

Al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāzīyah li-Walī al-Ni‘am al-Ḥājj ‘Abbās Ḥilmī Bāshā al-Thānī Khidīwi Miṣr

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

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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.

From the time when these lands were 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 Muḥammad 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 Ḥilmī 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 Ramaḍān, 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 *awqāf*); Ḥussayn Muḥarram Pāshā, the Khedive’s *aide-de-camp* and officer of guests for this blessed journey (War Office); Muḥammad ‘Azzat Pāshā, head of the Turkish Court; Aḥmad Khayrī Pāshā, minister of the private *awqāf*; Aḥmad Sādiq Bey (Private Office of the Khedive); Maḥmūd Bey Muḥammad, chief secretary of the esteemed party; His Excellency the Sheikh Muḥammad Shākir from al-Azhar; Mr Muḥammad al-Biblāwī, a scholar from al-Azhar and the Khedivial Library [Page 8] of Egypt; and the Sheikh Muḥammad ‘Āshūr, 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 Ḥussayn Kāmil 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*, Fathīyyah 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 Sa'ad Island, whilst the second is called Sa'īd 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.

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.

[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 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 'Uthmān, God preserve him, made it the port of Mecca. Before that, the port of Mecca was at a village called al-Shu'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. Kathīr 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-Shu'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 (*Haematoxylum*²). 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

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

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.

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.

Muḥammad ʿAli 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. ʿUthmān Pāshā Nūrī installed pipes in 1302 [AH] to carry water from al-Raghāmah 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.

[Page 16] 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 Ḥaḍramawt, 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 Jeddah *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 Ḥaḍramawt, 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 Ḥaḍramawt.

There are two schools in Jeddah: Al-Iṣlāḥ 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-İslāh 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 *khutūb* or a little counting. The city has four mosques: the Ḥanafī Mosque, the Shāfa‘ī Mosque, the Mālikī Mosque and the Mosque of Sayyidī ‘Akāshah, 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

[Page 18] 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 Quḍā‘ah 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 [Page 19] 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-Diḥāk 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,

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

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 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 ‘Awn 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 ‘Alī Bey and Faysal Bey, and Sharīf Zayd Injāl 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 [Page 23] 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.

Before dawn on Wednesday 2nd Dhū al-Hijjah, 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 Bīshah⁴ 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-Ṣadafī, Mufti 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*, Hussayn 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'im, 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

⁴ The Bīshah 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 Sharīf's military is made up of them.

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 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 Baḥrah, 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-Kashshāf*] (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 Ghālīb or Muḥammad 'Alī, 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 *Maḥrūsah* 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 Fāṭimah 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 Kāzīm 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 Baḥrah 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

⁵ Translator's note: other sources record al-Zamkhasharī's place of death as Gurgānj, in what is now northern Turkmenistan.

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 Baḥrah 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.

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 Baḥrah, 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 *shāhāniyyah* soldiers who lined the sides of the road as far as al-Ḥamīdiyyah 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 *maḥmil* 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 Mālīkī imam. He performed the *ṭawāf al-quḍūm* and then the *sa' y* along with pilgrims of all different races. At their head were the Egyptian pilgrims. As they carried out the *sa' y*, 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 *sa' y* between al-Ṣafā and al-

Marwah [lit. between the hands of God] 7 times, and the people also performed the *sa'y* 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 *sa'y* 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 *sa'y*, 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 ʿAli 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 [Page 30] 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 ʿAli 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 city⁶. Sometime into the night, she also performed the *ṭawāf al-quḍūm*, and then made *sa'y* 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

⁶ This house was also one of Muḥammad ʿAli Pāshā's, built by his governor over the Hijaz, the excellent Aḥmad Pāshā Yakun.

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. *ulamā*] 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 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 Ka'abah 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 Ḥussayn Muḥarram Pāshā, and then the speaker led the people in prayer under the wall of the Ka'abah, between the *ma'jun* 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-Mu'allāh, Mecca's cemetery just outside its eastern gate, where he began by visiting the tomb of the *Sayyidah*

Khadījah, 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 'Alī 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* Āminah⁷ bint Wahb, the Prophet's mother. 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 [Page 34] were renovated in 1325. The cemetery also houses the tomb of 'Abdullah bin al-Zubayr, whose *qubbah* was destroyed by Sharīf 'Awn al-Rafīq and not rebuilt. There is also the grave of the Prince of the faithful Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr [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'allāh, 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 *maḥmil*. He was welcomed richly and met all of the *maḥmil* 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 [Page 35] 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 Khadījah bint Khuwaylid, the Prophet's wife, where she gave birth to all of her children by Muḥammad. 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 a stone bench [Ar. *maṣṭabah*], about 30cm above the ground, 10 metres long and 4 metres wide. It is used as a *kuttāb* where children learn the Noble Qur'an. On the right are two steps leading to a small door, through which is a narrow

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 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.

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. *wuḍūʿ*]. 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 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 Khadijah 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!

[Page 37] When the Prophet went to Medina, 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib took possession of the house. It was then sold to Mu'āwiyah bin Abī Sufyān, who turned it into a mosque. It was rebuilt during the time of the Abbasid 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 Abī 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-Arḡam 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 [Page 38] 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-Khayruzān, 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-Khayruzān, was rebuilt on the orders of the poor slave to God’s mercy, Jamāl al-Dīn Sharaf al-Islām Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad bin ‘Ali bin Abī Maṣṣūr al-Iṣfahānī, 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 [Page 39] 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‘abah, the Khedive performed *ṭawāf* and then went to visit the *Maqām Ibrahīm*. 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 *qādī*, the *muftī*, the Sheikh of the Mosque, the Mosque administrator, and the commanders of the *shāhāniyyah* 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 ‘Alī Pāshā 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.

His Royal Highness spent Monday 7th Dhū al-Ḥijjah receiving many visitors. In the evening he performed the *ṭawāf* 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-Ḥaziyyah, 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 Muḥammad ‘Alī 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-Ma’mūn, ‘Abd 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:

‘This is written by ‘Abd Allāh bin al-Jahm, Prince of the Believers, Commander of the Army, Deputy of Prince Abī Ishāq, the son of the Prince of the Believers al-Rashīd, in the month of Rabī‘ al-Awwal 216 [AH], to Kanūn bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, 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 they have agreed in this contract, that your country might rest easy, from the border at Aswan, Egypt, to the border that lies between Dahlak and Bādi‘ [Massawa, Eritrea], as a possession of al-Ma’mūn ‘Abd Allāh bin Hārūn, Prince of Believers. You and all your countrymen are slaves of al-Ma’mūn, 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 Muḥammad, 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

pilgrims across the ‘Aydhāb 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-Shādhilī 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 ‘Aydhāb 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 *maḥmil* 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 (‘Aydhāb), 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-Zāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī [Baibars]’s caravan used it, carrying with them the *kiswah* he had made for the Ka‘abah 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 ‘Aydhāb 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

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 *diyyah* [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 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.’

African pilgrims passing through the town ten pounds and the others seven, splitting their takings between them. This levy continued until the Ayyubid Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [Saladin] did away with it in 590 [AH], compensating Sharīf Mukaththir ibn ʿĪsā [of Mecca] for it. The sharīfs that followed him reinstated it for those heading to Mecca, until King al-Nāṣir al-Sharīf ʿAṭīfah ibn Abī Namī cancelled it in 721 [AH] in return for an annual tax on the wheat being sent to Mecca.

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 Qifṭ, the well of ʿAnbar, al-Laqaṭah, al-Wakālah, al-ʿAnbah (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-marūr*], located on the left of the entrance to al-Mūskī [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 *maḥmil* 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 *maḥmil* 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 *maḥmil* caravan (this is the fastest caravan, and the caravan with the best camels and organisation).

	Time from Cairo (hours)
Barakat al-Hājj	6
White House, where the palace of ʿAbbās Pāshā I is located, followed by the Green House	14

‘Ajrūd, 20km south-east of Suez, the point of return for well-wishers, the ill and those unable to continue	12
[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)	8
Al-‘Alwah	6
Janādil Ḥasan (sand)	11
Nakhl village – here there are date palms [Ar. <i>nakhl</i>], 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 <i>qurbah</i> 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.	12
Qarīṣ Well – also known as the Well of ‘Abbās’ Mother because the mother of ‘Abbās Pāshā I rebuilt it (the water is putrid).	12
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 Lāz 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 ‘Abbās 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. <i>al-‘Aqabah</i>] lies the village of Aqaba, also known as Aylah ⁹ . 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	7

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 Ru’bah, 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 Ḥashnah 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 Ḥuwayṭāt 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. Ma‘ān 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.

for many people after the descent from ‘Arafah. 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 Ḥimār – the road leading to it runs between two mountains alongside the sea; this section must be passed one camel at a time.	9
[Page 48] To al-Sharfā (called Umm li-‘Azām)	14
Mughāyr Shu‘ayb (here you can find palm groves, orchards and fresh water)	12
Al-Qaṣb Springs (here there is water, as well as date palms, acacia trees and wild roses)	14
Al-Muwayliḥ – here there is a fort built by Sultan Salīm 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.	12
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.	12
‘Antar’s Stable – a flat area surrounded by mountains with three wells	12
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.	12
‘Akrah (no water)	16
Al-Ḥanak (no water)	12
Al-Hūrā’ – here there is a ravine that must be traversed one-by-one, and the ground is soft and sandy.	14
Al-Khaḍīrah – here there is copper, and the ground is firm	15
Yanbu‘ – here the <i>maḥmil</i> 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)	10
Al-Saqīfah (salt water)	18
Mastūrah (fresh water)	10
Rābiḡ – this is a village half an hour from the sea and with a fort manned by soldiers, a store of provisions for the <i>maḥmil</i> party, and freshwater cisterns. This is the <i>mīqāt</i> [the place where pilgrims must enter the state of ritual	14

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-Qadīmah (sometimes spelt al-Qadīmah) – a village by the sea, with salty water. From here you head south-east. 12

Khalīṣ 6

‘Asfān (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 8

The Valley of Fāṭimah (Mirr Valley) or Mirr al-Zahrān, then to the grave of the Prophet's wife Maymūnah and then to al-‘Amrah al-Jadīdah, the edge of the *ḥaram* 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. 15

Mecca 4

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.

Noble Mecca

[Page 49] Mecca - also called Bakkah, and the Mother of Villages - is a city rising about 330 metres above sea level. It is situated on an expanse of land which stretches from 21 degrees of latitude and 38 degrees of longitude, to 40 degrees of latitude and 9 degrees of longitude. The construction of Mecca dates back to the time of [Page 50] Ibrahim and his son Isma'il. Ibrahim's tribe lived in pitched tents until Qusayy ibn Kilab returned from the Levant, in the second century after the Hijra. Qusayy ibn Kilab built houses and homes around the Ka'aba, and so the number of the city's buildings has increased up to the present day, when it has become the capital (or kasbah) of the Hijaz region. The seat of government [for the region] is within Mecca, where it is divided into two departments: the administrative, which is under the command of the Sharif, named Sayyid al-Jami'; and the financial and military department, which is under the command of the governor, who is usually Turkish. The Sharif only considers and rules on exceptional cases, according to the systems used by the leaders of both the Arabs and the non-Arab peoples. As regards smaller cases, a judge appointed by the Sultan rules on these.

The city of Mecca is around three kilometres in length from west to east. Close to half of this expanse lies in the Mā'il valley, stretching from north to south, and is bordered by a chain of mountains. Two of these mountains almost reach the eastern, southern and western face of the city – I mean to say, they stretch almost to the three gates of Mecca, and so you cannot see the city's buildings until you reach the doors of the city itself. The northern chain of mountains is made up of the al-Falaj mountain in the west, followed by the Quaiqian mountain, then the mountain of al-Hindi, and then the La'la' and Kadā mountains. The mountain chain begins with the first one, and stretches until the very last, which is the highest point around Mecca. Mohammed, the Messenger of God, entered Mecca from one of its sides, at the time Islam was beginning to spread. As for the southern chain of mountains, it is made up of the mountain of Abu Ḥadīda in the west, which curves around the two mountains of Kadā (joined on one side to the first mountain, and with thousands of palm trees on the other side), and Kadī (a smaller mountain), whose edges lie in the south; then there is the mountain of Abu Qubays to the east of these two mountains, and then the mountain of Khandama. At the foot of all these mountains, and beside the Holy Mosque (al-Masjid al-Ḥaram), you see the area populated with houses and homes, which advance gradually along to the heart of the valley. The number there reaches around seven thousand houses, big and small among them, which at the time of this Hajj hold at least 200,000 souls. The homes there are almost the same as homes in Jeddah; they do not have courtyards, except in the largest and greatest houses. The greatest home there is called al-Qarāra, meaning "the lowest-lying place". Despite this, it does not date from the beginning of the city, nor is it the greatest of its standing among the ruins of ancient buildings in the city, which are reminiscent of what exists in great quantity in Egypt and the Levant – except for the house of the Sharif, Nāṣir Pasha, which has grand views and shows the beauty of Arab craftsmanship in a great place, and it is true that it is the most beautiful house in Mecca. Inside some of these homes are the interiors of ancient houses, so you may see the house of Ibn Abbas in the Mas'aa (the area between the two mountains of Safa and Marwa, walked by Muslim pilgrims) on the right-hand side. To the north-east of the Holy Mosque are the ruins of the house of Abu Sufyan.

