

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

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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-Hijāziyya*, 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-ʿĀmirī, al-ʿAynī, al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Hashtūkī, al-Ḥuḍaykī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Ibn Abī Maḥlī, Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Ibn Malīḥ, Ibn Nāṣir, al-Ishāqī, al-Murābiṭ, al-Qādirī, al-Rāfiʿī, al-Shāwī, al-Yūsī and al-Zabādī.

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 Ṣūfīs 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 *Riḥla* 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 *Riḥlāt* 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.

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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 take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude and thanks to my wife, Mrs. al-^Umar, who shared all the problems I faced during my work with infinite patience and understanding. She has worked hard to make the years we have spent in Newcastle and Leeds as enjoyable as possible. Her support and care have helped me immeasurably throughout my life with her and without it this work would never have been possible. I also find myself obliged to mention my beloved sons Sultan, Suliman, Abd Allah and my sweet daughter Naelah who shared with their parents the same feeling.

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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.

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Transliteration Scheme

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

1. Consonants

Arabic	LC	Arabic	LC
ء	'	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	th	ع	ʿ
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	Y

2. Diphthongs

ي (ay)	و (aw)
--------	--------

3. Vowels

Arabic (short vowels)	LC	Arabic (long vowels)	LC
—	a	ا	ā
—	u	و	ū
—	i	ي	i

4. Others

ال	al- (for article)
أ	an
و	un
ي	in

ABBREVIATIONS

AD	(<i>Anno Domini</i>) Christian era
AH	(<i>Anno Hegirae</i>) Muslim era
<i>c.</i>	(<i>circa</i>) about
<i>b.</i>	(<i>ibn</i>) son of
ed.	edited
edn	edition
ibid.	(<i>ibidem</i>) in the same book
n.d.	no date
n.p.	no place
pl.	plural
sing.	singular
trans.	translated

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' *Riḥlāt*. 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-Riḥlāt*)¹ of Moroccan Pilgrims are considered, as the erudite Ḥamad al-Jāsir 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-Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt* what falls within their

¹ *Riḥla* [pl. *al-Riḥlāt*] will be used instead of travel books.

² Ḥamad al-Jāsir, *Mulakhaṣ Riḥlatay Ibn 'Abd al-Salām al-Dra'ī*, (Riyadh: Dār al-Rāfi'i, 1982), p. 11.

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. ʿĀʿid al-Raddādī, for example depended in his study, "*al-Shiʿr al-Ḥijāzī fī al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ʿAshar*" 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-Ḥijāz, 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.¹

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-ʿAyyāshī, for instance, was a highly educated scholar, poet and critic who manifested this through his *Rihla*.

¹ʿĀʿid al-Raddādī, *al-Shiʿr al-Ḥijāzī fī al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ʿAshar*, (Jadda: Maṭbaʿat al-Madīna, 1984), vol. 1, p. 3.

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.¹ In addition, this study is an attempt to serve this kind of literature, especially as most of these *Riḥlāt* have not been completely edited,² 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.³

Many writers have drawn attention to the significance of this field. Shawqī Ḍayf described *al-Riḥlāt* as 'precious treasures', saying that we would not exaggerate if we said that *al-Riḥlāt* 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.⁴ Ignatii Krachovski asserted that travel literature presents a rich multiform subject, unique among the literature of any nation contemporary to the Arabs.⁵

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. In addition, it is characterised by

¹Muḥammad Makāmān studied these *Riḥlāt* obtaining a Diploma in History in 1986 at the University of Muḥammad al-Khāmīs 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.

²In fact, Ḥamad al-Jāsir was greatly concerned about the Moroccan Pilgrims' *Riḥlāt* in all centuries. He was eager, when visiting libraries, during his trips to the countries of North west Africa, to get copies of these *Riḥlāt* 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 'Fī Riḥāb 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-*Ayyāshī's* and Ibn 'Abd al-Salām's *Riḥla* (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.

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

⁴Shawqī Ḍayf, *al-Riḥlāt*, 4th edn (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1987), p. 6.

⁵Ignatii Yulyanovich Krachkovski, *Tārikh al-Adab al-Jughrāfi al-*Arabī**. trans. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 'Uthmān Hāshim, 2nd edn (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1987), vol. 1, p. 24.

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 *Rihlāt* 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..."¹ He asserts that, "It is a species of *Adab*, rather than *Ta'rikh* [sic] or *Djugrāfiyā* [sic]"² considering that, "With the *Rihla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 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."³ 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.

¹I. R. Netton, ' *Rihla* ' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. C.E. Bosworth and others (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), vol. VIII, p. 528.

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 *Rihla* 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-Rihlāt* compiled by the pilgrims known as *al-Rihlāt al-Hijāziyya* during the 11-12th/17-18th centuries in terms of time, and to the *Rihlāt* 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 *Rihlāt* 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).

The target texts that are analysed are from the following eighteen *Rihlāt* by Abū Madyan, al-ʿĀmirī, al-ʿAynī, al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Hashtūkī, al-Ḥuḍaykī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Ibn Abī Maḥlī, Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Ibn Nāṣir, al-Ishāqī, al-Murābiṭ, al-Qādirī, al-Rāfiʿī, al-Shāwī, al-Yūsī and al-Zabādī (see chapter two, section two).

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 *Riḥlāt*. 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 *Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt* 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 panegyric 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-Zāwiya* 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-Riḥlāt*.

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-Riḥlāt*. The second analyses the language (style and vocabulary). The third discusses the content of *al-Riḥlāt*, 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-ʿūd*, of which huge amounts were burned in ancient temples as part of major religious ceremonies. Therefore, it was exported to many countries including

¹Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Tārikh al-ʿArab qabla al-Islām*, (Cairo: [n. pub.], 1961), vol. 1, p. 30.

Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Greece and Italy. This was a clear reason for the emergence of civilized states in ancient times such as Saba', Ḥimyar and Maʿīn.¹ For these reasons, Yemeni Arabs specifically *al-Ḥaḍārīma* and also the inhabitants of ʿUmān 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 Ajāthārkhīdīs.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 Qur'ān; 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

¹Niqūlā Ziyāda, *al-Guḡhrāfiyā wa al-Riḥlāt ʿinda al-ʿArab*, 3rd edn (Beirut: al-Ahliyya li al-Nashr wa al-Tawzīʿ, 1982), p. 201.

²Alī Jawād, *Tārīkh al-ʿArab qabla al-Islām* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmi al-ʿIrāqī, 1959), vol. 8, p. 75.

³It is located now in the northern branch of the Zambian Delta.

⁴Aḥmad Abū Saʿd, *Adab al-Riḥlāt wa Taṭawwuruḥu fī al-Adab al-ʿArabī* (Beirut: Dār al-Sharq al-Jadīd, 1961), pp. 14-5.

⁵Alī Muḥsin ʿĪsa Māl Allah, *Adab al-Riḥlāt ʿinda al-ʿArab fī al-Mashriq, Nashʾatuhu wa Taṭawwuruḥu ḥattā Nihāyat al-Qarn al-Thāmin al-Hijrī* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-Irshād, 1978), p. 11.

⁶*Sūrat 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-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, the governor of Ḥīra, and praised him in a famous poem known as *al-Muʿallaqa*. At that time, Ḥīra's governmental palace hosted other Arab poets such as Aws b. Ḥajar, al-Muthaqqab al-ʿAbdī and Labīd b. Rabīʿa.¹ Al-Aʿshā travelled frequently to Yemen, Ḥīra, Persia, ʿUmān, 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. ʿAmr 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:

ʿAmr ibn Al-ʿĀs 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

¹Shawqī Ḍayf, *al-ʿAṣr al-Jāhili*, 7th edn (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, [n.d.]), p. 269.

²Present-day Syria, Lebanon and Palestine.

³Ḍayf, *al-ʿAṣr al-Jāhili*, p. 336.

⁴Abū Saʿd, *Adab al-Riḥlāt*, p. 15.

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'ān 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'ān and *Ḥadīth*. Thus, numerous writings were compiled about these subjects, particularly descriptions of the Arabian Peninsula, such as al-Hamadānī's *Ṣifat 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'ān stated.³ A number of the Prophet Mohammed's

¹Pier Giovanni Donini, *Arab Travellers Geographers*, (London: Immel Publishing, 1991), p. 42.

²There 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'ān*, trans. Muhammad Muhsin Khan and Muḥammad Taqī-ud-Dīn [sic] al-Hilālī, 17th edn (Riyadh: Dar-us-Salam [sic] Publications, 1997), *sūrat* Muḥammad, verse. 10, p. 727.

³Allah said in *sūrat* al-Naḥl, verse. 125, "Invite (mankind, O Muhammad) to the Way of your Lord (i.e. Islām) with wisdom (i.e. with the Divine Revelation and the Qur'ān) 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, ʿUmar b. Umayya was sent to the King of Abyssinia, Usāma b. al-Abjar. The second messenger, Ḥātib b. Baltaʿa 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. Sawā and to al-Ḥārith al-Ghassānī, the King of Damascus.¹ 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. Faḍlān, 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.²

Arab Christians were also performing the same duty for their religion. Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned in *al-Fihrist* that he had obtained news of China from a monk from Najrān³ who had been sent with five priests to care for Chinese Christians.⁴

2.2. *Al-Ḥajj*, *al-ʿUmra* 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 Baṭṭūṭa, first travelled to perform *al-Ḥajj* and then continued to travel extensively for many years.⁵

¹For details see Safi-ur-Rahman [sic] al-Mubarakpuri, *Ar-Raḥeeq Al-Makhtum* [sic], (Riyadh: Dar-us-Salam [sic] Publications, 1996), pp. 350-63.

²Aḥmad Ramaḍān Aḥmad, *al-Riḥla wa al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn* (Jadda: Dār al-Bayān al-ʿArabī, [n.d.]), pp. 45-7.

³A historic city located in the south of the Arabian Peninsula.

⁴Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, *Adab al-Riḥla* (Cairo: al-Sharika al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀlamiyya li al-Nashr, 1991), p. 25.

⁵For details about Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and their *Riḥlāt*, see supra, pp. 30-1, 40-2.

Al-ʿUmra is considered as the lesser pilgrimage. It is permitted at any time, even during *al-Ḥajj* season; in addition *al-ʿUmra* can be combined with *al-Ḥajj*. Although *al-ʿUmra* does not have the same significance as *al-Ḥajj* as a main pillar of Islam. However, performing *al-ʿUmra*, 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 mosque² (*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 (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*)

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 *Ḥadīth*: "He who follows a road seeking knowledge, God will make the path to heaven

¹As the Prophet (peace be upon him) said, "*ʿUmra* in Ramaḍān is equal to a *Ḥajj* in (reward)." See Muḥammad Muhsin Khan (trans), al-Bukhari, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari*, 3rd edn (Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1977), vol. III, pp. 4-5; ʿAbdul Ḥamid Ṣiddīqī (trans), *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, (Lahore: Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf Publisher, repr. 1990), vol. II, pp. 636-7.

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." Ṣiddīqī (trans), *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. II, p. 699.

³The *Ṣalāt* [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 *Ḥadīth* mentioned in the above footnote. 2. Therefore, some of the travellers such as al-ʿAyyāshī visited Palestine to pray in al-Masjid al-Aqṣā and visit some of its cities such as al-Qūds and al-Khalīl (Hebron) and Bayt Laḥm (Bethlehem), see supra, pp. 95, 98, 193. Also al-ʿĀmirī visited and advised pilgrims to do so, see supra, p. 132.

easy for him...”¹ Thus, travel for the sake of scholarship was given the intense interest in *al-Ḥadīth* literature and became a normative feature of Medieval Muslim education.²

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.³ This study displays how the travellers studied here exploited their journeys effectively to perform *al-Ḥajj* to seek knowledge.⁴

2.4. The Collection of *Ḥadīth* (Prophetic Sayings)

Prophetic *Ḥadīths* were written down with extreme care to ensure that they were indeed accurate and correct, as enjoined by the Prophet Muḥammad, and in addition, to ensure that *Ḥadīth* narrators were trustworthy.⁵ For instance, the most famous traditionist al-Bukhārī⁶ was examined by the scholars in order to ensure that his memory was sound.⁷ As a result of the expansion of the Islamic State and the spread of

¹Ibn Māja, *Sunan Ibn Māja*, ed. fu’ād ‘Abd al-Bāqī ([n.p.]: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya, 1952), vol. 1, p. 81. *Ḥadīth*, no. 223. there are many *Ḥadīths* 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 Māja*, vol. 1, pp. 80-98.

²Sam I. Gellens, ‘The Search for Knowledge in Medieval Muslim Societies: A Comparative Approach’, in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*, ed. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (Berkeley. Los Angeles: the University of California Press, 1990), p. 55. He also refers in this invaluable study in p. 59 specifically to the significance of *al-Riḥla* as a central feature of Spanish Muslim intellectual life, which has been concluded from several thousands biographies furnished by rich biographical literature compiled by Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Ibn Bashkuwāl, al-Dabbi and Ibn al-Abbār.

³Aḥmad, *al-Riḥla wa al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn*, pp. 8-10.

⁴See supra, pp. 217-24.

⁵Awatīf Muḥammad Yūsuf Nawwāb, *al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya wa al-Andalusiyya: Maṣdar min Maṣādir Tārīkh al-Ḥijāz fī al-Qarnayn al-Sābi‘ wa al-Thāmin al-Hijriyayn: Dirāsa Taḥlīliyya Muqārīna* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyya, 1966), p. 45.

⁶His full name is Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī. He was born in 194/810 in Bukhārā. His most famous work is the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which took sixteen years to compile arranging in 97 books with 3450 *bābs* (chapters) containing 7397 traditions with full *isnāds*. Al-Bukhārī died in 256/870. J. Robson, ‘al-Bukhārī’, in *the Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), vol. 1, p.1296.

⁷When a group of traditionists heard that al-Bukhārī arrived to Baghdad they got together and resorted to one hundred *Ḥadīths* putting one *Ḥadīth’s isnād* (chain of authorities at the beginning) to another *Ḥadīth’s matn* (the main text). These *Ḥadīths* were given to ten men in order to be delivered in al-Bukhārī’s lesson. When they did al-Bukhārī just replied: ‘I do not know it’ after each *Ḥadīth* was delivered. When they finished, al-Bukhārī 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 *Ḥadīths*, to distant centres of learning. *Ḥadīth* collectors were therefore forced to travel from a place located in the east to another in the west, just to write down one *Ḥadīth*, or to check the veracity or accuracy of a certain *Ḥadīth*.¹ *Ḥadīth* science books in particular *al-Ṭabaqāt* works relate many stories of how hard the *Ḥadīth* collectors' travels were as they strove to do their duty and achieve their goal.² 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*."³ 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 *Ḥadīth*, which Abū al-Dardā' had transmitted, and he went back to Medina after attaining what he came for.⁴

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 Ramaḍān, provided that they fast an equivalent number of days after arriving home.⁵

In addition, the traveller is permitted to shorten the *Zuhr* and *ʿAṣr* prayers to two *rakʿāt*, instead of four *Rakʿāt* while travelling. Not only that, but two prayers such as the *Zuhr* and *ʿAṣr* or *Maghrib* and *ʿIshā'* can be combined, so the traveller prays only three times instead of five times a day.⁶

isnād to its right *matn*. See Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-Salām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, [n.d.]), pp. 20-1.

¹Nawwāb, *al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya wa al-Andalusiyya*, p. 45.

²Fuʿād Sizkīn, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-ʿArabī*, trans. Maḥmūd Fahmī Ḥijāzī (Riyadh: the University of Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya, 1983), vol. 1, p. 136.

³J. Robson, 'al-Bukhārī', in *the Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 1296.

⁴S. I. Gellens, 'The Search for Knowledge', p. 54.

⁵Allah said in the Qurʾān, *sūrat al-Baqara*, verse, 185, "Whoever is ill or on a journey, the same number [of days which one did not observe Ṣawm (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 Qurʾān*, trans. M. Khan and M. al-Hilali, p. 49.

⁶Allah said in the Qurʾān, *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.

Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan 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.¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, for example, married six wives [not at the same time] during his sojourn in the Maldivian islands.²

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 Baṭṭūṭa, 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 Baṭṭūṭa 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.³

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 Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 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 Sulṭān 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,

¹Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, *al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn fī al-ʿUṣūr al-Wuṣṭā* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1945), p. 14.

²Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta [sic]: A Muslim traveller of the 14th century* (London: Caroom Helm, 1986), p. 237.

³S. I. Gellens, 'The Search for Knowledge', p. 51. See also R. E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta*, pp. 5-6.

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-Khaṭṭāb, 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

¹R. J. C. Broadhurst, (trans. & ed.), *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), pp. 33-4. See also, the indication of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that, "There are [in Damascus] endowments for travellers, out of the revenues of which they are given food, clothing, and the expenses of conveyance to their countries." H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Batuta: Travels in Asia and Africa*, p. 69.

²See *infra*, p. 10.

³Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥiy al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 4th edn (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, 1964), vol. 2, p. 61.

⁴P. G. Donini, *Arab Travellers Geographers*, p. 20.

⁵Aḥmad, *al-Riḥla 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'āwiya b. Abī 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."¹ Indeed, it has been noted that some of the earliest travellers and geographers were originally Postmasters, such as Ibn Khurradāhaba, as will be mentioned later.² Ibn Khurradāhaba 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."³

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.⁴ Aḥmad Ramaḍān 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.⁵

3.3. Increasing Trade

Arabs were well known as traders, even before the advent of Islam, as has been mentioned above.⁶ 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,

¹Ibid., p. 26.

²See, supra, p. 27.

³P. G. Donini, *Arab Travellers Geographers*, p. 30.

⁴Naṣṣār, *Adab al-Riḥla*, p. 5.

⁵Aḥmad, *al-Riḥla wa al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn*, p. 8.

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 Mawşil (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 Battūṭa 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

¹P. G. Donini, *Arab Travellers Geographers*, p. 43.

²Ziyāda, *al-Gughrāfiyā wa al-Riḥlāt*, pp. 205-6; P. G. Donini, *Arab Travellers Geographers*, p. 47.

³P. G. Donini, *Arab Travellers Geographers*, p. 48.

⁴Ibid., p. 49.

⁵H. A. R. Gibb (trans. & selected.), *Ibn Batuta [sic]: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 3rd edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953), p. 283.

⁶P. G. Donini, *Arab Travellers Geographers*, p. 49.

⁷Ibid., p. 53.

important trade routes connecting the Lake Chad area with Mediterranean,¹ and the one from Egypt to Ghana.²

Arab merchants also increased their trading activities in Europe, particularly in *bilād al-Ṣaḡāliba* (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

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-Rashīd (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.⁴

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].”⁵

¹Ibid., p. 59.

²Ibid., p. 60.

³Abd al-Raḥman Ḥamīda, *Alām al-Juḡhrāfiyīn al-‘Arab wa Muqtaḡafāt min Āthārihim*, 2nd edn (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1980), p. 54.

⁴Krachkovski, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Juḡhrāfi*, vol. 1, p. 132.

⁵S. I. Gellens, ‘The Search for Knowledge’, p. 59.

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 *Riḥlāt*

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.¹ 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-Dhubaynī and al-A’shā, were moving from one place to another seeking gifts and rewards from the rich governors of Ḥīra, 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

¹Ḥasan, *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 Muḥammad and his four Caliphs], the first one took place during the era of the Prophet. It is ascribed to Tamīm al-Dārī 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-Dajjāl,¹ who will appear at the end of time.²

The second journey, which occurred in 11/632, is said in two different versions to have been made by ‘Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit. The first story was related by al-Mas‘ūdī as it was told to him by ‘Ubāda, who relates that he was sent by the first Caliph Abū 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 Muḥammad.³

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-Sirāfi.⁴

‘Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit 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-Dajjāl 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 narration of *Hadīths*. For more details see, A. Abel, *the Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (1965), vol. II, pp. 76-7; I. R. Netton, *A popular Dictionary of Islam*, p. 66; Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allah al-Wābil, *Ashrāṭ al-Sā‘a*, 13th edn (Dammam: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, 2000), pp. 275-335.

²Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk* (Leiden: [n.p.], 1892), vol. 1, p. 178.

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

⁴Māl Allah, *Adab al-Rihlāt*, p. 18.

mountain. They again insisted on seeing the cave men, and after giving the inhabitants one *Dīnār*, 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 ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 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-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī 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-Tājir, and geographer travellers such as Ibn Khurradāhaba, Ibn al-Yaʿqūbī and Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamdhānī. Also a great number of renowned travellers appeared in the fourth 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-Harawī.

Although Muʿāwiya b. Abī 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-Tanūkhī,³ arrested by the Byzantine authorities in the era of

¹Yāqūt b. ʿAbd Allah al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, ed. Farīd ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jundī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 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-Rihlāt*, p. 19.

³Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī, *al-faraj baʿda al-Shidda*, ed. ʿAbūd al-Shālji (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1978), vol. 2, pp. 191-205.

Mu'āwīya b. Abī Sufyān, and then freed during the era of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān who ruled from 65-86/685-705.¹

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.² So, some accounts of travels to China were written, such as those of 'Abd Allah b. al-Qāsim al-'Umānī before 141/758.³ Al-Ṭabarī, also, reports that an Iraqi trader from Basra called al-Naḍr b. Maymūn visited China at the end of the second/eighth century and described the route between Canton (Kuang-Chou) and Baghdad.⁴

The famous travels known as the voyages of al-Sindibād presumably occurred in this period, specifically during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-193/786-808). Their events took place in India, Malayo and Arkhabīl Islands.⁵ Therefore, Māl Allah considers that the spread of travel literature began in the second century, not the third as other researchers believe.⁶

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

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam al-Bakrī known as al-Ghazāl 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

¹Naṣṣār, *Adab al-Riḥla*, p. 24.

²Ḥasan, *Tārikh al-'Arab qabla al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 30.

³Krachkovski, *Tārikh al-Adab al-Jughrāfi al-'Arabī*, vol. 1, p. 155.

⁴Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, vol. 3, p. 272

⁵Krachkovski *Tārikh al-Adab al-Jughrāfi al-'Arabī*, vol. 1, p. 142.

⁶Māl Allah, *Adab al-Riḥlāt*, p. 25.

historians including Ibn Duḥayya al-Sibtī in *al-Muṭrib min Ash‘ār Ahl al-Maghrib* and al-Maqqarī in *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*.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 Khurradāhaba, Ibn al-Ya‘qūbī and Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamdḥānī. Their books were largely devoted to the description of countries, while the political and social aspects were kept

¹Muḥammad al-Fāsi (ed.), Muḥammad Ibn ‘Uthmān al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr fī Fikāk al-Asīr* (Rabat: al-Markaz al-Jāmi‘ī li al-Baḥth al-‘Ilmī, 1965), p. 3, and Naṣṣār, *Adab al-Riḥla*, p. 42.

²Aḥmad, *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. 93-99, 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.

³Ḥusayn Fawzī, *Ḥadīth al-Sindibād al-Qadīm* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1977), p. 33.

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.¹ These books are known as the books of *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* or *Taqwīm al-Buldān*.

ʿUbayd Allah b. Khurradāhaba (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.²

Aḥmad b. al-Yaʿqūbī (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,³ it, “Claims to be based on wide travels in the author’s youth and first-hand questioning of information.”⁴

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Faqīh al-Hamdḥānī travelled to many countries, and composed his famous book *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh 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-Maqdisī and al-Ḥamawī, quoted much information supplied by his book.⁵

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

Muḥammad b. Ḥawqal al-Naṣībī 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

¹Aḥmad, *al-Riḥla wa al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn*, p. 53.

²Ibid., p.58.

³Ḥamida, *Aʿlām al-Jughrāfiyīn al-ʿArab*, p. 141.

⁴D. S. Richards, ‘ al-Yaʿqūbī ’, in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), vol. 2, p. 811.

⁵Aḥmad, *al-Riḥla wa al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn*, p. 85. *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Buldān* was edited by De Goeje and printed in Leiden in 1885.

countries he passed through in his writing entitled *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* or *Ṣūrat al-Ard*.¹

As to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr known as al-Maqdisī (335/946- 390/1000) travelled to many countries and he did not compose his book, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Māʿrifat al-Aqālīm* in 375/986, until he had attended boards of governors, judicial hearings and the lessons of scholars, enjoyed the companionship of ascetics and Ṣūfīs 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.²

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

Al-Bayrūnī (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 ʿan al-Qurūn al-Khāliya*, *Kitāb Tārikh Khuwārizm*, *Tārikh al-Hind*, as well as others.³

ʿAlī b. al-Harawī 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-Harawī never left unvisited any land, or sea or mountain or anything, which could be visited and which had hitherto been unvisited.⁴ He composed *al-Ishārāt fī Maʿrifat 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.⁵

¹Ibid., pp. 117-8, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* or *Ṣūrat al-Ard* was edited by De Goeje in 1783 and reprinted 1938.

²Ḥamīda, *Aʿlām al-Jughrāfiyīn al-ʿArab*, p. 131.

³Ibid., p. 137.

⁴Ibn Khalikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa Anbāʾu Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1970), vol. 3, p. 346.

⁵Ḥamīda, *Aʿlām al-Jughrāfiyīn al-ʿArab*, pp. 382-4; Aḥmad, *al-Riḥla wa al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn*, pp. 283-5.

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-Samʿānī, ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, al-Ḥamawī, al-Qazwīnī, Ibn Khaldūn and al-Balawī, 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-Qalṣādī and al-Juzayrī.

ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī 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, Iṣfahān, the countries of East Asia and others. Al-Samʿānī wrote important accounts of his numerous travels. His most important and famous work was undoubtedly *al-Ansāb* which he began to compile in 550/ 1155.¹

ʿUmāra b. ʿAlī al-Yamanī 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 Zabīd where he attended some academic lessons. Then he travelled to ʿAden 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-Mufīd fī Akhbār Zabīd*. He died in 569/1173.²

Yāqūt b. ʿAbd Allah al-Rūmī al-Ḥamawī 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,”³ to a trader named al-Harawī who,

¹Aḥmad, *al-Riḥla wa al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn*, pp. 265-6

²Ibid., pp. 271-81.

³D. S. Richards, ‘Yāqūt’, in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, vol. 2, p. 811.

“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 *Muʿjam 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-Qazwīnī 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-ʿIbād 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-Khazrajī (his journeys to China and India) and Ibrāhīm al-Tartūshī. Al-Qazwīnī 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.

²Al-Zirkli, *al-Āʿlām*, vol. 8, p. 131.

³Aḥmad, *al-Rihla wa al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn*, pp. 177-8.

⁴Ibid., p. 301.

⁵Ibid., pp. 323-7

forced to do by the governor of Granada, Abū Sa‘īd ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd 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. ‘Īsā al-Balawī, he was born in 713/1322 in Qantūria, present-day Cantera, in Andalusia. His *Riḥla* entitled *Tāj al-Mafriq fi Taḥliyat ‘Ulamā’ 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 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn was a descendant of a Ḥaḍramī family (from Yemen) as it is supposed and settled in Seville in the eight century AH. Afterwards they emigrated to Ceuta and shortly thereafter to Tunis, where he was born in 723/1332.⁴ 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 Qal‘at Ibn Salāma (near the contemporary Tawghzut, close to Mouaskr, in Algeria), where he wrote *al-Muqaddima*, which he completed in November 1377. Then he left to Tunis at

¹Ḥamīda, *A‘lām al-Jughrāfiyyīn al-‘Arab*, pp. 322/4.

²I. R. Netton, ‘Ibn Jubayr: Penitent Pilgrim and Observant Traveller’, in *Seek Knowledge: Thought and Travel in the House of Islam*, ed. Ian Richard Netton (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1996), p. 100. Netton states also that Ibn Jubayr’s *Riḥla* established a genre in Arabic literature which would be pursued by other author-travellers, most notably Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

³Maḥmūd Raddāwī, *al-Riḥlāt al-‘Arabiyya wa al-Islāmiyya wa A‘lāmuhā fi al-Adab al-‘Arabī al-Qadīm wa al-Mu‘āṣir: Dirāsa wa Nuṣūṣ* (Riyadh: Maṭābi‘ al-Farazdaq al-Tijāriyya, 1995), p. 45. Al-Balawī’s *Riḥla* was edited by al-Ḥasan al-Sā’ih in Tunisia.

⁴Aziz al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn* (London & New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 1.

⁵Ibid., 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-Madhab al-Mālikī*.¹ 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 808/1408.² He recorded many incidents in *al-Taʿrīf 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*.³ Of these rare journeys are those of al-Qalṣādī and al-Juzayrī.

ʿAlī Al-Qalṣādī 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 891/1486.⁴

The only traveller in the tenth/sixteenth century as far as we know, was ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Juzayrī 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 a ophthalmologist, at al-Manṣiri *Bīmārstān* (Hospital), then became the director of the *Bīmārstān*. Al-Juzayrī studied under the most famous scholars of Egypt, until he was granted *ijāzāt*,⁵ which enabled him to teach and give *fatwā*.⁶ 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

¹ *Al-Madhab al-Mālikī* is one of the four main schools of law in Sunnī 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.

³ Al-Ḥasan al-Sāʿih (ed.), Khālid b. ʿIsā al-Balawī, *Tāj al-Mafriq fi Taḥliyat ʿUlamāʾ al-Mashriq*, (al-Lijna al-Mushtaraka bayna al-Maghrib wa Dawlat al-Imārāt, [n.d.]), vol. 1, p. 55.

⁴ Muḥammad Abū al-Ajfān (ed.), Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Qalṣādī al-Andalusī, *Riḥlat al-Qalṣādī* (Tunis: al-Sharika al-Tūnisiyya li al-Tawzīʿ, 1978), pp. 30-52.

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 Ṣūfis, see supra, p. 209 and 218.

⁶ *Fatwā* [pl. *fatāwā*] 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 is thought to be somewhere between 976/1585 and 981/1590.¹ He travelled to many countries and compiled *al-Durar al-Farā'id al-Munaḍḍama fī Akhbār al-Ḥājj wa Ṭarīq Makka al-Mukarrama*. Ḥamad al-Jāsir 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 be due to, as al-Jāsir 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 ʿAlqama and al-Nābigha, 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 Tamīm al-Dārī and ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, while travels were carried out by armies during the era of the second Caliph ʿUmar 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-Maṣrī. In the second/eighth century, some sources indicate that an Iraqi trader called Ibn Maymūn and another called Ibn al-Qāsim visited China. The famous travels known as the voyages of al-Sindibād 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 Salām al-Turjumān and Sulaymān al-Tājir, whose travels have reached us through other travellers, or historians. The second were geographers-travellers such as Ibn Khurdāhaba, al-Yaʿqūbī and Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamdhānī. A number of geographer-travellers such as Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Maqdisī appeared in the fourth/sixth century and left great books. Al-Bayrūnī and Ibn al-Harawī 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

¹Ḥamad al-Jāsir (ed.), ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Juzayrī, *al-Durar al-Farā'id al-Munaḍḍama fī Akhbār al-Ḥājj wa Ṭarīq Makka al-Mukarrama* (Riyadh: Dār al-Yamāma li al-Baḥth wa al-Taṭjama wa al-Nashr, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 9-21.

²Ibid., vol. 1, p. 25.

of distinguished travellers such as Ibn Jubayr, al-Samʿānī, al-Yamanī, al-Ḥamawī and al-Qazwīnī. Ibn Khaldūn and al-Balawī 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-Qalṣādī. Al-Juzayrī 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 *Riḥlāt* 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.¹ 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.² 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 Baṭṭūṭa, 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-ʿArabī (468-543/1076-1146),³ then later, "With the *Riḥla* of [the Moroccan traveller] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [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."⁴

¹Al-Shāhidī, *Adab al-Riḥla fi al-Maghrib*, vol. 1, p. 47.

²Nawwāb, *al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya wa al-Andalusiyya*, p. 71.

³Al-Shāhidī, *Adab al-Riḥla fi al-Maghrib*, vol. 1, p. 60.

⁴I. R. Netton, ' *Riḥla* ' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VIII, p. 528.

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 as 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-Qūds (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 *Rihla* reports that the inhabitants of the Maldiv 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-Kattāniūn, whose names can be seen on their graves.² Moroccans journeyed for other purposes as well. However, very few *Rihlāt* 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-Maqqarī in *Nafh al-Ṭīb* referred to more than three hundred Andalusian travellers who travelled just to seek knowledge, (*ṭalab al-ilm*), saying, "Counting travellers can be impossible, no one can count them except

¹R. E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, pp. 229-30. See, also, the Arabic text of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Rihla* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Azhariyya, 1346), vol. 2, pp. 125-6.

²Makāmān, *al-Rihlāt 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-Maqqarī 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 has 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 *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq*, also known as *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, *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

¹Aḥmad Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), vol. 2, p. 5. [my translation].

²Krachkovski, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Jughrāfi*, vol. 1, p. 382.

³Al-Fāsī (ed.), *al-Iksīr fī Fikāh al-Asīr*, p. ٥.

who came after al-Idrisī utilised from his works. Al-Idrisī 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 Rashīd, al-ʿAbdarī, al-Tajībī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as well as others.

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Rashīd al-Fihri was born in 657/1258 or 659/1259 in Sebta (Ceuta), in Morocco.⁴ After gaining a basic education in his hometown, he continued his study in other Moroccan cities, including Marrakech and Fes. When he reached his mid thirties in 683/1284, he travelled to the East to perform *al-Ḥajj*, and attend scholars' lessons in Mecca and Medina, which took three years. Through his journey he visited many Arabian countries including bilād al-Shām, Egypt and Tunisia. Ibn Rashīd moved to Granada in Andalusia in response to an invitation from his friend Ibn al-Ḥakīm, where he because of his academic repute, was appointed as an *imām*⁵ in the Grand Mosque and teacher of Prophetic *Ḥadīth*, as well as being appointed *Qāḍī* (Judge). The

¹Ḥamida, *Aḥām al-Jughrāfiyīn al-ʿArab*, pp. 316-9.

²The first appearance of Banū Marīn 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-Kabīr and Tangier by the Portuguese in 1458 and reliance on Jewish officials, led to the rebellion which ended of Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥāqq's reign and the Marinid dynasty in 869/1465. See Jamil M. Abūn-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971-8; repr. 1980), pp. 120-35

³Al-Shāhidī, *Adab al-Riḥla fī al-Maghrib*, vol. 1, p. 108

⁴Muḥammad b. Tāwīt, *al-Wāfi bi al-Adab al-ʿArabī fī al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*, (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1983), vol. 2, P. 385.

⁵*Imām*, "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-Ḥakīm in 708/1309 led him to relinquish his position and return to Marrakech, where he was appointed once again *imām* and *Khaṭīb*¹ of the *Jumʿa* prayer in the Grand Mosque. After this Ibn Rashīd was invited to Fes by its ruler, where he stayed until he died in 721/1322.² It seems that Ibn Rashīd's *Riḥla* entitled *Mil'u al-ʿAyba bimā jumī'a bi ṭūl al-Ghayba*, consists of seven parts but unfortunately, the first, fourth and sixth parts are still missing.³ Ibn Rashīd's *Riḥla* 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-ʿAbdarī al-Ḥihī, he was a descendant of ʿAbd al-Dār from Quṣayy, 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-Qāḍī, the only author who in *Jadhwat al-Iqtibās*, when recording al-ʿAbdarī's biography, he extracted it from his *Riḥla*. Al-Fāsi, the editor of *al-Riḥla*, suggested that al-ʿAbdarī's death probably happened shortly after arriving at his city Ḥāḥa, after his journey in 691/1292.⁵ Al-ʿAbdarī was born in Ḥāḥa in Morocco, but some references have incorrectly traced him to Valencia in Andalusia.⁶ Al-ʿAbdarī 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-ʿAbdarī's *Riḥla* and its influence are described by the Encyclopedia of Islam as follows,

¹ *Khaṭīb* 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 *ʿīd* (festival) *al-Fiṭr* and *al-Idḥā* in the morning after sunrise.

² Al-Shāhidī, *Adab al-Riḥla fī al-Maghrib*, vol. 1, pp. 143-5.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 153-4. While the second and fifth parts were edited by Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb 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.

⁴ Ibn Tāwīt, *al-Wāfi bi al-Adab al-ʿArabi fī al-Maghrib*, vol. 2, p. 385.

⁵ Al-Fāsi (ed.), al-ʿAbdarī, *Al-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya* (Rabat: Jāmiʿat Muḥammad al-Khāmis, 1968), p. ج ١. *Al-Riḥla* was also edited by Aḥmad b. Jaddū in Algiers/Constantine. See I. R. Netton, 'Basic Structures and Signs of Alienation in the Riḥla of Ibn Jubayr', in *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Medieval and Modern Islam*, ed. Ian Richard Netton (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1993), p. 70, notes, 4. It is also published in *Seek Knowledge*, pp. 127-44.

⁶ Al-Fāsi (ed.), al-ʿAbdarī, *al-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya*, p. ث.

Can be traced in the geographical and historical literature of the 14th to the 18th centuries. For instance, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa'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-Tajībī 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 *Barnāmaj*, which shows the high standard of education he gained in Sebta prior to travelling to the East to perform *al-Ḥajj*.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-Lawātī known as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. 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 *qāḍī* (judge) in Delhi, Maldiv Islands and in a Moroccan city after returning, and died there in 770/1368-9 or 779/1377. In addition to

¹Muḥammad Ben Cheneb-W. Hoenerbach, ‘Al-‘Abdari’, in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 96.

²Al-Shāhidī, *Adab al-Riḥla fī al-Maghrib*, vol. 1, pp. 212-3.

³The existing part of the second volume was edited ‘Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ Mansūr in Libya in 1975.

⁴R. E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 1.

⁵R. E. Dunn, ‘International Migrations of Literature, Muslims in the Later Middle Period: the Case of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’, in *Golden Roads*, p. 75.

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.¹ 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 *qāḍī* of a pilgrimage caravan after leaving Tunisia.²

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 ʿĪdhāb (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 *Ḥajj* in 725/1326, he accompanied the Iraqi caravan to Iraq then visited Persia, then returned to Mecca performing *al-Ḥajj* 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.”³ 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 Sulṭān 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 Sulṭān’s bounty and was appointed to a rich secure position as *Malikite*⁴ *qāḍī* of Delhi. For eight or ten years Ibn Baṭṭūṭa remained in this position until he had

¹H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Travels in Asia and Africa*, p. 2. See, also I. R. Netton, *A popular Dictionary of Islam*, p. 111.

²See the Arabic text of *al-Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 7; H.A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Travels in Asia and Africa*, p. 45.

³H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Travels in Asia and Africa*, p. 6.

⁴For details about *al-Madhab al-Mālikī*, 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 Maldiv Islands, where he was once again appointed as a *qādī*, 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 foreigner traders. After performing his last *Hajj*, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa decided to return to his native land. It seems that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 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 Baṭṭūṭa undertook his final adventure to Mali in West Africa.¹

The *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 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 *Riḥla* 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

¹R. E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, pp. 1-3. Dunn estimates in p. 3 and footnote no. 2, that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa travelled of a total distance of approximately 73,000 miles, while others estimate 75,000 or 77,000 miles.

²R. E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 5.

³His full name is Fāris b. al-Ḥasan, and was born in 729/1328 becoming Caliph in 752/1351. He managed to impose his authority beyond Moroccan borders where Constantine in Algeria came under his rule in 758/1357. See Ibrāhīm Ḥarakāt, *al-Maghrib ‘Abra al-Tārikh*, 3rd edn (Casablanca: Dār al-Rashād al-Ḥadītha, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 44-7.

⁴Muḥammad b. Shaqrūn, *Maẓāhir al-Thaqāfa al-Maghribiyya min al-Qarn al-Thālith ‘Ashar ilā al-Qarn al-Khāmis ‘Ashar*, ([Rabat]: Maṭba‘at al-Risāla, [n.d.]), pp. 48-9.

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-Ṣaghīr in 865/1458 and Tangier in 878/1471. The Spanish occupied Mall in 903/1497, then Aqadir in 911/1505. These woeful events also led to a weakening of the strong trade relationship between Morocco and West African countries.¹

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*).² 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-Sharīf in Cairo. Ibn Zarrūq journeyed extensively after 880/1491 as a renowned Ṣūfī³ scholar, to al-Ḥijāz and Egypt where as it is said, about six thousand

¹Abd al-Karīm Karīm, *al-Maghrib fī ʿAhd al-Dawla al-Saʿdiyya: Dirāsa Taḥlīliyya li Aḥammī al-Taṭawwurāt al-Siyāsiyya wa Mukhtalaf al-Maḏāhir al-Ḥaḍāriyya* (Casablanca: Sharikat al-Ṭabʿ wa al-Nashr, 1978), pp. 5-15.

²Al-Sāʾih (ed.), al-Balawī, *Tāj al-Mafrīq*, vol. 1, p. 55.

³The derivation of Ṣūfism was in dispute. Most Ṣūfis have derived it from an Arabic root which conveys the notion of 'purity'; this would make 'Ṣūfi' mean 'one who is pure in heart' or 'one of the elect.' However, Noldeke showed conclusively that the name was derived from *ṣūf* (wool), [in reference to the garments worn by the early ṣūfis]. The earliest Ṣūfis were, in fact, ascetics rather than mystics who had an over whelming consciousness of sin, combined with dread. In the 3rd/9th Ṣūfis 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 *murīdīn* (Ṣūfī disciples). The Ṣūfīs order *al-Zarrūqiyya*¹ affiliated to him spread extensively to such an extent that his tomb has become a sacred shrine for Ṣūfīs,² after his death in 899/1509.³ Ibn Zarrūq's *Riḥla* known as Zarrūq's *Kannāsha* is found in al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma in Rabat under the number 1385 ك , as an unedited manuscript.

Another traveller to be known in this period is al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad 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 Jāmiʿ al-Qarawiyīn. He distinguished himself academically, especially in the literary and juristic fields, to such extent that he was summoned by the Sulṭān al-Waṭṭāsi Muḥammad al-Burtughālī,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, Ḥāḥā 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

preliminary training for a large spiritual life than the mere ascetic is able to conceive. Therefore, ideas such as light, knowledge and love, were the keynotes of the new Ṣūfism. See R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (London: G. Bell and Sons LTD., 1914), pp. 3-8. It must be noticed here that the extremist Ṣūfīs such as Ibn ʿArabī, al-Ḥallāj and Ibn al-Fāriḍ, are the only ones who believe in the theory of pantheistic and other extreme theories such as *al-Itihād* and *al-Ḥulūl* (which are discussed in p. 82). While other Ṣūfīs including the travellers studied here in particular, did not believe in these theories. More details about Ṣūfī orders, scholars and rituals will be given later on, see supra, pp. 202-11.

¹It is a main branch of *al-Shādhiliyya* order (see supra, p. 62.).

²As will be discussed later, Zarrūq's tomb is one of the most sacred shrines, which the Moroccan travellers used to visit to seek a *baraka* (blessing), see supra, p. 204.

³Al-Shāhidī, *Adab al-Riḥla fī al-Maghrib*, vol. 2, pp. 348-51.

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. He died in 932/1524. Ḥarakāt, *al-Maghrib ʿAbra al-Tārikh*, pp. 172-3

⁵Muḥammad Ḥijjī and Muḥammad al-Akhḍar (ed.), al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān, *Waṣf Ifriqiyyā*, 2nd edn (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 6-8.

⁶Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 8-11. Also see Muḥammad al-Ḥarrārī ʿAbd al-Salām, 'Libyā min Khilāl Kitābāt al-Raḥḥālīn al-Maghāriba fī al-Qarnayn al-ʿĀshir wa al-Ḥādī ʿAshar li al-Hijra, 16 and 17 AD' (unpublished diploma dissertation, Jāmiʿat Muḥammad al-Khāmis, 1993), p. 37.

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-Wazzān remained in Rome, very close to the Vatican, where he became the professor of Arabic in Bologna University in Italy.¹ There are various narrations about the last years of al-Wazzān's life; the first indication is that he returned to Tunisia in 934/1528 956/1550.² The second indicates that he stayed in Rome, where he died in 965/1550, while the third indicates that he died in Tunisia in 967/1552³ and the fourth believes that al-Wazzān returned to Fes where he died in 944/1537.⁴ His *Riḥla, Waṣf Afriqiyā* 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.⁵ *Al-Riḥla* was edited and translated from French into Arabic by Muḥammad Ḥijjī and Muḥammad al-Akhḍar in Morocco in 1980.

