they met during their journey. Al-Ishāqi, for example, recorded the biography of the scholar and poet Zayn al-‘Abidin b. Sa‘id al-Munūfī and some of his poems, as well as Tāj al-Dīn b. ‘Arif and his poems, which were recited by him for al-

1See the brotherly poetry, pp. 102-9.
2Al-Raddādi, *al-Shir al-Ḥijāzī*, vol. 1, p. 34.
4See some examples in al-Zābādi’s *Rihla*, pp. 20-1; Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Rihla*, p. 43; al-Hashtūkī’s *Rihla*, *Hidhiyar al-Malik*, p. 120.
5See, for example, Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Rihla*, pp. 97, 105, 112; al-Ishāqi’s *Rihla*, pp. 145, 184, 285, 381.
Ishäqi. He also recorded the poem of Muhammad b. Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī written by him personally. The *Riḥla* is indeed, “A species of *Adab*, rather than *Ta’rikh* [sic] or *Djugräfiyä* [sic].”

8. Humorous Aspect

Al-ʾRiḥlät are not confined to serious matters only, but contain some humorous elements. Al-ʾAyyāshi himself explains that his main aim in compiling his *Riḥla* is to produce a source of learning, but also a source for humorous and entertainment elements that would stimulate the reader, especially if he likes variety. Therefore, some of the travellers relate amusing incidents, which happened during their journeys. Al-Ishäqi relates that when they arrived at one of the cities and some of its people knew that they were the Sultān’s men, many came to them, including one who was wearing a very long and wide turban and very long broadcloth which trailed on the ground. He warmly welcomed them and read *ṣūrat al-ʾFātiha*, and prayed for himself and them. Then recited a praise poem which was closer to satire than praise, and gave it to them. When al-Ishäqi discussed with him the grammatical and metrical errors, he said, “No problem” and promised that he would correct it. Al-Ishäqi added that when the poet came up to the place where they were sitting, he left his donkey inside the backyard. The donkey saw a small saddle, bit it and ran away, so, he ran behind his donkey and returned the saddle. Al-Ishäqi says, “We laughed greatly, but we did not know at which one we were laughing”. Al-Ishäqi says that this man returned after correcting the errors in his poem, but they paid no attention to him and let him go.

Al-ʾAyyāshi relates that when the pilgrims passed through a village (near al-Minyā) in Egypt, they were told that the inhabitants of that village had a strong aversion to hearing the name ‘Abū Ḥasan’ so the pilgrims started asking people about Abū Ḥasan, and they expressed their anger sometimes by swearing at the pilgrims and sometimes by throwing stones at them. Al-ʾAyyāshi says that one of the pilgrims asked a woman,

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1 See, for example, al-Ishäqi’s *Riḥla*, pp. 302-7.

2Ibid., p. 381. Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām recorded in his *Riḥla*, pp. 97 and 105, a number of poems which were recited for him by the poets themselves such as Yahyā al-Shiqrāṭīsī and Abū ʾIbrāhīm b. Ḥusayniyya.


4Al-ʾAyyāshi’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 224.

5Al-Ishäqi’s *Riḥla*, pp. 181-2.
“Where is Abū Ḥasan?”, and she replied saying, “He is with your wife to entertain her in your absence”.

Al-Ishāqi relates that two bedouins brought a dispute before the judge and one of them claimed that a horse, which he had bought from the other, had died as a result of an old disease, and he wanted his money back. Therefore the judge asked for a recommendation to make sure that he was truthful, and the bedouin brought the leader of his tribe. When the judge asked him whether he knew the man, he answered that he did not know of any fault he had committed and recommended him as one of the best men of the tribe because he took part in every raid carried out on other tribes. Al-Ishāqi comments on that, saying that the leader slandered him, when he intended to recommend him.

Al-`Ayyāshi says that one man came to him while he was travelling and he politely asked permission to ask al-`Ayyāshi about some juristic questions. al-`Ayyāshi greatly appreciated his manner and started answering his question, but when the man saw a hare he left him and ran behind it, while al-`Ayyāshi was still answering. Al-`Ayyāshi also, relates that a man came to them in Tripoli and claimed to be from Medina where he worked as a doorkeeper in the Prophet's Mosque. He had been sent to Tunisia on duty by the ruler of al-Ḥijāz, and he was accompanying the Tunisian pilgrims' caravan, but he had left them when they arrived at Tripoli because they did not treat him as he deserved. Therefore, the Moroccan pilgrims showed him great respect and treated him as one from Medina (the city of the Prophet), but when they arrived at Cairo, he escaped and they discovered that everything he claimed was incorrect and he did so in order to travel with them and enjoy their hospitality.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the prose material in al-Rihlāt according to its thematic aspects. Al-Rihlāt present eyewitness accounts of the various aspects of life in the territories the travellers visited, or passed though, during their journeys. These aspects

1Al-`Ayyāshi's Rihla, vol. 2, p. 357.
2Al-Ishāqi's Rihla, pp. 59-60.
3Al-`Ayyāshi's Rihla, vol. 1, p. 54.
4Ibid., vol. 1, p. 90. See also examples given above on pp. 236-7.
include religious, geographical, academic, political and security, economic, social, literary and humorous.

Obviously, the religious and particularly the Şüfi aspect predominate, as one of the three main aspects in *al-Rihlat*, specifically in some *Rihlat* such as those of al-‘Ayyāshi, al-Zabādi and al-‘Aynī because the journey was undertaken to perform a religious duty. In addition, some of the travellers were Şüfi scholars who adhered to visiting Şüfi’s shrines, meeting Şüfi scholars and performing the Şüfi rituals, such as reciting *al-dhikr*, wearing the *khirqa* and relating Şüfi *karāmāt*. The only exception is Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Rihla*, which is free of any reference to Şüfi rituals.

Graves were greatly venerated by some of travellers including Abū Madyan and Ibn Maliḥ who started their journey by visiting the graves, and never left any grave they were able to visit throughout their journey. Travellers such as al-Zabādi, al-Shāwi, al-‘Ayyāshi and Ibn al-Ṭayyib devoted a huge part of their *Rihlat* to recording the graves they visited. Besides that, they visited graves essentially to seek intercession of the dead to obtain *baraka*. The veneration of graves was prevalent in the age of the travellers, which makes the action of the traveller al-Yūsi in reminding people, in many messages, of the prohibition against veneration of pious men and entreaty to them very brave. However, we have found those among the travellers themselves, who fought steadfastly against these heresies related to the graves of awliyā’ and pious men, such as Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, which led to his being neglected by biographers. This chapter provided a detailed discussion confirming that visiting graves was totally forbidden in the formative years of Islam and not until *Tawhid* was firmly established among Muslims was the ban lifted by the Prophet. However, in spite of this permission, the Prophet placed certain restrictions on the visiting of graves in order to avoid its deterioration into grave worship in later generations.

Some travellers, particularly al-Zabādi and al-Ḥuḍayki, paid considerable attention to relating *karāmāt* (miracles) of *al-awliyā’*. Careful consideration to these *karāmāt* confirms that despite believing in *karāmāt*, proved in the Qur’ān and the Sunna, and miracles brought by the Prophets and pious men, many Şüfi stories are very hard to believe. We believe that either they can be sometimes traced back to satanic psychological and emotional states or they are fabricated stories. Al-Qādiri’s *Rihla*, which was compiled basically to record the journey of his *shaykh*, the Şüfi scholar Abū
al-`Abbās b. `Abd Allah, is the best example, which obviously demonstrates the high status of the Sufi scholar in the community at that time.

Some of the travellers, in particular, al-Zabādī paid considerable attention to recording, in accurate detail, the Sufi orders and their rituals, customs, and states (manners). In addition to this he recorded his observations on meeting Sufi scholars and referring to the emotional states such as al-wajd, which they experienced during al-sama`; to such an extent that his Rihla is considered a significant resource that represents the Sufi movement at that time. Other travellers such as al-`Ayyāshi, Ibn Nāṣir and al-Hashtūkī, paid great attention to this matter, but not as much as al-Zabādī did. In fact, the travellers themselves such as Ibn Nāṣir and al-Zabādī, as Sufi scholars, played a role in spreading their tariqa and instructing people in al-dhikr and giving ijāzāt. It is worthy of note that except for al-Zabādī, who indicates once that he reached the state of al-wajd during halaqät al-dhikr, the travellers confined themselves to teaching al-dhikr and wearing al-khirqa and never participated in the rituals of the dance, al-sama` or al-hadra. They, indeed, rejected them, in particular al-Hashtūkī who stated frankly that it is forbidden according to Islamic teaching.

The travellers also, recorded other religions such as Christianity and Islamic doctrines such as Shi`ism and the Khārijites, which they encountered during their journeys, in addition to claims and customs and ordinances, ahkām, and advice related to travel and al-Haçji. The travellers investigate the claims made by pilgrims and the customs they observe during their journey to perform al-Haçji, such as hearing the sound of drums and lighting candles. Al-`Ayyāshi, for example, made every effort to verify the authenticity of these claims and criticize them.

The travellers compiled their Rihlät in order to be, as Abī Madyan states, a complete useful guide for those in need of knowing the hard stages, places of wells, the dangerous places, and where highway robbers were likely to be encountered. For these significant aims, they gave detailed descriptions of the road stages, cities, villages, and in particular, the wells, springs and valleys, due to the urgent need for them during the journey. The travellers also describe the cities and villages including their streets, schools, hospitals, seaports, virtues and antiquities. The travellers recorded various aspects of the weather such as winds, dust, snow, rain, heat and cold that they encountered on their journeys.
Obviously, the travellers as scholars, state in the prefaces to their *Rihlat* that one of the two most significant aims for which they compiled their *Rihlat*, is to record their meetings with the scholars and the academic issues, which they discussed with them. Therefore, they strictly devoted their time to achieving this purpose, to such an extent that such a *Rihla* as that of al-'Ayyāshi is considered to be an encyclopedia on academic issues and Şūfism. Thus, Moroccan *Rihlār* have become unique resources on many various aspects, since the original sources from which the travellers quoted their accounts have been lost.

The travellers received a warm welcome and were treated with hospitality by the scholars and students of knowledge in most countries, as a result of their great reputation as scholars. Some of the travellers, particularly al-Ishāqi, al-Zabādi, al-‘Ayyāshi and Ibn Maliḥ are interested in recording scholars' biographies. Ibn Maliḥ’s *Rihla*, for instance, is full of information about deceased scholars, specifically Şūfī scholars. The travellers also paid great attention to describing academic activities. However, they differed in giving details. Al-‘Ayyāshi, for instance, hardly ever passed, or stayed in a place without referring to the academic activities in detail and Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām presents a complete picture about the academic activities in Libya, while travellers such as al-Yūsī were less interested in giving details. Although the travellers give detailed descriptions of the academic movements in Cairo, Mecca and Medina, the travellers’ attitudes towards these activities varied considerably. While al-Ishāqi and his *shaykh* al-Yūsī alone adopted a very critical position towards these centres, the rest of the travellers were enormously impressed by their activities. A point which is worth noticing here is that some of the travellers, including Al-‘Ayyāshi and Ibn al-Ṭayyib, did not confine themselves to description, as observers, but they effectively participated in teaching in Cairo and Medina. Therefore, both of them were influenced and affected by these activities and thus, their accounts sometimes acquire a special significance. These *Rihlār* emphasise the scholarly position of the travellers and reputation in the countries they visited, or passed through.

Also the travellers paid considerable attention to libraries and books, recording the books and manuscripts they found, borrowed, read or bought. The travellers desired to visit libraries and write down books or manuscripts, particularly those which were scarce, or which they had borrowed. Al-‘Ayyāshi refers to the libraries of the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina, which were open for the public to borrow from. Ibn Nāṣir singles out a section to refer to the rare books he found in the library of al-Ḥaram in Mecca.
Medina was distinguished by being the place of Muslim scholars, who prefer to be close to the Prophet's grave, so many books were sent as gifts to the Prophet's Mosque. Some of the travellers were deeply attracted to purchasing books, despite their bad financial circumstances, which forced them to borrow the money from their friends.

The Moroccan travellers' *Rihlät* accurately reflect the various security situation, the dangers they encountered and the political events they experienced along their long journeys.

*Al-Rihlät* reflect the attitude towards Turkish rulers, who ruled most Arab countries during this period, or the bad security situation in general, even within Moroccan borders, is clearly shared by almost all the travellers. However, discussion about the rulers, or Moroccan security is very limited in proportion to that of the situation in other countries. Therefore, we rarely hear from the travellers, as we read, a single praise, or thanks to any of the rulers. Most of the few exceptions were recorded by al-‘Ayyāshi for example, he observes the great care taken by the Turkish rulers of the road between Mecca and al-Ṭā‘if, and in particular the wells. Beside these few indications we hear only complaint about the injustice and oppression of the Turkish rulers, their officers and other rulers, the lack of security and the dangers of being robbed, or even killed in raids carried out by the bedouins along the journey. The travellers refer to the hardship imposed on the pilgrims, or the inhabitants of the cities or villages, by the heavy tolls, which were collected by the Turkish rulers, or their vassals. In addition, they accuse these rulers of not applying the law, or imposing security in the territories located under their authority. Instead, they allowed the bedouins to attack pilgrims and steal their goods, and the traders to increase prices, without any punishment, which did not help to provide stability and security. In addition, *al-Rihlät* compared the security circumstances at the time of their travels and those described by their predecessors, which is considered a significant point to know the security situation throughout successive periods. So, the political and security observations, which were presented by the travellers, have been highly appreciated as significant documents, as the travellers recorded these events as eyewitnesses.

