Al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāzīyah li-Walī al-Niʿam al-Ḥājj ʿAbbās Ḥilmī Bāshā al-Thānī Khidīwi Miṣr

The Journey of Abbas Hilmi Pasha II, Khedive of Egypt, to the Hijaz

By Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī

Translated by Nathan Mair, MA Translation Studies placement, School of Modern Languages and Cultures, Durham University, June 2021

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**Picture captions**

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**Introduction**

[Page 5] In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds. Prayer and peace be upon him who sent mercy to the worlds. His Royal Highness the great Khedive has done me a great honour, having appointed me to be his personal representative in the service of his exalted caravan during its journey to the Hijaz. After His Royal Highness’ safe return, he increased my happiness by issuing a gracious order to this old man, asking me to set down our blessed journey in writing.

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From the time when these lands where unknown through to the present day, those with foresight and discernment have undertaken this duty. Each year, more than two hundred thousand Muslim souls head for these lands. However, what has been written about the pilgrimage concerns chiefly the various rituals, thus causing people to err on the many mountain paths and the rocky roads right from the outset, their ignorance outweighed only by their confusion. I have seen fit to add to this account of the Khedive’s journey some realistic and reliable notes about the places where the pilgrimage takes place. The enemies of the Muslims have used these things as a way to attack our religion, but their knowledge of it comes only from those ignorant people who have been deprived of Islam. These enemies randomly attribute things to the Muslims that they know are not true; in doing so, they hurt only themselves!

As such, I have gone down the road of truth and fact-checking, resulting in a written account of the pilgrimage that is true, praise God. My aim in this is to simply and clearly explain its requirements and the correct way to carry it out, for the sake of all those who wish to undertake the pilgrimage or want to know more about it.

[Page 6] Although I have undertaken this most holy of duties, I do not wish to limit this record of it solely to religious matters. My discussion also covers other areas of interest to the reader, including architecture, society, geography and history. No one has previously written about these things in the general service of learning and Islam, aiming to provide a complete report for public benefit. Over the course of this blessed journey, I have personally made many maps and drawings. I have also included photographs, in order that the reader may know some of those who were in His Royal Highness the Khedive’s party, as well as others present, taken by the best photographers who have previously completed the pilgrimage for the benefit of Egyptians and non-Egyptians. I have also made conceptual drawings of the holy cities, relying on the dimensions provided by the Egyptian Muhammad Sādiq Pāshā, and have provided sketches of Mecca, Mina, Arafat and Medina. For scenes that, in terms of architecture, building style and placement, have not greatly changed over the centuries, I have based my sketches on old drawings made by Burckhardt at the beginning of the previous century.

God Almighty is responsible; any benefit comes from him and his generosity.

Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī

His Royal Highness’ journey from Egypt to Jeddah

[Page 7] Our prince, the great Khedive ‘Abbās Pāshā Hilmī II, has ever been eager to undertake the pilgrimage to the sacred House of God and to visit God’s noble prophet. This sacred idea has been constantly in his mind from one year to the next, until he expressed his resolve to carry out this duty last Ramadān, in the year 1327 [AH]. He therefore ordered that the necessary preparations for the journey to the Hijaz be made. In the month of Dhū al-Qa’dah he took refuge in God and chose the men who would accompany him on this auspicious journey. These included important men from his court as well as scholars and nobles in general. He also honoured me, graciously desiring me to travel in service of the party. He issued an order to some of the khedivial retinue, including both civilians and military men, to travel to Jeddah and Mecca, to wait to be honoured by His Royal Highness’ presence. Those worthy of mention include Aḥmad Shafīq Pāshā, the head of the Arab and European khedivial court (now administrator of the public āwqāf); Ḥussayn Muḥarram

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Pāshā, the Khedive’s aide-de-camp and officer of guests for this blessed journey (War Office); Muḥammad ʿAzzat Pāshā, head of the Turkish Court; Aḥmad Khayrī Pāshā, minister of the private awqāf; Aḥmad Sādiq Bey (Private Office of the Khedive); Maḥmūd Bey Muhammad, chief secretary of the esteemed party; His Excellency the Sheikh Muhammad Shākir from al-Azhar; Mr Muḥammad al-Bibliwī, a scholar from al-Azhar and the Khedivial Library [Page 8] of Egypt; and the Sheikh Muḥammad ʿĀshūr, mufti of the private awqāf, as well as others from the Khedive’s guard.

Farewells took place on the agreed day, Saturday 9th December. Every corner of the palace was filled with every kind of well-wisher, and delegations came from every part of the country. It was an unprecedented scene, and the people’s hearts prayed that God Almighty might protect the well-loved ruler of the country and bring him quickly back to them, in complete health and with every blessing. This good-will was not limited to Muslims; Egyptians of all different religions shared in these noble sentiments. The fact that the heart of the ruler, one of the greatest princes of Islam, should be moved to undertake this religious and social duty should – God willing – cause great joy and happiness within Islam, for God’s people generally, and for Egypt and her inhabitants in particular.

On 28th Dhū al-Qa’dah 1327 [AH] – 11th December 1909 – the exalted prince issued the following decree to His Excellency the Prime Minister:

‘It seems that the divine will is for us to achieve our desire in undertaking the duty of pilgrimage and to visit the pure birthplace of the Prophet. Therefore, we have determined to travel to that exalted place this year. Because of the trust that we have in Your Excellency, we have seen fit for you to take our place for as long as we shall be absent, in order to administer the affairs of our government. We entrust it to you due to your experience and knowledge, and have thus issued this proclamation to you, requesting that you do what is right with regard to our affairs, and that you make accommodations with your distinguished leaders for the happiness of the nation and the prosperity of the land. [Page 9] We intend that our journey to those blessed lands and our stay there might be a source of comfort and reassurance for Egyptian pilgrims in the future, especially for those in this era, the era of our Prince, Caliph of the Muslims, the Sultan Muḥammad V. May God strengthen his hand with justice and concord.

‘In addition, we give to Akif Al-Ḍirā’ah great honour in appointing him to the service of the beloved Egyptian nation, which we keep always in our heart and mind, to work for its present and future good and glory. In the same way, we are convinced that its good requires us to complete our duty and to travel, if God so wills.’

At twenty to eight on 21st December 1909 (29th Dhū al-Qa’dah 1327), the day in which His Highness’ journey was officially announced, the private caravan moved out of al-Qubbah Palace, with only His Excellency the Khedive and some of his noble retinue. Waiting for His Royal Highness at Miṣr Station were important officials, scholars, ambassadors and every noble in Egypt. After shaking hands, he bid them goodbye with all sincerity. His Royal Highness then honoured his officials by asking them to travel with him. With the blessing of God Almighty, the train made its way to Suez. All the stations that the train passed through were full of the finest of decorations and countless numbers of well-wishers, in particular Benha and Zagazig stations, where large crowds had gathered to beseech God Almighty to bring their esteemed prince back to them safe and well. [Page 10] The train kept moving until it arrived, with God’s help, at Suez, and then at al-Ḥūd Station at one o’clock. There we found the buildings decorated very beautifully, and the countless people that met us were of
the highest class of Egyptians. At Suez we found special trains packed with groups of well-wishers from the port capitals and directorates. At the front of the crowds were esteemed Members of the General Assembly and the Advisory Council of Laws, and in front of them was His Excellency Prince Hussayn Kamīl Pāshā (who was President of both Houses). When the train stopped, His Royal Highness alighted and greeted his people and all who were present, including the princes and great men, thanking them for bearing this hardship and paying wholehearted and affectionate tribute to them. Then he turned to the Prince and said to him, ‘Thank you, from the bottom of my heart, not just because you are the President of the two Houses, but also as a member of the khedivial household’. The Prince could not contain himself; tears flowed from his eyes, and he said the following noble and gracious words by way of response: ‘I am unimportant, my prince, and only one of your many loyal servants. It is a great honour from Your Highness.’ His Royal Highness bowed his head at this response, which was a most beautiful thing for those present, demonstrating pure devotion, true love, and loyalty.

There, His Royal Highness went aboard his steamship, the Mahrūsah and, after resting a little, began to honour those around him in such a way that you can only imagine. You could see the emotion in the eyes of those present at His Highness’ profound care. It was as if you could see their [Page 11] prayers, rising from the depths of their hearts to the sky and calling to God Almighty to protect His Royal Highness and to bring him back to his country, having completed his holy duty in complete health and with all pleasure.

At three o’clock in the afternoon, the boat left for Jeddah. On board was His Royal Highness, His Royal Highness’ excellent mother and the esteemed princesses, ‘Atiyah Hānim Effendi, Fathiyah Hānim Effendi, and Princess Fātimah Hānim Effendi, His Royal Highness’ aunt. They had come with His Royal Highness’ mother by private train, arriving at Suez before the Khedive.

The boat continued its journey until it came to the eastern beach at Rābigh port, at a latitude of 22 degrees and 28 minutes, and a longitude of 28 degrees and 58 minutes, 109 miles from Jeddah. The Khedive and the pilgrims with him entered into the state of ritual purity [iḥrām] and the boat continued on its journey. About two hours out of Jeddah, brilliant white buildings began to appear, little by little. To the south appeared a small village called al-Nazlah, a collection of huts inhabited by tribespeople and a few families, most of them fishermen. Facing this village across the sea are two small islands. The island to the north is called Saʿād Island, whilst the second is called Saʿīd Island. These islands are the quarantine area for the Hijaz ports. The first island houses a place for disinfection and a machine to purify salt water, as well as some ‘shoes’¹, buildings where those in quarantine can stay. [Page 12] If the papers of a person arriving at the port are not in order, the pilgrim is taken on a sailboat, called a sanbūk, to the first island, a journey of three or more hours, or to the second island, a journey of double the time. The pilgrim stays on the island for the quarantine period mandated by the quarantine officials in Jeddah.