[Page 51] The ruins were famous during both the Jahiliyya and in Islam, but it has been neglected and people do not care about it; it is as if they do not know that the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), made it an important matter on the day of conquest (Fath), and so he made it a sacred and respected sanctuary. Whoever from among the idol-worshippers

entered it would have been safe, had the municipal council in Mecca lent to it an iota of their care.

The Holy Mosque is in-between these houses, and leans towards the south side of the land dominated by the Abu Qubays mountain. On this side is the House of Bamboo, which the people of the Bani Hashim – also called the people of Ali, then the people of the Mawlud (Birth), then the people of Bani Amir – turn eastwards around. On this side, too, are the homes of the Bani Abd al-Muttalib. Nowadays, most of the Sharifs in what remains of the Quraysh tribe were on the other side of the Holy Mosque, especially on the northern side, apart from the other peoples of Mecca.

In the centre of Mecca is a road that cuts through the city from west to east; it is the largest of the city's streets. Its name varies depending on the areas it passes through, as it begins in the west in Jarwal, which is what the neighbourhood by the city's gate is called. Then the gridline runs until it arrives at the northern side of the Holy Mosque (where it is called the "Northern Road"), and then it turns to the south, on the right-hand side of the Holy Mosque. Here the area is called al-Souq al-Sagheer (the "Small Market"), then there is Ajyad, where the postal and telegraph offices are, along with the Egyptian shrine and the Ottoman government building. They call this area al-Hamidiyah. Then the road goes through the al-Safa hill, along the route called al-Mas'aa, then arrives at Qashishiyah, and then at the Souq al-Layl (the "Night Market"). Then the road comes to the eastern gate of Mecca, or the High Gate. As for the streets north of the Holy Mosque, there is the Shamiyah road (or the "Levantine" road), where there is the Souq al-Madineh (the city market), al-Qarara (the "low-lying place"), al-Naqa, al-Suleimaniyah, al-Jadriyah, and al-Baradiyah. These roads vary in size from two metres across to fifteen metres, and at the time of the Hajj a great quantity of mud and filth could be seen in them. It is the duty of the municipal council in Mecca to take care of the roads by cleaning them, especially during a season where there is little light at night. To do so is to be in the service of religion and mankind. During this season, you see the people of the country – and especially the Arabs among them – always plugging their nostrils with cotton. They sew the two cotton pieces together with thread and hang them around their necks, until they perceive some dirt, whereupon they raise the cotton pieces to their nose. If they find that these pieces harm more than they help, they do not disregard their use because the function of the filter is to purify the air of dirt, so it arrives at the lungs clean. If the corrupted air enters the lungs by way of the mouth, it will do so containing foreign matter, which will then enter the blood and have a violent effect on the body. God is the only refuge [as Sura 3:36 says].

[Page 52] As for the upper-class – and especially among the Arab upper-class – they use the end of their keffiyeh (which they use for a prayer cap, or taqiyah) by placing it against their mouths and firmly fixing it in their turbans or iqals to protect themselves from the cold or from foul odours.

All the peoples of the Islamic world, from everywhere it is inhabited, go towards Mecca when it is time for the Hajj. As such, one can see the varied clothes and different appearances of these people, such that it is indeed worthy of being called an "exhibition" of the Islamic world. In Mecca, I saw a Japanese man who was one of the most important leaders of Japan. He had become a Muslim, and he was present to perform the obligation of the Hajj pilgrimage. Mecca does not have public spaces or squares for these people, save for the seven courtyards of the Holy Mosque, which serve the function of these large squares.

The Syrians and North Africans have become accustomed to staying on the northern side of Mecca during the Hajj season, while the Afghanis and Suleimanis (peoples from Kandahar) stay on the north-eastern side of the city. The Indians and the Javanese are on the north-western side, while those from Yemen, Turkistan and Dagestan stay in the Misfalah neighbourhood. The number just for those who stay in the centre of the city, and for the people of Mecca, reaches around 150 thousand people¹⁰, of which five thousand are the people of the city, and the rest are foreigners, as can be seen in the following list:

50 thousand people
25 thousand Arabs
20 thousand Bukharans (people descended from Uzbeks and Uyghurs in the Arabian Peninsula)
21 thousand Indians
15 thousand Javanese
10 thousand Suleimanis and Afghans
5 thousand Syrians
5 thousand North Africans
8 thousand other peoples
150 thousand people in total.

[Page 53] Here, I will mention to you the ancient houses which have long been used as homes in Mecca. Within them are those who have become famous for their prominence and prosperity:

Among the Indians: the houses of Khuqeer, Fatā, al-Dahalwā, al-Sāb, Hakeem, al-Radhah, al-Nāqru, Mayrah, al-Maftā, Abd al-Shakūr, Abd al-Haqq, Bishārah, al-Marzā, Ahmadūh, Kamāl, Jān, Shalhoub, Nour, al-Tayyib, Dastāniyah, Khūj, al-Washkalā, Walī, Sanbal, Khūjuh Bakr, al-Maskā, Ilyās, al-Zar'ah, al-Qara', al-Hujīmā.

Among the Javanese: the houses of al-Bitāwā, al-Mankābū, Zaynā, Arshad, al-Fantiyānā, al-Falambāb, Quds, Dūm, etc.

Among the Bukharans: the houses of Kashak, al-Fāshaqlā, al-Andījān, etc.

Among the Hadhrami people: the houses of Bāhāris, Bājanīd, Bāhakīm, Bādhar'ih, Bā'īsā, Bā'ish, etc.

Among the Syrians: the houses of Hāshim, al-Jabrā, al-Khashīfānī, etc.

Among the Turks: the houses of al-Darābzanalī, al-Qarmalī, etc.

Among the Egyptians: the houses of al-Qutān, al-Zaqzūq, al-Rashīdī, al-Ruwās, al-Tazār, al-Abāsā, etc.

Some of these differ in the origin of their houses, but we have mentioned these houses on the basis that they are well-known. The purpose of mentioning them here is because they are not Arab.

¹⁰ Populations in the Arab countries have not been recorded today in an official capacity, and all that is known is what is close to the figure. What we have put down here is what we have taken from the state commission, and from others who have recorded what they have said.

From the social mixing of these races, some of these people share kinship with each other or live together, such that the majority of the people of Mecca are mixed as regards their character and disposition. You may see them as having collected in their natures the Anatolian's kindness, the Turk's grandeur, the Javanese's humility, the Persian's arrogance, the Egyptian's tenderness, the Circassian's toughness, calmness from the Chinese, the North African's fierceness, the Indian's simplicity of living, the Armenian's cunning, the Syrian's way of moving, and the laziness of the Zanj. In fact, you will see them as being brought together between the luxury of civilisation and the squalor of the nomadic Bedouin life: you can see for yourself that the man stood in front of you has forgotten to treat you with a modern politeness and humility. You may see him act wild and uncouth with you, and he may speak rudely with you until it is as if the nomadic way of being dominates the civilised way of being in his character, and it is as if he cannot bear what it costs him to be civilised with you.

[Page 54] This mixing has also come to their clothes, such that you see an outfit made up of the different Islamic clothes worn in the country: an Indian turban, worn together with an Egyptian kaftan and a Levantine *jibba* [a coat worn by Muslim men], and a Turkish waistband in which you may see a dagger, which in the cummerbunds worn by noble men may be made of silver or gold and be beautiful in form. You may also see the poor working man wearing a shirt which has a tie made of silk around its collar, and this man will be wearing trousers upon which there is something resembling the powder from rubble, and the man may be going barefoot (for example). Yet you will not observe this in the noble class who believe themselves to be above this mixing; no foreign element may become part of their nature, and no new character or disposition may come to dominate them – especially not their pure “Arab-ness” which they have inherited from their ancestors. Hence, their characters are divided between the generosity of their race and their intelligence of a noble background. As a whole, the characters of the people of Mecca are very much complete, especially among the upper class – may God be satisfied with them - without considering the most ignoble of them.

That this mixing has come to their language may also be regretted, such that you may see them speaking predominantly in a language which is full of distorted Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words, as well as words from other languages. They add “*nūn*” [an “n” sound] to some words, so a sentence like “*hadhā haqq fulān*” (“this is the right of so-and-so”) in formal Arabic, where the letter “*qāf*” [a “q” sound] is substituted for an Egyptian “*jīm*” [a hard “g” sound], and among them are those who extend the nunated letter, so they say: “*hadhā haqqūn fulān*” for this phrase. Some of them make this utterance feminine, so they say “*haqqat fulān*”, and they do not leave off the “*nūn*” from the verb in the plural form, so they say “*hayā ṣalūn al-Maghrab wa arkabūn*” (“they performed the sunset prayer and rode away”), instead of the formal Arabic “*ṣalū*” [“they prayed”] and “*arkabū*” [“they rode”]. They also drop the last letter of a word if you use the vocative case when it's not appropriate, so they say “*qam li'anā*” (“do it for us”) for the formal “*qam li'indanā*”, and “*bil*” for “*al-'ibl*” (“camel”), and they say “*kamnā*” for “*kammalnā*” (“we've finished”), and “*ṣābinī*” for “*muṣibatī*” (“my tragedy” [?]), and “*al-laman*” for “*al-yaman*” (“to whom...”). The word “*daḥīn*” is often heard for the formal “*hadhā l-ḥīn*” (“at this time”), and “*azaham fulān*” is often heard for “*ada' fulānan*” (“I invite so-and-so”). They express the formal word “*rajul*” (“man”) by uttering “*zilmeh*”, and they pluralise the word to make “men” by saying “*awādam*”¹¹; and they say “*zakanuh*” for “*adribuhu*” (“I strike him”), and “*qul kadhā*” for “*'a' malu kadhā*” (“I work like this”). They also say “*abyaḍ*” (“white”) to mean “approval, appreciation”, and “*sana'a*” for “*ṣana'a*” (“to make, fabricate”)

¹¹ The singular form of this word is “adam”, which means in Hebrew “a person”.

or to mean “to be good at, to be skilful at”, as well as “atja ‘amiṣ” for “ijlis” (“sit down”), and “faṣakh ḥadāk” for “akhla‘ ni‘āluka” (“take off your shoes”), and they call an “‘abā’a” (“abaya”, a traditional loose-fitting robe worn by some women in the Muslim world) a “mushallaḥ, and “shāya” for the kaftan. They call wages “amraḥ”, and use the word “al-wadan” for a feddan of land [a unit of measurement in the Arab world, traditionally the area ploughed by two oxen in a day], and call a taqiyah skullcap a “ṣamādeh”.

[Page 55] They say “zakan ‘alayhi” for “akada ‘alayhi” (“he confirmed it”, “he agreed with it”), and use “zhal” to mean “to come, to pass through” and “to leave”, and say “illā” to mean “yes”. They also use “andar” to mean “the furthest (away)” and “aghad” to mean “to go”. They call their children “seeds”, so they say¹² “the seeds of so-and-so” for someone’s offspring. They also say “haraj” to mean “to speak”, so they say “mā harajtuh” to mean “I said it”, and they use the Turkish terms “ṣāqun” for “caution, prudence” and “warning, alarm”, and “qarbūz” for a “melon”. Aside from these Turkish words, they also use many Turkish and Persian terms, like “rūshun” for a “window”. They call the basin of the spring Ayn Zubaydah [a spring which has long supplied water to Mecca] the “Bāzān” which comes from the French word (“bassin”) for the same thing. I believe that this comes from the crude language used by the Turkish engineers who were stationed near this spring in order to repair it, as this language was then used after this in Medina – the Enlightened City – and after the arrival of the railway there. Hence, they say “al-bīlī” to mean a railway ticket (from the French “billette”), and “astāsiyyūn” to mean a station (from “station”), and “shamāndūfir” for the railway track (from “chemin de fer”), and “al-fājūn” for a railway carriage (“wagon”), and “al-bursūnī” for the “workers” (“personnel”). Time does not permit an investigation of these words or others, nor of the many grammatical mistakes, nor the correct grammatical rules which the people of Mecca do not follow and are not concerned with it nor consider it when they speak nor when they write. But while I was feeling sorrowful for the state of the Arabic language, being bartered as it is in the East of the lands it brings light to and where it is inimitable, I came across a French translation of the writing¹³ of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, which he sent to ‘Umar ibn al-Khattāb

¹² The actual verb used in the Arabic original is "fa-yaqūna" ("so they shield"), but given this doesn't seem to make sense in the text, I believe this is a printing mistake and the correct verb is "yaqūluna" ("they say").