*Al-Hajj* season presented great opportunities to bedouin robbers, who carried out raids along the road, causing great danger and considerable concern for the Moroccan pilgrims, even before they left their borders. Consequently, the caravans were heavily equipped with weapons, such as field guns and muskets, for protection. Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and Al-‘Ayyāshi are the travellers who refer most to the security
state along al-Hajj road. The travellers refer to the tribes such as Harb tribe and places known for robbery such as ‘Ayn Mädi, in addition to other pilgrim caravans that encounter much worse treatment, such as the Egyptian caravan. Revenge was one of the motives for attacking the pilgrims, as happened with the Egyptian caravan. These attacks were not restricted to stealing goods or animals; sometimes pilgrims were kidnapped and sold as slaves. The travellers’ Rihlät showed the width of the Turkish Empire and their authority in that time, which, extended for example in 1152/1740-1 from Biskra in Algeria along al-Hajj road until al-Hijäz.

The travellers’ Rihlät reflect the various aspects of the economic life such as commerce, agriculture and pasture. Al-Hajj season was an enormous opportunity, not just for the traders in the cities and villages or the pilgrims but also for the bedouin shepherds who depended on these caravans to establish mobile markets which, for some of them provided their main source of revenue for the year. Therefore, the travellers paid considerable attention to describing the commercial markets, whether in the urban, rural or bedouin areas. Ibn Näsir, for example, explains the trade system performed by a group of bedouins which was so familiar and satisfactory to all groups. Ibn Näsir also says that the most useful caravan is al-Shām caravan, which brings many commercial goods such as food, drink and oil to sell in Medina. Women were commercially active. Moreover, al-Hashtüki, al-Ḥudayki and al-Qādiri show a strong commercial sense by presenting invaluable advice regarding money exchange and trade. The travellers report the transportation means organised by some people who act as mediators between the pilgrims and the owners of the animals in some cities such as Medina, Mecca and Yanbur. Al-Räfidi who travelled to al-Hijäz by sea, gave some details about ships.

The travellers did not only visit scholars, but also met ordinary people, and spoke to them in the places they visited or passed through. This enabled the travellers to have a wide knowledge about the state of the people, their customs, characteristics, commercial activities, genealogy, accents and health conditions. Al-Ayyāshi, for example, states that the inhabitants of Medina love luxury and riches and they are influenced by the huge number of Turkish soldiers who live in the city. In contrast to the inhabitants of Mecca, who are influenced by association with the bedouins and living with them; thus, the bedouin nature predominates, as they do not pay much attention to eating and clothes.

Obviously, this research which deals with al-Rihlät, in both its poetic and prose texts, as one of the literary genres, demonstrates the considerable significance of al-Rihlät in this
respect. With respect to the poetic part we have found that the travellers recorded in their Rihlät a large number of the poems composed by them or by others. Regarding the prose part, we believe that the literary style of the prose texts in al-Rihla, whether compiled by the travellers or others, is very important to understand the literary movement at that time. In addition to that, the travellers recorded biographies of some poets, or men of letters in general. Therefore, al-Rihlät are considered a fundamental literary source on which researchers depend to study the literary movements in the countries the travellers visited during their journeys.

Al-Rihlät are not confined to serious matters only, but contain some humorous elements. Al-‘Ayyāshi himself explains that his main aim in compiling his Rihla is to produce a source of learning, but also a source for humorous and entertainment that would stimulate the reader, especially if he likes variety. Therefore, some of the travellers relate amusing incidents, which happened during their journeys.

Like this chapter, the next chapter deals with the prose material of al-Rihlät. Unlike this chapter it discusses the prose according to its artistic features; the structure of al-Rihlät, the language in which al-Rihlät were recorded and the content are studied and analysed.
Chapter Six
The Prose: Artistic Study

Like the previous chapter, this chapter deals with the prose material of al-Rihlät. Unlike the previous chapter, it discusses the prose according to its artistic features. It is divided into three main sections, the first of which studies the structure of al-Rihlät, the second section analyses the language in which al-Rihlät were recorded, and the third discusses the content of al-Rihlät i.e. profundity of learning.

1. Al-Rihlät Structure

This section consists of six elements. The first discusses how the travellers start recording their Rihlät. The second investigates how they end their Rihlät. The third deals with the arrangement of material in al-Rihlät. The fourth analyses the harmony between the poetry and the prose. The fifth considers how the travellers notarize information quoted from other sources. The sixth evaluates whether they manage to apply the plan, or the method stated in the preface of al-Rihla and explains the most notable features, which reflect the personalities of the authors.

1.1. Preface of al-Rihlät

The travellers started recording their Rihlät in almost the same way. They often started with a traditional preface such as has been used by most Muslim authors in the medieval period. They thank Allah, invoke peace and blessing upon the prophet Muhammad, then they thank Allah for enabling them to perform al-Hajj. They go on to indicate the aims for which they recorded their Rihlät, such as describing the roads, cities and villages and meeting with scholars. Then some of them such as Ibn al-Ṭayyib, al-Zabädi and Ibn Maliḥ indicate the rules regarding travel and its benefits, or the wisdom of performing al-Hajj, and some of them such as al-Işāqi, Abū Madyan and al-Hashtükî, relate the story of going to perform al-Hajj.

1.2. Ending of al-Rihlät

The travellers end their Rihlät by thanking Allah for helping them to record al-Rihla and indicating the date when they completed recording al-Rihla. Ibn Maliḥ and al-Zabädi ended their Rihlät with prophetic poems. Some of al-Rihlät do not have an end because their recording ended before arrival at the travellers' homes. Examples are the
Rihlät of al-Hudayki which ended with his arrival to Egypt and that of al-Ishäqi which ended at Medina.¹

1.3. Arranging the Material of al-Rihlät

The travellers classify the recorded material under chapters and sections or put it under large and small headings. Abü Madyan classified his Rihla under an introduction and three chapters, in accordance with a clear plan stated at the outset. After this statement, he gives a brief summary of the content of the introduction and of each chapter. For example, he notes that the introduction includes some details about the merits of al-Hațj, what the pilgrim needs on his journey and what he must avoid. Then he explains that the first chapter is divided into three sections. The first starts with the departure from their hometown and continues until the entry into Tripoli, including the road stages, cities and villages located between them. In this way, Abü Madyan goes on to clarify the content of every chapter.²

Some of the travellers started their Rihlät with muqadimma (prefaces) and ended with a khätima (conclusion). Ibn al-Tayyib, for example, started his Rihla with four prefaces explaining the merits of al-Hațj, al-‘Umra and Ziyāra, the advantages of the travel and the things which must, or should be done by the pilgrim. He then ended with a conclusion presenting some medical advice, which should be followed during the journey.³

Most of the travellers classified their recorded material under sections and main titles such as, “Referring to the scholars whom we met in Mecca or Medina”,⁴ and short subheadings such as, “ghariba (oddity), lațifa (witticism), fa‘ida (benefit), tanbih (note)”.

¹The reason why al-Hudayki stopped his recording his Rihla in Egypt is unknown, while al-Täzi believes that the second part of al-Ishäqi’s Rihla has not been recorded, because he recorded some few accurate indications of the warm reception, which the caravan received during the return journey from al-Hijäz; see also infra, p. 68.
²Abü Madyan’s Rihla, pp. 12-4.
³Ibn al-Tayyib’s Rihla, pp. 4-17.
⁴See for example, al-Ishäqi’s Rihla, p. 281; al-‘Ayyäshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, p. 314.
⁵For examples, see al-Zabädi’s Rihla, pp. 5, 76, 77, 129; al-Hashılıki’s Rihla, pp. 33-4; al-Ishäqi’s Rihla, pp. 25, and 67. Amahzün says in al-Medina al-Munawwara, p. 77 that al-‘Ayyäshi put the accounts which he has doubt about under the title ‘Ghariba and lațifa’. In fact this is not correct because al-‘Ayyäshi in his Rihla, vol. 1, p. 95 included narration, asserting that the person who told him the story is trustworthy.
As al-Rihlāt contain multiple topics and varied aspects, the travellers sometimes digress, before finishing discussing one topic, to another completely different topic and elaborate on it, to the extent that the reader loses the connection with the first. The author then appears to recognize this and justify the elaboration, saying that the latter topic is entirely important, or it needs to be elaborated, then they turn back to complete the discussion of the first topic using connect phrases such as “ʿawda li, turning to”. Al-ʿAyyāshi, for instance, discusses the places which should be visited in the Uhud mountain area in Medina. These include the mosques and graves of the Prophet’s companions buried in al-Shuhadā’ cemetery, including the grave of Ḥamza, the uncle of the Prophet, whom he starts describing, then he moves to comment on the custom of the inhabitants of Medina of visiting his grave every year, afterwards he moves to discuss the issue of visiting the graves of pious men in general. At length, he returns to the main topic, justifying this elaboration by saying, “Turning to the point we were talking about, because discussion of this issue has been extended, however, it is one of the significant issues which is very rarely found in any book”, then he continues his speech about these graves saying, “We say among the places, which should be visited in Uhud, are the graves of the Prophet’s companions, who were martyred in the battle of Uhud.”

1.4. The Harmony between the Poetry and the Prose

The travellers tend frequently to record their poetry and that of others in their Rihlāt as an attempt to exploit the power of the poetry to explain and manifest meanings and to assert and emphasize ideas in very few phrases, which might require many phrases in prose. In addition, achieving harmony between poetry and prose creates the pleasure of variation between them and prevents the reader from becoming bored. Also, the poetry can convey deep emotion and a warm true feeling, which might not appear in prose. Thus, a great many poems, whether compiled by the travellers themselves or by others, are included in al-Rihlāt. Ibn al-Ṭayyīb, for instance, did not confine himself to composing a marvelous poem while discussing the varied advantages gained from the

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1For some details about this custom, see infra, pp. 204-5.
travel, but he quoted a number of poems composed by others about this topic, in order to emphasize and show clearly his point of view and support his position.¹

1.5. Notarizing the Information Quoted

The method adopted by most of the travellers regarding citation from other sources, or people and notarization of this information, is accurate and strict, based on verification, caution and investigation. However, we find that a few of them cite a whole text from other sources without mentioning its source; such cases are very rare in proportion to those where reference is made to the original sources, as will be illustrated later. The point which is worthy of note here is that the travellers frequently quote many texts, particularly the geographical and historical texts from renowned sources, such as al-Samhūdi’s *Tārikh al-Madina*, and al-Bakri’s *Risāla*. In addition to that, the later travellers such as al-Zabādi, al-‘Aynī and Ibn Nāṣīr, quote frequently from the earlier travellers such as Ibn Rashid, al-Tijāni, Abū Madyan and particularly al-‘Ayyāshi, who was considered the leader of the travellers at that time, as described by the traveller Ibn Nāṣīr.² Al-‘Ayyāshi *Rihla* became an essential resource for many Moroccan travellers such as Ibn Nāṣīr, Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām and al-Zabādi who quoted from it extensively.

The travellers followed a strict, clear and accurate method with respect to citation, whether from other sources or from people. Some of the travellers obviously refer at the beginning of their *Rihlāt* to the main source on which they depend. For example, al-‘Aynī states that most of his quotations are taken from the *Rihla* of the traveller Abū Madyan.³

The method of quotation mostly starts by referring to the main source from which the text is quoted. Al-Zabādi, for instance, who cites frequently from al-‘Ayyāshi’s *Rihla*, says that he prefers to cite here the speech of al-‘Ayyāshi in his *Rihla* about the renowned places in Medina, which should be visited because it is in the form of a perfect and very useful summary. Then he cites the text of al-‘Ayyāshi, preceded by the word *wa naṣuhu*, which means, “its text is so and so.” When the citation of the text is finished, al-Zabādi

¹Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Rihla*, pp. 8-13. See some of this poem’s lines given as an example on pp. 163-4.
²Ibn Nāṣīr’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 73.
³See al-‘Aynī’s *Rihla* summarized by al-Sūsī, p. 284. See also infra, p. 73.
indicates this by saying, "What I need from al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla is finished." Alternatively, in most cases they start by saying something like, "Al-Samḥūdi or al-‘Ayyāshi says, or said or did". At other times they refer to the author only. When the quotation is ended, they put a sign such as the letter ha or followed it sometimes by, "The speech of so-and-so," as a mark of the end of the quoted text, and in a very few cases they put the clause, "Intahā kalāmu hu" which means, "His speech is finished." The travellers sometimes say, "I said," as a sign indicating the end of the quoted text and the beginning of their own speech.

The travellers also followed a strict method based on certainty, notarization and investigation, with regard to the quoted information and academic and literary texts recorded in their Rihlāt. They are keen to indicate such information and texts by using such words as, "Anshadāni, kataba li bi khaṭihi, qāla li, akhbārāni, samītū minhu, I heard from him, he told me, he said to me, he wrote by his hand to me and he recited his poem." Moreover, when they quote a text from its source, they assert that the text was written in the handwriting of the author himself. Al-‘Ayyāshi, for instance, says after completing the quotation from Ibn Rashīd’s Rihla that he has quoted from Ibn Rashīd’s Rihla, written down in his handwriting, which he saw in Mecca.