At two o’clock on Tuesday afternoon, 1st Dhū al-Ḥijjah (14th December), the Mahrūsah made land at a place around three miles from the port: the depth of the port means that big ships are unable to enter it. His Royal Highness stayed onboard until the morning of the next day. Outside the port were many other ships that had come for the pilgrimage from places such as

¹ The singular is ‘shoe’, and this is one of the places where people stay during their quarantine period. No one may leave this area for any reason before the end of their quarantine.

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India, Russia, Turkey, North Africa, Egypt and Port Sudan. These ships had raised their flags to welcome the Khedive, and the quarantine boats did the same, coming and going in the port and flying the Ottoman flag from their masts to honour the Khedive.

The City of Jeddah

[Bottom of page 12] In his geographical encyclopaedia, Al-Bakrī says that, ‘Jeddah, in the first instance, is the coast of Mecca. It was called that because it is a seaport, and the shore [Ar. jiddah (now obsolete)] is the place between the land and the water. Originally, jiddah meant a straight road.’ Nowadays, the people who live there call it ‘Jiddah’ with an ‘i’, whilst the Egyptians call it ‘Jaddah’ with an ‘a’. I consider both to be correct pronunciations. ‘Jiddah’ with an ‘i’ is softer and happier; this port is unquestionably the lifeblood of these lands, and there is nothing happier than those things that give life to humans. [Page 13] Likewise, ‘Jaddah’ with an ‘a’ means a broad road, and there is no broader road in the Hijaz than this.

Jeddah is located at 39 degrees and 10 minutes east, and 21 degrees and 28 minutes north. Before the coming of Islam it was a small village, inhabited by the Quḍā’ah tribe, like the area surrounding it. In 26 AH, Caliph ʿUthmān, God preserve him, made it the port of Mecca. Before that, the port of Mecca was at a village called al-Shū‘ibah, located around 20 kilometres south of Jeddah. It was a difficult port for ships to navigate due to the large number of rocks, and at one point a ship struck one. Katāḥr describes Iblā walking in Malārtirīm, a place in the Ḥaḍramawt, thus:

I will hasten, and I may find her at the dawn. The morning of separation from the caravan.

Her fruits were at Malārtirīm. From al-Shū‘ibah a ship travels.

Hence Jeddah started to develop and grow in importance, until it became the biggest port in the Arab world.

The entire coastline of Jeddah is rocky, made up of red or black coral (Lat. antipathes). In many places on the water line, you can see the leaves of red aquatic plants known as brother’s blood (Haematoxylum²). It is important for colouring textiles red, and in form it resembles the water hyacinth found in the lakes of Egypt. This plant is found in abundance on the beaches of the Arabian Gulf, and may feed the hundreds of red-shelled organisms and coral fish which live around it. The name ‘Red Sea’ may also be derived from it. Another reason for this name may be the red-grey colour that can be seen daily before the sunset, when the waves go back down the beach and as the tide goes out. At this time, the rocks along the length of the shore appear a red colour, gradually turning blue until eventually they merge with the rest of the sea.

All this reminds me of the time when we saw the people of Jeddah wearing red clothes, with no difference between the important people and the common people. This may be due to the environment in which they live; you see them wearing a red belt around their waist, and on their heads they wear a turban of the same colour. Often, you see [Page 14] their young men wearing white galabias under a red vest. Even the upper classes frequently wear the colour pink, or something similar to it.

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² Translator’s note: no plant of the Haematoxylum family matching this description and living in the Red Sea could be found.

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Jeddah is surrounded by a five-sided wall. The western wall faces the sea and is 576 metres long. The sea wall is 675 metres long, the eastern wall is 504 metres long, the south-eastern wall is 315 metres long and the southern wall is 710 metres long. The wall was built by Sultan [Qānsūh II] al-Ghawrī, the King of Egypt, in 915 [AH] in order to prevent the Europeans, who were attempting to colonise the East, from taking Jeddah. It was of great value in preventing the Portuguese from entering the city in 948 AH when a garrison fired at them from Jeddah’s small fort, making them flee to their ships and leave their ammunition behind them. This fort also saw off the Wahhabis when they laid siege to Jeddah in 1218 [AH]. However, it didn’t do its job properly when English ships bombarded the city in 1274 [AH], in an incident caused by one of the Englishmen. This man had a sailing boat in Jeddah from which he flew the English flag. This was replaced by the Ottoman one, infuriating the English Consul who went to the boat and forcibly took it down, doing the flag a great insult in the process. When the people saw this they became distressed and angry. They went to the consul’s house and killed him, along with the French consul and some other Europeans, and then plundered their belongings. The English ships therefore came and bombarded Jeddah. After that, they went to Mecca and agreed a settlement with the admiral. The result was the hanging of around 15 soldiers in the marketplace at Jeddah, the expulsion of many important people, and repayment of the money the foreigners claimed they had lost during the skirmish. English ships also entered Jeddah’s waters in 1311 [AH], when desert tribesmen killed the English Vice-Consul and injured the French and Russian Vice-Consuls. These tribesmen had crossed the border set out for them and gone into the city. All of them were Muslims from families that had a bad reputation with their fellow citizens for attacking foreigners. As a result, Sharīf ‘Awn of Mecca ordered peace and allowed ships to go about without being shot at.

There is no sense of order to Jeddah’s streets, which are paved with around 3,500 metres of stone brought from the nearby mountains or cut from the coast. This stone is very light and strong, but is dangerous and capable of great damage because it can catch on fire very rapidly [Page 15]. This is because it contains a large amount of phosphate. The houses in Jeddah, like the houses in the Hijaz cities (Mecca and Medina), resemble those built in Egypt during the Mamluk period (there are many of them in the al-Silāḥ Market [in Cairo]). By this, I mean that they have large rooms with high ceilings and tall, wide windows, like mashrabbiyyahs. These windows are called rawāshin (singular rūshan, a Persian word meaning peephole), and are made of a type of wood that looks like what is called manqūr or manjūr. The most common type is known as al-shīsh. I have seen some houses with a wall that is 10 metres in area and with nine large rawāshin. I think that these wide windows are very agreeable in hot countries – the new style of Egyptian architecture makes use of them. You can see them in many modern buildings [in Egypt], particularly in the European quarter and in Heliopolis, areas that exhibit a beautiful style of old Egyptian architecture that will make the area look solid and respectable, God willing. Even if nothing else is done to the area, it will not be less than this.

Muhammad ‘Ali Pāshā owns many buildings in the city, including the Vilayet Building, the City Hall, the military barracks and more.

The drinking water in Jeddah comes either from old cisterns filled by rain water or from the springs outside the city. The water from the springs close to the sea is salty and not fit for drinking. ‘Uthmān Pāshā Nūrī installed pipes in 1302 [AH] to carry water from al-Raghāmeh spring, about 10km from the city. They have since been destroyed; the city has sought to repair them, but it appears that the government can only rebuild them with the help of the [ruling] families, and they will not help because they make a profit from selling the water.
from their cistern to pilgrims at exorbitant prices. However, the majority of pilgrims only
drink water from wells during their stay in the city, in spite of it not being clean. It always
tastes slightly salty, and it is by the grace of God that it does not kill them all!
Some of the Europeans in the city have condensers to purify sea water, which they then sell
to the people. However, they all broke down and we heard when we were in Jeddah that they
had sent some of them to Suez to be repaired.

Jeddah is a large trading centre; you could say that it is the Hijaz port. It handles
both imports and exports, and trades in things such as oyster shells, coral, prayer beads, silks,
perfumes and fragrances, dried foodstuffs, leathers, rugs, and everything needed for the
pilgrimage. Jeddah’s main trade is in grains, especially wheat and flour, which are a basic
foodstuff for people from one end of the Arab world to the other. These grains come to
Jeddah from India, Egypt and the Levant. The city’s market stretches from the south side of
the city to the north side, ending at the Consuls’ houses, which are the nicest buildings in the
city. In particular, I would mention the Russian ambassador’s house, which is an especially
good specimen and the has the most beautiful of façades: mashrabiyyahs and overhangs
(balconies) show off the old Arab style in all its magnificence, to the extent that when you
look at it, you would think that you were standing in front of Al-Rusāfah Palace in Baghdad.
Opposite it is a police office, and next to it is the post office, a small room divided in two by
a simple wooden barrier, with the workers on one side and the bosses on the other.

Jeddah’s traders consist of locals, people from the Ḫaḍramawt, Indians, Persians, Central
Asians [literally, Bukharans] and Greeks. You can see them all working in the city, but they
only do a good trade during the pilgrimage season. One of the Greeks in the south of the city
has a steam (mechanical) engine that runs on petrol and grinds grain. The price of a Jeddan
kile (worth 3 awqāt) is 3 mejidie piastres, and even then you always hear the owner of it
shouting angrily about how little he earns and how much he spends on running it.

There is no official figure for the number of people who live in the city, but it exceeds fifty
thousand, at a conservative estimate. This figure includes ten thousand Muslim foreigners
from Persia, the Ḫaḍramawt, India and Central Asia. There are 100 Europeans, or maybe a
little more, in the city, and most of them are Greeks. The wealth of the country is mainly in
the hands of these foreigners; some of them have around a million pounds, because they
work hard. The porters and boatmen in the city are mainly slaves or from the Ḫaḍramawt.

There are two schools in Jeddah: Al-Īṣlāḥ School, which has about 80 pupils and whose
families make a contribution, and the Rashidiyyah School run by the government, which has
around 120 pupils. [Page 17] Students at both schools study only basic things, like counting,
and reading and writing in Arabic and Turkish. They provide less education than the Awqāf
Offices in Egypt!

In the market I saw a sign that read ‘Al-Īṣlāḥ Newspaper and Press’. I asked about it, and was
told that it had been set up after the Ottoman constitution was promulgated, but that it
couldn’t find any backers. As a result, its owner was forced to close it down and make its
(Turkish) editor redundant – he went back to Constantinople. Now there is nothing much
going on at the press.