¹³ In order for us to demonstrate the merits of this text we have mentioned to you, we include here an eloquent passage from the work:

"I told the Commander of the Faithful [‘Umar ibn al-Khattāb] that Egypt is a place of dusty landscapes and green trees; to cross its lengthways would take a month, and to cross its breadth would take ten days. Sand-coloured mountains surround the country, as do dusty sands, and through its centre runs the blessed River Nile. Journeys in the early morning have auspicious gentle winds, which ebb and flow like the course of the sun and moon over it, such that the springs and sources of the land then appear. The sprinkle of their water scatters all over, and the sound and clamour intensifies until the waves of the river are made great by it, so the water overflows both banks of the river; the people of the villages cannot save each other, except for in the smallest of boats, and in barges and watercraft so light they seem like small shreds of cloud. The evenings at dusk were mild, so if the water level does increase, it turns back on itself as the first sign of water running and rising high. This is when the low people of contemptible faith and dhimmis [a word meaning "protected person", referring to the legal protection of non-Muslim people under a system used in medieval Islamic states] go out to till the earth and turn the soil over, into which they sow grain; they then ask the Lord for it all to grow, and for him to shield them in their efforts and toil. They gain from the land what their grandfathers could not: the tilled earth has become fields, and the water for irrigating this land comes from the dew above ground and in the early mornings from water below ground. Hence, between the two lies the country, O Commander of the Faithful, like a white pearl against black ambergris, and a green emerald on blue silk, may God, the Creator, bless what He wills to be blessed. For the man who reforms these lands, and illuminates them, the people there acknowledge that he will not accept the speech of its lowest people about their leader and that he will not levy a tax on the fruits of the land, except when it is needed, and that he will spend three times what is raised in these monies on the building of bridges and of waterways. Hence, if

to show what he had captured of Egypt, and to describe it and explain to him the policy that was adopted there. This translation was published by the great and famous French writer, Monsieur Octave Osane, in the famous French newspaper, *Le Figaro*, and then it was transferred from there to the French-Egyptian newspaper *Le Progrès [Egyptien]* in its entirety, along with the comments Monsieur Osane made on it. Osane describes the writing of Ibn al-‘Āṣ as containing within it some of the greatest, most eloquent verses of all the languages of the world, and states that it is exceedingly precious for its brevity and inimitability, and he suggests that it be spread among all the schools of the inhabited world so it may be taught, and so its powerful descriptions, and its hard-wearing expressions of its authentic wisdom on the organisation of kingdoms and on the policy of colonialism may be taught.

[Page 56] If – as I myself am – we feel regret for how the Arabic language has been decimated in the very centre of where it continues to be spoken by the descendants of the honourable Qurayshi tribe, whose eloquence is reflected in the Qur’ān - which is a miracle of Islam in its eloquence and expressiveness. Ibn al-‘Āṣ wrote about this in his book while he was living as a nomad, and upon the first appearance of his book, from among some dusty papers, I decided to resurrect it for it to continue to be read in the twenty-first century and granted it the honour and respect appropriate for it. Perhaps, then, we must be proud that Ibn al-‘Āṣ’s book is still used as a textbook in Egypt for its description of nature, which has lasted for thirteen centuries and continues to ring true now and will do until the end of time. Its eloquence has been passed down to the Egyptians who – may God be praised – still speak the Arabic letter “*dād*” as it would have sounded in those days. The eloquence of the speakers, the hard-wearing nature of his book, and the expressiveness of the poets in the time of the great Abbasid state from the second century of Islam, has been brought to Egypt – be this a prophesied good or a good omen for the people, behind which lies (God willing) a serious matter and important questions. Most of the people of Mecca speak in Turkish, and among the pilgrims’ guides in the city, different languages like Hindi, Urdu, Javanese, Persian and Chinese are spoken. As for the Bedouin peoples, their language is an unadulterated Arabic, but their pronunciation varies among the different tribes: among them are those who switch the letter “*qāf*” for a “*zāyy*”, so they say “*dhirba*” instead of “*qirba*” (“waterskin”), while the Utaybah Bedouin tribe in the Arabian Peninsula switches the letter “*kāf*” for a “*sīn*”, so they say [Page 57] “*sawāsib*” for the formal Arabic “*kawākib*” (“planets”, “stars”), and “*salīb*” for “*kalīb*” (“rabies”), and “*sabid*” for “*kabid*” (“liver”). But among the Banū Shaybān [the Shaybān tribe], they say the letter “*kāf*” for a Persian “*jīm*” [in Persian, the letter “*chīm*” - which doesn’t exist in Arabic – makes a “ch” sound], so they say “*chawāchib*” (for “*kawākib*”, “stars”) and “*chalīb*” (for “*kalīb*”, “rabies”). In much the same way, they switch the letter “*qāf*” for this Persian “*jīm*”, so that the formal Arabic “*qirba*” (“waterskin”) becomes “*chirba*”, and so on. Arabs do not utter the letter “*qāf*”, but rather pronounce it like an Egyptian “*jīm*” [a hard “g” sound, like in English “got”]. Among them are those who switch the letter “*mīm*” for a “*bā*”, so they say “*Bakkah*” for “*Makkah*” (Mecca), and “*lāzib*” for the formal “*lāzim*” (“necessary”), and “*rātib*” for “*rātim*” (“involved [in]”), as well as “*nabīṭ*” for “*namīṭ*”. Among them, too, are those who switch the letter “*fā*” for a “*thā*”, so they say “*al-tahannath*” for the formal Arabic “*al-tahannaf*” (“being inclined [towards something]”), or they do the opposite, switching the letter “*thā*” for a “*fā*”, so they say “*fumma*” for “*thumma*” (“then”), and “*‘ajdāf*” for the formal “*‘ajdāth*” (“graves”, “tombs”). And then there are those among them who change other letters in words, as it what happens in the speech of the people of the Hijaz along the route of the Hajj, and in the speech of the people of the Najd region, and so on and so forth.

the situation is decided with those who work in this area, then these monies shall be further multiplied. [May] God Almighty [be praised] for the prosperity and the wealth of the king.”

All the people of Mecca are Muslim, and no non-Muslim has entered the city since the ninth year after the Hijra [630-631 AD], in which this miraculous verse of the Holy Qur'an was revealed: "Believers! The idolators are unclean. Let them not approach the Sacred Mosque after this year is ended"¹⁴ [Ṣūra 9 (al-Tawbah), Verse 28]. It was Ali who, at the celebration which followed the revelation of these holy verses, declared: "After this year [the year after the Prophet's last pilgrimage], no idolator shall complete the Hajj pilgrimage" (Sahih al-Bukhari, Book 25, Hadith 107). This wish for the non-Muslims to be prohibited from undertaking the Hajj pilgrimage and from entering into the holy country, and for the rituals associated with them and their soiled, unclean consciences to be ended, was because of the discord encountered between the tribes of the Muslim Arabs and those who bore grudges against them. This rancour for the clans had the aim of dividing them, behind which lay their weakness.

Therefore, when the Prophet of God died, peace be upon him, the Arabs on either side of the peninsula committed apostasy ten days after the oath of Abu Bakr, and this was due to the influence the idolators held over them. Then Tulayha [ibn Khuwaylid ibn Nawfal al-Asadi] claimed prophethood over them in the north, for the chaos in Yemen and Musaylimah al-Kadhdhāb [Musaylimah the Liar] with his wife Sajāh near al-Yamāma [a region in modern-day Najd, Saudi Arabia] (which is to the west of the land of the Arabs). It wasn't in the middle of the country, so it was there that Abu Bakr called on the Muslims to battle, in order to fight the apostates, and he organised eleven units of the Muslim army. He ordered the Muslims to battle against them, and to accept from them nothing but true Islam. They thus marched on and excelled in their fight, especially the army of Khālid ibn al-Walīd - he who had the greatest success in the people's return to Islam.

After the death of Abu Bakr, Umar followed in his footsteps in cleansing the land of the Arabs of those who had stood against Islam – for they were the people of this land, and deception was within them, as was the capacity for good or for wickedness for their country, or for help or misfortune for their land. The caliphs after him also followed Sunnah, up until today.

[Page 58] The people of the Two Holy Places [Mecca and Medina] are too zealous in their supervision of the foreigners who visit their country, so that these people might not vandalise Jeddah, or Yanbu [in western Saudi Arabia], or Sana'a in the south, or the station of al-'Ula in the north. If one of the foreigners were to do so, then he would only bring about his own demise at the hands of the people of this country! This was therefore why the foreign workers of the Hijaz railway would not leave the train station where they worked, and the government wasn't able to let them to do so at all, even when it was necessary.

As for those Europeans who travelled to Mecca or Medina at different times, and who wrote about both cities with regards to their areas of interest, be these political, religious, architectural or geographical. They also wore the clothes of the Muslims, after they had learned the Arabic language, and they were called to the Islamic religion¹⁵ [i.e. they became Muslims]. Here we

¹⁴ Translator's note: The translation of this Qur'anic verse (Q9:28) is taken from: Dawood, N. J. (2014) *The Koran: With Parallel Arabic Text*. London: Penguin Books; p. 190.

¹⁵ And I see no evidence for this, save to mention to you that there is a picture of the legal declaration that Courtellemont [Translator's note: in the original, Jules-Gervais Courtellemont's name appears to have been misspelled; I was only able to work out it was most likely him from the name of his book, mentioned below] managed to obtain for himself in Mecca (where his name was Abdullah ibn Pallister), or those of others there. His editor was of the Islamic religion, and so he had a photograph of these official documents, which he inserted on page 102 of his book, entitled "My Journey to Mecca" (Mon Voyage à la Mecque). Here is the text of the document:

are concerned with those like the Swiss Burckhardt, the Englishman Burton, the Dutchman Hurgronje, and the Frenchman Courtellemont. The first of these, Burckhardt, came before the others and integrated himself into the countries of the Arabs. Burckhardt – the Swiss one – was from Lausanne, where he was born, and he visited Egypt and gained admission to the Al-Azhar University there, after he'd claimed to be Muslim and he'd renamed himself Ibrahim al-Mahdi. He learned Arabic there, and then he travelled to the lands of the Arabs and stayed there for seven years. He wrote about these countries, and his writings were the best of what any European had written on the state of the lands of the Arabs, and their tribes. He died in Egypt, wearing Islamic clothing, and he was buried in the cemetery of the 'Conquest Gate' [*Bāb al-Futūḥ*], near to the Dome of Sheikh Yunus. Burckhardt's grave is still there, and inscribed on the headstone are the following words:

“He is the one who remains here.

“This is the grave of the deceased – he who has passed unto to the mercy of God Almighty - Sheikh Hajj Ibrahim al-Mahdi ibn Abdullah Burckhardt, of Lausanne. The date of his birth was the 10th of the month of Muḥarram in the year 1199 [AH; 22nd November 1784 AD], and the date of his passing unto the mercy of God, in a well-guarded city of Egypt [Miṣr al-Maḥrūsa], was the 26th of the month of Dhul-Hijjah in the year 1232 AH [5th November 1817].”

It is among the customs of the people of Mecca that they eat twice a day, once at approximately nine o'clock [Page 59] in the morning, and then again after the Asr prayer [when the sun is halfway between noon and sunset]. The people of Mecca tend towards pomposity and plenty of ostentatious boasting, and even the lowest of them imitates that greatest of them in feigning generosity and bravery, especially during the month of Ramadan. In this month, when they break their fast in the holy place – after the Maghrib prayer [performed in the evening] - they stretch out their mats, here and there, to eat from, especially when it's hot; but the virtuous will aid their companions in quitting this habit (and do so absolutely), for the remains of their eating dirties the mosque and so the insects multiple there, as do the cats and other animals. And it is among their customs that the people of Mecca cut the cheeks of their daughters three times on each side, and during a religious trance ceremony [called *al-zār*, this is a sort of exorcism ceremony performed in the Middle East], they bleed their women several times. Some of the

“In the Name of God, He of Mercy, the Most Merciful; Praise Be to the Noble Prophet Spoken of by the Learned Men,

When like the Prophets of the Tribe of Israel, and the Family of All,

The Example of the Learned Men in Flags and the Village Elder of the Honest, Virtuous and Majestic, during the Small Troubles and Removing the Dilemmas of our Lord and our Brother in God, Sheikh Ibn Dhakur, may God Preserve him, Amen.

And after Dedicating yet more Blessings upon you all, and upon him let there be the Mercy of God, and of His Blessings, such that we are Furnished with the Will of God to bring Abdullah ibn Pallister to find Religious Joy in this World and in the Hereafter, through his Admission into Islam. We found him a Believer, Right in his True Desire in Islam, after which it was Necessary for the Wise Men of Islam to share with him their Learning. I sat with him for a period so we might offer unto him a Reason for all that is Good, yet this Fate had already Fallen quickly upon him. Everyone within whom there is a Desire for Islam must take good Care of him with regards to Teaching him what he must Know, and his Desire is ever Greater to Know more. I therefore beg Your Excellency to act upon this, else God deprive both you and us of the True Reward, which is all that there is in Goodness and Happiness.