Hearing, al-Samā’, is one of the most significant sources in the travel literature because the traveller sees, or hears many things throughout his journeys but he must carefully judge these things. Therefore, most of the travellers, being educated people and scholars, did not accept what they heard, or saw without examining it, or referring to their doubts about its truth. Al-‘Ayyāshi, for example, was told by a friend when he visited Barqa that the inhabitants of the place claimed a prophet was buried there, but al-‘Ayyāshi rejected this claim and asserted that according to his historical knowledge,

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1Al-Zabādi’s Rihla, p. 52.
2For examples, see al-Zabādi’s Rihla, pp. 14, 18, 361; Abū Madyan’s Rihla, pp. 60, 69, 80, 361; al-İshāqi’s Rihla, pp. 19, 34, 38; al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, pp. 162, 227, 140.
3For example, see al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, pp. 240 and 241; al-İshāqi’s Rihla, pp. 33 and 38.
5For examples, see al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, pp. 227-8, 347, 392; Abū Madyan’s Rihla, pp. 84, 124.
the grave was that of Rūayfi' b. Thābit al-Anṣārī. Al-`Ayyāshi says that when he returned from al-Ḥaḍrā, he was told by his friend `Abd Allah b. Ghilyun that he went to the grave and found written traces, which might confirm the truth of what al-`Ayyāshi said, and his [Rūayfi' al-Anṣārī] name was written on a stone set on the grave by the ruler of Dirga.²

Some of the travellers make every effort to find out the truth, such as asking the specialist scholars, or returning to academic sources, if they have doubt about some reports. When al-`Ayyāshi, for example, doubted that Abū Lubāba al-Anṣārī died and was buried in Qābis, because none of the renowned historians had referred to that, he made great efforts to find the truth until he found, in the library of his friend, Muḥammad b. `Abd Allah al-Majrūnī in Tunis, a clear indication in a book entitled Mukhtasar Ma`ālim al-Īmān wa Rawḍāt al-Ridwān fi Manāqib al-Mashhūrīn min Ṣulahā' al-Qayrawān compiled by Ibn Nāji that Abū Lubāba died and was buried in Qābis.³

Despite these efforts the travellers were modestly cautious about insisting that their opinions were definitely correct. Ibn Nāṣir, for instance, when he reported the claim of the inhabitants of Qābis that the Prophet’s companion Abū Lubāba al-Anṣārī was buried in their city, as mentioned above, he commented on that saying, “None of the historians indicate that Abū Lubāba entered Africa.” However, he was cautious of asserting that, saying, “If this claim is correct, the news of his entering Africa might have been neglected by historians.”⁴

The travellers frankly show their doubt about some reports, when they were not sure about its authenticity. Al-Ishāqī asked about the reason why the water well of al-Ḥāma is very hot, but he found nothing except the speech of the common people, which he

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¹ He is one of the Prophet Muḥammad’s companions, who traveled to Egypt, then he was appointed as a ruler of Tripoli in 46/666 by Muḥšiyya b. Abī Sufyān, after which as the ruler of Barqā by Maslama b. Mukhlid, where he eventually died in 56/676. Al-Zirkli, Al-Atīlām, vol. 3, p. 65.


³ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 405.

⁴ Ibn Nāṣir’s Rihla, vol. 2, p. 159. Abū Lubāba’s full name is Rifā’ī b. `Abd al-Mundhir. The Prophet appointed him as his successor to him in Medina in two occasions; the first was during the battle of Badr and the latter was in the battle of al-Sawiq both in 2/624. He died in the era of ‘Ali b. Tālib [ruled from 35/656-40/661] with no indication by the author to the place where he died. See ‘Ali b. al-Juzari known as Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al-ᶜIḥāba fi Maʾrifat al-ṣaḥāba (Tehran: [n.pub.], 1377/[1977]), vol. 5, pp. 284-5.
said could not be trusted because there were contradictory views. Ibn Nāšir when related a narrative told to him by the inhabitants of Qābis, he stated frankly that, "It is superstition." Al-`Ayyāshi relates narratives about the state of security in Mecca during the era of the Sulṭān al-Sharif Muḥsin b. Ḥasan b. Zayd, but he comments saying that nobody can distinguish between the false and the true in these narratives.

Some of the travellers, such as al-`Ayyāshi, al-Hashtūki and Ibn Malih try to reassure the reader that they depend on trusted sources by saying, "Someone I trust told me."

Although, the travellers keep firmly to a strict academic method with respect to referring to information, news or poems to their sources, authors or poets, as mentioned previously, there are a few cases in proportion to al-Rihlāt as a whole in which the travellers, specifically al-Īshāqi, Ibn Nāšir and Ibn Malih, quoted texts without referring to their original sources. Al-Īshāqi quotes texts from al-Tijāni’s Rihla and al-‘Abdari’s Rihla, sometimes without citing references. In addition, many poems are quoted by the travellers without referring to the name of their poets. This is because some poems became well-known, but their authors remained unknown.

1.6. The Method

The travellers identify clearly in the prefaces to their Rihlāt the main topics included, such as describing the stages of the road, cities and villages and recording the news of meetings with scholars and the academic issues discussed throughout the journey, as

1 Al-Īshāqi’s Rihla, p. 69.

2 Ibn Nāšir’s Rihla, vol. 2, p. 158. The narrative was related by al-Bakri, who says that the diseases found in Qābis dated back to that its inhabitants dig a hole, imagining they would find a treasure, taking out a dust-colored sand which lead to spread the diseases in the city. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 158.

3 For some details about his biography, see infra, p. 226.

4 Al-`Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 2, p. 110. Such as the man who came one day to Sulṭān Muḥsin telling him that he found a bag of coffee beans somewhere, the Sulṭān questioned him how he knew that it is a coffee beans? The man replied saying that he touched with his foot. The Sulṭān as a consequence of that ordered his foot to be cut. More examples have been already given about investigating the claims made by pilgrims, see infra, p. 213.

5 For example, see al-Hashtūki’s Rihla, p. 69; Abū Madyan’s Rihla, pp. 105 and 106; al-`Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, p. 304 and vol. 2, pp. 95 and 404.

6 See for example, al-Īshāqi’s Rihla, pp. 85-91 about some of the historian’s opinions regarding the history of Tripoli, which is cited from al-Tijāni’s Rihla from pp. 239 to 245; al-Īshāqi’s Rihla, p. 231 about the name of ‘Arafa which is taken from al-‘Abdari’s Rihla, p. 185; also, Ibn Malih quoted the scholars’ biographies of Aghmār and Rika from al-Tašāwīf compiled by al-Tādīlī as the editor of Ibn Malih’s Rihla said. See pp. 14-21.

well as visits to graves. However, in fact, although they claim to apply this clear plan, as Ibn Malîh expresses at the end of his *Rihla* saying, "Here, the purpose for which this book is compiled is fulfilled." we find that one or more of the main topics predominate over others according to the writers' interests. For example, much information is given about the graves visited, in al-Shâwi's *Rihla.*

The travellers also clarify that their method depends on brevity in presenting the information and discussing academic issues. Al-Zabâdi, for instance, says that he has adopted the method of the brevity in recording his *Rihla.* Therefore, they assert that what they recorded is brief. Ibn 'Abd al-Salâm says that what he recorded about the merits of Egypt is by way of a summary of what had been said about it. Moreover, they apologize for instances of expatiation, justifying it as being based on the importance of the topic or issue concerned. Al-Zabâdi apologizes for his expatiation upon some scholars' biographies, for example, saying it is because they deserve it.

The method itself is definitely influenced by the personality of the author. For instance, most of al-Ishâqi's opinions and observations show a strong tendency to criticism, humour and sharp sarcasm. For example, he says that he met the jurist of 'Ayn Maḍi village in Morocco and sharply criticizes him, saying that he was (*qabr min qubûr al-jahh*) one of the graves of ignorance criticising him that he does not know the difference between the past and the future. He also says that if you misread the name of Jerba it becomes Khirba, which means ruins. In addition, he directs a sarcastic criticism at Tripoli, particularly its academic activities, to an extent that it provoked a strong reaction, not only by the Libyan scholars and poets, but also from the Moroccan travellers, such as Ibn 'Abd al-Salâm, who refuted his opinion.

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1 Ibn Malîh's *Rihla,* p. 142.
2 This issue was discussed in detail according to the thematic study, see infra, pp. 203-6.
3 Al-Zabâdi's *Rihla,* p. 5.
4 Al-Ishâqi's *Rihla,* p. 113.
5 Al-Zabâdi's *Rihla,* p. 228.
6 Al-Ishâqi's *Rihla,* p. 43
7 Ibid., p. 75.
8 Ibid., pp. 94-7. For other examples, see humorous aspect, pp. 239-40 and see his sharp attitude towards the academic activities in al-Ḥijāz and Egypt as discussed previously on pp. 220-1.
2. The Language (The Style and Vocabulary)

This section is an attempt to investigate the language in which *al-Rihlāt* were recorded with respect to two elements. The first analyses the style with reference to the predominant characteristics, such as rhyme, normal and rhetorical decoration, in addition to narrative styles. The second investigates the vocabulary in relation to simplicity and the use of foreign and colloquial words.

2.1. The Style

The reader of *al-Rihlāt* moves between three levels of style. The first is the rhymed style (*al-saj*) such as is found in the *Rihlāt* of al-Qādiri, Ibn Malīḥ, al-Iṣbāqī and Ibn al-Ṭayyib. The second is the normal style, free of *al-saj* except for very few cases, which is found in the *Rihlāt* of al-Hashtūkī, al-ʿAynī and al-Shawī. The third is a combined style found in the *Rihlāt* of al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Zābādī, al-Ḥudaykī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and Ibn Nāṣir.

2.1.1. Rhymed Style, *al-Saj*

Al-Qādiri, Ibn Abī Māhli, Ibn Malīḥ and Ibn al-Ṭayyib showed a strong tendency towards using *al-saj* (a rhymed style) except in very few places where *al-saj* is difficult to use, such as when discussing academic issues, or describing the stages of the road. This style might be adopted in consequence of the musical effect which can stem from repeating the same letter at the end of the phrases of a passage. Alternatively it may be out of a desire to embellish the writing as many authors at that time used to do, or to show the writer’s abilities and skills in using *al-saj*. It mainly comes in praising the scholars, in the prefaces of *al-Rihlāt* and sometimes in describing cities. For example, *al-saj* dominates over most parts of the *Rihla* of Ibn Abī Māhli, and he tends to use short passages and variations of the rhyming letter. He praises the Egyptian scholar Sālim al-Sinhūrī asking him about an academic question saying:

šīkh al-madhīb ḥumūma, wa-mam al-ḥadīth ḥumūma, khilīl al-maṣāḥab, wa-maṣāḥab al-maṣāḥab, saḥīḥ al-tahrīr, wa-gumām al-taqīr, ḥith ṭūṭ al-sīdāda, wa-xīmīx al-maṣāḥab, bayjam al-aḥṣār, wa-al-jāmīx al-aḥṣār, muḥtīx rīḥāl l-ḥasmīl, wa-mafrīk afqānī kālī muḥṣalā, fī  القواعد الأصول, وقواعد الفصول. ¹

¹Ibn Abī Māhli’s *Rihla*, ed. al-Qaddūrī, p. 155. Similarly, Ibn Malīḥ in his *Rihla*, p. 22, praised the Moroccan scholar Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid known as al-Qirmīd, enumerating his characteristics, saying:

καμιλ οἱ ἀλκαθ, ιστηρικὴ ἀποστολή, οἱ οὕτωι ὁ τιμιότατος, οἱ οἴκοι τῶν ἁγίων, οἱ ἱεροὶ νόμοι, ὁ διὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ διὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ διὸ τῆς ἀληθείας. [He is] well-mannered of noble descent, intelligent, humble, generous, pious and following the *shariʿa* (Islamic law).
He sometimes uses a short passage of one same letter. He continues praising the scholar Sālim, saying:

"This is the opinion of a destitute, who wishes for [the opinion of a] great authority and influential position, a tremendous bounty, the famous shaykh of Islam, and the moon among the crescents of Sinhūr."  

However, he sometimes uses long passages. For example, he completes the above example saying:

"Allah, the Exalted, guided us by the light of his [the shaykh's] stars and bestowed upon us through His grace that which we desire from the essence of his knowledge."

In contrast, Ibn Malih tends to use long passages except in a very few cases. The following example is taken from the preface of his Rihla:

"All praise is due to Allah who brought the creation into existence with wisdom and perfection, and created the creation whilst distributing their sustenance. He made the pilgrimage compulsory on those able to perform it, out of His generosity and gentleness. He measured the sustenance of the young and the old, as well as the great and the lowly, without it being compulsory upon Him and without them deserving it."

2.1.2. The Style of Combining al-Saj` and Normal Styles

Some of the travellers, such as al-‘Ayyāshī, Ibn Nāsir, al-Hudayki, Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zabādi combined al-saj` and normal styles, but the quantity of al-saj`
differs from one Rihla to another. While al-saj is used frequently in the Rihlat of al-
‘Ayyāshi, al-Ḥuḍaykī and Ibn Nāṣir, it is used less in Rihlät such as those of Ibn ‘Abd al-
Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zabādi. They tend to use al-saj in specific places where they
feel that the style deserves special attention, such as the prefaces of al-Rihlät, scholars’
biographies, describing and praising cities and their inhabitants. It is also used when
expressing their feelings, particularly describing their feeling of happiness while coming
very close to the holy places at Mecca and Medina or enjoying performing the worship
at these places. They tend to use al-saj, al-tarsi; and luzūm mā lā yalzam,¹ and keep
balance between the words and passages in order to create a melodious rhythm and
beautifully harmonious sound. So the travellers carefully restricted themselves to
choosing words which end with a similar letter or letters to each other. In addition, they
tended to use short passages and vary the rawiyy letter (rhyming letter). However, it has
been remarked that this ornamented style mainly comes in clear, simple, melodious
words and relies on spontaneity and simplicity, without any complexity. In contrast,
these travellers do not continue with this ornamented style but leave it in favour of a
very direct normal mode of expression, which differs little from the normal speech of
ordinary people in daily life, as will be illustrated in the following examples:

Al-‘Ayyāshi for example, started his description of Tripoli and its inhabitants in al-saj
style, dating his entry to it, saying:

كانت دخولنا مدينة طرابلس بقرب ظهر يوم الأربعاء سابع عشر رجب، وهي مدينة مساحتها صغيرة، وخيراتها
كثيرة، وتكاية لها العدوان شهرة، وآثارها جليلة، ومعابدها قليلة، وأنيقة البيئة، فسماحة الفناء، عزاية الأسوار،
متسامسة الأدوار، واسعة طرقها، سهل طروقها، إلى ما جمع لها من زكاة الأوصاف، وجميل الإنصاف.²

"Our entry into Tripoli was close to midday on Wednesday the 17th of Rajab. [Tripoli] was a city whose area was small, its good things were many, its courage against its
enemies was famous, its deeds were great and its faults were few. [It contained]
beautiful buildings, spacious living rooms, high walls, befitting levels, wide streets, in
addition to what its people had combined in terms of beautiful attributes and fairness."

