CRITICAL EDITION OF MUḤAMMAD AL-ṬAYYIB’S MANUSCRIPT “TRAVEL TO ḤIJĀZ”: ANNOTATED AND AUTHENTICATED
Vol. 1

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First of all, Praise and gratitude be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds, without Whose decree and success this work could not have been accomplished.

I owe a considerable debt to the following people who have helped me in the preparation of the present work:

Most importantly thanks are due to my supervisors, Dr.Ashraf Eissa and Prof. Abdullah Al-Ghunaim, who treated me more than a student, with consistent patience and encouragement.

I also would like to take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude and thanks to my wife, Mrs.al-Dihan, who shared all the problems I faced during my work with infinite patience and understanding. Her support and care have helped me immeasurably throughout my life with her and without it this work would never have been possible. I also find myself obliged to mention my beloved sons Abdul-Razaq, Hesah and Mohammad who were supportive through out this research.

My deepest appreciation goes to all my family and relatives, for their love, patience and moral support during the long years of my research. Special gratitude is owed to my beloved mother who has been so patient during my several long absences from
the country. Special thanks and prayers for forgiveness for my beloved father who
died before he could witness the achievements of his sons.
Declaration

1. the author of this thesis, declare that none of the material in this thesis has been previously submitted by me or any other candidate for a degree in this or any other university.
Transliteration Scheme

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

1. Consonants

<table>
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2. Diphthongs

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### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
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<tr>
<td>AD</td>
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<td>AH</td>
<td><em>(Anno Hegirae)</em> Muslim era</td>
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<td>Un.p</td>
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<td>Al-Khizāna al-‘Āmma in Rabat</td>
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<td>K.M.</td>
<td>Al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya in Rabat</td>
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<td>K.Q.</td>
<td>Khizānat al-Qarawiyin in Fes</td>
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Abstract

Travel literature among Moroccan travellers has a long and celebrated history, producing a list of prominent and eminent scholars such as Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217), al-Abdari (d. 688/1289), Ibn Battuta (d. 779/1377) and al-Ayyashi (d. 1090/1679). Such scholars travelled for a variety of reasons including pilgrimage, umrah, visiting the Prophet’s grave, seeking knowledge and occasionally in an ambassadorial role. In addition they also left a wealth of literature, prose and poetry celebrating such journeys.

In this regard one of the outstanding scholars of this field was Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Tayyib b. Muhammad b. Musa b. Muhammad al-Sharqi al-Sumayli. al-Fasi al-Madani. Born in the city of Fez in 1110/1698. He studied with some of the most known scholars of Morocco at that time including, Abu al-Abbas Ahmed al-Misnawi, Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad Muhammad al-Misnawi, Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad al-Misnawi, and Abu Tahir Muhammad al-Kurani. Having acquired his early education in his home country he emigrated eastward to Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and finally to Medinah where he died in 1170 /1756 after living and teaching there for many years.

It is not surprising then that this great scholar left behind him a treasure of works in a variety of fields; indeed we find that Ibn al-Tayyib wrote many works, including four in jurisprudence, three in hadith and sixteen in grammar and in linguistics. Despite this however many of his academic contributions remain in manuscript form and therefore are inaccessible to the greater majority.

One such work is “Rihlah ilal-Hijaz”, which is particularly important to the field of travel literature as it represents a major contribution. This is because Ibn al-Tayyib came relatively late, historically, compared to other travel writers. In addition, it contains many minute details, which the author took care to record during his journey from place to place. It also contains accounts of everything he saw and his comments regarding the social, economic and political conditions of the countries he visited, as well as comments about the scholars whom he was able to meet. This work is important also because it is considered the most important reference for the author’s life, culture and is an important literary reference in terms of the poetry and prose, classical and modern, eastern and western, that it contains. In addition it accounts for both literary and religious scholars, the linguistic derivations of geographical names and draws attention to the mistakes of those who wrote about them before him. Bearing in mind the great significance of this work from a variety of aspects this thesis involves the complete revision, editing, annotation and authentication of the manuscript including the correction of missing characters and providing available information and biographical notes on the text.
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Travel literature among Moroccan travellers has a long and celebrated history, which has produced a list of prominent and eminent scholars such as Ibn Jubayr (d. 624 / 1217), al-Ṣābīrī (d. 688/1289), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377) and al-ʿAyyāshī (d. 1090/1679). Such scholars travelled for several reasons including pilgrimage, umrah, visit to the Prophet’s grave, in a search for knowledge and occasionally in an ambassadorial role. Furthermore they also left a wealth of literature, prose and poetry celebrating such journeys.

In this regard one of the outstanding scholars of this field was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Ṣarqī al-Ṣumaylī, al-Fāsī al-Madāni, born in the city of Fez in 1110/1698 and commonly named Ibn al-Ṭayyib. He studied with some of the most renowned scholars of Morocco at that time, including Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Misnāwī, Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad al-Misnāwī, Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Fāsī and Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad al-Kūrānī. Having acquired his early education in his home country he emigrated eastward to Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and finally to Medina where he died in 1170/1756 after living and teaching there for many years.

He was admired by many of the scholars he met, students who learned from him and academics who came after him. In this regard al-Katānī, the author of "Fihrīs al-
"Fahāris" said about him, “During his time there were few men like him with respect to the extent of his wide knowledge in various disciplines and the strength of his intellect.”

It is not surprising, then, that this great scholar left behind him a treasure of works in a variety of fields of learning; indeed we find that Ibn al-Ṭayyib wrote many books, including four in jurisprudence, three in ḥadīth and sixteen in grammar and in linguistics. Despite this, however, many of his academic contributions remain in manuscript form and therefore are inaccessible to the great majority.

One such work is “Rihlah ilā al-Ḥijāz”, which is particularly important to the field of travel literature as it represents a major contribution. This is because Ibn al-Ṭayyib came relatively late, historically, compared to other travel writers. Moreover, it contains many minute details, which the author took care to record during his journey from place to place. It also contains accounts of everything he saw and his comments regarding the social, economic and political conditions of the countries he visited, as well as comments about the scholars whom he met. This work is important also because it is considered the most important reference for the author’s life and culture, and is an important literary reference in terms of the poetry and prose, both classical and modern, eastern and western, that it contains. In addition, it gives accounts of both literary and religious scholars, explains the linguistic derivations of geographical names and draws attention on the mistakes of those who wrote about them before him.

Bearing in mind the great significance of this work from a variety of aspects, this thesis involves the complete revision, editing, annotation and authentication of the manuscript including the correction of missing characters and the provision of information and biographical notes on the text.

This manuscript is the most important reference that provides information on this scholar during the period that he spent outside of North Africa.

In addition, the manuscript describes the most important Hajj routes taken by Moroccans making Hajj during the eighteenth century, from Fez to the holy lands in the Hijāz. We also find that the author, as the travel writers used to do, gives special importance to mentioning the virtues and merits of travel.

This study answers the need to make available to new generations books written by prominent scholars from past centuries. These manuscripts were hand-written, using very basic materials and techniques and unfortunately, they have deteriorated due to neglect in the conditions of preservation throughout the ages, and because they were subject to various forms of damage, such as rot and poor storage. The mistakes of some of the original scribes, who were not as educated as the authors, make a new editions and annotations of the manuscripts all the more useful.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time this significant literary work has been edited, annotated and authenticated. This project will be an extremely important contribution to the field of travel literature, as it provides an opportunity for those involved with and specialising in travel literature and Arabic literature, to benefit from it and pursue further studies on it.
1.1 Methodology of the Study

Text comparison is a common method applied to edit old manuscripts.\textsuperscript{2} This means comparing copies of various manuscripts on the same subject with the aim of correcting and editing the required text. Since there is only one copy of the manuscript available, I have compared the copy of the manuscript, used for this study, to various other manuscripts produced on the same subject. This was done by referring to the references used by Ibn al-Ṭayyib in writing about his travels, and comparing them in terms of subject and context.

Differences in terms of adding or deleting words, distortions or spelling errors were noted. Everything the researcher added, such as titles or words absent in the original text but required by the context, is placed between two brackets [ ]. Lines have been numbered in the margins as well. The aim of doing so is to provide a better-structured version in order to facilitate the reading of the text.

If the difference is in terms of errors or distortion or misspellings as found in the reference sources, the word in the text is corrected and referred to by margin numbering along with the errors, distortions or misspelling.

With regard to poems, the correction is made at the bottom of the page and the errors, distortions or misspellings in the text are mentioned, unless the meaning is

affected as in [السهم], and in this case the poems are written by using the modern Arabic alphabet and writing conventions.

1.2 Footnotes and Comments

In the field of editing Arabic manuscripts, there are two prominent approaches. The first approach advocates the production of the text without making any comments on it. The second advocates the explanation of the text by footnotes and commentary, revealing the differences existing between texts, familiarising the reader with names, places and terminology and explaining ambiguities which require clarification.

I have adopted the second approach for the following reasons:

1. If a researcher edits the authenticated manuscripts as found, most of the time, they still include distortion and misspellings.
2. Most Arabic manuscripts were not handwritten by their original authors but by various scribes who had different levels of education and knowledge and in many cases were obviously not as familiar with the topic as the original author, which calls for some further explanations.
3. The majority of scribes did not concern themselves with punctuation and vocalisation, which are needed to adequately understand the text.

\(^1\) Ma'\u2019\u014d f Aww\u0105d, \(\textit{Dah\u0131\u0124 al-Na\u014d\u0131 wa al-Ta\u014d\u0131q Alayhi}\), (Beirut: Mu'assat al-Risalah, 1982) p. 7.
4. Scribes and authors did not have a standardised spelling convention, which caused differences in the way words were written. This is one of the reasons for the need to footnotes and a commentary.

I have adopted the following conventions:

- Qur'anic verses are referred to in their original form with emphasis put on how they differ from those in the text.

- A version of the manuscript is produced according to the method explained above under the title 'methodology'.

- Qur'anic texts are cited by mentioning the surah in which each of them occurs as well as its number.

- The hadiths and prophetic narrations are traced back to their established bibliographical sources.

- The meaning of archaic or otherwise unfamiliar words is explained by referencing classical, lexical sources (see bibliography).

- Reference is made to classical dictionaries and modern geographical sources in order to locate certain towns and villages, mentioned in the text, whose names have changed since the author's era.

- Errors in the manuscript are corrected by mentioning them in the footnotes.

- Definitions are provided to names, religious and intellectual groups, tribes, sects and the books, mentioned in the text as well as explanations of various historic and cultural terms.

- The validity of statements unfamiliar to a contemporary reader is ascertained and commentary made on them.
• Areas, which caused confusion to Ibn -Ṭayyib, or the scribes when writing or copying the dates of events, are clarified by consulting historical sources.

• Special attention is given to punctuation and vocalisation of words.

• The symbol \( \text{\textcopyright} \) indicates the end of the writing of the original manuscript.

• The text is divided into sections as it is done in Ibn -Ṭayyib’s manuscripts. The Riḥla will be referred to as al-Riḥla al-Badīʿa, Ibn -Ṭayyib’s Riḥla and Travel to Hijāz.

• References used by the author are cited in the footnotes of the text.

• Hijri dates mentioned in the text are accompanied by their A.D. equivalents.

As a rule, particular care has been taken to maintain the correctness of the text as it is in the original version, without making too many alterations, as not to interfere with the content of the text.

Modern standard Arabic was used so as to remedy the following shortcomings of the old alphabet:

Sometimes, the hamza at the end of a word is placed on the alif, instead of on the line, such as: “الكر” “الروح”.

Sometimes the hamza is omitted and noted from its calligraphy such as: “النكلان” “الاقتنا” “العالما” “الجفاء” “الاصطفا”.
The hamza at the start of the word or the one in the middle and at the end is often neglected, such as: ذي، ابن، الأخبار.

In many cases, al-hamza al-mutawassita al-maksūra is written as ya such as: زاب، الفرايدة، فاطمة، عائشة، الرسول، سلسلة.

The past tense, which has a vowel as the final letter is written instead of the alif maqsūra, most often and especially in poetry such as: تقرأ، الروحا.

The comments in the footnotes are meant to convey the original text in a complete form with the author's style. The researcher paid special attention in maintaining the names used in the text and added, if necessary, footnotes to ascertain their accuracy. I have also corrected a few names as required and noticed it in the footnotes as well.

1.3 Study of the Manuscript

The original of the Riḥla (trip) manuscript is to be found in a vault at Leipzig University Library in Germany under No: 476, Index: K.Voller. It contains one hundred and thirty four pages. The font is Naskh, in black ink. It is clear, moderate, neither fine nor thick. The size of the manuscript is medium relatively to others of its kind. The measurements of its plates are approximately nineteen-centimetres long, and ten-centimetres wide. Each plate contains twenty-seven lines with each line containing approximately eleven words. This is the one manuscript left from this Riḥla.
In the first plate of the manuscript, there is a frame written in faint gold ink, and six lines surround the text. However, this manuscript was seriously damaged in places—as there are cuts in (plate: 129, back), and (plate: 133 face).

On the first plate all the different owners of the manuscript are mentioned in a rather haphazard way. Here follows the text:

This is the “Rihla” of al-Sayyid Abū ‘Abd Allāh, known as “Ibn al-Ṭayyib”, may Allāh illuminate his grave and enlighten us with his blessings together with all Muslims. All thanks are due to Almighty Allāh, the Lord of the two worlds, Amen.

At the bottom we find:

The sinful, poor, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir, son of the deceased to the hands of ‘Abd Allāh Afandi, son of the deceased Mawlāna, to the hand of Muḥammad Ḥasan Afandi al-Aṣṭiwānī ... from shaykh Aḥmad ‘Amru, on 20 Dhul-Ḥijja 1266. thanks is due to the Almighty Allāh under every circumstance, Amen.

On the left side on top of the page: “Owned by the poor, helpless, and sinful slave Sayed Muḥammad Rashid” which is followed by the stamp of Muḥammad Rashid.

At the bottom of the page: “Owned by the poor slave of Allāh: Muṣṭafā, son of ‘Abd Allāh Bay ... son of As‘ad Bāsha.”

At the bottom also: “ in the book of faqīh ... Muḥammad Ḥasan.”

The author named it in many places: “al-Riḥla al-Badī‘a”. The man who copied it is unknown.
The manuscript starts with *al-Basmalah* (In the Name of Allah. Most Merciful. Most Compassionate) followed by the introduction to the book. The author himself mentioned five introductions to his book. Then, he goes on narrating the trip in detail both during the resting and travelling phases.

The copyist contributed his comments among the sheets of the manuscript. At the bottom of the right hand page and on the left side, he noted down in small italic calligraphy, the initial word with which he would start the front page of the second sheet next to the right page.

Also, the manuscript hardly has any vocalisation, commas, from start to end. There are only a few grammatical, linguistic and pagination errors, as well as a number of omissions. (See photocopies of the first and last folios of the manuscript at the end of the study section.)

### 1.4 Overview of the Content of the Thesis

This thesis consists of two parts; the first part, which is written in English, consists of five chapters, which can be summarised as follows:

Chapter one is an introductory chapter presenting the major objectives of the study, as well as the reasons for choosing the Moroccan manuscript.
Chapter two is divided into two main sections. Section one introduces the main motives behind the travellers' journeys. Section two presents four Moroccan travellers whose *Rihlat* are significant to this study.

Chapter three reviews the political, economic and social aspects of life in both Morocco and Ḥijāz and the impact of such environments on Ibn-Ṭayyib's life. This chapter consists of two main sections; the first section is devoted to the political and social aspects of life in Morocco and the second section reviews the corresponding aspects for Ḥijāz.

Chapter four deals exclusively with the biography of Ibn al-Ṭayyib. It describes his kinship and family descent as well as his religious profile. It also lists his *shaykhs* under the guidance of whom he studied Arabic and religious disciplines. His students and works are also tackled in this chapter.

In Chapter Five a full description of the geographic route of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's journey is provided. This chapter is divided into five sections; section one is devoted to the academic style of Ibn al-Ṭayyib in his writings. Section two deals with Ibn al-Ṭayyib's academic movement. Section three describes the route of the author's journey, providing a geographical description of most of the places visited and witnessed by the author. Section four examines the hardships and dangers faced by the pilgrims, which varied from shortage of water to robbery. Section five offers a general description of various social phenomena Ibn al-Ṭayyib experienced during his journey.
The manuscript is fully dealt with in the second part of this thesis. The manuscript consists of an introduction and twelve chapters mainly written and commented on in Arabic. The introduction consists of five sections; section one is a general introduction. Section two presents a concise introduction on the importance and advantages of *al-hāj*. Section three discusses the virtues of visiting the prophet’s grave. Section four gives a general view of the advantage of travelling. Section five, however, is more practical as it presents valuable advice to travellers before they set out on their journeys.

Part two, as mentioned above, consists of twelve chapters that are designed to describe Ibn-Ṭayyib’s journey from Fez to Mecca in detail. The first six chapters describe Ibn-Ṭayyib’s determination to travel, as well as his departure from Fez and his arrival in Tripoli and Cairo. These chapters also present the author’s description of the social, economic and political situations of the places he visited or passed through. Moreover, a detailed geographical description of his route is provided in these chapters. The author also provides a discussion of some religious issues.

The second four chapters provide the details of the author’s journey from Egypt to Ḥijāz and then to Mecca and Medina. The main focus in these chapters is on the biggest mosques of Medina, its graveyards and crops.

In the last chapters the author describes leaving Medina for Egypt on his way to his hometown of Fez. These chapters describe Ibn-Ṭayyib’s religious activities and his meeting with notable scholars of the time. Like the other chapters, these chapters portray the author’s geographical route on his way back home.
CHAPTER TWO: Previous Research

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to present the Ḥijāzi ʿRihla, its types and its academic, economic, social, political and religious importance to travellers in general and Moroccans, in particular. The chapter displays the most important incentives that led the travellers to undergo such journeys, such as pilgrimage, trade, seeking knowledge and official missions. The chapter also introduces a number of such Ḥijāzi ʿRihla and travellers in various ages to indicate their importance and effect on travel literature. Among these travellers we have chosen Ibn Jubayr al-Andalusi. He is considered one of the early writers who noted their feelings in a diary during the pilgrimage journey, besides describing the academic life in each country that he visited; al-ʿAbdārī and al-ʿAyyāšī are two of the sources most frequently references referred to by Ibn-Ṭayyib; Ibn Ṭāṭṭūṭa is one of the best known Arab travellers. His journey was translated into many languages.

2.1 Moroccan Travels

There is no doubt that the Moroccan travels, or the so-called Ḥijāzi ʿRihla constitutes a literary and historical phenomenon. These documented travels, have provided us with invaluable insight and knowledge. They captured in detail, eyewitness accounts of the Islamic world as it was then. Such Muslim travellers, as depicters and
geographers, left us with an endless treasure of geographical information, involving documents of great importance for the human history. For researchers, miscellaneous types of facts and knowledge can be drawn. Vladimir Minorski wrote:

Arab geographers filled the gap between the Greek Patlaymolus and the Venetian Marco Polo. Stories and news of those Arab travellers are varied and more vivid than those found in the Greek books. Their writings were more selective, more critical and more detailed than those of the great Venetian traveller Marco Polo. 4

In addition, these journeys were mainly descriptive, though they did have a cultural element, which all travellers without exception have. The geographical description was a common aspect of most Moroccan travellers' works; most of their writings contained geographical description of every place they reached or came across. Some like al-'Ayyashi, 5 wrote in great detail; others, like Ibn Rashid, 6 wrote in less detail whilst others, like Ibn Jābir al-Wādi, 7 did not include any detail at all.

Moroccan travellers were so concerned about documenting the geographic description of their areas of travel, that if they were unable to describe what they saw precisely or failed to recall details from memory, they rely on copying the work of past travellers that had witnessed and documented the same location. Hence, we can say that the genre of Hijāzi/Moroccan Riḥla constitutes an independent art, full of information of much concern to the historian, geographer, economist and sociologist. Their significance is manifested in their wealth of the

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5 al-ʿAyyāši, ʿAbd Allah, al-Riḥla al-ʿAyyāšiyat (Rabat: Dār al-Maghrib,1977)
7 Āshi, Muḥammad, Barnāmaj al-Wādi Āshi, 3rd edn (Beirut: Dār al-Garb al-Islāmi, 1982)
scientific material, written in a highly literary style, based on actual observations and eyewitness accounts.

There is no doubt that anyone who looks into books of *Rihla*, will conclude that those travellers varied in the degree of their observation and their concern about certain aspects to the exclusion of others, according to their interests and priorities.

Obviously, travel books are one of the most important types of compilations, because of their academic, social and cultural, aspects. Moreover, Moroccan travellers' observations about the political conditions in the countries they went to, revealed much that would otherwise be unknown about the relations between Islamic states. They are considered among the most truthful historical sources written on Islam at that time.

### 2.2 Travels: Motives and Incentives

Among the most important incentives for travellers is the search for knowledge and the desire to benefit from the leading scholars of the time, as was noted by Ibn Khaldūn. As he documented in his *magnum opus 'al-Muqaddima*': "It (travel) is a must for a traveller to seek knowledge and acquire benefits and perfection through contact with scholars and men of knowledge."

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Visiting Mecca and Medina as well as other Islamic centres, such as Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, was the focus of attention for seekers of knowledge. For instance, one student might travel from Baghdad going to Damascus, another from Damascus to Bukhāra, a third from Tunisia to Cairo, a fourth from Cairo seeking knowledge in Fez. Not only were they seeking knowledge and obtaining advice from knowledgeable people but also they were seeking fame, to spread their own knowledge and reputations, which were things they could not attain in their own localities or local states.

In addition to seeking knowledge, pilgrimage was one of the major motives that made Muslims to travel. Pilgrimage was – and still is - a journey that all Muslims, not only scholars and academics, aspired to make. As a result, the pilgrimage journey acquired a folklore or legendary status. When Islam came, pilgrimage was imposed on all Muslims capable of performing it and this journey prompted knowledgeable travellers to record their observations. As a result, much has been learned from such journeys.

Moreover, there were other reasons why those travels took place, i.e. travels for official missions commissioned by the Sulṭān. For example, al-Wāthiq Billāh commissioned Salām al-Turgmān to travel to the forts of the Caucas Mountains in 227/841 as narrated by Khurdadhba. Those official travels formed an opportunity to collect information and data about miscellaneous countries and peoples and hence were considered as exploratory journeys.

Trade was another early incentive for distant travels. The Quraysh used to have two seasonal trips; one in the winter and another in the summer as mentioned in the Qur'an:

"For the protection of Quraysh (We cause) the caravans to set forth safely in winter and summer."\(^{11}\)

These two trips were specifically for trading as the people of Mecca were merchants and their caravans used to exchange commodities with Yemen and Syria and vice versa.

Islamic conquests also helped in the expansion of trade, as traders used to travel seeking profit in the Islamic markets, which were integrated and open to them. With their merchandise, traders conveyed their dreams, cultures, beliefs and inquisitiveness. They were also curious about other countries and their cultures. The knowledge they acquired and conveyed about various peoples, consequently, became part of the literary heritage of travel literature.

From the start of the 6\(^{th}\)/12\(^{th}\) century, travel was initiated on a large scale beyond the Muslim states, to achieve miscellaneous aims: economic via trading, religious via pilgrimage and academic through seeking knowledge. Among the factors that encouraged wide ranging travels were the low number of frontiers between the states, in addition to the small number of imposed hindrances. In addition to the trader, the seeker of knowledge, the pilgrim, and the ambassador, professional and amateur travellers used to journey for the sake of the journey itself, writing down their observations from their own points of view.

Moroccan academics were outstanding and prolific in their writing of travel literature. This is due to the fact that their country was far from the early scholarly and cultural centres in Hijāz, Syria, and Iraq, as well as Egypt and Istanbul in later times. The researcher in the field of travel literature notices that this literature prospered later when other various aspects of culture were inactive.

If we want to display the features of those travels through the course of history, we will see that in the 4th/10th century onwards, major and highly developed compilations were authored and an independent movement came into being. Additionally, in this century, the classic school of Arabic geography was formed and the number of travellers increased greatly, including such names as Ibn Ḥawqal (d. 367/977), al-Maqdisī (d. 380/990), al-Masʿūdi (d. 346/957), and others. Such maturity indicates the originality of the deeply rooted civilization of the Islamic State, despite its political weakness. This weakness was not reflected in the religious and cultural unity of the countries.

Since the journey, which is the focus of the present work, is considered a journey for pilgrimage, it is worth shedding light on some such journeys before Ibn al-Ṭayyib.

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13 Ibid., p.19.
2.3 Some Prominent Travellers before Ibn al-Ṭayyib and their Journeys

2.3.1 Ibn Jubayr

Ibn Jubayr al-Andalusi (d. 614/1217) is considered one of the earliest writers who noted their feelings in a diary during the pilgrimage journey, besides describing the academic life in each country that he visited. Additionally, he was concerned with recording the rituals of pilgrimage and the pilgrims’ feelings, as well as describing the holy places.

Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Jubayr was born in Balansiyya in 539/1144 and was brought up and educated by his father in Shāfībat. Ibn Jubayr was among the pioneers of writing the events and observations of travels in a literary form. "It can be said that travel books started from that era with Ibn Jubayr's journey."\(^{15}\)

Ibn Jubayr made three pilgrimage journeys; his first journey lasted for two years and three and a half months. Undoubtedly, it was the most important of his journeys, as it was this one, which paved the way for the other two journeys.

It seems that he compiled the book on his well-known journey in the form of a diary, after his return from the first journey. The other two journeys were not known. As

\(^{15}\)Ibid, p. 9.
al-Anṣāri explained\(^\text{16}\), this may be due to his concern regarding the discipline of ḥadīth and Sufism, which did not give him a chance to record anything about the other two journeys.

Ibn Jubayr was notably a comprehensive observer and thinker. He had a vivid style and a wide range of capabilities in illustration, description and the figurative uses of words. He was also characterised by his capacity for the pursuit of truth. It was his custom to verify the dates and circumstances related to the events he mentioned. In addition, he took special care in trying to understand conflicting policies at the time of writing his journey.

He clarified many unknown and vague conditions and made contacts with authoritative Muslims and others. By doing so he attempted to explore the facts from their original sources, particularly in al-Shām, which was occupied by the Crusaders at that time and Sicily, which was ruled by foreign rulers. He also studied and documented the habits, customs, industries and other cultural aspects of the society in Damascus, Mecca, Jeddah, Medina and other Ḥijāzī cities.

There is no doubt that "Rihlat Ibn Jubayr" is a valuable book from both academic and historical points of view. It is characterised by being both precise and concise, although there are mistakes, which could hardly be avoided by travellers at that time. The book also included special terms and local, typical words as used in the localities he visited. For example, the inhabitants of Cayzab called 'ship' as 'al-Jilba', hence, he

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named it so. When he reached Iraq, however, he re-named it 'markab'\textsuperscript{17}. Similarly, when he was in Africa and Hijāz he used the word 'funduq' for 'hotel' and when he reached Iraq he used the word 'khān' instead. \textsuperscript{18}

Among the major characteristics of this book are the utmost concern the author gives to describe the cities he visited, their ruins, schools, hospitals, markets, and so on. He skilfully recorded the wealthy features of the Islamic states. He also recorded the victories of Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī over the Crusaders. In addition, he noted the revolutionary response of the Muslim people to the Crusaders' taking hold of the Muslim lands. He also criticised the Muslim rulers' oppression of their peoples and Muslim pilgrims, particularly in Hijāz.

It is worth mentioning that Ibn Jubayr's style in his detailed and elaborate description of buildings, though boring for the layman, is very vivid and easy to understand. His general presentation aims at perfection and elegance. He makes extensive use of assonance (rhymed prose) without exaggeration to make it easier for the reader to understand. He also uses many literary allusions, which require a certain degree of general knowledge on the part of the reader. Despite this, however, this journey includes some indispensable information for any scholar aspiring to study this era of Islam in the East.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibn Jubayr, Muḥammad, \textit{Rihlat Ibn Jubayr} (Beirut: Dar Ṣadīr, 1964), pp. 40 and 162.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 11 and 164.
2.3.2 Al-\textsuperscript{5}Abdārī

\textsuperscript{5}Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. \textsuperscript{5}Ali b. Ḥomad b. Masūd al-\textsuperscript{5}Abdārī was born 643/1245 and was descended from an Andalusian family, the roots of which went back to the Quraish family that was settled in the Ḥaḥa region of Morocco.\textsuperscript{19}

The literary aspect of his journey makes it distinctive, and therefore it is no less important than the previous journey. Al-\textsuperscript{5}Abdārī was interested in highlighting the academic aspects of the countries he visited, from Morocco to al-Ḥijāz, Jerusalem and Hebron. He included biographies of academics and scholars he met during his journey and mentioned a great deal of their behaviour, habits, news and poetry, which have not been documented in any journey other than that of al-\textsuperscript{5}Abdārī's. Al-\textsuperscript{5}Abdārī went on a journey to perform al-Hajj in 688/1289 and was distinguished by his knowledge of Arabic and eloquent style. In addition he was a known critic of poetry. He had read many travel and history books and depended in his writings on what was written by earlier travellers and previous explorers.

He also relied upon observation and personal contacts and what was narrated to him. Regarding his style, it was well formed and consistent. This work is characterised by a tendency for rhyme, and quotation from the Qur'an and the Prophet's tradition, sayings and tales. He offered opinions based on the Qur'an or Sunnah and he was

quick to criticise what he considered to be innovation, as in the case of his critique of the people of Zawāra and Zawāgha.\textsuperscript{20}

Further, he expressed pessimism regarding what he saw as the deteriorating status of the country and the backwardness of scholarship in Morocco at that time. He was greatly saddened by the lack of security, which he conveyed in expressions full of bitterness:

"When a traveller goes a little way from Fez heading towards Alexandria, he enters into darkness and the wilderness. He cannot expect any security for his money nor his soul. He cannot guarantee the safety of tomorrow for what he has today. He may fall in the unjust hands of the unfair. In vain, he cries for help and no body can help him.\textsuperscript{21}"

He expressed his sorrow for the low level of culture in the cities he came across. About Bijāya he said, "The sea of knowledge in it had disappeared and only its remnants remained.\textsuperscript{22}

As for al-Qarawiyin, he expressed his sadness about the conditions of the place and its inhabitants, saying: "I have seen only drawings eroded by time and monuments that had been lost in the past. People who live there are harsh, and uncultured: they have no understanding of humanity. I have seen nothing in it that is worth noting except for its mosque and cemetery.\textsuperscript{23}"

\textsuperscript{20} Al-\'Abdari, \textit{Rihlat al-\'Abdari}, p.183.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid, p. 83.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., pp. 157 – 159.
With these descriptions, remarks and comments, al-‘Abdari presented vivid picture about the status of the Moroccan lands he visited or came across. Thus, al-‘Abdari’s journey became a basic source for the study of the aspects of the economic, social and cultural life of Morocco during that period.

2.3.3 Ibn Baṭṭuta

Two centuries after Ibn Jubayr, a traveller who was unprecedented in his approach, in that he incorporated peculiarities and superstitions in his travels24, drew the attention of the world. Ibn Baṭṭuta was Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Ṭanjī. He was descended from the Berber tribe of Lawāta and was born in Tangiers in the year 703/1304.25

Ibn Baṭṭuta belonged to a humble family and although Ibn Baṭṭuta’s father was a jurist (faqih), Ibn Baṭṭuta chose to travel to Mecca to acquire knowledge under well-known scholars. Ibn Baṭṭuta endured all the hardships and obstacles that faced him on his long journey to Mecca. He was a brave, courageous young man and his determination and ambition made him carry on in his journey although, as it was narrated, he was ill. His illness however, did not cause him to abandon his journey to Mecca.

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On his way to Mecca, he visited Tunisia, Egypt, Syria and Iraq. His visit to these countries widened his geographical, economical, historical and social knowledge if not his religious knowledge.

Ibn Battuta was, without doubt, one of the most reputed Muslim travellers. He was fond of travelling in search of distinctive routes. He started his journey in 725/1324 from Tanjiers heading to Mecca for pilgrimage. Ibn Battuta accompanied the pilgrim caravans, which were also heading to Mecca to perform Hajj. After this journey, he continued to travel from the Atlantic Ocean in the west, to China in the east. His travels lasted for approximately 29 years, after which he returned to dictate his tales to Muhammad b. Jazi al-Kalbi, by command of the Sultan Abu CAnan al-Marini the ruler of Morocco at that time.

His account of his travel 'Tuhfat al-Nuzår fi Gharā'ib al-Amṣār wa ‘Ajā'ib al-Asfār' reveals a lot to us regarding ceremonies and special occasions, in both the Islamic and Indian civilizations. It also shows the variety and differences in the local cultures and customs among Muslims in the 8th/14th centuries. It also provides us with information about Africa, which was unknown at that time. What is more important is that Ibn Battuta's account displayed the positive side of the Islamic civilization as a "broad world inhabited by one nation, the members of which are united by the bond of Islam and human cordiality." 26

26 Ibid. p. 24.
In his *Rihla*, Ibn Battūta mixes reality with imagination; this was shown in his tales such as that of the inhabitants of 'dhayb al-Muhl' island and their adoption of Islam, where he merged actual events with the imaginary, in his tale of the arrival of the Moroccan shaykh Barakāt to the island and its ruler and inhabitants adopting Islam at his hands. Shaykh Barakāt convinced them that reciting the Qur'an keeps dangers away and protects them from spirits. The legend relates that the *shaykh* took the place of a girl, whom the people intended to offer in sacrifice, according to their custom of offering a sacrifice to the ghosts, to please them and avoid their harm. However, the *shaykh's* recital of the Qur'an made the ghosts leave for good and as a result, girls on the island were saved.27

It should be noted that Ibn Battūta was fond of description; he conveyed to us a clear image of the major cities at that time, portraying the most outstanding religious and tourist attractions and monuments.28 He described the clothes the people used to wear on festivals and certain occasions and he also described royal precessions29, as well as the procession of the "holy carpet."30 Also he described the Indian magicians and their amazing works in detail.31 In addition, he wrote about endowments in Egypt, Syria and Persia that were kept for the poor and destitute, as well as knowledge seekers. Some of their revenues were spent on the sufi Zāwiya, the poor and the seekers of knowledge.32 The impression one gets from Ibn Battūta's Travels is that illiteracy prevailed in the Islamic states and that education was exclusive to the religious.

28 Ibid. p. 33.
29 Ibid. p. 59.
30 Ibid. p. 62.
31 Ibid. p. 622.
32 Ibid. p. 115.
Ibn Battuta's account of his journey was accepted by some people and challenged by others. The historian Ibn Khaldun says:

"When the people denied what Ibn Battuta said and accused him of lying, I went to see the minister Fāris b. Wardān—the Sultan’s Minister—to discuss the matter with him. I showed him how people denied that man. The minister said: "be aware of denouncing such matters regarding the country’s condition, since you have not seen them." 33

Ahmad Amin summarised the reasons that made people disbelieve him. He includes: his exaggeration in describing the unbelievable generosity of some kings such as the king of India, which is hardly believable. In addition, Ibn Battuta related imaginary events, such as his journey from China to Jāwa. In addition to this, his unbelievable description of the miracles of holy men (al-awliyā') was highly exaggerated. Moreover, he claimed to have paid visits to various countries, and covered long distances in a very short time but his report of order of the countries he visited does not make geographically sense when compared with the map. 34

2.3.4  Abū Sālim al-‘Ayyāshī

In the 11th/17th century, the traveller al-‘Ayyāshī appeared. ʻAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Yūsuf al-ʻAyyāshī, known as Abū Sālim al-ʻAyyāshī, was descended from al-Adārisa. ʻAyyāsh was a tribe from the Berbers whose state was situated in the southeast of Morocco. 35 Al-ʻAyyashi was born in 1037/1627, which was a year in

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14 Al-Katānī, Fihras al-Fahāris, vol. 2, p. 213
which political assassinations and turmoil prevailed. In this atmosphere he received his education under his father, who taught him Sufism, religious sciences and the Holy Qur'an. Then he set off to visit the senior shaykhs of Morocco to study various other disciplines.

His father in 1044/1628 founded al-Zawiya al ‘Ayyashyya, known today as Zawiyat Sidi Ḥamza. His father settled down in Tazrouft, which lies on the bank of river Ziz south of Midelt in the Atlas Mountains after travelling for a long time from one village to another. Then he furthered his knowledge by travelling to other academic centres, such as al-Zawiya al Nāsiryya in Tamkrūt in 1053/1643, to attend lessons with shaykh Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al- Nāṣiri’s. After that, he moved to Marrākech where the sūfi shaykh Abū Bakr al-Saktāni taught and performed al-dhikr, the Sufi ritual, awarded him the khirqa (the patched robe) and seated him on the mat, which signified that al-‘Ayyāshī had become qualified to teach. After the death of his father, al-‘Ayyāshī became the head of al-Zawiya al-‘Ayyashyya and his distinct teaching style increased the number of his adherents, causing him to expand the Zawiya in 1066/1656. However, this expansion of al-Zawiya, together with the augmentation of the number of his followers, brought fear and caution among the Moroccan rulers who threatened to close it down.

Al-‘Ayyāshī was expelled twice, first to Fez during the al-Sa‘di era in 1063/1652. This was because he refused to serve as a Qāḍi (judge) in Marrakech when he was appointed by Sultān Muḥammad al-Shaykh. He remained in Fez for a year. The

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second time was in the ‘Alawiyin era, by Sultan al-Rashid in 1079/1668. Al-‘Ayyāshi remained in Fez with his family until Sultan Ismā‘īl came to power; who allowed him to return to his hometown.39 His expulsion to Fez was a great opportunity for him to learn under the most famous scholars at that time. Al-‘Ayyāshi travelled three times to al-Ḥijāz in 1059/1649, 1064/1653, and 1072/1661 but these journeys were not extensively recorded. He himself explained that he felt none of the previous journeys deserved recording, except for a few reports of scholars, which was not enough to justify the writing of separate works. Despite this, al-‘Ayyāshi’s Rihla became an example to be admired and in addition to this, it is regarded as a good reference for many Moroccan travellers, who have extensively drawn from it, such as Ibn Nāsir.

Al-‘Ayyāshi also wrote a small report known as ‘Rihlat al-‘Ayyashi al Ṣughra’, which contains valuable advice for his close friend Abū al-‘Abbās Ḥamd b. Sa‘īd al-Makildi. It was said that one of the reasons for writing this small Rihla was to convince his friend al-Makildi to postpone his journey to al-Ḥijāz until the following year. (1069/1658) so that they could journey together.40 However, when this wish was not fulfilled for some reason, al-‘Ayyāshi wrote down his experiences gained from his two previous journeys to al-Ḥijāz. His account covers the geographical, social and economic aspects of countries the traveller would pass through and contains invaluable advice, such as the things the traveller must carry with him and the difficulties he may encounter. This Rihla is still in manuscript form and has not

been published but it was, as Muḥammad al-Akhḍar says, translated into French by his [al-Akhḍar’s] father.\textsuperscript{41}

Al-‘Ayyāshī was also in contact with the people of Dalā‘i by means of academic, literary and poetic contests.\textsuperscript{42} Thanks to his knowledge, literary works and travels inside and outside Morocco, Abū Sālim al-‘Ayyāshī became well known.\textsuperscript{43} His travels were characterised by conveying a clear picture of the societies, their nature, their make up and the way they thought. He comprehended the geography of the Arab states and was aware of the people's suffering from the oppression of the rulers, the deterioration of economy, exposure to epidemics and famine, and he honestly conveyed such sufferings.\textsuperscript{44}

As mentioned earlier\textsuperscript{45}, Abū Sālim al-‘Ayyāshī made three journeys, all of which were for pilgrimage. The first was in 1059/1649, the second was in 1064/1653, and the third one was in 1072/1661. His travel books were rich with many benefits; he was aware of what his predecessors had written about their travels, and he was keen to author his own book as a record of knowledge, following the example of Ibn Rashid al-Sabti, whom he called the "leader" of travellers, and to whom he referred in some parts of his work\textsuperscript{46}. In addition to his travel writing being typically academic, it also touched geographic, historical and social matters.

\textsuperscript{42}Al-‘Ayyāshi, \textit{al-Iḥyā'}, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{43}Al-‘Ayyāshi, \textit{al-Rihla Al-‘Ayyāshīya}, pp. 28-47.
\textsuperscript{44}\textit{Ibid}, vol. 2, p. 380.
\textsuperscript{45}See p. 29
\textsuperscript{46}\textit{Ibid}, pp. 1-4.
His first and second travels were collected in one book, the result of which was his well-known work 'Iqtifa al-Athar Ba'd Dhāḥba Aḥl al-Athar'. His third journey in 1072, was his last trip for pilgrimage, and resulted in his writing 'Mā al-Mawṣīd', a review of his three trips, to which he annexed his work 'Tuhfat al-Akhilā bi-Assānīd al-Mashāyikh al-Ajlī'.

Al-ʿAyyāshī was famous for his biographies and other literary works. Researchers praised his knowledge and his reputable work 'Mā al-Mawṣīd'. His students, the best of whom was shaykh Aḥmad b. Nāṣir, followed his approach in writing his travel works, and quoted him extensively in his own works, to such an extent that it was said that his writing was a summary of his shaykh's efforts. Many travellers profited from al-ʿAyyāshī's travel literature with respect to description of places and biographies of distinguished personalities, such as the eastern traveller al-Iṣḥāqī 1150/1739, and the Algerian, al-Warthalānī, who referred to al-ʿAyyāshī's work ninety-five times, sometimes by direct quotation and at other times by abridging and adapting it. The historian Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī realised the importance of this trip, and hence he referred to it as the basis for his book, Nashr al-Mathānī.

Al-ʿAyyāshī was known for his piety and asceticism, as well as an inclination to Sufism. He had a great reputation and many followers in the localities around his

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47 ibid., pp. 1-5.
zāwiya. He was also interested in various fields of scholarship, particularly the discipline of hadīth (Prophetic tradition). 52

2.4 Conclusion:

In this chapter we have discussed the major motives and aims that encouraged the travellers to undertake their journeys during the Islamic period. We also stated that Islam played a great role in helping travel literature gain popularity, the major motives being pilgrimage, 'umra, visiting the Prophet’s grave and seeking knowledge at the hands of learned men. In addition, we selected a few typical Ḥijāzī travels, which influenced the travel literature. Examples of such travels were Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr, which was one of the major travels undertaken and described the Islamic world in the 4th/10 centuries. Al-Ṣāfī-ābādī 643/1245 gave, within his account of his journey to Ḥajj in 688/1289, a detailed, vivid picture of the status of the Moroccan countries he visited or came across, particularly the deterioration in security and decline of academic knowledge in Morocco in that particular era. Thus, al-Ṣāfī-ābādī’s journey became a basic source for the study of the aspects of the economic, social and cultural life of Morocco. Riḥlat Ibn Bāṭṭūṭa in the 6th/12th century described the Islamic world in addition to other civilizations. We also examined Riḥlat al-Ṣāfī-ābādī which was considered a cultural encyclopaedia, combining geographic, economic, political, and religious points.

CHAPTER THREE: Aspects of life in Morocco and Hijaz

3.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the political, economic and social aspects of life in both Morocco and Hijaz, and the impact of all such events on the development of Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi and on the course of his life. During this era, Morocco encountered various political disputes and conflicts, which affected its stability and development. Similarly, we will also attempt to investigate and study the same conditions and factors in al-Ḥijaz, to convey to the reader a comparison between Morocco, where Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi was born and Ḥijaz, where he emigrated and settled. During the reign of Sultan Ismāʾīl, Morocco witnessed a certain degree of stability but after his death, however, Morocco experienced severe and drastic clashes and disputes, brought about by the seizure of power by his sons; this in turn led to the deterioration of the economic and social conditions in Morocco.

3.1 Political Aspects of Life in Morocco

The period, which Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi spent in the city of Fez, had a significant and crucial impact on his early life. This in turn contributed towards constituting his character, and his academic, as well as literary distinction and genius. Consequently, it is important to investigate the political, social and cultural events witnessed by Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi during that period i.e. 1110/1601-1170/1756 in order to explore the effect of that period on his academic, religious and worldly life.
During the period 1110/1601 - 1139/1726, Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi lived in Fez, during the reign of Sultan Ismā'il b. Sharif, the 'Alawī monarch who ruled the country from 1082/1671-1139/1726. During his reign, Morocco was at the peak of its power, unity and stability. Sultan Ismā'il was renowned for his strength and seriousness. He suppressed many revolts such as those of Aḥmad al-Dalāʿī, who attacked the country with the support of the Berbers, the revolts of his three brothers al-Ḥirān, Hāshim and Aḥmad and that of his nephew Aḥmad b. Miḥriz, as well as the revolt of his two sons, Muḥammad al-Ālim and Abū al-Naṣr. In addition to this, another revolt by al-Khuḍr Ghīlān had taken place in the north.

One of the reasons for his ability to subdue such revolts was the fact that he could create a regular, strong army, which was unique, unequalled and unrivalled in Morocco.53 It must be noted that such an army had a large role in suppressing turmoil in Fez, after the death of Sultan Ismā'il, as will be discussed later. This period represents one of the most important eras of stability in Arab Morocco during the 12th/18th century. Such political stability led to prosperity, a decline in prices and development of academic activities. At the same time, Fez prospered commercially and academically, under a policy of discipline and unity.54

Nevertheless, the last days in the life of Sultan Ismā'il were not so prosperous, as his health weakened and deteriorated. At the same time, conspiracies against him

became more prevalent. During this period, he issued an order for one of his own sons to be assassinated by being smothered with a pillow, after he lost consciousness through heavy drinking and he killed another son with his own hands.\(^{55}\)

After the death of Sultan Isma'il in 1139/1726, after a long reign of fifty-seven years, a period of turbulence started and continued for approximately forty-two years. During this period, the seven sons of Sultan Isma'il were involved in a power struggle to rule the land. They were Aḥmad the so-called al-Dhahabi, ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Ali, Muḥammad b. ‘Arabiyyah, al-Mustadr and Zayn al-Dīn.\(^{56}\)

The internal afflictions and ordeals continued to cause restlessness and instability in the region at that time. The travellers who visited the country played an important role in recording such internal events. Abū-Madyan (d. 1157/1746), recorded the restless and turbulent period after the death of Sultan Isma'il, highlighting the chaos, plundering and greed of rulers, which was demonstrated by their unscrupulous collection of money and the imposition of unfair taxes. As an example, he described their bad treatment of the Ḥajj caravan; no sooner had this caravan reached Fez, than its ruler immediately sent his supporters to collect taxes from the pilgrims, without any legitimate justification.

Abū Madyan wrote:

"On that night, the ruler of Fez, accompanied by his supporters, went out and imposed taxes on the pilgrims, aggressively and unjustly. That was the start of treachery and injustice. Moreover,

the tax collectors also treated the people rudely, with contempt and disdain..." \(^5^7\)

Such disturbances and malpractices were also recorded and investigated by another traveller called ‘Abd al-Majid al-Zabādī (1113/1693-1163/1751), who experienced the bitterness of injustice, which lasted for a long period after the death of Sultan Ismā‘īl. He spoke about the fears and anxieties, expressed in Fez, while he was performing the duty of Hajj. For example, he found great difficulty and danger in walking on the roads of Fez, to reach the grave of Mawlāy Idrīs. He described that dreadful situation, saying, "We made the camels kneel down and encamped but we encountered there afflictions, obstructions and sadness, which made it difficult for us to reach the grave of Idrīs b. Idrīs..." \(^5^8\)

The first Sultan who succeeded Ismā‘īl was his son Aḥmad, the so-called al-Dhahabi, in 1139/1726. He was described as a quiet, kindhearted man with a weak character, thus being exactly the opposite of his father. \(^5^9\) This weak character prompted his brother ‘Abd al-Malik to revolt against him in the year 1141/1728.

Aḥmad al-Dhahabī died that same year and his brother ‘Abdullāh was recognised as the sultan. \(^6^0\) He marched with his army to capture Fez, appointing his army commander Ḥamdūn the Russian (al-Rūṣi) as ruler. He in turn, demolished the gates and walls surrounding the city and cut off the water supply from the population. \(^6^1\)

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\(^5^9\) Al-Qādirī, *Iltiqāt al-Durar*, vol. 7, p. 335.

\(^6^0\) Al-Nāṣirī, *al-Istiqṣā‘*, vol. 7, p. 125.