He who calls to you all with the Goodness

8th Rabi' al-Thani [February 14th]

Mohammed Abid ibn al-Marhum, al-Sheikh Hassan, Mufti of the Malikis in Mecca.

women of Mecca leave for the markets covered in a wide sheet that is mostly black, although it is patched with two small holes for the eyes, and on their feet they wear large slippers which are mostly yellow in colour.

Also among their customs is a celebration they hold in the middle of the [Islamic] month of Safar for the birth of the Lady Maymūna [bint al-Hārith al-Hilālīya, the twelfth wife of Muhammad], near to her burial place in al-Zāhir, on the road to Medina. They therefore raise their tents in the desert there, and they pride themselves on their eating and drinking. And they also celebrate the birth of the Prophet, peace be upon him, in the month of Rabi' Awwal, and they call the birth a "ḥawl" [strength or power, often used in the sense of the will of God], so they say the "ḥawl" [power] of Maymūna, and the "ḥawl" [power] of the Prophet. In the month of Rajab, they celebrate with a visit to [Page 60] Medina al-Munawwara. In the summer, their leaders leave for the city of Taif [near Mecca], and they have two routes: the al-Qāfila route¹⁶, which is around 36 hours away from Mecca, and the al-Baghāl route¹⁷ along the Karā mountain, which is around half the distance [of the al-Qāfila route]. The city of Taif is famous for its excellent air (for this air rises off the ocean's surface for a distance of one hundred metres), and its abundance of orchards and gardens containing fruit. (There's no better climate, save for that in al-Huda, which is a mountain around three hours away from Mecca; it rises about 1,760 metres above sea level, and its people are famous for their beautiful natures and for the smoothness of their skin). In Taif, there are the graves of two virtuous and truly good men: the sons of God's Prophet, peace be upon him, as well as the grave of our lord Abdullah ibn al-'Abbas. The people of al-Yamāma go there to visit his grave before his feast day, for Ibn al-'Abbas especially enjoys their great respect. In the time of ignorance of Islam, the *Jāhiliyya*, there was a temple to the goddesses Al-Lāt and Al-'Uzzā in Taif, and the Thaḳīf and other neighbouring tribes paid devotion to these deities there. The Prophet of God went to the Thaḳīf and the other tribes in the beginning of his prophethood and asked them for their help, but they refused to help him.

Many of the people of Mecca do not go on the Hajj pilgrimage. To protect their houses from the thieves who abound in these times, they remain within them. They stay up all night, firing their guns from every side, to announce they are awake to all those who might approach them with evil intent.

And many shrines are found both within Mecca and outside it, among them the place of the Prophet's birth, peace be upon him, as well as the place of Ali's birth, and that of Fatima's birth, and the House of Rattan, and the Mosques of the Jinn, of al-Rāya, of al-Ajāba, of al-Bī'ya, of Abu Bakr, and of Umar. Also among the blessed places of Mecca is the Ḥirā' cave, which is the cave in which the Prophet, peace be upon him, first devoted himself to God. Its area is close to three metres square, and it is located at the peak of Jabal al-Nūr, the Mountain of Light, which Ali walked from to reach Arafat. It was there that the revelation came down upon him for the first time, may God's peace be upon him. Then there is the Mountain of Thawr, which lies to the south of al-Musafalah, and is two hours away from that city; that is where the cave that the Prophet of God hid in with his companion Abu Bakr is located, when the Prophet wished to flee to Medina al-Munawwara.

¹⁶ [The route passes through] Mecca, Bi'r al-Bārūd (north of Manna), the valley of al-Yamama, Al-Sūlah, Al-Nabīh, Al-Jadīrah, Umm Hamad, and Al-Jīm, [before ending in] Taif.

¹⁷ [The route passes through] Mecca, Minā, Gharfa, Wādī Samār, Wādī al-Nu'mān, Qahwat Shadād, Wādī Kharīf, Al-Ra's, al-Kar, Majma' al-Durūb, 'Ayn al-Mu'sil, al-Hindī, and Bi'r al-'Askar, [before ending in] Taif.

[Page 61] The area of this cave is around two metres and a half square, and its entryway wasn't ever more than around half a metre across, the same as it is high, and so those visiting the cave encountered great struggle in attempting to enter it. Thus the Sharif Aoun al-Rafiq broke it open, according to what has been claimed, and if he had known that it was one of the monuments of the Prophet, may God's prayer and peace be upon him, then he would not have remained there. Within the cave, people recite the miraculous verse [in Arabic, a sign from God] of how a spider wove its web over its entrance after the Prophet had entered the cave, and how pigeons had nested above its entrance; hence the enemies of the Prophet, who were pursuing him, did not see him within. Also among the shrines are the Mountain of Abu Qubais, where there is the Mosque of Bilāl [the first muezzin], and the Mosque of the Split Moon, and the Zāwiyat of al-Senussi, which is of great importance in the Hijaz, and is also a dangerous place. Most of the Arabs there follow al-Senussi.

In Mecca there is a telegraph office and post office, both of them built by the now-deceased Uthman Pasha Nuri, when he also built the House of the (Hamidi) Government, as well as other buildings built when he was the governor of Mecca for the first time in 1886 AD. Yet the telegraph in this city has no system at all, for most of the messages sent do not arrive to their owners; perhaps this stems from the large number of workers sending messages during the time of the Hajj. As for the post, there is nothing like it in the other postal services of the world – for if these written letters are there during the time of the Hajj, in their large bundles, then they are thrown into the narrow post office. The pilgrims' guides may come, or their [serving] boys will come, or the pilgrims themselves will come, so they might sift through the letters and if by chance they find one that bears their name or the name of someone they know, they take it, so most of these letters do not reach their owners. I think that this system is completely unneeded, for the Ottoman Government should be able to increase the number of workers in the post office at the time of the Hajj. We are forced to contend with twenty workers in number who sift through these letters, for this does not cost a great deal. If we were to say that the past was a time of chaos and without any system, we cannot say this now with the current government, and that if we could then we would not wish to. But this situation is not unique to Mecca; rather, you see it in Medina too; we therefore request from the Hijaz Government that care be taken in organising the postal system, so that the duty of responding from these departments to the people of Mecca [can take place], so that the intended benefit [of the post] is not squandered.

In the streets of Mecca, there are many local coffee shops which you will see in the city's neighbourhoods, with benches and wooden chairs – their seats made from bast fibres or palm leaves woven together in a pattern – so that those on the Hajj pilgrimage may sit down on them, especially those who have travelled from outside the area, and particularly in the summer. Here is where they drink tea [Page 62] (which they call “shāh”¹⁸), and coffee¹⁹, and where they also suck on water pipes or hookah, which they often prepare with hot tobacco, so the pipes provide many uses. In Mecca there are three homes for those in need, of which the largest and most beautiful, and the most righteous and best furnished, is the Egyptian Home for Those in Need.

¹⁸ I think that this word is a result of Persian pronunciation. Yet the Persians do not use this word for “tea”, as it is used for one of their royal drinks, for example. Perhaps it then accordingly came from the name of the famous silk merchant al-Shāhī.

¹⁹ The coffee they have comes from brown beans, and the greatest among them add lots of stimulants like cardamom and cloves and some aromatics to their coffee. This then causes the coffee to have a very pleasant smell and flavour. They call it “*rūsh*”, and among the highest Bedouin, they say: “*Yā rūsh mā ismak rūsh ismak dawā' li-kull kabada 'alaylih?*” (“O *rūsh*, what is your name? Your name is medicine, for all that causes disease”).

It is a grand building, built by the now-deceased Mohammed Ali Pasha, an ancestor of the Khedive's noble family, positioned in the place of the House of Joy, which was a place of government built by Zayd, one of the Sharifs. So too was the House of Bliss a place of government, built by Barakāt, which was to be found where the House of the Sharif Abu Namī was located, opposite the Gate of Farewell [Bāb al-Wadā']. In the Egyptian Home there are storerooms, and mills and a bakery, and a kitchen, and a place kept tidy and well-organised for the home's director, as well as places for its employees. Every day soup is cooked for the poor and needy who arrive at the Home's doors each morning, to take what bread is allotted to them. This bread keeps them alive. The number of them can reach around five hundred people or more.

In Mecca, too, there are two forts overlooking the city; soldiers of the state reside in both. They are the Fort of the Good [People] which the Sharif Sarūr built in 1196 AH [1782 AD] on the southern side, and the Fort of the Indian which was built by the Sharif Ghālib in 1221 AH [1806 AD] on the northern side of the city.

And there are also two bathhouses, built on the model of the Roman baths in Egypt. One of them is for the umrah [a lesser pilgrimage to Mecca], which was built by Mohammed Pasha, minister to the Sultan Suleiman, in the year 980 [AH; 1572 AD]. The other is in the area of al-Qashāshīya, and they call it the "Bath of the Prophet".

There is also a printing press for the region of Mecca, and it is called just that.

A newspaper in Turkish and Arabic is published there under the name "Hijāz", and it is similar to the official newspaper [al-Rasmīya], and all that is nearby is connected to news of the government and its declarations.

And there are no libraries in Mecca mentioned to me, save for a simple library at the Gate of the Prophet [Bāb al-Nabī], and another at the Gate of Peace [Bāb al-Salām], called the Suleimani Library. Neither of them have a system by which they may be open, especially in the days [Page 63] of the season in which it would have been easy for me to visit both of them; and, in any case, the books contained in both only deal with religious and grammatical themes. In Mecca there were many important books, and they were placed on shelves around the walls of the Holy Place, but some of them were stolen. The torrents of water which have [occasionally] flooded the Mosque, especially in the year 714 AH [1314 AD], rose to the level of these shelves, and so destroyed many of the things they contained. This was among the greatest catastrophes for learning and for the scholars, for they had lost that which time could not repair, and which people could not replace.

Of the two schools in Mecca, there is the Usuli Twelver Shia school, built by the famous Sheikh Rahmat Allah al-Hindi [Kairanawi] (the writer of *Izhār al-Ḥaqq*, or the Demonstration of Truth), now deceased. It was where he studied the Noble Qur'an, and where he taught Qur'anic recitation, and something of the Arabic language and arithmetic and engineering. He spent the donations of the al-Hind family on these lessons; for him, it was a matter of being steadfast, and the life of beneficial school like it did not endure with him, and so it took the planning and hope of the government of the Hijaz to develop it and those like it. Now the school hosts the favoured professor Sheikh Yusuf Mohammed al-Khīyāt ["the tailor"]; he is among the best scholars of Mecca, and he teaches what he first studied there under the wide tutelage and care of Mawlānā al-'Amīr, and therefore the hope now is for the school's success. I later read on the 3rd of Jumādā al-'Akhīra 1328 AH [10th June 1910] in the esteemed newspaper al-Mufīd -

translated from the newspaper *Ṣabāḥ* - that the Ottoman government opened a school in Noble Mecca, in the presence of the *Wālī* [Governor] and the Sharif, and an audience of dignitaries and noble people. There is thus much good expected to come from it, not just for Mecca as the Mother of All Settlements, but for it as the Mother of Islamic Capitals.

But if Mawlana al-'Amīr had decreed that the pilgrims' guides should graduate from a specialised school in which they could study what is specific to their occupation, that would have been the greatest service to religion, for many of them now are ignorant of his great mission. If only some of these guides would stop here, and not place into the mind of the Hajj pilgrims things that are not of the Islamic religion – like the matter of al-Kanafānī and al-Zalabānī, for instance. These are two rocks on the Jeddah road to Bahra [near Mecca], and the pilgrims' guides claim that one of the rocks was a person named Kanafānīyā and the other was called Zalabānīyā, and the two of them lived in the Hijaz, until they were transformed into two rocks by God! The matter had to do with a *nāqa*, a female camel, and a *ḥijām* and *ḥijāma* [a man and woman who perform *ḥijāma*, or cupping], in the mountains of Umar. In this place there was a boulder that looked like a blessed female camel, and in its proximity were two rocks, so the guides would claim that the Prophet had been in that place with his female camel, and that a *ḥijām* had come with his wife and grabbed hold of the camel so forcefully that the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, did not wish to be injured, [Page 64] so God transformed the camel and the man and woman in this way! And then there is the matter of the thief of the box, whereupon this thief is now a rock on the side of the Jabal Nūr, or Mountain of Light, which looks close to the shape of a man carrying a box. They claim that he was a thief that had taken it, so God transformed him into the rock there! And these examples are some of the many with which care should be taken, in order to serve the firm religion correctly. Furthermore, these guides intentionally corrupt the words of the Noble Qur'an during the *Ṭawāf*, glorifying that which should not be glorified, and treading lightly over that which should be held high. Among the guides are those who switch one letter for another close to it in pronunciation of the listener, who might be Turkish, or Indian or Persian, for example; so they might switch the letter “qāf” for a “kāf”, and say for example “wa kunā ‘adhāba n-nāri” [“and we were the torment of the fire”] for “wa qinā ‘adhāba n-nāri” [“... and save us [O God] from the torment of the fire”, Surat al-Baqarah, 201]. They also say the letter “ḥā” for a “hā” so they say “Muhammad, Rusūl Allāh” [“The Extinguished One, Messenger of God”] for “Muḥammad, Rusūl Allāh” [“Mohammed, Messenger of God”], and they say “Yā ‘Arḥam al-Rāḥimīn” [“O show them, the One who we saw them”] for “Yā ‘Arḥam al-Rāḥimīn” [“O Merciful One, The Most Merciful”], and “Allūhum” [meaningless in classical Arabic] for “Allāhumma” [“O God!”]. And this should be neither legally nor socially permissible.