It is very clear from the above example, that al-‘Ayyāshi showed a strong tendency to
pay great attention to his style. This is clear from his use not only of al-saj but also of
al-Tarsi³ (balanced rhyming) which, “Is found when each word of one half of a [poetic]
line or, in the case of artistic prose, of a phrase corresponds to another word in the other

¹as will be explained and clarified by examples later.
²Al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, p. 60.
syntactically and from a prosodic point of view. An example of which is and between and other words. In addition, al-‘Ayyāshi restricted himself to ending all the phrases of the passage with two, or more similar letters, which is called luzūm mā lā y'alzam (leonine rhyme) as is clear in the above example. In addition, he keeps balance between the words and passages, varies the rawiyy letter (rhyming letter) and uses short passages in order to create a melodious rhythm and beautiful harmonious sound. In addition, al-‘Ayyāshi aims to present his ideas and make them more vivid by the melodious rhythm.

Then he leaves this ornamented style for a normal style free from any trace or effort of ornamentation; he aims to record his journey and express his ideas and feelings in a very simple, spontaneous mode of expression like plain speech. After describing Tripoli and its inhabitants in the ornamented style, as in the above example, al-‘Ayyāshi says:

"This city has two gates, the first is facing land and the second facing the sea, as the sea surrounds the city on most sides. The fortress where the ruler stays is attached to the city and is situated between the land-door and the sea. The ruler has courage in the face of the enemy, may Allah destroy them! He has ships prepared for jihad upon the sea and it's rare that they travel and return without spoils. It is equally rare that a ship is captured unless it is a trade ship and so, may Allah reward them!"

2.1.3. The Normal Style

As mentioned previously, there are travellers such as al-‘Aynī, al-Hashtükī, and al-Shāwī who tend towards simplicity and spontaneous expression, without using any kind of ornamentation such as al-saj; al-tarsi; al-tibāq or al-Jinās except in very rare places where all the travellers feel that al-saj is required or demanded by custom. An example of which is the preface of al-Rihlät and scholars’ biographies, or the feeling of joy when they enter or come very close to the holy places, though even then it comes in a

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2 Al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla, vol.1, p. 60. More examples are given later.
In a spontaneous way, Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, for example, used *al-sajr* to express his great gladness while he entered Mecca, saying:

"On the morning of the sixth of Dhū al-Hijja we entered Mecca so happily that our hearts were about to fly. All the sadness and difficulties which were encamped in our hearts left. How could it not be so, when we were in the Holy Precinct, which Allah made a dispensation for previous sins? This is a bounty from Him, Exalted be His praise at the beginning and at the return, along as the sun rises and sets."

This example and others, as mentioned previously, are infrequent in Ibn 'Abd al-Salām's *Rihla*; when rhyme does occur, it does so in a very natural and unconscious manner and in long passages where the poetic rhythm appears closer to normal speech. He then leaves this style and describes Mecca in a natural way, without using any ornamentation, in contrast to the style adopted by al-`Ayyāshi in his describing Tripoli in the example given previously. Ibn 'Abd al-Salām says:

"Mecca is a large square in a blessed valley, containing innumerable inhabitants, and the surrounding mountains are like its bracelet. Mecca has old walls on its eastern side, to the west of al-Mu'ālāt gate, as it is at its highest point and walls at the western side known as the Shubayka gate."

2.1.4. Rhetorical style

Other rhetorical devices, such as *al-jinās* (paronomasia), *al-tibāq* (antithesis), *al-muqābala* (opposition), *al-tashbih* (simile), *al-isti'āra* (metaphor) and *al-igtibās* (quotation) are not as much used by the travellers as *al-sajr*. When they do occur, it is in a simple and natural way.

Abū Madyan, for example, shows this unconscious tendency towards the use of *al-jinās* in the following example, in which we find complete similarity in form and difference in

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1 Ibn 'Abd al-Salām's *Rihla*, p. 219.
2 See, infra, p. 257.
meaning between the three words *al-salām* السلام. The first means the greeting, the second is one of the Ḥaram Mosque's gates and the third is one of Allah's names. He says:

فُدوْعَتُهمُ بالسلام وَمِنْهُ بِينَ عَنْيِ بِابِ السَّلَامُ مَعْتَيْنًا بِالملك القدس السلام.⁰

"I bid them farewell with "salān" and I imagined the Salām gate in front of me, seeking aid from the Sublime Sovereign, *al-Salām*."

The use of *al-tibāq* and *al-muqābala* resembles that of *al-jināṣ*, in that the travellers use it in a normal and simple way. Thus, we find a word, or words and its their opposite introduced by them simply because the meaning demands them, without any obvious interference from the travellers, in order to introduce this figure of speech artificially. This is very clear in the following example where Ibn Maliḥ contrasts صباحا and مساء, evening and morning, غدًا and غدًا, coming and going, and between السرا and السرا, openly and secretly, and between ليلا and فارًا, night and day. He says:

اللازم ذلك الخرم الشريف صباحا ومساء، وأنعم في روضة الجنة غدًا ورواحا ورأس HIV ... وأناجي الحبيب سرا وفازرا، فازرا وفازرا.²

"I stayed in that Noble Precinct morning and night, enjoying the garden of paradise whilst coming and going. Conversing with the beloved secretly and openly, night and day."

Ibn Maliḥ himself makes simple *muqābala* between the two clauses في الصيف يفور ويغصص and between وفي الشتاء يفور ويغصص, describing the two opposite cases of the Nile river, where its water overflows in the summer and decreases in the winter.³

*Tashkhis* (personification) and *taṣsim* (embodiment) which the metaphor produces, need a more conscious and deliberate creativity to enhance the beauty of the imagery. So the images depending on these devices are very rare features of their writings which, as has been mentioned, depend mainly on spontaneity and simplicity.

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⁰Abū Madyan's *Rihla*, p. 120.

¹Ibn Maliḥ's *Rihla*, p. 120.

²Ibid., p. 40.
The following two images will serve as examples of how the travellers use the metaphor. Ibn Malih personifies the Nile and makes it breath as a person. He says that when the Nile breathes, it fills up the land, whether a valley or a hill. Ibn Malih himself tends to use metaphor in describing the moment of entering Medina, saying that the pilgrims entered Medina on Friday the third of Muḥarram in 1042 A.H. while the youth of the day had elapsed and the sun was sick as nightfall approached. It is clear from these examples that the metaphor is easy and simple to create. It is also worthy of note that Ibn Malih's attempt to depend on the metaphor in drawing this picture detracts from the meaning because this gloomy picture does not match the happiness which the pilgrims feel on arriving at Medina, the site of the Prophet Muhammad's grave and Mosque.

Nevertheless, we rarely find a developed and vivid image like that of al-ʿAyyāshi describing the valley, which reflects his creative power. He describes the renowned river known by Nuʿmān al-ʿArāk in al-Ḥijāz as a great valley with lofty trees which the breeze of Najd shakes, making the branches move exultantly and bend over to kiss the smooth tender flowers surrounding the verge of the valley, which is dressed in many colours by the flowers and the head of its hills is attired in a turban of daisy and purple.

The travellers sometimes pay great attention to style by collecting as many rhetorical decorative devices as they can. Al-ʿAyyāshi, for example, expresses the happiness of the pilgrims when they arrived at the first inhabited places after a long journey through arid desert. He says:

"The next day signs of life appeared to us and the world sent us a sign. The pilgrims shouted with delight at this good news. This was the first time that a populated area had shown us safety sights and we entered the Qasr Ahmar at midday, showing our joy and concealing our fear, as we had not seen buildings for years. We imagined that spread of people, buildings and date palms, were something unknown to us, as if we were the dead resurrected from the grave."

1 Ibn Malih's *Rihla*, p. 41.
2 Ibid., p. 96.
In the above example, there is a *isti’ara* in the first populated area had shown us its safety sights, *tashbih* in the dead who were resurrected from the graves, *muqābala* between show our joy and conceal our fear, *jinās* between building and sight and between *al-saj* between words such as *ṣāla* and *alaman* the dark of the night, introducing the simile with the particle (as though) to draw attention to the great number of the Tunisian pilgrims. He says:

"Whilst we were in Tripoli the Tunisian caravan entered [creating] a beautiful scene and a magnificent image, in huge numbers, like the darkness of the night, a torrent filling the streets, flowing like a river."

The travellers tend sometimes to insert in their speech the whole part of a verse or of *Hadith* to strengthen the meaning and ornament the style. It is worthy of note that al-

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1. Similarly, Ibn Malih in his *Rihla*, p. 1 described how he started recording his *Rihla*, saying:

> "When the wind of longing unsettled me and the heart flew via the wing of the yearning to see these [holy] places [in al-Hijāz], and Allah bestowed upon travel by means of facilitation to that great place, and was aided by divine Will in the resource, surrounded by fence of high repute in the going and returning, bounding by pavilion of safety and good health. I devoted my effort to record [the news of] my journey, reporting its first and last accounts, counting the number and names of road stages. For that I compiled this *Rihla.*"

In the above example, there is a *isti’ara* in *ṣāla* and *alaman* the dark of the night, introducing the simile with the particle (as though).
‘Ayyāshi and Ibn Nāṣir showed a strong tendency towards using images taken from the Qur’ān. Al-‘Ayyāshi, for example likens palm trees to the heads of devils, saying:

وفيها خيل متفرق كان رؤوس الشياطين.

Also Ibn Nāṣir likens the retreat of bandits after their failure to attack the pilgrim caravan to frightened wild donkeys fleeing from a hunter, or a lion, or a beast of prey. He says:

ولما أسفر الهار ظهروا [فقطاع الطرق] على الجبال كأقدام أواعا وبينهم بعض الحجاج ورمواهم بالبادق وفروا

2.1.5. The Narrative Style

The point which we feel is worth stressing at the beginning is that by “narrative style” here we do not mean that the travellers managed to present a whole story according to the accepted artistic standards of the present time. Rather, the term refers to simple attempts to relate short stories that do not depend only on recital, but include some dialogue as well. They contain digressions from the main topic, which enrich the discussion and help to achieve the author’s goals.

Abū Madyan relates how he was attacked by a bedouin who tried to steal what he was carrying during the journey, saying, “When we arrived at the valley of ‘Asrān, I left my companions to urinate while they supplied the water and when I returned I found the valley was full of bedouins, who separated me from my companions, who were running away at the other side of the valley. So I rushed to hide under the trees, but one of the bedouins carrying a javelin followed me. I beat him to the trees where I found a woman gathering wood. The bedouin attacked me while I was trying to cross the valley, but I managed to return to the woman who strongly scolded the bedouin. Then a group of bedouins came and scolded the bedouin who stood like a dog looking at me, and they

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1Ibid., vol. 1, p. 101. Allah (the Great and Almighty) in surat al-Ṣaffār, verses. 60-70 urges people to work sincerely to gain supreme success, otherwise they will go to the flaming fire of Hell, saying as in the Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur’ān, by M. Khan and M. al-Hilali, p. 639, “Is that (paradise) better entertainment or the tree of Zaqqūm (a horrible tree in Hell)? Truly, We have made it (as) a trail for the Zālimūn (polytheists, disbelievers, wrongdoers). It is a tree that springs out of the bottom of Hell, the shoots of its fruit-stalks are like the heads of Shayātīn (devils); truly, they will eat thereof and fill their bellies therewith. Then on the top of that they will be given boiling water to drink so that it becomes a mixture (of boiling water and Zaqqūm in their bellies. Then thereafter, verily, their return is to the flaming fire of Hell.”

2Ibn Nāṣir’s Rihla, vol. 2, p. 185; as Allah described in surat al-Muddaththir, verses. 50-1 the disbelievers’ turning away from receiving admonition, which can be translated as follows, “As if they were (frightened) wild donkeys fleeing from a hunter, or a lion, or a beast of prey.” M. Khan and M. al-Hilali, Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur’ān, p. 840.
said to me, 'Do not worry'. They gave me a ride to my companions. It is possible to find in this short simple story depending on a recital style, some artistic narrative elements such as excitement, fascination, critical development of event or plot and finally the denouement. There are other stories, which depend on the recital style and dialogue, in addition to the example given previously.

2.2. The Vocabulary

2.2.1. Simplicity

The vocabulary of the travellers' prose, like that of their poetry, as mentioned previously, is mainly simple and clear. This simplicity is because their aim was to express their ideas and feelings in a direct and spontaneous way, so the reader would not require a great effort to understand the meaning. Therefore, they did not try to choose words that are difficult, complex or harsh, except for a few cases that will be mentioned later. We find that even when they ornament the style by using rhetorical devices, they use them in a very direct and simple way as in the given examples in this study.