As we have already mentioned, Jeddah’s inhabitants are a mixture of people; they have
inherited the nature of this province and have become like the Bedouin in terms of learning.
They are up to very little – perhaps writing a kḥuṭṭāb or a little counting. The city has four
mosques: the Ḩanafī Mosque, the Shāfa’ī Mosque, the Mālikī Mosque and the Mosque of
Sayyidī ʿAkāshah, the biggest of them, that has a small pharmacy. It is said that it also has a guesthouse, but I didn’t see it.

The city is governed by the Ottoman governor and the Sharīf. The first is chiefly concerned with fiscal matters, and especially customs duties; at its highest, revenue from this source stands at around fifty thousand Ottoman liras per year. The Sharīf deals with issues pertaining to the Arabs, and is entrusted with control of the army.

During the hajj period there is a continuous coming and going of pilgrims in city, never stopping by day or night. When the pilgrims arrive, they may find guides [muṭawwifīn] or representatives waiting for them by the doors of the customs house, calling out the names of their pilgrims. The pilgrims know the name of their guide and so call it out to them in the mêlée. The guide comes to help the pilgrim, taking his passport and marking it, and then taking him to the house where he will stay for a day or two to put his affairs in order and rent his camel or donkey. The pilgrim then travels to Mecca. Those in need of a litter can buy one for an average of one English pound, whilst the price of hiring a donkey, mule or camel to Mecca is also a pound. Hiring a camel with a litter costs double.

Jeddah Cemetery and the tomb of Eve

To the south of the city there is a cemetery for Christians, surrounded by a high wall. It is looked after by tribesmen, who do not allow anyone apart from the deceased’s relatives to enter it. The Muslim cemeteries, on the other hand, are located to the east of the city, at a distance of around a kilometre from the eastern gate, known as the Mecca Gate. The cemeteries are surrounded by a wall with a gate that opens to the west. During the time of the pilgrimage, there are many beggars in the entrance way: tribesmen and others, both young and old.

When you enter through the gate, you see in front of you a long tomb facing north, 150 metres in length, a metre high and around three metres wide. This is what is known as the tomb of Eve, and it resembles a kind of channel, blocked at its southern end by three walls that make a square. At the northern end of the square is another wall, at the end of the grave. The entire wall is 4 metres high. In each of the walls is a grid, from which grows a large Arabian boxthorn that almost fills the place where they say the head is located. At the northern end of this rectangle is a wall about three metres high. In the middle of it, at the top, is a balcony, below which is a gap that opens onto the part of the grave where the feet are. At the ends of the grave there are guides ready to tell you about where the head or the feet are and to answer any questions.

About two-thirds of the way down from the head, there is a qubbah with a door that opens to the east. Inside are two windows that look out from the two sides of the tomb. Between them is a wooden maqsūrah covered by a baize screen. The maqsūrah has a door facing that of the qubbah, which the guardian of the place opened for us, telling us that, ‘This is the noble centre of the place’. I looked, and saw a piece of flintstone, a metre long and half a metre wide, with an engraving in the centre. It looked a little like a small sarcophagus – I wouldn’t say an altar – used since ancient times to prepare the sacrifice. It occurred to me that, before the coming of Islam, the Quḍāʿah tribe perhaps used this place as a temple to Eve, the mother of mankind, worshipping her there in the same way that the Hudhayl tribe worshipped Suwā’, the son of Seth, the son of Adam. It is well-known that the Hudhayl lived both to the north and south of Mecca; even today we talk about the Yemeni and Levantine
Hudhayl. The Quḍā’ah live in between them. In the same way, the Kalb, Murrād, Hamdān and Ḥimyar tribes worshipped Wadd, Yaghūth, Ya‘ūq and Nasr (or so the children of Suwā’ son of Seth alleged). ‘And they have said: Forsake not your gods. Forsake not Wadd, nor Suwā’, nor Yaghūth and Ya‘ūq and Nasr’ [Qur’ān 71:23]. From the length of the tomb, it is possible that this is one of the things that the Arabs borrowed from the religion of the Greeks, who built temples to the stars, an example being the temple of Zahrah built by al-Dīḥāk in Sanaa. The Greeks also built a rectangular temple to Mars. Amongst the ancient tombs that one finds in Ottoman lands, and which are of course Greek ruins, is a tomb present to this very day in the Ottoman capital, near the Anāḍūlā Qawāq steps, which is about twenty metres long. They say that it is the grave of the prophet Joshua, revered by Muslims, Christians and Jews alike. Joshua never reached these countries, and so the ruins of this tomb are clearly pagan, predating the arrival of Christianity. Likewise, in Karak Nūḥ (a village in the Levant close to Zahlé), there is a tomb approximately thirty metres in length that is alleged to be the tomb of Noah.

The holy temples of the jāhiliyyah [i.e. pre-Islamic] era were not far from Eve’s tomb. When Islam arrived, ridding the land of unbelief [Ar. shirk] and idolatry, these temples were destroyed. Among them was, naturally, the temple where the people revered motherhood. As they were building a shrine for the prophet’s family they made it into a qubbah (we don’t know when it was built), to be a shrine for the people.

Ibn Battuta mentions this qubbah in his famous ‘Travels’, written in the seventh century AH, but does not mention the tomb; this is one of the biggest pieces of evidence that the tomb is a modern construction. However, we cannot ignore what Ibn Jubayr says in the account of his travels, written in 587 AH: ‘There (in Jeddah) is a place with an ancient qubbah. It is said that it was the house of Eve, the mother of mankind, built for when she went to Mecca. It is famous for giving blessing, but God alone knows.’ In any case, this assumes that we ignore the changes to the earth’s form and structure caused by the Flood, and in particular those that occurred in volcanic areas, [Page 20] which includes these lands. Arab historians are in agreement that Eve was sent down3 with Adam to the Island of Serendip (Ceylon). We do not know how they travelled from that island to the mainland or how Eve arrived at Jeddah and died there (as it is claimed). Nonetheless, we are not convinced of the claims that this is the tomb of Eve because of its extraordinary length, which does not tally with the length of the body. Neither are we convinced by their claims as to the position of Eve’s head and feet, hoping to prove that the two sides of Eve’s body match up with the two sides of her tomb. It is true that the face and two feet can be identified without specifying a beginning or end point. However, their claims that the qubbah is in the place of the first-ever navel is wrong, because the distance between the head and the navel in the tomb is double the distance between the navel and the feet. This is a contravention of the nature of mankind, that is, the sons of Adam or, to put it another way, the sons of Eve. Islamic historians have surmised that the height of our lord Adam was 16 Arabian cubits, that is, approximately 39 metres [sic] (assuming that the average Arab cubit is equal to 65cm). Eve, naturally, was similar. In this, they are close to what European anthropologists say was the case before and after Flood, comparing what they know to be the case today with what they have discovered from skeletons buried in the rock, far below the surface of the earth. No one should doubt that this dates from before the time of Noah; Monsieur Henrion, a member of the French Academy of Sciences and a great orientalist who supports his research with figures and strong evidence, concludes that Adam was 123ft and 9ins tall, and that Eve was 118ft and 9¾ins tall, which is

3 This is in contrast to those who say that Eve was sent down to the coast at Jeddah.

Translated by Nathan Mair, Durham University, 2021
approximately 40 metres (look up ‘Eve’ in the French Grande Encyclopédie) – this is his opinion, and the evidence supports it.

In any case, we respect what the Arabs say about their mother, and we also respect what the Europeans say about her, because [Page 21] she is the mother of everyone and so deserves the respect of everyone. As such, when Sharīf ʿAwn al-Rafīq destroyed the qubbah, along with the qubbahs of the righteous in Mecca and some others, the consuls from other countries stood up to him and intervened, saying that Eve was not just the mother of the Muslims. I think that this is enough reason for all people to honour her.

His Royal Highness’ Arrival at Jeddah and his journey from there to Baḥrah

[On Page 21] Tuesday 1st Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1327 – 14th December 1909 – is a date that will go down in Jeddah’s history as the day when His Royal Highness the Khedive arrived in Jeddah, en route to carry out the duty of the noble pilgrimage. Before the sun had even set, people began to arrive at the harbour, a group at a time. At the front were the nobles, craning their necks to see the steamship Mahrūsah carrying the much-loved Khedive. At about 3 o’clock Arabian time, their excellencies ʿAlī Bey and Faysal Bey, and Sharīf Zayd Injal of Mecca (who had arrived at Jeddah two days before the Khedive in order to prepare for his arrival) arrived, along with the governor, the commander of the Ottoman forces in Jeddah and ‘Azz Talū, an officer of the province, who had been sent to the Khedive as a peace envoy on behalf of the Ottoman government and who was to honour him by being his guest officer [Ar. mahmandār] during his time in the Hijaz. They were followed by the postmaster and the manager of the khedivial Steamship Company, [Page 22] as well as other Ottoman government officials. Before there was any sign of the ship, they got into small boats and went out to sea to await the Khedive’s arrival. Before the sunset, they sent an Ottoman warship, based in the waters around Jeddah, to a distance of about seven or more hours out to welcome the khedivial vessel.

At around 7 o’clock in the evening Arabian time, smoke from the ship appeared on the horizon, and it gradually drew closer and closer until it made land at 8 o’clock. The small boats crowded round, and the nobles and officials went aboard to welcome the Khedive and to pass on the greetings of the Commander of the faithful and the Ottoman State, along with the greetings of his excellency the Sharīf. He met those who wished to greet, honour and offer hospitality to him. They returned after an hour, all of them thanking him and praising his good graces and etiquette.