Some of the Arab sciences - and *tafsīr* - are taught at the Holy Mosque, in the old, unproductive way; and the number of students there is estimated to be a few hundred. The greatest part of them are Javanese, who have fled to this country from the injustices that the leaders of their country's government send down upon them.

The number of teachers working there reaches around thirty, and they care little for what they teach, working only for the lack of other sources by which to make a living for oneself. Yet their salaries - which are paid to them by the state - do not meet their needs, for they vary between one hundred and five hundred Ottoman *qirsh* [piastres] each year. For us in the new government - a government of the constitution, of learning, of work, and strong with the motivation of the state of the Sharif - there is great hope for a change in the state of learning in our country, sometime soon, which benefits the people both in their religious beliefs and in the *dunyā*, the earthly world.

The trade of this country is all in the hands of the foreigners, especially that carried out by the Indians. The majority of this trade is in things like prayer beads, carpets, and Indian and Levantine silk cloths. Manufacturing and industry is not important in Mecca, and it includes nothing but the working of some pieces of gold or silver, especially for the making of rings - which they then use to call upon God to heal [ailments like] their haemorrhoids! The metalworking they do in Mecca is very basic, but it is exact in the making of weapons, and there are also pottery workshops in which decanters and jugs are made; this is all that is under the control of the Arabs. As for the peoples of Mecca, the majority of them live from the profession of being pilgrims' guides, or in counterfeiting religious emblems, and so their trade cannot be promoted save in the time of the Hajj; what they earn then provides the subsistence on which they survive their whole lives; however, [Page 65] after the Hajj season, they leave Mecca for places in which there are people they have previously met on the Hajj, and so they visit them with gifts and then return, having taken double the price of those gifts from them.

The currency which is used in Mecca is Turkish and Egyptian money in silver or gold, as well as the *shīnkū rīyāl*, and the *abū fīrih* and the *rīyāl baram* (the Javanese currency); and it takes different forms, as well as there being the *rabīya* and the English and French pounds [*junayh*]. This currency has no second value there, but rather you see them using it all the time for their own interests, so they may take it from you for less than its value, and give it to you for more than it is worth. This is one of the major drawbacks in transactions there! Will those who hold power over command and prohibition remove it soon? The *rīyāl* of the *abū fīrih* is the one most often used among the Arabs, for its value for them is like that of the *rīyāl shīnkū* and the Egyptian *rīyāl*. It is appropriate to mention here that I gave some counterfeited money to a small Bedouin child, who then told me I had made a mistake; what could be more pleasant than hearing him tell me that? The Arabs do not know the values of all these currencies, so if they find themselves with a coin of a currency, they take it to a merchant and say to him: "Upon your honesty, may you increase the coins of such-and-such a kind!", for they are interested only in the quantity of currency, rather than the value of the type of coin.

There are many markets in Mecca, among them the Souq al-Shāmīya [Levantine Market] to the north of the Holy Mosque. This market has something of the Turkish markets in its appearance; its roofs are made of wood, like the design of the Khan El-Khalili Market in Egypt, but its streets are narrower, especially so when camels pass by. Towards the Ibrahīm Gate, there is a small market, and the majority of what is sold there is food - like bread, meat, dry pulses, and vegetables - which comes to the market from the valleys around Mecca, such as the Valley of Fatima in the north, and the Valley of Lemons [al-Līmūn] in the east, and the valleys of al-Ubeidiya and al-Ḥasīnīya in the south. The fruit of the market comes to it from the side of Mecca in the direction of Taif, and from the mountains of Karā. You see many shops in this market, where they sell fried fish from Jeddah - which is for the most part very harmful to one's health, for it rots from the heat and because of its transport time. And to the east of the Holy Mosque is the Souq al-Layl, or the Night Market, which is a large, diverse market where there are many things necessary for those on the Hajj pilgrimage. And in many of these markets you will see unceasing movement during the Hajj season, after which comes great profit. At the heart of those performing hard labour are the servants, for among them are the porters, woodcutters, donkey-men, camel drivers, and water carriers. The slaves of Mecca once had a large market, but it was destroyed bit by bit until there was almost not a trace left of it at all.

[Page 66] On this occasion, I say that the money spent by the Hajj pilgrims in Mecca should not be underestimated, for if we assume that on average their number reaches a hundred thousand people each year, and that on average each one of them will spend five *junḥāt* [pounds] during his stay in Mecca, then altogether what the Hajj pilgrims spend in Mecca is estimated to be at least a million *junḥāt* [pounds]. This is what it costs to rent a place there for a month, and to buy food and to rent a pilgrims' guide and to take some of the Zamzam water, as well as buying some gifts for their friends and family. Despite all this, some of the people of Mecca often do not see the Hajj pilgrim (regardless of them being the guests of God and in the Holy City) with the eye with which they should see him, for they see him from an economic perspective as the source of their livelihood. They have contempt for him and so they mistreat him and see in his money all that is permissible for them. They talk about it in their conversations in which they argue only that: "The Hajj is a livelihood for the people of the two Holy Places, and a livelihood from the Hajj is one from God". Perhaps this wicked treatment happened in a wicked time, a time of tyranny, in which the pilgrims' guides used to hold up rich pilgrims in the auction markets, until the pilgrims settled on one guide who would take charge of their affairs - as happened to some Egyptian ladies in 1907 [AD]. But there is no might and power save that of God! [commonly used expression in *hadith*].

The climate of Mecca is very hot, with little rain; yet many torrents come to it from the rains that fall often in the high mountains surrounding Taif. And it was in the age of Ibn al-Khiṭāb - he who worked on the aqueducts of the Hijaz to the north of Mecca, may God be pleased with him - that the water of these torrents was made to come from the city and to depart along the east side towards the Misfalah area, where it travels to a large reservoir on the south side which they call the "Mājīn [Rude] Pool". There, it is used by the agricultural workers. These torrents have often caused physical damage to Mecca and its buildings.

The winds of the city may rise several times within one hour, and therefore the people of Mecca say: "If God created seventy winds, He placed sixty-nine in Mecca and in all the rest of the world placed one wind alone". This is because of how the air spins in the city's atmosphere, spinning between the mountains as a whirlpool spins in water. If you see it enter dwellings through the western windows and then suddenly be cut off, then it will enter through the eastern or northern or southern windows instead. You will thus find in their dwellings many windows, and many of them will have windows [Page 67] on all four sides so that they may not be deprived of air from any side. The sea wind they have is from the west, and is one of the best and most pleasant because it comes from nearby the sea; then there is the wind from the Levant and they call it "*al-sham 'al*" or "*al-shamāl*", the "northern one", and the winds from the south and east are both hot.

The air of Mecca is spoiled in the days of the Hajj for many of the residents there, and there is a lack of care taken to keep things clean. In wintertime, there are many chest illnesses, but pulmonary tuberculosis is rare; and in summertime there are many brain congestions, and sunstroke, and illnesses of the eye, the liver, and the digestive system, and dysentery. These occur among children especially, and for them it is caused by eating rotten fish, and unripe fruit, when it's hot. Among the children there are many fevers, especially because of drinking water being corrupted, as well as the smallpox disease. More than two thousand die each year because they have smallpox. Let us state now that cholera does not appear in Mecca, except for when it did in 1246 AH, or 1845 AD. It came to Mecca with the Indian pilgrims on Hajj, and it still comes here with them. And if the government had taken greater care of the Indian and Javanese Hajj pilgrims on the island of Kamran [Yemen], before their entry into Jeddah, they would have been able to prevent the pilgrims from coming to the Holy House of God with

this catastrophic illness. And then there were large epidemics that arrived in Mecca at the time of the Hajj, and it killed the Hajj pilgrims swiftly and terribly. This was in the years 1890, 1892, 1893, and 1895 [all AD]. In any case, there are very few health issues in Mecca, and so they had neither a hospital nor a pharmacy, save for a basic spice shop which also sold medicines. But most of these were corrupted, and so the damage they caused was greater than their benefit. And it was the Highest Khedive, may God preserve him, who had thought of founding a hospital there, and so he had arranged for it to have both a doctor and a pharmacist. This wasn't easy for them to do, for them to perform both of these tasks, but the situation was fine enough temporarily with the nurses that were there. This was the mission of the religious foundations for people's health at the time of the Hajj, and its headquarters were there in the Egyptian home for the needy, and the truth is that it was work for which thanks must be given. This task costs more than seven hundred Egyptian *junayh* [pounds] each year; but, with this, I do not forget the tasks that the Egyptian health mission performs for the Hajj pilgrims in general, for it does not distinguish between Egyptians and others in its care.

The people of Mecca drink from the wells there, like the Zamzam well (and there is little within there), or [Page 68] those on the city's outskirts, like the wells of al-Zāhir and al-ʿAsqilānā and others; or from the cisterns that fill with rainwater, or water from the wells and springs; or from the spring of Zubayda, which flows to the city in channels under the earth. There are water tanks in the city's streets, called "*bāzān*", from which the water carriers fill their waterskins. This spring [that of Zubayda] is of truly great importance, and it is named such for the antiquities attributed to the Lady Zubayda, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, may God be pleased with them both. And the reason for its establishment was that this pious Lady saw, during her Hajj pilgrimage, what the people of Mecca and those on Hajj to the Holy House of God had endured, as many people had little water in that area. The Lady Zubayda therefore ordered by the mercy of God that the water should be made to flow to the Mother of All Settlements from the spring of Ḥanīn - which is found behind Mount Arafat and on the northern side, at a distance of thirty-five kilometres from Mecca. This spring rises in the mountains of Ṭād and runs in the valley of Ḥanīn (where it arrived two years after the Hijra, and after the taking [fath] of Mecca for Islam, in that famous event which happened between the Messenger of God, praise be upon him, and the idolists of the Hawāzin and Thaḳīf [tribes] there. The Messenger of God, praise be upon him, remained there, and it was there that Duraid ibn al-Simma [Arabic poet who led a pagan tribe against Mohammed], from among the greatest of the famous men of the Jahiliyyah, was killed by a man from among the Muslims called Rabīʿa ibn Rafīʿ al-Salmī).

Zubayda became truly famous for this glorious work, and so she sent workers from every area to Mecca; and so the Banū al-Hind [the tribe of al-Hind] built such that the water became a great stream, and they joined it with another stream from the Valley of al-Nuʿmān, where its water descends to it from the mountains of Karā. These mountains are around ten kilometres away from Arafat, and lie to the south-east of that mountain. Seven other channels run into it from the areas into which the water torrents fall, to aid the original flow of water in running to the south, where there are large cavities for it to flow into. One of these is a large well in the desert into which it pours - this is called the Well of Zubayda. And from this stream two branches extend out: one to Arafat, and the other to the Namirah Mosque; water flows into both at the time of the Hajj. The people of Mecca do not realise the value of this blessed spring, save for in between the years 930 and 970 [AH; around 1524 and 1563 AD]. The most important issue of those times was that the stream had flooded, and so its structural foundations collapsed and blocked up the stream's entryways and cut off its waters. Amid the horrors the people of Mecca had suffered something that was unthinkable. The price of a *ziqq* (a small *qirba* or waterskin holding almost three litres) in Arafat at this time was as high as a gold *lira*.