It is worth noting here that some travellers are very eager to explain words which they feel may be difficult to understand. Al-ʿAyyāshi, for example, explains the meaning of al-bayāriq and kahayliyya saying that the former means a group of horsemen with a leader in the front of them and the latter means a kind of female horse, known for its strength and nobility of descent.

As mentioned above, it is unusual to find difficult words like murmiddīn which was used by Ibn Malīḥ to describe how the bedouins came to receive the pilgrims, with food and drink in order to sell it to them. These are the most difficult words, for which the reader needs to use a lexicon in order to understand them.

1Abū Madyan's Rihla, pp. 238-9.
2See the stories related by al-Iṣḥāqi and al-ʿAyyāshi in the humorous content, pp. 239-40.
3See infra, p. 178.
5See Ibn Malīḥ's Rihla, p. 127. Murmiddīn means hurrying as was explained by the Rihla's editor.
2.2.2. The Foreign and Colloquial Words

The language of the travellers in general is correct, eloquent and free from foreign and colloquial words, except in few cases. The language of Ibn Malih is pure, correct and eloquent. However, he does not disdain to use colloquial Moroccan words such as *al-hiyāti*, in addition to other words whether colloquial such as *Alāmāt* and *ḥaska* or not correct such as *kathā'ib* or foreign words such as *nawā'if* and *al-mārstān*, which means the hospital.

3. Content

This section deals with the prose content with respect to two elements. The first is accuracy, persuasion, truth and exaggeration. The second discusses the travellers' learning with reference to its profundity.

3.1. Accuracy, Persuasion, Truth and Exaggeration

The travellers tend in some cases to draw accurate and complete pictures by relying on the personal observation, self-effort and objective method, in an attempt to persuade the public to accept the information they present. On the other hand, they sometimes give general judgments and exaggerated views.

Ibn Malih for example, counts by himself the bulbs of one of the arcs of the external courtyard of Ibn Tülün's Mosque in Cairo, which numbered one hundred and eighty. However, he confesses at the same time that he did not manage to count the bulbs in

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1 See Ibn Malih's *Rihla*, p. 131, footnote. no. 1. *al-hiyāti* is the plural of *hayri* which means *as was explained by the Rihla*’s editor* a curtain made from a coloured silk garment suspended on the wall and the origin of it is حَيْثَيْ.  
2 It is used here as the plural of *Alām* which means the flag, while the correct form is *Alām*. See the footnote of the *Rihla*’s editor, p. 69.  
3 It means among Moroccans ‘the candleholder’, see the footnote of the *Rihla*’s editor, p. 103.  
4 It is used here as the plural of *kutib* which means a sand dune, while the correct form is *kuthbān*. See the footnote of the *Rihla*’s editor, p. 36.  
5 It is derived from the Berber word *Anwāl*, which means the cottage.  
7 Ibn Malih’s *Rihla*, p. 67.
the internal nave because they cannot be counted. He also presented an accurate
description of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, measuring its length and width,
reporting that the length was one hundred feet equal to three hundred cubits and its
width was two hundred cubits, enumerating its columns which were three hundred,
referring to its walls coated by gold. He even counted the number of stalks of the only
palm tree found in the court.2

Al-'Ayyāshi presents an accurate, detailed description of the group known as al-Aghwāt,
who were in charge of serving the Prophet's Mosque and his grave. He gives a complete
picture by presenting comprehensive information such as their number, system, ranks
and the duties, which they undertake. He says, for instance, that their number is around
eighty divided into two groups; half of them called al-Kibār, who are higher level than
of the second half group named al-Battālūn who are employed in humble works. They
apply a strict system based on certain principles. For example, each one has a certain
rank and particular duty, at the top is the Shaykh al-Ḥaram (the leader) who is replaced
by another every two years. Under him is al-Naqīb, then al-Mustalim, who is in charge
of receiving gifts and donations for the mosque. al-Kibār are highly respected by al-
Battālūn. No one, whoever he is, has authority over them, therefore all decisions and
regular policies such as appointing one, or removing or punitive procedure, are strictly
made and carried out only by them. It is obvious, because it is not acceptable to impose
an authority whatever it might be over people undertaking these notable duties of
serving the Prophet's mosque and his grave as al-'Ayyāshi says.3

Ibn 'Abd al-Salām sometimes records the exact time at which the events took place. For
example, he says, "We left Ayla when five hours of the day had gone.4"

One of the reasons for persuasiveness of these accounts, which encourages the reader to
trust the accuracy of the information, is their objectivity in presenting the different
aspects of a single issue. Al-'Ayyāshi for example, visited an Egyptian scholar named
Sultān and attended his lessons, praising him greatly, saying that he was the foremost
scholars in reciting the Qur'ān. Then he referred to his harshness with his students,

1 Ibid., p. 48.
2 Ibid., p. 100.
saying that he would not tolerate any mistake from them, but scolded them excessively and might even swear at them. Then he praises him again, mentioning that they tolerate him because he is unique in this academic field; also because of his piety, asceticism and adherence to teaching and giving legal opinions.

In contrast, some of the travellers tend sometimes to use exaggerated judgments such as “unequalled, incomparable” when describing a place or scholar. Ibn al-Tayyib for instance, says that the pilgrims had never seen fruits and vegetables like those displayed at the market organised by the inhabitants of Darna in Libya. Ibn Malîh also describes al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo, saying that there is no mosque equal to it anywhere and none comparable to it in Egypt.

Although the travellers mainly adopt a strictly accurate method of frankly expressing their opinion about the correctness of the news, or the information recorded in their Rihla or their doubts about it, as discussed earlier. We also find however that most travellers ignore this method and accept some news without any attempt to verify it, if it is consistent with their Şûfi belief. So, we think that many doubts surround the correctness of the stories recorded by most of them particularly al-Zabâdi and al-Ḥuḍayki, which relate the Şûfis’ karâmât that are extremely hard to believe, to an extent that al-Ḥuḍayki warned against having doubts about or denying it. In addition, most of the travellers exaggerate in their veneration of the Şûfi scholars to the extent that al-‘Ayyâshi for instance, believes that they never made a mistake, which leads to contradiction, as in the example given previously.

The travellers, also could not give any information about some issues, or record some poems, or even remember the names of some of the places they passed through as a consequence of not noting these names when they started recording their Rihla. Al-Zabâdi, for instance, says that he visited the cemetery of al-Mahila al-Kubrâ in Egypt,

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1 Al-‘Ayyâshi’s Rihla, vol. 1, p. 127.
2 Ibn al-Tayyib’s Rihla, p. 51.
3 Ibn Malîh’s Rihla, p. 48. For more examples given previously, see infra, p. 216.
4 See infra, pp. 251-3.
5 This issue was discussed in details, see infra, pp. 206-8.
6 See infra, p. 208.
7 Most of the travellers such as al-‘Ayyâshi, al-Zabâdi did not record all the events of their Rihla.
where a number of the Prophet's companions were buried, but he could not remember their names now.\(^1\) He also records some of his poems which he could remember when he started recording his *Riḥla*, but unfortunately, he has forgotten others which he composed during the journey as he says.\(^2\)

### 3.2. Profundity of Education

The critical views which the travellers express in their *Riḥlāt* while discussing, or examining various academic issues, such as jurisprudence, grammar, linguistics and literature reflect clearly the high level of the travellers' education. This deep education enabled them to correct mistakes made by others, whether they were authors, or educated people, as will be mentioned later.

The wide knowledge of jurisprudence the travellers displayed enabled them to discuss successfully the various issues, which faced them along their journeys. For instance, when Sultan 'Abd Allah's mother Khunātha, decided to buy a house in Mecca, she was told that purchasing and selling houses in Mecca is not permissible according to *al-Sharī'a* (Islamic law). Therefore, Khunātha asked al-Ishāqi for the legal opinion in this regard. He discussed this matter in depth and assured that it is permissible, supporting his opinion with many renowned scholars' opinions such as al-Qādi 'Iyāḍ who rely on the opinion of the Imāms Mālik\(^3\) and al-Shāfi‘i.\(^4\) Al-‘Ayyāshi engaged in strong academic debates with some scholars in Mecca and Medina, about religious issues such as the names and attributes of Allah.\(^5\)

The travellers also show considerable literary, grammatical and lexicological learning, reflected in their distinguished ability to discuss issues related to these subjects and correct mistakes made by authors and speakers. Some of the travellers showed critical

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\(^1\) Al-Zabādi's *Riḥla*, p. 160.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 338.

\(^3\) His full name was Abū `Abd Allah Mālik b. Anas (c. 941/716-179/795). He gave his name to the Māliki School of law whose real founder, strictly speaking, were Mālik's disciples. He is regarded as one of the great jurists of mediaeval Islam. His book *al-Muwatta* is considered to be the first major book of law in Islam. He lived and died in Medina. For more details, see I. R. Netton, *A popular Dictionary of Islam* p. 159.

\(^4\) Al-Ishāqi's *Riḥla*, pp. 316-20. For some details about al-Shāfi‘i’s biography, see infra, p. 99.

\(^5\) Al-‘Ayyāshi's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 282-3 and 296-9. The names of the scholars are not mentioned by al-‘Ayyāshi.
views of al-'Ayyāshi's poem given as an example previously. Ibn al-Ṭayyib says that likening the Ka`ba to a king standing to receive his visitors is a creative and unusual image. Al-'Ayyāshi praised a friend's poem saying that it is creative and contains smooth words and eloquent meanings. Al-Hashtükī criticizes one of his poems, saying that it is improvised and flimsy.

Moreover, they showed their proficiency in the prosody presented, whether in their deep debates on prosodic issues or their praise or disapproval of some poems on the ground of the rules of this subject. The following examples obviously clarify their wide knowledge in this field. Al-Hashtükī successfully discusses the issue of repetition of the same rhyme known as al-:"correcting the misunderstanding of his friend who believes that it occurs if a rhyme is a definite noun and the second is an indefinite noun, showing that is not al-:" and supporting his opinion with specialists' views, until his friend is convinced that his opinion is correct. Al-'Ayyāshi shows deep understanding of the poetic licences, darvrät, such as inflection the indeclinable word when answering a question put to him by Ibrāhīm al-Sūsi in Banū al-'Abbās in Morocco.

The opinions of the travellers depend on the lexicological base, such as the correct word and syntax, according to the rules of grammar and morphology, showing a high level of understanding of this field, and thus, their opinions are mainly correct. Al-'Ayyāshi, for instance, corrected a syntactic mistake made by one of the scholars of Medina, Badr al-Din al-Hindi, while teaching grammar, because he often pronounced "wa inna" which comes after haythu as ṣi an, while the correct form, as al-'Ayyāshi says is ṣi inna.

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1 See infra, p. 164.
2 Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Rihla, p. 78; Ibn 'Abd al-Salām also in his Rihla, p. 223, praised it saying that he created a unique extraordinary simile.
3 Al-'Ayyāshi's Rihla, vol. 2, p. 385. See also his criticism to his poem in vol. 1, p. 139.
4 Al-Hashtükī's Rihla, p. 68.
5 Ibid., p. 85.
7 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 450.
The travellers also showed a wide knowledge of the rhetorical devices. Ibn al-Ṭayyib, for example, analyses one of his poems according to its rhetoric devices such as simile and metaphor.¹

Conclusion of the chapter

In this chapter we have analysed the prose material of al-Rihla according to its artistic features, which are al-Rihla structure, the language (style and vocabulary) and the content. We have concluded the following:

With regard to al-Rihla structure, the travellers start recording their Rihla in almost the same way such as thanking Allah, invoking peace and blessing upon the prophet Muhammad and mentioning their aims in recording their Rihla, such as describing the roads, cities, villages, meeting with scholars and discussing academic issues with them, or students of knowledge. Then some of them indicate the rules about travel and its benefits or the wisdom of performing al-Hajj and some of them relate the story of going to perform al-Hajj. They end their Rihla by thanking Allah again for helping them to record al-Rihla and indicating the date of completion. Al-Zabādi and Ibn Malīh ended their Rihla with prophetic poems.

The travellers classify the material recorded under chapters and sections, or under main headings and sub titles. Some of the travellers started their Rihla with muqaddima (prefaces) and khātima (conclusion). As al-Rihla contain multiple topics and varied aspects, the travellers sometimes digress, after which try to justify this elaboration, then they turn back to complete the discussion of the original topic, using connecting phrases such as “ turning to ”.

The travellers tend frequently to record their poetry and that of others in their Rihla, to exploit the power of the poetry in explaining and manifesting meanings and asserting and emphasizing ideas in a few phrases which might serve instead of many prose phrases. They are able to achieve harmony between the poetry and the prose, with some advantages, such as creating the pleasure of variation between them, which prevents the reader from becoming bored. Also, the poetry can convey deep emotion and a warm true feeling. Thus, many poems whether compiled by the travellers themselves or by others are included in al-Rihla.