\(^6^1\) *Ibid*, vol. 7, p. 132.
In the year 1147/1734 an army of slaves helped 'Abdullah's brother, 'Ali b. Ismā'īl, to seize power in Fez after ousting sultan 'Abdullah.\(^{62}\) However, 'Abdullāh returned with the help of the al-Awādiya army, besieging the city and looting it. This siege led to an increase in prices and caused an upsurge in the cost of living.\(^{63}\)

Muḥammad b. 'Arabiyya, 'Abdullāh's brother, rose up against him in the year 1149/1736, when he managed to get the army of slaves and the army of al-Awādiya, who were camping in new Fez to join him. This uprising caused 'Abdullāh to flee once more.\(^{64}\)

Al-Qādirī describes the conflict which occurred between Muḥammad and his brother 'Abdullāh, saying,

"The raids of robbers on the people in their houses at night intensified with murder and plunder. Nobody came to the aid of the helpless. The judge of Fez, Ḥāṭish b. al-Shāwi, was one of the people whose house was raided. Half or two thirds of the inhabitants fled from Fez. There was stagnation in the market place, except for food."\(^{65}\)

In the year 1151/1738, the slave army withdrew their support for Muḥammad b. 'Arabiyya, because of his lack of power and his stinginess; they then deposed of him and pledged allegiance to al-Mustaḍī' in his place.\(^{66}\)

Then, after a gap of three years, in 1154/1741, the slave army pledged allegiance to Zayn al-'Abidīn as ruler. At that time, 'Abdullāh settled in the southern part of Fez.\(^{67}\)

The situation in Fez continued to be unstable, undisciplined and chaotic, with the

\(^{62}\) Ibid, vol. 7, p. 137.
\(^{63}\) Al-Qādirī, Iltiqāt al-Durar, p. 379.
\(^{64}\) Ibid, p. 373.
\(^{65}\) Ibid, p. 379.
\(^{66}\) Ibid, p. 381.
\(^{67}\) Ibid, pp. 389-390.
people differing in opinions and approaches in respect of loyalty to one of the two brothers. Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi sums up the conditions in Fez at that time, saying in his Rihla:

"There were tribulations in Fez because the valueless and low class, who were people at the forefront, leading the people despite the presence of nobility and notables. The despicable ruled the positions of power and the pulpits of address...therefore anyone who wants to be saved should migrate, as there are future tribulations to come; to migrate then is compulsory. with the changing of circumstances."  

Consequently, we see that the severe conditions witnessed by Fez, were one of the most important reasons which forced Ibn al-Ṭayyib to think of departure to the holy lands and which caused him to settle there, until his death in Medina in the year 1170/1756. However, Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s strong attachment and fondness for his city made him frequently mention his love, affection and close association to its land in his works. His migration was, however, forced on him due to the circumstances experienced by Fez. Al-Zabādı mentioned this event of his shahks, Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi’s, migration to the two holy mosques saying: “He, may God have mercy upon him, departed to the Eastern lands in the year 1143/1730 and settled in the vicinity of the Prophet Muḥammad, may the greatest of peace and the noblest of blessings be upon him. He assumed the imamate in the Prophet’s mosque and gave sermons. He stayed there until he died therein and was buried there, where his son assumed the same position after him.”

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68 Ibid, pp. 390-399.
71 Al-Manālī, Muḥammad, Sulūk al-Ṭariq al-Wāriya bil Shaykh wa al-Marid wa al-Zāwiy (Rabat: k.Ā.un.m, under no. 12444) p. 122.
Ibn al-Tayyib al-Sharqi said: “I took Medina as my home and place of residency and undertook various types of teaching in the mosque; I also completed the two *Sahih* (i.e. al-Bukhari and Muslim), the four *sunas* (i.e. of Ibn Maja, Abu Dawud, al-Nasā‘i and al-Tirmidhi), the 'al-Muwāṭṭa' (of Mālik), as well as a large number of *ḥadīth* sources and many others.”

### 3.2 Economic and Social Aspects of Life in Morocco

Fez was characterized by variation in the standards of living; of its residents, as well as their differing origins. Fez was also divided into two major sections: Old Fez and New Fez. Old Fez was also known as 'al-Idrisiyyah' and was divided into three districts: the Qarawayyin district inhabited by the old Arabs, al-Lamaṭaiyin district inhabited by Berber tribes, and the al-Andalus district, where the immigrant community of Andalus lived. In addition, the Jews of Fez had their own special district called Ḥayy al-Yahūd.

Regarding New Fez, its inhabitants were made up of the elements, which constituted the army and as such New Fez was the centre of the army and the Sultan’s throne.

This division had a political objective, namely, helping the Sultan to exert a dominant influence over the city and to also prevent mutinies by the army troops and rebellions by the inhabitants of Old Fez.

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As for the social groups in the city, the inhabitants were divided into several social classes, the most important of which was the nobility, 'al-Ashraf' or 'Sheriffs' and the "Sufis" who were highly respected and who enjoyed an elevated status in Moroccan society in general. They were not only exempted from paying taxes and compulsory military service but they also received other privileges and honours, in addition to large monetary and material donations from the Sultans, which were given to secure their loyalty, support and assistance.76

As for the scholars and their pupils, the common people looked upon them with great respect and appreciation, but their income was very meagre and their economic situation kept deteriorating.

The common people consisted of merchants, slaves, artisans, craftsmen, farmers and labourers. This class bore the brunt of the suffering brought on by sedition, insurrections, ordeals and turmoil that embroiled the city from time to time. They also suffered from excessive taxes imposed on them by the Sultans.77

Often, the people of Fez were forced to flee, due to sedition, hostilities and war that plagued it during the period of instability, particularly in the period between 1133/1720 and 1137/1724.

Al-Qadiri describes this period as follows:

"During that year and the years following thereafter, the cost of living in Morocco was very high and often excessive, being disproportionate to the income, as prices kept soaring. Lots of people died due to illness, lack of sustenance and scarcity of food."

76 ibid, pp.39-40.
77 ibid, pp. 39-41.
In the Marastān where dead corpses had been gathered, I saw
dead bodies that had been picked up from different parts of the
city and roughly dumped in high piles. This I witnessed when I
was a boy at the age of puberty.78

This is an eyewitness account by Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādiri in his book ‘Nashr al-Māthani’, which vividly illustrates for us the economic crisis experienced by Morocco at that time. We also cannot forget the exorbitant taxes, which were imposed by the Sultans on the inhabitants of the city, taxes that went into the royal coffers and were spent on maintaining the army and paying for the lavish royal fancies, such as the building of palaces and castles.

The most serious economic disaster which took place in Fez lasted for seven years, i.e. 1147/1734–1154/1741; as a result of social corruption, hostilities and incitements on the one hand and drought on the other. Al-Qādiri in his book “Ilṭiqāt al-Durar” said: “In Dhul-al-Hijja of the year 1149/1736, plunder and the high cost of living increased; death overtook them as did excessively high prices. Some of them fled to other areas, some endured with stoic patience but many were exposed, died, were lost and went unnoticed. Many people lost face, even those known to be wealthy and affluent.”79

Despite these severe circumstances, the Sultans continued to impose taxes on the people. For example, we know that Sultan ʿAbdullāh, on conquering Fez, instructed his army commander Muḥammad al-Zamūrī to take revenge on the inhabitants of the city.

79Al-Qādiri, Ilṭiqāt al-Durar, p. 375.
Regarding this al-Nāṣirī said:

"Then, he began seizing illegal earnings and those who were slack in paying were beaten and imprisoned. Regarding those who disappeared from their homes, their sons, brothers or wives were imprisoned until the person returned and paid the amount due. People fled to the desert, villages and mountains. Some of them reached Sudan, Tunis, Egypt and al-Sham. Only women, children, the elderly, and the feeble remained in Fez. Muhammad b. ‘Ali continued in this manner for thirteen months. Whenever he collected money, he dispatched it to the Sultan in Miknas. These disasters happened between 1143/1730 and 1145/1732."

All these calamities, epidemics and the spread of disease also forced most of the people to flee. In the year 1155/1742, pestilence or "the black plague" broke out in Tāza, Miknās, Fez and other neighbouring cities. It appeared again in 1163/1749 in Morocco, especially in Fez. Al-Qādirī says: "Over three hundred people died in Fez per day."

Therefore, due to the reasons mentioned above, the migration of Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī was inevitable. He fled to Medina and settled there in 1143/1730, the same year in which the army commander Muḥammad al-Zamūrī took revenge on the people of Fez, following blindly the orders of Sultan ʿAbdullāh.

### 3.3 Cultural Aspects of Life in Morocco

Undoubtedly, the Islamic era which followed the fall of Baghdad at the hands of the Mongols, from the mid 7th to the middle of the 13th century, was characterised by deterioration, degradation, and underdevelopment at all levels. However, such

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1 Al-Nāṣirī, *al-Isrisā‘*; vol. 7, pp. 135-137.
deterioration was only relative, as the cultural life in the Islamic world was not devoid of exalted and distinguished persons, scholars, authors, compilers and writers, who achieved excellent results in their academic efforts.

Examples of such personalities include Ibn Taymiyah and his student Ibn al-Qayyim al-Fayrūz Ābādī, al-Shawkānī and others, who enriched the cultural life and supplemented the deficiencies. Hence, this era produced a substantial amount of advancement in all fields of knowledge.

Regarding Morocco, the launch of its cultural movement was slow in the middle of the 5th/11th century, after which it proceeded to fluctuate according to the political and social situation existing in Morocco.

It is notable that Ibn al-Tayyib al-Sharqī commented on the cultural ethos in this period in some of his works. It is noticed that he felt regret and complained at the low level to which religious learning had plunged.83

Ibn al-Tayyib al-Sharqī comments: "In contrast to these times, where religion has become strange again; where ignorance has increased and corruption prevailed, you can find some people playing with the various religious positions, moving from some of them to others, desiring a good worldly position despite not deserving it; they sell the religion for the sake of this worldly life."84

84 Ibid, p. 143.
He also said: "In an age which is devoid of learning, disasters preoccupied contemplation and speculation; unemployment soared and people were ignorant of knowledge, let alone that which is abhorrent."  

He also said: "Especially in these times corruption is manifest, where ignorance has become knowledge and misguidance is stronger at exercising intellectual action."  

3.4 Academic Aspects of life in Morocco

Despite the decline and corruption in most aspects of life in Morocco, the 12th/18th century can be considered as one of the most important periods in Moroccan history, in which it witnessed a type of prosperity in academic life. Proof of this can be found in biographies, publications and works in all academic fields.

There are a number of causes that brought about this change:

1) Emigration of the Spanish Muslims to Morocco at the start of the eleventh/seventeenth century after being forced out of Andalusia.

This is significant because they brought with them a wealth of academic books and manuscripts. Furthermore, large numbers of their scholars and jurists immigrated to Morocco over a period of time. Emigration began during the reign of al-Hakam b. Hāshim al-Rabḍi (d. 202/817) and ended with the last emigration, which was at the start of the 11th/17th century. The houses of such scholars and jurists still sustained

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their academic traditions, which had been characterised with the transfer of learning and knowledge from father to son. In addition, these scholars spread culture, learning and knowledge in the cities where they settled. For example, we find that Abū al-‘Abbās al-Wajārī and the jurist Ibn Bardalah were the grandsons of scholars who had emigrated and at the same time they were also the sheikhs of Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi.

There also can be no doubt that the emigration of these people had an obvious impact on the cultural and academic development in Morocco at that time, in spite of the fact that the culture of that era was distinguished by a predominance of the religious trend over all disciplines and learning. Most of the poetry, at that time, focused on ascetism, Sufism and commendation of the Prophet, expressed in verses on his biography. Whatever else was produced had the same religious flavour. In addition, it is noteworthy that the cultured and educated persons of that period were distinguished by their ability to compose poetry. As for Ibn al-Ṭayyib, he produced a great deal of poetry, reflecting some of the characteristics of Moroccan poetry in that era, particularly that of a religious nature.

Meanwhile, Moroccan prose mostly concerned Sufism, or other subjects such as jurisprudence, hadīth, doctrines, Quranic interpretation and other religious topics. Correspondingly, other branches of the Arts such as history, travel and literature and others, were affected by this religious trend. This religious feature, which emerged and manifested itself in the Moroccan culture, was also extended widely in all other Islamic countries.

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87 Al-Nāṣirī, al-Iṣṭiqṣāː, vol. 11, pp. 6-12.
2) The relative political stability during the reign of Sultan Ismā'il, which extended to half a century, had positive ramifications and implications on cultural and academic life in Morocco.

In this context, al-Qādiri wrote in his book *Ilīqāt al-Durar*: "The days of the late Mawlānā Ismā'il (God have mercy on him) were days of security and safety for travellers, those departing, those resident and those returning, and for free movement of people from the city to the desert. Buildings emerged at every place, evil was quashed, prosperity, scholars and the religious were prevalent."90

There is no doubt that the relative political stability led people to give up and abstain from fighting each other and to refrain from being occupied in political issues freeing them to engage in academic learning and scholarly affairs.

3) The presence of the Sufi Zawāyās in Morocco, especially in Fez, such as the Fez Zāwiya, al-Zāwiya al-Ma'nañiyah, al-Zāwiyah al-Wazāniya and al-Zāwiya al-Dalā'iyah.

The scholars and shaykhs of such zāwiyas had a large and significant impact in propagating knowledge that was produced and spread by these scholars. Such zāwiyas preserved Islamic heritage via their libraries and also assisted in circulating knowledge and learning all over Morocco, including rural areas. The spread of such zāwiyas in Morocco resulted in directing the scholastic, academic and cultural

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movements throughout these centuries. They had a role in educating the common people under the Sufi method of education, whereby they were taught to memorise and recite sections and parts or verses of the Holy Quran. The zawiyas produced, in addition, a large number of Sufi scholars.91

Hajji mentioned in his book 'al-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyyah bi al-Maghrib': "There were approximately sixty-five centres for such learning during the al-Sa'di and the al-'Alawi reigns. These centres continued to produce a large number of students and to attract lots of scholars, which resulted in a great academic contribution."92 Scholars of the zawiyah also had a strong influence on the political and social life in Morocco. Despite this however, among the negative influences of the zawaya was the spread of excessive superstition, ignorance and the legendary myths of Sufism among the common people, to such a degree that the educated people and scholars also affected and spread these ideas. We notice that many of the Moroccan scholars cited such superstitions in their writings. Ibn al-Tayyib himself was not free of such Sufi exaggerations. For example, while on a visit to the grave of Ahmad Zarriq, he said: "The people placed their souls, wealth and religion at his grave and I also did this and saw his blessings... There is no innovation in this and no strangeness, as indeed Allāh is the Protector and what is deposited with Him is not lost and those close to Him (awliyā'hu) are the gateway to Allāh ..."93

3.5 Political Aspects of Life in al-Hijaz in the Era of Ibn al-Ṭayyib

Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi lived in an era where the Ottoman State was the strongest Islamic State. After the victory of Sultan Salim Khan over Sultan Sharākas Qānsūh al-Ghūrī in the battle of Marj Dābigh in 922/1516, he marched towards the south, where he ruled and gained power over Aleppo and Damascus. From there, he proceeded to Egypt. In the battle of Radyāniyat, he gained victory over Tūmān Bay, the Sultan of Sharākisah. Consequently, those territories came under the domination and rule of the Ottoman State.94

When Sultan Salim settled in Egypt, he turned his attention to conquering the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, as his power would be incomplete without them. In addition he wished that supplication for himself be established in these two holy cities. Thus, he began to mobilise a large army to proceed and advance towards the holy cities in order to manifest his power. However, the intervention of Judge Salāḥ al-Dīn b. Ḍahirah resolved the issue without military confrontation or bloodshed. Salāḥ al-Dīn b. Ḍahirah dispatched a message to the Sharīf Barakāt Muḥammed, requesting him to send his son Abū Nāmī to pledge alliance to the Sultan and to show him full obedience under his command. Sharīf Barakāt agreed to do this. accepted this peace proposal, and dispatched his son Abū Nāmī with the keys of Mecca and Medina and he proclaimed obedience, allegiance loyalty to the Ottoman State.95

95 Ibid., pp. 318-320.
Sultan Salim was extremely delighted on hearing Abu Namis's proclamation of allegiance. He then issued orders to secure power for Sharif Barakat so as that he would remain in the position of the Amir of Mecca and Medina. As a result, al-Hijaz became formally subjected, as part of the Ottoman State.96

Al-Hijaz occupied a special position of vital importance to the Sultans of the Ottoman State, who in turn devoted their attention to it. They focused especially on the two holy mosques of Mecca and Medina and on their need for construction, restoration and renovation, seeking to restore them to their former grandeur and splendour. Besides this, they generously exalted and honoured the inhabitants of these cities, by lavishing on them charitable endowments, sums of money and foodstuffs.97

The Ottomans particularly distinguished al-Hijaz by treating it preferentially compared to all other territories under their rule. They exempted the inhabitants from personal income tax and real estate taxes, military service and compulsory payment of fees and taxes to the Sultanate.98

Furthermore, the Ottoman State was keen to maintain the Sharif system, which was predominant in al-Hijaz and which was manifested by their induction of one of the Hashemite Sharifs to dominate the regime and hold power as governor.

96 Ibid. p. 318.
98 Ibid. p. 315.
During the era of Ibn al-Ṭayyib, al-Ḥijāz was subjected to two governments – the first was the Ottoman State, with its headquarters in Istanbul, which was a central government. The second was the Sharīf’s State, with its headquarters in Mecca. This was an autonomous government, whose sovereign area extended according to the power of the Sharīf governing Mecca.

In addition to the old, traditional Sharīf system, the Ottomans initiated a new civil system in Jeddah, which they called ‘Jeddah Province’. It was ruled by one of the Ottoman princes or governors, holding the rank of Head of Province or ‘Pāsha’, having a complete military contingent under his command. The duality of authority or power that resulted frequently led to conflicts and disputes between the Pāsha of Jeddah and the Sharīf of Mecca, especially as that revenues earned by Jeddah’s port were divided equally between them.

However, the Ottomans paid due attention to maintaining the stability of the political situation in al-Ḥijāz. With this aim in mind, they concentrated on restoring schools and institutes of learning, spending money on them, not only on the scholars but also on the retired sheikhs of the two holy Mosques in Mecca and Medina. The funding for these grants came from alms and donations received from the free non-Muslims and strangers enjoying Muslim protection. All these measures contributed towards attracting a large number of expatriates, wishing to be resident in the province of al-Ḥijāz, including Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī.

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100 Ibid, pp.126-128.
3.6 Social and Economic Aspects of Life in al-Hijaz

The social life of the residents of Mecca and Medina during the era of Ibn al-Tayyib reached an eminent position of refined urbanization. This can be attributed to their openness to various cultural trends, due to the importance of the two cities as religious centres, which people from all parts of the Muslim World came to visit. Caravans reached Medina during the pilgrimage season, each of them carrying out unique activities, either inside or outside the Prophet’s Mosque.101

Inside the Prophet’s Mosque, religious and juristic debates and discussions were conducted, in addition to wedding ceremonies and religious recitals on the occasion of the Prophet’s birthday, where poets delivered their poems and recited prophetic praises and commendations.102 Outside the Prophet’s Mosque, other festivals and ceremonies were conducted, such as the Medina residents visit to Uhud in the month of Rajab, to commemorate the death of Ḥamza and to visit his grave and that of other martyrs. There, tents were pitched and erected and markets were set up, where people enjoyed much celebration, the firing of cannons and other entertainment.103

In addition, the suburbs of Medina were renowned for their fertile agricultural lands and abundance of water wells for irrigation. The farms were famous for date palms, and various fruits and vegetables.104 Al-‘Ayyāshi drew attention to the financial resources of Medina’s inhabitants, saying, “They worked in collecting endowments

102 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 201-206, 208, 210, 217.
103 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 186.
104 Al-Nāṣirī, Muḥammad, al-Rihla al-Kubrā (Rabat: KĀ.un.m., under no. 2651.), p. 289.
and gifts which reached them from distant regions.” Furthermore, there were duties and tolls collected from the pilgrims, who were not subjects of the Ottoman State. Al-‘Ayyāshi reported these as being from those Moroccan pilgrims coming from the far west, Indian pilgrims and pilgrims from Persian Iraq (i.e. Iranians).

In addition, Medina's inhabitants regularly traded with the Arab nomads of the desert, who brought sheep, goats, ghee and butter to Medina. People called “al-Burghāzūn” purchased those items from the Arab nomads outside the market areas, then they sold them to Medina's inhabitants.

When considering Mecca during that period, we find that due to its geographical borders, its various natural resources of agricultural and animal wealth, as well as the goods coming to the markets of Mecca from the East and West during the seasons of Hajj and ‘Umrah visits, it achieved an economic integration unparalleled in any other part of the Islamic world. The unique location of Mecca in the path of the commercial caravans and the existence of the sacred places caused tens of thousands of people to travel there as pilgrims and traders from various countries of the world. As a result, the activities in its markets in such seasons gave Mecca a prominent commercial position, which it has maintained throughout the ages. The caravans used to reach Mecca carrying goods of various types, which were sold in the markets of Mecca, in turn, the traders purchased other types of commodities. Therefore, Ibn Jubayr, witnessing this scene said, “All commodities and supplies of the earth are available here (in Mecca) during the season.”

106 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 205.
107 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 221.
Finally, we conclude from the above that the economy of Mecca during that period witnessed economic integration and cohesion between its local products of agricultural, animal and consumer commodities on the one hand and trading merchandise coming to it via sea and land on the other. Therefore, a massive export and import trade flourished between Mecca and the other countries with which it had dealings. Consequently, international trade flourished in its markets, particularly in the seasons of Hajj (pilgrimage) and ‘Umra. Goods from the east and west were exported to it, then re-exported to other countries of the world. It is known that in some cases, foreign commodities were described as being manufactured in Mecca. One of such commodity was the Meccan emerald, which was brought from Bihār in India.109 Due to great demand for the emerald and its high marketability in Mecca, where it was re-exported to various foreign markets, it has been ascribed to Mecca, i.e. being considered as originating from Mecca. Such ascription and credibility brought Mecca a worldwide reputation, despite the fact that the emerald originated from India.

In conclusion, the prosperity of the market in Mecca was constant across the centuries. Its abundant affluence and goods coming to it from all directions were hardly affected by any influence. Those foreign merchants called Mecca the "veins" of gold, while the merchants of Baghdad called it ‘the orphans’ nurse.”110

This, however, does not mean that the market of Mecca was always prosperous throughout the years. This is because Mecca and its people are similar in this regard

to places and people in other Islamic countries; they would often encounter calamities, adversities and famines caused by drought, wars and hostilities. Therefore, their markets would be exposed to stagnation, where abundance decreased and then they would rely only on supplies, provisions, alms and charities from Egypt.\footnote{111 Al-Ḥamawi, Yāqūr b. ʿAbd Allah, 

### 3.7 Cultural Aspects of Life in al-Ḥijāz in the Era of Ibn al-Ṭayyib

As cultural life prospered, scholarly and academic trips to and from Ḥijāz had an effective impact on the revival of learning. In addition, large numbers of scholars visited al-Ḥijāz for Ḥajj every year. Among them were the Moroccan travellers (al-Raḥāla), and other visitors who were keen to communicate with the scholars of Mecca and Medina. They needed to be instructed, receive knowledge and narrations (riwāyah) from them. Furthermore, they were interested in portraying the teaching, study circles and books, which they witnessed.

Their writings about journeys to al-Ḥijāz contained descriptions of the cultural activities taking place in the cities at that time. In this connection, al-Ghanāmi in his 
\textit{Rihlah} mentioned that Medina was an important cultural centre in al-Ḥijāz renowned for its cultural and religious prestige. There was no scholar who composed a book in the East, Sind, India, Iraq or other countries, except that he would send a copy to
Medina, invoking the blessings of the Almighty and hoping for accepting his work.¹¹²

Moreover, the Prophet's Mosque was a centre for learning and seminars in various disciplines, with each skill having specific places and times for its teaching.¹¹³ Scholars qualified their students with academic degrees of all types and in all branches and fields of knowledge. The certificates awarded included notification of the scholar concerned and his *shaykhs* across the world. Also, it bore the name of the licensed student who was qualified, the scholar's signature or name and the documents' date of issue.¹¹⁴

Focus was placed primarily on *Sharī'ah* (Islamic Sacred Law), then Arabic disciplines. In general, the Arabic arts and literature sank to their most degraded stage; distinction of intellectual scholars therein was scarce and Sufism predominated. Correspondingly, Sufi doctrines and creeds were multiplied, diversified and augmented.¹¹⁵

However, the concept of degeneration does not mean that all activities came to an absolute and conclusive standstill. Rather, it implies a decline from the level of creativeness, innovation and origination to the level of imitation, annotation, and summarisation. Thus, it meant a change in quality, not in quantity.

In this context, we notice that Ibn al-Ṭayyib, after returning from the pilgrimage in the year 1140/1727, returned to al-Ḥijāz migrating for the last time from the city of Fez, which had been suffering under drastic conditions.

Living in this environment, Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi, along with his devotion and adherence to the al-Mālkī juristic school, was attached to Sufism, its creeds and ideas, which were prevalent features of his era. In addition, his sheikhs were eminent Sufis and we can see his tendency towards Sufism clearly in his discussion regarding the alleged "miracles" of Sufi saints, which are frequently mentioned within his works. He speaks about them with clear spontaneity and it is clear that he considered them a reality, as reflected in his description of issues concerning of al-Ḥijāz and the holy places.

This does not reduce his prestige, however, in his specialist field of language. Even the greatest scholars of the Muslim community fell into such errors before the advent of the reformer Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d.1206/1792) as, during this period deviation from the correct Islamic Ideology was the norm.