By the time the sun set that day, the City Hall had been decorated and ships of every different nationality shone with light. The masts of the boats held lamps aloft in the sky, looking like shining stars. It was a remarkable day and unique night, unlike anything the people of Jeddah had seen before. They had never before seen the provision of the Ottoman Empire as they did on this occasion, or the Sharīf’s concern for the well-being of His Royal Highness. Any man chosen by his prince to undertake the pilgrimage to the noble sanctuary – just as ‘Abbas answered the call of his Lord – will see his prince’s kingly nature in condescending to join with the rest of humanity: depriving himself of rich clothing and fine food, sleeping on the earth and under the sky, experiencing difficulty, travelling in the heat of the sun and the cold of the night, facing uncountable hardships and discomforts. The reign of this prince is not cut short, and his excellencies do not end. It is no surprise that the eye of God protects him and that the hearts of all mankind give him honour.

Translated by Nathan Mair, Durham University, 2021
Before dawn on Wednesday 2nd Dhū al-Ḥijjah, soldiers began to come and go in the city squares, which were packed with men from the guard and army on the one hand, and from the State and the Bīshah\(^4\) on the other.

Before the sun rose, a small boat appeared from the open sea, carrying the khedive. The trumpets sounded, canons were fired from the city’s fort, and the soldiers formed an elongated semi-circle. The eastern half was formed of men from the khedivial guard, whilst the second half was formed partly of Ottoman soldiers and partly of Bīshah soldiers. The two groups were spread out from the Quarantine Gate to the City Gate. After half an hour, the exalted traveller arrived at the Quarantine steps, which were laid out with Persian carpets. Ottoman officials lined up on one side and the nobles of the sharifate on the other, along with others who had come to greet the Khedive. The Khedive himself stood on the steps wearing his \(ihrām\) clothing, white like the full moon. He walked about, waving to the crowd, and was followed by His Royal Highness Prince Kamāl al-Dīn Pāshā; Sheikh Bakrī al-Ṣādaftī, Muftī of the Egyptian Court; the noble ‘Azz Talū ‘Alī Bey Labīb, His Royal Highness’ doctor on this blessed journey; and others from the khedivial administration [Page 24] and retinue. The Khedive’s horse was at the Quarantine steps, so he rode between the Egyptian and Turkish musicians amidst the noise of the soldiers and the crowd. Behind him rode his special \(mahmandār\), Ḥussayn Muḥarram Pāshā, and then the Prince and the administrators. A group of guards in the service of the pāshdār went ahead of them (the advance guard). Surrounding them entirely was a company of soldiers and behind them came the Sharīf. The representative of the Hijaz government and a large group of nobles were also there, followed by the Bīshah soldiers and then the Commander of the Jeddah branch of the military with a company of Ottoman soldiers. They travelled with the large procession to the al-Mughāribah Gate, and from there to the al-Shāmī Gate, where we found all the tribal leaders waiting for us on their camels. They all came with us to Baḥrah.

The road from Jeddah to Mecca passes through a valley between two mountains, of which the higher one is called Al-Qā’īm, and then crosses al-Raghāmah mountain, where there is a coffee stall called Jarādah, and the mountain of Umm al-Sullam, where al-‘Abd Coffee is located. After that the road takes the valley heading south-east until it reaches Baḥrah, where the valley widens out and is crossed by another valley – the valley of Mirr (Fāṭimah’s wadi) – that runs from the north-east towards the south until it reaches the sea. It is a large valley and one of the most fertile places in the Hijaz. Many respectable tribesmen, who own most of the land, live there, and they grow all kinds of vegetables, which are sent to Mecca. The valley is home to many springs and is crossed by the Sultan’s road that goes from Mecca to Medina. At one point along it there are palm groves and vineyards watered by a stream that flows from the west (they call it a river); the amount of water in it is less than one square metre. Oranges and lemons make up most of the fruit grown there; it seems to me that if [Page 25] artesian wells could be built, there would be considerable benefit.

Baḥrah itself is a stopping-off point made up of a collection of huts inhabited by a number of Bedouin. There are also some bigger, public huts that they call coffee shops and in which any pilgrim who wishes can rest. In particular, those who have come by donkey or camel can rest there and find the provisions that they need, including bread, cheese, dates, various types of

\(^4\) The Bishah is a tribe found in the west of the Arab lands whose soldiers ride camels in Arab dress. They are like the Bashi-Bazouk in terms of their military organisation, and the Sharif’s military is made up of them.
fruit, coffee and paan. Next to the huts is a wide area surrounded by a fence made of palm fronds, where the pilgrims’ camels and mounts can be tied up. Most of the caravans stay there overnight.

From Bahrah, the road heads north-east; some caravans sleep alongside it. The road passes by Sālim’s coffee stall, then over al-Shamayshī mountain to al-Muqtilah, then to al-Hijāliyyah, al-Bustān, al-Mu’ allim Coffee and finally Sheikh Maḥmūd, the gateway to Mecca, where you can find the tomb of ‘God’s neighbour’ al-Zamkhasharī, the famous tafsīr [Qur’anic exegesis] scholar whose work is called The Revealer [AR al-Kashšāf] (he came to carry out the pilgrimage in 538 [AH], but died on the day of Tarwiyah [8th Dhū al-Ḥijjah] and was buried in this place⁵). The coffee stalls are all hut-like structures in which pilgrims can take a little rest. The mountains along the road are red in colour, with traces of green and yellow. This shows that they are rich in metals such as iron, copper and others. There are 14 forts along the road, permanently occupied by Ottoman soldiers. Some of them are old, the work of Sharīf Ghālib or Muḥammad ʿAlī, whilst others were built by the Ottoman Empire not long ago, following the increase in the number of pilgrims coming from the coast.

Her Royal Highness the Khedive’s mother had disembarked from the Mahrūsah at half past three in the morning Arabian time. Some of the Prince’s retinue were waiting for her on the quayside [at Jeddah], and Ottoman officials waited just beyond the public gate. She rode with the two noble princesses [Page 26] in a landau carriage pulled by four mules. Princess Fātimah Hānim Effendi travelled with some of her ladies in another of the Sharīf’s carriages, whilst the rest of the women travelled in a litter. Behind them in another litter was Almās Aghā Pāsh, head of the khedivial palace, followed by Kāẓim Aghā Pāsh, in charge of the Queen Mother’s household, then a litter carrying some of the men of the noble entourage, and finally the camels carrying the baggage. The Khedive’s mother travelled surrounded by horsemen from the khedivial guard; in front of her were the Sharīf’s soldiers, and behind were the Ottoman guard. The people lined both sides of the road in a sight never seen before, and they all praised the procession, which remained in formation until it had left Jeddah’s eastern gate, known as the Gate of Mecca. The Khedive’s mother travelled to Bahrah with the guard, where they received the best of welcomes. She got off her mount, and there you could see the Khedive’s soldiers in such a way that had never been seen before.

To the east was a pavilion where the Sharīf’s nobles spent the afternoon eating in the European manner. Around a hundred people were guests of the Prince, along with his entourage, at a dinner organised by the Khedive and hosted by Prince Aḥmed Kamāl al-Dīn Pāshā. The décor at this dinner was astonishing, not being at all in the Bedouin style. You would have thought that you were in the Great Hall of the Continental Hotel in Cairo, at one of the great banquets, yes, with delicious food of all different types and with white chandeliers shining in the corners of the tent. The whole of Bahrah was lit up, as if we were in broad daylight, and the beauty of the party was increased [Page 27] by the excellent manners shown by the Sharīf. After the meal the Khedive left the tent, having been honoured greatly and wishing God’s blessings on the prominent and lesser sheikhs, thanking them for their hospitality whilst they in turn thanked him for hosting them.

⁵ Translator’s note: other sources record al-Zamkhasharī’s place of death as Gurgānj, in what is now northern Turkmenistan.
His Royal Highness’ arrival at Mecca, and the days he spent there before going on to Arafat

[On page 27] After dining in the Sharīf’s tent in Bahrah, the Khedive rested a little in his litter. At around eleven o’clock in the evening, European time, he set off for Mecca on a noble steed, followed by Prince Kamāl al-Dīn Pāshā and some of his retinue. The whole party travelled until it had crossed the al-Shamsaynī mountain, where they found waiting for them His Excellency Khayrī Pāshā, the director of the private awqāf; ‘Atūfah Amīn Bey, chargé d’affaires of the Hijaz Vilayet; and the commander of the shāhāniyyah forces in the region. After exchanging greetings, they travelled with His Royal Highness until they arrived at al-Bustān Coffee stall, which is around two hours from Mecca. There the Khedive was welcomed by Sharīf iussayn Pāshā, the ruler of Mecca, along with the important members of his household and entourage. The Sharīf wished to dismount to honour the Khedive, but the Khedive entreated him not to do so. After exchanging greetings, they travelled together until they arrived at [Page 28] the tents that the government had erected outside of Mecca to celebrate his arrival, where scholars, dignitaries and traders were waiting for them. He descended from his private litter and, after drinking coffee, the Sharīf presented the local dignitaries to him. He met Sheikh al-Shībī; then the Qādī and Muftī of Mecca; the representative of the Noble Sanctuary; and ‘Abdullah al-Zawāwī, the head of the ‘Ayn Zubaydah and Knowledge Commissions, as well as other scholars and nobles. His Royal Highness showed them his graciousness and the magnanimity of his gratitude, then rode his horse towards Mecca. Those who were with him also went, and they moved through the ranks of the shahāniyyah soldiers who lined the sides of the road as far as al-Ḥamidiyyah Barracks, saluting. In front of them stood their officers and commanders who paid great honour to the Khedive, and the music played to welcome him.