¹Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Rihla, p. 21.
The method adopted by most of the travellers regarding citation, whether from other sources or people, and notarization of this information, is accurate and strict, based on verification, caution and investigation. Although a few of them cite a whole text from another source without mentioning its source, but these cases are very few. The travellers also followed a strict method based on certainty, notarization and investigation with regard to the information and academic and literary texts recorded in their Rihlät. Al-samāʿ (hearing) is one of the most significant sources in the travel literature because the traveller sees, or hears many things throughout his journeys. However, most of them, as educated people and scholars, did not accept what they heard or saw without examining it, or indicating their doubts about its truth. Some of the travellers such as al-ʿAyyāši made extensive efforts to check information by asking specialist scholars, or turning to academic sources. Despite that, the travellers were modestly cautious about asserting that their opinions are definitely correct. They clearly express doubt about some information. Some of the travellers try to assure the reader that they depend on trusted sources by saying, "Someone I trust told me." although they keep firmly to a strict academic method with respect when referring to information, news, or poems in their sources. There are relatively few cases in al-Rihlät as a whole when the travellers, specifically al-Iṣḥāqī, Ibn Nāṣir and Ibn Malīḥ, quoted texts without referring to the original sources.

Although they identify clearly in the preface the main topics included in al-Rihlät, we find that one, or more of the main topics predominate over others, according to their interests. The travellers also clarify that their method depends on brevity in presenting the information and discussing the academic issues. In addition each work reflects the personality of its author.

With respect to the language, the reader of al-Rihlät moves between three main stylistic levels, which are rhymed style, the normal style free of sajī, except for a very few cases and a style that combines the two. In addition, the writers use other rhetorical devices and a narrative style. Al-Qādirī, Ibn Abī Maḥlī, Ibn Malīḥ and Ibn al-Ṭayyīb showed a strong tendency towards using al-sajī, except in a very few places where al-sajī is difficult to use, such as when discussing academic issues, or describing the stages of the road. Some of the travellers, such as al-ʿAyyāši, Ibn Nāṣir, al-Ḥuḍaykī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zābādī combined al-sajī and normal styles but the quantity of al-sajī differs from one Rihla to another. While al-sajī is used frequently in the Rihlät
of al-‘Ayyāshi, al-Ḥudayki and Ibn Nāṣir, it is used less in Rihlāt such as those of Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zabādi. They tend to use al-saj in specific places where they feel that the style deserves special attention, such as the prefaces of al-Rihlāt, scholars’ biographies, describing and praising cities and their inhabitants. It is also used when expressing their feelings, particularly describing their feeling of happiness while, for instance, coming very close to the holy places at Mecca and Medina. Travellers such as al-‘Aynī, al-Hashtūkī, and al-Shāwī tend towards simplicity and spontaneous expression, without using any kind of ornamentation such as al-saj, al-tarṣī, al-ṭibāq or al-Jināṣ, except in very rare places mentioned above, where all the travellers feel that al-saj is required or demanded by custom. Other rhetorical devices, such as al-jināṣ, al-ṭibāq, al-muqābala, al-tashbih, al-isti‘ara, and al-iqṭiṣāṣ are not as much used by the travellers as al-saj. Abū Madyan, shows this unconscious tendency towards the use of al-jināṣ. When they do occur, it is in a simple and natural way. The narrative style used by the travellers means a simple attempts to relate short stories that do not depend only on recital, but include some dialogue as well. They contain digressions from the main topic, which enrich the discussion and help to achieve the author's goals.

The vocabulary of the travellers' prose, like that of their poetry, is mainly simple and clear, except in a very few cases. This is because their aim was to express their ideas and feelings in a direct and spontaneous way to an extent that some travellers are very eager to explain words which they feel may be difficult to understand. The language of the travellers in general is correct, eloquent and free from foreign and colloquial words except for a few exceptions.

With reference to the content, the travellers tend in some cases to draw accurate and complete pictures by relying on personal observation, self-effort and objectivity to convince the public to accept their presentation. On the other hand, they sometimes give general judgments and exaggerated views. Although the travellers mainly adopt a strict, accurate method expressing frankly their opinion about the correctness of the news, or the information recorded in their Rihlāt or their doubts about it, we find that most of the travellers ignore this method and accept some news unquestioningly, if it is in keeping with their Sūfī belief. The travellers also, could not give any information about some issues, or record some poems, or even remember the names of some of the places they passed through, as a consequence of not noting these names when they started recording their Rihlāt. The criticisms which they record in their Rihlāt while
discussing, or examining various academic issues such as jurisprudence, grammar, linguistics, literature and rhetoric, reflect clearly the high level of the travellers' education.

The next chapter is the final chapter. It is a general conclusion of this work. It contains the findings discovered in conducting this study as well as suggesting recommendations, and areas for further research.
Chapter Seven
Conclusion and Epilogue

This final chapter consists of two sections. Section One states some of the findings that have been discovered in conducting this study. Section Two makes recommendations, which I would like to suggest, and lists some areas for further research that can be carried out.

1. Findings

Contrary to the preceding centuries, the counting of written Rihlāt in these two centuries studied here is difficult. This is due to the fact that the documented Rihlāt were kept not only in public libraries but also in private libraries belonging to al-Zawāyā, or the collections of travellers’ families or relatives. In addition, there are a number of recorded Rihlāt, which are counted among the missing travels or have not been lost completely, but exist as a few fragments, or paragraphs included in some general works. Therefore, an accurate count of al-Rihlāt al-Ḥijāziyya is very difficult. However, the number of written Rihlāt in these centuries, which we found, have reached eighteen Rihlāt. In chronological order of the date of the first journey to al-Ḥijāz, in which they recorded their Rihlāt, they are Ibn Abī Maḥlī (1002/1593), Ibn Maliḥ (1040/1631), al-‘Ayyāshi (1059/1649), al-Murābiḥ (1069/1659), al-Rāfi‘i and al-Hashtūkī (1096/1685), Ibn Nāṣir (after 1096/1685), al-Qādirī (1100/1688), al-Yūsī (1101/1690), Ibn al-Ṭayyib (1139/1728), al-Shāwi (1141/1730), al-Ishāgi (1143/1732), Abū Madyan and al-Ḥudayki (1152/1741), al-Zabādì (1158/1746), al-‘Āmirī (1162/1750), Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām (1196/1783) and al-‘Aynī (1198/1785).

Al-Rihlāt were compiled in order to record the incidents and news of the journeys that were made primarily to perform al-Ḥajj and visit the Prophet's mosque and his grave. Secondly, al-Rihlāt were compiled to meet renowned scholars and attend their lessons, in addition to that most of the travellers were originally Sūfī scholars. As a consequence, we have found that the amount of poetry composed on one theme varied, according to these aims. Due to the nature of the journey, themes such as prophetic commendation, consisting of supplication and entreaty to the Prophet, praise and entreaty to the kin of the Prophet’s house, his companions, scholars and Sūfī awliyā’ and brotherly communication, predominate over other themes. These include supplication and entreaty to Allah, description, yearning and complaint, which appear in fewer poems and satire is found in a few lines within verses concerned with other themes.
Although the impact of Şüfism was felt in all aspects of academic life because education was based on Şüfism and most scholars and poets were originally Şüfis, the travellers did not compose separate poems on Şüfi themes in their Rihlät. However, the influence of Şüfism is apparent in their poems, in the use of Şüfi expressions and in the reflection of Şüfi beliefs, particularly in prophetic commendation. Thus, if this poetic theme occupied a key position in the life of the travellers, as Şüfi scholars, it is to be expected that the travellers' Rihlät would be filled with prophetic commendations. Prophetic commendation is one of the three dominant themes in the poems. Prophetic commendation poems, in al-Rihla, were not isolated examples composed for a special occasion, such as the Prophet's birthday celebrations, rather, the travellers turned to this theme on various occasions. For example, when they saw a pilgrims' caravan leave for al-Hijäz, and for some reason they were not able to accompany them, they wrote of their wish to do so. Alternatively, and when they were able to do so, they celebrated this great opportunity by composing prophetic commendations from the beginning of the journey until they came near or saw, or entered, or left the holy places.

Visiting graves of scholars and Awliyä, is a common theme in the travellers' Rihlät. They express their desire to start their journeys by visiting such graves in order to obtain the blessing resulting from entreating the Awliyä as to achieve their goals on the journey. Besides the large number of poems in which praise is linked with entreaty, and numerous praises included in brotherly poems, there are a few poems that are considered as pure praise poems, without entreaty.

The poets exchange poems with others on various themes, such as friendship, asking about religious, or academic questions, asking for ijāza, or borrowing books, apology, complaint and congratulation.

Although the Moroccan pilgrim travellers expressed their great desire to go to al-Ḥijāz to perform al-Ḥajj and visit the Prophet's mosque and his grave, particularly in prophetic commendations, when they took their first steps and their long awaited hopes became a reality, they experienced feelings of separation, nostalgia and yearning for home. These feelings remained to some extent even when they came to the holy places and were enjoying these ritual forms of worship. However, some of the travellers tried to comfort themselves by remembering the great duty for which they were leaving their loved ones.
So, a number of yearning, complaint and separation poems are included in al-Rihla, from the first moments of the journey until they came within a few miles of their homeland.

Other themes such as satire, admonition, eroticism, wisdom and advice come as a few lines within poems composed on other themes, or in very few poems of just a few lines. Bedouins who attacked pilgrims’ caravan, or who were used as guides in the desert were the only target of satire in the poetry of al-Rihla. Admonitions of a few lines appear only in al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla. The travellers never rhapsodized about women. The few lines which were included within other themes were purely symbolic. Poems composed to praise, or entreat someone, are often likened to a beautiful girl, whose attractions are enumerated. Al-‘Āmiri’s Rihla, which was compiled entirely in poetic form as a guide for pilgrims, was full of invaluable advice on how pilgrims should behave, in order to be respected and dearly loved by their companions. He provides the pilgrim with some significant advice.

The great majority of Rihlāt of those travellers were compiled in prose form, whereas only two Rihlāt, those of al-Murābit and al-‘Āmiri were composed in poetic form, in addition to a long poem composed by al-Zabādi, which can be considered as a small Rihla. The length of the poem in most cases ranged from two to five lines in al-magtū‘a, and between ten and thirty lines in al-qaṣīda. A few poems extended beyond a hundred lines, such as those of al-‘Ayyāshi and al-Zabādi and Rihla of al-‘Āmiri is the only poem, which reached three hundred and thirty-five lines. Regarding the connection between the theme of a poem and its length, it was found that a variety of themes are contained within longer poems, which exceed a hundred lines. In contrast, poems of medium length, i.e., forty to sixty lines, concentrate on a single theme. With respect to the organic unity, which means that the poem should be an integrated, vivid complete composition, which has a unity of feeling including ideas and images, we may consider that al-‘Āmiri’s Rihla is the best example of achieving the main conditions of that unity.

Some of the travelers including al-‘Ayyāshi and al-Zabādi paid tremendous attention to beautifying the opening of their poems by using repetition, rhetoric, or ornamental devices. Almost all poems enter directly to their main theme, although a few poems open with various kinds of introductions, such as praise and blessing, romantic prelude, hijāziyya and symbolic introductions. Various methods were used by the travellers to connect the introduction to the next or to the main theme.
The travellers ended most of the poems with, "Peace be upon the Prophet", and sometimes added praise for his glory. Some of them ended their poems by invoking their family, the praised person, or by praying for them. In a few cases, the poems were ended by other conclusions, such as praying for rain to sprinkle the grave of the dead, or dedicating their poem to the praised person.

The ideas included in the travellers' poetry reflect clearly the Sufi education they had received in Sufi Zawāyā, such as entreaty and al-Haqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya. Entreaty, to the prophet Muḥammad, other prophets, or to Awliyā' predominates over other ideas, themes, or issues. The travelers composed a huge number of poems entreating such persons while visiting their graves. The travelers call upon the deceased Awliyā' and pious occupants of graves for assistance, requesting them to fulfil their needs, such as removing distress, curing illness and granting them a safe return to their homes. It was common practice among them to visit graves, compose poems of entreaty and suspend these over the graves, seeking the blessing of the dead person. Even when they composed poems, which should have been pure supplication and entreaty to Allah, they ended with entreaty to the Prophet's right, or rank. The travelers used to entreat through imploring the Prophet or other Awliyā', to whom they sometimes supplicate, or entreat directly, without mentioning Allah. These ideas are discussed in detail concluding that this significant dogmatic issue, and this kind of tawassul (supplication) in particular, is indeed prohibited and forbidden according to Islamic Sunni teaching.

Some travelers, in particular al-`Ayyāshī, al-Zabādi and Ibn al-Tayyib, believe in the so-called al-Haqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya, which means that the Prophet is the basis of creation and source of generosity, which prevails in all aspects of life during all ages. In addition to that, he is Allah's light from which all people obtained light. Some Sunni scholars, intellectuals and Orientalists assert that the idea of al-Haqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya is taken from other religious texts prior to Islam, under various forms. Muslims undoubtedly see the Prophet as the greatest example of human dignity, courage and wisdom. He was the one who was chosen by Allah to be the last Prophet and messenger to receive divine revelation, bearing the significant duty of calling people to worship Allah alone. Indeed, neither Sunni Scholars nor ordinary people believe in the concept of al-Haqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya; they believe that the Prophet is Allah's Messenger and slave and that he possesses the most honorable and most exalted character which is described by Allah in many verses of the Qur'ān. Even the Prophet himself warned Muslims against exaggerating in his praise.
Love is considered one of the Šūfī doctrines and the center of Šūfī literature. So, we find that the travelers' poetry is full of expressions of love, such as the terms ardent, passionate, longing and fondness. The travellers express their love and longing for the Prophet, his family, and his companions in words which are very similar to that used by poets of love. They used of the words 'intoxication', 'cups' and 'wine' as symbols of love and passion. It seems that these words became customary in travellers' poetry as poetic images since the early Šūfī poets, such as Ibn al-Fāriḍ.