However, Ibn al-Ṭayyib regularly travelled between the two holy places, as he comments, "Every year, I stayed there a short period of time, where I spread knowledge of various disciplines in front of the Kaʻba. I completed the six authentic

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116 At that time, the most important Sufi orders, which prevailed, were al-Naqshabandiyah, al-Bāktāshīyah, al-Bladawiyah, al-Riḍāʻiyah, al-Khulwātīyāh and al-Kāzūnīyāh. Al-ʿAyyāshi, al-Ẓihla al-ʿAyyūshīyya, vol.1, p. 340.

117 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, ʿUyun al-Mawārid, p. 43.
works of *hadith* as well as other sources. I taught jurisprudence, grammar, principles of law and other disciplines from the literacy skills.  

Comparing Hijāz with Morocco, Hijāz was a paradise for scholars and students of knowledge, due to the *Sharifs* respect for them and due to their presence in holy cities. In addition, Ibn al-Ṭayyib attached himself to Sufism, to which the Ottoman state had given absolute freedom and had adopted its methodology. The Ottoman rulers allowed the *shaykhs* of the various schools of Islamic thought unrestricted control over their disciples and followers, encouraging the spread of their ideas throughout the state. In addition, they provided them with wealth and status, such that the *shaykhs* had a greater effect on the people than the rulers of the state and the *Sharifs* of Mecca.  

### 3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have described the political, social and economic phenomena in both Morocco and al-Ḥijāz. Given their significance and impact in the course of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s life, we have highlighted each phenomenon separately. Further, we have provided a general comparison between the situation in al-Ḥijāz and that in Morocco, which as we have seen was in turmoil, chaos and instability after the death of Sultan Ismāʿīl. Such events had a huge effect on the social and economic aspects of life since famine spread in most of Morocco, and especially, in Fez.

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118 *Ibid*, p. 43.  
In contrast, al-Ḥijāz enjoyed political stability under the Ottoman reign, which encouraged Sufi sects and provided them with greater freedom, as well as material support.
CHAPTER FOUR: Ibn al-Ţayyib al-Sharqî

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we shall examine the biography of Ibn al-Ţayyib al-Sharqî, the originator of the Riḥla, which is the subject of this research. We shall not limit our study to his kinship and family descent but also put forward a clear profile with regard to his religious ideology, doctrines and beliefs, which were affected by the domination and spread of Sufism, as a creed at that time.

Further, we shall bring to the fore some features of his biography, and mention the most important of his shaykhs, under the guidance of whom he taught Arabic and religious disciplines. These scholars have the credit and distinction of producing one of the most important and prominent linguists in the Arab world at that time.

In addition, we shall point out the most important of his students whom he taught various disciplines and who later became prominent thinkers and outstanding scholars in their own right in various branches of knowledge.

We shall conclude this chapter by discussing the most important of his academic works, which will be categorised as follows: linguistics or lexicology, juristic disciplines, Arabic literature and biographies. Furthermore, we shall refer to the qualification, which he awarded to his students in various fields and branches of knowledge.
4.1 Introducing Ibn al-Ṭayyib

The writer's full name was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Sharqi al-Ṣumaylī, later known as al-Fāsi, after the town from which he migrated. When he settled in the vicinity of the grave of the Prophet until his death, al-Madani was added to his name and descent, due to his affiliation with Medina.

In addition, his agnomen was Abū ʿAbdullāh. One of the surnames or epithets given to him by the Eastern scholars was 'Shams al-Dīn'. Further, it is worthy to note that his shaykhs gave him the surname of 'ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn'.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib was descended from a family reputed for learning; his grandfather for example was well known for his contribution to the field of knowledge and literature. As for his father, he was one of the first and foremost scholars who taught Ibn al-Ṭayyib and consequently, his father was repeatedly mentioned in most of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's works. As for his maternal aunt al-Zahrāʾ, Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi frequently mentioned her in some of his narrations of hadīth. Ibn al-Ṭayyib described her as, "The righteous, the scholar, the skilled in branches of knowledge and learning."

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121 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Ṣūḥāb al-Mawārid, p. 84.
122 Ibid, p. 33.
Additionally, she was a wife of one of the senior Moroccan scholars at that time. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd al-Yūsī (d.1102/1690). Ibn al-Ṭayyib describes him, saying that he was "Imam of the world and the pole of existence, unique in his time in both poetry and prose."\(^{123}\)

Furthermore, Ibn al-Ṭayyib had a sister who was well known for learning, called Āminah (d.1187/1773). Al-Katāni wrote her biography in ‘Salwat al-Anfās’. She was renowned for attending circles of knowledge, for her participation in those circles, and for her ability to memorise and understand all that she had absorbed.\(^{124}\)

Regarding the origins of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s family, it could be traced back to the tribe of al-Sharqi, whose descent and ancestry date back to the Arabs of the Tilmissān desert in Morocco. These particular Arabs migrated to Fez after the Turks invaded and occupied Algeria, joining the army of al-Sa‘diyyin under the leadership of ‘Abdullāh b. al-Shaykh (1022/1613–1033/1623).\(^{125}\) The Shirāqāh were notorious for their severity, harshness, plunder and aggression, which led to an increased number of hostilities and conflicts between them and the people of Fez.\(^{126}\) After al-Rashid seized power, he instructed them to build ‘Qasabah al-Khamis,’ a fortress outside Fez, and ordered them to live there.\(^{127}\) In this fortress, there was a garrison of 500 knights from al-Sharqi, who were entrusted to watch over the security and safety of transportation routes. Once again, al-Rashid instructed them to move into the towns of Ṣadinah and Fashtālah between the two rivers, where they built houses and

\(^{123}\) Ibid, p. 33.

\(^{124}\) Al-Katāni, Muhammad, Salwat al-Anfas wa Muhādathat al-Akyās fīm Ajbar mīn al-Ulamā’ wa al-Sulahā’ bi Fās (Faz: Taʿbā ʻIjariyya,1328 A.H), vol. 3, p. 52.

\(^{125}\) Al-Nasīrī, al-Istiqāsā’, vol. 6, p. 53.

\(^{126}\) Ibid, pp. 52-53.

\(^{127}\) Al-Mārīnī, al-Jayyish al-Maghribī, p. 62.
The tribe continued to live at the disposal and service of the al-`Alawi Sultans, such as al-Mawlā Ismāʿīl, who merged them with the tribal army. They assisted al-Mawlā ʿAbdullāh b. Ismāʿīl, after the death of his father, in his wars against his brothers.129

As for the reason for bestowing the name of ‘Shirāqah’ on this tribe, the term ‘Shirāqah’ originally refers to the name of the Arabs of Tilmissan desert, because they were inhabitants of the eastern side of Arabic Morocco (Maghrib).130 Among the branches of the Shirāqah tribes, which settled in Fez, was the clan of al-Ṣumayli. Ibn Südah mentioned them saying: “Awlād al-Ṣumayli were descendants of the Shirāqah tribes, who were people of trade and wealth of subsistence, or agricultural lands and crafts. The shaykh Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi al-Ṣumayli al-Fāsi is from them.”131

Ibn al-Ṭayyib traces his ancestry to this tribe in most of his works. In the conclusion of "Sharḥ al-Qasidah al-Maḍariyāh" Ibn al-Ṭayyib said, “The author of this work, the poor servant in need of his rich Lord, Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṭayyib b. Muḥammad al-Ṣumayli al-Fāsi, thereafter al-Madani, said...”132 Consequently, he was known in the West as ‘al-Sharqi al-Ṣumayli’, whereas he was known in the East as ‘al-Fāsi’ and ‘Moroccan (Maghribi)’. Ibn al-Ṭayyib settled in Ḥijāz, moving between Mecca and Medina. He was fully devoted to teaching and lecturing in the Prophet’s mosque in Medina, as well as writing and travelling until his death.

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129 Al-ʿAlawi, Hishām, Muqadimat Tahqiq Iltiqat al-Durar, p. 35.
130 Al-Nasiri, Al-Istiqṣāʾ, vol. 7, p. 41.
These details were mentioned by his disciple Muḥammad al-Zabādi, as he commented: "Ibn al-Ṭayyib lived in the vicinity of Medina, may the best prayers be upon the one who is at rest there, assuming the imamate of the prophetic pulpit and performing sermons. He remained so until he passed away, where he was buried. After his death, his son assumed the same role."¹³³

He was praised by many of the scholars who learnt from him or met him, such as al-Katāni, the author of "Fihris al-Fahāris", who said, "During his time, there were few men like him with respect to the extent of his wide knowledge in various disciplines and the strength of his intellect. People learnt from him in al-Shām, al-Ḥijāz, ‘Irāq, Egypt and other countries."¹³⁴ His student, the linguist Abū ʿAbbās al-Ḥilāl al-Fāsi described him, saying, "He was the most devoted person to the science of linguistics of all those I have met and the most keen to encompass all that had been written about the subject."¹³⁵

Ibn al-Ṭayyib passed away in the year 1170 /1756 after a fatal illness after his return from the trip to al-Shām, Turkey and Egypt.¹³⁶

¹³³ Al-Anṣāri, Tuḥfat al-Muḥibbin, p. 335.
¹³⁴ Al-Karānī, Fihras al-Fahāris, vol. 2, p. 1068
¹³⁵ Al-Hilālī, Ahmad, Fatḥ al-Qadūs, P. 3.
4.2 Ibn al-Ṭayyib's School of Thought and the Effect of Sufism on Him

Sufism spread swiftly through the scholarly circles of the 11th-12th / 17th-18th centuries. Its religious orders swept through the Islamic countries and the pilgrims were one of the main influences in carrying out its maxims and teachings. If the schools of thought "madhhabs" had a direct or an indirect effect on the policies of the various regions of the Islamic world, then Sufism had no less an effect on acts of worship, ascetism and spiritual retreat, at the beginning of its influence. In fact, it extended its influence into educating the society, forming spiritual sanctuaries and encouraging worshippers and disciples of shaykhs. As a result, the system of life was represented by the zāwaya, which began to fulfil role of wealth, and endowments, and was characterized by disciples who would not disobey their shaykhs.137

Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi emerged through his Rihla, as a Sunni faqīh, being a follower of the Mālikī School and an intellectual scholar dedicated to Sufism. However, he was also extremist in his Sufism doctrines. In his Rihla, we find that he exaggerated in his praise of his imams, raising them to an exaggerated and elevated status. The best proof of this is the following quotation from Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāšī on discussing the affair of drinking coffee; "Abū Sālim said: "The words of this shaykh [referring to Şafi al-Dīn al-Qashāshī] despite his outstanding ability and combinations of the external and internal disciplines, the statement of others from the order (al-ṭariqa) strengthening the view that it (coffee) is permissible, as the issue has two opinions; the Sufis are one of two groups whose opinion is preferred as it is

impossible to refute those who have been endowed with true inspiration, practical insight and the assistance of Allāh, when issues are confirmed. Thus, they comply with the truth where it may be and therefore, to refuse them is to answering the desires."\textsuperscript{138}

During his Rihla, he frequently mentioned delusionary thoughts and Sufi superstitions, as he was absolutely convinced by them. An example of this was his discussion of the miraculous and supernatural powers of \textit{shaykh} ābdul Salām al-Asmari, saying: "When he mounted, noticing that the horse might pass over a place where could break his leg, the \textit{shaykh} said to his followers, 'dig the ground because here is a grave of a \textit{wali} or religious person', and they found it. Thus, lots of shrines and sanctuaries emerged."\textsuperscript{139}

On the other hand, we find that he attacked some of the beliefs, which the many travellers would publish, such as their statements that one of the pilgrims had died along the journey, between the beginning of the ābdul Majīd route and the end of Sīdī Khālid valley. In his refutation and rejection of their statements, he said: "...One should be fully cautious about believing in such corrupt beliefs, as they are baseless."\textsuperscript{140}

\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Ibid}, p.58.
\textsuperscript{139} \textit{Ibid}, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{140} \textit{Ibid}, p. 34.
4.3 The Shaykhs of Ibn al-Ṭayyib

Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi enumerated his *shaykhs* in his book, *'Irsāl al-Asānīd'* and mentioned that they exceeded two hundred in number.\(^\text{141}\)

Nevertheless, the concept of *shaykh* for Ibn al-Ṭayyib does not necessarily refer to the *shaykhs* under whose patronage he was brought up and educated, but could include a *shaykh* whom he never saw or met in his life, such as Abū Sālim al-ʿAyyashi, who had died before he was born.

In this context, we would not be able to count his *shaykhs* due to loss of a large number of his books and compilations, such as, "*al-Anīs al-Muṭrib fīman laqīṭuhu min al-Maghrib*," and "*Iqrār al-ʿUyun*, "*al-Ufuq al-Mushriq fī Trājum man Laqaynāu min Ahl al-Mashriq*" and "*Irsāl al-Asānīd*".

Had such books been located, they would have provided us with a large wealth of information about his life, opinions, views, outlook, news, *shaykhs*, students and literary works. However, we shall try to benefit from the books in our possession, which are no more than eleven, along with some qualifications given by him to his students.

Correspondingly, we shall benefit from the bibliographies of his contemporaries, of his *shaykhs* and students and books of biography of distinguished personalities, (*al-Tabaqāt*) who were widely known during the 11-12th/17th-18th centuries.

The *shaykhs* (teachers) of Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī were:

1. Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Misnāwī

He was one of the distinguished scholars in his era, specialized in Qur’ān recitations. Ibn al-Ṭayyib studied under him when he was young. ʿAbdul Ḥayy al-Katānī mentioned him among his other *shaykhs*. He died in the year 1117/1705. 142

2- Abū Abdullah Muḥammad b. al-ʿArabī, the so-called Ibn Muqlab al-Fāṣī

He was Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s sheikh in some religious and juristic sciences and the seven recitations of the Qur’ān. 143

Ibn al-Ṭayyib said: “Praise be to Allah that I recited the Qur’ān with the recitation of Warsh and Qālūn from Nāfī‘, and at the recitation of Ibn Kathīr, under my "father" the righteous, the *shaykh* Abū ʿAbdullāh b. al-ʿArabī b. Muqlab al-Fāṣī, and Abū Zayd ʿAbdul Rahmān al-Qaṣṭālī, and his father’s uncle, *al-ustād* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdul Wāḥid b. Muḥammad, and others whose chains of narration I have presented in “Iqrār al-ʿuyūn” and others.144 He died in the year 1129/1716.


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143 Ibid, p. 313
He was the companion of al-Zāwīya al-Nāṣiriyah in that period. Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi said: “He taught, preached and educated me. I heard from him the discourse on how to give mercy and compassion to the awliyā’ and the early books. I benefited greatly from his company and the company of his followers.”\(^{146}\) He died in the year 1129/1716.

4. Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūl Raḥmān b. ʿAbdul Qādir al-Fāṣi, known as ʿal-Saghir.’\(^{147}\)

He was one of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s shaykhs who educated him at al-Qarawiyin University. He frequently quoted from him regarding the shari’ah disciplines. He described him as the writer of ʿMināḥ’ where he meant, ʿal-Mināḥ al-Bādiyah fī al-Asanid al-ʿĀliyah.’

Ibn al-Ṭayyib portrayed him as, “The faqīḥ, the scholar, the Sufi, the historian.”\(^{148}\) He died in the year 1134/1721.

5. Abū ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-ʿArabi b. Sulaymān al-Andalūsī

He was a scholar who was well known for his teaching of hadīth and biographies in al-Rasīf mosque in the town of Fez. ʿAbdul Ḥayy al-Katānī mentioned him among his shaykhs. He died in the year 1141/1728.\(^{149}\)

6. Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mayyārah al-Fāṣi, known as ʿMayyārah al-Ṣaghīr.’\(^{150}\)

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\(^{147}\) Al-Qādirī, ʿIrīqār al-Durar, p. 323.

\(^{148}\) Ibid, p. 413.

\(^{149}\) Ibid, pp. 344-345 and Makhlūf, Shajarat al-Nūr, p. 334.

\(^{150}\) Ibid, p335 and Al-Qādirī, ʿIrīqār al-Durar, p. 356.
He conducted a circle in the āyyāḍ mosque in Sāgha district of Fez. Ibn al-Ṭayyīb al-Sharqī described him as, "The hadīth scholar, the imam of intellect, and the 'knight of narration'." He died in the year 1144/1731.  


He taught Ibn al-Tayyib al Sharqi; the religious sciences and studied under him "al Qāmūs al-Muḥīf", written by al-Fayruz Ābādī. The author of ‘Fihris al-Fahāris’ said that he knew this particular shaykh through Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī, who mentioned his name and praised him in respect of hadīth sciences. He described him in his own words sent to Abū Muḥammad Ḥamdūn b. ‘Abdul Salām Banānī as being, "The one who lived long, the grand scholar, the proof Abū Ishāq Ibrāhim Muḥammad Dirī." He died in the year 1138/1725.  

8. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Tadghī  

He was an eminent faqīh, and grand hadīth scholar, who used to conduct scholarly councils. He wrote 'Ḥilyat al-Awliyā' on the hadīth collected by al-Ḥāfiz Abū Nu‘aym Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Asbahānī. Al-Katānī mentioned his name among his shaykhs.  


151 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Irsāl al-Asānīd, p.49.  
He was born in 1083/1672 and was an eminent faqîh and hadîth scholar. He conducted a circle or centre for teaching al-ḥadîth at the ‘Ayyāḍ mosque in the Sâgha district of Fez, fiqh at al-Qarawiyîn mosque and Şahîh al-Bukhârî at al-Mîsâbîhiyyah school. Ibn al-Ṭayyib was taught Hanafi jurisprudence by him and Ibn al-Ṭayyib received the eight Sufi patched cloaks (al-Khirqa) under his guidance. He died in the year 1163/1749.


He was one of the scholars whom Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned frequently in his works. He died in the year 1160/1747.156

11. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdul Raḥmān b. ‘Abdul Qâdir al-Tilmisânî

He was one of the shaykhs whom Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi mentioned in some of his hadîth writings in *Uyûn al-Mawârid.*157

12. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib b. Muḥammad al-Sharqi

This was his father and Ibn al-Ṭayyib studied the Sufi order under him and was dressed in the al-Qâdirî patched cloak under his guidance.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi said: “I was dressed in it under the guidance of my father (may Allâh grant him mercy) and my shaykhs from Fez, with a chain of narration from Ibrahim al-Tāzî.”158

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13. Al-Zahrā’ bt. Muḥammad al-Sharqī

She was the wife of Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī as well as being his aunt. He studied some ḥadīth collections under her tutorage, including ‘Musalsal al-Shu’arā’ and ‘Musalsal al-Raḥmah’. He described her as, “The pious, proficient in Islamic knowledge.”

She mastered most of the Islamic religious sciences from her husband, Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd al-Yūsī, who was one of the most prominent and famous scholars of Morocco in his era. Ibn al-Ṭayyib quoted most of his poems, sayings and narrations.

In addition, Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan himself one of the senior Moroccan scholars of his age, whose reputation was wide spread in the area. He was born in 1040/1630 to the tribe Grand Āayat Yūsī, south of Fez. His compilations include: ‘Miftāḥ al-Wāṣūl’, ‘Ḥāshiyyah al-ṣarḥ al-Sanūsī li ‘Aqidath al-Kubrā’, ‘Riḥla’, ‘al-Qānūn fi Iḥtiṣām al-Qānūn’ and ‘Nayl al-Āmāni fi Sharḥ al-Tahānī’. He died in 1102/1691.

He praised him highly, describing him as follows: "The imam of the world, and the leading, unique personality of existence and a unique entity, in the area of both poetry and prose, the Imam al-Yūsī. His manners are well known and his poetry has spread all over the world.”


He was born in the year 1072/1661 and was a faqih, hadith scholar and linguist. Ibn al-Ṭayyib described him as "The imām of language and linguistic sciences." 162 In addition, he called him, "The Seal (the last) of the verifiers." 163

He stayed with him for a long time, accompanying him and following his example. Under him, he studied Islamic jurisprudence, hadith, Arabic language, Logic, rhetoric and other disciplines. 164

Furthermore, he studied under his tutorage 'al-Qāmūs al-Muhīṭ', 'al-Mughni' and 'al-Tawdīḥ' by Ibn Hishām, and read to him 'al-Shamā'il al-Shifā bi Ta'arif al-Muṣṭafā' by al-Qāḍī 'Iyyāḍ and 'al-Khulasah al-Kaṭīyah'. 165 In addition, he mentioned many of his poems in his book, 'Idā' al-Rāmūs'. He died in the year 1136/1723. 166

15. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Wagharī al-Andalusī al-Fāṣl

Ibn al-Ṭayyib described him saying: "He was the imām of his time in proficiency and precision." 168 He also taught him 'al-Qāmūs al-Muhīṭ'.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib says: "I heard much from its discussions and subjects from the blessed shaykh, the grammarian and linguist, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Wagharī al-Andalusī." 169

162 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, 'Uyūn al-Mawārid, p. 34.
164 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, 'Uyūn al-Mawārid, p. 36.
167 Al-Qādirī, Ḥitqār al-Durar, p. 344.
169 Ibid, p. 305.
He also said, "And with the *shaykh*, the proficient grammarian. Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Andalusi, I read ‘al- Khulāṣah’ with its explanations, ‘al- *Tawdīḥ*’ with its notes, ‘al- *Tashīl*’ and parts of ‘al Mughnī’ and its explanations".\(^{170}\)

He died in the year 1141/1728.


Ibn al-Ṭayyib frequently reported a great deal of his poetry and narrations of eminent men. He considered him, “The *shaykh* of linguistic arts, the specialist in the disciplines of language.”\(^{172}\) Ibn al-Ṭayyib was always eager to attend his circles and study his teachings. He died in the year 1137/1724.

17. Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Zākūr al-Ṭāṣ.\(^{173}\)

He is considered to be one of the most eminent and outstanding poets, authors and writers of his time. Ibn al-Ṭayyib used to call him “our *shaykh*” and ‘Al-Nafāḥāt al- *Arjiyyah*’ is one of his works, which Ibn al-Ṭayyib frequently cited. He died in the year 1120/1708.

18. Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-ʿIrāqi.\(^{174}\)

Ibn al-Ṭayyib studied under him ‘al Murādī’ and ‘al- *Tawdīḥ*’. He was a specialist in grammar and outstanding in the art of teaching. Ibn al-Ṭayyib referred to him as “The unique *shaykh* in the disciplines of the Arabic language.”\(^{175}\)


\(^{174}\) Ibid, p.353.


Ibn al-Ṭayyib took from him some of his narrations for works by Ibn 'Aqīl and al-Sayyid al-Jurjānī. All his books are of a linguistic nature. He passed away in the year 1133/1720. 176

20. °Abdul Halim b. al-shaykh Aḥmad al-Halimi al-Fayūmī

Ibn al-Ṭayyib exchanged views and ideas with him on ambiguous matters concerning the juristic school of Imam al-Shāfī. He met him during his stay at al-Ghūriyah in Cairo. 178


He was a hadith scholar and was one of the scholars mentioned by al-Katānī as being one of al-Ṭayyib’s shaykhs. He died in the year 1145/1732. 179


Ibn al-Ṭayyib met with him in the last years of his life. He learnt ‘al-Musalsalāt al-Hadithiyah’ from him, calling him, "The authority of the two Holy mosques." In addition, al-Kūrānī was the mufti of the Shafī School in Medina and he died in the year 1145/1732. 181


177 The researcher has been unable to find his biography.


He was one of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *shaykhs* in Fez and frequently reported his poetry and narrations in *Idār al-Rāmūs*. He considered al-Dalaʿī a specialist in language sciences, and referred to him as “The *shaykh* of linguistic arts.” He was keen to attend his circles and gatherings. This scholar died in the year 1137/1724.

24. Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdul Qādir al-Fāsī

Ibn al-Ṭayyib stated “I was taught under him and was granted qualification to quote him and permitted to teach a group of religious and non-religious books.” He died in the year 1116/1704.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib was educated under these scholars who were highly specialised in religious, literary and linguistic disciplines. He relied on his own broad acquisition of information and additional knowledge, thus, he became one of the most distinguished personalities of his age and his reputation become widespread in Morocco. He attained this ultimate distinction by himself and in this context, he said,

"I was one of those distinguished people in these noble, religious disciplines, who sprang forth in an exceptional way, shaded under its verdant and stretching shades; I dived into its diction and formulated its most magnificent parts and contents; I identified the rare and the colloquial; dealt conclusively with the concise and the lengthy records and diwans, still sustaining their meanings for a long period of time."
In addition, he said about his linguistic knowledge and culture, "I learnt lexicology under the great imams, where I distinguished myself highly with proficiency."\textsuperscript{188}

He also said, "Then I took to contemplating and deducing opinions of my own and wrote various amazing works like 'Sharḥ al-Khāfiyah', 'Ḥawāshi al-Tawdīḥ', al-Murādī, 'al-Makūdī', 'Sharḥ al-Qawā'id', 'al-Âjrumīyah' by shaykh Khālid, 'Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Tawdīḥ', as well as others. I produced in these works via intellectual reasoning, for Allah is all praise, bounty and gratitude and to Him, Exalted is He, is everything."\textsuperscript{189}

\textsuperscript{188} Ibn al-Tayyib, \textit{Uyun al-Mawārid}, p.40.