And because this spring was neglected after the time of the kings of Egypt - for they were those [Page 69] who used to take care of the spring and for the most part were those who undertook to build its channel - because circumstances had changed, and Egypt had entered the land of the Hijaz in the year 923 [AH; 1517 AD] and took it for the possessions of the high state. This state was always kept busy with several foreign wars, and so it neglected the internal organisation of its government, especially for those areas far from Egypt, but the people of the two Holy Places [Mecca and Medina] came in the year 969 [AH; 1561 AD] to request from the Sultan Suleiman that he repair the blessed spring. His Royal Highness, The Most Elevated, Most Merciful One, the Sultan, was asked to guide this blessed action with special funds, and so he appointed a director to undertake this mission and provide the funds necessary. This director travelled from where he was to Mecca, where he formed a council from the Ahl al-Ra'y²⁰ there. This council was for the issues of holes in the spring's channel, and for the cleanliness of the streams branching off from it, and the rebuilding of what had collapsed as a result of the flow. Therefore the repairs were made to the Well of Zubayda with the wish and will by the mercy of God that the stream should run to Mecca. It was therefore necessary that the spring descended from this desert mountain, from twenty-five metres under the surface of the earth, where its length is greater than a kilometre. It then runs into the bosom of the southerly mountain, where it was until it came to Mecca in 979 [AH; 1571 AD]. This flow divided between al-Biyāḍīya at the Raised Gate, and four branches which permeate the city, from one side to another, and thus the state began repairs on the stream. The width of this channel is around a metre and a quarter, and its height is around a metre and a half, and thus it is close to the surface of the earth when it rises and far away when it falls. It fills tanks from which the water carriers fill their waterskins, and it is worth us mentioning here that, in the city of Mecca, the openings through which water from the highest point of the spring comes, from its uncovered sides, and people then use this water to wash their clothes and other things, which are neither permitted by the hygiene laws nor by the esteemed Islamic law! Would they permit me to inform that this is undoubtedly the only cause of the many diseases that break out in their city, and that accordingly care must be taken when using these large openings of the spring, and that he who diverts it or dams it will have his hands struck, or his face struck once - for did they not hear the words of those on the side of esteemed Islamic law (about the cleanliness of belief)?

The Sharif aided the flowing of the water in this channel to reach an orchard in Jarwal [an area in Mecca], and so the water went there for the fruit trees and flowers brought from inhabited areas, especially those brought from India, Egypt, and Istanbul. When these trees were present, the area was like a meadow from Heaven itself; and thereafter it became a wasteland where only the owl and crow shriek - for Glory be to [Page 70] the One and Only, for the only kings are the ones He wills to be so, and He will take away the kingdoms from whoever He wills!

The water of the Spring of Zubayda often runs a certain distance, until it flows into a pool named Mājin, where it is used to irrigate some of the orchards and farm fields owned by the Sharifs.

I hope that, before I close the door on this chapter about Mecca, the reader will allow me to convey a few words more to him. I visited Holy Jerusalem, where I saw within all kinds of Christians and Jews, different in their sects, holy houses, shrines, and guesthouses - this last

²⁰ Translator's note: The Ahl al-Ra'y were a group of scholars who advocated using reasoning to reach legal decisions, as opposed to the Ahl al-Kalam (speculative theologians, who formed a philosophy of Islamic doctrine to make decisions on law), and the Ahl al-Hadith (those who believed in following hadith to form a legal opinion). Eventually, the way of the Ahl al-Hadith prevailed.

being a truly great thing which paved the way for comfort and good living for all the people there. A poor man may find within the guesthouse a place to stay, free of charge, for a week at least; he may see himself there, eating and drinking, and sleeping and living there, and being served and thus being thankful for this; and anything else that may be covered by one *qirsh* [piastre]. A rich man finds much comfort there, in exchange for a fee which he pays each day, and which does not rise above the fee that he might pay in a basic *lūkānda* [a type of guesthouse dating back to the Middle Ages in Egypt]; among the rich staying there, there are those who may take only a place to stay and food to be provided for them. There are very many of these places (which are established and run by pious and virtuous charitable associations, of the different kingdoms and all different in their kinds and sects); most of them are for the Jews, then for the Russians, then for the Byzantines, and the Armenians, and the English, and then the French, and the Germans. And the Germans have established the most recent guesthouse and hospital on the Mount of El Zaytoun [the Mountain of Olives], where they have spent more than seventy thousand pounds. It is a wide and spacious house, of towering foundations and solid columns, and placed in the entryway to its staircase are statues of the Emperor and Empress of the Germans. This house was officially opened in the presence of the Crown Prince of the German Kingdom, Prince Eitel [Friedrich of Prussia] last April (in 1910). And in counting the houses, holy places, and sanctuaries there, you will see one for every sect and religion that there is in the Holy Place [Jerusalem], be they grand hospitals or magnificent schools. In proximity to each house of the city there is a school: this one for the Germans, for example, and that one for the English, and another of them for the Russians, and another different one for the French, and another for the Jews. For each difference between these nations there are specialised schools for girls and boys, based on the best new model, and so the teaching there is based on the best of programmes provided for the life of the pupils. For God, this is the correct life and the most present and complete of its meanings; and so of all the areas inhabited by our Muslim brothers and sisters, there should be similar work undertaken in Mecca, which the Muslim pilgrims on Hajj would benefit from. And could the Ottoman Government not offer their help [Page 71] to achieve this glorious objective, behind which lies the comfort of the Hajj pilgrims in the Holy House of God? It would be preferable if the aim was to be attained by an assembly of the Egyptian leaders, with the obligation upon them to grant to His Honour, His Highness the Khedive, the power to establish a house for those coming to Mecca, and more generally for the poor people on Hajj in the Sacred House of God - the Egyptians among them especially. The benefits of the *'awqāf* in their charitable way provide when the subscription paid [by pilgrims] falls short. God is ever the guide to that which is right.

The History of Mecca

The history of Mecca starts back in the year 1892 BC when Allah ordered Prophet Ibrahim AlKhalil Peace Be Upon Him to migrate with his son Ismael and his mother Hajar (as mentioned in the Torah). Prophet Ibrahim took his wife and son to a deserted valley. There was no water in sight, the ‘*Amaleeq* were only people who lived in the southern part of the valley towards the south, which is called Hujoun. The ‘*Amaleeq* are displaced people from Bahrain, their land spread all the way to the Sinai Peninsula. The Babylonians used to call ‘*Amaleeq* “*Maleeq*” to which the Hebrews added the prefix ‘*am*, meaning nation (*ummah*), it soon became known as ‘*Am Maleeq*. Soon after, the Arabs distorted its pronunciation to ‘*Amaleeq* and Egyptians called them *hasqous*; as in the shepherds.

When Hajar found the Zamzam spring, which brought on a new life to the valley, the ‘*Amaleeq* came to Hajar and asked her if they could reside with her, and in a sense, follow her and her sons’ orders. She agreed to it and in turn secured a household that would safeguard her and her son. Ibrahim was always hesitant when it came to visiting Hajar and Ismael from Palestine, God Almighty ordered him to purify this house and turn it into a place of prayer for the people. God said: “And We made the House a focal point for the people, and a sanctuary. Use the shrine of Ibrahim as a place of prayer. And We commissioned Ibrahim and Ismael, “Sanctify My House for those who circle around it, and those who seclude themselves in it, and those who kneel and prostrate.” Then God ordered them to raise its pillars: “As Ibrahim raises the foundations of the House, together with Ismael, Our Lord, accept it from us, You are the Hearer, the Knower. Our Lord, and make us submissive to You, and from our descendants [Page 72] a community submissive to You. And show us our rites, and accept our repentance. You are the Acceptor of Repentance, the Merciful.”²¹ Ibrahim then proceeded to demolish that house that Hajar and Ismael built the pillars of al-Ka’abah al-Mukarama on and then Allah ordered him to call the people to perform Al-Hajj pilgrimage: “And announce the pilgrimage to humanity. They will come to you on foot, and on every means of transport. They will come from every distant point.”²² At that point, the reputation of this house was spreading among nearby tribes. That is where the pronunciation of the word *mecca* or *macca* came from, it is a Babylonian term that the ‘*Amaleeq* called it which means (house).

Ibrahim went back to his people while Ismael, up until his death, stayed in service of the house, Al-Ka’abeh. After his death, his sons looked after the house until they weakened and weren’t as powerful, the ‘*Amaleeq* then proceeded to take control over the house. The ‘*Amaleeq* held power over the house until the Jurhum tribe came to Mecca from Yemen after crossing the Marib Dam around mid-6th century BC. The tribe of Jurhum huddled the ‘*Amaleeq* and took full control over them and reigned over Mecca and Al-Hijaz as a whole. Mudad Ibn Al-Harith was in control at that point. After becoming extremely powerful and intimidating to other people, spreading corruption in the land, they were later hit with a plague which weakened them and allowed the Tribe of Ismael to take over their lands and reclaim the House. They later expelled them from Mecca and the people of Jurhum walked to Juhayna, located south of Yanbu, while their Sheikh Amr Ibn Al-Harith said:

²¹ Translator’s note: the English translation of this verse was taken from the following website <https://www.clearquran.com/002.html>

²² Translator’s note: the English translation of this verse was taken from the following website <https://www.clearquran.com/022.html>

We ruled al-Ka'abah since Thabet's reign

Seemingly performing tawaf around the House

With no comrade present between Al-Hujoun and Al-Safa

With no comrade to speak to in the hours of the night

Well yes, we, its people were exterminated

Due to our ancestor's misguided judgement

As soon as the people of Ismael gained full control, the people of Khuza'ah came in and conquered them. They took control and were responsible for the House for a long time when it came to gatekeeping and watering. Khuza'ah was known to be full of angst in comparison to the literary elegance and psychological glory that the people of Ismael encapsulate. Many of their people were distinguished and proved time and time again their vast knowledge, giving full courtesy to their smart and esteemed ancestry. For instance, Ka'b Ibn Lou'ayy was known for his rhetoric and fluency. He was the first person to gather around people on the day of 'Oroobah, as in Friday. On that day, he would give them a speech, guide them to walk the path of virtues, and guide them to a righteous path away from committing vices. Ka'b Ibn Lou'ayy was well-known among the Arabs, to the point that they used his year of death as a standard up until *'ām al-fīl*²³, the year of the Elephant, which occurred at least 400 years after the death of Ka'b Ibn Lou'ayy.

[Page 73] The House was still under the control of Khuza'ah up until Qusayy Ibn Kilab returned from Al-Sham²⁴; the region where he accompanied his mother as a child. Qusayy Ibn Kilab is one of Ka'b's grandchildren, the 24th son of Ismael. He gathered all the tribes of Quraysh with his efficient politics, intelligence, and strong tolerance after the tribes broke apart and malice spread amongst them. With his sound view and opinion, Qusayy worked hard until he was able to buy the veil for the House, al-Kaabah, from Khuza'ah. Then, out of anger, he ordered for them to be exiled from Mecca and sent them to the valley of Mirr (Fāṭimah's wadi). Afterwards, he gained more status and was known to be insightful, and powerful. He was able to perform multiple tasks that no one else did before him, these tasks included bringing water to the pilgrims during Al-Hajj, placing the *kiswa*²⁵ on al-Ka'abah and being in control of it, collecting money from the people of Mecca in order to make food for the poor, as well as being a commander-in-chief. Qusayy was the first person to ever feed a pilgrim and bring him water, treating him as Allah's guest and neighbour. People followed suit when it came to Qusayy Ibn Kilab and spoke of his nobility. His perspective and way of thinking is reasonable. Qusayy was the one who built Dar al-Nadwa near al-Ka'abah with its door facing the House. People gather at Dar al-Nadwa in order to discuss their affairs as well as decide on what needs to be done. Afterwards, Qusayy became a great king of Quraysh with high prominence. He later became responsible for the taxes of other tribes; there were people from said tribes who took up this task in hopes of getting closer to him. Qusayy had two children, Abd-al-Dar and Abd Manaf. Even though he was the youngest, Abd Manaf was more distinguished, he appointed Abd-al-Dar to take care of the roles he himself held. The roles include water distribution amongst pilgrims, placing the *kiswa* on al-Ka'abah, collecting money from the people of Mecca in order to make food for the poor, being placed as commander-in-chief, as well as holding discussion

²³ Translator's note: *'ām al-fīl*, the Year of the Elephant, is the year that, in Islamic history, Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him) was born in. It is estimated to be around the year of 570-571 BCE.

²⁴ Translator's note: Al-Sham, the Levant, is a region in Asia which contains the countries of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan. In this context, Al-Sham refers to Syria.

²⁵ Translator's note: *kiswa* is the piece of cloth that covers, or is draped over, al-Ka'abah

groups amongst the people. This was insured by Qusayy in order to place Abd-al-Dar on the same level as Abd Manaf when it comes to the nobility that the latter already reached due to his mind and grace.

Upon the death of Qusayy, Abd-al-Dar took over the roles that his father appointed him to and later, Abd-al-Dar passed them on to his children. Then came the sons of Abd Manaf who fought the sons of Abd-al-Dar, a war nearly broke out between them. This disagreement was solved with the help of other tribes who divided the honorary privileges and roles amongst everyone, with the sons of Abd Manaf taking over water distribution amongst pilgrims and collecting money from the people of Mecca in order to make food for the poor. The sons of Abd-al-Dar took over the roles of placing the *kiswa* on al-Ka'abah and being placed as commander-in-chief. These roles remained in the family line of Abd-al-Dar until the conquest of Mecca where the Prophet peace be upon him took the keys and transferred them to Othman Ibn Talha. Othman entered the House and Allah bestowed the following Quranic verse upon him doing so: "Allah doth command you to render back your Trusts to those to whom they are due"²⁶. Prophet Mohammad replied to this verse as follows: "Take it as it is everlasting, remaining in your family for generations to come". After the death of Talha, his brother, Shayba, took over and it stayed in his family line until now.