The Khedive entered Mecca by the Jarwal Gate where the mahmil guards were standing to greet him. He went along the Shabaykah Road, and it was as if the people on both sides were tightly-packed buildings, all of them crying to God to protect this esteemed prince. He rode past the Egyptian takīyah, the Hijaz government building and the city hall, all decorated with the most beautiful of decorations. He thus arrived at the gate of the Noble Sanctuary at dawn on Thursday 3rd Dhū al-Ḥijjah and prayed that morning with the Mālikī imam. He performed the jāwāf al-qudūm and then the saʿy along with pilgrims of all different races. At their head were the Egyptian pilgrims. As they carried out the saʿy, their voices were raised in prayer and their hearts cried out to the Lord of Earth and Sky to protect this ‘Abbās. Their eyes shed tears of joy at beholding the light of their well-loved ruler who [Page 29] governs hearts with justice, favour, mercy and grace. His Royal Highness was amongst them for more than an hour, without a throne to sit on or a crown on his head, stripped not only of all the finery of kingship, but also of every worldly thing. He performed the saʿy between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah [lit. between the hands of God] 7 times, and the people also performed the saʿy between the two hills [Ar. his two big hands]. For over an hour, the only sound to be heard was that of the women ululating, along with the prayers and movement of the faithful in sincerity and loyalty, until, as one man, they went out to welcome their father, lord and sustainer after a long absence. Because he was very tired after the long journey, the Sharīf advised the Khedive to perform the saʿy by riding, and he was given a horse for this purpose (this is occasionally legally permissible). The Khedive, however, refused, saying, ‘What is it to me if I must spend an hour on my feet for the sake of God?’ This was the best thing that happened there.
After he had finished the saʿy, he headed to the al-Imārah House in the Night Market, which had been made ready for him to stay in during his time in Mecca. The Sharīf had taken his leave of the Khedive when he entered the Noble Sanctuary, in order to prepare for his happy arrival. When the cortège arrived, the Sharīf was waiting for him at the door of al-ʿĀmirah Palace, to welcome him in a manner befitting a visitor. The Sharīf and Khedive went up to the Great Reception Hall, and, having exchanged greetings, the Sharīf took his leave, showing the utmost respect and thanks.

This particular palace was built by al-Ḥājj Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā, the governor of Egypt, in 1228 [AH] for the Hijaz government. When he left the emirate, he made Mecca its capital, as is still the case today. The Sharīf could think of no better occasion to celebrate the ancestor of this noble family, and thus presented the works of the thirteenth-century [AH] luminary to his excellent descendant, so that he might read some of the verses of his noble ancestors in the halls. In this way, the Sharīf showed that he remembered Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā’s generosity towards his family; it was he who appointed the Sharīf’s ancestor, Muḥammad bin ʿAwn, as ruler of the Emirate of Mecca in 1229 [AH], and it has stayed in the hands of his family ever since.

Before the sun set on that blessed day, the cannons were fired from the fort of Mecca to welcome the Khedive. In the afternoon, the Khedive met with the Sharīf and then was honoured by the visit of the chargé d’affaires. Four hours after the sunset, he went down to perform the ṭawāf around the sublime House of God.

The Khedive’s mother, on the other hand, travelled with her retinue from Baḥrah at dawn on the same day and arrived at Mecca late in the afternoon. She entered the city in one of the finest caravans ever seen by those present, who could hear the firing of the cannons, the sound of the music and the cries of the crowd on the road. The caravan kept on moving until it stopped outside the Al-Ṣafā gate, from where the Khedive’s mother went down to the house of Bānājā Pāshā which had been made ready for her to stay in during her time in that excellent city. Sometime into the night, she also performed the ṭawāf al-qudūm, and then made saʿy in her carriage along with Their Highnesses the Princesses.

Even before the sun rose on Friday 14th [sic] Dhū al-Ḥijjah, thousands of people had gathered at the door of the Khedive’s house, some raising their hands to him and others bowing their heads. The Egyptian nobles strove to outdo one another in adding their names to the list of visitors coming to greet him. In the morning, the Khedive went to the Dār al-Wilāyah in order to return the chargé d’affaires’ visit, where he was welcomed with every respect. A company of the shāhmāniyyah soldiers were lined up on the sides of the road leading up to the door. Music welcomed the khedive at the door, and the chargé d’affaires, who was waiting there to greet him, accompanied His Royal Highness to the reception room, thanking him profusely for the visit. After they had taken coffee, the chargé d’affaires presented the distinguished scholars [Ar. ʿulamāʾ] and royal and military officials to His Royal Highness, along with dignitaries, traders and members of the local council who were all present to welcome him. The music continued during this whole time, delighting those present with its moving tone. Then the Khedive committed them all to God and took his most gracious leave in order to visit the Egyptian takiyah. There he was welcomed in a manner befitting his rank; he inspected the living quarters, stores and kitchen, and then ate some food. After exhorting

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6 This house was also one of Muḥammad ʿAli Pāshā’s, built by his governor over the Hijaz, the excellent Aḥmad Pāshā Yakun.
them to give more attention and care to the poor, he returned to al-Imārah House to visit the Sharīf.

As noon approached, he set out for the Noble Sanctuary for Friday prayers. The qubbah at the highest point of the Zamzam well had been made ready for him, and luxurious carpets had been laid out and every effort made to welcome him. His Royal Highness entered the mosque by the Al-Ṣafā gate surrounded by a great many nobles and a number of officers from the khedivial guard. The women ululated from their part of the mosque to the right of the gate, happy at his coming, and the sound of voices rose up from every corner [Page 32], honouring the Khedive in an unprecedented way. Yes, their voices rose up to the Lord of heaven, who is sublime in character, manifest in his rule, and whose lordship is seen here in all its manifestations. It is true that the whole world belongs to him, and yet Mecca is its capital, the place where his rule and omnipotence is manifested, and the Kaʿbah is his residence and the place of his greatness and mercy. [The city] is only twelve thousand square metres large, and yet during the pilgrimage there can be around half a million souls in it at any one time, all of them crying to God with one heart and voice. Although they are of all different nationalities and speak different languages, they pray towards one qiblah, and prostrate themselves as one. They hope in the mercy of one, indivisible God, who ‘begetteth not, nor was begotten. And there is none comparable unto Him’ [Qur’an 112:3-4].

When the speaker went up to the minbar, he was accompanied by one of the guardians of the mosque who sat on the stairs at the speaker’s feet. This is, no doubt, an old custom designed to protect the speaker during the sermon by preventing anyone from attacking him (I think that they later made this unnecessary by adding doors to the minbars and by it no longer being the princes and rulers who give the sermon). Following the sermon, which was unrivalled in its simplicity, the Khedive gave the speaker a robe of honour, placed on him by His Excellency Ḥusayn Muḥarram Pāshā, and then the speaker led the people in prayer under the wall of the Kaʿbah, between the maḥmūn and the door. The sky became overcast during the sermon and it began to rain heavily during the prayers, but no one moved from their place; everyone rejoiced at this mercy that had not been seen in the Hijaz for six long years. This was the most auspicious occurrence of the Khedive’s pilgrimage. After [Page 33] prayers, the Khedive left the mosque from the Al-Ṣafā gate, walking between the ranks of the khedivial guard who separated him from the thousands of onlookers that were pushing past each other to see his noble face. Their mouths wished him well, in particular the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula who rejoiced at the abundant rain and important guest with which God had blessed them.

On the morning of Saturday 5th Dhū al-Ḥijjah, His Royal Highness set out to visit the blessed places, accompanied by his royal and military retinues. He first went to al-Muʾallāḥ, Mecca’s cemetery just outside its eastern gate, where he began by visiting the tomb of the Sayyidat Khadijah, the Prophet’s wife, which is located inside a qubbah that was refurbished in 1298 [AH]. Inside, there is a maqṣūrah made of walnut wood erected on her noble grave. Next to it is a smaller maqṣūrah under which are buried 16 nobles. To the west, outside the qubbah, is the grave of the Sayyidat Ḥaram of the late Muḥammad ʿAlī Pāshā who died whilst carrying out the pilgrimage in 1266 [AH] and was buried there. Opposite the qubbah of Sayyidat Kharījah, to the south, lies the qubbah of Sayyidat Āminah bint Wahb, the Prophet’s mother.

7 In his Encyclopaedia, Yāqūt notes that Āminah bint Wahb, the Prophet’s mother, was buried at Al-Abwa’, a village about 23 miles from Medina in the direction of al-Jahfah. She was buried there because ‘Abdullah, the Prophet’s father, was buried in Medina. Every year, she would go to visit his grave. When the Prophet was six
Next to it lies a maqṣūrah where the Sharīf Muḥammad bin ‘Awn is buried. To the north is the qubbah of Abū Ṭālib, the Prophet’s uncle, next to which is the qubbah of his grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭallib – both of these were renovated in 1325. The cemetery also houses the tomb of ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubayr, whose qubbah was destroyed by Sharīf ‘Awn al-Raﬁq and not rebuilt. There is also the grave of the Prince of the faithful Abū Ja’far al-Manṣūr [the second Abbasid caliph] who went to Mecca to undertake the pilgrimage in 158 [AH]. His horse threw him at al-Ḥajūn, and he broke his neck and died then and there. He is buried in al-Mu’allā [sic], but the exact location is unknown. Aside from these people, there are also many graves of the Prophet’s companions and followers.

On leaving al-Mu’allā, the Khedive ordered that alms be given to the poor and the needy who were there. Then he mounted his horse and rode with his entourage up the al-Ḥajūn road to the slaughterhouse, heading to Jarwal to see the Egyptian mahmil. He was welcomed richly and met all of the mahmil officers and officials, who honoured him. After wishing God’s blessing on them as they carried out their duties in these holy lands, he got into his horse’s saddle and, in a dignified manner, travelled to the birthplace of Sayyid ‘Ali, which he honoured, and then the birthplace of the Prophet. This is a place about 1.5 metres below the level of the road, accessed by a flight of stone stairs. At the bottom is a door that opens to the north. Inside is a courtyard, twelve metres long and six metres wide. In the western wall is a door into a qubbah, in the middle of which (towards the western side) is a wooden maqṣūrah. The maqṣūrah contains a marble slab with a hollow marking the birthplace of the Prophet. This qubbah and the courtyard around it is no bigger than 30 square metres, and together they constitute the house where the Messenger of God was born. The Messenger gave the house to ‘Aqīl bin ‘Abī Ṭālib, and his son bought it for Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī (the brother of al-Ḥajjāj). He built his famous house at the house of Ibn Yūsuf and their doors were next to each other. It was then bought by the beautiful Umm al-Rashīd who separated them, restoring the house and turning it into a mosque. It has stayed like this to the present day.