\textsuperscript{189} Ibid, p. 40.
4.4 His students

After Ibn al-Ṭayyib had acquired knowledge and learning, he embarked upon teaching and writing. He became well known and his reputation spread, so much so that students came to him from many places. He was concerned mostly with the Arabic language and its disciplines, to the extent that he became an imam and the predominant and outstanding personality of his age. He delved and probed deeply into the origins and branches of these disciplines, thus becoming an authority in such fields. His distinction was not only due to his inherent intelligence and strenuous efforts exerted in his specialisation but also to an acute and intense memory. Such a memory facilitated his recollection and helped him to recover knowledge of the rules, detailed segments, illustrations and wordings from Arab statements in the pre-Islamic era and after it, in the Islamic period. Hence, a large number of prominent dignitaries and scholars of the twelfth/eighteenth centuries were taught by and graduated under him. Some notable examples are the following:


He is one of the most well-known and famous students who met Ibn al-Ṭayyib in the two holy mosques in the year 1158 /1745. He said, “There I met our shaykh, the scholar Abū ‘Abdullāh Sādi Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sumaylī, resident of the two holy mosques.”

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190 Al-Zabādī, Bulūgh al-Marām, pp. 96, 142 and 184.
It is due to him that his shaykh Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī wrote his book ‘Idāt al-Rāmūs. Abdul Majid suggested, in a long letter which Ibn al-Ṭayyib included in the introduction, that he answered his request to write a book, which would be a comprehensive introduction to ‘al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṯ’ including its terminology and his own objections and criticisms of it. This request from the student was the impetus for Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s writing of the work, which established his reputation in the Arab world.

2. Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zubaydī

He is deemed to be the second most well known student. Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zubaydī said: “What I have written and seen from our shaykh, the imam of linguistics, Abū ʿAbdullāḥ Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Fāsī, born in Fez in the year 1110/1698 and died in Medina in the year 1170/1756, is my resource in the field of linguistics; it is he who adorned my neck with the finery of his writings and his explanations in two large volumes.” He also said, "And with that I do not claim that I spoke or heard, travelled or journeyed, or said such and such is mistaken or wrong whilst speaking; as in all of these claims, our shaykh left nothing unsaid...and in all of my life he gathered and fulfilled all my goals.”

All these statements prove the elevated, scholarly rank of Ibn al-Ṭayyib. Wherever al-Zubaydī mentioned in his books "the shaykh", or "Our shaykh", he meant Ibn al-Ṭayyib.

193 Ibid, p. 5.
3. Ibrahim b. As'ad al-Madani

He was mentioned as one of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s students by al-Katāni. 194

4. Ibrahim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdul Salām al-Zamzamī

He was one of the timekeepers of the holy Haram in Mecca. Al-Katāni said: “Ibn al-Ṭayyib taught him all subjects and granted him a general academic qualification to quote and teach.” 195 Al-Jabarī confirmed the same, adding that he taught him the religious sciences. He died in the year 1195/1780. 196

5. Ahmad b. As'ad b. ʿAbdul Qādir al-Ḥalabī known as ʿal-Dahīk'

He studied ʿal-Bukhārī under Ibn al-Ṭayyib, along with the authentic books of ḥadīth and narration. He accompanied Ibn al-Ṭayyib during this ʿHajj trip from Aleppo to Mecca in 1167/1753 and died in the year 1210/1795. 197


He was one of the most famous poets in Aleppo. He met Ibn al-Ṭayyib in the holy mosques and studied under him after his return from his visit to Turkey. He was highly proficient and well informed in the Arabic language and its literature. He died in the year 1289/1872. 199

7. Al-Wazīr al-Qādir Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad b. ʿAbdul Raḥmān al-Shāmi al-Yamānī

He was one of the students of Ibn al-Tayyib in the two holy mosques. He studied under him 'al-Bukhari', 'Muslim' and others. He died in the year 1172/1758. 200

8. Abū 'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abdul Azīz al-Hilālī al-Sajalmāsī201

Al-Hilālī was intensely interested in lexical studies following the example of his shaykh Ibn al-Tayyib and thus, wrote an explanation, entitled 'Khutbat al-Qāmūs'.202

He was a scholar of ḥadīth, linguistics and jurisprudence and was greatly influenced by Ibn al-Tayyib in linguistics.

Al-Hilālī described his shaykh saying: “He was the most concerned I ever saw regarding knowledge of the language and the interest to know its depth.” 203

He mentioned in his account of his journey to the East in 1150/1737, that he met him and studied under him some disciplines including 'Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī'. He said: “I read it to our unique shaykh, who has been greatly appreciated by everybody. He was the most outstanding scholar ever seen in philology. He was the imam and muftī of the two holy mosques204, a deep ocean and flooding cloud Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Tayyib, may Allah the exalted purify his abode and make the highest paradise his place.” 205

In addition, he studied under him 'al-Qāmūs al-Muhīf' with its full text. He said, “I recounted the al-Qāmūs in full, reciting it before our shaykh Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī al-Fāsī, then al-Madani al-Mālki, may Allah sustain his religious

204 Al-Hilālī, Aḥmad, Fath al-Qādūs, pp. 1-3.
205 Al-Hilālī, Aḥmad, Fath al-Qādūs, p. 5.
eminence and bestow His graces and blessings upon him.” 206 He died in the year 1175/1761.

9. ʿAlī b. ʿAmmār b. ʿAbdul Raḥmān b. ʿAmmār al-JazaʿĪ 207

He was one of those whom al-Katānī mentioned as being one of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s disciples. He went to Ḥajj in the year 1166/1752 and settled in Mecca. He studied the religious sciences at his circles and classes from 1166/1752 until the death of Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī in 1170/1756. He died in the year 1205/1790. 208

Among the most well-known, recognized disciples in al-Shām are the following:

10. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Affandi Murādī

He met Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī for the first time at the two holy mosques in the year 1157/1744. 209 Al-Murādī met him once again when he welcomed him as a guest in Damascus during his transit period there. He studied under him ʿIrsāl al-Asānīd, ʿal-Bukhārī and ʿMuslim’. He also learnt from him the ‘other hadīth disciplines’ in 1167/1753.

During Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s stay with al-Murādī, a group of students were taught under him, including:


206  Ibid, p. 65.
He studied 'ḥadīth' under him in Aleppo and died in the year 1205/1790.  


He accompanied him on his journey to Turkey and he died in 1191/1777.  

13. Aḥmad b. al-Shaykh Ismā'īl ʿAjlūnī

Ibn al-Ṭayyib authorised him in his own hand writing in the year 1167/1753. He died in 1247/1831.  

14. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Rajab known as Al-Mawāhabi

He was one of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s students who learnt ḥadīth from him in al-Ḥijāz when he was performing Hajj and went to Medina. Thereafter, he met him in al-Shām and continued studying with him, until he completed his studies and was authorised by Ibn al-Ṭayyib. He died in the year 1187/1773.  

15. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Rajab known as “Al-Mawāhabi”

He was one of his students who learnt ḥadīth under him at the Umayyad mosque in Aleppo. He was authorized by Ibn Al-Ṭayyib to narrate ḥadīth from him. He died in 1218/1803.  

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Among the students who attended the classes and sessions of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s teachings on *ḥadīth* in the Aleppo mosque and who were authorised by him to narrate on his authority were the following:

He was one of the well-known reciters. He died in the year 1225/1810.\(^{215}\)

17. ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhā al-ʿAqqād al-Ḥalabi
He was the *shaykh* of reciters in Aleppo. He died in the year 1229/1813.\(^{216}\)

### 4.5 Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s works

Ibn al-Ṭayyib was greatly involved in writing in various fields, particularly the disciplines concerning Arabic language and religious learning. His works could be divided into several areas and fields. However, only eleven compilations out of the total number that we could have identified and verified, have survived loss, damage, or theft. The remainder of his works are to be considered lost until now. As for the surviving works; we shall endeavour to present a brief summary about each of them.

1) The Religious (*Sharīʿi*) Disciplines
These were three compilations in Quranic exegesis, three in *ḥadīth*, five in biographies and characteristics, one in Sufism and four in Islamic jurisprudence.

\(^{215}\) *Ibid*, p. 185.
\(^{216}\) *Ibid*, p. 190.
A: Quranic Interpretation or Exegesis

1. “Hawāshi al-Jalālāyin”

They are annotations made by him whilst commenting on “Tafsīr al-Jalālāyin” written by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abdul Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī.217

2. “Hawāshi al-Bayḍāwī”

They are annotations made by him whilst commenting on “Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī” written by ʿAbdullāh b. ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī, called “Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Aṣrār al-Taʿwil.”218

3. “Hawāshi al-Kaṣḥāf”

They are annotations used by him while commenting on “Tafsīr al-Kaṣḥāf” written by Jār Allāh al-Zamakhshāri.219

B- Al-Ḥadīth

1. “Hawāshi al-Qaṣṭālānī”

It is also called “Ḥāshiyah ‘alā Sharḥ al-Qaṣṭālānī Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī”. They are annotations made by him to “Irshād al-Sārī” written by Aḥmad al-Qustulānī.220

2. “Uyūn al-Mawāriḍ al-Salsalāh min ‘Uyūn al-Asanid al-Musalsalah”

218 It was mentioned by Ibn al-Ṭāyib in “Sharḥ al-Kifāyā”. Ibn al-Ṭāyib, Sharḥ Kīhāyāt, pp. 158-159 and Ibn al-Ṭāyib, Fāyḍ Nashr al-Inshirāḥ, pp.4-7.
219 It was mentioned by Ibn al-Ṭāyib in “Sharḥ al-Kifāyā”, “Ibid, p. 3.
This book deals with *ḥadīth* disciplines. It contains 151 *ḥadīths* with their chains of narration. In addition, it contains significant information about Ibn al-Tayyib’s life, culture and era.

This book exists in five handwritten manuscripts:

The first manuscript is kept in the library of the Grand Mosque at Sa‘ā in Yemen, under no. 30. It consists of 34 pages and is written in a *naskh* script.

The second manuscript is kept in the safe of Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Husayniyah in the city of al-Rabāt, Morocco, under no. 10916 and consists of 86 pages.

The third manuscript is kept in al-Khizānah al-‘Āmmah in the city of al-Rabat, Morocco, under no. 1313. It consists of 72 pages and is written in a good Eastern style.

The fourth manuscript is kept in the vault of Princeton University, under no. 84/3861.

The fifth manuscript. It is kept in the vault of Princeton University under No. 84/234 and is also written in a good Eastern style.

3. "*Tamhīd al-Dalʿ al wa talkhīs al-Awrīl""

Al-Baghdādi, in *′Ifrāh al-Maknūn*, attributed this book to Ibn al-Ṭayyib as he also did in *Hadiyat al-ʿArifīn*.221

C- *Al-Siyar wa al-Shāmārī*: Biography and personal Qualities

1. *Samāl-Farṣīd*

This work is an explanation of salutations upon the Prophet. The reason behind its compilation was in refutation of *Fayrūz Aḥdīf*’s comment in which he said, "The

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term magnificence (lufz al-Jalālah) has been disputed about until the number of opinions regarding it reached 20.”

2. “Risālah fi ma'na al-Ṣalāt ‘alā al-Rasūl” (pbuh)

This treatise is an explanation of the meaning of bestowing prayers on the Prophet (pbuh) and is a commentary on the book called 'al-Mughnī by Ibn Hishām.

3. 'al-Istishfā' bimā fi dhāt al-Shifā' fi Sīrah al-Nabi -(pbuh)- thumma al Khulafā'

Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned this in "Idār al Rāmūs." There is a single, handwritten copy of this work in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Cairo, under number 17 shin.

4. 'Sharḥ sīrah Ibn Fāris'

This is an explanation of 'Awjaz al-Siyar li Khayr al-Bashar' by the author Alḥmad b. Fāris.

5. 'Ḥawāshi al-Shamāil'

It is also known as "Ḥāshiyah al-aḥ al-Shamāil, being an annotated version of 'al-Shamāil al-Muḥamadiyyah" by al-Tirmidhi.

D. Sufism

1. 'Sharḥ al-Hizb al-Nawawi'

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222 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Idār al-Qāmūs, vol. 1, p. 82.
225 Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned this work in "Idār al Rāmūs" vol. 1, p. 142.
This is an annotated version of 'al-\textit{Hizb al-Nawawi}', by Yahyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawi.

There are 3 handwritten copies of this work:

1. A manuscript found in al-Khizānāh al-Āmmah under number: 1670, written in a Northern African hand.

2. A manuscript found in the University of Princeton, under number 3861/1927 and written in a clear, Eastern style.

3. A similar manuscript found in the same university under number 23/84.

\(\text{(E)}\): \textit{Al-Fiqh}:

1- \textit{'Fatāwā'}

It is a collection of various opinions, in which he replied to questions on matters of jurisprudence, posed during his trip to the holy places.

There are three questions:

Question One:

What is the Islamic rule regarding covering oneself during urination? \textsuperscript{227}

Question Two:

What is the Islamic rule regarding drinking from a drain/gutter? \textsuperscript{228}

Question Three:

The problem of Malikites following Hanafites in their rulings? \textsuperscript{229}

These replies were lost with the loss of \textit{'al-Rihla'} book upon Shu'ayb's departure on his way back from Medina to Egypt. Nevertheless he replied to them in brief.

2- \textit{'al-Istimsāk bi Awthaq \textit{Urwah fi al-\textit{Aḥkām al-Muta'allaqah bi al-Qahwa}}.'}

It is a treatise mentioned in \textit{'al-Rihla al-Badī'\textsuperscript{230}} and was stolen with \textit{'al-Rihla'} during Shu'ayb's departure from the holy places.


\textsuperscript{228} ibid, pp. 289-290.

\textsuperscript{229} ibid, p. 290.
He also summarised this treatise in his 'al-Riḍā'. He stated in it the opinions of the schools of religious laws, Sufism, men of medicine, wise men and his own opinion. He wrote it in Dhul-Hijjah (1139 /1726) in Mecca.

Ibn Al-Ṭayyib said: “While we were in al-Ḥarām al-Sharif (the Holy Mosque of Mecca). I came across a question that included precious articles on coffee and its rulings. I compiled a separate work on this matter and I called it 'al-Istimsāk bi Awtāq 'Urwah fi al-Āḥkām al-Muttaqallāqah bi al-Qahwa.' I arranged it with an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion. I showed in it the most valuable and thorough research. All those who examined it witness the good editing of this work. However, the book was stolen among other books and valuables by a thief.”

3. 'al-Ta‘līqāt al-Fiqhiyya'

Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his book 'Kifayah al-Mutaḥaffīq' and 'Idā‘t al-Rāmūs.'

4. “Hawāshi al-Maḥālī”

It is a commentary on 'Sharḥ Jam‘al-Jawāmi‘' written by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥālī. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned him in his work 'Idā‘t al-Rāmūs.'

(F): Biographies:

There were five compilations:

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1. 'Al-Anis Al-Mutrib Fīman laqaytuhu min Udabā' al-Maghrib'

Ibn al-Ṭayyib said: "The Andalusian scholars compiled many extracts and poems and compiled many of these especially in 'al-Anis al-Mutrib'..."^{234}

2. 'Al-Ufuq al-Mushriq bi Tarājum Man Laqaynahu bi al-Mashriq'

'Abdul-Ḥayy al-Katānī in his biography of "Ibn Al-Ṭayyib" said: "And see his 'Aqrār al-'Uyūn' and "al-Ufuq al-Mashriq" under letter 'alif', and 'al-Musalsalāt' under letter 'mīm'.^{235}

3. 'Irṣal al-Asānīd wa ʿIsāl al-Muṣannafāt wa al-Aṣār wa al-Masanid'

It is called also "al-Fihrasah al-Ṣughrā."

This book is divided into four parts:

Part one mentions Ibn al-Ṭayyib's own chains of narration and his sources used whilst writing his works.

Part two specifically mentions some ḥadīth collections.

Part three is for his authorities used in narrating from the Sufis, their books and various orders.

Part four provides a summary of his shaykhs and Scholars.

This book has four manuscripts:

Manuscript one is kept in the collection of Imam Muhammad b. Saʿūd Islamic University, Riyadh, under no: 528. The total number of pages is fifty (50) and the script is in an Eastern style.

Manuscript two is kept in the al-Khizānah al-ʿAmmah in Rabat, Morocco, under no: 1374K. Its consists of one hundred twenty eight pages.

^{234}ibid, vol. 1, p. 92.
Manuscript three is kept in Princeton University, under No: (83/3861), and the script used is of a good Eastern variety.

4. 'Iqrār Al-'Ayn bi -Iqrār al-Athar ba'd Dhihbāb al-'Ayn'

Ibn al-Ṭayyib said: "Whoever wants to elaborate in this matter, he may refer to our reference, 'Iqrār al-'Ayn' ....... as we have mentioned in it the majority of shaykhs whose views we quoted. We stated more than two hundred shaykhs who had acquired experience in narration, coupled with the benefit of learning and knowledge that were rarely available in other books and incorporated the best of works of literature that a narrator would be proud of, in the gatherings and centres of literature."\(^{236}\)

This is his major reference work, which includes a description of all his scholars and shaykhs from whom he learnt linguistics and sharī'ah. Unfortunately, however, this manuscript has been lost.

5. 'Al-Azhār al-Nadiyyah fi al-Tārikh'

It is possible that it includes biographies, classes of different people and proper names. Al-Baghdadi attributed it to Ibn al-Ṭayyib in his two books.\(^{237}\)

(G): Arabic Language Sciences:

There were approximately 25 books divided into nine compilations in lexical studies and sixteen in grammar and morphology.

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(A) Grammar and Morphology

1. 'Hashiya 'ulā al- Murādi'
This is a commentary on the narration and sayings of his shaykh, al-Masnawi who explained the book of 'al-Khaṣṣā'iṣ' written by Ibn Jinni. He also commented on 'al-Hawāshi' written by Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim al-Murādi.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work 'Idāt al-Rāmūs.'

2. 'Hashiya 'ulā al-Mughni'
It is a commentary on the book entitled 'Mughni al-Labīb', written by Ibn Hishām al-Anṣāri. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work 'Idāt al-Rāmūs.'

3. "Hashiya 'ulā al-Taṣrīḥ"
It is commentary on the book entitled 'al-Taṣrīḥ 'ulā al-Tawḍīl', written by Khālid b. 'Abdullāh al-Azhari. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work 'Idāt al-Rāmūs.'

4. "Sharḥ al-Ashbāh wa al-Nazā'ir"
It is commentary on 'al-Ashbāh wa al-Nazā'ir', written by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭi. Ibn al-Ṭayyib said, "I explained all of it and fully understood it in the explanation of 'al-Ashbāh wa al-Nazā'ir' and 'al-Musfir Min Khābāyā al-Muzhir' and referred to its purposes in the explanation of 'al-Durarah'.

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239 Ibid, p. 274.
5. 'Ḥāshiya al-Makūdi'

It is commentary on ‘Sharḥ Alfiyyat Ibn Malik’ written by ‘Abdul-Rahmān al-Makūdi al-Fāsī. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work ‘Fayḍ al-Inshirāḥ’. 242

6. ‘Fayḍ al-Inshirāḥ min Rawḍ al-Ṭayy al-Iqrārāh’

It is an explanation of ‘al-Iqrār li Usul al-Nahw’ written by Jalāl al-Din al-Suyūṭī. The reason for its writing is to explain the ambiguities and to highlight what is overlooked by al-Suyūṭī. This book has three manuscripts:

Manuscript one is kept in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Cairo, under no: 224 Naḥw. It is complete, and was written in 1189/1775. The copyist was Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā. Manuscript two is kept in the collection Dar al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, under no: 1109 Naḥw and is not complete.

Manuscript three is kept in al-Khizanah al-cAmmah in Rabat, under no: 1915 d. The manuscript consists of 215 pages and is in a good Eastern script.

7. ‘Sharḥ Lāmiyah al-Afffāl li Ibn Malik’

It is a commentary on ‘Lāmiyat al-Affāl’ written by Ibn Malik.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work ‘Idār al-Rāmūs’. 243

8. “Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ al-Ajrūmiyah”

It is commentary on “Sharḥ al-Ajrūmiyah”, written by Khālid b. ʿAbdullāh al-Azhari.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work “Uyūn al-Mawârid”. 244

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244 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Uyūn al-Mawârid, p. 40.
9. *Iqamat al-Burhān ʿalā anna al-ʿAfāl al-Naqīṣah Innamā Tadullu ʿalā al-Zamān*

It was written by Ibn al-Ṭayyib in Fez, which is proved by the fact that al-Masnāwi agreed with him upon a grammar issue, mentioned in his book *Fayḍ al-Inshirāh*. Since al-Masnāwi died in 1136/1723, i.e. three years before Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s trip to the holy places, it is clear it must have been written in Fez.

The reason for writing this book was his disagreement with Ibn Mālik, who said, “The imperfect verbs in Arabic (Kāna wa Akhawātuḥā) indicate both the incident and time together.” The opinion of Ibn al-Ṭayyib was that they are indicative of time only.

10. *Ḥawāshi al-Taḥṣil*

It is a commentary on *Taḥṣil al-Fawāḍ wa Takmil al-Maqāṣid* written by Ibn Mālik. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work, “Idāt al-Rāmūs.”

11. *Ḥawāshi al-Tawdīḥ*

It is a commentary on *Awdaḥ al-Māṣalik ʿalā Alfiyat Ibn Mālik*, written by Ibn Ḥishām al-Anṣārī. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work *Sharḥ Kifāyah al-Mutahaffīz*.

12. *Ḥawāshi ʿalā Sharḥ al-Qawādīd*

It is an explanation of *Mūṣal al-Tullāb ilā al-Qawāʾid al-Ifrāb*, written by Khalid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azhari. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work *ʿUyun al-Mawārīd*.

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13. "Sharh Kāfiyah"

It is an explanation of 'Kāfiyah fī al-Nahw', written by Jamāl al-Dīn ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥājib. Ibn al-Tayyib mentioned it in his work 'Idāt al-Rāmus.'

14. "Ḥawāshi Sharh Lāmiyyah al-Afāl"

This is a commentary on 'al-Manzūmah', written by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh' known as Ibn Nāzīm. Ibn al-Tayyib mentioned it in his work, "Idāt al-Rāmus.'

15. 'Risālah fī Halumma Jarra"

It is a treatise he used to discuss the opinions of some Arabic Linguists such as: Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn Hishām and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, regarding the meaning of 'Halumma Jarra.' Ibn al-Tayyib mentioned it in his work 'Idāt al-Rāmus.'

16. 'Sharh al-Kāfiyah'

It is an explanation of 'Sharh al-Kāfiyah fī al-Nahw', written by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh al-Ṭārī. Ibn al-Tayyib mentioned it in his work 'Sharh al-Kifāyah.'

(H): Lexicography:

1. 'Al-Musfīr 'an Khabāyā al-Muzhir'

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250 Ibn al-Tayyib, 'Uyūn al-Mawārid, p. 46.
254 Ibid, p. 266.
255 Ibn al-Tayyib, Sharh Kifāyat, p. 2 and 12.
It is an explanation of 'al-Muzhir fī al-Lugha wa al-Naḥw', written by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. This book, as described by Ibn al-Ṭayyib, contains fifty types of Arabic linguistic knowledge.255

This book has two manuscripts, both of which are located in Khazanah al-Zāwiyyah al-Ḥamzāwiyyah in Jabal al-‘Ayyāshi in the Atlas Mountains of Morocco.256

2. 'Idā‘at al-Rāmūs wa Idā‘at al-Nūmūs ‘alā Idā‘at al-Qāmūs'

It is called also 'Ḥāshiyah al-Qāmūs' being a commentary on 'al-Qāmūs al-Muhīf', written by Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Fayruz Ābādī. This book is one of the most important and extensive reference works in the discipline of Arabic language and its grammar. The style of Ibn al-Ṭayyib in this book reflects the identity of a scholar who trusts his academic ability, has a talent for memorisation and his extensive reading. In many places, he even criticizes al-Fayruz Ābādī, of whom Ibn al-Ṭayyib said, "The compiler had over looked all of this, rejecting the morphological disciplines, as he has no eloquence in them."257

This manuscript had various copies:

The manuscript is kept in al-Khizānah al-Malakiyyah in Rabat, and has nine copies under the following numbers: 244, 246, 544, 1071, 1658, 2522, 4976, 6111, and 7991.

‘Abdul Ḥayy Al-Kattānī said: “Whoever reviews his commentary on ‘al-Qāmūs’ thoroughly, will be struck by the author's talent for memorisation, the extent of his writings and expansive knowledge. The most astonishing part is in the first portion as he wrote it while being away from his original references and books, except what remained in his mind or memory.’