However, through other ideas the travellers maintained the true Islamic spirit, and the meanings of their poetry were characterised by their education. Therefore, their poetry did not contain explicit love, or bacchanalian poetry, except for the two cases, which were poetic images in customary use. It was truthful and avoided flattery, they never praised anyone to receive a reward, and their panegyrics were mostly restricted to scholars. If they admonished someone, they did so in a friendly and gentle manner. Modesty and self-denial were distinctive features in their poetry. The traveller frequently praised moral virtues, and did not praise any physical attributes, except brightness of the face. Except in a few places, the travellers' poetry is mainly distinguished by clarity and ease of understanding.

The travellers' poetry did not show a great deal of creativity in the field of imagery, especially as their work mostly consists of religious and brotherly poetry. It seems that these poets only aimed to express their feelings, without making any effort to excel in depicting them by creating original images. This also may be due to their lack of poetic talent, or to the nature of the theme itself. Nevertheless, there are some poets who are creative in this way including al-'Ayyāshi, Ibn al-Ţayyib and al-Qādiri. The travellers employed the commonly known types of imagery such as rhetorical, psychological, symbolic, and intensive imageries. Rhetorical images, in particular simile and metaphor, predominated in the imagery of the travelers' poetry. Simile was used more than metaphor. Poets sometimes expressed their deep psychological feelings by drawing an artistic picture that expresses these feelings in an enjoyable literary form. The travellers sometimes use symbols to clarify the meaning because if the symbol, whether it is a place, person, wisdom or proverb, is familiar to the listener or reader, the meaning gains another dimension based on the connotations of that symbol to the receiver. Therefore, this meaning gained by the symbol will attain acceptance and pleasure. The Hijāziyya places including Najd and Tayba, for instance, are considered in people's minds as holy.
places. Reference to these places, therefore, is not mere literal description, but is used as a symbol of the poet's love and attachment to the Prophet and his companions, who lived and moved around in these places. Also, the names of some desert plants, which grow in these places, are sometimes included in poems with a similar symbolic effect. Some poets, in particular Ibn al-Tayyib, make use of wisdom and proverbs to explain the meaning. The travellers drew intensive pictures composed from various components, which cannot be dislocated from each other because the picture loses its meaning and becomes useless, if any part is removed.

Most of the words are easy and understandable. In the rare cases where strange and difficult words are used, it seems to be acceptable because the poets are in a position to use a special diction to portray something, which is known to them by a particular vocabulary. Most of these words are taken from an Eastern heritage, which confirms the Eastern influence on them.

The travellers used religious, academic, civilized, literary and lexical terms, which reflect the education they had received.

The use of repetition of certain letters and words, paronomasia, diversity and recital styles sometimes give the meaning further clarification, or enhances the rhythm; however, it weakens the meaning in some cases.

Long and medium length sentences are predominant, and shorter sentences are not rare but are fewer in comparison to the long and medium ones.

The sentences of the travellers' poetry are predominantly in the recitative style. However, there are a few poems that depend on diversity in proportion to the recitative style.

The language of the travellers' poetry is easy, clear and understandable, except for very few poems. In addition, most of their poetry was spontaneous, without affectation, varying considerably in quality. This seems to be acceptable if strong high quality verse is ascribed to a certain group of poets, who can on that basis be placed in the category of illustrious professional poets, while the remainder is in the amateur category who only dabble in poetry. We find a poem of one of them is written in an abundant eloquent, marvelous style and evocative rhythm, but when we read another poem we find it weak
and flimsy, as if it were not by the same poet. This might arise out of matters such as weak or strong passion, or experience and difference in theme. This can be said only in the case of prolific poets such as al-‘Ayyāshi, al-Zabādi, al-Qādiri and Ibn al-Ṭayyib. This is because such general judgments cannot be made from the few poems composed by travellers like al-Ḥudaykī, Abū Madyan and Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, whose little poetry is nearer to be poetry of the jurisprudence, resembling plain speech and lacking in poetic suggestive, musical melody and vivid imagery.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that, apart from a few lines of al-Zabādi and Al-‘Ayyāshi’s poems containing strange words, the whole of the poetry is simple. This simplicity is due to the poets’ tendency towards expressing their feeling and ideas directly and spontaneously, without trying to choose words that are difficult. They use everyday poetic resources, which suit the situation. This simplicity does not mean vulgarity or weakness, nor does it mean that there is a resemblance between those traveler poets, because the language differs even between poems of the same traveller, according to the theme, or for some other reasons.

Al-Badī‘ (Ornamentation) is not much used by the travellers, except Ibn al-Ṭayyib, who shows a strong tendency towards al-jinās (paronomasia) or repetition in general. The use of al-jinās in most cases comes in a normal and simple way. It is used sometimes by the travellers as a consequence of the musical nature, which it can impart to a line of poetry. Furthermore, it strengthens the meaning and confirms it in the attention of the listener. However, it was sometimes used by artificial way, which corrupts the meaning.

The style is divided into four types according to the dominant features. These are simple, ornament, recital and narrative styles. Simplicity is a distinctive feature, due to the poets’ tendency towards expressing their feelings in a direct and spontaneous style, without affectation, except in rare cases. The Recital style is used frequently by the travellers, particularly in prophetic commendations, entreaty, descriptions of performing al-Hajj and al-Ziyāra rituals and panegyric, because these themes require listing the Prophet's miracles and praised person's virtues, or acts of worship. Ibn al-Ṭayyib is considered one of the main users of recital style. The narrative style used by the travellers does not mean presenting a whole story, including the known main artistic elements, but it means a simple attempt to relate an event in a short poetic form.
The travellers expressed their emotions and experiences in life. Some poems were free from the emotion and experience, either because of the theme of the poem itself, such as poems of academic purposes, or because the poet failed to convey his emotion or experience to the receiver, as a result of his lack of poetic talent, or his tendency towards an affected style.

*Al-Rihlāt* present eyewitness accounts of the various aspects of life in the territories the travellers visited, or passed though, during their journeys. These aspects include religious, geographical, academic, political and security, economic, social, literary and humorous.

Obviously, the religious and particularly the Śūfi aspect predominate, as one of the three main aspects in *al-Rihlāt*, specifically in some *Rihlāt* such as those of al-ʿAyyāshi, al-Zabādi and al-ʿAynī because the journey was undertaken to perform a religious duty. In addition, some of the travellers were Śūfi scholars who adhered to visiting Śūfis’ shrines, meeting Śūfi scholars and performing the Śūfi rituals, such as reciting *al-dhikr*, wearing the *khirqa* and relating Śūfi miracles. The only exception is Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām’s *Rīḥla*, which is free of any reference to Śūfi rituals. Graves were greatly venerated by some of the travellers including Abū Madyan and Ibn Maliḥ who started their journey by visiting the graves, and never left any grave they were able to visit throughout their journey. Travellers such as al-Zabādi, al-Shāwi, al-ʿAyyāshi and Ibn al-Tayyib devoted a huge part of their *Rihlāt* to recording the graves they visited. Besides that, they visited graves essentially to supplicate to the deceased to obtain *baraka*. The veneration of graves was prevalent in the age of the travellers, which makes the action of the traveller al-Yūsi in reminding people, in many messages, of the prohibition against veneration of pious men and entreaty to them very brave. However, we have found those among the travellers themselves, who fought steadfastly against these heresies related to the graves of *al-awliyā’* and pious men, such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, which led to his being neglected by biographers. This chapter provided a detailed discussion confirming that, visiting graves was totally forbidden in the formative years of Islam and not until *Tawḥīd* was firmly established among Muslims was the ban lifted by the Prophet. However, in spite of this permission, the Prophet placed certain restrictions on the visiting of graves in order to avoid its deterioration into grave worship in later generations.

Some travellers, particularly al-Zabādi and al-Ḥudayki, paid considerable attention to relating *karāmāt* (miracles) of *al-awliyā’*. Careful consideration these *karāmāt* confirms
that despite believing in karāmāt, proved in the Qurʿān and the Sunna, and miracles brought by the Prophets and pious men, many Ṣūfī stories are very hard to believe. We believe that either they can be sometimes traced back to satanic psychological and emotional states or they are fabricated stories. Al-Qādiri’s Rihla, which was compiled basically to record the journey of his shaykh, the Ṣūfī scholar Abū al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd Allah, is the best example, which obviously demonstrates the high status of the Ṣūfī scholar in the community.

Some of the travellers, in particular, al-Zabādi paid considerable attention to recording, in accurate detail, the Ṣūfī orders and their rituals, customs, and states. In addition to this he recorded his observations on meeting Ṣūfī scholars to such an extent that his Rihla is considered a significant resource that represents the Ṣūfī movement at that time. Other travellers such as al-ʿAyyāshi, Ibn Nāṣir and al-Ḥashtūkī, paid great attention to this matter, but not as much as al-Zabādi did. In fact, the travellers themselves such as Ibn Nāṣir and al-Zabādi, as Ṣūfī scholars, played a role in spreading their tariqa and instructing people in al-dhikr and giving ijāzāt. It is worthy of note that except for al-Zabādi, who indicates once that he reached the state of al-wajd during ḥalaqāt al-dhikr, the travellers confined themselves to teaching al-dhikr and wearing al-khirqa and never participated in the rituals of the dance, al-sairtā` or al-hadra. They, indeed, rejected them, in particular al-Hashtūkī who stated frankly that it is forbidden according to Islamic teaching.

The travellers also recorded other religions such as Christianity and Islamic doctrines such as Shiʿism and the Khārijites, which they encountered during their journeys, in addition to claims and customs and ordinances, aḥkām, and advice related to travel and al-Ḥajj. The travellers carefully investigate the claims made by pilgrims and the customs they observe during their journey to perform al-Ḥajj, such as hearing the sound of drums and lighting candles.

The travellers compiled their Rihlāt in order to be, as Abū Madyan states, a complete useful guide for those in need of knowing the hard stages, places of wells, the dangerous places, and where highway robbers were likely to be encountered. For these significant aims, they gave detailed descriptions of the road stages, cities, villages, and in particular, the wells, springs and valleys, due to the urgent need for them during the journey. The travellers also describe the cities and villages including their streets, schools, hospitals,
seaports, virtues and antiquities. The travellers recorded various aspects of the weather such as winds, dust, snow, rain, heat and cold that they encountered on their journeys.

Obviously, the travellers as scholars, state in the prefaces to their Riḥlāt that one of the two most significant aims for which they compiled their Riḥlāt, is to record their meetings with the scholars and the academic issues, which they discussed with them. Therefore, they strictly devoted their time to achieving this purpose, to such an extent that such a Riḥla as that of al-ʿAyyāshi is considered to be an encyclopedia on academic issues and Ṣūfism. Thus, Moroccan Riḥlāt have become unique resources on many various aspects, since the original sources from which the travellers quoted their accounts have been lost. The travellers received a warm welcome and were treated with hospitably by the scholars and students of knowledge in most countries, as a result of their great reputation as scholars. Some of the travellers, particularly al-Ishāqi, al-Zabādi, al-ʿAyyāshi and Ibn Maliḥ are interested in recording scholars’ biographies. Ibn Maliḥ’s Riḥla, for instance, is full of information about deceased scholars, specifically Ṣūfī scholars. The travellers also paid great attention to describing academic activities. However, they differed in giving details. Al-ʿAyyāshi, for instance, hardly ever passed, or stayed in a place without referring to the academic activities in detail and Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām presents a complete picture about the academic activities in Libya, while travellers such al-Yūsī were less interested in giving details. Although the travellers give detailed descriptions of the academic movements in Cairo, Mecca and Medina which were among the most significant centres of learning, if not the most significant in the Islamic world for centuries, the travellers’ attitudes towards these activities varied considerably. While al-Ishāqi and his shaykh al-Yūsī alone adopted a very critical position towards these centres, the rest of the travellers were enormously impressed by their activities. A point which is worth noticing here is that some of the travellers, including Al-ʿAyyāshi and Ibn al-Ṭayyib, did not confine themselves to description, as observers, but they effectively participated in teaching in Cairo and Medina. Therefore, both of them were influenced and affected by these activities and thus, their accounts sometimes acquire a special significance. These Riḥlāt emphasise the scholarly position of the travellers and reputation in the countries they visited, or passed through.

Also the travellers paid considerable attention to libraries and books, recording the books and manuscripts they found, borrowed, read or bought. The travellers desired to visit libraries and write down books or manuscripts, particularly those which were scarce, or which they had borrowed. Some of the travellers were deeply attracted to
purchasing books, despite their bad financial circumstances, which forced them to borrow the money from their friends.

The Moroccan travellers' Rihlät accurately reflect the various security situations, the dangers they encountered and the political events they experienced along their long journeys. Also al-Rihlät reflect the attitude clearly shared by almost all the travellers towards Turkish rulers, who ruled most Arab countries during this period, or the bad security situation in general, even within Moroccan borders. However, discussion about the rulers, or Moroccan security is very limited in proportion to that of the situation in other countries. Therefore, we rarely hear from the travellers, as we read, a single praise, or thanks to any of the rulers. Most of the few exceptions were recorded by al-'Ayyāshi. Beside these few indications we hear nothing except complaint about the injustice and oppression of the Turkish rulers, their officers and other rulers, the lack of security and the dangers of being robbed, or even killed in raids carried out by the bedouins along the journey. The travellers refer to the hardship imposed on the pilgrims, or the inhabitants of the cities or villages, by the heavy tolls, which were collected by the Turkish rulers, or their vassals. In addition, they accuse these rulers of not applying the law, or imposing security in the territories located under their authority. Instead, they allowed the bedouins to attack pilgrims and steal their goods, and the traders to increase prices, without any punishment, which did not help to provide stability and security. In addition, al-Rihlät compared the security circumstances at the time of their travels and those described by their predecessors, which is considered a significant point to know the security situation throughout successive periods. So, the political and security observations, which were presented by the travellers, have been highly appreciated as significant documents, as the travellers recorded these events as eyewitnesses.