As to Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamkrūtī. He was born about 967/1560 in Tamkrūt located south of the High Atlas Mountains where he attended the famous *Zāwiya*⁶ known *al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya*.⁷ In this *Zāwiya*, al-Tamkrūtī 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 Saʿdī

¹Ibrāhīm Ḥarakāt, *al-Siyāsa wa al-Mujtamaʿ fi al-ʿAṣr al-Saʿdī* (Casablanca: Dār al-Rashād al-Ḥadītha, 1987), p. 440.

²ʿAbd al-Salām, 'Libyā min Khilāl Kitābāt al-Raḥḥālīn al-Maghāriba', p. 37.

³Ḥarakāt, *al-Siyāsa wa al-Mujtamaʿ*, p. 441.

⁴Nuqūlā Ziyāda, 'Libyā min al-Ḥasan al-Wazzān ilā al-Tamkrūtī', in *Libyā fi al-Tārikh* (Tripoli: al-Jāmiʿa al-Libiyya, 1968), p. 256; ʿAbd al-Salām, 'Libyā min Khilāl Kitābāt al-Raḥḥālīn al-Maghāriba', p.37, footnote. 87.

⁵Ḥijjī and al-Akhḍar (ed.), al-Wazzān, *Waṣf Ifriqiyā*, p. 6; Ḥarakāt, *al-Siyāsa wa al-Mujtamaʿ*, p. 441.

⁶*Al-Zāwiya* [pl. *Zawāyā*] can be defined as a small house or mosque in which Ṣūfīs gather to worship and teach the rituals of the order, in addition, it is sometimes as a guest house. *Al-Zāwiya* named Dār al-Karāma was known in Morocco just after the fifth/eleventh century, and the oldest *Zāwiya* which carried this name were *al-Zawāyā* established by *al-Shaykh* Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Mājirī (d. 631/1234) which reached forty-six *Zāwiya*. See Ḥijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya: wa Dawruhā al-Dīnī wa al-ʿIlmī wa al-Siyāsī*, 2nd edn (Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat al-Najāḥ al-Jadīda, 1988), p. 24. In case of *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya* 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.

⁷*Al-Nāṣiriyya* was founded by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Anṣārī in 983/1576 in Tamkrūt located in Wādī Draʿa, then *al-Zāwiya* was known as *al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya* when *al-Shaykh* Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Draʿī (the father of the traveller Ibn Nāṣir) became the leader. See Ḥijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya*, pp. 60-1.

Sultān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr¹ to the Ottoman Sultān Murād III.² Al-Tamkrūtī died in 1003/1594.³ He compiled his *Riḥla* entitled *al-Nafḥa al-Miskiyya fī al-Sifāra 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.⁴ Al-Tamkrūtī's *Riḥla* was published and translated into French by the French Orientalist, Henry De Castries, in Paris in 1929.⁵

Conclusion

This section is devoted to the Moroccan travellers and their *Riḥlāt* in the centuries prior to the studied period. Although we find that renowned books of biography including *Nafḥ al-Ṭib* compiled by al-Maqqarī refer to hundreds of learned men and writers who undertook journeys in the centuries prior to the seventh/thirteenth century, al-Aghmātī and al-Idrīsī 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 Rashīd, al-ʿAbdarī, al-Tajībī and the most renowned traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. 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-Ḥajj* 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 Zarrūq, al-Wazzān and al-Tamkrūtī.

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

¹Al-Manṣūr 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. Ḥarakāt, *al-Maghrib ʿAbra al-Tārikh*, pp. 262-76.

²Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī li Ahl al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ʿAshar wa al-Thānī [ʿAshar]*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥijjī and Aḥmad al-Tawfiq (Rabat: Dār al-Maghrib, 1977), vol. 1, p. 49.

³Ibid., vol. 1, p. 49.

⁴Muḥammad Ḥijjī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyya bi al-Maghrib fī ʿAhd al-Saʿdiyīn* ([Morocco]: Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla, 1976), vol. 1, p. 26.

⁵Muḥammad al-Mannūnī, *al-Maṣādir al-ʿArabiyya li Tārikh al-Maghrib* (Rabat: Jāmiʿat Muḥammad al-Khāmis, 1983), vol. 1, p. 138.

Section Two

Moroccan Pilgrims and their *Rihlāt* 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 (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*), 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-Makhāzin, led by the most renowned Saʿdī¹ Caliph, Aḥmad 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 Saʿdī State was established by Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad al-Qāʾim bi Amri 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-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Shaykh was killed in 1069/1658. For more details see, Ḥarakāt, *al-Siyāsa wa al-Mujtamaʿ*, pp. 41-101

²For some details about al-Manṣūr, see *inra*, 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 ʿAhd al-Dawla al-Saʿdiyya*, p. 145.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 162.

and prosperity, both economically and politically.¹ This led to pilgrimage caravans benefiting from the care of the government, who desired to build a substantial relationship with the Eastern Arabian countries.² 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.³ 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.⁴

With the death of the powerful Sultān 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 Sa'dī 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,⁵ but these *Zawāyā* played a notable role in academic life in this troubled period. For instance, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*⁶ in Tadla, played a prominent academic role, and attracted a great number of notable scholars. It became not just a vital centre of the

¹Muḥammad Ḥijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*, p. 19.

²Abd al-Salām, 'Libyā min Khilāl Kitābāt al-Raḥḥālīn al-Maghāriba', p. 14.

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.

⁴Ibn Tāwīt, *al-Wāfi*, vol. 3, pp. 706-12; Makāmān, 'al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya', pp. 27-9.

⁵Ḥijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*, p. 21.

⁶It was founded by Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Dilā'ī about 974/1566 century, in al-Dilā' located to the southwest of the Middle Atlas Mountains overlooking the Tadla plains. See Ḥijjī, *al-Ḥaraka 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, Sulṭān al-Rashīd founded al-ʿAlawiyya State in 1075/1664, when he became the ruler after the assassination of his brother Muḥammad. Al-Rashīd 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-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya* after some quarrelsome battles. Therefore, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya* 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-Zāwiya*.²

When al-Rashīd 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-ʿAlawiya 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 Sulṭān Ismā'īl's concern to build friendships with the rulers and scholars of Eastern Arab countries.⁴

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

The Sulṭān Muḥammad came to power following the death of his father ʿAbd Allah in 1171/1757, and ruled the country until 1204/1789. Educational activities reached their

¹ʿAbd al-Jawād al-Saqqāt, *al-Shi'r al-Dilā'i* (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1985), pp. 36 and 49. For more details about the social, political and literary role of *al-Zawāyā*, see supra, p. 76-9.

²Muḥammad al-Akhḍar, *al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī al-Maghrib ʿalā ʿAhd al-Dawla al-ʿAlawiyya* (Casablanca: Dār al-Rashād al-Ḥaditha, 1977), pp. 67-9.

³Ibid., p. 74.

⁴Makāmān, 'al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya', p. 30.

⁵Al-Akhḍar, *al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī 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-Hajj* as a main motive for travel

Al-Riḥlāt al-Hijāziyya surpassed all kinds of *al-Riḥlāt* in quantity in these two centuries. Almost all recorded travels were regarding the journeys to al-Ḥijāz, particularly to Mecca to perform *al-Hajj* and to Medina to visit the Prophet Muḥammad's grave and Mosque. The few exceptions to this were journeys made by travellers for diplomatic purposes. For example, *Riḥlat al-Wazīr fī Iftikāk al-Asīr* compiled by al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī (d. 1119/1707) which were written to record his journey made on the behalf of Sulṭān Ismā'īl 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 *Riḥlat Natījat al-Ijtihād fī al-Muhādana wa al-Jihād* compiled by al-Ghazāl and *Riḥlat al-Iksīr 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 *Riḥla* whose title is unknown compiled by al-Zarhīnī.²

The number of *al-Riḥlāt al-Hijāziyya*, on the other hand, is much larger as mentioned above, compared with the other kinds of travel because *al-Hajj* was still considered the main religious motive for Moroccan travels. In addition to its being one of the five Islamic pillars, *al-Hajj* 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 *Hajj* 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 Sulṭān Muḥammad while he was youth and his grandmother Khunātha to perform *al-Hajj* was recorded by the traveller al-Ishāqī as will be discussed later on p. 68.

²Ibrāhīm Ḥarakāt, *al-Tayyārāt al-Siyāsiyya wa al-Fikriyya bi al-Maghrib: Khilāl Qarnayn wa Niṣf Qabla al-Ḥimāya*, 2nd edn (Casablanca: Dār al-Rashād al-Ḥaditha, 1994), p. 209 and pp. 215-6.

³Shawqī 'Aṭā Allah al-Jamal, 'Aḍwā' 'alā Riḥlat al-Tijānī fī al-Bilād al-Tūnisiyya wa Ṭarāblus: wa Ahamiyatuhā al-Tārikhiyya wa al-Adabiyya', *al-Manāhil*, March 1976, p. 123.

academic issues they discuss, whether in Mecca and Medina, or other cities they visit during their journeys to perform *al-Ḥajj*.¹ 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.² Ibn Khaldūn states that Moroccan travel was mainly to al-Ḥijāz, which was the end of their journey and Medina, as a centre of learning.³ 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.⁴ Therefore, *al-Ḥajj* 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, (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*), dominated other kinds of travel in Morocco from the seventh/thirteenth century.⁵

3. Moroccan Travellers and their *Riḥlāt* in 11th-12th/17th-18th Centuries

In contrast to the preceding centuries the counting of written *Riḥlāt* in these two centuries is difficult, due to the fact that documented *Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt* records which have been lost. For instance, ʿAbd al-Salām b. Sūda counted some *Riḥlāt* records such as *al-Riḥla al-Shāfiya* compiled by Aḥmad al-Draʿī,⁶ and *al-Riḥla al-Ḥijāziyya* by Muḥammad al-Sallāwī who was sent to al-Ḥijāz and Constantinople in 1179/1655. This *Riḥla* was mentioned by the

¹Makāmān, 'al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya', p. 88.

²Umm Salmā, 'Ṣūrat al-Sharq fi al-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya', *al-Fayṣal*, issue 199, July 1993 AH., p. 48.

³Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnāni, 1961), p. 805.

⁴See supra, pp. 115-6, 124, 214-5.

⁵See Krachkovski, *al-Adab al-Jughrāfi*, p. 168.

⁶ʿAbd al-Salām b. Sūda, *Dalīl Mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*, 2nd edn (Tatuan: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Ḥusayniyya, 1965), vol. 2, p. 346.

author of *Iṭḥāf Ishrāf al-Mala*.¹ In addition, al-Kattānī indicates that Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Qādī (died in 1040/1630) compiled a *Hijāziyya Riḥla*.² The traveller al-Zabādī also stated that he saw the text of Muḥammad al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*³ in the Moroccan *Riwāq*⁴ in al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo.⁵ 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 Aḥmad al-Ḥajarī 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 fī Aḥwāl Mawlānā Zaydān* by Abū ‘Abd Allah al-‘Ayyāshī and *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī* by Abū Muḥammad al-Afrānī. Avūqāy’s second missing *Riḥla* 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.⁶

Many more travel records are missing, such as the *Riḥla* 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-Shāwī which was quoted in *Nashr al-Mathānī* by al-Qādirī.⁷

As mentioned above, an accurate count of *al-Riḥlāt al-Hijāziyya* 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 *Riḥlāt*, such as the security aspects along *al-Ḥajj* road, which will be discussed later.⁷ In addition, our concern is

¹Ibid., p. 348.

²Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās wa Muḥādathāt al-Akyās biman Uqbira min al-‘Ulamā’ wa al-Ṣulḥā’ bi Fās* (Fes: al-Maṭba‘a al-Ḥajariyya, 1316), vol. 3, p. 137.

³Al-‘Ayyāshī performed *al-Ḥajj* in 1134/1624 and died in Cairo in 1149/1639.

⁴Living quarters, dormitories and workrooms of the students are divided according to provinces and nationalities. See Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic; Arabic-English*, ed. J. Milton Cowan, 3rd edn (Beirut: Repr. Librairie du Liban, 1980), p. 368.

⁵Al-Zabādī’s *Riḥla*, p. 288. Al-Zabādī is one of the Moroccan travellers studied here, see supra, pp. 70-1.

⁶Muḥammad al-Fāsī, ‘al-Raḥḥāla al-Maghāriba wa Āthāruhum’, *Da‘wat al-Ḥaqq*, November 1985, pp. 21-2.

⁷Ibid., January 1959, p. 32. See also Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl Mu‘arrikh al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*, vol. 2, p. 345.

⁷See supra, p. 229.

mainly to discuss the material recorded in these *Riḥlat*, 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 Abī Maḥlī and his *Riḥla*

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allah b. Abī Maḥlī al-Sijilmāsī was a renowned Ṣūfī scholar and one of the leaders of the rebellion movement against the Saʿdī State. He was born in 967/1560 in Sijilmāsa, from an educated family distinguished in knowledge and the undertaking of judgeship, he was therefore known as Ibn al-Qāḍī (son of the judge).¹ Ibn Abī Maḥlī 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 Jāmiʿ al-Qarawiyīn. He remained there for five years between 961/986-1573/1578, concentrating on the study of grammar and philology, as advised by his father.² Then Ibn Abī Maḥlī took the significant decision to convert to Ṣūfism 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 Wādī al-Makhāzin,³ in which the Moroccans achieved a crucial victory against the Portuguese in 986/1578. Therefore, Ibn Abī Maḥlī, left Fes to Tāsūt where he joined *al-shaykh* Muḥammad b. Mubārak al-Zaʿrī's *Zāwiya*, remaining constantly with him and learning from him for fourteen years, joining the Ṣūfī order known as *al-Jazūliyya*.⁴ In this *Zāwiya*, Ibn Abī Maḥlī obtained a wide knowledge of Ṣūfism. He did not however, confine himself merely to Ṣūfī knowledge, but learned various kinds of knowledge. Then he moved to Fajij to study under the learned *Shaykh* Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, who

¹ʿAbd al-Majid al-Qaddūri, *Ibn Abī Maḥlī al-Faqīh al-Thāʾir wa Riḥlātuhu al-Ḥalīl al-Khirrīt* (Rabat: Manshūrāt ʿUkāz, 1991), p. 39.

²Ibid., pp. 39-42.

³Ibn Abī Maḥlī 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 *Riḥla* ed. al-Qaddūri, pp. 84-5

⁴ʿAbd al-Majid al-Qaddūri, 'Ibn Abī Maḥlī: Namūdhaj al-Faqīh al-Thāʾir ʿalā al-Waḍʿiyya wa al-Munādī bi al-Wiḥda ' in *Fī al-Nahḍa wa al-Tarākum: Dirāsāt fī Tārikh al-Maghrib wa al-Nahḍa al-ʿArabiyya* (Casablanca: [n.d and pub.]), pp. 286-7. *Al-Jazūliyya* is order named after *Shaykh* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465-6), and is a main branch of *al-Shādhiliyya* order [see supra, pp. 62 and 76]. Hījji, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾiyya*, p. 51. For details about al-Jazūlī, see supra, p. 76.

gave him an *ijāza*¹ for prophetic *Ḥadīth*.² After his return from the first *Hajj* in 1002/1596, the life of Ibn Abī Maḥlī entered an entirely different phase because he did not just abandon and regret adopting that kind of *Ṣūfism* but he attacked it and recanted his previous deeds and sayings.³ Ibn Abī Maḥlī settled in the villages of Banū al-‘Abbās’ situated in Wādī 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 *murīdīns* (disciples) from various places attended his lessons. This strong position among the inhabitants of Wādī al-Sāwira arising from his educational role enabled him to impose his spiritual authority upon the eastern territories.⁴ Therefore, Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr appointed him as a counsellor of Tawāt and Tikūrarīn territories.⁵ When Ibn Abī Maḥlī 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 Sulṭān al-Manṣūr. Thus, he claimed to be *al-Mahdī al-Muntazar*⁶ and called the tribes to revolt against the state, especially after Larache was handed over to the Spanish by Sulṭān 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 Sulṭān Zaydān b. al-Manṣūr’s army and captured Sijilmāsa in 1611/1020. Then in Dra‘a, Ibn Abī Maḥlī continued his victories by defeating Sulṭān Zaydān whom he removed from his government centre in Marrakech, where Ibn Abī Maḥlī became Sulṭān of Marrakech. It was not long before he was killed by al-Ḥāḥī, whose assistance was required by Sulṭān Zaydān in the battle of Jalīz in 1613/1022.⁷

Ibn Abī Maḥlī left a great number of works, among them his *Riḥla* known as *Iṣlīt al-Khrrīt fī Qaṭ‘ Bal‘ūm al-‘Ifrīt al-Nafrīt* or, as he also named it, *‘Adhrā’ al-Wasā’il wa*

¹For the definition of *al-ijāza*, see *infra*, p. 32. See also other types of *ijāzāt* on pp. 209 and 218.

²Makāmān, ‘*al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya*’, p. 143.

³Al-Qaddūri, *Ibn Abī Maḥlī al-Faqīh al-Thā’ir*, p. 81.

⁴Ḥijjī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyya bi al-Maghrib*, vol. 2, pp. 625-6.

⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 626.

⁶Appearance of al-Mahdī is one of the main proofs of the end of time. He will rule for seven years of justice after the impurity and tyranny of the rule of al-Dajjāl (for details about al-Dajjāl, see *infra*, p. 23). Al-Mahdī will help the Prophet Jesus to kill al-Dajjāl. For more details, see al-Wābil, *Ashrāf al-Sā‘a*, pp. 249-62. The point which worth noticing here that Ibn Abī Maḥlī is not the only leader who claimed that he is al-Mahdī, but this title as I. R. Netton indicates in *A popular Dictionary of Islam*, p. 156 is, “Often claimed by diverse leaders throughout Islamic history.”

⁷Muḥammad b. al-Afrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī fī Akhbār Mulūk al-Qarn al-Ḥādī [‘Āshar]* 2nd edn (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ṭālib, [n.d.]), pp. 200-9. See also, Ḥijjī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyya bi al-Maghrib*, vol. 2, p. 626.

Hawdaj al-Rasā'il. This work is a kind of unorganised *Rihlāt* in 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.¹ Ibn Abī Maḥlī's *Rihla* was compiled in response to the request of his two-friend 'Abd al-Hādī al-Marsā'ī and Muḥammad al-Sharīf. 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 Maḥlī 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 gown 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 Maḥlī recorded his *Shuyūkh's*² biographies was edited by 'Abd al-Majīd al-Qaddūrī, together with a study of the traveller's life.³

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.⁴ Even al-Marrākishī, the only biographer to mention Ibn Malīḥ, who might be expected to tell us about some aspects of Ibn Malīḥ' life in *al-A'lam biman Ḥalla bi Marrākish wa Aghmāt min al-A'lam*, 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-Qaddūrī, *Ibn Abī Maḥlī al-Faqīh al-Thā'ir*, p. 95.

²A title is given to scholars.

³For more details about al-Qaddūrī's book, see *infra*, p. 53, footnote, no. 1.

⁴Muḥammad al-Fāsi (ed.), Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qaysī, *Uns al-Sāri wa al-Sārib min Aqṭār al-Maghārib ilā Muntahā al-Ma'ārib Sayyid al-A'ājim wa al-A'ārib* 1630-1633 (Fes: [n.pub.], 1968), p. 1.

information.¹ He is Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad al-Qaysī, nicknamed known as al-Sirāj and Ibn Malīḥ, being from Marrakech, in addition to this he was an educated man as appear from his *Riḥla*.² It might be concluded from the *Riḥla* that he was a Ṣūfī 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*.³

In his *Riḥla* entitled *Uns al-Sārī wa al-Sārib min Aqṭār al-Maghārib ilā Muntahā al-Maʿārib Sayyid al-Aʿjīm wa al-Aʿārib*, Ibn Malīḥ recorded the events of his journey to al-Ḥijāz to perform *al-Ḥajj* 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.⁴ In addition, Ibn Malīḥ's *Riḥla* is regarded as unique with regard to its character because its author journeyed to al-Ḥijāz through the desert road passing through Draʿa 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 Malīḥ's *Riḥla*. Even the famous *Riḥla* of al-ʿAbdarī,⁵ which described this desert road, did not give such a detailed description as in Ibn Malīḥ's *Riḥla*.⁶ It was edited by Muḥammad al-Fāsī in Fes in 1968.

3.3. Al-ʿAyyāshī and his *Riḥla*

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

¹Ibid., p. ٥ .

²Ibid., p. ٥ .

³Makāmān, ' al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya ', pp. 147-8.

⁴Ibid., p. 147.

⁵For more details about al-ʿAbdarī and his *Riḥla*, see, infra, p. 39.

⁶Al-Fāsī (ed.), Ibn Malīḥ, *Uns al-Sārī wa al-Sārib*, p. ١ .

founded *al-Zāwiya al-‘Ayyāshīyya*,¹ known today as *Zāwiyat Sidī Ḥamza*. In this small village al-‘Ayyāshī was born in 1037/1628, but his family was originally from Fajj.² He was educated under his father and scholars from their *Zāwiya* such as his uncle ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Abī Bakr al-‘Ayyāshī. Then he desired to extend his knowledge by travelling to other academic centres, such as *al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya* in Tamkrūt in 1053/1643-44, to attend *Shaykh* Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Nāṣirī’s lessons. Then he went to Marrakech where the Ṣūfī *Shaykh* Abū Bakr al-Saktānī taught and performed *al-dhikr*,³ the Ṣūfī ritual, awarded him *al-Khirqa*⁴ (the robe) and seated him on the mat,⁵ which means that al-‘Ayyāshī became capable to teach and educate.⁶ Al-‘Ayyāshī became the head of *al-Zāwiya al-‘Ayyāshīyya* 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 *Zāwiya* in 1066/1656. *Al-Zāwiya* however, was close to being closed down, as had *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā’iyya* before it, by the Rulers of Morocco who felt fear of al-‘Ayyāshī and his great number of followers. They expelled him twice, first to Fes during al-Sa‘dī era in 1063/1652, when he refused to be a *Qāḍī* (judge) in Marrakech, as he was directed by

¹Nafisa al-Dhahabī (ed.), *Iqtifā’ al-Athar Ba‘da Dhahāb Ahl al-Athar: Fahas Abī Sālim al-‘Ayyāshī 11-17* (Rabat: Jāmi‘at Muḥammad al-Khāmis, 1996), p. 21.

²‘Abd Allah b. Muḥammad al-‘Ayyāshī, *al-Iḥyā’ wa al-Inti‘āsh fī Tarājim Sādāt Zāwiyat Ayat ‘Ayyāsh*, (Fes: al-Khizāna al-‘Āmma, unpublished manuscript, under no. 1433 د.), p. 9.

³*Dhikr* is, “Literary, ‘remembrance’, ‘recollection’, ‘mention’. In taṣawwuf the word has acquired a [the] technical sense of ‘litany’ in which the name of God, or [a] formula like ‘God is most great’ (*Allāhu 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-Zāwiya al-Dilā’iyya*, to which most of the travellers belonged repeated a certain prayer one hundred times, twice a day, such as saying, “Lā ilāha illā Allah”, there is no deity but Allah”, “ask Allah forgiveness, and O Allah, pray and peace be upon Muḥammad”. See Ḥijji, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā’iyya*, 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*” (*talqīn al-dhikr*).” See also J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 182.

⁴According to a Ṣūfī scholar *al-khirqa* is a symbol of the radical aspect of Ṣūfī life, and the granting of a *khirqā* was categorised by him as: one awarded in recognition of a disciple’s personal spiritual achievement [named *khirqat al-ṣuḥba*], or one given by a *shaykh* to a person seeking the blessing [named *khirqat al-Tabarruk*], and might lead to a total acceptance of the mystic path. See, Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Ṣūfism 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” Ṣūfis, but, in principle, to any Muslim, thereby dramatically expanding Ṣūfism’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.

⁵Seating 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 Ṣūfī rituals and discussed according to the Islamic teaching in the fifth chapter, pp. 202-11.

⁶Muḥammad Amaḥzūn, *al-Madīna al-Munawwara fī Riḥlat al-‘Ayyāshī: Dirāsa wa Taḥqīq* (Kuwait: Dār al-Arqam, 1988), pp. 51-2.

Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Shaykh and he remained in Fes for a whole year.¹ The second time was in the al-ʿAlawiyīn era, by Sulṭān al-Rashīd in 1079/1668, who expelled al-ʿAyyāshī and his family to Fes, where he remained until Sulṭān Ismāʿīl came to power in 1083/1672 and allowed them to return to their home-town.² His expulsion to Fes was a great opportunity for him to learn under the most famous scholar in that time, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī. He then took part in vigorous academic debates, both in learning and teaching and gained a notable position.³ Al-ʿAyyāshī died in 1090/1679.⁴

Although al-ʿAyyāshī travelled three times to al-Ḥijāz in 1059/1649, 1064/1653, and 1072/1661 respectively, to perform *al-Ḥajj* 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 *Iqtifāʾ al-Athar baʿda Dhahāb Ahl al-Athar*, in which he recorded the biographies of the scholars, who taught him or he met.⁵ Then, he recorded his *Riḥla* entitled *Māʾu al-Mawāʾid*, which was printed as a lithograph in 1316/1898 and reprinted in two volumes in 1397/1977, with an index by Muḥammad Ḥijjī.⁶ Al-Jāsir summarised and published some topics related to al-Ḥijāz in his magazine *al-ʿArab*,⁷ then he published the part of al-Ḥijāz region.⁸ Indeed, the accumulated experiences and knowledge al-ʿAyyāshī obtained during his three travel periods enabled him to compile the most significant Moroccan *Riḥlāt*. Al-ʿAyyāshī'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-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla* and translated some parts of it into their languages. Such scholars include the French author Berbrugger in 1846 and Motylinski, in 1990.⁹

¹Ibid., pp. 47-5 .

²Ḥijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾiyya*, p. 69.

³Al-Dhahabī (ed.), *Iqtifāʾ al-Athar*, p. 33.

⁴Al-Akhḍar, *al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī al-Maghrib*, p. 90.

⁵Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 5.

⁶Printed by Dār al-Maghrib li al-Taʿlīf wa al-Tarjama wa al-Nashr in Rabat.

⁷See *al-ʿArab*, year 12, October and September 1977, vol. 3 and 4, pp. 211-83.

⁸See the bibliography, under al-Jāsir's name.

⁹Amahzūn, *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, pp. 76-80.

Al-ʿAyyāshī in 1068/1657 also wrote a small report known as *Riḥlat al-ʿAyyāshī al-Ṣuḡhrā* and submitted it as a gift in the form of a report, which contains valuable advice to his close friend Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Makīdī. The reason for compiling this small *Riḥla* was that he had hoped that his friend al-Makīdī 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-ʿAyyāshī 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 *Riḥla* 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-Murābiṭ and his *Riḥla*

His full name was Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Murābiṭ b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Dilāʾī. In the last few years of the tenth/sixteenth century, his grandfather Abū Bakr founded the renowned *Zāwiya* known as *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾiyya*, which played a significant religious, educational, political and literary role, as will be mentioned.³ Al-Murābiṭ 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. ʿAlī al-Fāsī, then under those of Egypt and al-Ḥijāz such as Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shabāmsī.⁵ Eventually, he himself became a renowned scholar, in particular in the explanation of the Qurʾān,

¹ʿAbd al-Qādir Zumāma, ‘ Maʿa Abī Sālim al-ʿAyyāshī fī Riḥlatihi ilā al-Mashriq (2) ’, *al-Manāhil*, July 1984, pp. 114-24.

²Al-Akhḍar, *al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī al-Maghrib*, p. 100, footnote, no. 24.

³See supra, pp. 76-9. For more details about *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾiyya*, see infra, pp. 45 and 48.

⁴Al-Qādiri, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, vol. 2, p. 240.

⁵Ibid., p. 239.

prophetic *Ḥadīth*, jurisprudence and the Arabic grammar.¹ This religious and linguistic education, associated with literature, enabled him to polish his poetic talent, which is apparent in his poems. Thus, Al-Murābiṭ was one of the most famous scholars in *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya* and gained a wide reputation, to the extent that he was chosen by the inhabitants to be *imām* and *khaṭīb*² for the prayers, in particular prayers for rain.³ Al-Murābiṭ also witnessed the disaster which occurred to *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya* when it was demolished by Sulṭān al-Rashīd 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 Sulṭān Ismā'īl.⁴ Al-Murābiṭ remained in Fes where he continued teaching until he died in 1089/[1678].⁵

Al-Murābiṭ performed *al-Ḥajj* accompanying his father in 1069/1659,⁶ 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-Ḥijāz, 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-Murābiṭ's *Riḥla* is still in manuscript form at al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma in Rabat under no. 3644 D.

3.5. Al-Rāfiʿī and his *Riḥla*

Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī was born in 1040/1630 in Tatan but he was originally from Andalusia.⁷ He was regarded as one of the most

¹Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlamī al-Ḥawwāt, *al-Budūr al-Ḍāwiya fī al-Taʿrīf bi al-Sādāt Ahl al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya* (Rabat: al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma, no. 261 د.), p. 448.

²See *infra*, pp. 38-9.

³Al-Saqqāt, 'Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Murābiṭ', pp. 197-9.

⁴Hijji, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*, pp. 252-60.

⁵Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, vol. 2, p. 240.

⁶Ibid., p. 238.

⁷Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl Mu'arririh al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*, vol. 2, p. 365.

renowned scholars and writers of Tatan during the eleventh-twelfth /seventeenth-eighteenth centuries.¹

Al-Rāfi'i started his journey to al-Ḥijāz to perform *al-Ḥajj* in 1196/1685 and returned in 1197/1689. Al-Rāfi'i recorded this journey in his *Riḥla* entitled *al-Ma'ārij al-Marqiyya fi al-Riḥla al-Mashriqiyya*. It is the only *Ḥijāzī Riḥla*, which has reached us from the residents of Tatan before the modern period, as far as we are aware.² *Al-Riḥla* was printed on a typewriter and found in the library of the historian of Tatan, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, who summarized it in *Tārīkh Taṭwān*.

3.6. Al-Hashtūkī and his *Riḥlāt*

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Jazūlī al-Tamalī known as al-Hashtūkī was born in 1057/1647. He travelled frequently between Moroccan cities seeking knowledge, (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*). Then he worked as a teacher in the renowned *Zāwiya*, known as *al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya* in Tamkrūt. Al-Hashtūkī was also appointed as a teacher and judge in Taghāzī in Sudan, which was under Moroccan rule during Sulṭān Ismā'il's era. He spent his life as a teacher, judge, *muftī*³ and author, until he died in 1127/1715.⁴

He performed *al-Ḥajj* twice, accompanying his *Shaykh*, the traveller Aḥmad b. Nāṣir al-Dra'i. The first was in 1096/1685 and compiled this journey in his *Riḥla* named *Hidāyat al-Malik al-ʿAllām ilā Bayt Allah al-Ḥarām*. The second was in 1119/1707, as he stated⁵ and not in 1121/1709, as some references quote.⁶ He compiled another *Riḥla* about this second journey. The two *Riḥla* are both still in manuscript form in al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma in Rabat under no. 190 ج and 147.

¹Ḥasan al-Warrākli, 'Aṣḍā' min Ḥayāt Taṭwān al-ʿIlmiyya fi Riḥlat Taṭwānī min Ahl al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ʿAshar al-Hijrī', in *A'māl Nadwat Taṭwān Khilāl al-Qarnayn* 16-17, 9-11 March, p. 152.

²Ibid., p. 153.

³The person who issues legal opinions according to *al-Shari'a* (Islamic law). For the definition of *fatwā*, see *infra*, p. 32.

⁴Makāmān, 'al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya', p. 171.

⁵See the preface of his *Riḥla*, p. 22.

⁶See, For instance, Makāmān, 'al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya', p. 172; ʿAbd al-Salām, 'Libyā min Khilāl Kitābāt al-Raḥḥālīn al-Maghāriba', p. 52.

3.7. Ibn Nāṣir and his *Riḥla*

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Draʿī was born in 1057/1647 in Tamkrūt,¹ where the renowned *al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya* lies. He was therefore born in an atmosphere of deep academic and Ṣūfī activities, where he belonged to an educated and well-known family. His father was a famous scholar and the leader of *al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya*, where Ibn Nāṣir and the two famous travellers al-ʿAyyāshī and al-Hashtūkī started their studies under his father, then under the most famous scholars of southern Morocco such as Abū Sālim al-ʿAyyāshī, Muḥammad al-Talmasānī and Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Jazūlī al-Hashtūkī.² 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-Zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya*. Thus, he became the *Shaykh* of *al-Nāṣiriyya* Ṣūfī order, which branched from the renowned *al-Shādhiliyya*³ order.⁴ In addition to this, he became the leader of the pilgrimage caravan of Sūs and Draʿa.⁵ Ibn Nāṣir founded a *Zāwiya* known as *Zāwiyat al-Faḍl*, as well as other schools and mosques.⁶ He died in Tamkrūt in Draʿa in 1129/1717.⁷

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 *Riḥla* or more. Some references state that Ibn Nāṣir compiled just one *Riḥla* after the last *Ḥajj*,⁸ whereas, Ibn Sūda indicates that Ibn Nāṣir first compiled two short *Riḥla*, and then compiled another *Riḥla* in which he gathered the news of the previous two *Riḥla*.⁹ Ibn Nāṣir's relative, Muḥammad al-Makkī al-Nāṣirī reports that Ibn Nāṣir compiled a short initial *Riḥla*, in

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

² Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍīkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥaḍīkī* (Casablanca: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿArabiyya, 1357/1938), vol. 1, pp.82-3.

³ *Al-Shādhiliyya* is a, "Major ṣūfī order named after Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Shādhilī (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-Jazūliyya* and *al-Zarrūqiyya* (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.

⁴ Lévi-Provençal, *Mu'arrikhū al-Shurafā'*, trans. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Khallāwī (Rabat: Dār al-Maghrib, 1977), p. 207.

⁵ ʿAbd al-Salām, 'Libyā min Khilāl Kitābāt al-Raḥḥālīn al-Maghāriba', p. 50.

⁶ Al-Akhḍar, *al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī al-Maghrib*, p. 173.

⁷ Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, vol. 3, p. 235.

⁸ For example, see Lévi-Provençal, *Mu'arrikhū al-Shurafā'*, p. 207; al-Akhḍar, *al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya*, p. 172.

⁹ Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl Mu'arrikh al-Maghrib*, vol. 2, p. 344.

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 *Rihlāt*.¹ Obviously, we tend to accept al-Makkī al-Nāṣirī's view, since he was an eyewitness and he himself saw the three *Rihlāt* and identified their editors, saying that the first two *Rihlāt* were edited by al-Jazūlī and al-Makkī al-Nāṣirī's father, respectively. However, the last *Rihla* is the one by which Ibn Nāṣir became widely known. It has been cited and quoted extensively by a number of travellers and historians, including Aḥmad al-Sallāwī al-Nāṣirī in *Ṭal'at al-Mushtarī*, the Algerian traveller al-Warṭhilānī in his *Rihla* entitled *Nuzhat al-Anṣār fī faḍl 'ilm al-Tārikh wa al-Akhhbār*² and the Tunisian traveller al-Ḥashā'ishī in his *Rihla* named *Jalā'u al-Kurab 'an Ṭarāblus al-Gharb*.³ In addition, it was summarized and translated into French by Briga, as Lévi-Provençal states, considering it of similar value to al-'Ayyāshī's *Rihla*.⁴ It was printed as a lithograph in two volumes in 1320/1902.

3.8. Al-Qādirī and his *Rihla*

Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qādirī al-Ḥasanī al-Fāsī was one of the most renowned scholars of Fes. He belonged to *al-Shurafā' al-Qādiriyīn*, living in Fes, where he was born in 1050 /1640.⁵ Al-Qādirī grew up and learned in Fes, then he moved to al-Dilā' to continue his study under the scholars of *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya* in its heydays such as [the travellers studied here] al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī and Muḥammad al-Murābiṭ. He remained there until he was forced, together with the inhabitants of *al-Zāwiya*, to leave after it was destroyed by Sulṭān al-Rashīd in 1079/1668. He then journeyed to *Zāwiyat al-Ṣawma'a* in Tadla.⁶ 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 'Alī al-Ajhūrī and 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Zarqānī until he became well-

¹See, *al-Durar al-Muraṣṣa'a bi Akhhbār A'yān Dra'a* (Rabat: al-Khizāna al-'Āmma, manuscripts centre, under no. 265 ك), pp. 24-31.

²Makāmān, 'al-Rihlāt al-Maghribiyya', p. 169.

³'Abd al-Salām, 'Libyā min Khilāl Kitābāt al-Raḥḥālīn al-Maghāriba', p. 51.

⁴Lévi-Provençal, *Mu'arrikhū al-Shurafā'*, p. 207.

⁵Ibid., p. 209.

⁶Ḥijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*, pp. 133-4.

informed about the famous Ṣūfī order known as *al-Qādiriyya*¹. Then, he performed the second *Hajj* in 1100/1688.² Al-Qādirī died in Fes in 1133/1720.³

When he performed the second *Hajj* in 1100/1688, al-Qādirī was a companion to his *Shaykh*, Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allah al-Andalusī, who was a famous Ṣūfī scholar. He desired to record the news of this journey, in particular the virtues of his *Shaykh*, in a *Rihla* named *Nasmat al-Āas fī Hajjati Sayyidinā Abī al-ʿAbbās*. *Al-Rihla* is still in manuscript form in three copies. Two of them are kept at al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma under no. 1418 ۞ and 3216 ۞ respectively, and the third at al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya under no. 8787 in Rabat.

3.9. Al-Yūsī and his *Rihla*

Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Yūsī was from Ait Yūsī, the Berber tribe, living in southern Fes.⁴ He was born in 1040/1630, in Malawiyyat al-ʿUlayā where he started his study by joining the village *Kuttāb* (school). Then he got permission from his father to travel to seek knowledge, (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*), to bilād al-Qibla, i.e Mecca and Medina, and then returned to his village. His teacher Abū Ishāq taught him Ṣūfī books particularly Ibn al-Jawzī's work *al-Mawrid al-ʿAdhb*. 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. Nāṣir al-Draʿī, ʿIsā al-Saktānī and ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAlī al-Sijilmāsī. There, he was appointed as a teacher, while he was still a youth of nineteen years old. He left for Draʿa to join *al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya* where he delved deeply into Ṣūfism, then he moved to *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya* and remained there for twenty years until he became well-known. When *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya* was demolished by Sulṭān Ismāʿīl 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 *Zāwiyat* Tatuan. Later he founded a *Zāwiya* in Khalfūn to teach the bedouins, but he was ordered by Sulṭān Ismāʿīl to leave Khalfūn immediately, because

¹It is a, "Major ṣūfī order named after ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī who, when more than fifty years old, established a reputation by his preaching in Baghdād." For more details, see I. R. Netton, *A popular Dictionary of Islam*, p. 201.

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

³Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ṭālib, 1986), vol. 3, pp. 250-1.

⁴Muḥammad Ḥijjī (ed.), al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, *al-Muḥāḍarāt* (Rabat: Dār al-Maghrib, 1976), p. 4.

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 Sultān 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'iyya*, 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 1100/1688.¹ Al-Yūsī performed *al-Ḥajj* in 1101/1690 and visited Egypt. He died after returning to his village, Tamzīzīt, located near Fes, in 1102/1691.²

Al-Yūsī travelled to al-Ḥijāz to perform *al-Ḥajj* in 1101 /1690. He intended to record this journey but he could not, so his son Muḥammad wrote it down instead.³ 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.⁴ 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-ʿĀmma under no. 1418 د. The second is in al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya under no. 2343 in Rabat. The Irāqī magazine *al-Mawrid* indicated in its fifth volume, issued in 1976, that there is a copy held at al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya in Algeria, under no. 1896.⁵

3.10. Ibn al-Ṭayyib and his *Rihla*

Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib b. Muḥammad al-Ṣumaylī 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.⁶ He therefore was known as Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī. Ibn

¹Fāṭima Khalil al-Qibli (ed.), *Rasā'il Abī ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd al-Yūsī: Jam' wa Taḥqīq wa Dirāsa* (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 43-50.

²Al-Qādiri, *Nashr al-Mathāni*, vol. 3, p. 48.

³Al-Yūsī's *Rihla*, p. 67.

⁴Makāmān, 'al-Rihlāt al-Maghribiyya', p. 163.

⁵Ibid., p. 163.

⁶Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *al-Istiḳṣā' li Akhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*, (Casablanca: [n.pub], 1956), vol. 7, p. 42.

al-Ṭayyib was born in 1110/1698. He started his studies under the most famous scholars of Jāmi' al-Qarawiyyīn such as Muḥammad b. Malqab al-Fāsī and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah al-'Alamī known as al-Ḥawwāt.¹ Ibn al-Ṭayyib devoted himself to linguistic studies, and studied under the lexicologist and grammarian of his time, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Wajāri 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.² 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 *Idā'at al-Rāmūs* to the famous dictionary of al-Fayrūzabādī, known as *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, which increased Ibn al-Ṭayyib's reputation and gave him lasting fame.³ 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-'Arūs*, who praised Ibn al-Ṭayyib, referring to his great academic abilities.⁴ Ibn al-Ṭayyib compiled more than sixty-one works.⁵ He died in Medina in 1170/1756.⁶

¹For more details about his *shaykhs* in Morocco, see al-Wadghīrī, *al-Ta'rif bi Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī* (Rabat: Manshūrāt 'Ukāḍ, 1990), pp. 62-76.

²Such as 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Fajjī, Muḥammad b. al-Aṣram, Aḥmad al-'Ammāwī, Muḥammad b. Zāda known as al-Qāḍī 'līd. Ibid., pp. 90-102.

³Muḥammad al-Fāsī, 'Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī: 'Umdat al-Shaykh Murtaḍā al-Zubaydī', *al-Manāhil*, July 1976, pp. 82-6. Al-Akhḍar also, in *al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya 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.

⁴Al-Fāsī, 'Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī', p. 85.

⁵'Abd al-'Alī al-Wadghīrī, *al-Ta'rif 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-Sharqī: Ḥalqat min Tārīkh al-Fīkr al-Lughawī*, submitted to the college of al-Ādāb in Rabat in 1986.

⁶Ibid., p. 133.

While Ibn Sūda indicates that Ibn al-Ṭayyib compiled three *Riḥlāt* without giving any details,¹ al-Fāsī claims that Ibn al-Ṭayyib compiled two *Riḥlāt*. 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-Wadghīrī, who asserts that Ibn al-Ṭayyib compiled one single *Riḥla* 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 *Riḥla* by recording his return journey from al-Ḥijāz to Fes, but this first draft was stolen after leaving Medina in Maghārat [the Prophet] Shu‘ayb³.⁴ Then he was requested by a close friend to rewrite his *Riḥla*, adding the news of his journey to Fes.⁵ Al-Wadghīrī asserts that despite the long time he had spent dealing with this matter, he never found any proof of al-Fāsī’s claim, and no one else has referred to the same matter.⁶ This unique *Riḥla* is kept at the Library of Leipzig in Germany, under no. 746 of K. Vollers’.

3.11. Al-Shāwī and his *Riḥla*

Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāwī al-Mazmīzī al-Ghannāmī was an unknown jurist, about whom nothing is known except that he was judge in Tamsnā.⁷

Al-Shāwī travelled to al-Ḥijāz to perform *al-Ḥajj* in 1141/1730 and left a short *Riḥla* of around 23 pages named, *Riḥlat al-Qāṣidīn wa Raghat al-Zā‘irīn*. It is still in manuscript form at al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya in Rabat under no. 5656.

¹Ibn Sūda, *Dalil Mu‘arrikh al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*, vol. 2, p. 348.

²Al-Fāsī, ‘Abū ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib’, p. 89.

³He is Shu‘ayb b. Ḍay‘ūn b. ‘Anqā b. Madyan, the son of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl (the father of the Prophets). He was a prophet sent to the people of Madyan (Midian) [a city in bilād al-Shām] to invite them to worship Allah. See al-Qur‘ān, *sūrat al-A‘rāf*, verses. 85-93. Ibn al-Athīr refers in *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 176-7 that the Prophet Moses married one of his daughters, and thus, the era of Shu‘ayb was before the era of Moses. While Ibn Kathīr reports in *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān al-Karīm* (Beirut: Dār al-‘Ilm, [n.d.]), vol. 3, p. 330, that the some of the commentators’ referred to that the man mentioned in *sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*, verses 25-7, whom Moses married his daughter was the Prophet Shu‘ayb, while others stated that he was his nephew Thīrūn mentioned in books of Israel.