Muḥammad al-ʿĀbid al-Fāsī commented: "The commentary is in four volumes, they are the only miracle of the Moroccans in general and the people of Fez in particular. this is without considering the position occupied by “al-Qāmūs” with scholars all over the world and how much they depend upon it. For them, they regard it like ‘al-Mukhtaṣar al-Khalīl’ in fiqh; they rely upon it and quote it regularly. Rarely, we can find in the past, in our country, a scholar who appreciates knowledge and did not write a copy of “al-Qāmūs” in his own hand writing, with care and precision; and how many copies we came across written in the handwriting of the most famous scholars of Morocco, with a reference to their chain of narration leading to the author on the front page.”

3. ‘Hashiyah ʿalā Durarat al-Ghawās Ḵāwām al-Khawwāṣ


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259 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Sharḥ Kifāyat, pp. 45-47.
4. 'Mawṭi’at al-Faṣḥ li Muwata’at al-Faṣḥ'

It is an explanation of “Faṣḥ Tha’lab”, written by Mālik b. al-Marḥal al-Sabṭi. It is one of the written books he took during his trip to the holy places. His student Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bākūrī comments that Ibn al-Ṭayyib said, "The five verses refer to some of my works and some of my reference books. In the first verse, he referred to my explanation: 'Nazrī Malik b. al-Murahhal, who was well informed of all types of eloquence. It is a full explanation, which was entitled: 'Mawṭi’at al-Faṣḥ li Muwata’at al-Faṣḥ'. Our friends exaggerated in praising it and attributed to it what it deserves in the field of literature. Some of their best statements will be mentioned in regarding the praise of this book and its lofty meanings." There is one incomplete copy of the work of Mālik b. al-Marḥal al-Sabṭi at the Zaydāniyyah Library in Yemen, under no 1563. The first part is kept in Dār al-Kutub in Egypt under no 179. It is also registered in al-Khizānah al-ʿĀmmah in Rabat under no. 780 ٪.

5. 'Talḥir al-Riwayah fi taqrīr al-Kifāyah'

It is called also 'Sharḥ Kifāyah al-Mutahaffiz wa Nihāyat al-Mutalaffiz fi al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya.'


This book is a treatise on the Arabic lexicon, its categorisation and various linguistic issues, such as:

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Differences in the origin of the language, is it language use or terminology?

Differences in Arabic word derivation.

Differences in dialects and their consequences.

Quoting Arabic language, ḥadīth and Arabic poetry.

There are two manuscript copies:

Manuscript one is kept in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, under no 5011 and consists of 187 pages.

Manuscript two is kept in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah also, under no 14 and consists of 186 pages.

6. ‘Daws al-Qābūs fī Zawā'id al-Siḥāh ‘alā al-Qāmūs’

Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work, “Idār al-Rāmūs”.

7. ‘Ḥawāshi al-Rawḍ al-Maslūf’

This is a commentary on the book, ‘al-Rawḍ al-Maslūf fīmā Lahu Ismān ‘ilā Ulūl’.


8. ‘Ḥawāshi Shīfā‘al-Ghālib’

This is a commentary on Shīfā‘al-Ghālib bimāfī Lughah al-ʿArab min al-Dakhīl’


The book includes about 1200, Arabised words in alphabetical order, including conditions and the manner of Arabisation. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work.

‘Sharḥ Kifāyah al-Mutaḥaffīl’

9. 'Tadhkarah'

It is a linguistic and jurisprudence memorandum to be used when required.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work, 'Idār al-Rāmūs'.

II) Literature and its disciplines

There were seventeen works.

1. 'Isfar al-Lithām 'an Malīyā Shawāḥid Ibn Ḥishām'

It is called also 'Sharḥ Shawāḥid al-Tawḍīḥ' and is an explanation of 'Awḍah al-Masālik ilā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik', written by Muhammad b. Hishām al-Anṣāri.

In this book, he explained literary and grammatical texts and he said of it, "I simplified the verses and matters related to them in our book: 'Isfar al-Lithām'……."

2. 'Hawāshi 'alā Sharḥ Uqūd al-Jumān'

It is also called ‘Hawāshi Uqūd al-Jumān’ and Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in ‘Fayḍ al-Inshirāḥ’.

3. 'Qaṣīdah Rāḥiyah fi madīḥ al-Rasūl -‘alayhi al-salām' 

It is a poem in approximately sixty-six verses and is attached to the copy of his book 'al-'Uqūd al-Naẓīmah' found in Ṭaṭwān. In it, he explained its verses and their linguistic and grammatical meanings.
4. *Dīwān Shi'r*

It is a collection of poems compiled by Ibn al-Ṭayyib. Unfortunately, however, the "Dīwān" is lost. All that we know about his poetry is what was mentioned in his book 'al-Riḥla al-Badīʿa' and his books, which survived loss and damage. In addition, most of his verse is religiously toned. Ibn al-Ṭayyib stated commenting on some of his verses:

"They are long. I mentioned them in 'al-Dīwān' and 'al-Anīs al-Muṭrib' and others."270

5. *Takhlīṣ al-Takhlīṣ min Shawāhid Al-Talkhīṣ*

It is also called "Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Talkhīṣ" and is an explanation of the book: 'Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ', written by al-Khatib al-Qazwīnī. It was written concerning the art of eloquence and the book was written in Fez before 1139/1726. He mentioned it in 'al-Riḥla al-Badīʿa' and in 'Fayḍ al-Inshirāḥ'.271 His student, Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bākūrī, said:

وكم له في "التلخيص" تختييص شاهد
غدا كل عقل عن معاينه يعقل

Ibn al-Ṭayyib said, "By saying that in his verse, he referred to my distinguished book: 'Takhlīṣ al-Talkhīṣ min Shawāhid al-Talkhīṣ."272


It is an explanation of "Shawāhid al-Kashshāf", written by Jār Allāh al-Zamakhshārī, which is an explanation of 'Shawāhid al-Bayḍāwī', written by al-Qāḍī

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7. *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-Madariya*

This is an explanation of *al-Qaṣīda al-Madariya fi al-Ṣalāh ‘alā Khayr al-Bariyyah* (pbuh), written by Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sayyid al-Dulāsī al-Busirī. This poem is distinguished by its easy words and clear meanings, which gave it widespread recognition in Morocco at that time.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib divided his explanation into two parts: The first section includes some introductions mentioning the reason for writing this book. The second section explains the meaning of the verses in respect of grammar, eloquence and lexicography.

This book has three manuscripts:

Manuscript one is kept in al-Khizānah al-‘Āmmah in Taṭwān, Morocco; it consists of 27 pages and is in a fine North African hand.

Manuscript two is kept in Khizānah Dar al-Ḥadīth al-Ḥasaniyyah in Rabat, under no 4879. The manuscript consists 47 pages of medium size and is written in a North African style.

Manuscript three is available in a collection at Kuwait University, under no 78 مخط. The manuscript consists of 55 pages of medium size and is written in a good clear style.

It was mentioned in these manuscripts that Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī completed writing them on 4th of Jumada I-1145/1732, at his home, Bāb al-Raḥmah of al-Masjid al-Nabawi in Medina.

8. 'Sharh Dawāi in al-Shu‘arā‘ al-Sittah'

This is an explanation of the poetry of the pre-Islamic poets; 'Antarah b. Shaddād, al-Nābighah al-Dhubaylī, Imru‘a al-Qays, Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā, Ṭarafah b. al-'Abd and 'Alqamah b. 'Abdah al-Fahl. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work, 'Idā‘r al-Rāmūs.'

9. 'Sharh Shawāhid al-Riḍi'

This is an explanation of 'al-Kāfiyyah fi al-Nāfīw' and 'al-Shāfiyyah fi al-Tāṣīf', written by Ibn al-Ḥākjib. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work, 'Idā‘r al-Rāmūs.'

10. 'Sharh al-Murallaqat

It is an explanation of "Mu'allaqat al-Jahilliyyah". Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work, 'Idā‘r al-Rāmūs' and al-Zubaydī mentioned it in "Tāj al-'Arūs".

11. 'Ma 'alayhi al-Ma'ūl min Mabāthith al-Sayyid al-Maṭūl

This is a commentary on 'Talkhīṣ al-Mifrūlī' written by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdul Rahmān al-Qazwīnī. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work, 'al-Uqūd al-Naẓīmah.'

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12. ‘Ḥawāshi al-Mukhtar’
This is a commentary on Sa‘īd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī’s explanation of ‘al-Sharḥ al-Mukhtar’, written by “Muḥammad b. ‘Abdul-Rahmān al-Qazwini”. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work, ‘Idār al-Rāmūs’.

13. ‘al-Mafrūḏ fī ʿilm al-Qawāʾiṭa wa ʿl-Uruḍ’
This is a book written on the topic of prosody and rhyme. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work, ‘Fayḍ al-Inshirāḥ’.

14. ‘Ḥawāshi Sharḥ Zakariyā li al-Khazrajīyāh’
It is called also ‘Ḥawāshi al-Khazrajīyāh’. This is a commentary on ‘Fath al-Bariyāh’, written by Zakariyā al-Anṣārī. Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentioned it in his work, ‘Fayḍ al-Inshirāḥ’.

15. ‘al-Riḥla al-Hijāzīyā’
This commemorates the first journey to al-Ḥijāz (Mecca) carried out by Ibn al-Ṭayyib before 1138/ 1725.

16. ‘al-Riḥla al-Badi’a’
It is called also ‘Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Riḥla’. This commemorates his trip to the holy places of Mecca and Medina, during the period from 4th of Rajab 1139/1726 to 6th of Dhul-Qi‘dah 1140/1727. He recorded his experiences and the daily activities of his trip to and from Hajj and indeed, this work is the subject of the current thesis.

280 Ibid, p.18.
17. “al-Riḥla al-Mashriqiyyah”

This commemorates his third trip, made in 1167/1753,\textsuperscript{281} three years before his death. In this trip, he visited Mecca, Medina, Baghdad, Cairo, al-Shām and Istanbul.\textsuperscript{282}

III) Qualifications/authority

There were six qualifications authorising his students to narrate on his authority. They are equal to the academic degrees and academic certificates of today. These qualifications authorized their bearer to teach Arabic linguistics, \textit{sharī'ah} or medicine, or to narrate and teach in the manner he learned under his teacher and \textit{shaykh}.

In order that a student gained the trust of his people after returning to them, he needed some evidence to prove that he had been taught by scholars and that he mastered certain disciplines. In addition, he had also to prove that he had extracted them from the major reference sources and that he had memorised some types of poetry, which raised his academic standing.

The texts of the qualifications also include some important information, as they are an extended presentation of the Islamic discipline and a review of the books that were prevalent at the time. Knowledge, as a result, would not be complete without them, as they contain a list of teachers and \textit{shaykhs} of those teachers, thus showing the strong link between scholars in the various parts of the world.

Certainly Ibn al-Ṭayyib had many students who graduated under him and thus deserved to obtain formal qualifications, which they requested from him. We have found some of these qualifications and they are as follows:

The first qualification is a handwritten licence on one page, written for his student: Aḥmad b. ʿIsmāʿil al-ʿAjlūnī. It is located in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyyah, Cairo, under no 97 Taymūr and was written in 1167/1753.

The second qualification is a qualification handwritten by Ibn al-Ṭayyib also and is located in the front page of his book ‘Irsāl al-ʿAsānīd.’ It was written for his student, ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Murādī, in Dhul-Hijjah 1157/1761, in the holy city of Mecca.

The third qualification is a licence handwritten by him also and is located in the front page of his book ‘Irsāl al-ʿAsānīd.’ It was written for his student, ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Murādī, in Rajab 1167/1753, in Damascus.

The fourth qualification is a a qualification handwritten by him also and is located in ‘Fiḥras al-Fahāris.’ It was written for his student, Ḥamdūn ʿAbdul-Salām Banānī al-Fāsī; the year and place are unknown.

The fifth qualification is a qualification handwritten by him also and is located in ‘Fiḥras al-Fahāris.’ It was written for his student ʿIbrāhim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdul-Salām al-Raʿīs al-Zamzami.

The sixth qualification is a qualification he mentioned in 'al-Riḥla al-Badri' and was written for his student, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭabdullāh al-Harwari.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have presented comprehensive information on the biography of Ibn al-Ṭayyib. We referred to his legal school, and his religious beliefs, paying particular attention to Sufism as a religious phenomenon that was prevalent at that time. Furthermore, we studied the shaykhs and students of Ibn al-Ṭayyib according to the sources made available to us and the books and writings that survived loss, which were the most important source, in providing information about him.

Description and Analysis of the Manuscript

5.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the geographic route of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's journey, in which he faced many dangers and difficulties, such as the lack of water, strong winds, as well as the tribal attacks on the pilgrimage caravans. In addition, this chapter describes a number of social and political phenomena investigated and recorded by Ibn al-Ṭayyib. Among these phenomena is the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan with its camel-borne litter sent to Mecca and celebrated by the people of Egypt. The chapter also describes visits to graves/tombs and the trade and markets in the places through which the route of the journey passed through. In addition, women also had their share of mention in the poetry recited on the journey. Correspondingly, we will analyse the style of Ibn al-Ṭayyib and mention the major factors that affected his academic style.
5.1 The Academic Style of Ibn al-Ṭayyib in his Writings

The academic approach of Ibn al-Ṭayyib is deemed to be one of the major characteristics of the Hijāzī journey, as it was based on experimentation and direct, physical observation of events.

We see that writing on travels was based on personal observation and that among the typical characteristics of the Hijāzī journey was that the traveller would record the news and the details of his travels. He would mention the countries he visited, the politics, trade and the industries and habits encountered on that visit. In addition, the traveller used to record the distances, or the phases he covered and describe the nature of the cities he visited during each of them. The academic value of such sources comes from the fact that they were eyewitness accounts due to direct contact with nature itself and with the people themselves. Hence the study of such travels is useful in that they help the reader get acquainted with the ideological, social and economic context of the era, as seen and felt by the travellers. Such aspects are usually missed in history books, where the main concern is with political and military events.

As for the journey of Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī, it was both a descriptive and an academic one. It included a good description of the phases of the trip, the cities visited, and the ancient monuments seen. In addition, Ibn al-Ṭayyib paid great attention to explaining the political, cultural, and academic aspects of his journey.
It is worth mentioning that pilgrimage to the Holy lands and seeking knowledge, as mentioned earlier, were two major reasons for establishing the tradition of travelling among the Moroccans. Ibn al-Ṭayyib was considered one of the pioneers in this art; his journey is worth studying and investigating as it is a comprehensive source for whoever wants to learn about these issues in the 12th/18th century, especially since the sources available from this period are very rare. The miscellaneous academic fields of research of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s journey made it one of the main sources to refer to: it dealt with pilgrimage and its rituals, as well as including juristic and literary excerpts, poetic quotation, historical pieces, hints about the social habits of people, geographic landmarks, trade transactions, monuments and the biographies of scholars.

It is also worth noting that Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī followed the example of his predecessors such as his shaykh Abū Sālim al-Ṣāyāshi, in that he divided his journey into two travels: the outward journey and the return journey; where the latter was usually a brief summary of the former, particularly with respect to the natural geographic information which was repetitive. In this regard it was sufficient to refer to the new events or mishaps on the road, or passing through secondary roads. In addition, on his return journey, Ibn al-Tayyib al-Sharqī stayed for more than five months in Egypt, where he met its most reputable scholars and knowledgeable people, visited its graves/tombs and taught in its famous mosques.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib divided his journey into five prefaces and thirteen chapters. The journey with its outward and return routes can be said to fall into six characteristic sections:
1. Description of roads and cities as well as economic conditions.

2. Inhabitants, habits, customs, beliefs and creeds.

3. The academic and cultural situation, including issues related to religious-based customs.

4. Sufism, its orders and its zawāya.

5. New events and the latest developments recently introduced to the society, particularly the drinking of coffee.

6. The political situation along the western portion of the Islamic world from the farthest part of Morocco up to Egypt and Hijāz.

As for the literary side, his interest was obviously seen in his fluent prose style and his concern with the well-known poetic works known in his age, as well as his adoption of the major typical characteristics of the Moroccan travellers who preceded him. Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī wrote about his journey in the form of daily diaries. He mentioned the distances covered between the phases, or cities, in hours and miles. In addition, he wrote in detail about the topics he dealt with. Such organisation and classification were due to his background as a lexicographer. Although he criticized others' viewpoints in an academic manner, he sometimes reported news without any discussion, particularly when such news matched his Sufi beliefs.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī also used to correct common errors, whilst relying on comparing the books that dealt with the subject. Then, he presented the correct opinion stating his own position. Hence, his judgment was that of a knowledgeable man, whose information was detailed, correct and comprehensive; this was one of the outstanding qualities of Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī. In addition, he explained the
etymology of the names of some cities he passed through in some detail, such as Tripoli.\textsuperscript{286} It should also be noted that Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi used to mention the author's name of the source he quoted. In contrast, sometimes he ignored or forgot the full title of the book, which in turn made it difficult to know the source, particularly if the author had written more than one book.

As for his position regarding the narrations related to Riḥla, Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi limited himself - in most cases - to quoting the sources without any criticism or investigation. Perhaps the reason behind that was his adherence to his Sufi teachers and the statements attributed to the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him), as he followed the example of his predecessors, who were not concerned about verifying such reports. In addition, during his journey, Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi included some information some of which he was not sure about, or perhaps he admired some pieces of this information and thus, he differentiated them by putting them down under specific titles such as "Oddities" or "Nice stories".

He acquired this style from his shaykh Abū Sālim al-ʿAyyāshi. Among the odd phrases he mentioned was the one quoted from al-ʿAyyāshi when he was talking about the city of Libda and the story regarding the cultivation of olives there.

He said: "Some of the inhabitants of that city told me that the king who built this city had two deaths among the soldiers in his military camps, for an unknown reason. Therefore, the king gave instructions to cut the heart of one of them. In the heart they found a worm, so, he thought that the worm might be the reason for their death. Hence, he gave instructions to pour all the medicines they had one by one on that worm, but it did not perish. At the end he poured a drop from some oil he had in a bottle brought to him from Syria. Accordingly, the worm perished. So he realised that the remedy for that

\textsuperscript{286} Ibn al-Ṭayyib, \textit{Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Riḥla}, pp. 139-140.
disease was that oil taken from the olive. Hence, he sent to Syria where they in turn sent him olive plants, which he planted all over the country from Misrāta to Sousa, Tunisia and its provinces. Since then olive plantation has been there, and Allāh knows best.”

As for the "nice stories", we see him describing the importance of coffee, quoting al-‘Ayyāshi as well. He said: "Our (shaykh al-Mulla) Ibrāhim b. Ḥasan al-Kawārnī told me that our shaykh, the Imam Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qāshashi used to say that one of the blessings of Allāh on the inhabitants of Ḥijāz was coffee beans, because those people were mostly poor and weak, and people used to come to them from everywhere. It is a must for a host to offer food for his guests but due to poverty, those people could not afford to offer such food for every guest. This coffee is a light provision; people, the rich and the poor – old and young- were satisfied with it. Hence, it was a salvation for the poor, to perform their duty towards their guests coming to them from distant places. There was no doubt then that coffee was also liked by the inhabitants of Ḥijāz as an entertaining drink for their guests. As for the legal point of view, a man has to maintain his honour. He said that for fun.”

In the field of thought and culture, Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī was aware of the significance of academic specialisation when he mentioned in his journey that he did not comprehend what the Hanbalite scholars said about the permissibility of coffee drinking. He said: “I didn’t know what the Ḥanbalīs say regarding it or what ruling they give it and this would trouble my heart, even though I was certain that their opinion is based on the same principles.”

287 Ibid. pp. 146-147.
288 Ibid. pp. 185-186.
289 Ibid. pp. 188-189.
In other places, Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī seemed to be aware of the fact that things should not be taken for granted without investigation. He used to discuss objectively, bearing in mind various considerations. A good example was his discussion of the naming of 'al-Saqāyaf' in 'Dār al-Waqda'. We see him disagree with his shaykh Abū Sālim al-Ḍayyashi, saying: ‘The claim that the naming of 'al-Saqāyaf' in 'Dār al-Waqda' is due to the lighting of fire in it, as Abū Sālim al-Ḍayyashi said, was neither proper nor correct, especially since they claimed that the reason behind this was that the Companions of the Prophet (Ṣaḥāba) set fires during the battle of Badr; consequently, they (the people in Dār al-Waqda) wanted to copy their example in this way. However, no one recalled that 'Saqāyaf' had any of these fire set in it and hence, where did Abū Sālim get such a tale from?’

Therefore, in general, we can say that Ibn al-Ṭayyib was a critical scholar, who discussed the opinions of others in an academic manner, characterised by strong evidence and deduction.

5.1.1 Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī and his Homesickness

Homesickness, fear of alienation, departure without return due to dangers on the road, in addition to the psychological ties with one's homeland and his tribe, made the travellers show their affection and longing for their countries. Once, when Ibn Jubayr was in Baghdad, he cut a branch from a bush and said these verses:

لا تغترب عن وطن
واحدر تصاريف الهوير

Ibid. p. 227.
“Do not be far away from your homeland, and be wary of the change of the desires. Don't you see that the branch shrivels if cut from its root.”²⁹¹

Therefore, we see that Ibn al-Tayyib often referred to homesickness and the hardships of being away from his people. Whoever looks into his journey, would notice this clearly through what he recorded, particularly when he referred to the city of Fez. In addition, we can clearly deduce that the author was a lover of his homeland; he wrote describing its beauty, its soil, its weather, its water, its gardens, and its breeze. He said, "We left the beautiful city of Fez, which has no match in the whole world except the two Holy Mosques (i.e. Mecca and Medina).

“It is land in which the gardens and meadows are remarkable and of beauty which is endless. It is a land that includes all the beauties of the world, all sorts of fruits, and running rivers and fresh - not stagnant- waters.”²⁹²


It is a city where its running rivers flow, its flowers bloom, its buildings are neatly arranged, and its gardens are large. Whenever this city crosses your mind, you recall what Ibn al-Lubānah said regarding it:

"It is a city, which the pigeon lent its necklace, and the peacock covered it with its feathers. It is as if rivers in it are eternal and the courtyards of the houses are goblets."\(^{293}\)

Whenever Ibn al-Ṭayyib recalled his birthplace, the city of Fez and his yearning for it, he used to say:

"Whenever I miss its soil I recite: It was the first land to touch my skin, the country in which my amulets became attached to me."\(^{294}\)

Hence, being far away from his homeland was not an easy thing for Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi. To him, the city of Fez was his birthplace and the city where he spent the best days of his earthly life. Therefore, it always came to his mind and whenever he

\(^{293}\)ibid, p. 82.

\(^{294}\)ibid, p. 82.
recalled it, he manifested his yearning for it. In short, he was always proud of belonging to it.

It seems that it was difficult for the Moroccan travellers in particular to be far away from their homeland. We saw the traveller Ibn Battūtah crying when he felt lonely and people paid no attention to him when he reached Tunisia. Additionally, we read these verses by the Tunisian traveller Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, telling how when he was invited to stay in some cities while travelling he refused, due to his longing for and his desire to return to his homeland. He said:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ورب فتى عن تونس لانتمي} & \\
\text{بريودني عن ترك أرضي في الحال} & \\
\text{بديلها بها في كل حال وترحالة} & \\
\text{وأي فتى يرضى بديلا} & \\
\text{على إنها ذات السوار وخالا} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

"People may blame me for Tunisia tempting me to leave my homeland. I told them: we are its offspring, and we do not have an alternative for it wherever we go. Does anybody accept to have a substitute for his mother?"  

5.7.2 Visits to Graves and Tombs

For travellers, visiting graves was considered one of the major features of adhering to the past. Due to the Sufi upbringing of most of the Moroccan travellers, we see that their virtuous predecessors were highly appreciated by them. This was not exclusive

295 Fahmi, Husayn, Adab al-Rihla, p. 102.
to the dead only, as they also used to visit the living, so as to be close to them and seek their blessings. This custom was obviously displayed in Ibn al-Ṭayyib's writing.