Al-Ḥajj season presented great opportunities to bedouin robbers, who carried out raids along the road, causing great danger and considerable concern for the Moroccan pilgrims, even before they left their borders. Consequently, the caravans were heavily equipped with weapons, such as field guns and muskets, for protection. Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and Al-'Ayyāshi are the travellers who refer most to the security state along al-Ḥajj road. The travellers refer to the tribes and places known for robbery such as ʿAyn Mādi, in addition to other pilgrim caravans that encounter much worse treatment, such as the Egyptian caravan. Revenge was one of the motives for attacking the pilgrims, as happened with the Egyptian caravan. These attacks were not restricted to stealing goods or animals; sometimes pilgrims were kidnapped and sold as slaves. The
travellers' *Rihlät* showed the width of the Turkish Empire and their authority in that time, which, extended for example in 1152/1740-1 from Biskra in Algeria along *al-Ḥājj* road until al-Ḥijāz.

The travellers' *Rihlät* reflect the various aspects of the economic life such as commerce, agriculture and pasture. *Al-Ḥājj* season was an enormous opportunity, not just for the traders in the cities and villages or the pilgrims but also for the bedouin shepherds who depended on these caravans to establish mobile markets which, for some of them provided their main source of revenue for the year. Therefore, the travellers paid considerable attention to describing the commercial markets, whether in the urban, rural or bedouin areas. Al-Hashtūki, al-Ḥuḍayki and al-Qādiri show a strong commercial sense by presenting invaluable advice regarding money exchange and trade.

The travellers did not only visit scholars, but also met ordinary people, and spoke to them in the places they visited or passed through. This enabled the travellers to have a wide knowledge about the state of the people, their customs, characteristics, commercial activities, genealogy, accents and health conditions.

Obviously, this research which deals with *al-Rihla*, in both its poetic and prose texts, as one of the literary genres, demonstrates the considerable significance of *al-Rihla* in this respect. With respect to the poetic part we have found that the travellers recorded in their *Rihlät* a large number of the poems composed by them or by others. Regarding the prose part, we believe that the literary style of the prose texts in *al-Rihla*, whether compiled by the travellers or others, is very important to understand the literary movement at that time. In addition to that, the travellers recorded biographies of some poets, or men of letters in general. Therefore, *al-Rihlät* are considered a fundamental literary source on which researchers depend to study the literary movements in the countries the travellers visited during their journeys.

*Al-Rihlät* are not confined to serious matters only, but contain some humorous elements. Al-ʿAyyāshi himself explains that his main aim in compiling his *Rihla* is to produce a source of learning, but also a source for humour and entertainment that would stimulate the reader, especially if he likes variety. Therefore, some of the travellers relate amusing incidents which happened during their journeys.
With regard to al-Rihlät structure, the travellers start recording their Rihlät in almost the same way such as thanking Allah, invoking peace and blessing upon the prophet Muhammad and mentioning their aims in recording their Rihlät, such as describing the roads, cities, villages, meeting with scholars and discussing academic issues with them, or students of knowledge. Then some of them indicate the rules about travel and its benefits or the wisdom of performing al-Ḥajj, whilst others relate the story of going to perform al-Ḥajj. They end their Rihlät by thanking Allah again for helping them to record al-Rihla and indicating the date of completion. Two of them ended their Rihlät with prophetic poems.

The travellers classify the material recorded under chapters and sections, or under main headings and subtitles. Some of the travellers started their Rihlät with mugaddima (preface) and khätima (conclusion). As al-Rihlät contain multiple topics and varied aspects, the travellers sometimes digress, after which they try to justify this elaboration, then they turn back to complete the discussion of the original topic, using connecting phrases such as "`awda ilā (turning to) ".

The travellers tend frequently to record their poetry and that of others in their Rihlät, to exploit the power of the poetry in explaining and manifesting meanings and asserting and emphasizing ideas in a few phrases which might serve instead of many prose phrases. They are able to achieve harmony between the poetry and the prose, with some advantages, such as creating the pleasure of variation between them, which prevents the reader from becoming bored. Also, the poetry can convey deep emotion and a warm true feeling. Thus, many poems whether compiled by the travellers themselves or by others are included in al-Rihlät.

The method adopted by most of the travellers regarding citation, whether from other sources or people, and notarization of this information, is accurate and strict, based on verification, caution and investigation. Although a few of them cite a whole text from another source without mentioning its source, these cases are very few. The travellers also followed a strict method based on certainty, notarization and investigation with regard to the information and academic and literary texts recorded in their Rihlät. Al-samāʿ (hearing) is one of the most significant sources in the travel literature because the traveller sees, or hears many things throughout his journeys. However, most of them, as educated people and scholars, did not accept what they heard or saw without examining it, or indicating their doubts about its truth. Some of the travellers made
extensive efforts to check information by asking specialist scholars, or turning to academic sources. Despite that, the travellers were modestly cautious about asserting that their opinions are definitely correct. They clearly express doubt about some information. Some of the travellers try to assure the reader that they depend on trusted sources by saying, “Someone I trust told me.” although they keep firmly to a strict academic method with respect when referring to information, news, or poems in their sources. There are relatively few cases in *al-Rihlāt* as a whole when the travellers, specifically al-Ishāqi, Ibn Nāṣir and Ibn Maliḥ, quoted texts without referring to the original sources.

Although they identify clearly in the preface the main topics included in *al-Rihlāt*, we find that one, or more of the main topics predominate over others, according to their interests. The travellers also clarify that their method depends on brevity in presenting the information and discussing the academic issues. In addition each work reflects the personality of its author.

With respect to the language, the reader of *al-Rihlāt* moves between three main stylistic levels, which are *al-saj* (rhymed) style, the normal style free of *saj*, except for very few cases and a style that combines the two. In addition, the writers use other rhetorical devices and a narrative style. Al-Qādiri, Ibn Abī Maḥli, Ibn Maliḥ and Ibn al-Ṭayyib showed a strong tendency towards using a rhymed style, *al-saj*; except in very few places where *al-saj* is difficult to use, such as when discussing academic issues, or describing the stages of the road. Some of the travellers, such as al-ʿAyyāshi, Ibn Nāṣir, al-Ḥuḍayki, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zabādi combined *al-saj* and normal styles but the quantity of *al-saj* differs from one *Rihla* to another. While *al-saj* is used frequently in the *Rihlā* of al-ʿAyyāshi, al-Ḥuḍayki and Ibn Nāṣir, it is used less in *Rihlā* such as those of Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zabādi. They tend to use *al-saj* in specific places where they feel that the style deserves special attention, such as the prefaces of *al-Rihlāt*, scholars’ biographies, describing and praising cities and their inhabitants. It is also used when expressing their feelings, particularly describing their feelings of happiness while, for instance, coming very close to the holy places at Mecca and Medina. Travellers such as al-ʿAyni, al-Hashtūki, and al-Shāwi tend towards simplicity and spontaneous expression, without using any kind of ornamentation such as *al-saj*, *al-tarsi*, *al-tibāq* or *al-jinās* except in very rare places mentioned above, where all the travellers feel that *al-saj* is required or demanded by custom. Other rhetorical devices, such as *al-jinās*, *al-tibāq*, *al-muqābala*, *al-tashbih*, *al-istiʿāra* and *al-iqtibās* are
not as much used by the travellers as al-
saj’. Abū Madyan, shows this unconscious
tendency towards the use of al-jinās. When they do occur, it is in a simple and natural
way. The narrative style used by the travellers means a simple attempt to relate short
stories that do not depend only on recital, but include some dialogue as well. They
contain digressions from the main topic, which enrich the discussion and help to achieve
the author’s goals.

The vocabulary of the travellers’ prose, like that of their poetry, is mainly simple and
clear, except in a very few cases. This is because their aim was to express their ideas and
feelings in a direct and spontaneous way to an extent that some travellers are very eager
to explain words which they feel may be difficult to understand. The language of the
travellers in general is correct, eloquent and free from foreign and colloquial words except for a few exceptions.

With reference to the content, the travellers tend in some cases to draw accurate and
complete pictures by relying on personal observation, self-effort and objectivity to
convince the public to accept their presentation. On the other hand, they sometimes
give general judgments and exaggerated views. Although the travellers mainly adopt a
strict, accurate method expressing frankly their opinion about the correctness of the
news, or the information recorded in their Riḥla or their doubts about it, we find that
most of the travellers ignore this method and accept some news unquestioningly, if it is
in keeping with their Sufi beliefs. The travellers also, could not give any information
about some issues, or record some poems, or even remember the names of some of the
places they passed through, as a consequence of not noting these names when they
started recording their Riḥla. The criticisms which they record in their Riḥla while
discussing, or examining various academic issues such as jurisprudence, grammar,
linguistics, literature and rhetoric, reflect clearly the high level of the travellers’
education.

2. Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Studies

At the close of this study, I find myself inclined to provide the following
recommendations and proposals for further areas of research on the same topic:

In order to serve this invaluable and relatively under researched field, a team is needed.
The team should include scholars representing these fields: Arabic language (literature
and rhetoric), religious, historical, geographical and social studies. Each one of the concerned scholars should extract from these Rihlät what falls within their field of special interest and make his academic contribution to a more comprehensive appreciation of them.

Since most of al-Rihlät studied here are still in manuscript form and have not been edited, or were printed as lithographs many years ago and are now out of print, there is a great need to establish a team, or an organization to edit these invaluable Rihlät using modern academic methods and publish them, in order to provide accessible resources for those who are concerned with such studies.

A number of researches can be carried out in various fields. In the literary field (as in our case) many topics can be studied.

Firstly: in the course of this work a number of areas and topics were identified which were beyond the scope of this research but are seen to merit further research:

Some of al-Rihlät which are still in manuscript form, such as those of Ibn al-Ṭayyib, al-Zabādi, al-Ishāqi and Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, should be edited with a literary study.

Some of the travellers such as Ibn al-Ṭayyib, al-Yūsi and al-Murābit can be studied as poets because they have a number of poems spread in their other works, in addition to their poems included in their Rihlät,¹ and thus, they can be studied as writers.

The literary activities whether in Morocco or other countries the travellers visited or passed through can be studied in the light of the invaluable information recorded by the travellers, in connection with these activities, poets and men of letters in these countries.²

¹Al-‘Ayyāshi was studied as a poet by Muhammad Binsir al-ʿAlawi to obtain a doctoral degree at the University of Sidi Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allah in Fes in 1984.
²As mentioned previously, those great travellers are poets of literary taste who recorded in their Rihlät their poetry and the poetry and biographies of scholars whom they met in such countries. ʿAid al-Raddādi, for example depended in his study, “Al-Shīr al-Ḥijāzi fī al-Qarn al-Ḥadīth ‘Ashar” upon travel books, Rihlät, specifically those of the Moroccan pilgrims studied here, and considering them as one of the most significant sources of his research.
Secondly: this work which is mainly devoted to the study of, "The Travel Literature of Moroccan Pilgrims" during the two centuries studied here analysed and investigated a number of issues, some of which I believe should be investigated in more depth:

Artistic poetic issues related to the poetry of the travellers such the imagery or the language (style and vocabulary).

Topics such as the religious poetry including the Šūfi poetry, Prophetic commendations, or brotherly poetry.

Topics related to the prose material such as the language (the style and words).
ABBREVIATIONS:

K. Q. : Khizänat al-Qarawiyin in Fes.

1. The travellers’ *Rihlat*:

Abū Madyan’s *Rihla*, K.Ä., under no. 297 ḍ.

Al-Ámiri’s *Rihla*, al-Šubayhiyya Library in Salā under no. 3902, and was published by Muḥammad al-Mannūni in *Min Ḥadith al-Rakk al-Maghribi* (Tatuan: Maṭba’at al-Makhzan, 1953), pp. 89-104, which I have depended on.

Al-Áyyānī’s *Rihla* was summarised by Muḥammad b. Mas’ūd al-Būnīmānī, then al-Būnīmānī’s summary was published by Muḥammad al-Mukhtar al-Sūsī in *al-Ma’sūl*, vol. 13 (Casablanca: Maṭba’at al-Najāḥ, 1963), pp. 283-98. Al-Sūsī says that he found out that al-Áyyānī’s *Rihla* was kept by al-Áyyānī’s relatives.

Al-Áyyāshi’s *Rihla*, printed by Dār al-Maghrib in Rabat as lithograph in 1898 and reprinted in 1977 with an index by Muḥammad Ḥijji in two volumes.

Al-Hashtūkī’s *Rihla*, K.Ä., no. 190 ḍ and 147.


Ibn Abī Mahlī’s *Rihla*, K.Ä., no. 100, 4442, 4009 and Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya in Cairo. no. 431. Some parts of *Rihla* was edited by ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Qaddūrī [see supra, p. 298 under al-Qaddūrī’s name].


Ibn Nāṣir’s *Rihla*, printed as a lithograph in Morocco in 1902.

Ibn al-Tayyib’s *Rihla*, there is a unique copy at the Library of Leipzig in Germany, no. MsVollars 746.


Al-Murābit’s *Rihla*, K. Ä., no. 3644 D.


Al-Shåwi's Rihla, K.M., no. 5656.


Al-Zabädi's Rihla. K.Ä., no. 1808 and 398. (For complete details about these Rihlät, see chapter two, section two, pp. 51-73).

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