⁴See his *Riḥla*, pp. 3 and 114. For details about the security aspects, see supra, pp. 227-9.

⁵Ibid., p. 4. The name of his friend was not mentioned by Ibn al-Ṭayyib.

⁶For more details about this discussion presented by al-Wadghīrī, see *al-Ta‘rif bi Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī*, pp. 158-61.

⁷Al-Afrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, p. 268.

3.12. Al-Ishāqī and his *Riḥla*

ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, known as al-Sharqī al-Ishāqī, was one of Sulṭān Ismāʿīl'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-Ishāqī was one of the officials accompanying Khunātha, the mother of Sulṭān ʿAbd Allah b. Sulṭān Ismāʿīl 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-Ishāqī*. *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-Ishāqī 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 Aḥmad al-Qurmālī, during the return journey from al-Ḥijāz.⁴ This might be due to the fact that al-Ishāqī might have 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-Jāsir published topics related to al-Ḥijāz region in *al-ʿArab Magazine*.⁶ This *Riḥla* is still a manuscript at Khizāna al-Qarawiyīn in Fes under no. 1258.

3.13. Abū Madyan and his *Riḥla*

Little is known about Abū Madyan ʿAbd Allah b. Aḥmad al-Saghīr al-Rawdānī al-Draʿī, except that he studied at *al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya* in Tamkrūt.⁶ His *Riḥla* clarifies that he

¹ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, *Amīr Maghribī fī Ṭarablus 1143-1731 aw Libyā min Khilāl Riḥlat al-Wazīr al-Ishāqī* ([Morocco], Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla, [n.d.]), p. 103.

²Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, vol. 4, p. 208.

³See *infra*, pp. 49- 50.

⁴Al-Tāzī, *Amīr Maghribī*, p. 62.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁶For example, see *al-ʿArab*, 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

⁶Makāmān, 'al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya', p. 174.

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-ʿĀmma under no. 297 ق.

3.14. Al-Ḥuḍaykī and his *Rihla*

Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allah al-Lakūsī al-Jazūlī al-Ḥuḍaykī was born in Batrswāṭ in Wādī 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, Tatan, 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-Azhar 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-murīdīn*, (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-Ḥuḍaykī recorded the events of his journey to al-Ḥijāz to perform *al-Ḥajj* in 1152/1741. His *Rihla* entitled *Riḥlat al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*, is still a manuscript in three copies; the first of which is kept at al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma under no. 986 ا, the second is at al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya under no. 0405 and the third is kept at al-Khizāna al-Kubrā belonging to the University of al-Qarawiyyīn in Fes.

¹See his *Rihla*, pp. 192-3.

²See, Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl Muʿarrikh al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*, vol. 2, p. 347.

³See Makāmān, 'al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya', p. 174.

⁴Such as *Manāqib al-Ḥuḍaykī*, *Sharḥ al-Risāla al-Qayrawāniyya* and *Manẓūma fī al-Waʿz*, for more details, see ʿAbbās al-Jarrārī, 'Madkhal li Riḥlat al-Ḥuḍaykī al-Ḥijāziyya', *al-Manāhil*, November 1977, pp. 56-7.

⁵Muḥammad al-Ḥātimī, 'Risāla fī Adāb al-Mutaʿalimīn', *Faḍāʾāt Tarbawiyya*, March 1996, pp. 152-3.

3.15. Al-Zabādī and his *Riḥla*

Al-Zabādī introduces himself in the introduction of his *Riḥla* saying that he is ‘Abd al-Majīd b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mū’dhin called al-Zabādī b. ‘Alī al-Ṣūfī, stating a long list of his ancestors, until he reaches al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.¹ He therefore, belonged to *al-Shurafā’ al-Ḥasaniyīn*². His family was originally from the village Manāla 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-Zabādī 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 Jāmi‘ al-Qarawiyīn such as Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥman al-Fāsī, Muḥammad al-Mīsnāwī and Aḥmad al-Sijilmāsī. After this then he journeyed to Egypt where he learned about the Ṣūfī order under the scholars of al-Azhar al-Sharīf such as Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī Bā ‘Alawī and Sulaymān al-Ṭantāwī.³ He paid great attention to Arabic grammar and literature and consequently, was ordered by his *Shaykh* Muḥammad Faṭḥā b. Qāsim Jassūs to start teaching in Jāmi‘ al-Qarawiyīn, 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-Zabādī was motivated to study medicine as a result of having been ill himself. Al-Qādirī also states that he himself was treated by al-Zabādī for three months while sick.⁵ He eventually died in Fes in 1163/1751.⁶

Al-Zabādī travelled to al-Ḥijāz to perform *al-Ḥajj* 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-Akhḍar who states that although al-Zabādī’s *Riḥla* is shorter than al-‘Ayyāshī’s, it is not a less significant *Riḥla*. He then

¹Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is the son of the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭima and his father ‘Alī is the Prophet Muḥammad’s cousin and the fourth Caliph.

²Which means that al-Zabādī can be traced back to al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

³For more details about his *shaykhs*, see ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Nakādī, ‘ ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Zabādī ’, *Da‘wat al-Ḥaqq*, June 1966, pp. 107-13.

⁴Ibid., July 1966, p. 119.

⁵Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, vol. 4, p. 78.

⁶Ibid., vol. 4, p. 80.

asserts that al-Zabādī's *Riḥla* contains descriptions and more observations than al-ʿAyyāshī'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 *Riḥla* was compiled, which has attracted researchers concerned with travel literature.² This *Riḥla* also included a long poem entitled *Ithāf al-Miskīn al-Nāsik bi Bayān al-Marāḥil wa al-Manāsik*. It describes the road stages from Morocco to al-Ḥijāz. Al-Jāsir published the part of al-Ḥijāz region in *al-ʿArab Magazine*.³ Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla* is still in manuscript form and has not been published. There are two copies held at al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma in Rabat under no. 1808 د and 398 ك.

3.16. Al-ʿĀmirī and his *Riḥla*

Nothing is known about the life of the traveller Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj b. Manṣūr al-ʿĀmirī, except that he studied in Fes, then he moved to Tāzā where he worked as an *imām* and writer for *al-Shaykh* Muḥammad Faṭḥā b. al-Tūzānī. Al-Ḥawwāt indicates in *al-Sirr al-Zāhir* that al-ʿĀmirī died in an East Arabian country in 1170/1662.⁴

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

3.17. Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām and his *Riḥla*

Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbd Allah b. Nāṣir al-Draʿī 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 Banānī, Muḥammad al-Tāwidī b. Sūda and [the traveller studied here] Muḥammad al-Ḥuḍaykī, gaining several

¹See, *al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī al-Maghrib*, p. 250.

²See 'al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya', p. 181.

³See *al-ʿArab*, year 12, January and February, vol. 7 and 8, pp. 526-60.

⁴Muḥammad al-Mannūnī, *Min Ḥadīth al-Rakb al-Maghribī* (Tatuan: Maṭbaʿat al-Makhzan, 1953), pp. 88-9.

ijāzāt, which proves that he became well-informed, particularly in Prophetic *Ḥadīth*. He was honoured by Sulṭān Sulaymān¹ 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-Ḥajj*. Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām was very interested in collecting invaluable manuscripts and books from countries he visited.² Little is known about Ibn ‘Abd 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.³ He died in 1239/1823.⁴

Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām journeyed to al-Ḥijāz to perform *al-Ḥajj* in 1196/1783 and 1211/1798. He recorded these in two *Riḥlāt*. The first, entitled *al-Riḥla al-Kubrā*, is longer than the latter which is not our principal concern, because it was compiled beyond the centuries studied. His first *Riḥla* is highly appreciated. Al-Akhḍar, for instance, notes that Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām emerges through his *Riḥla* as an accurate observer, and a learned critic who wrote down significant notable observations and personal comments based on logical and objective examination.⁵ Al-Fāsī, also, considers Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Riḥla* to be one of the most significant *Riḥlāt* compiled in this field.⁶ This *Riḥla* was summarised by al-‘Abbās b. Ibrāhīm.⁷ Al-Jāsir also summarised and published some topics related to al-Ḥijāz.⁸ The original copy is kept in Rabat at al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya under no. 5658, and a copy at al-Khizāna al-‘Āmma under no. 2651.

¹He was born in Sijilmāsa in 1180/1766 and became Sulṭān 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.

²Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad Khālīd al-Nāṣiri, *Ṭal‘at al-Mushtarī fī al-Nasab al-Ja‘farī* (Salā: al-Mu‘assasa al-Nāṣiriyya li al-Thaqāfa wa al-‘Ilm, 1987), vol. 2, pp. 162-4.

³Al-Fāsī, ‘al-Raḥḥāla al-Maghāriba wa Āthāruhum’, *Da‘wat al-Ḥaqq*, January 1959, p. 24.

⁴Al-Nāṣiri, *Ṭal‘at al-Mushtarī*, vol. 2, p. 166.

⁵Al-Akhḍar, *al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī al-Maghrib*, pp. 372 and 374.

⁶Al-Fāsī, ‘al-Raḥḥāla al-Maghāriba wa Āthāruhum’, *Da‘wat al-Ḥaqq*, January 1959, p. 22.

⁷See al-‘Abbās Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Marrākishī, *al-I‘lām biman Ḥalla Marrākish wa Aghmāt min al-A‘lām*, ed. ‘Abd al-Waḥhāb b. Maṣṣūr (Rabat: al-Maṭba‘a al-Malakiyya, 1977), vol. 6, pp. 192-217.

⁸See al-Jāsir, *Mulakhaṣ Riḥlatay Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām*.

3.18. Al-ʿAynī and his *Riḥla*

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

Al-ʿAynī journeyed to al-Ḥijāz to perform *al-Ḥajj* in 1198/1785. He left a huge *Riḥla* in consequence of inclusion of considerable quotations from the previous *Riḥlat* of al-ʿAyyāshī, Ibn Nāṣir and particularly from Abū Madyan's *Riḥla* as al-ʿAynī states in his *Riḥla*, saying that he depends on many quotations, mainly from the *Riḥla* of the *Shaykh* and the jurist Abū Madyan b. Aḥmad al-Saghīr al-Draʿī.³ Al-ʿAynī's *Riḥla* was summarised by Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-Būnʿmānī, then al-Būnʿmānī's summary was published by Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Sūsī in *al-Maʿsūl*.⁴ Al-Sūsī says that he found out that al-ʿAynī's *Riḥla* was kept by al-ʿAynī's relatives.⁵

Conclusion

This section concentrates on the travellers and their *Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt*, which are counted among the missing *Riḥlāt*, 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-Riḥlat al-Ḥijāziyya* is very difficult. However, the number of written travels in these centuries which we have found are few, they only number eighteen *Riḥlāt*. They are classified chronologically according to the date of the

¹Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Sūsī, *al-Maʿsūl* (Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat al-Najāḥ, 1963), vol. 13, p. 283.

²Ibid., p. 300.

³See Al-ʿAynī's *Riḥla* summarised by al-Sūsī in *al-Maʿsūl*, vol. 13, pp. 284.

⁴Vol. 13, pp. 284-98.

⁵Ibid., vol. 13, p. 299.

first journey to al-Ḥijāz. These are of Ibn Abī Maḥlī (1002/1593), Ibn Malīḥ (1040/1631), al-ʿAyyāshī (1059/1649), al-Murābiṭ (1069/1659), al-Rāfiʿī 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-Ḥuḍaykī (1152/1741), al-Zabādī (1158/1746), al-ʿĀmirī (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, Ṣūfism, other panegyric, 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-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 *Riḥlāt*. The poetry cited in their collections, or works and the poetry of non-travellers, which is included by the travellers in the *Riḥlāt* 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-Ḥajj*. 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' *Riḥlāt* 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-Riḥla* 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".¹ 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.

¹For more details about notarizing the information quoted, see supra, pp. 250-3.

1. The Social and Political Role of the Ṣūfīs *Zawāyā*

Political life in Morocco during the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries was not stable, except for the era of Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, which lasted from 986/1578 until 1012/1603 and the era of Sulṭān 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.¹ 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 Ṣūfīs centres known as *al-Zawāyā*, most of them belonging to *al-Shādhiliyya*² order, which is the major Ṣūfī order in North Africa.³ For instance the death of Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr⁴ 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-Qarawiyīn in Fes, to bedouin territories and villages as a safe scientific haven where *al-Zawāyā* such as *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʿiyya*, *al-Nāṣiriyya* and *al-ʿAyyāshiyya*⁵ 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,⁶ with meals supplied free of charge by the leader of *al-Zāwiya* Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr.⁷ 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

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-Jazūlī (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-Jazūlī 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 Ṣūfī *Zāwiya* in Afughal in the Aṣṣī territory. See A. Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 214 and 247. For some details about the *shaykh* Ibn Mashīsh 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.

⁶Ḥijjī, *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-Wadghīrī states that al-Qādirī listed in his biography, *Iltiqāt 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-Qādirī 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-Qādirī did not list all the works of those scholars he included, but simply gave examples of a few of them as al-Wadghīrī stated. The traveller al-Yūsī for instance, left thirty-seven books as ‘Abbās al-Jarrārī listed,¹ but al-Qādirī 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-Qādirī.² *Al-Zawāyā* impressed the stamp of the Ṣūfism on educational life, as will appear later when we discuss and investigate the characteristic features of the travellers’ literature.³ On the social side, *al-Zawāyā* offered a wonderful service by providing free accommodation and meals for poor and stranger people,⁴ spreading virtues and countering corruption. Therefore, the Ṣūfī 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.⁵ 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 State⁶ 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

¹See ‘Abbās al-Jarrārī, *‘Abqariyat al-Yūsī* (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1981), pp. 105-26. In fact, al-Jarrārī listed 99 works including short works such as messages.

²‘Abd al-‘Alī al-Wadghīrī, *al-Ta‘rif bi Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī*, p. 45.

³See religious verse, entreaty, *al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥamadiyya* and other Ṣūfī ideas on pp. 80-100 and 145-54.

⁴Ḥijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā’iyya*, p. 49, Ḥijjī says that food was served by the leader of *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā’iyya* Muḥammad 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 *Zawāyā* perform a magnificent social role.

⁵See A. Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, p. 246.

⁶Al-Waṭṭāsiyya State was established by Muḥammad al-Shaykh in 876 and lasted until the last Caliph Abū Ḥasūn was killed in a battle against al-Sa‘dī 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-Sa‘diyīn. The Ṣūfī activities prospered considerably and great number of *Zawāyā* were established in the era of this State. For more details see, Ḥarakāt, *al-Maghrib ‘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-Sharīf al-Qā'im al-Sa'dī as the first Sa'dī ruler of the country in 915/1510.¹ In addition, the Ṣūfī scholars and leaders of *al-Zawāyā*, such as [the traveller studied here] Ibn Abī Maḥlī, Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāshī and Muḥammad al-Ḥājj al-Dilā'ī, 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'dī State (962-1074/1555-1663). As a result of the Sa'dī Caliphs' interest in poetry, they founded poetic *aswāq*,³ in particular on the prophet's birthday, in places such as Fes, Marrakech and al-Moḥammadia. Al-Dilā'iyīn 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 Ṣūfī *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 ʿAbd Allah Kannūn argued that it was the solid linguistic foundation in *al-Zāwiya* where al-Yūsī (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-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, and al-Qazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* 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 Kaʿb b.

¹Ḥijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*, pp. 24-7. For some details about the Sa'dī State, see *infra*, p. 47.

²For more details, see *infra*, pp. 49 and 54.

³These are meeting-places for poets to declaim their poems.

⁴Ḥijjī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyya*, vol. 1, p. 49.

⁵See Ḥijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*, pp. 74-5.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁷Al-Wadghīrī, *al-Taʿrīf bi Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī*, p. 49.

Zuhayr's *Bānat Su'ād* (*al-Burda*)¹ and al-Būṣīrī's *al-Burda*² were studied in *al-Zawāyā*.³ Poetry constituted a significant part of their life and in particular, in Ṣūfī's life. It was taken as *wird* or *dhikr*⁴ to be recited at certain times in *al-Zawāyā* and mosques and at wedding ceremonies.⁵ 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 *Riḥlāt* included many of their poems. Moreover, some of them, such as al-ʿĀmirī and al-Murābiṭ composed their *Riḥlāt* in poetic form. Al-Yūsī was a creative poet and he claimed, "If I wished to speak only in verse, I could do so."⁶

3. The Poetic Themes

The *Riḥlāt* 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 Ṣūfī 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 Ṣūfī *awliyā'* (pious men). Other themes include pure praise, description, yearning and complaint, satire and *Ikhwānīyāt* (brotherly communication).

¹He 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.

²His full name is Sharaf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad al-Būṣīrī 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.

³See al-Nakādī, 'ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Zabādī', p. 119.

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

⁵Al-Saqqāṭ, *al-Shi'r al-Dilā'i*, p. 111.

⁶Al-Qiblī (ed.), *Rasā'il Abi ʿAlī*, p. 54. [My translation].

Although themes such as Ṣūfism and entreaty dominate most of the poetry included in *al-Riḥla*, 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 Ṣūfī *Awliyā'* and others.

The amount of poetry composed on one theme varied, according to the nature of the journey. Themes such as prophetic commendation, *Ikhwānīyāt* and praise or entreaty of dead or alive Ṣūfī *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 Ṣūfism was established. As well as glorifying Allah, Ṣūfīs love the Prophet and the kin of his house and Ṣūfī *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 *Riḥla* included a great deal of his poems on various themes did not compose on this theme except for two lines in his *Riḥla* 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 و صدر
وإذا ما نازعك الوهم فقل كل شيء بقضاء وقدر¹

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 Ṣūfī

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, 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:

أناذي إذا ما كنت بالحجر واقفا	نداء منيب دائما يتضرع
وعند استلام الركن والحجر الذي	إليه وجوه الخلق بالثم تسرع
وعند مقام للخليل فيا له	مقام جليل والدعاء فيه ينفع
فيا رب أنت الله والملك الذي	لهيبته تعنوا الوجوه وتخضع
وإني أنا العبد الضعيف وليس لي	سواك إليه في الشدائد أفرع
يذكرني الإحسان فضلك سيدي	فأرجو وأخشى العدل منك فأجزع ¹

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

بجاه رسول الله أفضل من به	توسلنا وهو الشفيع المشفع
أصلي عليه ما حييت مسلما	صلاة بها سعي غدا لا يضيع ²

The most obvious example of entreaty to Allah might be al-ʿĀmirī'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 become tired of this responsibility. Then he asserts that Allah is the only provider, generous and most powerful:

وادخر عولة العيال فلا تد	ري بأي الأمور يأتى القضاء
لا تكلهم لغير ربك يوما	قد يمل الإخوان والآباء
إن ربهم بهم لخبير	وهو يفعل فيهم ما يشاء
حافظ سامع قريب مجيب	وكريم يدوم منه العطاء
رزق كل الورى عليه ومنه	جل ربي وماله شركاء ³

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

يا ربنا يا ربنا يا ذا الجلال	أمن علينا بانفراج ما نزل
وأبدل العسر سريعا يا مجيب	أجب دعائي يا سميع يا قريب

¹Ibid., vol. 2, p. 212.

²Ibid., vol. 2, p. 212.

³Al-ʿĀmirī's *Rihla*, p. 89. For more details about this poem, see supra, pp. 130-2.

هون علينا أمرنا لدى السفر ونفس الخطب لنقضي الوطر
ويسر الأمر بأمر شامل ونجنا من كل خطب هائل¹

3.1.2 Prophetic Commendations and Ṣūfism

A point worth stressing at the beginning of this discussion is that the Ṣūfīs we refer to are those among the Moroccan travellers; their beliefs were very different from the religious Ṣūfism which reached its peak in the fourth/tenth century with Ṣūfī thinkers and poets such as al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922), Ibn al-Fārīḍ (d. 632/1235), and Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638/1240). These held some beliefs, which, “Deny the principle of unity on which Islam is based”², such as *wiḥdat al-wujūd*, (pantheism) *al-ittiḥād*, (union) and *al-ḥulūl* (immanentism).³ In addition to this, their poems were characterised by obscurity and the use of symbols. However, the main stream of Ṣūfism prevailing in Morocco at that time was that of *al-Shāḍiliyya*,⁴ which was much closer to Sunnī belief.⁵ However, Moroccan Ṣūfism 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 Ṣūfism was felt in all aspects of academic life because education was based on Ṣūfism and most scholars and poets were originally Ṣūfīs, the travellers

¹Al-Rāfi‘ī’s *Riḥla*, p. 104.

²R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1914), p. 154.

³These 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 al-‘Arabī, 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 (*sirr*) as revealed in creation.” Regarding *ḥulūl* as can be understood (in p. 157) from the Abū Nasr al-Sarrāj’s criticism in *Kitāb al-Luma’* to Ṣūfīs who believe that, “When they pass away from their qualities they enter into the qualities of God. This leads to incarnation (*ḥulūl*) or to the Christian belief concerning Jesus.” Then al-Sarrāj (p. 158) refutes those who believe in *ittiḥād* 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 Hujwīrī regarding union, “As concentration of thought upon the desired object.” Giving examples of Majnūn Laylā [living in the Umayyad period] who saw only her Laylā in the whole world, and all created things assumed the form of his beloved Laylā, also, the cell of Bāyazīd who when he was asked by someone who came to him, “Is Bāyazīd here?” He answered, “Is any one here but God?.” These doctrines are taken from the Nestorian Christian theory that the divinity (*lāhūt*) unites with the humanity (*nāsūt*).

⁴For details about this order, see *infra*, pp. 62 and 76.

⁵Hijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā’iyya*, p. 50. See the examples given in chapter five on pp. pp. 202-3 and 211.

did not compose in their *Rihlāt*, separate poems on Ṣūfī themes. However, the influence of Ṣūfism is apparent in their poems, in the use of Ṣūfī expressions and in the reflection of Ṣūfī beliefs, particularly in prophetic commendation and praise of the Prophet's family, his companions and Ṣūfī *Awliyā'*.

The travellers paid considerable attention to prophetic commendations. For instance al-Murābiṭ followed his father's steps in his interest in composing prophetic commendations. Al-Murābiṭ devoted himself to this poetic theme and never diverted to any other. He not only praised the Prophet but also entreated him.¹ Al-ʿAyyāshī, also, dedicated most of his poetry to prophetic commendations, composing more than forty-two poems on this theme.² He said in one of his poems that true praise is the praise of the Prophet, the praise of others is satire:

وجربت في دفع الردى كل حيلة فلم أرى في شيء سوى مدحه النجا
فما المدح إلا ما يخص جنابه ومدح سواه في الحقيقة كاهجا³

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 Ṣūfī scholars, as mentioned above, it is to be expected that the travellers' *Rihlāt* would be filled with prophetic commendations. These *Rihlāt* were like diaries which recorded important religious duties including performing *al-Ḥajj* 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-Ḥijāz, and for some reasons they were not able to accompany them. However,

¹Al-Saqqāṭ, 'al-Shā'ir Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad al-Murābiṭ', pp. 201-3.

²Amahzūn, *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, p. 59.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 10.

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 entreaty 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-ʿAyyāshī, 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-ʿAyyāshī 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:

فهل لي وصل والمهامة بيننا	وبينك قفر والجبال بوادخ
وأرض يحار الفكر في قطعها فما	تعد به أميالها والفراسخ
يحار القطا في قطعها وتكل عن	تجاوز أدناها المطايا الروائخ
فيا بعد ما أرجو من الوصل إنني	من المال صفر الكف والرجل بانخ
فما ترك المشتاق للوصل حيلة	وما ساعد التوفيق بالعزم رائخ
أرجو وصالا للنبي محمد	وإني لثوب التوب بالذنب لاطخ ¹

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

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 11.

ترى هل لي منى بمنى وهل لي
 وهل بالخيف خيف أو بسفح
 وهل بالجزع لي جزع التمني
 وهل بالشعب شعب الخال مني
 وهل لي أن أرى بقبا وسلع
 ففي تلك المغايي لي معان
 وفي تلك المعاهد أهل ود
 بجمع جمع شملي في انتظام
 لدمع العين سفح في الخيام
 وهل ألوي لكاظمة زمام
 وهل أستاك من ذاك البسام
 وأظفر في المدينة بالمقام
 وفي تلك الربوع شفا سقام
 وصدق واعتلاء واحترام¹

Al-Zabādī 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.² This idea and expression are often found in the work of Ṣūfī writers.³ Al-Zabādī says:

خليلي إن عايستما أرض طيبة
 ووافيتما الروض الشريف وكنتما
 فقولا له بعد السلام محبكم على
 ونور الذي من نوره الشمس والبدر
 تجاه الذي لا يستطيع له قدر
 شوقه قد عاقه عنكم العذر⁴

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-Zabādī says:

رحلوا وهم ما سأل عني سائل
 ساروا إلى أرض الحجاز ويمسوا أرضا بها للنازلين مسائل
 وحدا بهم حاديهم في مهمة
 أرامه لرضى الحبيب وسائل
 لاحت لهم آكام نجد والربي
 فتواجدوا فالكل منهم مائل⁵

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-Zabādī says:

فؤادي هذا منزل الحب فامض
 ويا عين ذا ما كنت تبغين فانظر

¹Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 75.

²This issue is discussed in detail in chapter four, see supra, pp. 149-52.

³Ṣābir 'Abd al-Dāyīm, *al-Adab al-Ṣūfī: Itijāhātuhi wa Khaṣā'isuhu* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1984), p. 50.

⁴Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 320.

⁵Ibid., p. 320. Al-Zabādī mentioned in the last line to the *wajd* state which will be discussed later in detail as Ṣūfī ritual on p. 209.

تبدت لنا أعلام طيبة والحشا يطير لها مثل الحمام المنفر
فهذي قباء والعقيق وهذه قباب البقيع المستير المظفر
وتلك التي أربت على الكل قبة حوت سيد الكونين فاهناً وابشر¹

Al-ʿAyyāshī paints an attractive picture, whereby he portrays their camels as sharing the happiness at approaching Medina, as follows:

خليلي ما للعيس في سيرها تعد ومن قبل أعيت من يسوق ومن يجد
أظهر لها علما يقينا بأنها لقبر رسول الله قد أصبحت تغد
لذلك لم تجزع لحر أصابها كما جزعت بالأمس إذ مسها الجهد
فلا تعجبوا من علمها باقترابها وليس لها بالدار من قبل ذا عهد
ففضل رسول الله في الكون ظاهر أقرت به العجماء والحجر الصلد
وأنوار أرض حلها قد تالأت أحست به الأبصار والعظم والجلد²

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

دنت فدنت أعلامها فبدا لنا من الشوق في الأحشاء ما لم يكن بيد
عليها من الرحمن أزكى تحية تدوم دواما ما لآخره حد
تكاد من الأشواق أرواحنا لها تطير ولم تجزع وإن نالها كد
ولولا الذي عاقها من جسوننا لطارت ولكن الجسوم لها قيد³

Al-Murābiṭ 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:

ومن الجديدة جدد التسيار للجبل المفرح مهجتي وفؤادي
فيه يلوح لك العقيق فإنه وبه ترى مغنى النبي الهادي
تحكي النجوم قبابه ومناره بدر يلوح لحاضر وباد
فمتى قليبي جئته فأنهض وذر عنك الرحال وأم ذاك الناد
نادي النبي وقبل القبر الإمام المصطفى واخضع في ذاك وناد⁴

¹Ibid., p. 98.

²Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 232.

³Ibid., vol. 1, P. 232.

⁴Al-Murābiṭ's *Rihla*, pp. 121.

Then, he says:

ومتع الوجنات في ذاك الحمى بغير تعفير فذاك مراد
وتقلب في موطن قد طال ما قد خصه جبريل بالترداد
يهوي له من أفق سدرة منتهى بمواكب الأملاك والأجناد¹

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

خلي الدموع لوقتها يا مقلي وتمتع
وتغنم طيب اللقاء ورد لذيذ المشرع
هذا الذي يوم القيا به راج خير مشفع
هذا الذي إن جد أز رى بالعيوب الهمع
فترقي خلع القبو ل مع الندى المتنوع²

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:

فؤادي له يوم الرحيل تلهف وروحي لها نحو الحبيب تشوق
وعيني لها إطلاع إلى الحمى لذاك ترى منها المدامع تذرف
وشوقي مزداد وصبري ذاهب ووجدني مستبط ووجدني متلف
وكيف اصطبار دون من شهدت له من الذكر آي محكمات تعرف³

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

وقفنا تجاه المصطفى لوداعه فلا دمع إلا للوداع صبيناه
ولا صبر كيف الصبر عند وداعه وهيهات حسن الصبر عنه صرفناه
أيصبر ذو عقل لفرقة أحمد فلا والذي من قاب قوسين أدناه⁴

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

عسى الله يدنيني لأحمد ثانيا فيا حبذا قرب الحبيب ومدناه

¹Ibid., p. 122.

²Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 9.

³Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 138.

⁴Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 102.

فيا ربنا ارزقنا لمغناه عودة فإن زمانا لا نراه كرهناه
رحلنا وخلفنا لديه قلوبنا وكم جسد من غير قلب قلبناه
ولما تركنا ربه من ورائنا فلا ناظر إلا إليه رددناه
لنغتم منه نظرة بعد نظرة فلما اغبناه السرور غبناه
فلا عيش يهنا بعد فقد محمد أفقد محبوبي وعيشي أهناه¹

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

بلد المصطفى الرسول شفيح الخلق من يحتمي به الأنبياء
أول الخلق أعدل الناس أركى الخلق أحجل من لديهم حياء
أحزم الخلق أعزم أركى الخلق أعلم من هم علماء²

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-Zabādī composed such a poem to be recited at the Prophet's grave for a *baraka*, according to his belief. This poem is full of Ṣūfī meanings, such as that light was created from his light and souls were created from his soul.³ 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 حباه الله كل فضيلة وأولاه ما أولاه من غاية القرب
خليفته في خلقه وحجابه وأسراره في الكون وآياته في الترب
فمن نوره الأنوار والسر سره ومن روحه الأرواح والطين للطب
فلو أبحر الأكوان حبرا وما بها من القشب أقلاما مدى الدهر في كتب
لضاعت ولم يبلغ من المدح والثنا إلى عشر المعشار من قدره الرب⁴

¹Ibid., p. 122. Also see the poem of Ibn al-Ṭayyib given as an example of psychological imagery on p. 161.

²Al-Āmirī's *Rihla*, p. 98.

³As mentioned above, this Ṣūfī theory is known as *al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya* or *al-Nūr al-Muḥammadi*, is investigated in detail in the next chapter, see, supra, p. 149-52.

⁴Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, 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-Zabādī says in one of his poems:

فلو كنت في زمن المصطفى لشاركت أصحابه الحنفاء
 وهاجرت معه إلى طيبة وجاهرت معه أهل أهيل الجفا
 وأرعبته عنقي عندما أراد الصعود لتلك الصفا
 وكنت له ترزا عندما رماه وأدماه من قد جفا
 وبارزت من شا البراز ولم أقصر بيدر عن العرفا¹

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 Ṣūfīs' 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-Dilā'ī 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'iyīn 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.² For instance, al-Murābiṭ says:

هو أحمد ومحمد والمصطفى الماحي الردى ومناهج الإلحاد
 فبه فعذ وتلسوذ بدمامه تظفر بما قهوى لدا استنجد
 وسل الرضا لك والتهاني في غد والوالدين وجملة الأولاد³

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

يا أكرم الخلق مسكين قد انقطعت أسبابه من سوى عليك فاستجب

¹Ibid., p. 58.

²Al-Saqqāt, *al-Shi'r al-Dilā'ī*, p. 126.

³Al-Murābiṭ's *Rihla*, p. 121.

بك استجرت ونعم المستجار به . وحق رب من استعطاك لم يجب
فأنت ذو الجود والإكرام سيدنا وأنت أشد عماد العجم والعرب¹

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-Zabādī says:

أيا سيد السادات في العجم والعرب على بابك الميمون قد وقف الأرب
أتاك ابن موسى والслаمي وأحمد وصاحبنا الحلقاوي بالشوق والرغب
فأكرمهم إكرام أكرم مرسل وأعط جميعا منهم فوق ما طلب
وقد حملوا عبد المجيد إليكم وقد كان يفضي في توصله العجب³

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-Bayt*, such as 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Nafisa, daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. 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-Zabādī praised the Prophet's family in two separate poems. In one of them, he states his love for

¹Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 107.

²Details about the forbidden and lawful types of entreaty according to the Sunnī teaching are given in the coming chapter see supra, pp. 145-9.

³Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 111.

⁴Al-Akhḍar, *al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī al-Maghrib*, p. 248.

them by relating a wonderful symbolic Ṣūfī love story, in which the poet writes of his longing to meet his mistress:

وتزدان المحافل والصدور	بآل البيت تنشرح الصدور
وفي ظلما لياليه بـدور	لأيام الزمان هم شمس
إحسان رحي العليا تدور	عليهم إذ هم أقطاب فضل
بها اجتمع الملاحاة والسرور	فما حب امرئ يهوى فتاة
وشب الحب إذ شاب الشعور	تعشقه خلبي القلب طفلا
بمعناها ومغناها يزور	يجوب لوعدها البيدا ويحدوا
ري بأن الوعد زور	تواعده وتعطله فيرجوا ومايد
تزور إذا ارتخت منه الستور	ويسهر ليله طمعا عساها
وما إقبالها إلا نفور ¹	وليس مزارها إلا وعودا

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:

فبا لله قوم ليس تحصى مناقبهم وليس لها نظير

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:

فما نبذ الهوى إلا غرور	فلا تنبذ هواهم ما أقاموا
وفي القرآن فضلهم شهير	لم لا والرسول بذاك أوصى
وينشر فضلهم إلا قصور ²	وما مدح امرئ والذكر يتلى

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:

ومن أضحى على الغبراء يسير	هي الزهراء سادت من وارى
وقد يخفى لطالعة مسير	هي الغبراء لا يخفى سناها
فأين المسك منها والغبير	فضائلها لها نشر عطير

¹Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 180. For more details about this poem, see supra, p. 141.

²Ibid., p. 181.

مداد منه قد مدت بحور ودر منه قلدت النحور¹

After that, al-Zabādī uses praise as an access to entreat Fāṭima and her sons for guidance and recovery for himself and his family. Ṣūfī imagery² appears when he expresses his deep love for them by mentioning cups of full of passion:

آل البيت سألتكم شفاء من الأسقام حتى لا تجور
خذوا بيدي وقودوني وسوقوا إلى سبل الرشاد فأستنير
فإني لا استقامة لي إذا لم تقودوني إلى ما فيه نور
وعموا والدي وآل بيتي وكل فتى له حق يسير
وليس بناقص أن تطعموني كؤوس الوصل ملئ فلتدير³

Al-Zabādī praises Nafīsa, daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 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 Nafīsa will gain what he desires:

وإذا راع بالخطوب أناسا لا تخف أربعا ذا أو خميسه
إن حصن الخطوب بنت رسول الله مولاتنا الفتاة نفيسه
ذات مجد إلى ندى وإلى حلم إلى أشرف الخلال النفيسه
من أتى بابها يفز بمناها ويرى من صباحه تنفيسه⁴

Al-‘Ayyāshī also, praises ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and entreats in him as a means to achieve his hope to return home safely and swiftly:

ألا يا أبا السبطين يا فارس الحرب ويا قدوة الأبطال في الطعن والضرب
قصدتك يا زوج البتول وخير من ينم لخير الخلق بالصهر والقرب
لتشفع عند الله لي فيمديني بيسر وتيسير إلى بلد الغرب
فلي فيه أفراخ يعز عليهم فراقني وأخشى أن أعاق عن الركب
ووالدة قد أوجب الله حقها يحن لها روعي ويصبوا لها قلب

¹Ibid., p. 182.

²For more details about this imagery, see supra, pp. 139 and 153-4.

³Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 182. For more explanation, see supra, pp. 141-2.

⁴Ibid., p. 180.

فيسر وعجل بالوصول إليهم وقرب مسيري بالمسرة يارب¹

Al-Murābiṭ praises and entreats the Prophet's companions, in particular, the first two caliphs, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, then the Prophet's uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Al-Murābiṭ's poems reflect the attitude of *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*; entreaty characterises most poems produced by its scholars, including al-Murābiṭ, 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:

فلأنت أكرم من حمى متضرعا بجنابه الأحمى مدى الآماد
ولأنت أسمى من تسامى أمل لنواله الأسمى بلا تعداد
أو لست ثاني من خير من وطئ الثرا ...حيث بغى ذوو الأنكاد
أو لست صاحبه بهجرته التي عظمت مزاياه عن التعداد
فحبك الضخم العرى محمد وبجبه لك تمنحني رشاد
وتجبرني وأحبتني من كل تخشى عواقبه بيوم تناد²

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

وإذا ظفرت من الخليفة بالمنى فادج لصاحبه نزيل فسواد
عمر الضجيع له وثالث من غدا في الحجرة الشما بلا استبعاد
صهر النبي المصطفى ووزيره ونصيره في أزمة وجهاد³

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

ومؤمل في كل خطب قد دها بسواغت للحادثات شداد
فدع الرحال ببابه متلوذا بقبابه تعصم من الأكماد
فلهو أكرم من أجار متيما وإمام آمله بخير مهاد⁴

¹ Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 353.

² Al-Murābiṭ's *Riḥla*, p. 123.

³ Ibid., p. 123.

⁴ Ibid., p. 123.

Al-Murābiṭ continues praising and entreating the rest of the Prophet's companions at the graves of al-Baqī' and al-Shuhadā' in Uḥud and singles out the Prophet's uncle, Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib:

ومتى إنشيت بما تروم وترتجي	من لثم ذاك اللؤلؤ الوقاد
فزر البقيع ومن به من سادة	غتر الوجوه سماء آساد
يوم التضارب بالصواري والقنا	والشهب تشرق من دجا الأعماد
واحث مطيتك السريعة وابتدر	أحدا لدى الأعوان والأنجاد
والثم ضريحا ضم أشتات العلى	ضم السמידع للظبا بنجاد
لأبي عماره حمزة الشامي الذرى	من معشر كالأغصن المياد ¹

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,² Al-Murābiṭ says:

ومتى التثمت ثرى الكرام مقبلا	آثارهم فاخضع لذي الأمجاد
وقل السلام عليكم من شبق فلق	الحشا بكم وحليف سهاد
مترادف الحسرات ذا خلد غدا	يرجو شفاعتكم بيوم معاد ³

3.1.4. Praise and Entreaty of Prophets and Scholars

The Moroccan travellers desired to visit bilād 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 Ibrāhīm

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, *Saḥīḥ Muslim*, trans. Ṣiddīqī, 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'ān, *sūrat Ṭaha*, 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, *sūrat Saba'*, verse 23. See *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'ān*, trans. M. Khan and M. al-Hilali, pp. 456 and 608.

³Al-Murābiṭ's *Riḥla*, 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-ʿAyyāshī, for instance, says that during his stay in Hebron, he composed a poem praising the Prophet Ibrāhīm al-Khalil as a means to obtain his hopes and left it with the scholar, Ibrāhīm al-Marwānī at al-Khalil's Mosque, in order to attain a blessing by having it read in that blessed place. Al-ʿAyyāshī says that he has come to the father of prophets, seeking for assistance to attain his hopes:

أجوب الجبال السود نحوك سائرا	ألا يا خليل الله جئتك زائرا
إليك فلو أسطيع جئتك طائرا	يقود بي التوفيق والشوق سائق
بذاك بحمد الله أصبحت ظافرا	وقد كنت قدما أرتجي الوصل ها أنا
ذليلا منيبا حامدا لله شاكرا	وقفت بباب الجود بابك خاضعا
أبا الرسل عنك أن ترد حواسرا	مددت أكف الفقر نحوك حاش يا
لأم القرى لما امتثلت الأوامرا ¹	وأنت الذي سر القرى ودعا الورى

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:

ضيوفا وقد أصبحت ضيفا حاضرا	وأنت خليل الله أول من قرا
طلبت من المولى وأنت كنت آثرا ²	وإن قرأي أن أجاب بكل ما

Then he lists his hopes:

لسانا مدا الأوقات لله ذاكرا	تنله بها قلبا منيبا مقارنا
وعمرنا طويلا بالمعارف عامرا	وإحضر قلب في العبادات كلها
بعفو يكون للاثم غافرا ³	وعافية مقرونة كل لحظة

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2. p. 347.

²Ibid., vol. 2, p. 348.

³Ibid., vol. 2, p. 348.

Al-ʿAyyāshī, when he passed a grave in bilād al-Zāb in Algeria alleged to be the grave of an unknown prophet called Khālid b. Sinān,¹ praised him and entreated him to protect him from dangers and to forgive his misdeeds. He says:

يا نبي الإله يا ابن سنان خالدا جـد لخائف بأمان
مذنب يطلب السماح ويرجو نفحة تطلق الأسير العان
قد أناخ ببابكم مستجيرا بجنابك من صروف الزمان
فاحمه أنت خير من يمنع الجا ر ويطعن دونه بسنان²

As already mentioned, praise poems were sometimes composed as an access to entreaty. Al-ʿAyyāshī 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:

وقصدتك مادحا بنظام مثل زهر الربا ونظم جمان
فتقبل بفضل جودك مني حلة رمت نسجها بلسان
يا نبي الله فاجعل جزائي بالذي أبتغي وسكني الجنان³

Visiting graves of scholars and *Awliyāʾ* 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 *Awliyāʾ* to achieve their goals on the journey.⁴

Al-Zabādī, for instance, visited the grave of the renowned Ṣūfī scholar known as al-Badawī,⁵ when he was staying in Egypt on his way to al-Ḥijāz, and he praised and

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī 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-ʿAyyāshī confirms that the most correct view is what he was told by his *Shaykh* al-Sijistānī, 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 Qurʾān, (*sūrat*, Yāsīn, verse 13), this opinion is supported by those who say that Bilād al-Zāb is made of the inhabitants of the village. See al-ʿAyyāshī'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 Kathīr mentions in *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm* (Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, [n.d.]), vol. 3, p. 482 that the messengers of Jesus were Ṣādiq, Saddūq and Shalūm, or in another narration Shamʿūn, Yūḥannā and Būlṣ, and they were send to Anṭākya in Turkey.

²Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2. p. 415

³Ibid., vol. 2. p. 415.

⁴This matter is discussed in detail in the fifth chapter, see supra, pp. 203-6.

⁵He is Aḥmad al-Badawī 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 Ṣūfī 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-Badawī's grave. Al-Zabādī exaggerates his praise and entreaty of al-Badawī 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:

يا طالبا نيل المرام تزود لزيارة	البحر المحيط الأحمـد
سر كيف شئت مبحرا أو مقفرا	فالوفد محفوظ فلا تتردد
ما لزيد غير تضرع وتملق	فتذلل السؤال خير تزود
واقصد مقاما طالما قد أمه	الجم الغفير من الشراة الحمد
من سائلين وراغبين ورهب	أو قانتين وراكعين وسجد
أوسائحين وصابرين وخشع	أو صائمين وشاكرين وهجد
فيعود كل منهم بمرامه	والصدر منشرح بذاك المحتد ¹

Then al-Zabādī praises al-Badawī 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:

شمس السماء تغار من أنواره	والبدر ينجل من كمال السؤدد
وعلوه في المكرمات معارجا	طول المدى يزري بأعلى فرقده
فاقصده يا من قلبه في غفلة	مثلي ويا من ذنبه لم يعدد
لذ بالإمام الأريحي وعذبه	مما يخاف على ممر المسند ²

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

وهو الجواد بكل مأمول فلا تك	طالبا غير الكثير الجيد
وهو الذي من أمه نال المنى	ويفز بما يهواه عذب المورد
وله المزايا والسجايا كلها	ومناقب ومآثر لم تجحد ³

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

see I. R. Netton, *A popular Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 48-9. For more details about *al-Aḥmadiyya* order, see supra, p. 209.

¹Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 160.

²Ibid., p. 160.

³Ibid., p. 161.