In regards to the sons of Abd Manaf, they became notable and of high standing especially in the time of the Prophet's peace be upon him grandfather, Abd al-Muttalib Ibn Hashem Ibn Abd Manaf, who became powerful after the incident of the Elephant [page 74] and his fame became widespread, he was feared by other tribes and Arabs reached out to him from all parts of the Arabian Peninsula. With the rise of Prophet Mohammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Abd al-Muttalib prophethood and Islam spread amongst people in its invincible exterior with immense speed only to carry on the courtesy and precedence of the work of the sons of Abd Manaf, with that, they were pleased.

One of the biggest historical incidents that occurred in Mecca is the *hijra*²⁷ of Prophet Mohammad Peace Be Upon Him from Mecca to Al-Madina, followed by its conquest 8 years after *hijra*. Mecca then became under the rule of the Prophet and later under his Caliphs.

At the time of the Prophet, Prayer and Peace Be Upon Him the Islamic government was democratic and advisory in accordance with the *Sharia*' (Islamic law). It remained the same from the time of his Caliphs up until the caliphate came to an end and signs of authority, such as tyranny, came to be.

The government of the Two Holy Mosques (Al-Haramain Al-Sharifain) followed the rulings of the Centre of the Islamic Caliphate. The first person to govern the city of Mecca at the time of the Prophet Peace Be Upon Him was Attab Ibn Osayd, may Allah be pleased with him. He was appointed by the Messenger of Allah after the conquest of Mecca as he was leaving for the Battle of Hunayn in the first third of year 8 Hijri [AH]. The Caliphate then was transferred from the Caliphs to the Umayyads. At the time of the Umayyads, Abdullah Ibn Zubair took over Mecca for a number of years up until Al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf Al-Thaqafi reclaimed it back to the Umayyads. It was then transferred to the Abbasids and stayed with them until the year 358 [AH] where approximately 100 *sharif*, noble, and non-*sharif* princes ruled Mecca. During that year, the reign transitioned to the Fatimids and Al-Qaid Jawhar entered Mecca, followed by the caliph al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah Al-Ubaydi. Islamic lands spread

²⁶ Translator's note: the translation of this verse is taken from Yusuf Ali's translation in this following webpage <https://rb.gy/gyllu>

²⁷ Translator's note: the definition of *hijra* is migration

from Baghdad to Aleppo to Basra were controlled by the Abbasid Caliph, while the land from Aleppo to Al-Haramain, as well as the rest of the Arab lands, were under the Ubaydi, i.e. Fatimid Caliphate. The reasoning behind this is that Caliph Ja'far Ibn Mohammad Ibn Al-Hasan Al-Nather Ibn Mousa the second Ibn Abdallah Ibn Mousa Al-Joun Ibn Abdallah Al-Muhid Ibn Al-Hasan Al-Muthani Ibn Al-Hasan Al-Sabt Ibn Ali may God honour him conquered Mecca and was afraid of the Abbasids. Al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah Al-Ubaydi then invited the Egyptian Caliph and wrote to him that he will rule over Mecca where they initiated the Sharifate of Mecca. When Salah Al-Deen Al-Ayoubi became a Caliph and he invited the Abbasids, the Abbasid who went under the name the Abbasid victor [*al-naser al-Abbasi*] Mukthir Ibn Issa became the Caliph of the Emirate of Mecca. Moreover, in the year 619 [AH], Yemen's King Masoud, the son of Egypt's [Page 75] King Kamel, marched to Mecca and took over it in the name of his father. King Masoud appointed Nour Al-Deen Ibn Omar to take care of it. King Masoud passed away in 626 [AH] and, through allegiance, appointed the aforementioned Nour Al-Deen in the Kingdom of Yemen and named himself Al-Malik Al-Mansour. Mecca was then being juggled in between the Egyptian and Yemeni governments until the end of the year 760 [AH] where King Kamel took full control of it and proceeded to appoint Rajeh Ibn Qatada as its Caliph. During sermons in Al-Haramain, King Kamel of Egypt would be addressed as "The owner of Mecca and its slaves, Yemen and its Zabid, Egypt and Upper Egypt, Al-Sham and its Al-Sanadid, the Peninsula and its Waleed, the Sultan and the two Qiblahs, lord of the two signs, the custodian of the esteemed Al-Haramain A-Sharifain, the Caliph, King Kamel Khalil."

When King Kamel passed away, the King of Yemen looked into taking over Al-Haramain. He began planting seeds of disputes between the Sharifs and there grew the dissension between them. It reached such heights that people, out of fear, did not perform Hajj pilgrimage in the year 652 [AH]. Some Sharifs, who pledged their allegiance to the King of Yemen, would preach for the Yemeni side when it took over Mecca. They would then switch sides and preach the Egyptian side when they would retaliate. This went on until Sharif Abu Numayy took over Mecca in 667 [AH] where Sultan Baybars preached for the King of Egypt who performed Hajj in that year.

The Sharifate of Al-Haramain continued to be under Egyptian control until Sultan Selim II returned after his victorious conquest over its King, Sultan Al-Ghuri²⁸. Sultan Al-Ghuri died under the heels of his horse during the Battle of Marj Dabiq which occurred in Al-Sham on Friday, the eve of Muharram in the year 923 [AH]. Afterwards, the dominion of Al-Hijaz and the Sultanate of Egypt went under the governance of the Ottoman Empire. That is when Sultan Selim wrote to Sharif Barakat; who worked for Al-Ghuri in Al-Haramain, only for Sharif Barakat to decree²⁹ his mandate in Al-Haramain. The *vilayet*³⁰ of the Hijaz continued to be under the control of Bani Othman until Muhammad Ali Pasha, Egypt's Sultan, captured it between the years 1227 and 1256 [AH]; this is where the countries in power decided to strip away his governance and hand control over to Sultan Abdulmejid Khan. In exchange for it, he and his sons became privileged in the Sultanate of Egypt. Muhammad Ali had already sent out an order to place Sharif Mohammad Ibn 'Awn, the grandfather of the ruling family, in control of the Sharifate of Mecca instead of Sharif Yahya. Sharif Yahya fled on 22 Sha'ban in the year 1242 [AH] after he murdered Sharif Shanbar on the gate of Safa. As promised, [Page 76] Ibn 'Awn continued to govern the Sharifate with great administration and full authority, falling

²⁸ Translator's note: King Al-Ghuri or King Al-Ghawri

²⁹ Translator's note: this is equivalent to the Turkish word *ferman* meaning to order. *Ferman* was used in the original text as this text does contain Turkish influence.

³⁰ Translator's note: *vilayet* is a province

back on the Egyptian government up until Muhamad Ali had forsaken it. Then, Sultan Abdulmejid proceeded to send out a *ferman*, an order, for Sharif Mohammad Ibn ‘Awn to continue governing the Sharifate of Mecca, maintaining that position until today within his family. The governor in control of the Sharifate nowadays is his presence, the sovereign, Minister of State, the treacherous Sharif Hussein, may God bring him about good days and blessings not only on Al-Hijaz but also on the Arabian Peninsula as a whole.

Muhammad Ali had a great effect on these lands, his effects are appreciated and worth mentioning. He built an Egyptian hospice in Mecca; arranging all that is needed for it regarding expenses, he also built a house that the Sharifate Minister lives in; which includes the centre of the grand *sharifate* in which his highness, the splendid, Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha II resided in during his hajj pilgrimage. Muhammad Ali was also the one who erased all traces of the Wahhabi who gained power and became superior in these lands. In a short period of time, Al-Wahhabi people (Al-Wahhabi’s) took over the Arabian Peninsula with their Sultan almost taking over lands beyond the Peninsula, daunting the Ottoman Empire who feared for its existence. The Ottomans wrote to Muhammad Ali Pasha to which he replied by sending his army only to retrieve the land and trick them. In order to benefit the readers, I will mention two points in detail:

In the year 1142 [AH], Muhammad Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab, a man from an Arab tribe who studied in Mecca under its Sheikhs, began preaching for a new school in Islam where he not only crossed the line that Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal reached, but he also overplayed many aspects greatly. He walked through the Arabian neighbourhoods, one after the other, preaching his new beliefs in which many people followed. His followers are increasing in number and gaining power which planted fear amongst the people and tribes in the Peninsula. When the months of Hajj were approaching, 20 of his men were sent to the Sharif of Mecca, Sharif Masoud Ibn Said Ibn Sa’ad Ibn Zaid to spread his teachings (*madhab*) and receive approval to perform Hajj at the house of God, the gracious. Abd Al-Wahhab ordered for the men to be captured and imprisoned, labelling them as sinners. One of the men fled to Al-Diriyah, where Al-Wahhabi headquarters are situated, to tell him what happened. Al-Wahhabi and his people weren’t allowed to perform Hajj up until the year 1205 [AH]. Sharif Masoud passed away and his position as the emir of Mecca was taken up by Sharif Ghaleb. They proceeded to ask Sharif Ghaleb if they could perform Hajj, but he didn’t budge and fully refused. This led to a war breaking out between them. The war lasted until the year 1213 [AH] [Page 77] even after the death of Muhammad Abd Al-Wahhab in 1207 [AH]. During the war, fifteen battles occurred where there was no winning side, up until the Battle of Khurma where Al-Wahhabis won. This Battle led to the reconciliation between Sharif Ghaleb and Abd Al-Aziz Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saud, the Prince of Al-Diriyah (who wanted Al-Wahhabis to win in order to add more lands to be under his rule until it expanded to the point of it almost taking over the edges of the Arabian Peninsula fully). Both the Sharif and the Prince of al-Diriyah labelled their spheres of influence, with the Sharif allowing Al-Wahhabis to perform Hajj in the year 1214 [AH]. Saud Ibn Abd Al-Aziz, and many others alongside him, performed Hajj pilgrimage in 1214 [AH] and he performed it again in 1215 [AH] alongside his own people. In the year 1215 [AH] repulsion occurred between the Sharif’s Arabs and the people of Saud which instigated the war between them yet again. Thirteen battles occurred between them where, in the last battle in 1217 [AH], Saud took over Al-Taif. After the pilgrims dispersed during that year, Sharif Ghaleb was frightened and fled to Jeddah with his governor Sharif Pasha. Out of fear, people stayed put in Mecca unable to make a decision as to what to do. That is when Sharif Abd Al-Muin Ibn Musa’id sent a letter to Saud requesting him to protect the neighbours of the sanctified house of Allah, Al-Ka’abah, under the condition of the people complying to it and asking him to work

on his behalf in Mecca. Sharif Abd Al-Mu'in Ibn Musa'id also sent messengers including the gentlemen of Mecca and its scholars, for them to gather with Saud in Wadi AlSail (two stages away from Mecca) and they promised him they would comply. In this leaflet, Ibn Musa'id wrote back regarding their safety, it contains the following: "In the name of Allah Almighty, from Saud Ibn Abd Al-Aziz to the people of Mecca, the scholars, the Aghas, the judge and the Sultan, peace to all those who follow his guidance. To proceed, you are the neighbours of God, populating his sacred place, safe under his safety. We are inviting you to the religion of God and his Messenger. Oh, people of the book, let us agree on an equitable word between us and amongst you that we will only worship our God and will not commit *shirk*³¹ towards him. No one between us will claim lordship without God, if someone does, simply declare that you are Muslims. You are facing God and the Prince of Muslims Saud Ibn Abd Al-Aziz, as well as your Prince Abd Al-Mu'in Ibn Musa'id; listen to him and obey what he obeys, God and his Prophet, peace." This letter was sent to them on Friday 7th of Muharram 1218 [AH] in the same place that Mufti of Al-Maliki School (*madhab* Al-Maliki) stood on the *Mimbar*³² and read it to the witnesses, having people respectfully acknowledge it.

During one day, Saud entered Mecca in a state of *ihram* (as a *muhram*)³³ performing *tawaf*. He proceeded to capture and kill approximately one hundred camels. He then went up to the Sharif's garden located on Al-Muhassab. On another day in his journey, he went down to and then headed up to the top of Al-Safa hill [Page 78] to speak to the people. His *baya'h*³⁴ then got renewed. At a later time, Abd Al-Mu'in ordered the demolition of domes in the ceiling including the dome of lady Khadija. He then proceeded to demolish the dome of the Prophet³⁵ Peace Be Upon Him and the dome of Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with them. He then banned the *Muezzins* from performing *dua'* after the *athan*³⁶ (*adhan*) as well as banning them from the repetition of group prayers in Masjid Al-Haram. The prayers were divided as follows: *Fajr* prayer would be performed by A-Shafi'i, *Duhr* by Al-Maliki, *Asr* by Al-Hanbali, *Maghreb* by Al-Hanafi, and *Al-Isha'* was performed by everyone all together. He then took a trip to Jeddah, asking for Sharif Ghaleb. The attempt of Abd Al-Mu'in to capture the city did not work for the city's sturdy wall and indestructible canons sent him retreating to the East. Sharif Ghaleb went back to Mecca at the end of Rabi' 1, triumphantly entering it with no resistance from Sharif Abd Al-Mu'in. The heads of the tribes came in to form a military alliance in order to keep fighting Al-Wahhabi's until the month of Qi'dah in the year 1220 [AH]. That's where they announced a truce between them regarding entering Mecca and performing al-Hajj pilgrimage then peacefully going back to their lands and countries. When Sharif Ghaleb realised how weakened and exhausted his people were, he agreed with and highlighted the regulations that Al-Wahhabis would agree with in their school (*madhab*). He proceeded to order the demolition of the remaining domes of the righteous in Mecca and Jeddah. Shortening the *athan* (*adhan*) by the *Muezzins* and refraining from performing the salutations among other aspects that are agreed upon by Al-Wahhabi school; which relieved al-Wahhabis for them to go back to their countries, pleased with the fact that Sharif Ghaleb is now part their school.