Next, the Khedive went to visit the birthplace of Fāṭimah on the Stone Path. This is the house of Khadijah bint Khuwaylid, the Prophet’s wife, where she gave birth to all of her children by Muhammad. Before he was called by God, he worked with her in her trading with the Levant. Seeing that he had the attributes of perfection, she chose him; he married her in 28 BH, that is, before his calling by 15 years. She died in Mecca four years before the hijrah at the age of 64.

This house is also below the level of the street, with some steps leading down to a passageway. On the left is a thing like like a stone bench [Ar. maṣṭabah], about 30cm above the ground, 10 metres long and 4 metres wide. It is used as a kuttab where children learn the Noble Qur’an. On the right are two steps leading to a small door, through which is a narrow passageway about two metres wide and with three doors leading off it. The door to the left leads to a small room, three metres long and less than that wide, where the Prophet prepared for worship and where revelation came down to him. To the right of the entrance is an underground space that they say is where he performed his ablutions [Ar. wuḍū’]. The door opposite the entrance to the passageway leads to a large place six metres long and four metres wide. This is where he lived with his wife Khadijah. The door on the right, however, leads to a rectangular room [Page 36] four metres wide and seven and a half metres long. In the middle is a small maqṣūrah erected on the spot where Fāṭimah was born. On the eastern wall years old, she went to visit him, along with ‘Abd al-Muṭallib and Umm Ayman, carrying God’s Messenger. She started off towards Mecca from al-Abwa’, but died and was buried there.
of this room is a shelf on which sits an old hand mill; it is said that this is the one used by Fāṭimah. Running along the northern side of the room, the passageway and the bench is a space raised up by one and a half metres. It is around 16 metres long and seven metres wide, and I think that this is where Khadījah kept her merchandise.

If you are blessed by having the opportunity to see and contemplate this house, which was the Prophet’s home in Mecca and the place where he received revelation for all mankind, then you will see nothing but simplicity: a house of four rooms, three of them private. One of these is his daughters’, the second his wife’s, the third his own, and the fourth a place to be by himself and for receiving people. What a beautiful arrangement, what a wonderful situation! That these great manners and lively perfections should have been moulded in such infinite simplicity! Reflect a little, and consider that this arrangement is exactly what modern civilisation requires, even with its different activities and needs. This, this is the house of the Messenger that was sent to all people. Yes, this is the house of the illiterate Prophet, and this is how he organised his home. It is an arrangement that, though without the merest trace of greatness or luxury, has attained both greatness and perfection. O God, I trust in you and your Prophet, who did not take up your religion as a means to live in prosperity and greatness, but rather brought goodness, blessing, auspiciousness and happiness to all people!

When the Prophet went to Medina, ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib took possession of the house. It was then sold to Mu‘awiyyah bin Abi Sufyān, who turned it into a mosque. It was rebuilt during the time of the Abbāsid Caliph al-Nāsir, who put a marble plaque on the left wall of the passageway which reads, in large letters, ‘In the name of God the Most Gracious the Most Merciful. Al-Nāsir li-Dīn Allāh, the Commander of the believers, may God strengthen his supporters and increase his might, and may God grant him well-being, has ordered the building of an enclosure covering the birthplace of that most beautiful virgin Fāṭimah, ruler of the world’s women and daughter of the chosen Prophet Muḥammad, our Lord and Prince whom all mankind should obey. And may the one who looks on this sacred and pure place of the Prophet be granted good fortune and wellbeing, from this place and the holy birthplace. May he see God’s face and be granted the reward of the final house, where God will welcome him and reward him with the “wages of the good” [Qur’an 11:115]. Written by God’s humble slave ‘Ali bin Abi al-Barakāt al-Dhūrānī al-Anbārī in the year 604. May the one who changes this receive God’s curses and the curses of all mankind until the day of judgement. Peace be upon our Lord Muḥammad, greatest of all Prophets, and on his family’. Following that it was rebuilt by al-Ashraf Sha’bān, King of Egypt, then al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, and finally the Sultan Sulaymān in the year 935 [AH].

After that, the Khedive went to visit the house of al-Arqam al-Khazūmī, also known as the house of al-Khayzurān. It is located in an alleyway on the left of the way up to Al-Ṣafā, and was the house where the Messenger of God took refuge at the start of his mission, along with those who followed him. They prayed there in secret until ‘Umar became a Muslim; he increased their solidarity and they announced their being Muslims and prayed publicly. The door of this house opens to the east, and inside is an open, outdoor space two metres long and four metres wide. On the left is a roofed līwān three metres wide. In the middle of the right-hand wall is a door that opens into a room two metres long and half as wide. This room is furnished with mats and at its south eastern corner are two blocks of flint, both with large writing above them. The first says, ‘In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. “(This lamp is found) in houses which Allah hath allowed to be exalted and that His name shall be remembered therein. Therein do offer praise to Him at morn and evening.” [Qur’an 24:36] This is the place where the Messenger of God sought refuge, and
the house of al-Khayruzân, the place where Islam had its beginnings. It was rebuilt by order of Muṣliḥ, the King’s custodian, in the hope of obtaining a recompense from God and his Messenger, and so that he “loseth not the wages of the good.” [Qur’an 11:115]

The second says, ‘In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. This place of refuge for the Messenger of God, known as the house of al-Khayruzân, was rebuilt on the orders of the poor slave to God’s mercy, Jamāl al-Dīn Sharaf al-Islām Abū Ja’far Muḥammad bin ‘Alī bin Abī Maṣṭūr al-İṣfahānî, Minister of Mosul and the Levant, who asks God for mercy and seeks to be obedient. Erected in the two houses in the year 555. [AH]’

That afternoon, the Khedive was visited by many of Mecca’s scholars and dignitaries. Among them were members of the Commission of ‘Ayn Zubaydah, led by their head, ‘Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī.

At 5 o’clock Arabian time, after the sunset, the Khedive went to visit the Noble House of God. After the door was opened, the minbar steps set up and the candles inside lit, so that it was as if there was light upon light, he went up the steps, followed by Prince Kamāl al-Dīn Pāshā and the military and civilian men in his entourage. There they prayed two rakats in the direction of the qiblah, which was opposite the door (this was the place where the Prophet prayed), then another two facing the northern wall and likewise facing the eastern wall. Everyone prayed thus and in complete submission to the greatness of the Sovereign and the splendour of his might, in the face of which they counted themselves as nothing, decreasing until they were barely present. If not for the fact that we saw the movement of our bodies, the raising of our hands in prayer and the moving of our lips as we humbled ourselves, and if not for the fact that we could hear the beating of our hearts in the face of this great majesty, we would have thought that our souls were in another life. In truth, we were in another world during that time. Yes. We were in the House of God and the presence of God, without an intermediary or anything apart from a bowed head, a submissive tongue, prayers raised, tears in our eyes, hearts burning and in utmost sincerity. We passed an hour in this state, and then went out with our hearts on our feet, with the soul’s enjoyment of these great revelations and kindnesses leading us to the duties of respect and diffidence. After leaving the Noble Ka’bah, the Khedive performed tawāf and then went to visit the Maqām Ibrāhîm. Afterwards, he returned to his lodging, thanking God for his blessing in being able to visit the Noble House.

His Royal Highness spent Sunday receiving many visitors of different nationalities. In the evening, he gave a wonderful banquet for the Sharīf, the Ottoman emissary, around 20 noble guests and top-ranking officers, the qâdî, the muftî, the Sheikh of the Mosque, the Mosque administrator, and the commanders of the shâhâniyyah soldiers and men of his retinue. After the meal, they moved into the Great Room, where His Royal Highness hosted them with all etiquette and civility. After drinking coffee, His Excellency Amīn Bey Effendi, the Ottoman emissary and chargé d’affaires gave an impromptu speech which was most eloquent in style and gracious in tone. After welcoming the Khedive to the Holy City, he noted that, ever since his arrival in the capital of the Vilayet, he had been studying with all satisfaction and excellency what the most excellent Muḥammad ‘Alî Pâshâ had done in the Hijaz, including the governing arrangements that he had put in place and the money that he had invested in it through wide-ranging awqāf and the considerable salaries that the Egyptian government still sends each year. These donations benefit both the nobles and the common people, and help every poor wretch. When the speech came to an end, the Khedive thanked and honoured him. The guests conversed until the middle of the night, when they dispersed, thanking and honouring the Khedive.

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His Royal Highness spent Monday 7th Dhū al-Ḥijjah receiving many visitors. In the evening he performed the tawāf with the Sharīf, and then returned to al-Imārah House and ordered that preparations be made to leave for Arafat.