كبر المقام فلم أجد من مدحة تشفي الغليل من العليل الأكمد
فاعذر فلو كلت الأيادي لم أجد مدحا يناسب قدركم يا سيد¹

When Moroccan pilgrims, including al-ʿAyyāshī, entered Egypt, they were warned against going to Alexandria, where the plague was rife, al-ʿAyyāshī turned immediately to compose a poem entreaty to the famous Ṣūfī scholar al-Mursī,² 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-ʿAyyāshī 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-Mursī'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-ʿAyyāshī starts his poem saying:

ملاذي إذا ضاقت لكربتها نفسي وغوثي أبو العباس سيدنا المرس
رئيس ذوي العرفان في كل بلدة ووارث علم الشاذلي بلا لبس
محبته ذخر لكل ملمة وأنسي في خوفي وفي وحشتي أنسي
فمن صح من أهل السلوك انتسابه إليه أيخشي صولة الجن والإنس³

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

فكيف أراع بعد قربك بالعدا من الناس طرا أو من الجن بالمس
فأنت رئيس الأولياء فكن لنا بفضلك من شر الوباء أعظم الترس
لتشفع لنا لله يذهب بشر ما نخاف من الطاعون يصبح أو يميس
ويبلغنا ما نرتجي من إقامة بطيبة بعد الحج والمشى للقدس⁴
ويرجعنا من بعد ذا بلادنا بأعظم أجر دون نقص ولا وكس⁵

¹Ibid., p. 161.

²His full name is Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Mursī. He belonged to an Andalusian family, but he lived and died in Alexandria in 686/1287. See Al-Zirkli, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 1, p. 179. Al-Mursī was the chief disciple of al-Shādhilī to whom the *Shādhiliyya* 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 *Shādhilī Zawāyā*. See A. Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, p. 212.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī'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.

⁵Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 116.

Although in another poem al-ʿAyyāshī started by looking forward to Allah to clear away this plague, as follows:

إنا رجوناك لنيل المني ودفع ما قد يتقى من وبال
لاسيما هذا الوباء الذي أمامنا عجل له بانتقال
وطهر الأرض بفضلك من رجز يذيق الخلق مر النكال¹

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

بالدوي بالدسوقي بمن في السهل منهم أو رؤوس الجبال
بالحاتمي بالرفاعي بمن في الشرق والغرب عديم المثال
بقطب ذا الوقت بأوتاده بالغوث والأبدال أهل النوال
سكن وأمن روعة الناس من هذا الوباء شديد الخال³

When he came near to Cairo, the site of the grave of the *Imām* al-Shāfiʿī⁴ and a large number of famous scholars and righteous men, al-ʿAyyāshī composed another poem distinguished by unacceptable exaggeration, such as is found in his previous poem or al-Zabādī's poem mentioned above. He first entreats *al-Imām* al-Shāfiʿī, whom he credits with unlimited influence in this country, so no hopes in him can be disappointed:

يا أيها الشافعي الخبر عبدكم إلى حماكم مخافة الردى فزعا
مثلك من يمنع الجار فجاركم من كل سوء بفضل الله قد منعنا
لك التصرف في هاذي البلاد فلا يخيب عبد لغيث جودك انتجعا
فاحم أجر أغث عبدا لبابك قد حث الركاب ولم يعبا بمن دفعا⁵

¹Ibid., vol. 1, p. 113.

²The *quṭb*, (Axis) [pl. *Aqṭāb*] is commonly called today, the *ghawth* (help). The *quṭb* is called as such because he is the centre on which the world pivots. Below the *Quṭb* stand various classes and grades of sanctity including four *Awtād* [sing. *watād*] on which the universe rests. Below them are seven or forty *Abdāl* [sing. *Badal*] 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-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 114.

⁴Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī 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 Shāfiʿī School of jurisprudence founded by his disciples [students as one of the four main law schools of Sunnī 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-ʿAyyāshī'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-*ʿAyyāshī*, 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, *ʿAlāhm*, who had discussed academic topics with him and had given al-*ʿAyyāshī* access to his library. When al-*ʿAyyāshī* wanted to leave, the ruler ordered him to write down the discussion, which had occurred between them. So, al-*ʿAyyāshī* wrote it down including two lines in the praise of the ruler, saying that the rulers are great many, non of them as [the ruler] *ʿAlāhm* in his justice:

فإن ولاية الأمر في كل بلد كثيرون ولكن الأمير علاهم
علاهم علاهم إذ تحلوا بحلية من العدل والمدوح رقم حلاهم³

Al-Zabādī 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:

يأهل بدر فزتم بمزية ما نالها أحد من الأخيار
شاركتم الأملاك في قهر العدى ومنصور دين المصطفى المختار⁴

¹This matter is discussed in detail in the next chapter, see supra, pp. 145-9.

²Al-*ʿAyyāshī's Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 353.

³Ibid., vol. 1, p. 48

⁴Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 58

Al-Rāfi'ī praised the scholar 'Alī Baraka for his wide knowledge, particularly in some kind of knowledge such as grammar, interpretation of the Qur'ān and jurisprudence:

حويتم علومها لا تحاط بكثرة	فنفسي لكم والآباء فداء
لكم في دقيق النحو باع وكيف لا	وفيكم ، هديتم ، للمداد شفاء
رسالة شيخ القيروان زمامها	ومقادها ألفت فداك الثناء
كذاك خليل للخليل أبحته	وأجلت إشكالا فلاح الضياء
لكم في الأصول والبيان ومنطق	مقام عليا جذا الارتقاء
لكم في الحديث راية المجد خفت	فحب لنا المجد وحب اللواء
وصرتم لدى التفسير أبحارا قد طمت	ونظمتم درا به يستضاء ¹

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

بطيبة قد خيمت بعد تعسف	وزرت شفيح الخلق في كل موقف
وصححت عزمي في الجوار بأرضه	وكان نزولي عند أفضل منصف
أخي وخليلي بل إمامي وسيدي	وجامع كل الفضل دون تخلف
فلما نزلنا أحسن النزل واللقا	وقام مقام الخادم المتلطف
وليس بعيب خدمة المرء ضيفه	ولكنها زيادة في التشرف
وبالغ في إكرامنا واحتفى بنا	ودام على حسن اللقا والتألف ²

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

يا شمس هذا العصر يا من	بدا بحلة العرفان أهبى طراز
وجدد الدين القويم وقد	عزت به السنة إلى اعتزاز
سيدنا الطود الإمام الذي	علا لمرقات المعالي وجاز
وحاز خير الخير من أصله	وجمع الفضل الجزيل وفاز ³

¹Al-Warrākī, 'Aṣḍā' min Ḥayāt Taṭwānī', p. 154.

²Al-'Ayyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, P. 37.

³Al-Qādirī's *Rihla*, p. 27

In another poem, al-Qādirī moved from describing the nature and caravans to praising Abū al-ʿAbbās:

والشمس ساطعة الضياء	كأنها وجه الإمام المرتضى في الناد
ذاك ابن عبد الله غوث زماننا	في القلوب ومنهل الورد
السيد المهدي لنا في عصرنا	كهف الأنام وبغية القصاد
عبرات مجتمع الفضائل كلها	المقتفي سر النبي الهادي
شمس المعارف والمغاني وبحر	ها الزاخر الفياض بالإمداد ¹

3.3. *al-Ikhwānīyāt* (Brotherly Poems)

Al-Ikhwānīyāt 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-Ikhwānīyāt* 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-Ḥajj* and visiting the Prophet's Mosque and his grave. The first thing al-ʿAyyāshī 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-Sharīf in Cairo, or al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca and al-Masjid al-Nabawī 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-ʿAyyāshī, who performed *al-Hajj* 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-ʿAyyāshī'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-ʿAyyāshī 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-ʿAyyāshī 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:

أحبتني أهل التقى والمبرة	بفاس بقيتم دائما في مسرة
ودام لكم سلما زمان محارب	ولا زلتم في نعمة مستمرة
تميسون ما بين الغصون وكأنكم	بدورا أضاءت في خلال المجرة
يذكرنيكم كل رفق رأيته	ولاسيما إن جاء برد العشية
كذلك إن هبت الصبا سحرا فيا	زمانا تقضى هل تحن بعودة

¹More details about these valuable parts of their *Rihlāt* are given in the fifth chapter, pp. 217- 224.

²As mentioned previously, see *infra*, p. 57-8.

يخيل لي وقت قطعناه معكم
وأيام أنس خارج المصر قد مضت
تشوقتها فازداد قلبي تحسرا
أخذناه من طرف الزمان بجلسة
لنا بين دوح في رياض أنيقة
فها أنا ذا ما بين شوق وحسرة¹

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-Qaṣabiyya* 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:

كأني صحي وفد الله جمعهم
يؤمنون قبر الشيخ مصباح دهره
يديرون كاسات المزاح كأنهم
فيا ليت شعري هل ترى يذكروني
فإن ذكروني عند ذلك إنهم
وهذا إذا ما قصدهم لزيارة
هنالك ينسى المرء من كان حاضرا
وعذرا لهم في ذاك أخرى إذا غدوا
ولاشك أن القوم إذ ذاك ما لهم
فلا يتسركونها لو تلوت عليهم
عشية يوم الأربعاء في البليدة
أبي جيدة في همة وسكينة
بدور الدياجي بين تلك الأجنة
هنالك أم ينسون من بعد فترة
سيدعون لي بالخير في كل زورة
وأما إذا مالوا إلى القصبية
فكيف بشخص في بلاد بعيدة
لأكل طعام جاء من غير قيمة
شعور بشيء غير تلك اللقيمة
أحاديث فضل الجوع مع ذم بطننة²

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:

وهذا مزاح فاسمحوا لعبد إنما
ولولا اعتقادي أن ذاك يستوكم
لأضربت صفحا عن مزاحكم وما
ولو كنت معكم كنت أعظم قائم
أراد يسلي القلب في أرض غربة
ولو قلت فيكم مثل ذا ألف مرة
كتبت إليكم من مزاح بلفظة
لكم بحقوق الود في كل لحظة³

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 69

²Ibid., vol. 1, p. 69.

³Ibid., vol. 1, p. 70.

Al-ʿAyyāshī exchanges praise poems with scholars of the cities he visited, or stayed in, during his journeys to perform *al-Hajj*. He wrote from Morocco to his friend, the scholar ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī in Medina to complain of his distress of being so far away from him, saying:

ولا ديار ولا رباع	لم يلهه عنكم قصور
له على الوجنة اندفاع	والدمع مذ غبتم وبنتم
إلا لذكركم استماع	والأذن ليس له لشيء
ذكرك ما لذي السماع	لو تركوا في السماع يوما
والمال ولأهل لويباع	أجود بالنفس في لقاكم
حرم من وصلكم رضاع ¹	كيف تطيب حياة في

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 Maḥlī and some scholars from Morocco and Egypt and thus, they exchanged letters and poems. Ibn Abī Maḥlī sent a letter to Sālim al-Ṣadir in Egypt asking him about this issue, with a praise poem enclosed:

على الحقيق مع اللجين والذهب	فخذ قلادة زار نظمه دررا
من الأئمة في عجم ومن عرب	واخصص بها سالم الصدر إذا اشتبهوا
يغلو بمصر ولا يرخص في حلب	وابث عليه من التسليم جوهرة
عن الزخارف بالأعراض لم تشب	جردتها من بنات الفكر غانية
على حدود طروس خالد الكتب	ودعتها ودموع الحبر جارية
كما فعلت بها وقيل لي ارتقب	واستودعتني من يرعى ودائعه
والشرق قاض متى يدعو أمر يجب	فقلت إن شاء رب الغرب يجمعنا
عن ألف تغر إلى يد من العرب ²	ختمتها وجواري الدهر باسمه

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

¹Ibid., vol. 2, P. 52.

²Ibn Abī Maḥlī's *Rihla*, ed. al-Qaddūri, p. 177.

وما كان ظني أن يسوء سؤالي
وقد جاب في الركب المشارق داويا
ليسعدوا في ترحاله بمساعدة
فعاد وقد طاف البلاد كما غدا
فيا ليت شعري ما اعتذر فحولها
وكفه صفر من عظيم نوال
يضل القطا من مغرب ابن هلال
يجيب إلى مطلوبه غير سال
وعذراؤه في خدرها بجلال
كأن ضربوا بمئسهم لمقال¹

Al-ʿAyyāshī sent a messenger with a letter containing a praise poem to his friend scholar, Muḥammad al-Makkī in Tripoli, asking to borrow *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, but the messenger returned with nothing, so al-ʿAyyāshī wrote another poem including praise and friendly reproach. Al-ʿAyyāshī says:

إنا لك المجد موروثا ومكتسبا
ماء الصبا ووقار العلم إذ مزجا
عدا إلى بابك الآمال فيض ندا
وقد سما أمني إليك يقدمه
وجهت وجه سؤالي لك حين غدا
ما كان ظني أن الوفد من أمني
حتى أتى رائدي سفر اليمين وقد
فعاتبتني وساوس الصدور ولم
فقلت عودة على بدء فعد أمني
قد يخلق النوء أحيانا فيعقبه
وللمقادير أوقات فرما
فإن يعد ثانيا من دون رغبته
حتى أنال المنى أو يقضي الناس من
زكا أصل وفرع أثمر الحسبا
بوجهك اكتسبا نورا به التها
منك سقا من نأى عنك ومن قدما
ظن جميل فلا تردده مكتسبا
وجهك قبلة من في الخير قد رغبا
ومن كتابي يعود كما ذهبنا
غدا بخفي حين منك محتفيا
أعبأ بها فرددت الوفد منقلبا
إن الجواد إذا استوهبته وهبنا
غيث يكون لذاك النواء منتسبا
صادفت غيث ندهاه اليوم منسكبا
فلا أرددنه بالرغم محتسبا
فعلي وفعلكم في ذلك العجبا²

Al-ʿAyyāshī was not disappointed, because the book was sent to him with a nice reply in the form of a poem.

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

¹Ibid., p. 154.

²Al-ʿAyyāshī'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 Sultān in Istanbul. One of scholars of Mecca, Ibrāhīm al-Maymūnī, therefore composed *Tahni'atu al-Islām bi Binā' Bayt Allah al-Ḥarām*, discussing these issues, and he dedicated a copy to his friend, al-ʿAyyāshī, who wrote a commendation of it, saying:

و طيبت بشذاها البيت والحرما	لله روضة علم أنبتت حكما
من دوحها وانتشق زهرا بها ابتسما	قره جفونك فيها واقتطف ثمرا
ما كان من درر في غيرها انقسما	قد جمعت موجبات المدح إذ جمعت
في غيرها من لآلي العلم فانتظما	نظمت في سلكها ما كان منتظما
أفنييت في عدها القرطاس والقلمما	جلت محاسنها عن أن تعد ولو
شاد بها من بناء الدين ما أهدهما	لله در إمام حاك حلتها
بحرمة الله طول الدهر محترما ¹	جزاه رب الوري خيرا وصيره

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-Aṣram, 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:

قسما بمكة والخطيم وزمزم	والركن والبيت الشريف الأعظم
ما إن سمعت بمشرق أو مغرب	كلا ولا في الروم أو الديلم
مثل الفقيه البارع اللسن الأديب اللوذعي محمد ابن الأصرم ²	

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:

أتحفتنا بالفل والياسمين	يا دوحة الجند والأكرمين
يا قرة العين يا مصطفى	نجل مقبل أنت ذو نبتين

¹Ibid., vol. 1, p. 143.

²Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, p. 44.

لله ما أهباك في بلدة تزهوا بما أوليت من نسمتين¹

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-Zabādī, 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:

سألتك يا إله العالمينا تنيل العلم زين العابدينا
وتطلعه على الدنيا عيانا فيتركها كفعل الزاهدينا
وتطلعه على الأخرى عيانا فيطلبها كحال الحامدينا²

The poets sometimes entertain themselves and show off their knowledge and poetic skill by exchanging riddle poems. Al-ʿAyyāshī composed a poem replying to a poem sent from his friend the grammarian, Yaḥyā b. al-Bāshā al-Aḥsāʿī, which contains a grammatical riddle:

يا مظهرا حير الألباب بمن في المعنى إذ غدا مستترا
ما زلت تبدي منه كل عجب ما خلت في كتب مسطرا
كل العلوم بكم تشرفت لاسيما النحو بكم تبخترا
أبدت منه لغزا لفهمه لا يهتدي من لم يكن تمهرا
وليس كل ماهر يدركه كم ماهر في مثله تحيرا
وذاك في كلمتين ركبت إحداهما مع أختها بلا مرا
تركيب تقييد وذا التركيب لا يقيد فهو لا يسمى خبرا³

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

¹Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Rihla*, p. 145.

²Ibid., p. 338.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 54.

أسيدنا أبا عمران إني يجبك بالسماع القلب مـني
 وكنت أود رؤيتكم وأدعو إلهي أن يقر بذاك عيني
 وحين أتيت مصرك زاد شوقي لرؤيتكم وزال الصبر عني
 وكيف الصبر بعد حلول أرض بكم شرفت ونالت كل حسن
 فجئتك طالبا في يوم عيد نوالك بل أسلم بل أهني¹

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-^cAyyāshī has granted an *ijāza* to his colleague, al-Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in Medina, saying that he is the one who should be given an *ijāza* from his colleague:

أجزتك لكن مثلكم من يجيزني ولم يستفد مـني ولكن يفيدني
 بما قد سمعت من شيوخي قراءة من الشيخ أو مـني وهم يسمعونني
 وكل الذي أرويه مما أجازني وناولني من بالرواية يعتني
 وكل الذي حملته بجملته بشرط لدى أهل الحديث مبين
 وما صح أني قد رويت لديكم فاخبر به عني وحدث وعنـعن
 خصوصا حديث الأولية إنني أجزت به من قبل كل معين²

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

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-Riḥla*, 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 Ṣūfī education through the use of Ṣūfī 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:

ولما برزنا لتوديعهم بكوا لؤلؤا وبكينا عقيقا
أداروا علينا كئوس الفراق فهيهات من سكرها أن نفيقا
تولوا فاتبعتهم أدمعي فصاحوا الغريق فصحت الحريقا²

Al-‘Ayyāshī 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).³ 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:

ولم أنسها يقظانة الهم في الحشا مبلبلة الأشجان وسنانة الطرف
تقول وقد جد الرحيل أها كذا تحملي ثقل الفراق على ضعف
أترك أفراخا كزغب القطا وما رحمت بنيك إذ سلوت عن الإلف
فقلت لها كفي الملام وأعرضت كخسف النقا تستعرض الدمع بالكف
فودعتها والقلب منطبق على أساه ودمعي لا يعمل من الوكف

¹These Ṣūfī images and others are discussed in chapter four, pp. 139 and 153-4.

²Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Riḥla*, p. 24.

³The quotation is underlined in the poem above. Al-Ḥuṭay’a’s full name is al-Ḥuṭay’a b. Mālik al-‘Absī. He was born in the pre-Islamic era and died in 45/665. Al-Zirkli, *al-A‘lām*, vol. 2, p. 118.

عليك سلام لا زيارة بيننا مع البعد إلا أن أزور مع الطيف¹

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-Zabādī, 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:

يا مائل القلب لذات الودع	ارحل لها بالجد واللهدع
سلم على الغرب وذر أهله	وبفناء المصطفى ضع
ومرغ الخد على بابه	يا سعد من في بابه قد خضع
من لم يكن نال اليمنى في منى	ولم يكن في طيبة قد خشع
فإنه في عدم لم تنزل حياته	ليس بها منتفع ²

Al-ʿAyyāshī 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-ʿAyyāshī says:

ابني إني ما تركتك عن قلى	مني وأختك ما قلت وصاها
لكما بقلبي رحمة ومودة	بنياط قلبي قد عقدت حباها
لكن من طلبي العزيز يلذ لي	تركي العزيز بهاءه وجمها
إني ليذكركي بها داعي الهوى	فأقول مالي إذا ينست وماها
قد ذقت بعدكما وبعدي ذقتما	نار السفراق فما أمضى وبها ³

Al-ʿAyyāshī also describes how, while watching the al-ʿAqīq 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-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 14.

²Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 93.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 13.

اذكري زمنا عند الذين بهم أفاخر الشهب في وسط الدجا سحرا
 قومي وأهلي ومن ألبست بينهم شرخ الشباب نظيفا طيبا عطرا
 فاستبدلت منهم نفس المشوق سوى طيب مجاورة المختار من حضرا
 اكرم بذا بذلا قد فاز آخذه لو أنه في الشراء أذفع العمرا¹

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-Ṣibā 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-Zabādī says in a poem sent from al-Hijāz 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 Abū al-ʿAbbās:

لله قلب غائب في مشرق والجسم رهن حاضر في فاس
 ما لاح من نجد بريق أو صـ نبت منه الصبا إلا ربت أنفاس
 أتذكر الإخوان أهل الصدق من تركوا سقامي ماله من آس
 شط المزار وقل صبري بعدهم فالقلب مني مستهام آس
 يا ليت شعري هل أراي معهم في روضة ذات الجنا والآس
 وأفوز بالوصل المؤمل عاجلا من بغيتي الأرضى أبي العباس
 مازال ملحوظا بعين رعاية والله يحميه ضروب الباس²

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

هبّت الريح من الغرب فجاءتني برحك
 كيف أنساك وروحي صنعت من جنسي روحي

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-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 347.

whether they are still in such good condition as he left them or not. Al-Yūsī says in one of them:

يا نسيم هب بربك وأت بخبر
كيف كانوا منذ غيبي أبنعمي أو بشر
قد عهدناهم بخير بحمد الله وستر
فهل الدهر كما كان أمير حلف بر¹

When al-ʿAqīq River flowed and the inhabitants of Medina, including al-ʿAyyāshī, 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:

جری العقیق ودمعی كالعقیق جری
الوجد أوری نارا فی الحشا فصلی
اذكرنی جریه جری السوابق بی
وظله والنسیم بجوانبه أكربی
اذكرنی زما عند الذین بهم أفـ اخر الشهب فی وسط الدجا سحرا
قومی وأهلی ومن ألبست بینهم
فاستبدلت منهم نفس المشوق سوی
اکرم بذأ بذلا قد فاز آخذه
فلا تسل سائلی عما جری
به الفؤاد فسأل الدمع مبتدرا
بین الكتائب فی الميدان معتجرا
فسری الأحزان حین سری
شرخ الشباب نظیفا طیبا عطرا
طیب مجاورة المختار من حضرا
لو أنه فی الشراء أذفع العمرا²

It seems that the rainy season was the time that most reminded al-ʿAyyāshī 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:

بلادی التي كنت فیها هنیا سقاك علی البعد نوء الشریا
وحیا الإله جماها ومن ثوی بفناها وبیا
فسقیا ورعیاً لمربعنا فكم قد حبا الحی سقیا ورعیاً³

¹Ibid., p. 102. The other poem is given as an example of metaphor in the next chapter, p. 159.

²Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 272.

³Ibid., vol. 2, p. 418.

Al-‘Ayyāshī’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:

يا رحلة كلما قصرت شفتها بالسير طالت فعادت شهرها حيناً
تسعا وعشرين شهراً أتوهمها من السنين غدت عشراً وتسعيناً¹

Also, when the pilgrims sent messengers to inform their families that they would be arriving shortly, al-‘Ayyāshī 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:

حملت جنين الشوق في بطن مكة زمانا إلى أن آن منها انفصاله
فزاد نموا فاستوى عندما غدا ثلاثين شهراً حملة وفصاله²

3.5. Description

In general, all poetic themes depend on the poet’s imagination and descriptive expressions. So, Ibn Rashīq believes that all poetry, with only a few exceptions, falls under the *waṣf* (description) category.³ However, what we mean here is pure description, such as description of natural scenes, pilgrims’ caravan, the road stages and performing *al-Hajj* 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 *Rihlāt* of al-Murābiṭ and al-‘Āmirī, 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 ‘Abd al-Salām, composed a separate poem on this theme, in his *Rihla*. 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-Hijāz they almost all happily describe *al-Ka‘ba* and the holy places,

¹Ibid., vol.2, p. 418.

²Ibid., vol. 2, p. 419.

³Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, *al-‘Umda fī Maḥāsīn al-Shi‘r wa Adābihi*, ed. Muḥammad Qaqazān (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 1988), vol. 2, p. 1059.

including ʿArafāt and Minā, performing the rituals of *al-Hajj*, or the visiting of the Prophet's Mosque.

As previously mentioned, al-Murābiṭ 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 Wādī 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 ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ's grave² in Tawzar to entreat him:

وخذوا لواد خالد من مائه	ما تبلغون به لذاك الناد
نادي السميدع خالد من بعد أن	تستنجدوا من ثم من إنجاد
لقراع أعراب هناك تمالوا طرا	على الإرجاف والإفساد
وتنكبوا الزاب المروع يسرة	لأراذل فهم عين كل فساد
وتداركوا أطام بسكرة	التي هي المرام وبغية الرصاد
وتزودوا منها لتوزر وامتروا	وانحوا بخارجها منى القصاد
ذو المجد عقبه نجل نافع الذي	أمسى ملاذ حواضر وبواد ³

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:

مرسى طرابلس الحصينة	مركز الأمراء من خاقان والأجناد
وأقم بها حتى تعد لبرقة	ما تقتضيه من جميع الزاد
نعم المدينة للحجيج وحضرة	ذات النخيل غزيرة الإمداد

¹Wādī the Prophet Khālid, al-Zāb and Biskra are in Algeria, for more details about the Prophet Khālid, see *infra*, p. 96.

²ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ 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-Zabādī's *Rihla*, pp. 13-5.

³Al-Murābiṭ's *Rihla*, p. 117.

من كل ما يحتاجه ذو حاجة جمعت وحقك جملة الأضداد
تحف البحور ومنتعة البر التي خرجت بزمرتها عن المعتاد¹

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:

ثم في بندر المويلح فانزل معطن منه للحجيج استسقاء
فبئار السلطان وهي بماء ثم الأزلام من رواه يساء
ثم الأشطب فيه ماء قليل ثم الوش فيه ماء صفاء
ثم في عكرة بماء قبيح ثم بين الدركين لا إسقاء
ثم بت في الحوراء بها عين ماء وبئار فنعمت الحوراء
ثم في النبط ذي بئار زلال فالخضراء وما بها استسقاء²

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:

لله ركب سائر كالوادي متلاطم بحواضر وبدوادي
كسيت به تلسك المربع و الربا بجماله فوق البسيطة غاد
ورجاله محزومة منظومة وجموعه موفورة الأعداد
وكتائب بأسنة وصواريخ وصواعق في غاية استعداد
تحميه حول القوم من كل جانب ويسرن خلف الركب بالمرصاد
والسوحش في فلواتهم مذعورة مع الرواد من صولة الفرسان ينهض إثرها
من صولة الفرسان ينهض إثرها وجوارح تجري مع الصياد³

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.

كم ظبية ما بينها معفورة وصغيرة تلقى بلا ميعاد
 وبوازل تختال في عرصاتها تخطوا وترتع في فلا الأوهاد
 ورواحل منشورة فوق الثرى بهوادج تتهتز بالأغياد
 والقوم بين موله ومتره وذو السداد وكثرة الأنجاد
 والأرض مثل عروسة قد حليت بزبرجد وتعطرت بالجاد
 وتقلدت وتبرقعت بنوار وأزاهر كالدر في الأجياد
 مفروشة أرجاؤها بنمارق من كل لون صنعة الجواد
 والشمس ساطعة الضياء كأنها وجه الإمام المرتضى في الناد¹

Al-ʿAyyāshī, 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 غير السماء فوق الثرى
 والأرض من وشي الحيا لبست رداء أخضرا
 والعيس بينهما كذهب الليل جدت في السرى
 والناس يتبعونها مثل المجرة مسورا²

Al-ʿAyyāshī 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 Qurʾān³:

ولم أنس بالتسيه يوما به تفانا الحجيج صدى وولوها
 وإن يستغيثوا يفاثوا بماء عجرو دكالمهل يشوي الوجوه⁴

Al-ʿAyyāshī 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 صاحبي هل علمت شيئا كثرته سبب الإقامة

¹Ibid., p. 42.

²Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 52.

³This image is discussed in detail in the next chapter, see supra, p. 187.

⁴Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 163.

والناس في غاية احتياج له وقد طلبوا انعدامه¹

When the pilgrim travellers arrived at al-Hijāz they happily described the performance of *al-Hajj* and *‘Umra* rituals. Al-‘Ayyāshī describes moving around the holy places such as Minā, ‘Arafāt and Muzdalifa during *al-Hajj*:

كل المنى بمنى إذا ما جئتها تكفي النعم
أكرم به من منزل فإليه تجتمع الأمم
فيه تشابهت السما والأرض في داحي الظلم
هذا بأنجمه أضأء وذاك بالشمع اضطرم
يوم بأعلى مسجد للخيف من أزكى النعم
وليلة في ذلك السففح المعظم تغتتم²

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

ولشعر حرم غدوا يمشون والصبح ابتسم
وقفوا به حتى بدا للشمس ضوء في علم
نفروا تقودهم السعدانة مثل سيل انسجم
سالت بأعناق المطي ذرى الأباطح والأكم
ملؤا البسيطة بالقسبا ب كأنهن بيض النعم
بيضا وخضرا بين حممر مثل عقد منتظم
بشرى لمن يرمي الجممار مكبرا وأراق دم
نعم الذخيرة فعله يوم تنزل به القدم³

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:

لما احتميت حماها ولاح لي من سناها
طفقت أرفع شأوا ذيلي وشأوا أطاها
فقالوا مجنون ليلي قد حل روض فناها

¹Ibid., vol. 1, p. 52.

²Ibid., vol. 1, p. 203.

³Ibid., vol. 1, p. 203.

كل الورى فيه تاها	إذ كشفت عن جمال
ملثوما لصب أتاها	فيا عجا لثغر غدا
قبلت منها شفاها	من فرط حبي وشوقي
بلغت نفسا منهاها	فعند ذلك قالت
فحسن عهد شفاها ¹	قلت بلى أمهليني

Al-ʿAyyāshī described *al-Kaʿba* 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:

فكانه لما بدا متشمرًا	والطائفون به جميعا أحداقوا
ملك همّام ناهض للقاء من	قد زاره وله إليه تشوق
فتبادر الغلمان رفع ذيوله	حتى إذا رجعوا جميعا أطلقوا ²

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

فكم بين من في طيبة آمنة بها	ومن في أقاصي الغرب ما بين أهوال
فذلك يغدو في عنى ويسروح في	ضنى بين آساد هناك وأغوال
وهذا يروح في غنى ويبسيت في	هنا بين إكرام الرسول وإفضال
يصلّي صلاة الفرض ما بين منبر	وقبر تغشاه أطوار وإجلال
ومن بعدها يمشي عليه سكينه	إلى موقف الزوار من دون أشغال
فيبقى أمام المصطفى واقفا له	مساوية ما بين عز وإذلال
إذا ما رأى خير الورى عز ثم إن	رأى نفسه فالذل أولى بهذا الحال
يصلّي عليه أو يسلم أو هما	معا دون فصل وهو غاية الكمال ³

¹ Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Rihla*, p. 220.

² Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 191.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 313.

3.6. Elegy

The poetry of elegy is only found in the *Rihlāt* of al-ʿAyyāshī and al-Zabādī. Al-Zabādī 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:

وقائلة ماذا التأسف والبكى فقلت ألما تسمع قول ذا الحب
وكل مصيبات الزمان وجدتها سوى فرقة الأحباب هينة الخطب
أخلاي لو غير الحمام أصابكم عتبت ولكن ما على الموت من عتب¹

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 تأسفي على الصحب واقدر فرقة الحب للحب
خصوصا خليلي الذين كـلاهما من الشرق مفقود ومن الغرب
جليلين...كفاهما معا تجودان في الحالين السهل والصعب
فهذا شريف أريحي منجد وهذا شريف خلقه للنهي يسب
خليلي لم يقنعكما الجود والندى فلم تلبثا أن زدتما شرف الحرب²

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

ومن بعد ما أتممت كتبي إليكم أتى نبا عنه المسامع صمت
فأذهل فكري عن جميع أموره وأيقظ ساهي الحزن من أي نومة
وأوقد نيرانا بطي خمودها بقلب ولم تخمد بسائل دمعة
بأن شقيق الروح غاية أنسه أخي وسمى القلب في كل طجة
موافقي في كل حال ومؤثري على نفسه في كل خير ولذة
حبيبي خليلي لا خليل سواه لي يدانيه في أخلاقه المستقيمة
سخاء وصبر جودة وفتوة توقد ذهننا في صفاء الطوية

¹Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 344.

²Ibid., p. 345.

وعزة نفس لا تروم دناءة
محمد المحمود نجل أبي الشتا
وغيابة صبر في احتمال وعفة
عليه من الرحمن سابغ رحمة
قد اختلسته عندما تم بدره
كمالا وغالته اكف المينة¹

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:

سأبكيك يا خير الأحبة ما بكى
وأبكي دما بعد الدموع وبعدها
محمد لا والله ما كنت ناسيا
محمد من للعلم بعدك ناشرا
محمد من للجود بعدك قد عفا
محمد من للحلم بعدك إن أسا
محب حيبا بالدموع الغزيرة
تسيل عليكم يا خليلي مهجة
لعهديك ما دامت حياتي بجثة
فوائده في الناس من دون هجنة
وقد كنت بسط الكف جم العطية
عليك مسيء لم تواخذ بزللة²

Al-ʿAyyāshī also sent to his friend Ḥasan 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-ʿAyyāshī 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:

هنيئا لقد قدمته فرطا يجري
فطب بقضا الله نفسا فكل ما
ولست بحمد الله من تروعه
لأنك تدري ما يكون جزاء من
أمامك يسر الهم في موقف الحشر
قضا له بعد مؤمن من غاية الخير
وإن عظمت أوجالها صدمة الدهر
يقابل حكم الله إن جاء بالصبر³

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-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, 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-Rihla*. Al-Murābiṭ, For example, warns pilgrims and orders them to take precautions against attacks of bedouins looking for quarrels and fighting:

ولحاضرة البحر الشويسي فلتجد للسير بعد التيه في أوهاد
واحذر بها عربان غزة وابتدر ماء المغاير ناهضا بجلاذ
ماء لمدين تنحيه العرب من أقصى البلاد لغارة وفساد¹

Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām condemns the guides of a hired camel called Ṣāliḥ 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 ويا شديد البطش يا قهار
عليك بالجمال ذاك الجاني يدعى بصالح بن الفرجاني
لا فرجت عليه ربي كربا ولا تملت له بعين رتب
ذهب بالجمال في فلاة أبقى بها أحمالها مملقات
تركنا في حيرة لا الركب قام عن طيب بعين إقامة رام²

Then he says:

والله ربنا العزيز المقتدر يجعله عبرة لمن يعتبر
يدهم الزمان بالمصائب ويوليه الأوصاب والمعائب
ويأتيه الله بغارات العدا مع ذلة وقهر في طول المدا
ويضرب الله عليه ذلة من بعد ما يبلى بكل علة³

Admonitions of a few lines appear only in al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*. 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 فررت وليس الفرار لثلك في القوم من فعله
فقلت فررت إلى المصطفى ومثلي من يفر إلى مثله⁴

¹Al-Murābiṭ's *Rihla*, p. 120.

²Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Rihla*, p. 296.

³Ibid., p. 296.

⁴Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 8.

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 ضرر ولكننا نرضى بما ساقه القدر
 سأنفعمكم في غيبي بالدعاء في مواقف حجي حيث أصفو من الكدر
 ولست بناس عهدكم وودادكم وإن طالت الأيام واتصل السفر
 يذكرنيكم كل حسن رأيتُه ولا سيما برد العشية والسحر¹

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 Abī Maḥlī, for example, describes his poem which he sent to two Ṣūfī scholars, as being like a beautiful girl:

مزخرقة الأطواق ذائلة الردا على حسن الأخلاق مربوعة القدر
 إذا ابتسمت تفتت عن جوهر الثنا وتبكي إذا تعتر مقرومة الكبد
 مفاخرة رعبوب عرب أدبية عقيقة تبيض الحروف ومسود
 إذا أقبلت تختال في حسن دها ترى دها تنثال من بارع اللد
 عنيت بها من بعد ما عرس الصبا وسار نذير الشيب في حالك القود
 يسلي بها عند الهموم إذا سجي طويل الليالي من تأسى بما ورد
 ويصبح من أنفاسها وحديثها نفيس الليالي في أمان من النكد²

Al-ʿĀmirī'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. 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 Abī Maḥlī's *Rihla*, p. 8.

ولتكن فيهم على غاية الصبر إذا جهلوا وبان جفاء
 وتحمل آذاهم إن بين من هم وكف الأذى وفيك سخاء
 لا تسارع لخير عيش لديهم وليكن لك عنهم إغضاء
 وكلن واشربن على حسب الحال فالإسراف نقمة وبلاء
 لا تحاسب ولا بين منك عجز فتكون كمن هم ثقلاء
 وتمسك بسنة أكثر الذكر إذ الذكر لله موم جلاء
 ولتصل على النبي كثيرا فالصلاة على النبي شفاء
 فإذا كنت هكذا كنت كالسلسلطان فيهم وكلهم أصدقاء
 فكفوك لذاك كل مهم وحبوك الوداد وهو صفاء
 وتمنى أفاضل منك قريبا وتمنى جوارك البعداء¹

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

¹ Al-Āmirī's *Rihla*, p. 93. Ibn al-Ṭayyib also makea 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' *Rihlāt* would be filled with prophetic commendations.

These *Rihlāt* 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' *Rihlāt*. They express their desire to start their journeys by visiting such graves in order to obtain the blessing resulting from entreating the *Awliyā'* 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 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-ʿAyyāshī'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-ʿĀmirī'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-Rihlāt* 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-ʿĀmirī and al-Murābiṭ, were in poetic form. There is also al-Zabādī's long poem entitled *Ithāf al-Miskīn al-Nāsik 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.¹

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

The term *qaṣīda* 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 *maqṭūʿa*.² The traveler poets composed poetry of both types. The number of lines in *maqṭūʿa* ranged from 2 to 5, while in the case of the *qaṣīda*, it was between 10 and 30, which means that the *qaṣīda* included poems of medium and short lengths. The longest poems, which extended beyond a hundred lines, were the *Rihla* of al-ʿĀmirī and that of al-Murābiṭ and certain poems of al-ʿAyyāshī and al-Zabādī. The length of al-ʿĀmirī's *Rihla* not only surpassed the hundred-line threshold but also reached three hundred and thirty-five lines, whereas al-Murābiṭ's *Rihla* consisted of one hundred and thirty-six lines. Al-Zabādī's poem included one hundred and thirty lines.³ 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-ʿAyyāshī, which consisted of one hundred and eighty-five.⁴ A very small number of poems contained between forty and sixty lines, for instance, al-Zabādī's two poems of fifty-eight⁵ and forty-six⁶ lines and al-ʿAyyāshī's poem of fifty-one lines.⁷

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,

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

²For more details, see Ibn Rashīq, *al-ʿUmda*, vol. 1, p. 530; Jabbūr ʿAbd al-Nūr, *al-Muʿjam al-Adabī*, (Beirut, [n.pub.], 1979), p. 213.

³Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, pp. 147-53.

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

⁵Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 349.

⁶Ibid., p. 180.

⁷Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 51.

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.¹ 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-Murābiṭ and that of al-Zabādī, 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 Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl and Jesus, explaining what pilgrims should do while visiting these holy places.² Al-ʿAyyāshī'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.³ In contrast, poems of medium length, i.e. forty to sixty lines concentrate on a single theme. Examples include al-Zabādī's entreaty to the Prophet's daughter Fātima of forty-six lines⁴, another brotherly poem of fifty-eight lines⁵ and al-ʿAyyāshī's brotherly poem of fifty-one lines⁶. The shorter poems, *muqāṭaʿāt*, are restricted to one theme only.⁷

In terms of the connection between the length and theme we conclude that except for the *Riḥlāt* of al-ʿĀmirī, al-Murābiṭ and al-Zabādī, 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

¹Al-Harrāma, *al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusīyya*, vol. 2, p. 58

²Al-ʿĀmirī's *Riḥla*, pp. 89-104.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 69-76.

⁴Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 180.

⁵Ibid., p. 349.

⁶Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 51.

⁷See al-ʿAyyāshī's two lines given previously as an example on pp. 80 and 122.

restricted to the *qaṣīda* only, they can also be found in *maqṭū'a*. On the other hand, elegy, separation moments and admonition, are themes that are only found in *maqṭū'a*.

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 Nāyil 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.¹ 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.²

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

¹Muḥammad Nāyil, *Itijāhāt wa Ārāʾ fī al-Naqd al-Ḥadīth*, (Cairo: Dār al-Risāla, 1974) p. 56.

²R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of The Arabs* (Richmond: Curzon Press, repr. 1993), p. 77. See the Arabic text in Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa al-Shuʿarāʾ*, (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1966), vol. 1, p. 21.

well as artistic unity, whereby all parts of the poem are build with the same level eloquence. Al-*Āmirī* starts with the urge to perform *al-Hajj* 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:

أزمع السير إن دعت أدواء لشفيع الأنام فهو الدواء
ذاك إن تستطع إليه سبيلا فلدا المستطيع يقوى الرجاء
واقض دينك إن يكن بك دين فالقضاء من الكريم وفاء
وادخر عولة العيال فلا تد ري بأي الأمور يأتي القضاء
لا تكلهم لغير ربك يوما قد يمل الإخوان والآباء¹

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-*Hijāz* which is considered the coldest region in Arabia. He also gives advice as to appropriate cooking utensils and bedding:

وانتخب أسرع المراكب سيرا وجمالا تطوي بها الأفلاء
واتخذ للفصول خير لباس سيما عندما يحين الشتاء
إن برد الحجاز أعسر برد وهو أصعب إن تكن رمضاء²

He then says:

ثم آلات مثل قدر نحاس مع كسكاسها وذاك سواء
ثم قفاهها ومغرفة ثممت طنجرة يليها غطاء
وكذا طاوة وشعل وزند وقدوم ومحققن ودلاء
وحبال وميجم مع سطل وكذا قطعة عداك الشقاء³

Al-*Āmirī* 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-Hajj* and *al-Ziyāra* rituals.⁴

¹Al-*Āmirī's Riḥla*, 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 Muḥammad's companions, urging pilgrims not to neglect visiting such places:

ثم لا تنس بيت لحم إذا ما جئتهم فهو بعد قدس ولاء
فيه مسقط رأس عيسى وفيه مهده إنه لنعم الوطاء
ونبي الإله يونس زره عن يسار الطريق حيث البناء¹

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.² He ends saying:

ولناظمها ادع بالختم بالحسنى ومغفرة يليها الرضاء
ولتاريخ نظمها بشفيح وعديد أياقها جلساء
وإبن حاج محمد قد جلاها غير سبع أعارهن اقتداء
وعلى المصطفى وآل صلاة بسلام وماله إنهاء³

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 *qaṣīda*, in order to impress the public, to stimulate him to give his attention to the remainder of the poem.⁴ 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.⁵ Furthermore, the opening should be relevant to the poems' general theme, which should be identified by it.⁶

¹ Al-Āmirī's *Rihla*, p. 103.

² See supra, pp. 142-3.

³ Al-Āmirī's *Rihla*, p. 104.

⁴ Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājannī, *Minhāj al-Bulaghā' wa Sirāj al-Udabā'*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb al-Khūja, 2nd edn (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1981), pp. 310-9.

⁵ Ibid., p. 309; Abū Hilāl al-Askarī, *al-Ṣinā'atayn*, p. 435.

⁶ Aḥmad b. al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-Sā'ir fī Adab al-Kātib wa al-Shā'ir*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥūfī and Badawī Ṭabāna, 2nd edn (Riyadh: Dār al-Rifā'i, 1984), vol. 3, p. 119; Ibn Rashīq, *al-Umda*, vol. 1, pp. 387-91.

Al-ʿAyyāshī 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?”

يا بين أنى لك انقطاع يا وصل أنى لك ارتجاع¹

In this opening, the rhythm originates from the repetition of the word *يا ، أنى ، لك*, called balanced repeat, repeating the letters *حرف المد ، العين ، الألف ، النون*, 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 *jinās* (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*.² The early renowned critic al-Qarṭājannī 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.³ Al-Zabādī, for example, started one of his poems by repeating *سال sāl* and *سائل sā'il* 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).”