³¹ Translator's note: the act of *shirk* in this case is polytheism, worshipping any god other than Allah.

³² Translator's note: *mimbar* is a short flight of steps used as a platform by a preacher in a mosque.

³³ Translator's note: *ihram* and/or *muhram* is the sacred state that Muslims should be in prior to performing Hajj or 'Umra.

³⁴ Translator's note: *baya'h* is a pledge or oath of allegiance to a leader.

³⁵ Translator's note: the dome of the Prophet or the Green Dome was built on top of the grave of Prophet Mohammad where Saud demolished them in hopes of stopping people from praying by them and mainly to put an end to superstition. Similarly, a dome was built on top of Abu Bakr's grave.

³⁶ Translator's note: *athan* is a call for prayer.

In the year 1221 [AH], the group from Al-Sham³⁷ left Hadiya and returned home without performing Hajj because they did not agree with the regulations set by Saud, who previously ruined the group from Egypt in Mecca and ordered them not to come back and perform Hajj next year having a clean-shaven face. Both schools (*madahib*) were cut off from going to Mecca. In that same year, Saud took all the jewellery that was in the Prophet's sacred room, proceeded to kick out the judges of Mecca and Madina that were part of the Ottoman Empire. When Sultan Mahmoud was informed of this, he sent a letter to Muhammad Ali to ready his army in order to fight Al-Wahhabi. At that point, Muhammad Ali had been in control of Egypt since 1220 [AH], working day and night on internally organising the city, its financial records, and strengthening its army. When the Sultan's orders came through, he prepared and sent the first troop under the command of his son Tusun Pasha in Ramadan of 1226 [AH] [Page 79]. They conquered it and proceeded to move to Al-Safra' with ease, that is where a battle occurred between the armies of Tusun Pasha and Othman Al-Madayifi; the governor of Al-Taif prior to Saud. A large number of Wahhabi's made-up part of his army. The Egyptian army lost on that day and got completely scattered in the plain land. Tusun walked to Al-Qasir and remained there, waiting for his father's orders.

In Muharram of 1227 [AH], Muhammad Ali Pasha prepared an army and sent it sailing to Yanbu; he ordered Tusun Pasha to go with them in order to maintain the city. During the month of Safar, he prepared another army troop and sent it through the land route under the leadership of Saleh Agha Al-Silhadar. Muhammad Ali kept sending troops and ammunition through the land and the sea until a large group of his army was present in Yanbu. The army wrote to Sharif Ghaleb asking for some guidance, which led to them following his orders. They reached out to the Sheikh's of Harb (tribe) who, in turn, surprised them by welcoming them with open arms, pouring clothes and money on them. The army served under them up until they entered Al-Madina Al-Munawwarah in the month of Al-Qi'dah only for them to expel the remaining Wahhabi's in the city. An army troop went from Yanbu to Jeddah via the sea, entering it without any resistance. When Al-Wahhabi troops in Mecca heard of this, they fled Mecca leaving its castles completely empty. An Egyptian troop went from Jeddah to Mecca and settled in its castles. When Al-Wahhabi troops in Al-Taif caught news of this, they fled to Al-Diriyah. When news reached Egypt that the Egyptian military troops had reached Al-Madina Al-Munawwarah, Jeddah, and Mecca, Muhammad Ali Pasha ordered his people to decorate Cairo for five days. He proceeded to let the Sultanate know of this conquest. That was a memorable day in Astana.

On the 14th of Shawwal in the year 1228 [AH], Muhammad Ali Pasha went on a journey from Egypt with Al-Hijaz being his destination. He reached Jeddah by the end of the month and Sharif Ghaleb was there to bid him welcome. Muhammad Ali hadn't settled in yet when he received a letter of truce from Saud. Muhammad Ali imposed on Saud the condition of Saud paying him back all the expenses that were spent on army troops from the beginning of the war until this day, as well as having him sign on the truce in person. The next day, he had the troops parade in front of the messengers who were amazed by their moves and order. In the month of Rabi' II in the year 1228 [AH], Saud died in Al-Diriyah and his son Abdullah took control. As for Muhammad Ali, he travelled to Mecca with Sharif Ghaleb at his service. He stayed in the house [Page 80] of Al-Qurtusi. Tusun Pasha stayed in the house of Al-Saqqaf in Al-Shamiya. Both Muhammad Ali and Sharif Ghaleb were on guard with one another. As Muhammad Ali wanted to take and be in full control on his own, he ordered his son Tusun Pasha to capture

³⁷ Translator's note: this group would gather up in the city of Damascus in Syria to make their way to perform al-Hajj.

Sharif Ghaleb and his sons at the end of the month of Al-Qi'dah in the year 1228 [AH]. Sharif Yahya Ibn Suroor also became the Emir of Mecca Emirate and proceeded to send Sharif Ghaleb and his sons to Jeddah with one army troop that was headed to Egypt through the route of Quseer. They reached Cairo on 17 Muharram in the year 1229 [AH]. He was paid tribute upon reaching Cairo and remained there until 19th of Sha'ban where he travelled with his sons to Thessaloniki, following the orders of the Sultanate. He resided there until he passed away in the year 1231 [AH]. Later on, his sons went back to Mecca under the orders of the Sultanate. Sultan Ghaleb was a *sharif* for a total of 27 years.

As for the period of time that Muhammad Ali resided in Mecca, he worked on organising it as well as attacking every tribe who refused to obey him or disprove of his rule. After he performed Hajj in the year 1229 [AH], along with his troops, he headed to Al-Taif and a number of wars broke out between him and Al-Wahhabi's in the beginning of the year 1230 [AH]. Starting at Al-Taif, wars followed in Turba, Ranya, Bisha, and Aseer. He would assign an emir from his people to be in control of every city he took over, organising its affairs in the process. He continued travelling from one emirate to another in the Arabian Peninsula until he returned to Mecca in the month of Jumada I. He ranked the *Sharifs* and others who were present in Mecca on different levels in accordance with the needs of welfare, public benefit, which would remain for the lives of their children in the future. He then returned to Egypt after appointing Hussein Pasha Al-Arnaouti as an emir of Mecca. He also appointed his son Tusun Pasha as a general commander of the military power in al-Hijaz.

In the month of Sha'ban of that same year, Tusun Pasha suggested a truce agreement between him and Abdullah Ibn Saud for them to leave war and bloodshed behind them, succumbing to the rule of Al-Wahhabi on Al-Hijaz. He sent a group of distinguished righteous individuals from his people to visit his father in Egypt in order to confirm this agreement only for him to not agree to it. In Dhu'l-Qi'dah, Tusun Pasha went to Al-Hijaz then he went back to Egypt following his fathers' orders. He reached Egypt in the month of Dhu'l-Hijjah and was welcomed with celebrations and amazing decorations, as his son Abbas Pasha I was born. Tusun Pasha remained in Egypt up until he died in the year 31 [AH] due to the plague when he was approximately 20 years old.

In Muharram of the year 32 [AH], Mohammad Ali sent his son, Ibrahim Pasha to Al-Hijaz and ordered him to wipe out the traces of al-Wahhabis. He went on with a heavy military troop to Mecca, then to Diriyah, until he reached a place called Mirnan [Page 81] where heavy fighting broke out between him and Al-Wahhabis where Ibrahim Pasha won, he then captured Abdullah Ibn Saud within Mirnan, and conquered Al-Shaqra' city. He then went and took over Al-Diriyah. He arrested Abdullah Ibn Saud, the Prince of al-Wahhabi's, many of his children, family members, and his parents. He relocated them to Egypt after demolishing the city, turning it upside down. When the news reached Muhammad Ali, he decorated Egypt yet again and ordered setting off a thousand canon in celebration. It is said that the number canons that were set off on that day reached eighty thousand canons. Ibn Saud and the people with him reached Cairo in the early months of 1324 [AH], entering it in a huge convoy, it was a memorable day. Mohammad Ali met with the son of Saud in Shubra the second day they reached Cairo and welcomed him greatly. Al-Wahhabi presented him with a small box containing what is left of the jewellery that his father took from the Prophet's sacred room, which includes three Quran's covered in valuable jewellery, three hundred pieces of big Pearls, and huge pieces of Emerald. Abdullah Ibn Saud was sent to Astana where he was murdered at the Homayoon Gate. Ibrahim Pasha returned to Egypt after completing Hajj in the year 1234 [AH] and the city was decorated

for him for seven days straight. That's when the land of the Arabs from north to south became under the rule of Muhammad Ali.

As for the family of Saud, they gathered themselves together in hopes of retrieving their power and rule after Ibrahim Pasha demolished their homes and ended all hopes for it. Faisal Ibn Turki, the cousin of Abdullah Ibn Saud, was their emir. When he fully gained power, he became feared by Muhammad Ali as to what he is capable of. Muhammad Ali then sent Hurshid Pasha Al-Diriyah in 1253 [AH]. He took over Al-Diriyah after a group of battles between him and Al-Wahhabis. Consequently, Faisal was taken hostage in Egypt and was imprisoned in a fortress. Faisal has relations with Abbas Pasha, in return, he expressed his concern regarding his captivity and the way he was treated post Ibn Thunyan taking control over his lands. He promised him that he is his saviour from this prison, that he has power over his people and the men of Muhammad Ali once he is out of prison. Thus, Abbas Pasha helped him escape. Faisal kept moving until he reached Ibn Al-Rashid, the Prince of Shammar, who entertained him and was very hospitable. Ibn Al-Rashid at that point was chasing after Ibn Thunyan, he sent his men after him who ended up capturing him in Al-Qassim and took him as a prisoner who died away in his prison cell. Faisal captured [Page 82] Najd in the year 1258 [AH] and settled in it until his death in the year 1282 [AH]. His sons took it over but their rule weakened, this is where the Ibn Al-Rashid took his chance to fully capture Najd. When Ibn Al-Rashid passed away, his rule weakened and Saud Ibn Faisal entered the scene to fight his sons for ruling over the region and he captured most of their lands with the help of Ibn Sabah, the Kuwaiti Prince. Had Ibn Al-Rashid won the battles, he would have completely taken over the region. To Allah everything belongs.

Picture captions

pp7-8

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.

pp32-33

Top Line: Friday prayers at the Ḥaram in Mecca in October 1325 [AH]

Bottom line: Printing and publishing rights belong to Rāsīm al-Lawā' Ibrahīm Raf' at Pāshā, Prince of the Egyptian Ḥajj, 1325

pp34-35

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

pp36-37

Top: An approximate plan of Khadījah's house, famous for being the birthplace of Fāṭimah (Mecca)

Bottom: An approximate plan of the birthplace of the Prophet, or the house of 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Muṭallib (Mecca)

pp50-51

Map of Mecca

pp128-129

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

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Top: The Pilgrims at Mount Arafat, 1320 [AH]

Bottom: Printing and Publishing rights Rāsīm al-Lawā' Ibrahīm Raf' at Pāshā, Prince of the Egyptian Ḥajj, 1320 [AH]

pp156-157

Top: The stoning of the devil, middle *jamrah*, Mina, 1325 [AH]

Bottom: Printing and Publishing rights Rāsīm al-Lawā' Ibrahīm Raf' at Pāshā, Prince of the Egyptian Ḥajj, 1325

pp160-161

Map of Mount Arafat and the Pilgrims' camp there

pp168-9

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.

pp176-177

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

pp200-201

A general view of Medina

pp202-203

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

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

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His Royal Highness' camp at Medina

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

pp210-211

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

pp212-213

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

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The Prophet's *qiblah* in the Noble Garden

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

pp220-221

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 'Umar are next to it.

pp224-225

The Mosque of *Sayyid* Ḥamzah surrounded by visitors to Medina

pp226-227

Al-Baqī' and Medina Cemetery. The *qubbah* of *Sayyid* 'Uthmān 'Alī 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.

pp228-229

The civilian party and the people of Medina on their return from the pilgrimage

pp230-231

The Egyptian *takiyah* in Medina

pp246-247

The Pharaoh's treasury, Petra