The Old and New Roads from Egypt to the Holy Cities

[On page 41] For Muslims living in the Western hemisphere, Egypt was and continues to be located on their route to visit the Sacred House of God and God’s Prophet, bearing in mind that Mecca is the centre of the world and origin point of the world’s radii. From al-Andalus in western Europe through to the Maghreb in western Africa, from the Muslim Berbers who live amongst them to Senegal, the lands of the Toucouleur, and East and West Sudan – anyone from these lands intending to undertake the pilgrimage to the Sacred House of God would need to travel first to Egypt, either overland or by sea. Likewise, those from the Levant, Turkey, the Caucasus and the islands of the Mediterranean would also pass through Egypt. All of them converge on Cairo before the month of Ramaḍān, from where they take around 20 days to travel overland or along the Nile to Qūṣ (640 kilometres). Their caravans then travel across the ’Aydhāb desert for 15 days, a distance of about 120 kilometres, to al-Quṣayr on the Red Sea. This is one of Egypt’s oldest Red Sea ports; it was in the past what the Port of Suez is today. This small village was in the hands of the Beja Arabs8 who would carry

8 It is said that the Beja tribe [Ar. Bijāh or Bijh] are Berbers who lived in the Eastern deserts of Egypt, in an area stretching from Suwākin to a village said to be called al-Ḥażiyyah, in the Qūṣ desert. This desert is home to gold, silver, emerald and iron mines. Some old caves and mines go back to the time of the Ancient Egyptians, although others date from the time of Muhammad ʿAlī Pāshā, governor of Egypt. In the first and second centuries AH the Arabs mined metals here, and in particular ores, in agreement with the Beja ruler whose capital was at Aswan. The Muslims had been greatly harmed by him and his country, so the believers sent al-Maʿmūn, ʿAbd Allāh bin al-Jahm, to him. There was a battle between them which concluded with an agreement with the Beja chief. We quote sections of it here so that you may see the extent of Muslim cooperation with the people under their protection, and so that you may see that there was no difference between how these people were treated and how [Page 42] the Muslims were treated:

ʿThis is written by ʿAbd Allāh bin al-Jahm, Prince of the Believers, Commander of the Army, Deputy of Prince Abī Isḥāq, the son of the Prince of the Believers al-Rashīd, in the month of Rabiʿ al-Awwal 216 [AH], to Kanūn bin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, chief of the Beja at Aswan. You asked me to provide safety to you and to your Beja countrymen, and I affirm to you and to them the protection of every Muslim. I respond that I pledge to you the protection that I and we have agreed in this contract, that your country might rest easy, from the border at Aswan, Egypt, to the border that lies between Dahīlah and Bādī [Massawa, Eritrea], as a possession of al-Maʿmūn ʿAbd Allāh bin Hārūn, Prince of Believers. You and all your countrymen are slaves of al-Maʿmūn, but you are the King of the Beja. You must pay each year the land tax: 100 camels and 300 dinars, weighed at the treasury, to the Prince of Believers and to his State. You may not destroy anything to avoid the tax. Everyone must acknowledge God’s Messenger Muhammad, his religion and the Book of God, and must not harm or kill any Muslim, slave or free, for they are under the protection of God and of his Messenger, and of the Prince of Believers, who will take his blood just as he takes the blood of the unbelievers and their descendants. You must not aid those who fight against the people of Islam, either by giving them money or by informing them of any weakness on the part of the Muslims, [Page 43] for he will revoke the protection given by his oath and shed his blood. You must not kill any Muslim, either on purpose or inadvertently, slave or free, or anyone under Muslim protection. You must not attack any Muslim or anyone under Muslim protection in Beja-held, Muslim or Nubian territory, either on land or at sea. The one who kills a Muslim must pay ten diyuḥ [blood money], a tenth for a Muslim slave and a tenth for a non-Muslim in money. If a Muslim enters Beja lands in order to trade, stay, pass through or en route to carry out the pilgrimage, then he must travel safely as one of you until he leaves your lands. If you do not offer hospitality to a Muslim when he passes through, then you must return it to the Muslims, and you must return the Muslim’s money if you do not provide the provisions he needs whilst in your lands. If you go down to Upper Egypt to trade or pass through, do not carry weaponry and do not go into the towns and villages; likewise, do not prevent Muslims from entering your lands and trading there by land or sea. Do not frighten those on the road and do not close the road to a Muslim or an unbeliever. Do not rob Muslims or

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pilgrims across the ‘Aydāb desert by camel. [Page 42] They were completely lacking in manners and morals, and were without compassion or mercy. They are reported to have sometimes changed the watercourses used by caravans for nefarious purposes, so that the caravan’s occupants would die of thirst and they could take their belongings.

The tomb of Abī al-Ḥassan al-Shādhiḍi is located in this desert, close to the place where Amtān is said to have died and been buried in 656 [AH], on his way to the Hijaz.

Pilgrims would have to stay in ’Aydāb for up to a month, waiting for feluccas to take them to Jeddah. They call these boats jalāb (singular jalbah), and they are small, lightly-built ships, most often with wicker sails. Their owners exploit pilgrims: they take on more cargo than they can carry, and so the boats often sink in the middle of the sea. It is the pilgrims who are the victims of the greed of these evil men. Those who make it arrive at Jeddah in about two weeks. During the journey they are at the mercy of boatman’s skill, [Page 43] the to-ing and fro-ing of the wind, the tossing of the waves and the currents of the air. Ibn Jubayr, originally from al-Andalus, travelled to the pilgrimage in this way in 579 [AH]; he had a terrible journey, travelling from Cairo to Jeddah in around two and a half months. In 725 [AH] Ibn Baṭṭūṭah travelled from Cairo to al-Quṣayr, but failed to find a boat to take him to Jeddah with the other pilgrims due to the fact that the ships in the harbour had all been set on fire during a battle that had taken place there between the Turks and the Beja Arabs. He returned to Cairo and went from there to the Levant and then to Baghdad, where he travelled with the Iraqi mahmil the following year. The al-Quṣayr route is very old; the road between Qift and al-Quṣayr was built by Ramses III in the 12th Century BC in order to facilitate trade between Egypt, the Yemen, India and the Arabs [i.e. the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula], who came to Egypt to trade or to settle. In the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus – 230 BC – this route became very important as it was the only port that allowed trade between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean and vice versa. It was he who dug most of the wells along this road, as well as building trading depots and guarding it. He also built the city of Berenice (’Aydāb), which he named after his mother and which was located to the south of al-Quṣayr. This road remained the only way to travel to the pilgrimage from Egypt from the first century until 645 [AH], when Shajarat al-Durr travelled overland with the pilgrimage caravan to Mecca for the first time, going via Aqaba. This latter route increased in importance in 660 [AH] when al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī [Baibars]’s caravan used it, carrying with them the kiswa he had made for the Ka’bah and the key he had made for its door. From that point onwards the number of pilgrims travelling via al-Quṣayr began to decrease. It remained, however, on the trade route between east and west.

The city of ’Aydāb had two governors: a Bedouin governor chosen from amongst the leaders of the Beja, and a governor appointed by the ruler of Egypt. They charged North African pilgrims passing through the town ten pounds and the others seven, splitting their takings between them. This levy continued until the Ayuybids Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [Saladin] did away with it in 590 [AH], compensating Sharīf Mukaththir ibn Ḥisā [of Mecca] for it. The sharīfs that followed him reinstated it for those heading to Mecca, until King al-Nāṣir al-Sharīf ’Aḥfah ibn Abī Namī cancelled it in 721 [AH] in return for an annual tax on the wheat being sent to Mecca.

unbelievers of their money. Do not destroy mosques built by Muslims in safety across your lands. If you do so, we have no agreement and there is no protection and so on. This goes for everything we have said.’

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Muḥammad ʿAlī Pāshā also saw the importance of this road: he made it easier to travel and rebuilt the wells. He built the English Well (the water is salty) that is reached by going down 300 steps and is still well-known today. The stopping points along the road are Qift, the well of ʿAnbar, al-Laqaṭah, al-Wakālah, al-ʿAnbajah (the water here is bitter) and al-Quṣayr.

It appears that the al-Quṣayr Road was used for trade right up until the Cairo-Suez Railway was built in the time of Saʿīd Pāshā, replacing the horse-drawn carriages Muḥammad ʿAlī Pāshā had arranged to carry tourists along the desert road from Cairo. There was a special office for these carriages, known as the Traffic Office [Ar. dīwān al-maṭūr], located on the left of the entrance to al-Mūsūkī [in Cairo]. Today it is the Old Vegetable Market. Despite all this, the port at al-Quṣayr still serves traffic between Upper Egypt and the Hijaz, exporting grains to Jeddah and importing carpets, pepper and [Page 45] Senna leaves. There was a big market for Senna in Qena until the Suez canal was dug and the number of steamships using the Red Sea increased.

Some pilgrims used to travel from Suez to Jeddah by means of sailing boats, a journey of about twenty days, but most of them travelled with the mahmil or in another caravan via Aqaba, taking about fifty days to reach Mecca. The first people to go and return safely via this route were Prince Jamāl al-Dīn al-Istādār and his son Shahāb al-Dīn, Prince of the mahmil in 809 [AH]. When the party arrived at ʿAjrūd (the stop before Suez), the Prince ordered that the pilgrimage be recorded, arranging those present and giving them a specific place in the caravan according to their standing and role. He ordered the party from the vanguard to the rear-guard, lining its flanks with soldiers and putting those in charge of the cargo and money in the middle.

The overland route is very arduous, especially between Suez and Aqaba. It is no less than 300 kilometres, all of it soft sand into which the camels sink. The road is impossible to find except by means of towers built for that reason, which resemble windmills. There is little water, but plenty of hardship. Some of the villages along the way have stores of food, ammunition and camel fodder and places for the pilgrims’ baggage which they can send ahead of them for a fee, so that they do not have to deal with the difficulty of carrying it on the road. These villages also have companies of soldiers who guard the road.

Here are the names of the stopping points through which pilgrims pass on the overland route from Cairo to Mecca, along with the travel time between them for the mahmil caravan (this is the fastest caravan, and the caravan with the best camels and organisation).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stopping Point</th>
<th>Time from Cairo (hours)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barakat al-Ḥājj</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White House, where the palace of ʿAbbās Pāshā I is located, followed by the Green House</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿAjrūd, 20km south-east of Suez, the point of return for well-wishers, the ill and those unable to continue</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Page 46] First, second and third towers – the ground in this section is soft, with moving sand on both sides (the towers are built to guide travellers and look like mills)
Al-ʿAlwah

Janādil Ḥasan (sand)

Nakhl village – here there are date palms [Ar. nakhl], trees, a fort, a caravanserai built by al-Ghūrī, and a waterwheel built by al-Malik Nāsir Ḥasan. To the side are three cisterns that hold 3,000 qurbah of water. They were used during the pilgrimage season – the government would send four bulls, which continued to work the waterwheel and fill the cisterns until the pilgrimage parties returned to Egypt.