رحلوا وهم ما سأل عني سائل منهم ودمع العين منهم سائل

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, P. 51. [The emphasis is mine]

²Repetition and, *jinās*, are studied in more detail in the style, see supra, pp. 173-7 and 181-4.

³Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭājannī, *Minhāj al-Bulaghā'*, pp. 307-8.

ساروا إلى أرض الحجاز ويمموا أرضا بها للسائلين منازل¹

Al-ʿAyyāshī, also, repeats sibilant letters such as ز، ص، س in order to develop an attractive rhythm saying:

خليلي ما للئيس في سيرها تعد ومن قبل أعيت من يسوق ومن يحد
أظهر لها علما يقينا بأنها لقبر رسول الله قد أصبحت تغد
لذلك لم تجزع لحر أصابها كما جزعت بالأمس إذ مسها الجهد²

Some poets beautify their opening poems by including some types of *Badīʿ* (ornamentation), such as *al-ṭibāq* (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-ʿAyyāshī praised one of his scholars starting with:

إن لك المجد موروثا ومكتسبا زكاء أصل وفرع أثر الحسبا⁴

There is *ṭibāq* between موروثا and مكتسبا, then between أصل and فرع, in addition to the use of strong and imposing words, as the reader might observe.

Al-Zabādī sent a poem from Fes to his friend while performing *al-Ḥajj*, 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:

لله قلب غائب في مشرق والجسم رهن حاضر في فاس⁵

¹Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 320.

²Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 232. See the translation of these lines on p. 140.

³*Al-ṭibāq* and *al-muqābala* both refer to the juxtaposition of opposites, but *al-ṭibāq* combines just two words of contradictory meaning. While, *muqābala* brings together more than two words. See Badawī Ṭabāna, *Muʿjam al-Balagha al-ʿArabiyya* 3rd edn (Jadda: Dār al-Manāra, 1988), p. 526; Aḥmad Abū Ḥāqqa, *al-Balagha wa al-Taḥlīl al-Adabī*, pp. 185-6.

⁴Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 387.

⁵Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 347.

In this line, al-Zabādī 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.¹ 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-Buṣīrī's *al-Burda*,² 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-Zabādī starts his elegy directly, stating his deep sorrow resulting from the loss of two of his closest fiends, saying that the happy and enjoyable life he had with them changed to one of sorrow and sadness:

ألا في سبيل الله ماذا من الخطب لقيت وما جرعت من فرقة الصحب
شربت كؤوسا من حلاوة ودهم حياتهم إذ عاملوني بالقرب

¹ *Al-ṭibāq* and *al-muqābala* are studied in more detail in the ornamentation style, see supra, p. 184-6.

² For details about the poets Ka'b and al-Buṣīrī and their two famous poems, see infra, p. 79.

فلما مضوا عادت كؤوس مرارة تجرعتها إذ لم تكن سهلة الشرب¹

Al-ʿAyyāshī 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 صاحبي نلت المنى فاستبشر ودنوت من دار الرسول الأطهر²

Al-Zabādī, 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 ويا عين ذا ما كنت تبغين فانظر
تبدت لنا أعلام طيبة والحشا يطير لها مثل الحمام المنفر³

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 Muḥammad, his family, his companions, and those who rightly follow them. Four poems of al-ʿAyyāshī, two poems of al-Zabādī and one of Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām begin with this introduction. Al-ʿAyyāshī 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.⁴ 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.⁵ Al-Zabādī’s poems are on brotherly themes, including sub themes such as praise, longing and dedication of the poem to one of his friends.⁶

Al-ʿAyyāshī, 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-Zabādī’s *Rihla*, p. 344.

² Al-ʿAyyāshī’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 233.

³ Al-Zabādī’s *Rihla*, p. 98.

⁴ Al-ʿAyyāshī’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, pp. 9, 25, 113, 117.

⁵ Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām’s *Rihla*, p. 267.

⁶ Al-Zabādī’s *Rihla*, pp. 349 and 359.

on his Prophet Muḥammad, his family, his companions, and those who rightly follow them”:

الحمد لله حمد من بلي فدعا والشكر لله شكر من إليه سعى
ثم الصلاة وأفضل السلام على أفضل من لدمام الوافدين رعى
محمد المصطفى وآله وعلى أصحابه وجميع من له تبعاً¹

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

هدا لمولى قادر وللبرايا فاطر
ثم على من جاء نا بسبأ وفاطر
أزكى صلاة كلما سرى الهوى بخاطر²

5.3. Romantic Introduction

None of the travelers' poems use this type of introduction, as far I am aware, except al-Murābiṭ in his *Rihla*. Al-Murābiṭ opens his poetic *Rihla*, 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 الهوادج واتتديا حادي فلقد حملت بها جميع فؤاد
وتركتني عافي الحشا متولها ذا زفرة تذكي بقلبي الصاد
فعسى أجود بمهجتي حتى متى يهوى الحياة ممزع الأكباد
رفقا بقلبي فهو بين رحالكم يحدو المطايا والجالج الأوهاد
وارع انعكاس مرامه إذ خلق الجسم المعنى في عرى الأصفاد
فعدا يرى نجم الغرام وماله بعض السلو يراه ذا إسعاد
وارقب وقوفي شاكيا مستعبرا مما دهاني من أليم بعاد

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 117.

²Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 359.

لك يا فؤادي الله إذا لم تعتبر حزني عليك ومقتضى إكماد
 فارقق به يا حادي الأضعان إذا فرقت بين مهامة ومراد
 فبعيشك العذب الشهى وعيشنا الصعب الرديء تحوط ذا إنكاد
 به ووداد¹... واسلك به أسنى المسالك راحما وهي

In fact, this introduction is associated with the general objective of the *Rihla* which was composed to describe the journey to perform *al-Hajj* 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-Hajj* 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-Zabādī, for example, opens a poem of prophetic commendation by mentioning a number of Hijāzī places such as Najd, Raḥma, Kūtha, Um al-Qurā, Sil², Qubā and Ṭayba. He also mentioned some desert plants such as al-²Arār, al-Rand, al-Athl, al-Sarw and al-Ghaḍa, 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:

سلام على نجد ومن حل في نجد سلام محب زائد الشوق والوجد
 سلام على ذي الأثل والسرو والغضا ومن بالنقا يشتاق للبان والورد
 سلام على من حل في أضرم ومن ثوى بالسربي من العرار أو الرند
 سلام على أرض العروض من اللوى وذو سلم والرقمتين بلا حد
 سلام على كوئى ورحمى ومكة وأم القرى والرحم أذكى من الند²

¹Al-Murābiṭ's *Rihla*, p. 116.

²Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 142.

Until he says:

سلام على وادي العقيق و بارق وكاظمة والمنحني وعلى وكر
 سلام على سلع ومن حل في قبي وطيبة أرض الله مرزوقة الود
 سلام على تلك الربوع وأهلها فإنهم سكان قلبي والكبد¹

5.5. Symbolic Love Introduction

As mentioned previously, none of the travelers start their poems with this type of introduction except for Ibn al-Ṭayyib, who starts one of his prophetic commendations by indicating that a flash of lightning, which emerged from Qubā,² 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:

يا بارقا لاح من قبا سحرا بحيث حل من النهى سحرا
 أعار قلبي خفقا واخلف فاستعار من سحب مقلتي مطرا
 وأذكر العهد من سعاد ولم أنس وهاج الأحزان والفكرا
 أيام نسقي معها الشمول على روض يشاكل زهره الزهرا
 وغصنه طربا تيمله ريح الشمال ليثم النهارا
 ونهره كالحسام جرد في وسط الرياض يسيل منهمرا
 وزهره فيه صار منتظما لما غدا القطر فيه منتشرا³

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-Qādirī moved from describing the sights of creation to praise for his *shaykh*, Abū al-

¹Ibid., p. 142.

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

³Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, 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.”

والشمس ساطعة الضياء كأنها وجه الإمام المرتضى في الناد
ذاك ابن عبدالله غوث زماننا محي القلوب ومنهل الورد¹

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 أم 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) Muḍar?”:

أم هل أطيب بطيبة زمانا وهل أعود من عطرها عطرا
وهل أرى منشدا بساحتها مدح الرسول المبعوث من مضرا²

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-Qarṭājannī³ and Ibn al-Munqidh.⁴ Al-‘Ayyāshī 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 أن, 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.”⁵:

¹Al-Qādirī’s *Rihla*, p. 42.

²Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Rihla*, p. 111.

³Al-Qarṭājannī, *Minhāj al-Bulaghā’*, p. 320.

⁴Usāma b. al-Munqidh, *al-Badī‘ fī Naqd al-Shi‘r*, ed. Aḥmad Badawī and Ḥāmid ‘Abd al-Ḥamid, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḥalabī, 1960), p. 288.

⁵This translation and subsequent translations of the poems are mine.

خليلي ما للعيس في سيرها تعد
أظهر لها علما يقينا بأنها
لذلك لم تجزع لحر أصابها
فلا تعجبوا من علمها باقترابها
ففضل رسول الله في الكون ظاهر
ومن قبل أعيت من يسوق ومن يجد
لقبر رسول الله قد أصبحت تغد
كما جزعت بالأمس إذ مسها الجهد
وليس لها بالدار من قبل ذا عهد
أقرت به العجماء والحجر الصلد¹

On the other hand, al-ʿAyyāshī moved from praise to elegy in a weak style which came very near to common prose style:

ولو أنني طاوعتها لتسلسلت
ومن بعد ما أتممت كتي إليكم
فأذهل فكري عن جميع أموره
ودامت وما كانت إلى الآن تمت
أتى نبأ عنه المسامع صمت
وأيقظ ساهي الحزن من أي نومة²

Al-Zabādī's poem also, includes a good symbolic love story, as previously mentioned,³ 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.":

تواعده وتعطله فيرجوا وما يد
ويسهر ليله طمعا عساها
وليس مزارها إلا وعودا
فما ينفسك عن قلق ووجد
ري بأن الوعد زور
تزور إذا ارتخت منه الستور
وما إقبالها إلا نفور
وأشواق وأدمعه تفور

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 232.

²Ibid., vol. 1, p. 74.

³See the previous chapter, pp. 90-2.

بشيء أن تقابله بجبي إليهم إن بغضهم ثبور
فشوقي غير شوقي ليس يبلى وسوقي في الهوى ليست تبور¹

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-Zabādī and Al-ʿAyyāshī, 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-ʿAyyāshī, 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:

بجاه حبيب الله أفضل من به توصل من لم يغنه الجد والجد
عليه صلاة الله مادام وصله يزيد له شوقي إذا ذكرت نجد²

Al-Zabādī 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 Ṣabā and remembrance of a beloved':

صلى عليك الله جل جلاله يا من أجاب دعاءه الأشجار
ثم السلام عليك ما هبت صبا وترنمت في أيكها الأطيوار
والآل والأصحاب والأتباع ما قد هام صب هاجه التذكار³

¹Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 181

²Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 233.

³Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 153.

Some poets end their poems by invoking peace upon their family or the praised person or persons. Al-ʿAyyāshī 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:

فودعتها والقلب منطبق على أساه ودمعي لا يمل من الوكف
عليك سلام لا زيارة بيننا مع البعد إلا أن أزور مع الطيف¹

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

لله در إمام حاك حلتها شاد بها من بناء الدين ما أهدهما
جزاه رب الوري خيرا وصيره بجرمة الله طول الدهر محترما²

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-ʿAyyāshī 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-ʿUmra* and *al-Ziyāra*. He ends with glorification of Allah:

ورقاك في الفردوس أعلى مكانة مع العلماء العاملين الأئمة
وأدعوا له ما دمت حيا ولم أكن لأنساه في حجي ولا إثر عمرة
ولا عند قبر المصطفى وصحابه ولا إثر ختم الذكر في كل ختمة³

Al-Zabādī prays that the grave may be sprinkled, in a traditional style found, “In the poetry of earlier generations.”⁴ Then he prays that peace be upon him, as much as the lover is passionately in love with his beloved, and the pigeon coos:

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 14.

²Ibid., vol. 1, p. 76.

³Ibid., vol. 1, p. 76.

⁴Alan Jones, *Early Arabic Poetry; volume one: Marāthī and Ṣuʿlūk Poems* (Oxford: Ithaca Press Reading, 1992), p. 115. For example, Mutammim b. Nūayra (d. 30/651) elegizes his brother Mālik saying:

سقى الله أرضاً حلها قبر مالك ذهاب الغواصي المدجنات فأمرعا

“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.

سقى وابل الرضوان ساحة رمسكم وأسكنتما الفردوس كالأل والصحب
عليكم سلام الله ما هام واجسد وما ناحت الورقاء في غصن رطب¹

Some travelers end their poems by dedicating it to the praised person. Al-Qādirī, for example dedicated his poem to the scholar Abū al-‘Abbās, describing it as a virgin girl that has been conducted to him:

عرومة فكر أنشدت في مديحك مقنعة بكراترف إلى بكر
من القادري المغربي محبكم قصير خطا نظم الطويل من الشعر²

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.”:

صنوكم عبد المجيد قد كتب ليلة الأربعاء ثالث رجب
من عام واحد وأربعين ومائة ألف من السنينا³

Abū Madyan 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-‘Abbās I turn to, crossing the desert, after performing my *Hajj*.”:

إليك أبا العباس وجهت وجهي أجوب الفيافي بعد أداء حجتي⁴

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-‘Abbās.”:

وصل إله العرش ما دام ملكه على المختار ذخري ومنيتي
وآله والأصحاب ما قال منشد إليك أبا العباس وجهت وجهي⁵

Al-Ḥuḍaykī 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.”:

¹Al-Zabādī’s *Rihla*, p. 345.

²Al-Qādirī’s *Rihla*, p. 15.

³Al-Zabādī’s *Rihla*, p. 348. See another type of dating in the *Badī’* style, pp. 186-7.

⁴Abū Madyan’s *Rihla*, p. 214.

⁵Ibid., p. 214.

وكابدوا المجد حتى مات أكثرهم وعانق المجد من وفى ومن صبوا
لا تحسب المجد قمرًا أنت آكله لا تبلغ المجد حتى تلحق الصبرا¹

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":

دعوني أمت شوقا إليه وحسرة وخطوا على قبوري بأني أهواه²

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-Muḥammadiyya* (Muḥammadan Reality), which will be investigated in the light of orthodox Sunnī 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'iyīn,³ 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.⁴ 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'*

¹Al-Ḥuḍaykī's *Rihla*, p. 3. See this line in Amal Shalaq, *Muṣjam Ḥikmat al-'Arab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1991), p. 362. الصبرا means taste the bitter juice obtained from various species of aloe.

²Ibn Nāṣir's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 102.

³Al-Dilā'iyīn is applied to poets who belonged to *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*, which was considered the most renowned Ṣūfī *Zāwiya* in Morocco in that time. For more details, see *infra*, pp. 48 and 76-9.

⁴Al-Saqqāṭ, *al-Shi'r al-Dilā'i*, 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 entreat through imploring the Prophet or other *Awliyā'*, to whom they sometimes supplicate, or entreat directly, without mentioning Allah. Ibn al-Ṭayyib, for example, composed a poem while visiting the grave of al-Badawī,¹ 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 *Quṭb*² of all *Aqṭāb*:

خلياي من حاسد أو شاني	واتركاني لمقصدي أو شاني
ودعاني من الملام فداعي	أحمد البدوي إليه دعاني
الإمام الذي تفرد بالتصريف	حيا وميتا دون ثاني
والهمام الذي ثبت له الهمة	والعزم لست عنه بشان
قطب كل الأقطاب قاطبة	فالكل في بابه رخي العنان ³

Also, the travelers could refer to those *Awliyā'* by terms such as *quṭb* and *ghawth*. Al-Hashtūki, for instance, composed a whole poem containing an explicit entreaty to the famous Ṣūfī scholar Ibn Zarrūq⁴, saying, "O *Quṭb* 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. Abū al-ʿAbbās is in distress, O, our *imām* help him.":

ألست الذي يقول يا قطب عصره	ويا درة الأسلاك ترى بكا البدر
فإن كنت في كرب وضيق ووحشة	فناد يا زورق آتي على الفور
أليس أبا العباس حبا إليكم	أليس بكرب وضيق من الأمر
أغته أغته يا إمامي وقد وترا على	الفور بالرجوع عزما إلي الوعر ⁵

¹For some details about his biography, see *infra*, p. 96 and the *Aḥmadiyya* order on p. 209.

²For details about *Quṭb* [pl. *aqṭāb*] and other words such as *ghawth*, *watad* and *badal*, see *infra*, p. 99.

³Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, p. 119.

⁴For some details about his biography, see *infra*, pp. 43-4.

⁵Al-Hashtūki's *Rihla*, p. 68.

Al-ʿAyyāshī in a poem given previously entreated renowned Ṣūfī scholars, as well as the *Qutb* of his time, the *Awtād*, the *Ghawth* and the *Abdāl* in order to clear away the plague.¹

In fact, this is considered a significant dogmatic issue, and this kind of supplication, *tawassul* is indeed prohibited and forbidden according to Islamic Sunnī 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.”² He confirms that every matter must be referred back to the book of Allah, the Qurʾān, and the *Sunna* of his Messenger. He continues, saying that this indeed, is, “What our Messenger Muḥammad 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”.³

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 Qurʾān [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 ‘*wasilah*’ which is mentioned in the Qurʾān.⁴

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 *Iman* [belief] in you, and my love for you, and my following of your

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

²Muḥammad Nasiruddin Al-Albaanee, *Tawassul: Seeking a Means of Nearness to Allah: Its Types and its Rulings*, trans. Aboo Talhah Daawood [sic] b. Runald Burbank, (Birmingham: al-Hidaayah Publishing & Distribution Ltd., 1996), p. 13

³Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁴Ibid., pp. 23-4. Al-Albaanee indicated to some verses such as the saying of Allah in *sūrat* al-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 *sūrat* Ghāfir, verse 60 and *sūrat* al-Baqara, verse 189.

Messenger, forgive me’,”¹ 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.²

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.”³

Al-Albaanee confirms that those who seek to permit innovated forms of *tawassul* use many *ḥadīths* 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 *ḥadīth* of the blind man⁴ 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. Ḥanīf 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 *wuḍū* twice and prayer two *rak‘āt* and to make this *du‘a*, ‘O Allah I ask you and turn to you by means of your Prophet Muḥammad, the Prophet of your mercy, O Muḥammad I have turned by means of you (i.e. your *du‘a*) 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 Muḥammad 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 *Ḥadīth* is reported by Ibn Māja, *Sunni Ibn Māja*, vol. 1, p. 441, no. 1385.

to *tawassul* by his status. The second are not authentic¹ 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 Ṣūfism”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-Muḥammadiyya*, (the Muḥammadan Reality)

Al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya as a concept and Ṣūfī doctrine was first known as *al-Nūr al-Muḥammadī* (the Muḥammadan Light). The first explicit mention of *al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, according to Julian Johansen, is as traditionally understood to have been in the work of ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 832/1428) in his reference *al-Insān al-Kāmil* who speaks of the Muḥammadan form (*al-ṣūra al-Muḥammadiyya*) 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 صلى الله عليه وسلم], but is also

¹Such the *Ḥadīth* from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudarī, 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 ‘Aṭīyya al-‘Awfi 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.

²Al-Albaanee. *Tawassul: Seeking a Means of Nearness to Allah*, pp. 93-4.

³Muḥammad b. Rabee’ b. Haadee al-Madkhalee, *the Reality of Sufism; in the Light of the Qur’aan and Sunnah* [sic], trans. Aboo Talhah Daawood b. Ronald Burbank (Birmingham: al-Hidaayah Publishing and Distribution, 1995), p. 36.

⁴Ibid., p. 36.

⁵M. Khan and M. Al-Hilali, *The interpretation of the meaning of the Noble Qur’ān, sūrat 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., *sūrat al-Zumar*, verse. 3, p. 655.

⁶Julian Johansen, *Ṣūfism and Islamic Reform in Egypt: The battle for Islamic Tradition*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 130-1.

situated prior to history.”¹ Ṣūfī 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 ‘Arabī, for example sees that the first being to be endowed with existence was *al-Ḥaḳīqa al-Muḥammadiyya* out of which all things were created.² Al-Ḥallāj (died 309/922) says that the tabernacle *mishkāṭ* mentioned in the Qur’ān (*sūrat al-Nūr*, verse 35) is Muḥammad and the torch *miṣbāḥ* in the tabernacle is *al-Nūr al-Muḥammadi*.³

Some travelers, in particular, al-‘Ayyāshī, al-Zabādī and Ibn al-Ṭayyib, believed in the so-called *al-Ḥaḳīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*. The travellers adopted these ideas from the great Ṣūfī scholars such as ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh,⁴ the Moroccan *Shaykh* of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, the founder of the famous Ṣūfī order known as *al-Shādhiliyya*,⁵ to which most of the travelers belonged.

Al-‘Ayyāshī 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:

أصل الوجود ومنبع الجود الذي عم المظاهر في جميع الأعصر
نور الإله به استنار عباده دنيا وأخرى في المحيا الأزهر⁶

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

¹Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn ‘Arabī*, trans. Liadain Sherrard, (Cambridge: Golden Palm Series, The Islamic Texts Society, 1993), p. 60.

²Muḥiy al-Dīn b. ‘Arabī, *al-Furūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, ed. ‘Uthmān Yaḥyā, rev. Ibrāhīm Madkūr 2nd edn, (Cairo: al-Hay’a al-Miṣriyya li al-Kitāb, 1985), vol. 2, p. 227.

³M. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, p. 66.

⁴He was regarded by V. Cornell in *Realm of the Saint* as, “Among whose were of special importance for the subsequent history of Ṣūfism 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, *Islamic Mysticism*, p. 246. He gained a reputation as a notable Ṣūfī teacher in the sixth/twelfth century, in particular when his chief disciple al-Shādhilī spread widely his instructions. He was killed in 625/1240 by Ibn Abī al-Ṭawājīn and buried in Ghamar where it became one of the most sacred shrines, that the Ṣūfīs visit to seek *Baraka*. Ḥarakāt, *al-Siyāsa wa al-Mujtama*, p. 326.

⁵For details about this order, see *infra*, p. 62.

⁶Al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 234.

ألم نك فارقنا البلاد وأهلنا لوصل الذي في الكائنات هو الأصل¹

The lights of the cosmos shone from the Prophet's light, because he is the source of light:

هذا الذي قد أشرفت من نوره أنوار هذا الكون فهو العنصر²

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:

محمد المصطفى الرسول ومن على جميع الأرسال قد ظهرا
قطب على الأنبياء قاطبة وخير كل الأملاك والسفراء
لولا ما طلعت ذكاء ولا لاح الهلال والكون ما ظهرا³

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:

هذا خليفة ربنا في خلقه هذا الذي من سره الأسرار
أصل الوجود وأصل كل معارف ومواهب قد نالها الأخيار⁴

Some Sunnī scholars, intellectuals and Orientalists assert that the idea of *al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya* is taken from other religious texts prior to Islam, under various forms. For instance, Zakī Mubārak in *al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī fī 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 Muḥammad is the first creature who without whom the creation would not be brought into existence, as indeed the Christians say, drawing on Greek philosophy.⁵

¹ Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, p. 25.

² Ibid., p. 104.

³ Ibid., p. 111. See also p. 119.

⁴ Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 153.

⁵ Zakī Mubārak, *al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī fī al-Adab wa al-Akhlāq* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1966), vol. 1, p. 210.

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 *Nūr Muḥammadi*. 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 Sunnī 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 Ṣūfī and Sunnī scholars and writers. The latter have proved that *al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya* is an innovation and aberration (*bid'a*) by discussing the main sources on which the Ṣūfīs have depended to demonstrate the authenticity of their ideas.⁵

¹See, M. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, p. 64.

²R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystic of Islam*, p. 82.

³Such 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-Isrā'*, 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.

⁴Reported by al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 4, p. 435, no. 654.

⁵For more details see al-Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil* and al-Ḥallāj's *al-Ṭawāsīn*, in addition to Ibn 'Arabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-Makīyya*. For a detailed discussion on these ideas according to the Sunnī belief see Ibn Taymiyya's *Majmū'at al-Rasā'il*, Zakī Mubārīk's *al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī fi al-Adab wa al-Akhlāq*, Muḥammad Fahr Shaqāft's *al-Taṣawwuf bayna al-Ḥaqq wa al-Khalq* 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Wakīl's *Hādhihi Hiyā al-Ṣūfiyya*.

3. Other Ṣūfī Ideas

Love is considered one of the Ṣūfī doctrines and the center of Ṣūfī literature.¹ 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.":

فلا عيش يهنأ بعد فقد محمد أفقد محبوبي وعيشي أهناه
دعوني أمت شوقاً إليه وحسرة وخطوا على قبري بأني أهواه²

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

كلف الحشا بجمالكم وجلالكم وكمالكم ونوالك المعتاد³

Even readers with little knowledge of Ṣūfī poetry can realize that Ṣūfī poets express their love and longing to Allah, for instance, in words that are very similar to that used by poets of love.⁴ They were known for their use of the word 'intoxication', 'cups' and 'wine' as symbols of love and passion.⁵ It seems that wine came in the travellers poetry as a poetic image in customary use since the early Ṣūfī poets, such as Ibn al-Fāriḍ⁶ who, expressed this idea in the first line of the famous poem known as *al-Khamriyya*, saying:

¹Al-Harrāma, *al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya*, vol. 1, p. 460.

²Ibn Nāṣir's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 102.

³Al-Murābiṭ's *Rihla*, p. 14. Also see al-Zabādi's poem in praise of Nafisa, the daughter of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, which seems to be a love poem in the Ṣūfī symbolic style, rather than a praise poem, see *infra*, pp. 91-2 and 141-2.

⁴Mubārak, *al-Taṣawwuf*, p. 100.

⁵Abd al-Dā'im, *al-Adab Al-Ṣūfī*, p. 118.

⁶His full name is Abū al-Qāsim Sharaf al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Fāriḍ. 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-Fāriḍ', in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, vol. 1, p. 324.

شربنا على ذكر الحبيب مدامة سكرنا بما قبل أن يخلق الكرم

“We quaffed upon the remembrance of beloved a wine where – with we were drunk, before ever the vine was created.”¹ 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.”² 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-Khamriyya*, “Is extended here to make it clear that the Wine of which the poet speaks is the mention of Beloved.”³

References to wine, or intoxication came in not more than three poems. The first of them, Ibn ‘Abd 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.⁴ The second was of that of al-Zabādī.⁵ 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 أنس وهاج الأحزان والفكرا
أيام نسقي معها الشمول على روض يشاكل زهره الزهرا⁶

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

¹A. J. Arberry (trans), *the Mystical of Poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (Dublin: Emery Walker Ltd., 1956), p. 81.

²Ibid., p. 90.

³Ibid., p. 92. Al-Būrīnī commented on the first line of *al-Khamriyya* saying, that it is built on the terminology of Ṣūfīs who use ‘wines’ as symbol of the divine love and intoxication in general, the beloved is the Prophet, or might be Allah, the wine means the yearning for Allah and his knowledge and the grapevine means the existence. See ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Yāfī, *Dirāsāt Fanniyya fī al-Adab al-‘Arabī* ([Damascus]: Dār al-Ḥayāt, 1972), pp. 352-3.

⁴It was given as an example in ‘Separation moments’ in the previous chapter, see *infra*, p. 110.

⁵It was given as an example in chapter three, see *infra*, p. 92.

⁶Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Rihla*, p. 111; see the rest of this poem on p. 139.

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-Ḥajj*.¹ If they admonished someone, they did so in a friendly and gentle manner.² Moreover, wisdom is derived from the principles of Islam and its comprehensive view of all aspects of life.³ 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.⁴

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.⁵ 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

6. Clarity and Easiness

Except for riddles, which must by nature be vague, few words taken from eastern heritage,⁷ and Ṣūfī terms such as *al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, 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.⁸

¹See examples and more details in the previous chapter, pp. 100-2.

²See admonish poetry, p. 123.

³See wisdom poetry, p. 123-4 and 163-4.

⁴See example given on p. 109.

⁵See examples and more details, pp. 101-2.

⁶For examples and details, see *infra*, pp. 100-2, 140 and *supra*, 157-9.

⁷For examples and details, see *infra*, p. 108 and *supra*, p. 168.

⁸Except for a few lines composed in an artificial way, see the examples given on pp. 177, 182, 184, 192.

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-‘Ayyāshī, Ibn al-Ṭayyib and al-Qādirī. 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 devices used in poetry. It clarifies the vague and brings closer the far reaching meaning, as Ibn Rashīq says.¹

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-‘Ayyāshī and al-Zabādī, 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,

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-ʿAyyāshī, al-Zabādī 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-ʿAbbās by likening him to the sun:

يا شمس هذا العصر يا من بدا بحلة العرفان أهي طراز¹

Also, al-Rāfiʿī 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-Rāfiʿī described him as a lion, who protects others in battle and as a full moon by which people would be rightly guided:

أسد الشرا بشفوفه يحمي إذا خطب يطا
لله بدر جبينه يهدي إذا سار خطا²

Some of the travellers made extensive use of the simile. Similes sometimes followed in succession, in a single line. Al-ʿAyyāshī, 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:

سلام كعرف المسك أو كجنا النحل سلام كوقع الغيث في زمن المحل³

Al-ʿAyyāshī 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-Sabʿ 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-ʿAyyāshī added to correct any misunderstanding, that this is lawful magic, accomplished by his colleague's talent:

¹Al-Qādirī's *Riḥla*, p. 27. See the same simile in praise of one of scholars of Egypt in his *Riḥla*, p. 17.

²Al-Rāfiʿī's *Riḥla*, p. 157.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 50.

أتاني نظام كالنجوم الثواقب أو الدر يحلي في نحور الكواعب
 أو الزهر المزهر في الروض قد بدا تصافح أعلاه أكف السحاب
 فما هو إلا البدر أشرق نوره فأبدا لنا وجه الضحى في غياهب
 أو الراح أبدت للعيون حباها وقد أخذت بالثأر من عقل شارب
 بسحر حلال واضح نفتت به قريحة خل واقد الذهن ثاقب¹

Also, some poets excelled in employing these common similes as part of their general imagery. Al-ʿAyyāshī, 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-ʿAyyāshī 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:

هو البدر لكن ليس يكسف نوره هو البحر لكن ليس يدرك قعره
 على أنه عذب زلال وموجه غرائر فضل والمعارف دره²

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

نور الصباح يحكي أسرته وسدفة الليل تشبه الشعرا³

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-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 320. For more examples, see his *Rihla*, vol. 2, pp. 90, 312, 323, 385.

³Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, p. 111. See other examples in his *Rihla*, p. 104.

with the completeness of his personality. Al-Zabādī praised the renowned Ṣūfī *Walī* al-Badawī saying:

شمس السماء تغار من أنواره والبدر يخجل من كمال السؤدد¹

1.2. Metaphor²

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-Yūsī, 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:

يا رياح الغرب هي بنسيم وبعرف
عرف أحبائي خصوصا من بهم شوقي وشغف
فلذات الكبد من لم يختفون عن غير طرف
ليت شعري كيف كانوا بعدنا في كل ظرف
قد تركناهم بخير بحمد الله وال
فهل الدهر كما كان أمير حلف عطف³

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 نسقي معها الشمول على روض يشاكل زهره الزهرا
وغصنه طربا تميله ريح الشمال ليلثم النهر⁴

¹Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 160. See similar examples in Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, pp. 104, 111, 112.

²Metaphor has many definitions; one of them as defined by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskari, 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 Ṭabāna, *Muʿjam al-Balāgha al-ʿArabiyya*, p. 458.

³Al-Yūsī's *Rihla*, p. 102. A similar example was given previously, see *infra*, pp. 112-3.

⁴Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, 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-ʿAyyāshī'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:

أنظر بعينك هل ترى غير السماء فوق الثرى
والأرض من وشي الحيا لبست رداء أخضرا
والعيس بينهما كشهد الليل جدت في السرى
والناس يتبعونها مثل الحجر مزورا¹

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-ʿAyyāshī sent a poem to the scholar, Aḥmad 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:

عليك به إذا ما رمت علما ودع عنك المعاند في لجاهه
فصور علومه في ليل جهل يضى لمن توغل في إدلاجه²

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-ʿAyyāshī praised the one of the scholars of Ghazza (Gaza), ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Mashraqī, saying:

خاض البحار زواخرا فأجاد في إخراج الدر العظيم الشان
من كل جوهرة تكاد لحسنها أن لا تنال بغاية الأثمان³

Al-ʿAyyāshī 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:

حملت جنين الشوق في بطن مكة زمانا إلى أن آت منها انفصاله

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī, vol. 1, p. 52.

²Ibid., vol. 2, p. 17. See also, vol. 1, p. 59.

³Ibid., vol. 2, p. 350. See other examples, vol. 2, pp. 137 and 312.

فزاد نموا فاستوى عندما غدا ثلاثين شهرا حملة وفصاله¹

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

ولم أنسها يقظانة الهم في الحشا	مبلبة الأشجان وسنانة الطرف
تقول وقد جسد الرحيل أهاكذا	تحملني ثقل الفراق على ضعف
أترك أفراخا كزغب القطا وما	رحمت بنيك إذ سلوت عن الألف
فقلت لها كفي الملام وأعرضت	كخسف النقا تستعرض الدمع بالكف
فودعتها والقلب منطبق على	أساه ودمعي لا يعمل من الوكف
عليك سلام لا زيارة بيننا	مع البعد إلا أن أزور مع الطيف ²

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.":

أرسلت مقلتي دموعا غزارا	وحوت أضلعي لهيا ونارا
وتناءى صبري وهل بعد بعد	يجد الصب سلوة واصطبارا
يا ديار الأحباب كان اختياري	أن أراك المساء والإبكار
ذاك لو يسمح الزمان ولكن	ليس لي أن أعارض الأقدار

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.

ليس عزمي رضى وعن طيب نفس إنما كان بالقضاء اضطرارا
واختياري أن لا أفارقك الدهر ولكن لا أملك الاختيارا¹

This imagery is made yet more vivid by the smooth and melodious rhythm of these lines originating from the repetition of the letter ‘ر’ which is usually used when the words became gentle, in addition to repeat words containing of long syllables such as ‘ā’ and ‘ī’. 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 Hijāziyya places including Najd and Ṭayba, 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-Zabādī, for example, expresses his longing to visit the holy lands by composing a poem full of the names of places in al-Hijāz, 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:

ترى هل لي منى بمنى وهل لي بجمع جمع شملي في انتظام
وهل بالخيف خيف أو بسفح لدمع العين سفح في الخيام
وهل بالجزع لي جزع التمني وهل ألوي لكاظمة زمام
وهل بالشعب شعب الخال مني وهل أستاك من ذاك البسام

¹ Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Rihla*, p. 113.

² Al-Sayyid, *al-Takrīr*, p. 66.

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-Nūr, *al-Muʿjam al-Adabī* (Beirut: [n.pub.], 1979), p. 123.

وهل لي أن أرى بقبا وسلع وأظفر في المدينة بالمقام¹

Al-Zabādī, also, opened one of his Prophetic commendation poems by referring to many places in al-Ḥijāz, including Najd². Al-Zabādī also, referred to some desert plants such as al-Ghadā, al-Athl and al-Sarū:

سلام على نجد ومن حل في نجد سلام محب زائد الشوق والوجد
سلام على ذي الأثل والسرو والغضا ومن بالنقا يشتاق للبان والورد
سلام على من حل في أضم ومن ثوى بالربي من العرار أو الرند³

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-'Āṣ, the intelligence of al-Mughīra and the knowledge of 'Abd Allah b. al-'Abbās.

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

له نطق سحبان وجودة حاتم وجرأة عمرو في ذكاء المغيرة
وعلم ابن عباس وزهد ابن أدهم وحلم ابن حرب في فصاحة ثوبة⁴

Some poets make use of wisdom and proverbs to explain their meaning. Ibn al-Ṭayyib 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,

¹Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 75.

²Najd 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.

³Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 142. See the rest of poem, *infra*, p. 138-9.

⁴Al-'Ayyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 72.

⁵Ibn Tāwīt, *al-Wāfi bi al-Adab al-'Arabi*, vol. 3, p. 854.

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 المكث في الأوطان يدعو للضجر ويورث الأخلاط والأجسام أنواع الضرر
 أو ما رأيت الما لطول المكث يعروه الكدر والبدر لو لزم الإقامة في محل ما بدر
 والدرد لو أبقوه في قعر البحار لما افتخر والتبر ترب في المعادن وهو أفخر يدخر
 والعود معدود لدى الغابات من جنس الشجر والباتر المغمود لو لم يخرجوه لما بتر¹

Al-Zabādī 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-ʿAyyāshī 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-Kaʿba* and the pilgrims circumambulating it during *al-Ḥajj* 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:

فكأنه لما بدا متشمرًا والطائفون به جميعا أحرقوا
 ملك همام ناهض للقاء من قد زاره وله إليه تشوق
 فتبادر الغلمان رفع ذيوله حتى إذا رجعوا جميعا أطلقوا⁴

¹Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, p. 12.

²See *infra*, pp. 91-2.

³Al-Ḥāmid, *Kayfa Tuḥlil al-Naṣ al-Adabī*, p. 232.

⁴Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 191. This poem has already been given as an example of the description of *al-Kaʿba* 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-Qādirī 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:

متلاطم بحواضر و بوادي	لله ركب سائر كالوادي
الربا بجماله فوق البسيطة غاد	كسيست به تلك المربع و
وجموعه موفورة الأعداد	ورجاله محزومة منظومة
وصواعق في غاية استعداد	وكتائب بأسنة وصواريخ
ويسرن خلف الركب بالمرصاد ²	تحميه حول القوم من كل جانب

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 frightened 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-Qādirī 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:

والوحش في فلواتها مذعورة	... ³ من فرق مع الرواد
من صولة الفرسان ينهض إثرها	وجوارح يجري مع الصياد
كم ظبية ما بينها معقورة	وصغيرة تلقى بلا ميعاد

¹See supra, p. 269.

²Al-Qādirī's *Rihla*, p. 41.

³Unclear words.

وبوازل تختال في عرصاتها تخطوا وترتع في فلا الأوهاد
ورواحل منثورة فوق الشورى بهوادج تفتز بالأغبياد
والقوم بين موله ومتره وذو السداد وكثرة الأنجاد
والأرض مثل عروسة قد حليت بزبرجد وتعطرت بالجاد
وتقلدت وتبرقعت بنوار وأزاهر كالدر في الأجبياد
مفروشة أرجاؤها بنمارق من كل لون صنعة الجواد¹

Al-Ayyāshī also described the pilgrims' movement and their moving around the holy places at certain times performing *al-Hajj* rituals in a nice picture full of people, movement and colours:

نفروا الجمع في جموعهم ع كالسحاب إذا انسجم
باتوا به يحيونه حتى إذا الليل انصرم
ولمشعر حرم غدوا يمشون والصبح ابتسم
وقفوا به حتى بدا للشمس ضوء في علم
نفروا تقودهم السعادة مثل سيل انسجم
سالت بأعناق المطي ذرى الأباطح والأكم
ملؤا البسيطة بالقباب ب كأنهن بيض النعم
بيضا وخضرا بينهم مثل عقد منتظم²

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.

¹Al-Qādirī's *Rihla*, p. 41. This poem has already been given as an example of the description on pp. 116-7.

²Al-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 (*raqīq*) styles, which demonstrate that the simplicity of words does not affect the eloquence and strength of style. Al-ʿAyyāshī, for instance, praised a scholar saying:

إن لك الجمد موروثا ومكتسبا	زكا أصل وفرع أثمر الحسبا
ماء الصبا ووقار العلم إذ مزجا	بوجهك اكتسبا نورا به التهبا
عدا إلى بابك الآمال فيض ندا	منك سقا من نأى عنك ومن قدما
وقد سما أملني إليك يقدمه	ظن جميل فلاترددده مكسبا ²

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.

¹ Al-Harrāma, *al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya*, p. 293.

² Al-ʿAyyāshī, 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-Zabādī in which he had spoken to pilgrims who moved to al-Hijāz, saying:

يا سائقا إبلا يحثها عجلا يطوي المهامة من بيد إلى مبف
ويقطع القفر من دعص ومن عقد والركب يزهي بتمحيق وتفويق
والإبل تمنحهم رفقا ودأداة بالحمـر قد وصفت والصبه والهيف¹

Such lines are the most difficult in their poetry, containing specialised words such as “*al-mahāma, bīd, mabaf, al-qaf, diṣ, ‘aqd, and da'da'a*,” which are names of different sorts of desert topographic relief, and “*al-ḥumr, al-ṣuhb and al-hīf*” which are different names of camels.

Al-‘Ayyāshī also, likened a camel using the word “*‘īr*” to a bull, adding two different names “*al-‘afīr, al-a‘far*”:

وعلى يمينك قد بدا عير يرى بالقرب كالثور العفير الأعفر²

Such vocabulary needs the use of the lexicon in order to be understood,³ 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.

¹Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 348.

²Al-‘Ayyāshī's *Rihla*, vol.1, p. 234.

³For example, *diṣ* means a circular flat sandy earth, *‘iqd* means drift of sand, *da'da'a*, means the fastest running of the camel, *al-a‘far* means a kind of deer whose colour is white mixed with redness. See Ismā‘īl al-Jawhirī, *Tāj al-Lughā and Ṣiḥāḥ al-‘Arabiyya*, (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 Ṣūfī terms, names of instruments, gardens, rivers, flowers and occupations. Some poems include Ṣūfī terms, whether indicative of ranks of scholars such as “*quṭb, abdāl, awtād, ghawth*”¹, beliefs such as “*al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*”², terms related to the teaching system such as, “*al-ṭarīqa*, (order), *al-murīd*, (disciple), *talqīn*, (instruction), *al-wajd and al-ḥizb*,”³. Al-Qādirī for instance, praised his *Shaykh* Abū al-ʿAbbās saying:

ذاك ابن عبد الله غوث زماننا محي القلوب ومنهل الورد⁴

Then he said:

الغاية القصوى لكل متابع لطريقه المثلى على الإرشاد

Then:

سير الأكابر والأفاضل حازها وشمائل الأبدال والأوتاد

Al-ʿAyyāshī also, praised one of Ṣūfī scholars saying:

وتلقين ما لقتنم من شيوخكم فكان لكم بالله علم وإيقان
وإن مرادي في انتساب إليكم نال به عفو الإله وغفران⁵

In addition to Ṣūfī 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 Qurʾān, for instance, constitute a dominant element.⁶ While justice terms reflect the religious education the poets had. Al-ʿAyyāshī employed jurisprudential terms such as “*al-qiyās, al-naṣ, al-Aṣl and al-farʿ*” in his poems. He, for instance, used the terms “*al-qiyās, al-naṣ*” in praising a scholar, saying:

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-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 452.

⁶Examples are given on p. 187.

لئن حاز قوم بالقياس فضائلا فقد حزها يا سيدي أنت بالنص¹

Al-ʿAyyāshī 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:

فان لم تكن أرضتكم لركاكة بها فاسمحوا إني كتبت بعجلة²

Also, this poem contains words reflecting a linguistic education, such as morphological forms *faʿlala*, *fiʿl*, *fiʿala*, *fiʿlān* in the following line:

ولو شئت اسمي قلت فعلة فعل فعالة فعلان من أي صيغة³

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

فله در اليوم بالأنس والصفاء أرق وأصفى من زلال على الصفا⁴

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.⁵

2. Syntax

Early Arab critics paid great attention to syntax, particularly al-Jurjānī 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

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 323.

²Ibid., vol. 1, p. 74.

³Ibid., vol. 1, p. 73.

⁴Al-Qādirī's *Rihla*, p. 16.

⁵Ibid., p. 16.

different from the meaning of each word in isolation.¹ Al-Jurjānī refers to what is called theory of *al-Nazm*, (context) by contemporary linguistic scholars. De-Saussure² 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:

أيام نسقي معها الشمول على روض يشاكل زهره الزهرا
وغصنه طربا تميله ريح الشمال ليلثم النهارا
ونهره كالحسام جرد في وسط الرياض يسيل منهمرا
وزهره فيه صار منتظما لما غدا القطر فيه منتشرا⁴

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 '*taḍmīn*' i.e. defective. The travellers' poetry is free from this defect except for a few cases, perhaps not more than three. But al-ʿAyyāshī committed an extreme example of this defect when he only completes the meaning after seven lines. Al-ʿAyyāshī 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:

¹Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, *Dalā'il al-Ijāz*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākīr, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, [n.d.]), pp. 43-65.