When he visited the city of Fawāṭir, he said:

"I recommend you, brothers, to serve the virtuous people, love them, keep visiting and be in touch with them and sit in their shade. Such love and concern have an amazing effect in softening our hearts, making our egos subservient and removing our desires. If this affects animals and inanimate beings, how come then that you, human beings and the best of them are not affected by this love?"296

We see Ibn al-Ṭayyib during his journey praising the miracles, deeds and behaviour of those virtuous, pious people (awliyā'). He was always keen to meet and keep in touch with them. On passing by the coastal city of al-Muwayliḥ, he praised one of the Sufis saying:

"In that coastal city there is a man who runs in high distance, to whom hearts are attracted, he has obvious secrets and amazing miracles; people believe in him and feel at ease in his presence. Money means nothing to him. He does not accept but what is necessary to live on. His clothes are very modest; only a woollen robe and he has nothing to wear on his head. When he talks, he talks about inner thoughts and when he is silent, the others talk about him with fragrant praise."297

We also see Ibn al-Ṭayyib visiting Idrisi’s grave 298 at the start of his journey, so as to receive his blessings for success and reward; he believed that through such deeds he would incur prosperity and blessings. When he returned from his journey, he also paid a visit to the same grave.299

296 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Rihla, p.150
299 Ibid, p.441.
We understand from reading the manuscript of this study that those feelings and
behaviour were indications of the psychological need of the traveller because he
suffered before and during his journey, which was full of dangers and involved going
through different countries with various political systems. Hence, the travellers felt
the social changes, which were different from those in their countries and with which
they were familiar. They also used to suffer from psychological emptiness due to
homesickness. That was why the visits to the graves and to the pious virtuous people
(*awliyā*) were the remedy, as the travellers, on paying these visits, felt at ease and
secure. As a result, the travellers headed to the graves of many great Muslim figures
whether they were in distress or in a state of well being.

For instance, Ibn al-Ṭayyib believed in the extraordinary abilities of Aḥmad Zarūq. He said: "We entered Misrātah in a group and headed for a visit to the grave of the
scholar, the investigator, the researcher, and the religious authority Abū al-ʿAbbās
Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Zarūq al-Brinsi al-Fāsī. At that time, my affiliation to him was
fulfilled by Allah. The people prayed and asked Allah for help and everybody prayed
for whatever they wanted. At his grave, they left their souls and possessions and their
religion. We did this and saw the blessing of the man. It was well known from
pilgrims that whoever left his soul and wealth with Allāh then no harm can come to
him until he returns. They would do this if they passed by him or faced the sea. This
is not innovation and is not strange, as indeed Allāh is the protector and no trust is
lost once entrusted to Him. Such pious people are the gateways to Allah, and
whoever leaves a thing at one of His doors, it will definitely be kept in safety as
Allah is the best of Protectors, the Most Merciful and we ask Him to bless us and allow us to reach our goal, through His blessing and generosity, amen."\textsuperscript{300}

Therefore, it is no wonder seeing that Ibn al-Ṭayyib paid great attention to visit such graves and receive the blessings of pious scholars. We see that along the various stages of his journey, a number of those great figures were mentioned such as Sidi (Sayyidi) Khālid b. Sinān, Sidi Ṣuqba b. Nāfi', Abū Lubābah, Abū Ḥilāl, Ḥab al-Salām al-Asmar and many others.

In addition, we also see that the style of Ibn al-Ṭayyib, when he passes by such graves, differs from the style used to other parts of the journey. We see that the wording becomes lucid, the meaning clear, the phrases moving and inciting to virtues. In his visit to the grave of Khālid b. Sinān, he said, "We stayed overnight at the valley of Sidi Khālid, the glorious past and present, we headed for his grave located between the palm trees and we prayed to Allah for the treasures of this worldly life and the hereafter."\textsuperscript{301} Such politeness with this class of dead people was a result of the spiritual education that Ibn al-Ṭayyib received from his old shaykhs or teachers through the course and various stages of his education. He did not only seek their blessings, but he expressed his true feelings of love and faithfulness towards them in emotional poems. An example was his poem when passing the valley where Khālid b. Sinān was buried, which he described as one of the most beautiful and marvellous poems he wrote. He started it saying:

\begin{quote}
300 \textit{Ibid}, p. 151.
301 \textit{Ibid}, p. 431.
\end{quote}
In these verses he said that they visited the grave of Khālid b. Sinān to enjoy being close to him and to seek his blessings. He also expressed his desire to go to the two Holy Mosques (Mecca and Medina) and visit the grave of the Prophet Mohammad (Peace Be Upon Him). 302

We also notice that Ibn al-Tayyib believed that those virtuous, pious dead figures could go beyond the natural laws due to their peculiar powers. For example, when he mentioned al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī, we see him describing him as the most capable and powerful man in Egypt. 303 In another part of the journey, he recited a poem in which he praised Ḥāmid al-Badawī and mentioned some of his miraculous abilities:

"The Imam was alone in the disposal of affairs, alive or dead, there is no other." 304

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302 Ibid, p. 110.
303 Ibid, p. 194.
304 Ibid, p. 381.
Also, we see Ibn al-Ṭayyib paying visits to the major tombs in Egypt. He visited the graves of the family of the Prophet, and the Dome of al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī. He describes al-Shāfi‘ī’s grave, saying:

"It is a great building and a wonderful mosque. Whoever visits it never leaves it by day or by night. It has great endowments. Each Saturday night at the grave many people get together, though the mosque and its courtyard cannot hold them. They stay overnight praying and reading the Qur’an individually and in groups until dawn. The place continues to be populated from that Saturday night till midday of the following day. All classes of people are there, the nobility and the common people, men and women: all of them proclaiming: Yā Allah, Yā Imām." 305

Thus, such graves combined religious sacredness, glorification, the splendour of architectural art as well as Muslim craftsmanship. Some of them mirror the history of civilisation; others display the simplicity of art such as the graves of al-Baqī’ at Medina, which remained void of any buildings, as to maintain the Prophetic sunna.

5.2 Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī and the Academic Movement

The most interesting and most invaluable scientific and literary travel books were those, which were written because of going on pilgrimage or for seeking knowledge. Cities all over the Islamic states were academic centres, particularly Mecca and Medina, where people from the Far East or West would head for, to meet other knowledgeable people. This, in turn, caused a close understanding, an increase in knowledge, reputation, and the spreading of thought among the Islamic countries.306

305 Ibid, p. 194.
Moroccan travellers seized the opportunity of performing their duty of pilgrimage, and travelling between the religious and academic centres to meet knowledgeable people, learn from them and record what they had learnt in books and reports. Besides their description of these countries, their biographical writing was of great effect in giving an academic nature to these travels. "As a matter of fact, they constituted an academic record where they compiled literary writings, biographies and titles of famous books, some of which were lost and would not be known except through such travels."  

Academic issues, meeting knowledgeable people, and spreading knowledge were the main concern of Ibn al-Ṭayyib, the man of all fields. This is obvious in his academic writings, as he changed his *Rihla* to what is representative of an index. He gave freedom to his pen to spread his thoughts and academic ability, displaying the academic standard of the Moroccan school, despite the political disturbances witnessed at his time. He was taken as an example for seekers of knowledge and the knowledgeable people of Morocco. He was a capable, knowledgeable man, a faqih (jurist), a Sufi aware of the various Sufi ways, as well as a literary scholar well versed in both poetry and prose. Setting out from Fez, it was clear that he was keen to demonstrate the facets of his knowledge in his *Rihla*. We also notice that the academic movement was a basic feature in the journey of Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi. His journey preserved the biographies of numerous students and scholars and introduced titles of books meant for teaching at that time. Among his recommendations - as he mentioned in the

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introduction - was to take books on the journey: He said: "If the pilgrim is of knowledge, he should be accompanied by books in all branches of knowledge, such as 'Manāsik Khalīl' , and its 'Mukhtasar.' If you have a commentary on either of these it is also good and a book like 'al-Shifā' a book containing praise poems, indications to good actions and collections of supplications and remembrances."  

In Morocco, Ibn al-Ṭayyib met many scholars and they discussed various academic issues. In al-Aghwat city - situated to the west of Algeria Ibn al-Ṭayyib met ʿAbd al-rahmān al-Fajjī. He said regarding this, "And with him we discussed various issues in academic disciplines. We came across an issue regarding screening oneself while urinating and the problem of considering it as a grave sin according to al-Bukhārī."

In the Tunisian city of Qābis, he also met a number of its scholars. He described it as follows, "A group of its jurists and knowledgeable people came to us. Among them were al-Sayyid al-Ḥājj Muḥammad known as al-Makki al-Ṣafāquṣī, the son-in-law of the famous shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan Sayyidi (Ṣādiq) ʿAlī al-Nūrī, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAlī al-Ḥuzāmī, the Imam and mufti of Qābis, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Qafraš al-Ḥuzāmī, Abū al-Ḥasan Ṣādiq ʿAlī b. al-Ḥāj ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qābisī, Ṣādiq ʿAbd Allah b. Ṣādiq ʿAbd al-Karim al-Ḥamrūnī, Ṣādiq ʿAlī b. Aboū al-Qāsim, the Imam of Zāwiyyat Abū Lubāba, Ṣādiq ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamrūnī, Ṣādiq Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sukkari al-Ḥamrūnī, and many others whose names were unknown to us. Each of these scholars asked whatever scientific issues came to his mind."  

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310 Ibid, p. 421.
In Tripoli he met one of the Tunisian literary scholars, Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. ʿAli known as Ibn al-Asram al-Qarawi, while going on his journey and a close friendship was established between them. They exchanged poems of praise and discussed literary and jurisprudence issues. Ibn al-Ṭayyib said: "Various issues were raised and discussed by each of us with sincerity and love:

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\text{ٍةَكّٰٓبَـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓـٰٓ&n
and religious jurisprudence. Its mosques and institutes were centres for teaching and information, in the various religious and life sciences, at all levels al-Azhar was the main attraction for seekers of knowledge, the symbol of knowledge through the course of Islamic history and a bridge for the exchange of Arabic and Islamic culture among Muslims.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib provided us with a synopsis of the academic activities of Egypt, introducing a number of major students and scholars such as Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāshī, whom he praised highly, saying, "He used to exchange various issues regarding knowledge, jurisprudence with us as well as discourses concerning the deeds of the virtuous, pious people ..."313. In addition, he met the jurist Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. Maḥṣūr al-Saqṭī, who was the leader of al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣirīyyah in Egypt. About him, he said, "He attended the forty ḥadīth of Imām al-Nawawī at al-Ghūriyyah with us and also discussed the preaching of al-Ḥarayfish. 314" He also met shaykh Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad al-Shanāwani, the man in charge of al-Ghūriya Mosque315.

At that time, there was a large Moroccan community in Cairo, in addition to seekers of knowledge and scholars. Ibn al-Tayyib’s presence among them prompted them to support him, honour him, facilitate his stay, publish his books, opinions and news, and elevate his position among the people of Cairo and all over Egypt. Among those who served him was Abū Zayd ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Jālūn, and the jurist Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Saqqāṭ. The Moroccans set up a permanent residency for him. About this he said:

315 Ibid, p. 376.
"They exaggerated in honouring me and visiting me often, bringing food, fruit and books on various types of disciplines, particularly literature and history, such as Naḥḥ al-Tib, al-Maqamat, al-Suyūṭi’s works, Tarīkh al-Mīnāwī, Anwār al-Ṭabaqat, and many others. Accordingly, precious discussions were raised and great benefits were gained, and hence many problems were solved."\textsuperscript{316}

Among the most important scholars Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī met in Cairo was Abū al-ʿAbdās Ahmad al-ʿAmāwī al-Mālikī, one of the great scholars of al-Azhar, with whom he discussed various academic, religious, literary, grammatical, interpretive, and Sufi issues, as well as many others.\textsuperscript{317} Also, he met šaykh Sālim al-Nāfrwī, the scholar of al-Azhar who used to teach "Mukhtasār Khalīl" and "al-Rislah" as well as other works in the al-Azhar mosque. In addition, they discussed future trading sales and transactions, as well as other issues.\textsuperscript{318}

Similarly, he met Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad Abū al-Nūr, whom he visited in his house more than once. He praised his experience and deep knowledge in the religious sciences and Sufism.\textsuperscript{319}

He also met šaykh ʿAbdul ʿḤalīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥalīmī Al-Fayyūmī, who urged Ibn al-Ṭayyib to stay in Cairo. Together, they discussed issues relating to the school of Imām al-Shāfīʿī.\textsuperscript{320}

He also met šaykh ʿAbdul-Latīf al-Talmisānī, one of the disciples of al-Zāwīya al-Nāṣirīyya.\textsuperscript{321}

\textsuperscript{316} Ibid, p. 385.
\textsuperscript{317} Ibid, p. 375.
\textsuperscript{318} Ibid, p. 375.
\textsuperscript{319} Ibid, p. 377.
\textsuperscript{320} Ibid, p. 377.
\textsuperscript{321} Ibid, p. 377.
In Al-Ḥijāz, he continued his search for scholars and seekers of knowledge, to learn from them and managed to contact some of them. In Mecca, he met one of the Moroccan scholars residing in Medina, shaykh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣīlālī. They met during the pilgrimage season and it was an occasion to discuss various issues on academic arts concerning grammar and jurisprudence.

When al-Ṣīlālī was aware of the high repute of Ibn al-Tayyib, he tried hard to have him teach lessons on the interpretation of Ṭafsīr al-Bayḍāwī in the Holy Mosque at Mecca. He said, “I saw with him a group of students from India; he used to exaggerate in praising me to them, though I am not worthy of it, may Allāh reward him. He asked me to read to them parts from "Ṭafsīr al-Bayḍāwī", but I claimed that I was not up to their expectations as an excuse and that I didn’t have books and footnotes to help me. This is in addition to the fact that I didn’t want to elevate myself above him since his reputation was great there. However, he didn’t accept my excuses and insisted on me reading to them and teaching them, for no other reason than my benefit. I answered his request and those days passed like dreams. He used to attend with his son as well as many other people.”

After that he met shaykh Muḥammad al-Iskandarānī, whom he criticised severely, saying, "And I also met an old blind man in Mecca, whom his companions named as shaykh Muḥammad al-Iskandarānī. We tested him, and he turned out to be a white-haired man whose heart had become as blind as his eyes, tight-fisted and deficient. If

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he talks, you hear only unsubstantiated claims. He was proud of going to kings for
gifts but not to those who want to be benefited." 323

At the Holy Mosque of Mecca, he also met the teacher of the "wax dome", Abū al-
Abbās Aḥmad b. Ḥajar, whom he described as deeply knowledgeable in Prophetic
ḥadīth.324

Afterwards, he met the last scholar he would meet, shaykh Muḥammad b. Qādī
Zādah al-Ansārī, known as al-Qādī ʿĪd. He mentioned some of his books, all of
which were on religious disciplines.325

His academic activities were not confined to teaching and meeting the scholars of al-
Ḥijāz. He allotted part of his time to writing and refutations, as he wrote a number of
treatises and replies on religious and social topics, which he received while staying in
Mecca. He mentioned that he wrote a number of books on the Holy Mosque at
Mecca, all of which were lost among what was stolen from him on his way home at
the cave of Shuʿayb, after he left Medina heading for Egypt.

It is not surprising that Ibn al-Ṭayyib spent much time in discussing scientific
research and meeting scholars. His profession was professorship, which necessitated
perfection and helping others from his contemporary learners. Thus, we see that he
excelled beyond many travellers in this respect, as he became superior to them in
writing biographies of the Moroccans due to his contact with their major figures of

323 Ibid, p. 287.
325 Ibid, p. 298.
that time. Such contacts were of great scholarly benefit, which confirmed his own high scholarly and religious rank.

5.3 The Route of the Journey:

The travellers were known for their comprehensive knowledge of the routes, their natural and social phenomena, as well as their political ties and phases through which they were constructed. They also wrote descriptions of those routes and their different landmarks, such as springs, watering places, cities, villages, as well as their human features, represented by the inhabitants found in them.

Ibn al-Tayyib used to do his utmost to relate these routes with their geographic and social features and formulate all of this in a literary style. His description of the phases is a literary work of art and consequently it was copied by many other travellers. In his writing about routes, Ibn al-Tayyib relied on two sources: first, referring to geographers' works, without ignoring the changes that took place in the cities due to economic or political factors. Among the works he depended on were ‘al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik’ by al-Bakrī, ‘Mu‘jam al-Buldān’ by al-Ḥamawī, and ‘Mā’ al-Mawāṣid’ by Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshi. The second source was his own observations and previous travellers' experiences. His knowledge in that area was due to his keen observation and collecting of data from historical and geographical sources.

He copied the style of Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshi in his journey ‘Mā’ al-Mawāṣid’, by numbering the phases. Despite this, however, he gave these phases his own, personal
literary touch, in that he merged the geographic information with his own human feelings. In addition, for each phase, he gave a geographic description of their nature, economy, agricultural products, inhabitants and their religious and cultural status. In this way, he related these routes with much information and did not limit them to be only a traveller's guide, but made then a literary geographic work as well.

As for the route he used on his journey, it was the main desert route, which came to be known as the "Maḥājjaḥ" or the "Great Maḥājjaḥ". This was the historic route extending from Suez in the east to the depression of Tāza in the West, and to which main branching routes between the north and the Sudan were joined. Ibn al-Ṭayyib began his journey from Fez to Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and al-Ḥijāz. passing by some cities which were considered to be major stations on the way for pilgrimage, such as Tawzar, Qābis, Jerba, Alzwrāt al-Shrghiyah, Alzwrāt al-Ghrbiyah, Tripoli and Cairo. As for the main stations Ibn al-Ṭayyib passed by, the first was Tāza, which was considered to be one of the oldest cities in Morocco situated in a major strategic position between Miknās and Wajdat. There, he visited many graves and also passed by the spring of 'Ayn Māḍi, which was known for its fresh water and the beauty of its women. As for the town of al-Aghwat in western Algeria, the Moroccan pilgrims' caravan stopped there on their way to the east, where Ibn al-Ṭayyib met a group of scholars (see photocopies of the map of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's journey at the end of the study section)

Similarly, whilst he passed by a big market, where the caravan bought what they needed. Also he passed by a village called Dimt, which he described as a village at

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the foot of a mountain, and which had farms all over a big valley. It was famous for its trees, fruit and fresh water. However, he warned the reader of its inhabitants, who were known for stealing and attacking the pilgrims, and urged for them to be fought and displaced.

As for the city of Baskara, they spent two nights there while going and two more on their return. He praised the craftsmanship of the great mosque there and also praised the preacher of the mosque, ʿAbdūl Wāḥīd al-Ramānī. In addition, he met a number of its scholars.328 He described the city as one of the most amazing cities; it was the seat of al-Zāb territory with its plentiful palm trees, dense plantations and olives. It was famous for its mills, for the abundance of meat in its market and he considered it as one of the most beautiful cities he had ever seen. Moreover, he stated the critical political circumstances of that area due to the Turkish occupation, on one part and the Arab tribal attacks, on the other.329

In Tunisia, the caravan stopped at two cities, the first of which was Tawzar, where Ibn al-Ṭayyib stayed for about seven days on the outward and return journey. That period was sufficient to meet with a number of scholars, with whom he had discussions on the subjects of jurisprudence and theology. He also met the city’s judge and visited its graves, as was his habit. He described Tawzar as a city famous for its fruit and palm trees and also praised its buildings. The other city was Qābis, which he visited on his way back for a short period of one day and a night and where

328 Ibid, p. 115.
329 Ibid, p. 156.
he met a number of cultured knowledgeable people, who asked him about issues related to the Arabic language and Quranic interpretation (Tafsir).  

Similarly, he also described the Tunisians going out to meet and welcome the pilgrims' caravan.

As for his visit to the village of Arrām, which was famous for the tombs of virtuous and pious people, he mentioned the names of these dead in the tombs in detail. He also passed by the city of Jirbah, which he described as a major sea port, famous for the great number of ships going there. As for the western al-Zūrāt, he wrote that they were known for their raisins figs and many fresh wells. In the city of Zawāgha, he praised its buildings and it is here we see the keen observation of Ibn al-Ṭayyib, when he referred to the architectural error in building the mosque, in a position other than the direction of the Qibla.

In Tripoli, where the pilgrims' caravan stopped and which was considered to be one of the major cities in North Africa at that time, Ibn al-Ṭayyib spent twenty-six days, spread over the outward and return journey. During that period, he obtained much information about the conditions in the Libyan city. He praised its intellectuals, such as Ibn al-Asram al-Qarawī, with whom he formed an intimate friendship and exchanged praise poetry. As for the village of al-Dafanah, which was close to the sea, it was known for its plentiful fresh water, with which wells could be dug and the outstanding taste of the water.

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330 Ibid, pp. 82-140.
331 Ibid, p. 132.
332 Ibid, p. 132.
In Cairo, Ibn al-Tayyib spent the longest period during his journey. Not only did he visited it for a few days when going but on his return, he spent over five months there, although he used to leave it sometimes to visit surrounding towns such as Tanta, where the grave of Ahmad al-Badawi was situated. In Cairo Ibn al-Tayyib taught some books on religion and Arabic language in some of its schools and mosques. The Moroccan caravan would join the Egyptian caravan here, where they would then follow one of two routes to the Holy lands in al-Hijaz; one of the two routes was by sea and the other by road. The pilgrims used to exit to the sea road from Cairo, and then to Qus, and from there to 'Idhāb. After that they took the sea to the port of Jeddah and from Jeddah the pilgrims went to Mecca. As for the route by road or by land, it started from Cairo; the pilgrims used to stay for a short time in 'Birkat al-Hājj', then they moved to 'al-Buwayb' and from there to 'Ajrūd. They continued on a coastal route until they reached 'Haql' and from there they covered several phases until they reached 'al-Wajh'. Then they kept going for a few phases until they reached 'Yanbu'.

Ibn al-Tayyib described the entry of the Āmīr of the Egyptian caravan to 'Yanbu'; he said, "And the Āmīr of the Egyptian caravan entered in a great and magnificent manner that indicated high rank and luxury. Banners and flags beyond description were everywhere and in front of him there was a plentiful number of armed soldiers in magnificent clothes representing the wealth and fortune of their Āmīr. They covered "al-Maṭmal al-Sharīf" (the camel-borne litter) with what was recognised as

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334 Ibid, p. 381.
336 Ibn Jubayr, Muhammad, Rihlat Ibn Jubayr, p. 57.
a glorious cloth. Its camel was beautified in a great manner and the Amir surrounded it with drums and horns that moved everybody in the markets."337

From Yanbu' they moved to minor towns until they reached Badr, Rābigh, Khlays, Baṭn, then al-Zahrān and then they entered Mecca. There, Ibn al-Ṭayyib's style of writing changed. Instead of writing to describe the routes and locations, he started writing to describe the rituals and ceremonies of pilgrimage. In addition, he described the landmarks of Mecca, its roads and conditions. He dealt with this in a juristic manner, attempting to introduce the aim and motives behind performing such rituals. This was to help inform the pilgrims and to display his religious knowledge, for which he was famous as both a scholar and teacher. On the other hand, Ibn al-Ṭayyib paid special attention to such holy rituals, relating them to geographic places of major importance to Muslims. He also discussed the psychological condition of the pilgrims and their spiritual comfort and enjoyment. This was obvious in his phrases on entering Mecca,

"We entered Mecca in the afternoon of the sixth of Dhul-Hijjah. We did not do anything before heading for the Holy Mosque in Mecca, as this was our yearning and ultimate aim. We came for al-Bayt al-Haram alone and were confident that we would achieve our aim. Our hearts almost flew out of pleasure. We entered from Bab al-Salam following the example of the Prophet - Peace Be Upon Him – supplicating that the great Mosque be increased in honour and glorification."338

It is to be noted that his entry to the Holy places almost affected his behaviour and psychological state. He turned from the atmosphere of caution and fright during the journey to one of spiritual elevation, which made him proud. That enjoyment and pleasure accompanied him and continued during his visit to Medina. As a result, he

wrote the best poems in praising the Prophet - Peace Be Upon Him, during his stay there and as a result, we see that the factors of time and place had a major role in his literary production, writing and religious emotion.

Almost every Ḥijāzī journey included prophetic praise, which might be called “the Ḥijāzī literature” as most travellers share Ibn al-Ṭayyib's feelings in this regard.

He described his joy when he entered Medina, saying, "Then we entered Medina, the yearning renewed, joys increased, and distress faded. We spent the night and in the morning its lights illuminated and I entered the mosque to partake of its honour and grandeur. I headed for the Messenger; I trembled with amazement and tears flooded my eyes."

He recited these verses to show his joy that he was about to enter Medina and stay there saying:

أبذل الدمع في الصعيد السعيد
لا تلمثني على انسكان دموعي
هذه روضة الرسول فدعني
إما صنتها لهذا الصعيد

"This is the Rawḍa (i.e. “garden”), the place between the grave and the pulpit of the prophet. So let me cry and shed tears in this happy spot and do not blame me for these tears. In fact I saved them to be shed in this particular place."

339 ibid, p. 331.
340 ibid, p. 331.
When Ibn al-Ṭayyib reached the Rawḍa in the Prophetic Mosque, he recited a lengthy poem praising the master of human beings (Prophet Muhammad, Peace Be upon him). In it he said:

يا مقلتي هذا المقام الأكبر
والروضة الغناء فيها المنبر
أبدا على الأكواب طرزا يفخر
والمسجد الأسمى الذي محرابة
من طبيها طاب الشذا والعنبر
هذي مرابع طبيبة الغلا التي
الآن والأصحاب فيه قبر
هذا البقيع وذلك أشرف بقعة

He was addressing his eyes, saying that they were in front of the great spot, of which the whole universe was proud. There were the graves of al-Baqi where the relatives and the companions of the Prophet were buried.341

It is no wonder, then, that we see such feelings expressed by Ibn al-Ṭayyib. These feelings were not only limited to him but shared by all Muslims as well.