Qarīṣ Well – also known as the Well of ʿAbbās’ Mother because the mother of ʿAbbās Pāshā I rebuilt it (the water is putrid).

Aqaba – from the west you must climb to the summit of a large cliff. To go down the eastern side, you must cross undulating, rocky ground, as well as soft, sandy ground and rough, gravelly terrain. Then you must pass through the Lāẓ Ravine which is only wide enough for one camel at a time. The road that winds through this defile was rebuilt by Ibn Ṭūlūn, and then rebuilt by Muḥammad bin Qalāwūn, and then ʿAbbās Pāshā I. Nonetheless, travellers passing through the ravine must still dismount from their mules and go on foot until they reach Aqaba after six hours of descent and twelve of ascent. Beyond this obstacle [Ar. al-ʿAqaba] lies the village of Aqaba, also known as Aylah⁹. At this point the leader of the pilgrimage separates out those who are unable to continue due to illness [Page 47] or poverty – this is the case for many people after the descent from ʿArafah. He gives them the necessary supplies of food and hires a boat to take them to either Egypt or Jeddah.

From Aqaba, pilgrims head south until they arrive at the next stopping point.

Zahr Ḥīmār – the road leading to it runs between two mountains alongside the sea; this section must be passed one camel at a time.

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⁹ Aylah is a very old town, inhabited since ancient times. In the time of Solomon [Ar. Sulaymān] son of David [Ar. Dawūd], it was a large port, a stopping-off point for goods and travellers heading towards the Levant from the Yemen, India [Page 47] and Persia. The overland route from the Yemen to Petra also passed through it, but when Solomon died overland trade decreased. The town had large markets and was a centre for trade between Egypt, the Arab lands, Persia and Iraq. When the Prophet came to Tabūk in 9 AH, its ruler, Ibn Ruʾbah, gave it to the Prophet, who imposed the jiziyah. The Prophet gave a pledge as follows:

'In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. This protection is from God and the Prophet Muḥammad his Messenger. Greetings to Ibn Ru bah and the people of Aylah. Their bishops and their travellers are under the protection of God and of the Prophet both on land and on the sea, and under the protection of his followers from the Levant, the Yemen and the sea. Anyone who harms them will not be protected by his money […].’

This was written by Jahm bin al-Ṣalt and Shirr Ḥubayl bin Ḥashmah with the blessing of the Prophet. In 566 [AH], during the Crusades, the Franks took possession of the city. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [Saladin] came from Egypt with a party of men on camels carrying their own water. He arranged his party and sent them into the sea, and they surrounded the city on land and from the sea, taking it by force and expelling the Franks.

Today, Aylah is a small village controlled by the Huwaytāt tribe. It has a fort, built by Sultan Murād IV and guarded by a few soldiers. Its population is no more than a hundred. There are palm groves and trees, the water is fresh, and vegetables are grown there. Maʿān is approximately 200 kilometres to the east, but the road there is difficult, passing through the Sarawāt [more precisely, the Midian] Mountains which are covered with ice throughout the winter. Jerusalem is 200 kilometres to the north-west; the road to it has little water and is rocky. Suez is 300 kilometres away.
To the Sharfā (called Umm li-'Azām)  

Mughāyr Shu’ayb (here you can find palm groves, orchards and fresh water)  

Al-Qaṣḥ Springs (here there is water, as well as date palms, acacia trees and wild roses)  

Al-Muwayliḥ – here there is a fort built by Sultan Saлим and manned by soldiers. The climate here is humid and unhealthy. The place’s inhabitants trade in charcoal produced from the tamarisk bushes that grow in abundance in the neighbouring valleys. From here it is around 100 kilometres to Tabūk.  

Sāmī (Kafāfah) – en route to this place is the Old Man’s Cut Ravine, which you must pass through one-by-one. This valley has dwarf palms, orchards and tamarisk bushes.  

‘Antar’s Stable – a flat area surrounded by mountains with three wells  

Al-Wajih (I will discuss this further in the section on the road to Medina) – from here the road to al-‘Alā goes to the east, the road to Yanbu’ to the south, and the road to Medina to the south-east.  

‘Akrah (no water)  

Al-Ḥanak (no water)  

Al-Hūrā’ – here there is a ravine that must be traversed one-by-one, and the ground is soft and sandy.  

Al-Khaḍīrah – here there is copper, and the ground is firm  

Yanbu’ – here the mahmil enters slowly to a great celebration. This the Red Sea port for Medina (I will discuss this further in the section on the road to Medina)  

Al-Saqīfah (salt water)  

Mastūrah (fresh water)  

Rābigh – this is a village half an hour from the sea and with a fort manned by soldiers, a store of provisions for the mahmil party, and freshwater cisterns. This is the miṣqāl [the place where pilgrims must enter the state of ritual purity] for Mecca [Page 49] and the point where the road to Medina splits into three branches: the Sultan’s Road, the back road and the Ghāyr Road  

Bīr al-Hindī/al-Qaḍīmah (sometimes spelt al-Qaḍīmah) – a village by the sea, with salty water. From here you head south-east.  

Translated by Nathan Mair, Durham University, 2021
ʿAsfān (where al-Tiflah well is located – fresh water) – here there is a defile about a kilometre long that must be passed through one-by-one

The Valley of Fāṭimah (Mirr Valley) or Mirr al-Zahrān, then to the grave of the Prophet’s wife Maymūnah and then to al-ʿAmrah al-Jaḍīdah, the edge of the haram from this direction and the closest point to it. People come here for the umrah, and there is a prayer room to the right of the road.

Mecca

Total 347

Assuming that a camel travels at four kilometres per hour, and that the overland route from Egypt to Mecca is approximately 1,400km, a pilgrim could travel it in around forty days. Now, however, Egyptian pilgrims take the train to Suez and then travel under sail to Jeddah, from where they can go up to Mecca. This takes less than a week. Those who go to Medina first can take the Hijaz Railway, and then return with the caravan to Mecca or to Egypt via Jeddah.
Map of the Islamic World and the routes to the Holy Cities

Notes:
1) The countries shown are the Islamic countries throughout the world and in western Asia and North Africa. It is estimated that there are 320 million Muslims, and that the total population of the world is a thousand million (a billion).
2) The small black lines denote the sea around the edges of the continents.
3) The long lines denote shipping routes and their ports of call.

Top Line: Friday prayers at the Haram in Mecca in October 1325 [AH]
Bottom line: Printing and publishing rights belong to Rāsim al-Lawā’ Ibrahīm Raf at Pāshā, Prince of the Egyptian Hajj, 1325

Al-Mu’allā Cemetery, Mecca, containing the qubbahs of Sayyidat Kharījah, ‘Abd al-Muṭallib, Abū Ṭālib and others.

Top: An approximate plan of Khadījah’s house, famous for being the birthplace of Fātimah (Mecca)
Bottom: An approximate plan of the birthplace of the Prophet, or the house of ‘Abd Allāh bin ‘Abd al-Muṭallib (Mecca)

Map of Mecca

His Royal Highness the Khedive going to visit His Excellency the Sharīf, who had been waiting for him at the camp at Mina

Top: The Pilgrims at Mount Arafat, 1320 [AH]
Bottom: Printing and Publishing rights Rāsim al-Lawā’ Ibrahīm Raf at Pāshā, Prince of the Egyptian Hajj, 1320 [AH]

Top: The stoning of the devil, middle jamrah, Mina, 1325 [AH]
Bottom: Printing and Publishing rights Rāsim al-Lawā’ Ibrahīm Raf at Pāshā, Prince of the Egyptian Hajj, 1325

Map of Mount Arafat and the Pilgrims’ camp there
Picture of His Royal Highness the Khedive’s retinue, including both civilians and those from the military. With them is the Prince of the Egyptian Ḥājj and the officers, Mina.

Box, top left: Map of the routes to the Holy Cities from the Levant, Egypt and parts of the Arabian Peninsula

A general view of Medina

The 'Anbariyyah Gate (also known as the Rashādī Gate) at Medina

His Royal Highness the Khedive’s arrival at Medina railway station

His Royal Highness’ camp at Medina

The Gate of Peace [Ar. Bāb al-Salām] at the Prophet’s Mosque

The Noble Garden [Ar. al-Rawḍah al-Sharīfah] and the area to the east of it, Prophet’s Mosque

[No heading; a plan of the Prophet’s Mosque and its environs in Medina]

The Prophet’s qiblah in the Noble Garden

The Gate of Mercy [Ar. Bāb al-Raḥmah] at the Prophet’s Mosque

Top half: Approximate plan of the Prophet’s house in Medina. [North to the right] Bottom half: A drawing of the Noble maqṣūrah where his [the Prophet’s] grave is located. The graves of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are next to it.

The Mosque of Sayyid Ḥamzah surrounded by visitors to Medina

Al-Baqī' and Medina Cemetery. The qubbah of Sayyid ʿUthmān ʿAlī is to the right. To the right of that is the Imam Mālik [Mālik ibn Anas], then the qubbah of the Prophet’s wives, the qubbah of Sayyid Ibrāhīm, the Prophet’s son, then the large qubbah in which there are two graves: that of Sayyid ‘Abbās and of Sayyid al-Ḥasan bin ‘Alī, God protect them all.
The civilian party and the people of Medina on their return from the pilgrimage

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The Egyptian *takiyah* in Medina

pp246-247
The Pharaoh’s treasury, Petra