²Ferdinand De-Saussure, (1857-1913) is one of the founders of modern linguistics.

³For more details, see al-Ḥāmid, *Kayfa Tuḥalil al-Naṣ al-Adabī*, p. 346.

⁴Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, p. 111. These lines have been already given as an example of symbolic love introduction on p. 139 and other Ṣūfī ideas on p. 159.

بأن شقيق الروح غاية أنسه أخي وسمى القلب في كل طجة
 موافقي في كل حال ومؤثري على نفسه في كل خير ولذة
 حبيبي خليلي لا خليل سواه لي يدانيه في أخلاقه المستقيمة
 سخاء وصبر جودة وفتوة توقد ذهنا في صفاء الطوية
 وعزة نفس لا تروم دناءة وغاية صبر في احتمال وعفة
 محمد المحمود نجل أبي الشتا عليه من الرحمن سابغ رحمة
 قد اختلسته عندما تم بدره كمالا وغالته أكف المنية¹

Al-Zabādī 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:

خليلي إن عاينتما أرض طيبة ونور الذي من نوره الشمس والبدر
 ووافيتما الروض الشريف وكنتما تجاه الذي لا يستطاع له قدر
 فقولوا له بعد السلام محبكم على شوقه قد عاقه عنكم العذر²

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-Ṭayyib's line, which describes his great sorrow while leaving Medina, the site of the Prophet's mosque and grave:

أرسلت مقلتي دموعا غزارا وحوث أضلعي لهيا ونارا³

Then he ends his poem, wishing to come back again:

فعمسى الله أن يمن بعودة وعسااه يطفني لهيا ونارا⁴

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 74.

²Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 320.

³Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, p. 113.

⁴Ibid., 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-‘Ayyāshī’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:

فحرفته التقوى وصنعتة الندى ومكسبه التفويض خير المكاسب
رئيس المعالي نخبة الدهر ماجد وعقد لآلي الحمد تاج المراكب¹

2.2. Repetition

Early and contemporary Arab critics such as al-Jaḥiẓ (255/869), Ibn Rashīq (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.² 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-‘Ayyāshī ended a brotherly poem by repeating the letter ‘ر’ in most of the words of the following line:

جزاه رب الورى خيرا وصيره بجرمة الله طول الدهر محترما³

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

¹Al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 130.

²See these opinions and others and details about this topic in the invaluable book *al-Takrīr: bayna al-Muthir wa al-Ta’thir* by ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Sayyid, (Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1986).

³Al-‘Ayyāshī’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-Zabādī opened a Prophetic commendation repeating the letter 'م' five times and 'ن س' three times. 'م, ن' 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-Zabādī describes his great sorrow at seeing the pilgrims leave:

رحلوا وهم ما سأل عني سائل ودمع العين منهم سائل²

Also, repeating the long vowels 'ā' and 'ī' 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:

خلياني من حاسد أو شاني واتركاني لمقصدي أو شاني
ودعاني من الملام فداعي أحمد البدوي إليه دعائي³

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 Rashīq, 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

¹Al-Sayyid, *al-Takrīr*, p. 15.

²Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 320.

³Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, p. 119.

⁴Ibn Rashīq, *al-'Umda*, vol. 2, p. 687.

Repetition appears, as mentioned previously, to be psychologically necessary if the catastrophe is very heavy, as when al-ʿAyyāshī repeated the name of his dead friend more than seven times in an elegy, opening each line with his friend's name, Muḥammad, as in the following three lines:

محمد لا والله ما كنت ناسيا لعهدك ما دامت حياتي بجنة
محمد من للعلم بعدك ناشرا فوائده في الناس من دون هجنة
محمد من للجود بعدك قد عفا وقد كنت بسط الكف جم العطية¹

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-ʿAyyāshī repeats his friend's name, accompanied with the interrogative particle 'من' 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-Ḥijāz 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.² Al-Zabādī repeated Najd twice in the opening of a prophetic commendation:

سلام على نجد ومن حل في نجد سلام محب زائد الشوق والوجد³

Ibn al-Ṭayyib shows a strong tendency towards repetition, which is readily noticeable as a feature of his poetry. For instance, he repeated هذا 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 الرسول الطاهر الأخلاق و الأعلاق والأعراق وهو الأطهر
هذا الذي جمع المحاسن كلها فالحسن فيه كامل لا يشطر

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 75. See the rest of this poem on pp. 120-1.

²Al-Sayyid, *al-Takrīr*, p. 111.

³Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 142.

هذا الذي من شعره أسود الدجى وأبيض من مرآة فجر نير¹

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-Ṭayyib'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 Khālīd b. Sinān, repeats his name five times, asserting his command. He also repeats this word but in another meaning:

حططنا بمغنى خالد بن سنان	لنحظى به عن أسهم وسنان
أخالد منك الود أصبح خالدا	لدى خلدي بل في صميم جناني
أخالد هل للحرمين وصلة	أنعم منها في فسيح جنان
أخالد من لي أن أفوز بحجة	لها حجة في البر ذات يدان
أخالد هل لي زورة لمحمد	نبي سما عن مشبه ومدان ²

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-ʿAyyāshī, for example, praised one of his *Shaykhs*, ʿAbd al-Qādir, saying:

ولا سيما شيعي وشيخ مشايخي	ومنقذي من حيرة أي حيرة
إمامي الذي يمشي أمامي بعلمه	يقود زمامي قدوة أي قدوة ³

In addition to repeating the words *قدوة*, *حيرة* twice with *أي*, 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 'إمامي' 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,⁴ 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.

³ Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 71.

⁴ For more details about this poem see, pp. 103-5, 120-1, 141, 143, 172, 175, 180, 194.

Al-ʿAyyāshī himself composed a single line consisting only of the word طاب with words derived from the same root, making it heavy on the hearing:

بطيبة طاب الطيون لطيها بأطيب طيب طيب لمطيب¹

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-ʿAyyāshī 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:

وقد سما أملني إليك يقدمه ظن جميل فلا تردده مكتنبا⁴

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-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 444.

²See supra, p. 181-4.

³See supra, p. 189.

⁴Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 387.

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-ʿAyyāshī, al-Zabādī, al-Qādirī 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 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-ʿAyyāshī's poems containing strange words,¹ 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 Maḥlī, for example, defended himself against those who derided the title of his *Riḥla* saying:

فيا ليت شعري ما تقول المشارق	وصادق فجر بالأشعة شارق
أفي الصبح شك والبدور شواهد	وقولي أفك أم هدي وحقائق
وحكمي بالقسطاس في كل وارد	من الله حق أم هوى ومخارق
وفي هودج العذراء فاقضوا بما ترى	أنتمكم والعلم للوهم ماحق
فإن مرید الغرب يزعم أنكم	إذا ما أقول تضحكوا أو تنافقوا
ويا أهل مصر هل مقالي فيكم	كما قال جاف أم حديثي خارق
ونظمي من المكنون أم ضرب الخنا	جرى سفها بالله ما هو صادق 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 أفك أم هدي وحقائق. 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 مخارق,³ which is somewhat vague and strange but might be understood from the context.

In contrast, al-Murābiṭ opened his *Riḥla* saying:

زم الهوادج واتئد يا حادي	فلقد حملت بها جميع فؤاد
وتركتني عافي الحشا متولها	ذا زفرة تذكي بقلبي الصاد
فعمسى أجود بمهجتي حتى متى	يهوى الحياة ممزغ الأكباد ⁴

¹Ibn Abī Maḥlī, *al-Faqīh al-Thā'ir wa Riḥlatihi al-Iṣlīt al-Kharrīt*, ed. al-Qaddūrī, p. 134.

²For more details, see the biography of Ibn Abī Maḥlī, pp. 53-5.

³The term means to lie.

⁴Al-Murābiṭ'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 Abī Maḥlī.

As mentioned above, al-ʿAyyāshī 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-ʿAyyāshī for example, praised the scholar Muḥammad al-Makkī who he met in Tripoli, saying:

إن لك المجد موروثا ومكتسبا زكا أصل وفرع أثمر الحسبا
ماء الصبا ووقار العلم إذ مزجا بوجهك اكتسبا نورا به التهبا
عدا إلى بابك الآمال فيض ندا منك سقا من نأى عنك ومن قدما
وقد سما أملني إليك يقدمه ظن جميل فلا ترددده مكتسبا¹

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-ʿAyyāshī 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:

فأكرم به من عالم أي عالم سما رتبة فوق السهى أي رتبه
له حالة لم يرض ذو العقل غيرها ودين متين لم يدنس بريبه
إلى رقة في القلب من خوف ربه وإن شئت فانظر حاله عند خطبة
فتعلم قطعا أن ذاك إشارة من القلب قبل اليوم كامن خشية²

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī'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 Ṣūfī scholar Zarrūq¹ 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:

إذا ما رماني الدهر يوماً بنكبة أناذي يا زورق من لي ومن لها
فجاوبني في الحال حنانيك من لها أفكك عقدها وحل عقاها
حنانيك فالحجاج قد ضاق ذرعه ففك بفضل منك حالي وحالها²

3.2. Ornamental (*Badi'*) Style

This is the style that contains types of ornamentation such as *jinās*, (paronomasia), *ṭibāq*, (antithesis), *muqābala*, (opposition), dating the poem, quotation, inclusion and *al-tawriya*, as will explained later.

Ornamentation is not much used by the travellers, except Ibn al-Ṭayyib, 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-ʿAyyāshī's poem:

فكم بين من في طيبة آمنأ بها ومن في أقاصي الغرب ما بين أهوال

¹See the biography of Zarrūq on pp. 43-4.

²Abū Madyan's *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.

³For more details and examples, see *infra*, pp. 173-7.

فذلك يغدو في عني ويروح في ضنى بين آساد هناك وأغوال
وهذا يروح في غنى وبييت في هنا بين إكرام الرسول وإفضال¹

Then, he said:

فبقى أمام المصطفى واقفا له مناوبة ما بين عز وإذلال
إذا ما رأى خير الورى عز ثم إن رأى نفسه فالذل أولى بذا الحال²

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 يغدو and يروح in the second line and between يروح and بييت in the third line. In addition, rhyme and *muqābala* between غنى and هنا and between عني and ضنى. Paronomasia is found also, between عني and ضنى and between غنى and هنا. These devices are introduced by al-ʿAyyāshī 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.³ In praising a scholar named أبو مهدي, al-ʿAyyāshī consciously selected words derivative from the same root, مهدي, in the opening of his poem, saying:

أتيتك قديني الرشاد أبا مهدي فمثلي من استهدي ومثلك من يهدي
جمعت خصالا لم تكن جمعت لمن سواك بهذا العصر من خالص المجد
جبلت عليها ثم أخرى اكتسبتها فحزت كلا المجدين بالجد والجد⁴

Then, he said:

غنيت به بعد العنا غاية الغنى فأثرت به كفي وأورى به زند⁵

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 313.

²Ibid., vol. 1, p. 313.

³Ibid., vol. 2, p. 137.

⁴Ibid., vol. 2, p. 137.

⁵Ibid., vol. 2, p. 137.

Al-Jinās is found in the repetition of three verbs with different inflected forms, in addition to noun in the first line, and *خالص* and *خصالا* in the second line, and *غنيت* ، *العنا* and *الغنى* in the fourth line. Contrast occurs between *ممثل من استهدي* and *ومثلك من يهدي* and antithesis between *الغنى* and *العنا* and between *جبلت* and *اكتسبتها*. Rhyme is found between *يهدى* ، *استهدي* ، *فمثلي* ، *مهدي* ، *تهديني* ,between *عليها* and *اكتسبتها* and between *العنا* and *الغنى*. We might notice the repetition of four words containing *د* 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 *الجد* 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*¹ 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.²

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 entertains repeating words derived from the same root, as the name of the person entreated *عقبة* and words derived from *طية* , one of the names of Medina saying:

أعقبة جينا أجيلا وعقابا أضلت مواميها قطا وعقابا
أعقبة سل مولاك جل جلاله يومنا كي لا نخاف عقابا

¹ *Al-Jinās* (Paronomasia) is similarity in the word, with difference in the meaning. See Ṭabāna, *Muʿjam al-Balāgha al-ʿArabiyya*, p. 136.

² See *infra*, pp. 176-7 and 182, *supra*, p. 184.

فها نحن وقد الله حجاج بيته وطيبة إذ من طيبها الكون طابا¹

In the first line he repeats the word عقابا which has two different meanings, once in the first hemistich, and another time in the second which is known *radd al-ʿajz ʿalā al-ṣadr*. This frequently occurs in Ibn al-Ṭayyib's poetry. In the line below he demonstrates his intention at repetition:

فهناك يخلو المدح دون تردد ويطيب تكراري الثنا وترددي²

He claims that he is conscious of the ornamentation his poem contains such as complete *al-Jinās* and *al-tawriya* arising out of repeating the two words تردد and ترددي of two different meanings.³

Al-Āmirī opened his *Riḥla* by using this type of *al-Jinās* in a simple and nice way, in order to put more emphasis on the meaning, as in the following line:

أزعم السير إن دعت أدواء لشفيح الأنام فهو الدواء⁴

One of the few examples in which we might notice that *al-Jinās* was used in an artificial way are the following lines composed by Ibn al-Ṭayyib:

بلغنا المنى لما بلغنا إلى منى وزال العنا عنا فلم نعن بالعنا
وحصبت الآثام عند محصب وبالخيف زال الخوف عن كل من عنا⁵

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. *Ṭibāq* and *Muqābala*

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 devices. Therefore we find a word or sentence and its opposite introduced by the traveller simply because the

¹Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, p. 37.

²Ibid., p. 21.

³Ibid., p. 21. See also, his *Riḥla*, pp. 26, 46, 79, 119.

⁴Al-Āmirī's *Riḥla*, p. 89. See also, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, p. 268.

⁵Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, 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-ʿAyyāshī's following line, where he opposed موروثا to مكتسبا in the first hemistich, and أصل to فرع in the second:

إن لك المجد موروثا ومكتسبا زكاء أصل وفرع أثمر الحسبا¹

It may occur between two verbs, as in the following line of the same poem, where the poet opposed ذهبا to يعودان:

ما كان ظني أن الوفد من أمني ومن كتابي يعودان كما ذهبا²

Al-Zabādī 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 (المغرب) to قلب ، غائب ، مشرق (الحجاز) جسم ، رهن حاضر ،

فاس:

لله قلب غائب في مشرق والجسم رهن حاضر في فاس³

Ibn al-Ṭayyib combined *al-tibāq* and *al-muqābala*, opposing وابتكي to فلتضحكي and يعموا to يهجروا , and also opposing the first hemistich and the second:

وابكي إذا ما شئت أو فلتضحكي فالكل يحمده والمشوق محرر
 إذ عادة المشتاق يبكي دائما إن يعموا بالوصل أو أن يهجروا
 فإذا دنوا يبكي مخافات النوى وإذا نأوا شوقا لهم يستعبروا⁴

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 387.

²Ibid., vol. 2, p. 387.

³Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 347.

⁴Ibid., p. 104.

These contradictory meanings presented by *al-ṭibāq* and *al-muqābala*, 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-ṭibāq* and *al-muqābala* 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-tāriḫ* 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-ʿAyyāshī, where he dates the death of one of the scholars of Mecca, Muḥammad b. ʿAlawī, saying:

وكان غوث مكة تاريخه قولك قطب وقته مات بها⁴

If we total the digits of this sentence, قطب مكة مات بها, we find that the total is the date of his death, 1071 A.H.⁵

¹As follows: أ = 1 , ب = 2 , ج = 3 , د = 4 , هـ = 5 , و = 6 , ز = 7 , ح = 8 , ط = 9 , ي = 10 , ك = 20 , ل = 30 , م = 40 , ن = 50 , س = 60 , ع = 70 , ف = 80 , ص = 90 , ق = 100 , ر = 200 , ش = 300 , ت = 400 , ث = 500 , خ = 600 , ذ = 700 , ض = 800 , ظ = 900 , غ = 1000. See al-Raddādī, *al-Shiʿr al-Hijāzī*, vol. 2, p. 854.

²ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulṣī, *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār ʿalā Nasamāt al-Aṣḥār fī Madḥi al-Nabiyyi al-Mukhtār*, (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1299 A.H.), p. 336. For more details about this type, see *Muṭālaʿāt fī al-Shiʿr al-Mamlūkī wa al-ʿUthmānī* by Bakrī Shaykh Amin, (Beirut: Dār al-Shurūq, 1972), p. 171.

³al-Nābulṣī, *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār*, p. 336.

⁴al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 90.

⁵As follows: (ق) 100 + (ط) 9 + (ب) 2 + (و) 6 + (ق) 100 + (ت) 400 + (هـ) 5 + (م) 40 + (ا) 1 + (ت) 400 + (ب) 2 + (هـ) 5 + (ا) 1 = 1071.

Also, al-ʿAyyāshī dates the birthday of the scholar ʿIsā al-Thaʿālibī's son, saying:

وأقر أعينكم به في نعمة تغشاه مقرونا بما إرشاده
تاريخه الميمون قولي صادقا ولد سعيد سرکم ميلاده¹

3.2.4. *Al-Iqtibās* and *al-Taḍmīn*²

Al-ʿAyyāshī quoted a whole verse and put it in the second line, just adding a single word 'عجرو'. 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."³ Al-ʿAyyāshī says describing that day:

ولم أنس بالتية يوما به تفانا الحجيج صدى وولوها
وإن يستغيثوا يغاثوا بماء عجرو د كالمهل يشوي الوجوها⁴

Ibn Nāṣir ends one of his poems with the clause "قاب قوسين أدناه" "was at a distance of about two bows' lengths or (even) nearer", taken from one of the verses of the Qur'ān.⁵ He ended his line with this clause saying:

أيصبر ذو عقل لفرقة أحمد فلا و الذي من قاب قوسين أدناه⁶

The travellers sometimes quoted a whole line or more in their poems. Al-Ḥuḍaykī ended one of his poems with the following line:

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 138.

²*Al-Iqtibās* and *al-taḍmīn* refer to the incorporation of something from another source into the poem, but *al-Iqtibās* as a, "Technical term is defined as the unacknowledged borrowing, in poetry or prose, of phrases taken from the Koran [sic] or the *Ḥadīth*." G. J. H. Van Gelder, 'Iqtibās', 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.

³M. Khan and M. al-Hilali, *The Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'an*, sūrat al-Kahf, verse, 29, p. 422.

⁴Al-ʿAyyāshī'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-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 52; Ibn Nāṣir's *Rihla*, p. 102.

⁵M. Khan and M. al-Hilālī, *The Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'an*, sūrat al-Najim, verse, 9, p. 750.

⁶Ibn Nāṣir's *Rihla*, p. 102.

لا تحسب المجد قمرًا أنت آكله لا تبلغ المجد حتى تلعق الصبرا¹

Al-Āmirī included seven lines in his *Rihla*, four lines from the most famous prophetic commendations known *al-Būrda* composed by al-Būṣirī, and three lines from a poet named Ibn Ḥammād. Al-Āmirī reminds the reader or the listener before quoting these lines that they are the lines of *al-Shaykh* [al-Būṣirī] in the second hemistich of his following line:

وتعاهد معاهد الخير فيها ومن الشيخ نالها الإنشاء²

Then, he states al-Būṣirī's lines.³ In another place, he draws attention to the fact that the following line is by Ibn Ḥammād saying:

ولقد صدق ابن حماد إذ قال ل وقد سلمت له البلغاء⁴

He also, asserts that he has borrowed seven lines:

وابن حاج محمد قد جلاها غير سبع أعارهن اقتداء⁵

3.2.5. *Al-Tawriya*

It means that the word has two meanings, one literal or *qarīb* (close) and the other metaphorical or *ba'īd* (far). The poet means to conceal the literal by stating the metaphorical.⁶ Al-Āyyāshī sent two lines to one of his friends using his nickname saying:

يذكرني بالشفر برد نسيمه بلادي فعيشي ناعم متكرر
فقال خليلي علل النفس واصطبر عسى فرج يأتي به لك مخبر⁷

¹ Al-Ḥuḍaykī's *Rihla*, p. 3. For details about this famous line, see infra, pp. 144-5.

² Al-Āmirī's *Rihla*, p. 98.

³ For some details about al-Būṣirī and *al-Burda*, see infra, p. 79.

⁴ Ibid., p. 99.

⁵ Ibid., p. 104.

⁶ Ṭabāna, *Muḥjam al-Balāgha al-Ārabiyya*, p. 712.

⁷ Al-Āyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 106.

The word *مخبر* has two meanings. The first, the literal or *qarīb*, means the person who brings the news, and the second, metaphorical or *ba'īd*, means the nickname of the friend who sent him the two lines. Al-ʿAyyāshī 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-Ḥajj* 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:

قد خصه ربه الحكيم بمعجز الكتاب فأعجز الشعراء
 ويوم مولده بدت عبر لمن رآها يا حسنها عبرا
 بنوره نار فارس خمدت كذاك كسرى إيوانه كسرا²

Al-Zabādī described the pilgrims' journey to al-Ḥijāz by a recital style with a succession of verbs in the past tense:

رحلوا وهم ما سأل عني سائل منهم ودمع العين منهم سائل
 ساروا إلى أرض الحجاز ويمموا أرضا بها للنازلين مسائل
 وحلوا بهم حاديهم في مهمة وأرامه لرضى الحبيب وسائل
 لاحت لهم آكام نجد والربى فتواجدوا فالكل منهم مائل³

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.

¹Recital 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-Harrāma, *al-Qaṣida al-Andalusīyya*, vol. 2, p. 281.

²Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, p. 111.

³Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 320. See more examples in themes of prophetic commendations, entreaty, description of of natural scenes, pilgrims' caravan, the road stages and performing *al-Ḥajj* and *al-Ziyāra* rituals, or wishing to do that, elegy and praise on pp. 80-102 and 114-21.

Al-ʿAyyāshī related the great hospitality and generosity he received from his friend during his stay in Medina, saying:

وزرت شفيح الخلق في كل موقف	بطيبة قد خيمت بعد تعسف
وكان نزولي عند أفضل منصف	وصححت عزمي في الجوار بأرضه
وجامع كل الفضل دون تخلف	أخي وخليلي بل إمامي وسيدي
وقام مقام الخادم المتلطف	فلما نزلنا أحسن التزل واللقا
ولكنها زيادة في التشرف	وليس بعيب خدمة المرء ضيفه
ودام على حسن اللقا والتألف	وبالغ في إكرامنا واحتفى بنا
أخفف عنه رغبة في التعطف	وأخرجني إحسانه فههمت أن
عليك فلا تخجل فليست بمسرف	وقال لي الظن الجميل فما
علامة صدق الود ترك التكلف ¹	ولا كلفة فيما فعلت فإنما

Also, al-ʿAyyāshī 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:

مبيلة الأشجان وسنانة الطرف	ولم أنسها يقظانة الهم في الحشا
تحملي ثقل الفراق على ضعف	تقول وقد جد الرحيل أهاكذا
رحمت بنيك إذ سلوت عن الألف	أترك أفراخا كزغب القطا وما
كنخسف النقا تستعرض الدمع بالكف	فقلت لها كفي الملام وأعرضت
أساه ودمعي لا يعمل من الوكف	فودعتها والقلب منطبق على
مع البعد إلا أن أزور مع الطيف ²	عليك سلام لا زيارة بيننا

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.³ The poem is mainly an expression of emotions resulting from the experiences of the poet in life and

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī, vol. 2, p. 37.

²Ibid., vol.2, p. 14. See the translation of this poem on p. 110 and see also, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's poem on p. 110.

³Aḥmad al-Shāyib, *Uṣūl al-Naqd al-Adabī*, 9th edn (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1985), p. 34.

the events to which he reacts. Aḥmad Amīn 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 Shawqī Ḍayf 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-ʿAyyāshī'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-Ṭayyib'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-ʿĀmirī in his *Riḥla*, 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 *Riḥla* 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-Murābiṭ's *Riḥla*, 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-Ṭayyib's poem in which he argues for travel and its benefits, shows truth and strong determination, resulting

¹Aḥmad Amīn, *al-Naqd al-Adabī*, 4th edn (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1967), vol. 1, pp. 40-1.

²Shawqī Ḍayf, *fī al-Naqd al-Adabī* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1962), p. 7. [My translation].

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:

وصلنا إليه واتصلنا بقربه فله ما أحلى وصولا وصلناه
وقمنا وسلمنا عليه وإنه ليسمعنا من غير شك شكناه
ورد علينا السلام سلامنا وقد زادنا فوق الذي نحن زدناه³

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-Hashtūkī, for instance entreats a number of renowned Ṣūfī scholars, appealing to them to improve the difficult circumstances the pilgrims are facing, saying:

يا سادتي أهل السلوك ومن هم بسلسلة الإبريز أضوء من بدر
حنانيكم إن الحجيج عراهم من الهول والهوان والضيق والحصر
فيا نجل ناصر ويا أحمد ابنه ويا عمه المطيع للمالك البر⁴

After listing a number of Ṣūfī scholars, he said:

أغيثوا حجاجكم جهارا على الوفا وبالفور من ضيق وحصر ومن ضير
ويا أبا القاسم الغازي إذا كنت سامعا أتترك هذا الركب في الهم

¹Example was given on pp. 163-4.

²See elegy poem of al-'Ayyāshī on p. 121.

³Ibn Nāṣir's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 9.

⁴Al-Hashtūkī's *Rihla*, p. 68.

والعسر ببابك يا قطب الزمان وعصره وجاهك معلوم لدى العبد و الحر¹

If we may recall that mention was made previously about the impact of Ṣūfī education, such as great love for Ṣūfī *awliyā'*, and strong belief in their unlimited abilities to resolve all difficulties, which the living might encounter in their lives when they entreat them.² 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-ʿAyyāshī sent to his colleagues in Fes. Al-ʿAyyāshī 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:

فإن لم تكن أرضكم لركاكة	بها فاسمحوا إني كتبت بعجلة
وعذرا ففي يوم الرحيل كتبتها	ولو كان في يوم الإقامة أرضت
وفي حالة ينسى الخليل خليله	بها لهموم قد ألمت عظيمة
سأخبركم عنها إذا ما لقيتكم	ففيها لمن لم يلقها أي عبرة
وأما الذي مثلي يشاهدها فمن	مقاساتها في غمرة أي غمرة
وليس يجيد النثر فيها أخو النهى	فكيف بنظم في معان عويصة ³

Some poems are naturally free from emotion, such as poems of academic purposes, which cannot contain any kind of emotion. Al-ʿAyyāshī for instance, during his stay in Palestine gave one of the scholars of al-Khalīl, Ibrāhīm b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Marawānī an academic *Ijāza* in poetic form as he desired, saying:

أجزت بكل ما أرويه طرا وما صنعه نظما ونشرا

¹Ibid., p. 68.

²For detailed explanation and examples about this matter, see *infra*, pp. 96-100, 146-7 and *supra*, pp. 203-8.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 74.

وما لي من مجاز عن شيوخي بمكة أو بطيبة أو بمصر
وما أرويه عن علماء قطري شيوخ الغرب ما أذكاه قطرا¹

until he said:

أبا إسحاق إبراهيم أكرم به حبرا يفوق البحر عبرا
على الشرط الذي شرطوا و إني أزيد له شروطا ثم أخرى²

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-ʿAyyāshī, for instance, elegizes one of the scholars of Mecca in the following lines, dating his death:

مات فتى المجد من آل علوي محمد إمام أرباب النهي
قد كان بحرا في المعارف فلا ترى له في الوقت طرا مشبها
وكان غوث مكة تاريخه قولك قطب وقته مات بها
إن لنا لله به ما نرتجي دنيا وأخرى وكفانا ما دهى³

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.⁴

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 *Rihlāt* of those travellers were compiled in prose form, whereas only two *Rihlāt* were composed in poetic form. These are of al-ʿĀmirī and al-Murābiṭ, 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-maqtūʿa*, and

¹Ibid., vol. 2, p. 346.

²Ibid., 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-qaṣīda*. A few poems extended beyond a hundred lines and *Riḥla* of al-ʿĀmirī 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 Ṣūfī education they had received in Ṣūfī *Zawāyā*, such as entreaty and *al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*.¹ 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,

¹In fact we find this theory only in the poetry of al-ʿAyyāshī, Ibn al-Ṭayyib and al-Zabādī.

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 Sunnī teaching.

Some travelers, in particular al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Zabādī and Ibn al-Ṭayyib, believe in the so-called *al-Ḥaqīqa 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 Sunnī scholars, intellectuals and Orientalists assert that the idea of *al-Ḥaqīqa 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 Sunnī 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 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 Ṣūfī doctrines and the center of Ṣūfī 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 Ṣūfī 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 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-ʿAyyāshī, Ibn al-Ṭayyib and al-Qādirī. 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 Ṭayba, 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-Ṭayyib, 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-'Ayyāshī'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-‘Ayyāshī, al-Zabādī, al-Qādirī 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 ‘Abd al-Salām, whose little poetry is nearer to be poetry of juristsprudence, 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-Zabādī and Al-‘Ayyāshī’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-Ḥajj* 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' *Riḥlāt*, which will be discussed according to the thematic and artistic features. As *al-Riḥlāt* 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-Riḥlāt*. 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' *Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt*, 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-Ḥajj* in the two studied centuries.¹

In the preface to their *Riḥlāt* the travellers identify accurately the main aims for which they compiled their *Riḥlāt*, 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 Ṣūfī *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 *Riḥlāt* 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

¹Many studies have been made depending on the Moroccan travellers' *Riḥlāt* or even on one *Rihla* such as *Libyā min Khilāl Riḥlat al-Wazīr al-Ishāqī* by 'Abd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, *al-Madīna al-Munawwara fī Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshi* by Muḥammad Amaḥzūn, 'Libyā min Khilāl Kitābāt al-Raḥḥālīn al-Maghāriba fī al-Qarnayn al-'Āshir wa al-Hādī 'Ashar li al-Hijra 16 and 17 AD' by Muḥammad al-Ḥarrārī 'Abd al-Salām, *al-Jazā'ir min Khilāl Riḥlāt al-Maghāriba fī al-'Ahd al-'Uthmānī* by Mūlāy bālḥimīsi.

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 *Riḥlāt*. Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, for instance, is interested in discussing the academic issues, al-Ishāqī concentrates on political and security matters as a natural result of his being a politician, a minister in the Saʿdī State¹ and also, compiled his *Riḥla* to record the journey of the mother of Sulṭān ʿAbd Allah b. Ismāʿil and his son, while al-Zabādī pays a considerable attention to Ṣūfism and the leading Ṣūfī men and their *karāmāt* (miracles). On the other hand, al-ʿAyyāshī managed successfully to cover most issues.

1. Religious Aspect

Obviously, the religious and particularly Ṣūfī aspect predominate as one of the three main aspects in *al-Riḥlāt*, specifically in some *Riḥlāt* such as these of al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Zabādī and al-ʿAynī, because the journey was undertaken to perform a religious duty. In addition, some of the travellers were Ṣūfī scholars adhering to visiting the Ṣūfīs' shrines, meeting Ṣūfī scholars and performing the Ṣūfī rituals such as reciting *dhikr*,² wearing the *khirqā*,³ (robe) and reading prophetic commendation poems, as well as relating Ṣūfīs *karāmāt*. The only exception to this Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, which is free of any reference to Ṣūfī rituals.

1.1. Ṣūfī aspect

The point which is worthy of note is that the Ṣūfī order known as *al-Shādhiliyya*⁴, to which the travellers belong, is considered the main order in Morocco, and the closest to the Sunna.⁵ So, some travellers such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Ibn Nāṣir and al-Yūsī adopted a strong attitude against the Ṣūfī *bidʿa*, (innovations) such as the sanctity of *al-awliyāʾ*. Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, for instance, although his preliminary education was in Ṣūfism, turned to learning the science of *Ḥadīth* (the Sunna) until he became well-informed in this field, which enabled him to correct and fight *al-bidʿa* which were prevalent in his

¹For more details about the Saʿdī State, see *infra*, p. 47.

²See *infra*, p. 57.

³For the significance of wearing *al-khirqā*, see *infra*, p. 57 and *supra*, p. 209-10.

⁴More details are already given in previously three, see *infra*, pp. 62, 67, 150.

⁵Ḥijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾiyya*, p. 50. Sunna is literary, " Means ' trodden path '. It developed from meaning 'customary practice ' to indicating the specific actions and sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad himself." I. R. Netton, *A popular Dictionary of Islam*, p. 238.

age,¹ such as the heresies related to the graves of *al-awliyā'* and pious men. Therefore, Ibn 'Abd al-Salām's *Rihla*, as mentioned above, is free of any reference to Ṣūfī rituals. Also, the founder of *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya* Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Dilā'ī, did not conform to *al-subḥā'*² and wearing *Khirqā*, nor did he impose a certain *wird* or *ḥizb*³ because no authentic narration from the *Sunna* has reached us on this topic.⁴ Moreover, the travellers did not wear *muraqqa'āt* (patched garments)⁵. For example, al-Ḥuḍaykī, although he was a Ṣūfī scholar, never wore *muraqqa'āt*, 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-'Ayyāshī holds a similar view.⁸ Also, the Ṣūfī stamp dominates some of *al-Rihlāt* such as *Rihlāt* of al-Zabādī, al-Qādirī, 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-Shāfi'ī and Ṣūfī *awliyā'* such as Zarrūq and al-Badawī. 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 Aghmāt 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 Aghmāt and others gained recovery from the earth and carried it in

¹ al-Jāsir, *Mulakhkhaṣ Riḥlatay Ibn 'Abd al-Salām*, p. 36.

² It is a rosary of ninety-nine beads, and is used for repeating *al-dhikr*.

³ Recitation of *al-wird* (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 (*du'ā'*). *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 *ḥizb*, 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 *ḥizb* of varying lengths. V. J. Hoffman, *Sufism, Mystics and Saints*, pp. 131-2.

⁴ Ḥijjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*, pp. 62 and 68.

⁵ It is one aspect of the Ṣūfī tradition.

⁶ Al-Sūsī, *al-Ma'sūl* (Casablanca: Maṭba'at al-Najālī, 1963), vol. 11, p. 311.

⁷ Ibn Nāṣir's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 156.

⁸ See supra, p. 208.

order to meet their needs, and Ibn Malīḥ asserts that he carried it until he returned.¹ Some of them, including al-Hashtūkī, Abū Madyan² and Ibn Malīḥ³ started their journey by visiting the graves, and never left any grave they could visit throughout their journey. For example, al-Hashtūkī 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-ʿAynī and al-Zabādī, who made a point of asking about the scholars' graves found in the cities or villages they visited. For example al-ʿAynī asked about al-Baskarī's grave when he reached Biskra.⁵ Travellers such as al-Zabādī, al-Shāwī, al-ʿAyyāshī and Ibn al-Ṭayyib devoted a huge part of their *Riḥlāt* 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 Zarrūq's⁸ grave in Miṣrata (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-Tāzī states, they found in the supplication of Zarrūq a spiritual supply.⁹ Some of the travellers refer to some habits and rituals practiced by visitors. Al-Qādirī, for instance, states that *al-shaykh* Abū al-ʿAbbās, when he visited the grave of ʿUqba b. Nāfi,¹⁰ in eastern Biskra in Algeria, started by praying, reading *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa, 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, Yāsīn and Ṭāhā and some prophetic commendations during their visit to Zarrūq's grave in Miṣrata in Libya.¹² Visits to graves were sometimes undertaken by all the inhabitants of some cities as a religious habit. Al-ʿAyyāshī, for example, says that it was customary for Medina's inhabitants to visit the

¹ Ibn Malīḥ's *Riḥla*, p. 14.

² See his *Riḥla*, p. 51.

³ See his *Riḥla*, pp. 13-21.

⁴ Al-Hashtūkī's *Riḥla*, *Hidāyat al-Malik*, p. 51.

⁵ Al-ʿAynī's *Riḥla* summarised by al-Sūsī, p. 291. See also, p. 293 and, al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 12.

⁶ See, for examples, al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, pp. 9, 39, 64, 163, 166, 193, 334; al-Shāwī's *Riḥla*, 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 Zarrūq, see his biography on pp. 43-4.

⁹ Al-Tāzī, *Amīr Maghribī*, p. 59.

¹⁰ For details about his biography, see *infra*, p. 115.

¹¹ Al-Qādirī's *Riḥla*, p. 7.

¹² Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, p. 46.

grave of Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (the uncle of the Prophet) every Thursday. In addition, they and other people coming from Mecca, Yemen, Yanbu‘ and Ṭā’if had a great annual celebration, on which they visited the grave of Ḥamza and other graves of the Prophet’s companions in al-Shuhadā’ cemetery¹. They started moving to al-Shuhadā’ 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’ān by the light of a great number of candles.² Al-Ḥuḍaykī also, reports that the Egyptians visited the graves of al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā and al-Ṣughrā cemeteries³ every Friday morning.⁴ As some travellers started their journeys by visiting the graves, others such as Ibn Nāṣir ended his journey by doing so.⁵

In fact, visiting graves was forbidden in the formative years of Islam and not until *Tawḥīd* (belief in Allah’s unity) was firmly established among Muslims was the ban lifted by the Prophet,⁶ 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.”⁷ “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.”⁸ For example, formal praying, praying in the direction of graves, reciting the Qur’ān, were totally forbidden in graveyards regardless of the intention.⁹ On the other hand, the Prophet used to visit the graves of his companions in al-Baqī’¹⁰ and al-

¹Al-Shuhadā’ cemetery is the cemetery in which lie the graves of seventy of the Prophet’s companions who were martyred in the battle of Uḥud against the disbelievers of Mecca in 3/624.

²al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 253-5. See also, al-Zabādī’s *Riḥla*, p. 122 and al-Ḥuḍaykī’s *Riḥla*, p. 45.

³Al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā and al-Ṣughrā cemeteries are the cemeteries in which lie the graves of number of the Prophets, such the Prophet Ṣāliḥ and the Prophet Muḥammad’s family, such ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, as well as his companions such as Mu‘ādh b. Jabal and ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir. In addition to number of renowned scholars such as the *Imām* al-Shāfi‘ī and al-Ṭabari. See Ibn Malīḥ’s *Riḥla*, pp. 55-61.

⁴Al-Ḥuḍaykī’s *Riḥla*, p. 53.

⁵Ibn Nāṣir’s *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 199.

⁶Abū Ameenah Bilal Philips, *The Fundamentals of Tawheed: Islamic Monotheism* (London: Dar al-Tawheed Ltd., 1990), p. 191.

⁷Muslim, *Saḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 2, pp. 463-4. no. 2131.

⁸A. B. Philips, *The Fundamentals of Tawheed*, p. 192.

⁹For more details, see *Ibid.*, pp. 192-4.

¹⁰Al-Baqī’ 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.

Shuhadā' 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-Qiblī states, makes the action of the traveller al-Yūsī 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 are be saved!”⁴

1.1.2. *Karāmāt*, and Exaltation of *Awliyā'*,

Some travellers, particularly al-Zabādī, al-'Aynī and al-Ḥuḍaykī, paid considerable attention to relating *karāmāt*, (the miracles)⁵ of *al-awliyā'* (friend of Allah). Al-Ḥuḍaykī, who starts his *Riḥla* with recording the biographies and their *karāmāt* of his *shaykhs*, such as Aḥmad al-Ṣawābī, 'Abd Allah al-Rasmūkī and Muḥammad al-Ḥamidī, warning against having doubts about their *karāmāt*, or denying them.⁶ Al-Zabādī relates many stories; for instance, he reports that *al-shaykh* Abū 'Umar 'Uthmān b. Marzūq (died in

¹Aḥmad b. Taymiyya, *al-Jawāb al-Bāhir fi Zuwwār al-Maqābir* (Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1997), pp. 29-30. The prayer (*du'ā'*) 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, *Saḥiḥ Muslim*, vol. 2, pp. 461-2, no. 2127-8.

²Al-Qiblī (ed.), *Rasā'il Abi 'Alī*, p. 95.

³Al-Fāsi, 'al-Raḥḥāla al-Maghāriba', *Da'wat al-Ḥaqq*, January 1959, p. 24.

⁴See R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 174.

⁵It is, “supernatural powers which contrary to custom, one of its terms is *karāma*, 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-Ḥuḍaykī'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-Aqṣā in al-Qūds, (Jerusalem), and return to Cairo in the same night. Al-Zabādī 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 *wudū'*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-Zabādī also refers to a miracle that happened to 'Alī al-Rifā'ī, saying that the Prophet brought out his hand and shook Rifā'ī's hand after he had read two poetic lines at the Prophet's grave.³ Ibn Malīḥ relates that a woman supplicated to Aḥmad al-Badawī⁴ 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 Ṣūfī 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 story⁷ 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-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 217.

³Ibid., p. 220. For other stories, see his *Riḥla*, pp. 178, 204, 210, 227, 306.

⁴See his biography on p. 96.

⁵Ibn Malīḥ's *Riḥla*, p. 65. See also other stories in al-Ḥuḍaykī's *Riḥla*, p. 6; al-Hashtūki's *Riḥla, Hidāyat al-Malik*, p. 84; al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, 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-Aqṣā in Jerusalem during one night, as it was stated in the Qur'ān, *sūrat, 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, *sūrat, 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 *sūrat Āli 'Umrān*, verse. 49.

⁷The story is as follows, "One day", he ['Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī] 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 strategy because of your understanding of the religion and your knowledge. I have managed to misguide over seventy saintly worshippers by such incidents." A. B. Philips, *The Fundamentals of Tawheed*, pp. 141-2. See also, Aḥmad b. Taymiyya, *Majmū' Fatāwā shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad b. Taymiyya*, collected by 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim (Riyadh, Dār 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1991), vol. 1, p. 172.

Ṣūfī scholar ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (470-561/1077 or 8/1166),¹ or they fabricated stories because, as R. A. Nicholson asserts:

The popular demand for miracles far exceeded the supply, but where the *walīs* [*Awliyā*] 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 [Ṣūfī *Awliyā*] 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-Qādirī's *Rihla*, which was compiled basically to record the journey of his *shaykh*, the Ṣūfī scholar Abū al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd Allah, is the best example which obviously demonstrates the high status of the Ṣūfī scholar in the community. Al-Qādirī 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-‘Abbās 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-‘Ayyāshī has exaggerated in his veneration of the Ṣūfī 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 Shī‘a⁵ belief that the twelfth *Imām*⁶ has not died; however, he says, he will not contradict this view if the Ṣūfī *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 Ḥanbalī preacher and ascetic after whom the famous *ṭarīqa* [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.

²R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 181.

³Al-Qādirī's *Rihla*, pp. 39-40.

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 Shī‘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 Muḥammad al-Qā‘im, “The son of Ḥasan al-‘Askari. At his father's funeral, as a young boy, he made a single appearance and then, according to Shī‘ite belief, entered a state of *ghayba* [absence]. The returning figure of the twelfth *Imām* identified by the Shī‘ite with the eschatological figure of the *Mahdī* [awaited, see *infra*, p. 54] whose return will signal the approaching Day of Judgement.” Ibid., p. 176.

⁷Amāḥzūn, *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, pp. 60-1. See also al-‘Ayyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 177.

1.1.3. Ṣūfī orders and their rituals, customs, and states

Al-Zabādī paid considerable attention to recording in accurate detail the Ṣūfī orders and their rituals, customs, and states (manners). In addition to this he records observations on meeting Ṣūfī scholars in the cities or villages he visited, to an extent that his *Rihla* is considered a significant resource that clarifies the Ṣūfī movement at that time. Other travellers such as al-ʿAyyāshī, Ibn Nāṣir and al-Hashtūkī paid great attention to this matter, but not as much as al-Zabādī did.

Al-Zabādī records frequently all his meetings with Ṣūfī scholars, attending their lessons, *ḥalaqāt*¹ of *dhikr*² and wearing *al-khirqa*³. In addition, he refers to the emotional states such as *al-wajd*⁴ which occurred to them during *al-samāʿ*⁵. Al-Zabādī, for example, states that he went to *al-shaykh* ʿAlī al-Bayūmī in his home in Cairo, and asked him to teach him *al-ṭarīqa*⁶ al-Aḥmadiyya⁷, and he shook his hand, granted him *al-khirqa*, instructed him in *al-dhikr* and gave him an *ijāza*⁸. He indicated that when they recited *al-dhikr* with *al-shaykh*, he suddenly screamed loudly and lost consciousness, to the extent that

¹ *Ḥalaqāt* [sing. *Ḥalqa*], "Circle, link, ring. The term has a number of technical meanings in *ṭaṣawwuf* [Ṣūfism]: it can mean, for example, a group of students studying with a Ṣūfī *shaykh*, or the circle of Ṣūfis 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. Shushtery, 'Eight Major Scriptures And Vedantists' in *The Sufi Mystery*, ed. Nathaniel P. Archer (London: The Octagon Press, 1980), p. 85.

⁵ It, "Generally denotes the hearing of music or audition" and on the theoretical level, this term *samāʿ*; "Implies more than a simple hearing of poetry or music, accompanied by a dance or other bodily movements. It is described by some Ṣūfī 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 Ṣūfis, "A form of entertainment and sensual pleasure. Often participants in *samāʿ* 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-Ṭarīqa*, "[pl. *ṭuruq*] The word is very frequently used to designate a Ṣūfī order. Technically speaking, however, in *Ṭaṣawwuf* 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 Ṣūfī order, established initially in Egypt, which is called after the Ṣūfī saint [*al-Walī*], Aḥmad al-Badawī [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 *khalīfa* or *muqaddam* authorizing him to confer the *wird*, that is admit others into the order; whilst the third type simply affirms that the holder has followed a particular course of Ṣūfī instruction. J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders*, p. 192. See also the *ijāza* by *al-muṣāfaḥa* (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-‘Ayyāshī, also, wore not one *khirqā* but eight from the Ṣūfī scholar ‘Īsa al-Tha‘ālibī in Mecca,² who instructed him in *al-dhikr* of *al-ṭarīqa al-Naqshabandiyya*.³ Al-‘Ayyāshī gave detailed information about this, because it was unknown in Morocco.⁴ In fact, the travellers themselves such as Ibn Nāṣir and al-Zabādī as Ṣūfī scholars played a role in spreading their *ṭarīqa* and instructing people in *al-dhikr* and giving *ijāzāt*. Al-Zabādī reports that he met a man called ‘Abd Allah in Tripoli and instructed him in *al-dhikr*.⁵ Al-Ishāqī recorded a Ṣūfī *majlis* (assembly) of *al-dhikr* or *ḥaḍra*⁶ was held in al-Ḥusayn’s⁷ mosque in Cairo, and the site where his head is believed to be buried, which is considered, “An arena for the performance of *zīkr* [sic] or *ḥaḍra* by the Burhāniyya⁸ 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 Qur’ān, then chanting peace be upon the Prophet for an hour, *tahlīl* (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

¹Al-Zabādī’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 Ṣūfis of *al-Shādhīyya*, “Were often steeped in several Sufi [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 Ṣūfī 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 Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Naqshabandī (died 791/1389) who is not, however, considered to be the founder.” I. R. Netton, *A Popular Dictionary of Islam*, p. 190.

⁴Al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 207-24

⁵Al-Zabādī’s *Riḥla*, p. 321. See also his *Riḥla*, pp. 95 and 121; Ibn Nāṣir’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*, *wazīfa*, etc. see infra, p. 203) of the order, other prayers and the *dhikr* proper, accompanied [sometimes] throughout by music and songs (*anāshīd*). J. S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders*, pp. 204-5.

⁷He is “one of the grandsons of the Prophet and the son of the 4th caliph ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He was massacred...[by the Umayyad army] at the battle of Karbalā’ in 61/680...” I. R. Netton, *A Popular Dictionary of Islam*, p. 108.

⁸It is “Popular Ṣūfī order in Egypt, especially in Cairo, and elsewhere, also called the Dasūqiyya. It derives its names from its founder Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Abī ‘l-Majd ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dasūqī (c. 644/1246-684/1288 but other dates are given). The present-day order in Egypt characterize itself as Shādhilī as well Dasūqī and Burhānī.” Ibid., pp. 59-60.

⁹Ibid., p. 108.

commendation, al-Būṣīrī's *Būrda*,¹ 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 *hū hū*, [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.² 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.³

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*,⁴ 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-ḥaḍra*. They indeed, rejected them. For example, al-Hashtūkī was asked in Fajīj about them and answered that they are forbidden according to Islamic teaching.⁵ Al-ʿAyyāshī also, criticises sharply the songs (*al-anāshīd*) accompanied by music.⁶ In fact music is prohibited in a number of Ṣūfī orders.⁷

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, *aḥkām* (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 Wādī al-Ruhbān, near Alexandria. Al-ʿAyyāshī, 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

¹For details about al-Būṣīrī's and his poem, *Būrda*, see *infra*, 79.

²Al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, pp. 151-2.

³Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 235.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁵Al-Hashtūkī's *Riḥla*, *Hidāyat al-Malik*, pp. 55-6.

⁶See Ḥarakāt, *al-Siyāsa wa al-Mujtama'*, p. 158.

⁷A. Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, p. 171.

supplied the monks with food and other needs.¹ Al-Ḥuḍaykī describes three monasteries with no doors. Supplies were put in baskets, then hauled up from the roof of the monastery.²

The travellers also referred to Islamic doctrines such as the Shī'ism³ and al-Khārijites.⁴ Al-ʿAyyāshī reports that the ruler of Mecca and al-Ḥijāz in general al-Sharīf Zayd b. Muḥsin⁵ converted from al-Zaydiyya,⁶ as his family conforms to the Sunnī doctrine, supporting its scholars and advising his family to do so because he believed that Sunnī doctrine is the right way.⁷ Al-ʿAyyāshī also reports that he witnessed the Shī'ites from Iraq who he called *rafwāfiḍ*⁸ visit the grave of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far 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* Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, who is one of the twelve Shī'ite *Imāms*,⁹ had entered into this well and hidden from people, who supposed that he had died.¹⁰ 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.

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 118.

²Al-Ḥuḍaykī's *Rihla*, p. 15.

³See details about it on p. 208.

⁴It is, "An early Islamic sect ...The name of the group's members, in Arabic *khawarij* means 'those who seceded' (i.e. from supporting ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; it is derived from the Arabic verb 'to go out', 'to secede' (*kharaja*)." They were soldiers of ʿAlī's army at the battle of Ṣiffin, 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.

⁵His full name is Zayd b. Muḥsin b. Ḥasan b. Abī Nmay. He was born in Mecca in 1014/1605 and became a ruler in 1041/1631 until he died in 1077/1666. Al-Zirkli, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 3, p. 101

⁶It is the, "Third of the three branches of Shī'ism [see infra, p. 208] after the Ithnā ʿAsharis and the Ismā'īlis. The Zaydis are named after a grandson of al-Ḥusayn [the son of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima] b. ʿAlī, whom they followed as an Imām, called Zayd b. ʿAlī (died c. 122/740). Zaydī theology has a Muʿtazilī orientation but from the point of view of law, the Zaydis are close to the four Sunnī 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.

⁷Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 200.

⁸Rawāfiḍ (sing. Rāfidī) is a general term used by the Sunnis, which means rejector because they, "Reject the legitimacy of the caliphates of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and hold that the first correct successor of the Prophet Muḥammad was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." I. R. Netton, *A popular Dictionary of Islam*, p. 210.

⁹"They are called 'Twelvers' because they [the Shī'a] acknowledge twelve principal Imāms after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad." Ibid., p. 131.

¹⁰Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 241. In fact, the awaited man according to the Shī'a belief is the twelfth Imām Muḥammad al-Qā'im [see infra, p. 208], not Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, which may be a mistake from al-ʿAyyāshī.

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*.¹

The travellers investigate the claims made by pilgrims and the customs they observe during their journey to perform *al-Hajj*, such as hearing the sound of drums, seeing the light of Medina and lighting candles.

Al-ʿAyyāshī, 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-ʿAyyāshī 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-ʿAyyāshī 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-Sijistānī, who told him that he had passed through that place twenty-seven times, but heard nothing.³ The travellers who came after al-ʿAyyāshī, including Ibn al-Ṭayyib, al-Ishāqī and Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, asserted that they heard nothing when they passed through this area.⁴ Al-ʿAyyāshī 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-ʿAyyāshī, also, criticized the custom of lighting a huge number of candles, observed by Egyptian pilgrim caravans when they arrived at al-Saqāʿif 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-Hajj*.⁶

Obviously, matters such as *aḥkām* (ordinances) superiority and advice related to *al-Hajj*, *al-ʿUmra*, *al-Ziyāra* (visiting the Prophet's mosque, then his grave) and travel in general

¹Al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, pp. 75-6.

²It 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.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 181-3.

⁴See Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, p. 72; Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, p. 202; al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, p. 218.

⁵Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, 183.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 181. More examples are given in chapter six, see *supra*, pp. 251-3.

are included in *al-Riḥlāt*, which were compiled for this purpose. Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, for example, singled out the introduction to record these matters.¹ Ibn al-Ṭayyib also, devoted a long introduction, emphasizing these matters.² 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,³ the places, which should be visited in Medina,⁴ and the wisdom of performing the rituals of *al-Ḥajj*.⁵

2. Geographical Aspect

As previously mentioned, description of the road stages, cities, villages and wells is one of the most significant aims writing *al-Riḥlāt*. The travellers compiled their *Riḥlāt* 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.⁶ Therefore, these *Riḥlāt* were much appreciated by researchers including al-Fāsi, who indicated the significance of Ibn Malīḥ’s *Riḥla*, as a unique source regarding description of the southern desert route which few pilgrim caravans travelled.⁷ He also referred to the significance of Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Riḥla*, which gave accurate details about the stages between Tamkrūt and Tafilat in Morocco.⁸

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 Aflsās 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

¹Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Riḥla*, pp. 3-23.

²Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Riḥla*, pp. 4-18. See also al-‘Aynī’s *Riḥla* summarised by al-Sūsī, pp. 284-5.

³See, for example, Abū Madyan’s *Riḥla*, pp. 144 and 146; al-Ḥudaykī’s *Riḥla*, pp. 36 and 38. For some details about the virtues of the prayer in these two holy mosques, see *infra*, p. 13.

⁴Abū Madyan’s *Riḥla*, pp. 151,160, 199.

⁵See, for example, al-Shāwī’s *Riḥla*, pp. 4-5.

⁶Abū Madyan’s *Riḥla*, pp. 21-2; Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Riḥla*, p. 2; al-Hashtūkī’s *Riḥla*, p. 21. For examples about security Aspects, see *supra*, pp. 226-9.

⁷Al-Fāsi, ‘ al-Raḥḥāla al-Maghāriba ’, *Da‘wat al-Ḥaqq*, January 1958, p. 23.

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-Zabādī 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 of 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-Na'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-Zabādī 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-Ishāqī 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-ʿAyyāshī, for example, says that Alexandria is one of *ummahāt al-mudun* (the mothers of cities) in the world. Then he indicates its marvels

¹Ibn Malīḥ's *Riḥla*, pp. 31-2. See also al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 18.

²Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, pp. 32-7. See also Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, pp. 69 and 107; Ibn Malīḥ's *Riḥla*, pp. 27-8; Abū Madyan's *Riḥla*, pp. 61 and 110.

³Ibid., pp. 50-3

⁴Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, p. 30.

⁵Al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, p. 42. See also his *Riḥla*, pp. 210-11.

saying that one of them is the column known as ‘Amūd al-Ṣawāri, 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-‘Ayyāshī 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.¹ Ibn Malih 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.² Al-Ishāqī 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-Fatḥ in Morocco.³

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.⁴ Al-‘Ayyāshī gives a nice description of their state while passing through Saḥ 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.⁵ Al-‘Ayyāshī, also, describes how the camels entered

¹Al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 2, pp. 362-3.

²Ibn Malih’s *Riḥla*, p. 67.

³Al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, p. 97. Al-Tāzī comments on this in *Amīr Maghribī*, p. 145, saying that it means that the city is accurately planned according to the length and the width, and indicates that al-Ishāqī had knowledge about chess, is typical of notable politicians.

⁴Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Riḥla*, p. 34. For details about the Prophet Khālid, see *infra*, p. 96.

⁵Al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 45.

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 *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. Ibn ʿAbd 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-ʿAyyāshī asserts the significance of meeting the scholars and recording their biographies.³ Al-Qādirī compiled his *Riḥla* only to record his *shaykh* Abū al-ʿAbbās's journey to perform *al-Ḥajj* in 1100/1689, so, he named it *Nasmat al-Ās fī Ḥajjat Sayyidinā Abī al-ʿAbbās*. Therefore, they paid considerable attention to recording various academic matters, to such an extent that such a *Riḥla* as that of al-ʿAyyāshī is considered an encyclopedia on academic issues and Ṣūfism as Krachkovski mentioned.⁴ Thus, Moroccan *Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt*. 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 *ṭulāb al-ʿilm* (students of knowledge) in most countries, as a result of their great reputation as

¹Ibid., vol. 1, p. 231.

²Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, p. 2. See also other travellers including al-Hashtūki in his *Riḥla*, p. 21; al-ʿAynī in his *Riḥla* summarised by al-Sūsī in *al-Maʿsūl*, vol. 3, p. 284; Ibn al-Ṭayyib in his *Riḥla*, p. 4.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī 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 *Iqtifāʾ al-Athar baʿda Dhahāb Ahl al-Athar* which contains his *shaykhs*' biographies, and as he said nothing left worth recording. See *infra*, p. 58

⁴Krachkovski, *Tārikh al-Adab al-Gughrāfī al-ʿArabī*, p. 809.

⁵Karīm, *al-Maghrib fī ʿAhd al-Dawla al-Saʿdiyya*, 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-Ishāqī, 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 Ṣūfī 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 *ijāza*, then al-Ishāqī asked him for *ijāza* by *al-muṣāfaḥa*.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 *shaykhs* and works. Al-Zabādī says, for example, that the first was *al-shaykh* Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-Iskandarī, 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 *shaykhs*.⁴ 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-Hashtūkī says, "The scholars and student of knowledge of 'Ayn Mādī 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 *imān* (belief).⁵ The

¹For the travellers' scholarly position, see also supra, p. 223.

²The *ijāza* by *muṣāfaḥa* (handclasp) is the unique strange type of *ijāzāt* we found in the travellers' *Riḥlāt* which means according to my understanding that when a student of knowledge was granted *ijāza* 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 *ijāzāt* to the scholars who inherited this *ijāza*, known as *al-Isnād*. For other types of *ijāzāt*, see infra, pp. 32, 209.

³Al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, pp. 281-302. Al-Ishāqī continued referring to the scholars he met in Mecca such as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad 'Aqīla who praised his wide knowledge mentioning some works which numbered over twenty, such as *al-Iḥsān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* and *Tafsīr al-Alfāz al-Gharība fī al-Qur'ān*. 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-Ḥijāz and Egypt, which will be mentioned on pp. 220-2.

⁴Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 230. See also his *Riḥla*, pp. 19, 159, 220. Ibn al-Ṭayyib reported in his *Riḥla*, p. 128, the accounts of his meeting with some scholars of Tripoli, where he stayed for twenty days such as Muḥammad al-Ma'zawī, who had wide knowledge in some sciences and in particular *al-Taṣawwuf*. There was also Muḥammad b. Musāhil with whom Ibn al-Ṭayyib discussed some *ḥadīth* matters, referring to his nobility of character, see also his *Riḥla*, pp. 43 and 129. For other examples in other *Riḥlāt*, see Ibn 'Abd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, pp. 97, 144, 233.

⁵Al-Hashtūkī's *Riḥla, Hidāyat al-Malik*, pp. 62-4. The names of the scholars and students of 'Ayn Mādī were not mentioned by al-Hashtūkī.

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. ʿAbd Allah al-Baṣrī, 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-Ishāqī, al-Zabādī, al-ʿAyyāshī and Ibn Malīḥ are interested in recording scholars' biographies. Ibn Malīḥ's *Riḥla* is full of information about deceased scholars, specifically Ṣūfī 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 Rika to gain *baraka* by visiting the graves of Ṣūfī *awliyā'*. Ibn Malīḥ, for instance, records the biographies of the twelve *awliyā'* buried there such as Muḥammad b. Saʿdūn al-Qayrawānī, Abū ʿAbd Allah al-Tūnisī and Abū Muḥammad al-Khazrajī.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-ʿAyyāshī, 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,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-ʿAyyāshī 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-ʿAyyāshī along his journey, even before he left the Moroccan border. When he arrived at Tawāt, for example, he

¹Abū Madyan's *Riḥla*, p. 190.

²Ibn Malīḥ's *Riḥla*, pp. 14-25. Thus, he does with other scholars buried in another places, see for example, his *Riḥla*, pp. 54, 61, 108-113; al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, pp. 344-5.

³Al-Tāzī, *Amīr Maghribī*, p. 40.

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.¹ Then in Tikrīt he introduces a Tawāt family known for their learning.² He also recorded the academic movements in Medina and Mecca, mentioning that in Medina, Tuesday and Friday are official holidays,³ as in the *al-Ḥajj* season, which starts from the twenty-seventh of Dhū al-Qiʿda, when all books are returned to *al-makhāzin* (storerooms). When the pilgrims leave, academic activities are resumed as usual.⁴ Al-Ishāqī entered Biskra in Algeria and did not find any one interested in learning or teaching.⁵ Thus, the travellers describe other cities including Tlemcen, Tawzar, ʿAyn Mādī 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-Ishāqī and his *shaykh* al-Yūsī alone adopted a very critical position towards these centres, the rest of the travellers were highly impressed by their activities. Al-Yūsī who performed *al-Ḥajj* in 1101/1690 criticises sharply the academic movement in Egypt and the East in general, saying that after returning from *al-Ḥajj* 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.⁶ He asserts that there was no one who was worth travelling to study under.⁷ Forty-two years later, al-Yūsī's student al-Ishāqī performed *al-Ḥajj* and described at length the academic activities, saying that al-Azhar Mosque is wide, big and has multi *arwiqa*,⁸ one of which was allocated for accommodation of Moroccan students. These *arwiqa* contain bookcases and places for keeping their effects, and free meals were

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 20.

²Ibid., vol. 1, p. 50.

³The reason why Tuesday is officially holiday is unknown

⁴Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, and p. 284.

⁵Al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, p. 57.

⁶Al-Yūsī's *Riḥla*, p. 97.

⁷Ibid., p. 99.

⁸For the definition of *riwāq*, see *infra*, p. 52.

served twice daily, morning and evening, and the mosque was full of people in the learning *ḥalaqāt*,¹ during the day and at night. Then he mentions the discussions with some of the scholars he met such as ‘Alī al-Ḥanafī, who was a renowned grammarian.² 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.³ 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 Malīḥ who performed *al-Ḥajj* 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 ‘Alī al-Ajhūrī and Aḥmad al-Kalbī.⁴ Al-Ḥuḍaykī, who was a contemporary of al-Ishāqī and performed *al-Ḥajj* 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.⁵ Al-‘Ayyāshī praises the great academic abilities of the scholars of Mecca such as ‘Isā al-Tha‘ālibī Zayn al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī and scholars of Medina such as ‘Alī al-Rabī‘ and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī whom he met and studied under,⁶ 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.⁷ Ibn al-Ṭayyib who performed *al-Ḥajj* in 1139/1728 praised the scholars of al-Azhar, and

¹See the definition of *ḥalaqāt* on p. 209.

²Al-Ḥanafī, for example, was asked about the difference between indeclinable nouns such as the interrogative particle, adverb and declinable nouns.

³Al-Ishāqī'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 Malīḥ's *Riḥla*, pp. 48-9 and 130.

⁵Al-Ḥuḍaykī's *Riḥla*, pp. 49-53.

⁶Al-‘Ayyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 284.

⁷Ibid., vol. 1, p. 126.

recorded the biographies of some of them such as Aḥmad al-ʿAmmāwī, Sālim al-Nafrāwī and Muḥammad al-Jaddāwī, adding that he had forgotten many of them.¹ Al-Zabādī who performed *al-Ḥajj* 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-Ishāqī, 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-ʿAyyāshī, for instance, referred to the *shaykha* Naʿīma, who he visited twice in Alexandria.³ Al-Murābiṭ reported that his father was granted an *ijāza* by the lady scholars Mubāraka and Zayn al-Sharaf, the daughters of the renowned scholar ʿIsā al-Thaʿālibī 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-Riḥlāt are loaded with academic issues, as one of the main aims for which they were compiled. Al-ʿAyyāshī, for example, states frankly that his main aim for compiling his *Riḥla* 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 *Riḥla* as he mentioned, is indeed, an academic book which contains topics covering many disciplines.⁶ Other travellers noted that they have included in their *Riḥlāt* the academic issues they discussed, studied, taught or answered along their journeys.⁷ Therefore, it is obvious that *al-Riḥlāt* of the travellers who had this clear plan would be full of academic

¹Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, pp. 117-20.

²Al-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, pp. 229-36 and 257-307.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 361.

⁴Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, vol. 2, p. 238.

⁵Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 224.

⁶Ḥamad al-Jāsir, *Muqtaṭafāt min Riḥlat al-ʿAyyāshī* (Riyadh: Dār al-Rifāʿī, 1984), p. 7.

⁷See for examples, al-Hashtūkī's *Riḥla*, p. 21; Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, p. 2; Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, 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 ʿAbd al-Salām, for instance, singles out a section referring to his meetings with scholars such as Muḥammad b. Qāsim Jassūs and ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Idrīs al-Maghribī and the academic topics he learned or taught during his stay in Sijilmāsa.¹ Al-Hashtūkī refers to questions which he was asked by students of ʿAyn 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-ʿĀmirī refers to the significance of taking books to study and benefit from during the journey,³ and in al-Ishāqī'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-ʿAyyāshī 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 *Riḥla*, ʿUmar b. Fahd's *Ithāf al-Warā bi Akhbār Umma al-Qurā* and al-Mannawī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya*.⁵ Al-ʿAyyāshī 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 Fajjī and saw rare books, such as *Ikhtisār Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī* of twelve volumes.⁷ Abū Madyan made a strong relationship with one of scholars of Mecca, Sālim al-Baṣrī, who opened his library for him and said, "You can borrow any book you need", and Abū Madyan borrowed *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.⁸ Al-Zabādī saw a copy of Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla* hand written by him in *riwāq* of Moroccan in al-Azhar Mosque in

¹Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, pp. 27-62.

²Such as the pillars of *imān* (belief) and if *al-Muqīmīn* mentioned in *sūrat* ʿAlī ʿUmrān, verse. 7, is genitive or accusative. See other examples in Hashtūkī's *Riḥla*, *Hidāyat al-Malik*, pp. 62-4.

³Al-ʿĀmirī says in his *Riḥla*, p. 91:

والتزم كتباً تفيدك علماً فهي نعم الأصحاب والجلساء

⁴Al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, p. 106.

⁵Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, pp. 238-57.

⁶Ibid., vol. 1, p. 284.

⁷Al-Hashtūkī's *Riḥla*, *Hidāyat al-Malik*, p. 53.

⁸Abū Madyan's *Riḥla*, p. 176. Al-Ishāqī also borrowed a book from one of scholars of Tawzar and returned it when he arrived to Tripoli, see his *Riḥla*, p. 67.

Cairo.¹ 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.² Sometimes a whole collection was donated; the Moroccan Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl bequeathed his library of one thousand five hundred books to be sent to Medina after his death.³ The travellers, in particular al-ʿAyyāshī, 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.⁴ Al-ʿAyyāshī, for instance, reports that in Cairo he bought about fifty books; one of them was al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashshāf* and was forced to borrow some money from his friend Aḥmad al-Ṭarābulī.⁵

4. Political and Security Aspect

The Moroccan travellers' *Riḥlāt* accurately reflect the various security situations, the dangers they encountered and the political events they experienced along their long journeys to perform *al-Ḥajj* 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-Riḥlāt* 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-Riḥlāt* 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-Zabādī's *Riḥla*, p. 208.

²Al-Shāwī's *Riḥla*, p. 9.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 40-1. Unfortunately al-ʿAyyāshī 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.

⁴Makāmān, 'al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya', p. 225.

⁵Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 359.

Al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla* which recorded the journey of the Sulṭān ʿAbd Allah b. Ismāʿīl's mother Khunthātha and his son Muḥammad who became king later on¹ has been depended on by Moroccan and European scholars as a significant source regarding international relations.² The Sulṭān Muḥammad's visit to Libya, for instance, resulted in influencing the relations between the two countries to an extent that the United States requested Sulṭān Muḥammad's help to act as a peace mediator between the U.S. and the Libyans to prevent war between the two countries.³ Also, the letters sent from Khunthātha to her son the King ʿAbd 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

4.1. Political Events

Some of the travellers describe the retaking of occupied Moroccan cities from its occupiers. Al-Qādirī for instance, describes the retaking of Larache from its occupier, according to the letter sent to his *shaykh* Abū al-ʿAbbās.⁵ Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, also provided the Moroccan library with significant information, whether about the Spanish attack carried out on the Libyan capital, Tripoli during the era of ʿAbd Allah al-Azmīrlī in 1096/1684-5, or the revolution of the inhabitants of Tripoli against the Ottoman ruler, Khalīl 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 jurists⁶. 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

¹For more details about the Sulṭān ʿAbd Allah and his son Sulṭān Muḥammad as well as al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, see *infra*, pp. 49-50 and 68.

²Al-Tāzī, *Amīr Maghribī*, p. 38.

³*Ibid.*, p. 9. Al-Tāzī referred also (p. 27) to the mediations which the Sulṭān made between Italy and Libya.

⁴See al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, p. 36; al-Tāzī, *Amīr Maghribī*, pp. 95 and 98-9.

⁵Al-Qādirī's *Riḥla*, 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 garmīliyya* 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,¹ 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.²

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-ʿAyyāshī, for example, who praised one of the rulers who, although he was unjust, succeeded in establishing security in Wādī Ḥīr in Morocco, which was the most terrifying province.³ 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-Ṭāʾif, and in particular the wells. He also praised the ruler of Mecca, Zayd b. Muḥsin⁴ on two occasions; the first was for treating the people of Mecca with great humbleness and justice and he was highly supportive of the Sunnī⁵ doctrine. On the second occasion al-ʿAyyāshī praised him and his son Muḥsin⁶ for their strict policy to establish security.⁷ Also, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām praised the Turkish ruler of Tunis because he

¹The Turkish rule in Libya started in 958/1551 after the defeat of the organisation of Fursān al-Qidīs Yūḥannā known as Fursān Maṭṭā who ruled after the Italians. ʿAbd al-Salām, *Libyā min Khilāl Kitābāt al-Raḥḥālīn al-Maghārība*, pp. 29-30. The name of the Turkish ruler is not mentioned by Ibn Nāṣir

²Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 65-8.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 18. The name of ruler of Wādī Ḥīr is not mentioned by al-ʿAyyāshī

⁴For details about the biographies of Sulṭān Zayd, see *infra*, p. 212.

⁵Sunnī 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 Shīʿism [see *infra*, p. 208]." I. R. Netton, *A popular Dictionary of Islam*, p. 238.

⁶His 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 Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Mṭṭalib supported by Turkish troops, escaping to Yemen where he died in 1038/1629. Al-Zirkli, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 6, pp. 173-4.

⁷Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 199-201 and vol. 2, p. 110.

returned the pilgrims' goods, which had been stolen by the bedouins and had the thieves severely punished.¹

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-ʿAyyāshī reports the extent of the taxes taken from the Iranian pilgrims, starting from Baḥra (a town near Jadda) until Mecca and Medina, where heavy tolls were imposed upon them by the Ruler of Mecca.² Al-ʿAyyāshī 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.³ Al-ʿAyyāshī blames the government of Medina for the traders' manipulating the market prices during *al-Ḥajj* season, saying the standard measures were never complied with, and the government did nothing about it.⁴

4.3. Bedouin Attacks

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. The caravan of Khunātha, the mother of Sulṭān of Morocco, ʿAbd Allah b. Ismāʿīl, 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.⁵ Al-Ishāqī indicates this power by

¹Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, p. 106. He does not mention the name of ruler of Tunis.

²Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 281. Al-ʿAyyāshī calls the Iranian pilgrims ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam and refers that they come from Aṣfahān.

³Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 411-2

⁴Ibid., vol. 1, p. 285.

⁵Al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, 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.¹ Although the robbers were frightened of the power of the Moroccan pilgrim caravans,² 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 ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and Al-ʿAyyāshī are the travellers who refer most to the security state along *al-Ḥajj* road. Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām refers to a fight between the Moroccan caravan and the bedouins of Yanbūʿ in al-Ḥijāz, in which some men from both sides were killed and goods were stolen.³ Rugged places such as narrow mountain pass, or watercourses, were much exploited by the robbers to attack the pilgrims.⁴ Ibn Nāṣir describes al-ʿAqaba 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.⁵

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 ʿAyn Mādī because they were accustomed to robbers' attacks.⁶ It is worth noticing here that the first draft of *Riḥla* of Ibn al-Ṭayyib was stolen with other invaluable books and goods in Maghārat Shuʿayb (near Medina).⁷ The Ḥarb tribe, living in al-Ḥijāz, was famous for terrorising and attacking pilgrims, as happened with the Tunisian pilgrim caravan.⁸ Revenge was one of the motives for attacking the pilgrims, as happened with the Egyptian caravan.⁹ Abū Madyan says that they found bedouins gathered in ʿAsafān 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

¹Ibid., p. 42. See also al-Qādirī's description of the caravan of *al-shaykh* Abū al-ʿAbbās, *infra*, pp. 116-7.

²Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, p. 176.

³Ibid., p. 204.

⁴Karīm, ' Bilād al-Ḥijāz ', *al-ʿArab*, September, October 1977, p. 198.

⁵Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 91.

⁶Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, p. 32. Al-Hashtūkī also, referred in his *Riḥla*, *Hidāyat al-Malik*, (p. 140) to territories such as Biskra, Sīdī Khālīd in Algeria and Barqa in Libya and al-Murābiṭ in his *Riḥla* (p. 117) referred also to bilād al-Zāb in Algeria as places known for robbery.

⁷As he said in his second draft of his *Riḥla*, p. 3 and 114. For more details, see *infra*, p. 67.

⁸Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, pp. 106-9. Al-Hashtūkī in *Hidāyat al-Malik*, (p. 51) referred to Ait ʿAṭā tribes living in east of Atlas Mountain and Draʿa in Morocco as famous for terrorising and attacking pilgrims.

⁹Karīm, ' Bilād al-Ḥijāz ', p. 199.

grievance with them and asked them to leave, so that they could deal with the Egyptians separately.¹ 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.²

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.³ Al-ʿAyyāshī describes an attempt to kidnap a pilgrim in order to be sold as a slave because he was black.⁴ 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.⁵

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 ʿAbd al-Salām, for instance, says that the wonderful safety in which Tunis basked as described by Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, has gone.⁶

The travellers' *Riḥlāt* reflect the width of the Turkish empire and their authority in that time. Abū Madyan who performed *al-Ḥajj* in 1152/1740-1 says that the first time he saw Turkish soldiers was in Biskra in Algeria,⁷ which means that Turkish authority extended along *al-Ḥajj* road until al-Ḥijāz, where al-ʿAyyāshī saw great numbers of their soldiers in Medina.⁸

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

¹Abū Madyan's *Riḥla*, p. 138.

²Al-Yūsī's *Riḥla*, p. 96. The name of the ruler is not mentioned. See also al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 192.

³Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 109.

⁴Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 120.

⁵Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 152.

⁶Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, p. 102.

⁷Abū Madyan's *Riḥla*, p. 93.

⁸Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 302.

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.¹ 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-Ishāqī, 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-Ṭā'if and the suburbs.² Al-Ḥudaykī asserts that performance of *al-Hajj* as a religious duty also offers

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 Qur'ān*, p. 480.

²Al-Ishāqī'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-Burghāziyīn. In places close to Medina they meet rural bedouins who bring their goods such as cheese, cured meat, cooking fat and sheep. The Burghāziyīn 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 ʿAyn Mādī 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-ʿAyyāshī, 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 Malīḥ refers to one of the bedouin mobile markets, saying that when the pilgrims arrived in the morning at Shuʿayb'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

¹Al-Ḥuḍaykī's *Riḥla*, p. 20. The types of goods are not mentioned.

²Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 60.

³Ibid., vol. 2, p. 17.

⁴See for instance, Abū Madyan's *Riḥla*, p. 66; al-Ḥuḍaykī's *Riḥla*, p. 12; al-ʿAynī's *Riḥla* summarised by al-Sūsī, vol. 13, p. 289; Al-ʿAyyāshī 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.

⁵Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 300.

⁶See the Prophet Shuʿayb's biography on p. 67.

⁷Ibn Malīḥ'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-ʿAyyāshī 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-ʿAyyāshī describes how the farms are watered in Khulayṣ (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-ʿAyyāshī 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 Yanbuʿ there were people who knew some owners of camels or mules and if pilgrims needed transport, they

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 185-6.

²Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 172.

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.¹ Al-ʿAyyāshī, 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.²

Al-Rāfiʿī 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 ʿArūj. 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-Rāfiʿī 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 Sulṭān Muḥammad Khan in Constantinople.³ Al-Rāfiʿī 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.⁴

5.4. Money Exchange and Trade

Some of the travellers, in particular al-Ḥuḍaykī, al-Hashtūkī and al-Qādirī, show a strong commercial sense by presenting invaluable advice regarding money exchange and trade. Al-Ḥuḍaykī 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

¹Ibid., vol. 1, p. 301.

²Ibid., vol. 2, p. 110.

³Al-Rāfiʿī's *Rihla*, summarised by Dāwūd in *Tārīkh Taṭwān*, vol. 1, pp. 392-3.

⁴Ibid., vol. 1, p. 395.

exchange them for such goods.¹ Al-Hashtūkī 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.² Al-Qādirī also notes that fabric and perfume are much desired by the inhabitants of al-ʿAmārat in Morocco.³

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.⁴

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-Ishāqī 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-Ishāqī noted that reception and farewell celebrations are customary in Fes.⁵ The pilgrims were received by poetic songs recited by youths of Yanbuʿ,⁶ and by flags, horses and drums in al-Aghwāt.⁷ Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām praises the hospitality of the sons of al-Ḥājj b. ʿAlī, in one of villages of Tawzar, where

¹Al-Ḥudaykī's *Riḥla*, pp. 10-1.

²Al-Hashtūkī's *Riḥla*, *Hidāyat al-Malik*, p. 49.

³Al-Qādirī's *Riḥla*, p. 46. Also see al-Hashtūkī's *Riḥla*, *Hidāyat al-Malik*, p. 49.

⁴See *infra*, pp. 211-4.

⁵Al-Ishāqī's *Riḥla*, p. 27. He also, reports in his *Riḥla*, p. 176 the farewell celebration organised by the Egyptians.

⁶Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, p. 69.

⁷Abū Madyan's *Riḥla*, p. 125.

they used to serve the pilgrims with various types of foods such as the famous meal *al-Coscousī*, as well as fruits and vegetables.¹ 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 Mashraʿ al-Raml in Morocco, who served them with food and other needs, and set some men to guard their possessions over night.² 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.³

6.2. Standard of Living, Accents and Genealogy

The travellers recorded the standards of living, accents and genealogy of the inhabitants of some cities and villages they visited, or passed through on their journeys. Al-ʿAyyāshī 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-ʿAyyāshī 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.⁴ Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām comments on the poverty of most of the inhabitants of Badr (a town near Medina).⁵

The travellers recorded the genealogy of the inhabitants of some cities. Al-Ishāqī gives details of the genealogy of the Moroccan Royal family which as, he asserts, traced back

¹ Ibn ʿAbd 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-Hashtūki's *Rihla*, p. 84; Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Rihla*, p. 269; Abū Madyan's *Rihla*, p. 43.

⁴ Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, pp. 302-3.

⁵ Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Rihla*, p. 202.

to al-Ashrāf (who traced back to the Prophet) living in Yanbu' in al-Hijāz, and how they moved to Morocco.¹ 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 David² and most of them went to Africa and Moroccan countries in particular.³ They then managed to expel the Romans to Islands such as Sicily, then they returned later on when peace was established between them.⁴ Al-Hashtūkī notes that most of the inhabitants of Tunis are Berbers.⁵

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

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-Ishāqī 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-Ishāqī says that he had

¹Al-Ishāqī'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-Hikma* (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-Bakrī's *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, (see for instance, this book edited by Idriyān Fān and Andri Firī ([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.

⁴Ibn Nāṣir's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 173.

⁵Al-Hashtūkī's *Rihla, Hidāyat al-Malik*, p. 128.

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.¹ Al-ʿAyyāshī described 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-ʿAyyāshī comments that this custom is contradictory to those of other Arab countries.²

The travellers refer to the custom of drinking Arab Coffee in Egypt and al-Ḥijāz which is unknown in Morocco. Al-Ishāqī, 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.³ Al-Ishāqī 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!"⁴

Al-Ishāqī and Ibn al-Ṭayyib witnessed the great celebration made by the Egyptians for the occasion of the Nile overflow. Al-Ishāqī 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-Ishāqī 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.⁵

¹Al-Ishāqī's *Rihla*, pp. 169-70.

²Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 296.

³Al-Ishāqī's *Rihla*, pp. 166-7.

⁴Ibid. p. 167.

⁵Al-Ishāqī's *Rihla*, p. 139. See also, Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, 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 *Rihlāt* 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,¹. 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-Rihlāt* 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-Raddādī, for example, depended in his study about the poetry in al-Hijāz in the eleventh/seventeenth century upon *al-Rihlāt* 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-Hijāz.²

Al-Rihlāt 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-Tāzī, for example, reports that Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām was the first to record the poem of Ibn ‘Abd al-Dā’im.³ The travellers, also, met poets and men of letters and exchanged poems and messages with them,⁴ as well as recording poems which had been recited for them by poets.⁵ 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-Ishāqī, for example, recorded the biography of the scholar and poet Zayn al-‘Abidīn b. Sa’id al-Munūfi 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-Raddādī, *al-Shi‘r al-Hijāzī*, vol. 1, p.34.

³Al-Tāzī, *Amīr Maghribī*, p. 40. Ibn ‘Abd al-Dā’im’s poem is cited in Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Rihla*, pp. 139-40.

⁴See some examples in al-Zabādī’s *Rihla*, pp. 20-1; Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Rihla*, p. 43; al-Hashtūki’s *Rihla*, *Hidāyat al-Malik*, p. 120.

⁵See, for example, Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Rihla*, pp. 97,105, 112; al-Ishāqī’s *Rihla*, pp. 145, 184, 285, 381.

Ishāqī.¹ He also recorded the poem of Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī written by him personally.² The *Riḥla* is indeed, “A species of *Adab*, rather than *Ta’rīkh* [sic] or *Djugrāfiyā* [sic]”³

8. Humorous Aspect

Al-Riḥlāt are not confined to serious matters only, but contain some humorous elements. Al-‘Ayyāshī 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.⁴ Therefore, some of the travellers relate amusing incidents, which happened during their journeys. Al-Ishāqī 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 *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*, 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-Ishāqī discussed with him the grammatical and metrical errors, he said, “No problem” and promised that he would correct it. Al-Ishāqī 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-Ishāqī says, “We laughed greatly, but we did not know at which one we were laughing”. Al-Ishāqī says that this man returned after correcting the errors in his poem, but they paid no attention to him and let him go.⁵

Al-‘Ayyāshī 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-‘Ayyāshī says that one of the pilgrims asked a woman,

¹See, for example, al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, pp. 302-7.

²Ibid., p. 381. Ibn ‘Abd 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 Yaḥyā al-Shiqrātīsī and Abū Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayniyya.

³I. R. Netton, ‘*Riḥla*’ in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VIII, p. 528.

⁴Al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 224.

⁵Al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, pp. 181-2.

“Where is Abū Ḥasan?”, and she replied saying, “He is with your wife to entertain her in your absence”.¹

Al-Ishāqī 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-Ishāqī comments on that, saying that the leader slandered him, when he intended to recommend him.²

Al-ʿAyyāshī says that one man came to him while he was travelling and he politely asked permission to ask al-ʿAyyāshī about some juristic questions. al-ʿAyyāshī 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-ʿAyyāshī was still answering.³ Al-ʿAyyāshī 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.⁴

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the prose material in *al-Riḥlāt* according to its thematic aspects. *Al-Riḥlāt* present eyewitness accounts of the various aspects of life in the territories the travellers visited, or passed through, during their journeys. These aspects

¹ Al-ʿAyyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 357.

² Al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, pp. 59-60.

³ Al-ʿAyyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 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 Ṣūfī aspect predominate, as one of the three main aspects in *al-Riḥlāt*, specifically in some *Riḥlāt* such as those of al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Zabādī and al-ʿAynī because the journey was undertaken to perform a religious duty. In addition, some of the travellers were Ṣūfī scholars who adhered to visiting Ṣūfīs' shrines, meeting Ṣūfī scholars and performing the Ṣūfī rituals, such as reciting *al-dhikr*, wearing the *khirqā* and relating Ṣūfī *karāmāt*. The only exception is Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, which is free of any reference to Ṣūfī rituals.

Graves were greatly venerated by some of travellers including Abū Madyan and Ibn Malīḥ 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-Zabādī, al-Shāwī, al-ʿAyyāshī and Ibn al-Ṭayyib devoted a huge part of their *Riḥlāt* 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-Yūsī 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 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-Zabādī and al-Ḥuḍaykī, 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 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-Qādirī's *Riḥla*, 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 at that time.

Some of the travellers, in particular, al-Zabādī paid considerable attention to recording, in accurate detail, the Ṣūfī orders and their rituals, customs, and states (manners). In addition to this he recorded his observations on meeting Ṣūfī scholars and referring to the emotional states such as *al-wajd*, which they experienced during *al-samāʿ*; to such an extent that his *Riḥla* is considered a significant resource that represents the Ṣūfī movement at that time. Other travellers such as al-ʿAyyāshī, 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 Ṣūfī scholars, played a role in spreading their *ṭarīqa* 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 *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-samāʿ* or *al-ḥaḍra*. 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 Shīʿism 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 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. Al-ʿAyyāshī, for example, made every effort to verify the authenticity of these claims and criticize them.

The travellers compiled their *Riḥlāt* 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-ʿAyyāshī 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 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-Ishāqī, al-Zabādī, al-ʿAyyāshī and Ibn Malīḥ are interested in recording scholars' biographies. Ibn Malīḥ'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-ʿAyyāshī, 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, the travellers' attitudes towards these activities varied considerably. While al-Ishāqī 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-ʿAyyāshī 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. Al-ʿAyyāshī 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' *Riḥlāt* accurately reflect the various security situation, the dangers they encountered and the political events they experienced along their long journeys.

Al-Riḥlāt 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-ʿAyyāshī for example, he observes the great care taken by the Turkish rulers of the road between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, 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-Riḥlāt* 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 ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and Al-ʿAyyāshī are the travellers who refer most to the security

state along *al-Ḥajj* road. The travellers refer to the tribes such as Ḥarb tribe and places known for robbery such as ‘Ayn Mādī, 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’ *Riḥlāt* 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-Ḥajj* road until al-Ḥijāz.

The travellers’ *Riḥlāt* reflect the various aspects of the economic life such as commerce, agriculture and pasture. *Al-Ḥajj* 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 Nāṣir, for example, explains the trade system performed by a group of bedouins which was so familiar and satisfactory to all groups. 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. Women were commercially active. Moreover, al-Hashtūkī, al-Ḥuḍaykī and al-Qādirī 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 Yanbu‘. Al-Rāfi‘ī who travelled to al-Ḥijāz 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-‘Ayyāshī, 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-Riḥla*, in both its poetic and prose texts, as one of the literary genres, demonstrates the considerable significance of *al-Riḥla* in this

respect. With respect to the poetic part we have found that the travellers recorded in their *Riḥlāt* 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-Riḥla*, 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-Riḥlāt* 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-Riḥlāt are not confined to serious matters only, but contain some humorous elements. Al-ʿAyyāshī 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 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-Riḥlāt*. Unlike this chapter it discusses the prose according to its artistic features; the structure of *al-Riḥlāt*, the language in which *al-Riḥlāt* 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-Riḥlāt*. 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-Riḥlāt*, the second section analyses the language in which *al-Riḥlāt* were recorded, and the third discusses the content of *al-Riḥlāt* i.e. profundity of learning.

1. *Al-Riḥlāt* Structure

This section consists of six elements. The first discusses how the travellers start recording their *Riḥlāt*. The second investigates how they end their *Riḥlāt*. The third deals with the arrangement of material in *al-Riḥlāt*. 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-Riḥla* and explains the most notable features, which reflect the personalities of the authors.

1.1. Preface of *al-Riḥlāt*

The travellers started recording their *Riḥlāt* 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 Muḥammad, then they thank Allah for enabling them to perform *al-Ḥajj*. They go on to indicate the aims for which they recorded their *Riḥlāt*, such as describing the roads, cities and villages and meeting with scholars. Then some of them such as Ibn al-Ṭayyib, al-Zabādī and Ibn Malīḥ indicate the rules regarding travel and its benefits, or the wisdom of performing *al-Ḥajj*, and some of them such as al-Ishāqī, Abū Madyan and al-Hashtūkī, relate the story of going to perform *al-Ḥajj*.

1.2. Ending of *al-Riḥlāt*

The travellers end their *Riḥlāt* by thanking Allah for helping them to record *al-Riḥla* and indicating the date when they completed recording *al-Riḥla*. Ibn Malīḥ and al-Zabādī ended their *Riḥlāt* with prophetic poems. Some of *al-Riḥlāt* do not have an end because their recording ended before arrival at the travellers' homes. Examples are the

Rihlāt of al-Ḥuḍaykī which ended with his arrival to Egypt and that of al-Ishāqī which ended at Medina.¹

1.3. Arranging the Material of *al-Rihlāt*

The travellers classify the recorded material under chapters and sections or put it under large and small headings. Abū 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-Ḥajj*, 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, Abū Madyan goes on to clarify the content of every chapter.²

Some of the travellers started their *Rihlāt* with *muqadimma* (prefaces) and ended with a *khātima* (conclusion). Ibn al-Ṭayyib, for example, started his *Rihla* with four prefaces explaining the merits of *al-Ḥajj*, *al-ʿUmra* 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 sub-headings such as, “*gharība* (oddity), *laṭīfa* (witticism), *fāʿida* (benefit), *tanbīh* (note).”⁵

¹The reason why al-Ḥuḍaykī stopped his recording his *Rihla* in Egypt is unknown, while al-Tāzī believes that the second part of al-Ishāqī’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-Ḥijāz; see also *infra*, p. 68.

²Abū Madyan’s *Rihla*, pp. 12-4.

³Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Rihla*, pp. 4-17.

⁴See for example, al-Ishāqī’s *Rihla*, p. 281; al-ʿAyyāshī’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 314.

⁵For examples, see al-Zabādī’s *Rihla*, pp. 5, 76, 77, 129; al-Hashtūkī’s *Rihla*, pp. 33-4; al-Ishāqī’s *Rihla*, pp. 25, and 67. Amāḥzūn says in *al-Medina al-Munawwara*, p. 77 that al-ʿAyyāshī put the accounts which he has doubt about under the title ‘*Ghariba* and *laṭīfa*’. In fact this is not correct because al-ʿAyyāshī 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 “*‘awda li*, turning to”. Al-‘Ayyāshī, for instance, discusses the places which should be visited in the Uḥud 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,¹ 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 Uḥud, are the graves of the Prophet’s companions, who were martyred in the battle of Uḥud.”²

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-Ṭayyib, for instance, did not confine himself to composing a marvelous poem while discussing the varied advantages gained from the

¹For some details about this custom, see *infra*, pp. 204-5.

²Al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Rihla*, vol. 1, pp. 253-8.

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-Samhūdī's *Tārīkh al-Madīna*, and al-Bakrī's *Risāla*. In addition to that, the later travellers such as al-Zabādī, al-ʿAynī and Ibn Nāṣir, quote frequently from the earlier travellers such as Ibn Rashīd, al-Tijānī, Abū Madyan and particularly al-ʿAyyāshī, who was considered the leader of the travellers at that time, as described by the traveller Ibn Nāṣir.² Al-ʿAyyāshī *Riḥla* became an essential resource for many Moroccan travellers such as Ibn Nāṣir, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām and al-Zabādī 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 *Riḥlāt* to the main source on which they depend. For example, al-ʿAynī states that most of his quotations are taken from the *Riḥla* 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-Zabādī, for instance, who cites frequently from al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, says that he prefers to cite here the speech of al-ʿAyyāshī in his *Riḥla* 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-ʿAyyāshī, preceded by the word *wa naṣuhu*, which means, "its text is so and so." When the citation of the text is finished, al-Zabādī

¹Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, pp. 8-13. See some of this poem's lines given as an example on pp. 163-4.

²Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 73.

³See al-ʿAynī's *Riḥla* summarized by al-Sūsī, p. 284. See also *infra*, p. 73.

indicates this by saying, “What I need from al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla* is finished.”¹ Alternatively, in most cases they start by saying something like, “Al-Samhūdī or al-‘Ayyāshī 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* هـ 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 kalāmuhū*” which means, “His speech is finished.”² The travellers sometimes say, “I said,” as a sign indicating the end of the quoted text and the beginning of their own speech.³

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 *Riḥlāt*. They are keen to indicate such information and texts by using such words as, “*Anshadani, kataba lī bi khatīhi, qāla lī, akhbarani, sami‘tu minhu*, I heard from him, he told me, he said to me, he wrote by his hand to me and he recited his poem.”⁴ Moreover, when they quote a text from its source, they assert that the text was written in the handwriting of the author himself. Al-‘Ayyāshī, for instance, says after completing the quotation from Ibn Rashīd’s *Riḥla* that he has quoted from Ibn Rashīd’s *Riḥla*, written down in his handwriting, which he saw in Mecca.⁵

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-‘Ayyāshī, 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-‘Ayyāshī rejected this claim and asserted that according to his historical knowledge,

¹Al-Zabādī’s *Riḥla*, p. 52.

²For examples, see al-Zabādī’s *Riḥla*, pp. 14, 18, 361; Abū Madyan’s *Riḥla*, pp. 60, 69, 80, 361; al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, pp. 19, 34, 38; al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 162, 227, 140.

³For example, see al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 240 and 241; al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, pp. 33 and 38.

⁴For example, see al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 350-1, 419, 445, 451; al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, pp. 167, 285, 291.

⁵For examples, see al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 227-8, 347, 392; Abū Madyan’s *Riḥla*, pp. 84, 124.

the grave was that of Rūayfi^c b. Thābit al-Anṣārī.¹ Al-ʿAyyāshī says that when he returned from *al-Hajj*, he was told by his friend ʿAbd Allah b. Ghilyun that he went to the grave and found written traces, which might confirm the truth of what al-ʿAyyāshī said, and his [Rūayfi^c 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-ʿAyyāshī, 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. ʿAbd Allah al-Majrūnī in Tunis, a clear indication in a book entitled *Mukhtaṣar Maʿālim al-Īmān wa Rawḍāt al-Riḍwān fī Manāqib al-Mashhūrīn min Ṣulḥāʾ al-Qayrawān* compiled by Ibn Nāǧī 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

¹He 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 Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, after which as the ruler of Barqa by Maslama b. Mukhlid, where he eventually died in 56/676. Al-Zirkli, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 3, p. 65.

²Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 1, pp. 104-5.

³Ibid., vol. 2, p. 405.

⁴Ibn Nāṣir's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 159. Abū Lubāba's full name is Rifāʿa b. ʿAbd 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-Sawīq both in 2/624. He died in the era of ʿAlī b. Ṭālib [ruled from 35/656-40/661] with no indication by the author to the place where he died. See ʿAlī b. al-Juzarī known as Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghāba fī Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba* (Tehran: [n.pub.], 1377/[1977]), vol. 5, pp. 284-5.

said could not be trusted because there were contradictory views.¹ Ibn Nāṣir when related a narrative told to him by the inhabitants of Qābis, he stated frankly that, “It is superstition.”² Al-ʿAyyāshī relates narratives about the state of security in Mecca during the era of the Sulṭān al-Sharīf Muḥsin b. Ḥasan b. Zayd,³ but he comments saying that nobody can distinguish between the false and the true in these narratives.⁴

Some of the travellers, such as al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Hashtūki and Ibn Malīḥ try to reassure the reader that they depend on trusted sources by saying, “Someone I trust told me.”⁵

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-Riḥlāt* as a whole in which the travellers, specifically al-Ishāqī, Ibn Nāṣir and Ibn Malīḥ, quoted texts without referring to their original sources. Al-Ishāqī quotes texts from al-Tijānī’s *Riḥla* and al-ʿAbdarī’s *Riḥla*, sometimes without citing references.⁶ In addition, many poems are quoted by the travellers without referring to the name of their poets.⁷ 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 *Riḥlāt* 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

¹Al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, p. 69.

²Ibn Nāṣir’s *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 158. The narrative was related by al-Bakrī, 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.

³For some details about his biography, see *infra*, p. 226.

⁴Al-ʿAyyāshī’s *Riḥla*, 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.

⁵For example, see al-Hashtūki’s *Riḥla*, p. 69; Abū Madyan’s *Riḥla*, pp. 105 and 106; al-ʿAyyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 304 and vol. 2, pp. 95 and 404.

⁶See for example, al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, pp. 85-91 about some of the historian’s opinions regarding the history of Tripoli, which is cited from al-Tijānī’s *Riḥla* from pp. 239 to 245; al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, p. 231 about the name of ʿArafa which is taken from al-ʿAbdarī’s *Riḥla*, p. 185; also, Ibn Malīḥ quoted the scholars’ biographies of Aghmāt and Rika from *al-Taṣhawwuf* compiled by al-Tādilī as the editor of Ibn Malīḥ’s *Riḥla* said. See pp. 14-21.

⁷See For instance, Ibn Malīḥ’s *Riḥla*, pp. 18, 22, 25; Ibn Nāṣir’s *Riḥla*, vol. 2, pp. 58, 101-2, 127.

well as visits to graves. However, in fact, although they claim to apply this clear plan, as Ibn Malīḥ expresses at the end of his *Riḥla* saying, “Here, the purpose for which this book is compiled is fulfilled.”¹ 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-Shāwī’s *Riḥla*.²

The travellers also clarify that their method depends on brevity in presenting the information and discussing academic issues. Al-Zabādī, for instance, says that he has adopted the method of the brevity in recording his *Riḥla*.³ Therefore, they assert that what they recorded is brief. Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām says that what he recorded about the merits of Egypt is by way of a summary of what had been said about it.⁴ Moreover, they apologize for instances of expatiation, justifying it as being based on the importance of the topic or issue concerned. Al-Zabādī apologizes for his expatiation upon some scholars’ biographies, for example, saying it is because they deserve it.⁵

The method itself is definitely influenced by the personality of the author. For instance, most of al-Ishāqī’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 Maḍī village in Morocco and sharply criticizes him, saying that he was (*qabr min qubūr al-jahl*) one of the graves of ignorance criticising him that he does not know the difference between the past and the future.⁶ He also says that if you misread the name of Jerba it becomes Khirba, which means ruins.⁷ In addition, he directs a sarcastic criticism at Tripoli, particularly its academic activities,⁸ 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-Salām, who refuted his opinion.⁹

¹Ibn Malīḥ’s *Riḥla*, p. 142.

²This issue was discussed in detail according to the thematic study, see *infra*, pp. 203-6.

³Al-Zabādī’s *Riḥla*, p. 5.

⁴Al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, p. 113.

⁵Al-Zabādī’s *Riḥla*, p. 228.

⁶Al-Ishāqī’s *Riḥla*, 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.

⁹Al-Tāzī, *Amir Maghribī*, pp. 68-72.

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-sajʿ*) such as is found in the *Rihlāt* of al-Qādirī, Ibn Malīḥ, al-Ishāqī and Ibn al-Ṭayyib. The second is the normal style, free of *al-sajʿ* except for very few cases, which is found in the *Rihlāt* of al-Hashtūkī, al-ʿAynī and al-Shāwī. The third is a combined style found in the *Rihlāt* of al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Zabādī, al-Ḥuḍaykī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and Ibn Nāṣir.

2.1.1. Rhymed Style, *al-Sajʿ*

Al-Qādirī, Ibn Abī Maḥlī, Ibn Malīḥ and Ibn al-Ṭayyib showed a strong tendency towards using *al-sajʿ* (a rhymed style) except in very few places where *al-sajʿ* 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-sajʿ*. It mainly comes in praising the scholars, in the prefaces of *al-Rihlāt* and sometimes in describing cities. For example, *al-sajʿ* dominates over most parts of the *Rihla* of Ibn Abī Maḥlī, 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:

شيخ المذهب خصوصا ، وإمام الحديث عموما ، خليل المناقب ، ومالك المناصب ، سالم التحرير ، وغانم التقرير ، حيث ريمت السيادة ، وخيمت المجادة ، بالجمع الأهمر ، والجامع الأزهر ، محط رحال الأسئلة ، ومفك أقفال كل معضلة ، في قواعد الأصول ، وفوائد الفصول .¹

¹Ibn Abī Maḥlī's *Rihla*, ed. al-Qaddūrī, p. 155. Similarly, Ibn Malīḥ in his *Rihla*, p. 22, praised the Moroccan scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid known as al-Qirmīd, enumerating his characteristics, saying:

كامل الأدب ، صريح النسب ، وافر العقل ، صريح النقل ، مخفوض الجناح ، كثير السماح ، شديد الورع ، مقتفي أدب الشرع .
[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:

هذا رأي البائس الفقير ، يرغب ذا القدر الخطير ، والمحل الأثير ، والفضل الكبير ، شيخ الإسلام المشهور ،
وبدر أهلة سنهور.¹

“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.”²

However, he sometimes uses long passages. For example, he completes the above example saying:

أرشدنا الله تعالى بزواهر نجومه ، ومنحنا من نرجو بفضله من جواهر علومه .³

“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 Malīḥ tends to use long passages except in a very few cases⁴. The following example is taken from the preface of his *Rihla*:

الحمد لله الذي عقد أزمة أزرار ثوب الوجود بحكمة واتفاق ، وخلق الخلق وقسم بينهم الأرزاق ، وفرض الحج
على المستطيع لا غير ، لطفاً منه وإشفاق ، وقدر الأرزاق للكبير والصغير ، والرفيع والوضيع ، لا عن
وجوب ولا استحقاق .⁵

“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-ʿAyyāshī, Ibn Nāṣir, al-Ḥuḍaykī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zabādī combined *al-saj'* and normal styles, but the quantity of *al-saj'*

¹Ibid., p. 155. See other examples on his *Rihla*, pp. 111, 117, 126, 144, 152-4. Similarly, Ibn Malīḥ in his *Rihla*, p. 98 described the pilgrims in Medina enjoying doing the *Ziyāra* rituals, saying:

فمن منشد مطرب ، ومن قائل عما في الضمائر معرب ، ومن راغب لمولاه متضرع ، ومن باك على ذنبه متخشع .

One [of the pilgrims] is reciting in melodious voice, or stating that what he feels in his heart, or supplicating willing to gain his Lord's [Allah] mercy, or regretting what he committed from sins humbly.

²The translations are mine.

³Ibid., p. 155.

⁴As in the examples given above.

⁵Ibn Malīḥ's *Rihla*, p. ط .

differs from one *Rihla* to another. While *al-saj'* is used frequently in the *Rihlāt* of al-‘Ayyāshī, al-Ḥuḍaykī and Ibn Nāṣir, it is used less in *Rihlāt* such as those of Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zabādī. 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 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-tarṣī'*, 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-‘Ayyāshī for example, started his description of Tripoli and its inhabitants in *al-saj'* style, dating his entry to it, saying:

كان دخولنا لمدينة طرابلس قرب الظهر يوم الأربعاء سابع عشر رجب ، وهي مدينة مساحتها صغيرة ، وخيراتها كثيرة ، ونكايتها للعدو شهيرة ، ومآثرها جليلة ، ومعابها قليلة ، أنيقة البناء ، فسيحة الفناء ، عالية الأسوار ، متناسبة الأدوار ، واسعة طرقها ، سهل طرقها ، إلى ما جمع لأهلها من زكاء 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-‘Ayyāshī 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-Tarṣī'* (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-‘Ayyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 60.

syntactically and from a prosodic point of view".¹ An example of which is خيراتها, مساحتها and between نكايتها and شيرة, كثيرة, صغيرة and other words. In addition, al-‘Ayyāshī restricted himself to ending all the phrases of the passage with two, or more similar letters, which is called *luzūm mā lā yalzam* (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-‘Ayyāshī 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-‘Ayyāshī says:

ولهذه المدينة بابان باب إلى البر وباب إلى البحر لأن البحر يحيط بكثير من جهاتها والحصن الذي فيه الأمير متصل بالمدينة من ناحية باب البر بينه وبين البحر ولأمر هذه نكاية في العدو دمرهم الله وله مراكب قل نظيرها معدة للجهاد في البحر قل ما تسافر وترجع بغير غنيمة وقل ما أسرت لهم سفينة إلا أن تكون من سفن التجارة لا من سفن الجهاد فجزاهم الله خيرا.²

"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-Hashtūkī, and al-Shāwī who tend towards simplicity and spontaneous expression, without using any kind of ornamentation such as *al-saj*, *al-tarṣī*, *al-ṭibāq* 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-Rihlāt* 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

¹See Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-‘Ulūm*, ed. Na‘īm Zarzūr, 2nd edn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1987), p. 431. The translation is taken from Ali Ibrahim Abdalla [sic], 'An analytical study of al-Safadi's Ghayth al-adab on Tughra'i's Lamiyya' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, the University of Leeds, 1991), p. 138.

²Al-‘Ayyāshī's *Rihla*, vol.1, p. 60. More examples are given later.

spontaneous way. Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, for example, used *al-sajʿ* to express his great gladness while he entered Mecca, saying:

وفي ضحى السادس من ذي الحجة دخلناها بفرحة تكاد تطير منها القلوب فأنجلي ما كان خيم بها من
الأحزان والكروب . فكيف ونحن مجرم جعله الله تعالى مكفرا لما سلف من الذنوب ماحيا للأوزار والخطايا منة
منه سبحانه عليه الحمد بدءا وعودا ما طلعت شمس ولها غروب.¹

“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 ʿAbd al-Salām’s *Riḥla*; 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-ʿAyyāshī in his describing Tripoli in the example given previously.² Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām says:

مكة المشرفة مستطيلة كبيرة وتتسع من الخلائق مالا يحصيهم إلا الله تعالى في بطن واد مقدس والجبال
محدقة بها كالسوار لها ولها في القديم سور في شرقها بغرب باب المعلات لأنه في أعلاها وسور في جهة المغرب
يعرف بسور باب شبكة.³

“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-Muʿalāt 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-ṭibāq* (antithesis), *al-muqābala* (opposition), *al-tashbīh* (simile), *al-istiʿāra*, (metaphor) and *al-iqtibās* (quotation) are not as much used by the travellers as *al-sajʿ*. 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

¹ Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām’s *Riḥla*, p. 219.

² see, *infra*, p. 257.

³ Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām’s *Riḥla*, p. 226.

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:

فودعتهم بالسلام ومثلت بين عيني باب السلام مستعينا بالملك القدوس السلام.¹

"I bid them farewell with "*salām*" and I imagined the Salām gate in front of me, seeking aid from the Sublime Sovereign, *al-Salām*."

The use of *al-ṭibāq* and *al-muqābala* resembles that of *al-jinās*, 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 Malīḥ contrasts مساء and صباحا, evening and morning, غدوا and رواحا, coming and going, and between سرا and جهارا, openly and secretly, and between ليلا and فهارا, night and day. He says:

ألازم ذلك الحرم الشريف مساء وصباحا ، وأنعم في روضة الجنة غدوا ورواحا ، ... ، وأناجي الحبيب سراً وجهاراً ، ليلاً وفهاراً .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 Malīḥ himself makes simple *muqābala* between the two clauses في الصيف يغور ويفيض and between وفي الشتاء يغور ويفيض, describing the two opposite cases of the Nile river, where its water overflows in the summer and decreases in the winter.³

Tashkhiṣ (personification) and *tajsīm* (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.

¹Abū Madyan's *Rihla*, p. 120.

²Ibn Malīḥ's *Rihla*, p. 120.

³Ibid., p. 40.

The following two images will serve as examples of how the travellers use the metaphor. Ibn Malīḥ personifies the Nile and makes it breathe as a person. He says that when the Nile breathes, it fills up the land, whether a valley or a hill.¹ Ibn Malīḥ 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.² It is clear from these examples that the metaphor is easy and simple to create. It is also worthy of note that Ibn Malīḥ'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 Muḥammad's grave and Mosque.

Nevertheless, we rarely find a developed and vivid image like that of al-ʿAyyāshī describing the valley, which reflects his creative power. He describes the renowned river known by Nuʿmān al-Arāk in al-Hijāz 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.³

The travellers sometimes pay great attention to style by collecting as many rhetorical decorative devices as they can. Al-ʿAyyāshī, 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:

وفي الغد لاحت لنا أعلام العمارة وظهرت لنا من الدنيا إمارة وتصايح الحجاج البشارة البشارة هذا أوائل العمران
قد كشف لنا أستاره بأمان ودخلنا قصر أحمر ظهرا نظهر فرحا ونسر ذعرا لأننا لم نر العمارة دهرا يخيل إلينا أن
المباني والنخيل شيء ما عرفناه وانتشار الناس في أرجائها أمر ما ألفناه وكأننا أموات نشروا ومن المقابر حشروا.⁴

"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 Qaṣr Aḥmar 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 Malīḥ's *Riḥla*, p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

³ Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 378. See other examples in his *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 369, vol. 1, p. 45.

In the above example, there is a *isti'āra* in هذا أوائل العمران قد كشف لنا أستاره this is the first populated area had shown us its safety sights, *tashbīh* in وكأنا أموات We were like the dead who were resurrected from the graves, *muqābala* between ونسر and نظهر فرحا and between أمان and العمران and between نشرنا and حشرونا and *al-saj'* between words such as أمان and العمران.¹

As they rely on expressing their ideas in a spontaneous and direct way, the travellers present a series of brief, simple images depending on a simple simile, which is already considered known, is not complex, and does not involve any imaginative leaps but makes a fairly obvious comparison of like to like. Al-'Ayyāshī, for example, likened the pilgrim's caravan of Tunis to the darkness of the night, introducing the simile with the particle كان (as though) to draw attention to the great number of the Tunisian pilgrims. He says:

ودخل علينا في طرابلس ركب أهل تونس في شارة حسنة وفخامة هيئة في بشر كثير وسواد عظيم
كسواد الليل يفعم الطرقات كإفعام السيل.²

“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 *Hadīth* to strengthen the meaning and ornament the style. It is worthy of note that al-

¹similarly, Ibn Malih in his *Rihla*, p. ٧ described how he started recording his *Rihla*, saying:

فلما زعزعتني رياح الاشتياق ، وطار القلب بأجنحة الأشواق ، إلى مشاهدة تلك الآفاق ، ومن الله علي بالمسير ، على مراكب التيسير ، إلى ذلك الجناب الخطير ، وساعدت المقادير ، في الموارد والمصادر ، محفوفاً في الذهاب والإياب بسياج الكرامة ، ومكتوفاً بسرادق العافية والسلامة ، صرفت همتي وفكرتي إلى ضبط رحلتي ونقلتي ، وذكر مبادئها ومنتهاها ، بالنص على عدد المراحل ، وأسماء المنازل والمناهل ، فألفت هذه الرحلة .

“When the wind of longing unsettled me and the heart flew via the wing of the yearning to see these [holy] places [in al-Ḥijāz], 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'āra* in أجنحة الأشواق ، رياح الاشتياق ، سياج الكرامة and سرادق العافية and between الإياب and الذهاب and between مبادئها and منتهاها and *jinās* between المنازل and المناهل .

²Al-'Ayyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 382.

‘Ayyāshī and Ibn Nāṣir showed a strong tendency towards using images taken from the Qur’ān. Al-‘Ayyāshī, for example likens palm trees to the heads of devils, saying:

وفيه نخيل متفرق كأنه رؤوس الشياطين.¹

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 النهار ظهروا [قطاع الطرق] على الجبال كأنهم أوعال وتبعهم بعض الحجاج ورموهم بالبنادق وفروا
فرار الحمر المستنقرة من قسوره.²

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

¹Ibid., vol. 1, p. 101. Allah (the Great and Almighty) in *sūrat* al-Ṣāffāt, 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 spring out of the bottom of Hell-fire, the shoots of its fruit-stalks are like the heads of *Shayāṭīn* (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 *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 185; as Allah described in *Sūrat* 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."¹ 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

2.2. The Vocabulary

2.2.1. Simplicity

The vocabulary of the travellers' prose, like that of their poetry, as mentioned previously,³ 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-ʿAyyāshī, for example, explains the meaning of *البيارق* *al-bayāriq* and *كحليسة* *kaḥayliyya* 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.⁴

As mentioned above, it is unusual to find difficult words like *مرمدين* *murmīdīn* 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.⁵ These are the most difficult words, for which the reader needs to use a lexicon in order to understand them.

¹Abū Madyan's *Riḥla*, pp. 238-9.

²See the stories related by al-Ishāqī and al-ʿAyyāshī in the humorous content, pp. 239-40.

³See *infra*, p. 178.

⁴Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥla*, vol. 2, p. 304.

⁵See Ibn Malīḥ's *Riḥla*, p. 127. *مرمدين* means hurrying as was explained by the *Riḥla*'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 Malīḥ is pure, correct and eloquent. However, he does not disdain to use colloquial Moroccan words such as الحياطي *al-ḥiyāṭī*,¹ in addition to other words whether colloquial such as علامات *Alāmāt*² and حسكة *ḥaskā*³ or not correct such as كتاب *kathā'ib*⁴ or foreign words such as نوائل *nawā'if*⁵ and المارستان *al-mārstān*,⁶ which means the hospital.⁷

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 Malīḥ for example, counts by himself the bulbs of one of the arcs of the external courtyard of Ibn Ṭūlūn'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

¹See Ibn Malīḥ's *Riḥla*, p. 131, footnote. no. 1. الحياطي *al-ḥiyāṭī* is the plural of حياطي *ḥayṭī* which means -as was explained by the *Riḥla*'s editor- a curtain made from a coloured silk garment suspended on the wall and the origin of it is حانطي *ḥāṭīṭī*.

²It is used here as the plural of علم *Alam* which means the flag, while the correct form is أعلام *Alām*. See the footnote of the *Riḥla*'s editor, p. 69.

³It means among Moroccans 'the candleholder', see the footnote of the *Riḥla*'s editor, p. 103.

⁴It is used here as the plural of كتيب *kathīb* which means a sand dune, while the correct form is كتيبان *kuthbān*. See the footnote of the *Riḥla*'s editor, p. 36.

⁵It is derived from the Berber word أنوال *Anwāl*, which means the cottage.

⁶It is a Persian word. See, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971 AH.), *Sahm al-Aḥāz fī Wahm al-Alfāz*, ed. al-Ḍāmin, Ḥātam Ṣāliḥ, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Risāla, 1985), p. 63.

⁷Ibn Malīḥ's *Riḥla*, p. 67.

the internal nave because they cannot be counted.¹ 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-ʿAyyāshī 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-Baṭṭālūn* 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-Haram* (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-Baṭṭālūn*. 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-ʿAyyāshī says.³

Ibn ʿAbd 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-ʿAyyāshī 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 Qurʾān. Then he referred to his harshness with his students,

¹Ibid., p. 48.

²Ibid., p. 100.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, pp. 305-9.

⁴Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Rihla*, p. 185. See other examples in his *Rihla*, pp. 187, 189, 190, 193.

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.¹

In contrast, some of the travellers tend sometimes to use exaggerated judgments such as “unequaled, incomparable” when describing a place or scholar. Ibn al-Ṭayyib 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.² Ibn Malih̄ also describes al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo, saying that there is no mosque equal to it anywhere and none comparable to it in Egypt.³

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 *Riḥlāt* or their doubts about it, as discussed earlier.⁴ 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 Ṣūfī belief. So, we think that many doubts surround the correctness of the stories recorded by most of them particularly al-Zabādī and al-Ḥuḍaykī, which relate the Ṣūfīs’ *karāmāt* that are extremely hard to believe, to an extent that al-Ḥuḍaykī warned against having doubts about or denying it.⁵ In addition, most of the travellers exaggerate in their veneration of the Ṣūfī scholars to the extent that al-ʿAyyāshī for instance, believes that they never made a mistake, which leads to contradiction, as in the example given previously.⁶

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 *Riḥlāt*.⁷ Al-Zabādī, for instance, says that he visited the cemetery of al-Maḥila al-Kubrā in Egypt,

¹Al-ʿAyyāshī’s *Riḥla*, vol. 1, p. 127.

²Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Riḥla*, p. 51.

³Ibn Malih̄’s *Riḥla*, p. 48. For more examples given previously, see *infra*, p. 216.

⁴See *infra*, pp. 251-3.

⁵This issue was discussed in details, see *infra*, pp. 206-8.

⁶See *infra*, p. 208.

⁷Most of the travellers such as al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Zabādī did not record all the events of their *Riḥlāt*.

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 *Rihla*, 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 *Rihlāt* 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 Sulṭān '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-Ishāqī 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-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ who rely on the opinion of the Imāms Mālik³ and al-Shāfi'ī.⁴ Al-'Ayyāshī 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

¹Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*, p. 160.

²Ibid., p. 338.

³His full name was Abū 'Abd Allah Mālik b. Anas (c. 941/716-179/795). He gave his name to the Mālikī 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.

⁴Al-Ishāqī's *Rihla*, pp. 316-20. For some details about al-Shāfi'ī's biography, see *infra*, p. 99.

⁵Al-'Ayyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, pp. 282-3 and 296-9. The names of the scholars are not mentioned by al-'Ayyāshī.

views of al-ʿAyyāshī's poem given as an example previously.¹ Ibn al-Ṭayyib says that likening the Kaʿba to a king standing to receive his visitors is a creative and unusual image.² Al-ʿAyyāshī praised a friend's poem saying that it is creative and contains smooth words and eloquent meanings.³ Al-Hashtūkī criticizes one of his poems, saying that it is improvised and flimsy.⁴

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-Hashtūkī successfully discusses the issue of repetition of the same rhyme known as *al-īṭā'* 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 it is not *īṭā'* and supporting his opinion with specialists' views, until his friend is convinced that his opinion is correct.⁵ Al-ʿAyyāshī shows deep understanding of the poetic licences, *darūrāt*, such as inflection the indeclinable word when answering a question put to him by Ibrāhīm al-Sūsī in Banū al-ʿAbbās in Morocco.⁶

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-ʿAyyāshī, for instance, corrected a syntactic mistake made by one of the scholars of Medina, Badr al-Dīn al-Hindī, while teaching grammar, because he often pronounced “*إِنَّ inna*” which comes after *haythu* حيث *anna*, while the correct form, as al-ʿAyyāshī says is *إِنَّ inna*.⁷

¹See infra, p. 164.

²Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Rihla*, p. 78; Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām also in his *Rihla*, p. 223, praised it saying that he created a unique extraordinary simile.

³Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 2, p. 385. See also his criticism to his poem in vol. 1, p. 139.

⁴Al-Hashtūkī's *Rihla*, p. 68.

⁵Ibid., p. 85.

⁶Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, vol. 1, p. 19.

⁷Ibid., 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-Riḥlāt* according to its artistic features, which are *al-Riḥla* structure, the language (style and vocabulary) and the content. We have concluded the following:

With regard to *al-Riḥlāt* structure, the travellers start recording their *Riḥlāt* in almost the same way such as thanking Allah, invoking peace and blessing upon the prophet Muḥammad and mentioning their aims in recording their *Riḥlāt*, 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* and some of them relate the story of going to perform *al-Ḥajj*. They end their *Riḥlāt* by thanking Allah again for helping them to record *al-Riḥla* and indicating the date of completion. Al-Zabādī and Ibn Malīḥ ended their *Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt* with *muqaddima* (prefaces) and *khātima* (conclusion). As *al-Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt*, 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-Riḥlāt*.

¹Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Riḥla*, 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 *Riḥlāt*. *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-ʿAyyāshī 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-Riḥlāt* as a whole when the travellers, specifically al-Ishāqī, 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-Riḥlāt*, 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-Riḥlāt* moves between three main stylistic levels, which are rhymed style, the normal style free of *sajʿ*, 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-Ṭayyib showed a strong tendency towards using *al-sajʿ*, except in a very few places where *al-sajʿ* is difficult to use, such as when discussing academic issues, or describing the stages of the road. Some of the travellers, such as al-ʿAyyāshī, Ibn Nāṣir, al-Ḥuḍaykī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zabādī combined *al-sajʿ* and normal styles but the quantity of *al-sajʿ* differs from one *Riḥla* to another. While *al-sajʿ* is used frequently in the *Riḥlāt*

of al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Ḥuḍaykī and Ibn Nāṣir, it is used less in *Riḥlāt* such as those of Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zabādī. They tend to use *al-sajʿ* in specific places where they feel that the style deserves special attention, such as the prefaces of *al-Riḥlāt*, 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-ʿAynī, al-Hashtūkī, and al-Shāwī tend towards simplicity and spontaneous expression, without using any kind of ornamentation such as *al-sajʿ*, *al-tarṣīʿ*, *al-ṭibāq* or *al-Jinās*, except in very rare places mentioned above, where all the travellers feel that *al-sajʿ* is required or demanded by custom. Other rhetorical devices, such as *al-jinās*, *al-ṭibāq*, *al-muqābala*, *al-tashbīh*, *al-istiʿāra*, and *al-iqtibās* are not as much used by the travellers as *al-sajʿ*. 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 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 *Riḥlāt* 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 Ṣūfī 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 *Riḥlāt*. The criticisms which they record in their *Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt* in these two centuries studied here is difficult. This is due to the fact that the documented *Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt*, 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-Riḥlāt al-Ḥijāziyya* is very difficult. However, the number of written *Riḥlāt* in these centuries, which we found, have reached eighteen *Riḥlāt*. In chronological order of the date of the first journey to al-Ḥijāz, in which they recorded their *Riḥlāt*, they are Ibn Abī Maḥlī (1002/1593), Ibn Maḥī (1040/1631), al-ʿAyyāshī (1059/1649), al-Murābiṭ (1069/1659), al-Rāfiʿī 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-Ḥuḍaykī (1152/1741), al-Zabādī (1158/1746), al-ʿĀmirī (1162/1750), Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām (1196/1783) and al-ʿAynī (1198/1785).

Al-Riḥlāt 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-Riḥlāt* were compiled to meet renowned scholars and attend their lessons, in addition to that most of the travellers were originally Ṣūfī 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 Ṣūfī *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 Ṣūfism was felt in all aspects of academic life because education was based on Ṣūfism and most scholars and poets were originally Ṣūfis, the travellers did not compose separate poems on Ṣūfī themes in their *Riḥlāt*. However, the influence of Ṣūfism is apparent in their poems, in the use of Ṣūfī expressions and in the reflection of Ṣūfī beliefs, particularly in prophetic commendation. Thus, if this poetic theme occupied a key position in the life of the travellers, as Ṣūfī scholars, it is to be expected that the travellers' *Riḥlāt* would be filled with prophetic commendations. Prophetic commendation is one of the three dominant themes in the poems. Prophetic commendation poems, in *al-Riḥla*, 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' *Riḥlāt*. They express their desire to start their journeys by visiting such graves in order to obtain the blessing resulting from entreating the *Awliyā'* 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-Rihlāt*. Admonitions of a few lines appear only in al-^ʿAyyāshī'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-^ʿĀmirī'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-Murābiṭ and al-^ʿĀmirī were composed in poetic form, in addition to a long poem composed by 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-maqṭūʿa*, and between ten and thirty lines in *al-qaṣīda*. A few poems extended beyond a hundred lines, such as those of al-^ʿAyyāshī and al-Zabādī and *Rihla* of al-^ʿĀmirī 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-^ʿĀmirī's *Rihla* is the best example of achieving the main conditions of that unity.

Some of the travelers including al-^ʿAyyāshī and al-Zabādī 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 Ṣūfī education they had received in Ṣūfī *Zawāyā*, such as entreaty and *al-Ḥaqīqa 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 Sunnī teaching.

Some travelers, in particular al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Zabādī and Ibn al-Ṭayyib, believe in the so-called *al-Ḥaqīqa 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 Sunnī scholars, intellectuals and Orientalists assert that the idea of *al-Ḥaqīqa 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 Sunnī 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 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 Ṣūfī doctrines and the center of Ṣūfī 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 Ṣūfī 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-ʿAyyāshī, Ibn al-Ṭayyib and al-Qādirī. 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 Ṭayba, 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-Ṭayyib, 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-‘Ayyāshī, al-Zabādī, al-Qādirī 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 ‘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-Zabādī and Al-‘Ayyāshī’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-Riḥlāt present eyewitness accounts of the various aspects of life in the territories the travellers visited, or passed through, during their journeys. These aspects include religious, geographical, academic, political and security, economic, social, literary and humorous.

Obviously, the religious and particularly the Ṣūfī aspect predominate, as one of the three main aspects in *al-Riḥlāt*, specifically in some *Riḥlāt* such as those of al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Zabādī and al-ʿAynī because the journey was undertaken to perform a religious duty. In addition, some of the travellers were Ṣūfī scholars who adhered to visiting Ṣūfīs' shrines, meeting Ṣūfī scholars and performing the Ṣūfī rituals, such as reciting *al-dhikr*, wearing the *khirqā* and relating Ṣūfī miracles. The only exception is Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's *Riḥla*, which is free of any reference to Ṣūfī rituals. Graves were greatly venerated by some of travellers including Abū Madyan and Ibn Malīḥ 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-Zabādī, al-Shāwī, al-ʿAyyāshī and Ibn al-Ṭayyib devoted a huge part of their *Riḥlāt* 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-Yūsī 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-Zabādī and al-Ḥuḍaykī, paid considerable attention to relating *karāmāt* (miracles) of *al-awliyā'*. Careful consideration 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 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-Qādirī's *Riḥla*, 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-Zabādī 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 *Riḥla* is considered a significant resource that represents the Ṣūfī movement at that time. Other travellers such as al-ʿAyyāshī, 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 Ṣūfī scholars, played a role in spreading their *ṭarīqa* 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 *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-samāʿ* or *al-ḥaḍra*. 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 Shīʿism 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 *Riḥlāt* 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 *Rihlāt* that one of the two most significant aims for which they compiled their *Rihlāt*, 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-ʿAyyāshī is considered to be an encyclopedia on academic issues and Ṣūfism. Thus, Moroccan *Rihlāt* 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-Ishāqī, al-Zabādī, al-ʿAyyāshī and Ibn Malīḥ are interested in recording scholars' biographies. Ibn Malīḥ's *Rihla*, 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-ʿAyyāshī, 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-Ishāqī 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-ʿAyyāshī 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 *Rihlāt* 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' *Riḥlāt* accurately reflect the various security situations, the dangers they encountered and the political events they experienced along their long journeys. Also *al-Riḥlāt* 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-ʿAyyāshī. 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-Riḥlāt* 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-ʿAyyāshī 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 Mādī, 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' *Rihlāt* 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-Hijāz.

The travellers' *Rihlāt* 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. Al-Hashtūki, al-Ḥuḍayki and al-Qādirī 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 *Rihlāt* 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-Rihlāt* 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-Rihlāt are not confined to serious matters only, but contain some humorous elements. Al-ʿAyyāshī 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-Riḥlāt* structure, the travellers start recording their *Riḥlāt* in almost the same way such as thanking Allah, invoking peace and blessing upon the prophet Muḥammad and mentioning their aims in recording their *Riḥlāt*, 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 *Riḥlāt* by thanking Allah again for helping them to record *al-Riḥla* and indicating the date of completion. Two of them ended their *Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt* with *muqaddima* (preface) and *khātima* (conclusion). As *al-Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt*, 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-Riḥlāt*.

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 *Riḥlāt*. *Al-samā’* (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-Riḥlāt* as a whole when the travellers, specifically al-Ishāqī, 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-Riḥlāt*, 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-Riḥlāt* moves between three main stylistic levels, which are *al-sajʿ* (rhymed) style, the normal style free of *sajʿ*, 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-Qādirī, Ibn Abī Maḥlī, Ibn Malīḥ and Ibn al-Ṭayyib showed a strong tendency towards using a rhymed style, *al-sajʿ*, except in very few places where *al-sajʿ* is difficult to use, such as when discussing academic issues, or describing the stages of the road. Some of the travellers, such as al-ʿAyyāshī, Ibn Nāṣir, al-Ḥuḍaykī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zabādī combined *al-sajʿ* and normal styles but the quantity of *al-sajʿ* differs from one *Riḥla* to another. While *al-sajʿ* is used frequently in the *Riḥlāt* of al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Ḥuḍaykī and Ibn Nāṣir, it is used less in *Riḥlāt* such as those of Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Abū Madyan and al-Zabādī. They tend to use *al-sajʿ* in specific places where they feel that the style deserves special attention, such as the prefaces of *al-Riḥlāt*, 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-ʿAynī, al-Hashtūkī, and al-Shāwī tend towards simplicity and spontaneous expression, without using any kind of ornamentation such as *al-sajʿ*, *al-tarṣīʿ*, *al-ṭibāq* or *al-jinās* except in very rare places mentioned above, where all the travellers feel that *al-sajʿ* is required or demanded by custom. Other rhetorical devices, such as *al-jinās*, *al-ṭibāq*, *al-muqābala*, *al-tashbīh*, *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 *Riḥlāt* 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 Ṣūfī 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 *Riḥlāt*. The criticisms which they record in their *Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt* what falls within their field of special interest and make his academic contribution to a more comprehensive appreciation of them.

Since most of *al-Riḥlāt* 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 *Riḥlāt* 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-Riḥlāt* which are still in manuscript form, such as those of Ibn al-Ṭayyib, al-Zabādī, al-Ishāqī and Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, should be edited with a literary study.

Some of the travellers such as Ibn al-Ṭayyib, al-Yūsī and al-Murābiṭ 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 *Riḥlāt*,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-ʿAyyāshī was studied as a poet by Muḥammad Binšir al-ʿAlawī to obtain a doctoral degree at the University of Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allah in Fes in 1984.

²As mentioned previously, those great travellers are poets of literary taste who recorded in their *Riḥlāt* their poetry and the poetry and biographies of scholars whom they met in such countries. ʿĀʾiḍ al-Raddādī, for example depended in his study, "*Al-Shiʿr al-Ḥijāzī fī al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ʿAshar*" upon travel books, *Riḥlāt*, 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 Ṣūfī poetry, Prophetic commendations, or brotherly poetry.

Topics related to the prose material such as the language (the style and words).

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ABBREVIATIONS:

- K.Ā. : al-Khizāna al-Āmma in Rabat.
 K.M. : al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya in Rabat.
 K.Q. : Khizānat al-Qarawiyīn in Fes.

1. The travellers' *Rihlāt*:

Abū Madyan's *Rihla*, K.Ā., under no. 297 ج.

Al-Āmirī's *Rihla*, al-Ṣubayḥiyya Library in Salā under no. 3902, and was published by Muḥammad al-Mannūnī in *Min Ḥadīth al-Rakb al-Maghribī* (Tatuan: Maṭbaʿat al-Makhzan, 1953), pp. 89-104, which I have depended on.

Al-ʿAynī's *Rihla* was summarised by Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-Būnʿmānī, then al-Būnʿmānī's summary was published by Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Sūsī in *al-Maʿsūl*, vol. 13 (Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat al-Najāḥ, 1963), pp. 283-98. Al-Sūsī says that he found out that al-ʿAynī's *Rihla* was kept by al-ʿAynī's relatives.

Al-ʿAyyāshī's *Rihla*, printed by Dār al-Maghrib in Rabat as lithograph in 1898 and reprinted in 1977 with an index by Muḥammad Ḥijjī in two volumes.

Al-Hashtūkī's *Rihla*, K.Ā., no. 190 ج and 147.

Al-Ḥuḍaykī's *Rihla*, K.Ā., no. 986 د and K.M., no. 0405.

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Ibn Abī Maḥlī's *Rihla*, K.Ā., no. 100, 4442, 4009 and Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya in Cairo. no. 431. Some parts of *al-Rihla* was edited by ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Qaddūrī [see supra, p. 298 under al-Qaddūrī's name].

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Al-Shāwī's *Rihla*, K.M., no. 5656.

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Al-Zabādī's *Rihla*. K.Ā., no. 1808 ۛ and 398 ۛ. (For complete details about these *Rihlāt*, see chapter two, section two, pp. 51-73).

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