5.4 The Hardships and Dangers of Pilgrimage

5.4.1 Tribal Attacks:

During their long and severe journey, the pilgrims faced many dangers. Among these dangers were attacks on them by Arab tribes. It is has been mentioned in the travel literature history that al-Qarāmiṭa attacked the pilgrims of ‘Irāq, and imposed an

341 Ibid, p. 331.
annual tax on them, which became a terrible example that was copied by many other Arab tribes, dwelling along the routes of the pilgrims.\textsuperscript{342}

Thus, we see that the hardships of the road and dangers of the tribes caused the pilgrimage caravans from Iraq to be stopped for several years. Perhaps the greatest evidence of these dangers is the statement in ‘Aqd al-Jumān’, that pilgrimage from ‘Irāq stopped for twenty-five years consecutively from 431/1039 to 455/1063.\textsuperscript{343}

The Egyptian pilgrimage route to Mecca, which was also taken by the Moroccan pilgrims, was not better or safer than the Iraqi one. From time to time there were also numerous hardships and dangers, but what happened at the end of 354/965 was the worst disaster that took place and stopped the pilgrimage to Mecca. This occurred when the tribe of Banū Salīm, who were highway robbers, attacked the caravans of Syria, Egypt and Morocco.\textsuperscript{344} It was a great caravan, which included, besides pilgrims, many Syrians fleeing from the Byzantines.\textsuperscript{345} These Syrians departed with their families and possessions heading for Mecca and from there to Iraq. However, Banū Salīm were able to block their way and killed many of them.\textsuperscript{346}

In many parts of his Rihla, we see that Ibn al-Ṭayyib referred to the fear of the thieves and highway robbers. He warned his readers from the people of the city of Tawzar, who were well known to the travellers for stealing. He said, "Indeed Tours is the most famous place for stealing and snatching. Its people are robbers and cheaters."
They rob at night and snatch in the day. They harm almost all pilgrims and visitors. They are daring and do not fear Allāh."347

As for theft, he himself was exposed to it at the Cave of Shu‘ayb. We feel the pain and grief he suffered from the loss of his great poems and works on various religious and worldly topics. He described that night, saying:

"On that night the bounty of Allāh became manifest as I know that I became close to Allah by my sacrifice and hope. Allāh ta‘ālā will accept that sacrifice. That night we lost that wonderful masterpiece with all other old and new books, as well as precious possessions of gold, silver and money. It was a calamity. We hope that Allāh deposits it for the hereafter and compensates His servant with something better."348

That robbery was not the last one; Ibn al-Ţayyib was exposed to another theft in Minā, when his tent with all his belongings was stolen. He described that, saying,

"Those who say that the place is scary are right. That night many groups from our caravan had things stolen. Mules and other possessions were gone and our tent with everything in it - including our belongings and food - was stolen. We could hardly find anything to eat."349

We see that Ibn al-Ţayyib was often afflicted and put into a state of fear and caution by these tribes throughout his journey on the pilgrimage route. After passing by al-‘Aqaba al-Sughrā, he described the fright and caution prevailing over the Moroccan caravan from the tribes of al-Salālimah and Khuwaylid. He said, “On Friday we took every precaution from the tribes of al-Salālimah and Khuwaylid, who were known

149 Ibid, p. 255.
for their theft and treachery. At noon many horses appeared causing a cloud of dust before the caravan and all the men were prepared to confront them.\textsuperscript{350}

5.4.2 Blowing of Strong and Violent Winds

In times of security, free from the dangers of tribal attack, the pilgrims suffered from various natural factors, which killed thousands of pilgrims and hindered their arrival to perform the rituals and to return to their families. Frequently, while browsing the biographies of Muslim scholars, one finds the phrase: "And he died on his way for pilgrimage."\textsuperscript{351}

One of the most dangerous natural factors, which hindered their journey, was the blowing of violent winds, particularly in summer. Ibn al-Ṭayyib said: "Violent winds blew and they almost snatched our souls. Dust filled our faces and eyes and people looked as if they were drunk, while indeed they were not."\textsuperscript{352}

Describing the storm that struck at Yanbu: "There (in Yanbu) a great desert storm rose and the souls of people stopped, the loss of life was uncountable. A person would be in conversation and suddenly die; another would be taking his possessions from his tent and suddenly was no more; another would be walking and suddenly be killed. As for the animals, horses and camels, do not ask how many were thrown and left dead between the gravis of sand. We ask Allāh to accept us and guide us to the to the clearest path."\textsuperscript{353}

\textsuperscript{350} Ibid, p. 173.


\textsuperscript{353} Ibid, p. 216.
5.4.3 Lack of Water and the Dangers of Thirst

Among the great hardships a pilgrim suffered from was the lack of water and the difficulties in trying to find it. Pilgrims were often exposed to death due to thirst and scarcity of water. In 295/907, on their return, the pilgrims suffered from thirst, due to which a great number of people died. That incident was so severe that al-Ṭabarī said, "I heard that a man urinated in the palm of his hand so as to drink his urine."354

Therefore, water constituted a constant fear in the back of travellers' minds, as it meant their lives and their animals' lives as well. This fear was at its peak, particularly when the traveller reached areas devoid of wells and water. Therefore, Ibn al-Ṭayyib was concerned about describing wells and water sources, particularly the horrible salty taste of al-Ḥā'isha water well.355

At Wādī Samālūs, where pilgrims suffered from thirst, he said, "We stopped by Wādī Samālūs. We found it dry and barren while people needed to drink. We headed for al-Mizrāb searching for water and we met two Arabs on camels. They told us that it had not had any water but they also told us that there was a well off the road, full of rainwater. Due to the great number of thirsty people, most of them went to that well named Afallo. When we reached there with difficulty, it was of little use, as we filled about eighteen water skins only, which was not enough. Many people were left without quenching their thirst."356

This painful scene of the pilgrims' suffering from lack of water, as described by Ibn al-Ṭayyib in his Rihla, made the travellers keen on knowing locations of water wells and springs, as well as their depths and the taste of their water. This is why we see

356 Ibid, pp. 405-404.
that Ibn al-Ṭayyib expressed feelings of distress, caution and fear due to the scarcity of water. In this context, his literary expressions and his similes were wonderfully expressive.

Among the literary expressions he used was his description of 'al-birka' (the pond) in Egypt: "And al-birka is a name given to a spacious land where the fresh Nile water waves lick the shore. Markets, coffee houses and colourful pavilions are set up on the shore. Do not ask about what was in these markets; there, you see what you long for. food and drink, shoes and socks, camels and lambs, butter and honey, swords, dates and raisins, figs and milk, furniture and other animals and many other countless commodities. Shoppers are everywhere though they refused to shop in the city before. We lead a better life getting what we want from the Nile’s water and eating what we yearn for from its fruit."357 It is noticeable that Ibn al-Ṭayyib was extremely concerned about water and its sources, to the extent that when he saw the scene of wādī al-Ṣaqiq, he compared it to the flooding sea. This gives us the implication that water and its surroundings were an indication of happiness and joy.358

Similarly, we see his admiration of the River Nile; he described it as one of Paradise’s rivers. He said about his stay at al-Ḥuwayjir: "We stayed there Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, leading a life of ease and comfort in all types of food and drinking from the water of the gentle Nile, which is one of Paradise’s rivers. Hence our hearts filled with joy."359

357 Ibid, p. 204.
He also quoted the verses of Muḥammad al-Bakrī, which constituted an artistic canvas displaying pleasure and joy:

في بركة الحاج ترى نخلا زها لكون عجب زترجذا يحكي وما شماره إلا ذهـب
فيها نسيم راـىق بطلبه يشفى الوصـب والطير فوق مانها يشدو بأنواع الطرف
أفيانها من بركاـة تسـبـلـ الـقلب الأرب عونتـها من طارـق وغـاصـق إذا وقـب

These verses describe the scenery of that 'birka', where there were beautiful palm trees, fruit, pleasant breezes and birds singing on its water and gardens. The scenery was so beautiful that one had to invoke the protection of Allah against envy.360

However, that pleasure changed on passing through the Sinai desert, where the caravans were forced to depend on a guide, as water became scarce in that spot. There, he said: "Then we were asked to leave, therefore we headed for Wādi Tih of the Sons of Israel. It was a spacious, waterless, shadless valley, except for the shades of Banū Isرأئ. The poet said:

لا تسكنن بوايـد الـتيه منفردا
فما سمعت كلاما من أخى تقـة
بلا دليل ترى وقع الردى فيـه
في النـاس إلا وقال احذر من الـتيه

Which means: “Do not stay alone at Wādi al-Tih without any guide with you, or the result will be death. We never heard people say anything other than beware of that spot.”361

360 Ibid. p. 293.
361 Ibid. p. 295.
No wonder, then, that we see that water was the main concern of Ibn al-Ṭayyib, because he had been accustomed to living in an agricultural environment, where there was plentiful water, rivers, beautiful nature and fertile, agricultural soil.

5.5 Various Phenomena in the Journey of Ibn al-Ṭayyib

Besides religious issues, Ibn al-Ṭayyib paid attention to describing his own observations and notes on the societies he saw during his journey. He attempted to describe the commercial transactions, type of life, types of work, prices of goods, the inhabitants' work, the architectural description of each area he passed by, visits to famous graves at that time, as well as women in those cities. In addition his writing included also a description of the political conditions in such areas.

5.5.1 Trade and markets

The pilgrims' trade involved exchanging camels and buying fodder for them, and securing their daily needs of food and clothing. The pilgrims were aware of the needs of all the destinations they passed by. They also knew where commodities could be exchanged and where cash transactions took place. It is noticeable that Ibn al-Ṭayyib was experienced in this domain. In his Rihla, he described the importance of some commercial centres, such as Manhal al-Dafna, which was known for the fertility of its soil and the abundance of its water, as well as the abundance of commodities available in it due to its geographic location. He described it saying:

"It is a watering place near the sea, with many wells which are easy to reach. Water is everywhere along the entire coast and wherever you go you can dig a well. The water there is sweet and
fresh. The pilgrims filled their water skins and their animals enjoyed drinking from it. Groups of Arabs came to us with butter, sheep, and camels. They also brought good dates and people bought what sufficed them at the cheapest price.362

At another location, he pointed out the importance of coffee as a commercial commodity and its relationship with habits. He noted its prices in the various cities of the area. He said: "Every year, coffee was carried from Yemen to everywhere, east and west. Much money was paid for it. The price of it in Mecca was over twenty Riyals, in Egypt fifty and over two hundred in Africa, Constantinople and other places."363

Outside Cairo, *Birkat al-Ḥājj* witnessed a remarkable economic activity, which was described by Ibn al-Ṭayyib in his description of its markets.364 Among the markets, which drew his attention, were the ones set up in Minā. He described it, saying: "I went to a market, which is difficult for my pen to describe. There, there are commodities that shoppers crowded to buy and sell."365 He also wrote about the importance of some seaports for trade. Among those ports, was the port of al-Muwayliḥ, about which he said: "We saw on its coast ships from Suez and al-Ṭūr. It is a port that excelled above the rest, receiving goods and sending others. There, there are beautiful vineyards and warehouses for storing precious goods and fruit..."366

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362 Ibid. p. 169.
363 Ibid. p. 186.
364 Ibid. p. 292-293.
365 Ibid. p. 237.
366 Ibid. p. 301.
As for Sūq Jerba, he described it as a great market famous for fish, oil, and fruit. It depended on ships for transporting goods. Similarly, while describing the port of Yanbu, he said that it was the gate of al-Ḥijāz, and that Egypt was one of the major sources to supply the area with food. From this port, goods were carried to Medina but the ships carrying food to Mecca used to go to Jeddah first. He also said that the markets in this city were rich with many different commodities, fruit and grains. It is to be noted that Ibn al-Ṭayyib was precise in his description of these markets. Among the markets he described as cheap was ūq al-ʻAqaba but he criticised the cheap prices of meat in al-Jabal al-Akhḍar, which he attributed to the ignorance of the people there, and their carelessness.

Among the markets he criticized for being overcrowded, was ūq al-Marwa beside the Holy Mosque at Mecca. He was of the opinion that people should be prevented from shopping in this market during the period of pilgrimage. As for the markets of Bandar al-Yanbu, it was noted that the pilgrims used to buy weapons there. It was also famous for its coffeehouses and beautiful female slaves, who waited on the customers in these coffeehouses. Thanks to this description of the markets, prices and types of commercial transactions that prevailed at that time, Ibn al-Ṭayyib gave us a general idea about the economic life there.

368 Ibid, p. 216.
5.5.2 Ceremonies and Occasions on the Journey

Not all of the journey was tiresome and fearful; indeed there was some occasion for joy and pleasure. Among the pleasant ceremonies was the occasion of the camel-borne litter, which was one of the inherited habits conveying cultural and political features. As a result, travellers frequently mentioned it in their writings and speeches and Ibn al-Ṭayyib was no exception, as he was concerned about the descriptive aspects of the occasion. In contrast however, he hardly mentioned anything about its historical origin and its political and spiritual status for the Muslims. Indeed, it had become a convention that the description of *al-Mahmal* (the Camel-borne litter) occupied part of the travel books.

In Egypt, two ceremonies were held for this occasion; the first ceremony was to draw the attention of the Egyptian people that the pilgrimage season was about to come. The second ceremony was to bid the pilgrims farewell before departure.\(^{373}\) This day was considered as one of the most important occasions in Egypt at that time. All the buildings in Egypt used to be decorated and ceremonies were set up everywhere as all classes of people observed it.

Al-Ṣayyāshi was the first of travellers who were concerned about this topic and who referred to the *kiswat*\(^ {374}\) made annually in Egypt and transported with the pilgrimage caravan to Mecca, as well as the place of its industry, its value, and the great concern

\(^{371}\) *Ibid*, p. 196.

\(^{372}\) The covering of the Ka'ba, i.e. black, brocaded material covering the walls of the Ka'ba.
Ibn al-Ṭayyib followed the example of his shaykh al-ʿAyyāshi in describing the procession of al-Maḥmal (the camel-borne litter) and he quoted him extensively while doing so. He said: "And the second time al-Maḥmal went out was on Monday the 20th of Shawwāl but we did not attend the first one, which was usually in the middle of Shawwāl."

Ibn al-Ṭayyib describes the events as follows, "On that day, the kiswa of the Kaʿba was brought from the factory where it had been made. A large tent was set up at the door of the cited (al-Qaʿa). Then the rulers, princes, governors and the judge came: each of them with their followers. Each had his assigned place in the pavilion. The Pāshā was in the middle, on his right sat the judge and when a prince or a VIP came, he sat in his assigned seat, their closeness to the Pāshā depending on their rank. As soon as everyone was present, the horses were lined up to their right until they surrounded the square in front of the pasha. It was a large square, which held thousands of horses. The Pāshā was the last one to leave. In front of him, a number of his soldiers went out, one after the other in a specific order and dressed in colourful uniforms with conical caps covered with gold on their heads, tiger skin on their feet and silver plates on their foreheads. When these soldiers went out, the Pāshā followed them riding and when he reached the tent everybody stood up with their hands on their chests. In addition, all the princes did the same with whoever came after them.

When the Pāshā sat, the maḥmal (camel-borne litter) was brought; it was a wooden dome, perfectly manufactured, with coloured windows, and covered with high quality gilded silk. The camel was covered with jewels all over his body in a

\[175\] Al-ʿAyyāshi, al-Riḥla al-ʿAyāshiyah, vol. 1, p. 150.
beautiful manner. The camel was fat, huge and well-shaped; its skin was coloured with henna. A good driver led it, with two others on the right and the left and another similar camel following it. Then the kiswa was brought, wrapped, in pieces and carried on posts on the heads of men. People used to come close and wipe the kiswa to seek its blessing.

Then the special and perfectly gilded kiswa of the door of the Ka'ba was brought on posts. It was called "al-burq", and was decorated with embroidered stitching of gold. Its craftsmanship was highly professional and its inscriptions were clear. This procession passed by the Pāshā and the princes and they would stand up out of honour for it. Then its carriers took it and went through the market until they reached Ḥusaynī (al-Husayn Mosque), where it was spread in the mosque's court yard and sewn together there. On the 19th, 20th, or 21st, the mahmal left Cairo, and that was the assigned day of the procession, when all people would assemble from everywhere in Egypt.

After that the kiswa was brought from where it was sewn and put on top of the camel. When the princes, Pāshas, guards and soldiers assembled, and the horses were lined up and the Pāshā went out, everything the Amīr of Ḥajj needed (such as camels, copper pots, horses, and shooters) was fetched in the square. Each group had its leader, cooks, waiters and servants. Then the camel carrying the mahmal was brought first and after that the camel leader handed the halter to the Pasha, who in turn gave it to the Amīr in the presence of the judge and the princes. The Amīr then gave it to its leader and this scene was to be considered as a witness that the Pāshā had facilitated everything concerning the mahmal. The judge and the princes were witnesses, then it was the Amīr's turn to write to the Sultan about it.
Then the camels were brought carrying water skins, pots and utensils, then three or five cannons drawn by mules or camels, then the hunters walking on foot and lastly the horses. When all those passed by the Pāshā, the Sufi groups came raising their voices in prayer. Among those groups who were introduced to the Pāshā, were al-Qādiriyah, al-Rifā’iyyah, al-Badawiyyah, and al-Dusūqiyyah. Even the servants used to pass by the Pāshā, who gave them tips. When nobody was left, the Pāshā honoured and granted titles to the Amīr of Ḥajj and to the Sufi groups with him and after that he bade them farewell and left.

The mahmal, the camels and the soldiers passed through the middle of the city. People watched the scene from their houses or mosques, which were close by. On that day, all markets were closed. Well-informed and trust-worthy people reported that houses overlooking the street could be rented from the beginning of the year. Those renting did not live in those houses except on that day with the aim of seeing this occasion. On all other days, these houses were closed or uninhabited.

In general, that day was one of the greatest days of the year. Similar occasions were Wafā al-Nil (the time of the Nile’s inundation), the pilgrims’ return, the change of the Pasha or renewal of his period of office. Those were the four days, which were joyfully, celebrated everywhere. I was informed that the women in Egypt used to ask their husbands to be given freedom for sightseeing, without any blame. As soon as the mahmal went out to the square at the door of the citadel, many horses were left behind for play and competition. No one was allowed to go with the Amīr except those nominated to travel with him; they used to proceed in a great procession on
beautified horses, wearing gold, silk, and silver, with their weapons decorated in precious jewels. Hence, what a great day it was, on which glorification and honour played an essential part.\textsuperscript{376}

As for the other ceremonies mentioned in the journey, there was the important ceremony of candle lighting. Ibn al-Ṭayyib described it saying: "We saw the Syrian caravan there, setting up pavilions; the people were dressed in beautiful gowns and we started lighting candles everywhere, even on the camels' necks. It was also the habit in Badr to light colourful candles."\textsuperscript{377} Ibn al-Ṭayyib went on to describe the joys of that day, and the pilgrims serving juices. He said: "When they lit the candles, and joy and pleasure made them stay awake until late at night without sleeping, they started dissolving cones of sugar in water and serving them to all the people."\textsuperscript{378}

Also there were the ceremonies of Minā. Ibn al-Ṭayyib confirmed the fact that the relations were good between the Amīrs of Ḥajj: the Egyptian, the Syrian, the Amīr of Mecca as well as the Amīr of Jeddah. After some problems had occurred between the Amīr of the Egyptian caravan and the Amīr of the Syrian caravan, they were resolved with the help of the Amīr of Mecca; those ceremonies confirmed the fact that all differences between the Amīrs had ended.\textsuperscript{379} In his wonderful description of those ceremonies, he wrote: "At night, the caravans lit the signs, with lamps displaying beautiful pictures, particularly the Egyptian and the Syrian caravans, as well as that of the Amīr of Mecca. What good nights those were."\textsuperscript{380}

\textsuperscript{376} Ibn al-Ṭayyib,\textit{Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Ribla}, pp. 196-199.
\textsuperscript{377} \textit{Ibid}, p. 227.
\textsuperscript{378} \textit{Ibid}, p. 204.
\textsuperscript{379} \textit{Ibid}, p. 257.
\textsuperscript{380} \textit{Ibid}, p. 263.
5.5.3 **The Women in the Riḥla of Ibn al-Ṯayyib**

Women occupied a small space in the travellers' writings and we notice that Ibn al-Ṯayyib did not mention women except to focus on their beauty. No doubt the travellers' being away from their countries and families, as well as the severity of the journey, made them yearn for their women.

The beautiful women of ʿAyn Māḏī drew the attention of the travellers, as they enjoyed freedom to trade and mix with men. The traveller al-Ḥuḍayki recommended others not to enter that village for fear of their charming beauty. However, Ibn ʿNāṣir al-Dirʿī criticised those young women for being unveiled and mixing with the pilgrims buying and selling. When challenged about that, these women said that these were their habits and trading was a must for them, due to poverty. Although, Ibn al-Ṯayyib exaggerated in describing and praising their beauty, he said that they did not use water to wash their bodies for health reasons. He received a religious question on that point and he answered that it would be permitted not to use water, if it harmed pregnant women and virgins. As for all other women, they should wash and use water for that purpose. As for praising the beauty of the women of ʿAyn Māḏī, he said: "Their women were charming and amazingly beautiful. Their eyes were sharper than swords and their bodies were perfect and brighter than tree twigs."

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382 Ibn ʿNāṣir’s *Riḥla*, printed as a lithograph in Morocco in 1902, p. 32.
384 Ibid, pp. 103-104.
When he reached ْUyūn al-Qaṣab, which was known for the fertility of the land, and its plentiful water and palm trees, we see him with flirting with women once more. He said: "Close to those springs we saw Arab women with beautiful eyes and hair braids that made men senseless. They were like moons having rosy cheeks as if flowers were grown on them." In another place however, we see him criticizing the women in Egypt for asking their husbands to be given freedom for sightseeing and viewing the pilgrimage maḥmal (Camel-borne litter). He considered this a sort of violation and prohibited a display of their beauty.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter describes the dangers and hardships encountered by Ibn al-Ṭayyib in his Rihla to Hijāz. Also detailed descriptions of the social, political and economic phenomena are examined in great detail. The chapter presents also a detailed description of the activities that Ibn al-Ṭayyib came across on his way to Mecca. Among such activities is the description of the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan, and visits of graves and markets. Moreover, the chapter presents analysis of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's poetic style.

385 Ibid, p. 301.
386 Ibid, p. 201.
Chapter Six: Conclusion

6.0 Conclusion

This chapter presents a summary of the research findings in each chapter, the conclusions which can be drawn from them, and the implications of this study.

Chapter 1 presented the introduction to this study: its objectives, methodological Frameworks, and a summary of the main chapters.

Chapter 2 presented the Hijāzi Rihla, its types and its academic, economic, social, political and religious importance to travelers in general and Moroccans, in particular. It displayed also the most important incentives that led the travellers to undergo such journeys, such as pilgrimage, trade, seeking knowledge and official missions. The chapter introduced a number of such Hijāzi Rihla and travelers in various ages to indicate their importance and effect on travel literature. Among these travellers we have chosen Ibn Jubayr al-Andalusi who is considered to be one of the most prominent travellers. During his travel, he did not omit to describe the academic life of the countries he passed by or visited. al-Abdārī and al-Ayyāshī are two travellers who are referred to by Ibn al-Ṭayyib; Ibn Battūta is one of the travelers who hasn’t been referred to by Ibn al-Ṭayyib, but has been introduced in this research.

It has been concluded in this chapter that most of the travelers, including Moroccan travelers, were so concerned about documenting the geographic description of their areas of travel that if they were unable to describe what they saw precisely or failed
to recall details from memory, they would refer to other travelers who had witnessed and documented the same location.

The conclusion to be drawn from the travelers’ geographical routes is that they have different interests and concerns about certain geographical, economic aspects.

Chapter three reviewed the political, economic and social aspects of life in both Morocco and Hijāz, and the impact of such events on Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqi and on the course of his life. This chapter introduced us to a historical period of Moroccan history. It is an era characterized by its political conflict and dispute over power. After the death of Sultan Ismā‘īl, Morocco experienced severe and drastic clashes and disputes, brought about by the seizure of power by his sons; this in turn led to the deterioration of the economic and social conditions in Morocco. Such a conflict, as stated clearly by the writer, had driven many Moroccans to migrate. Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s journey was a result of such unstable Moroccan conditions.

This chapter has also described the political, social and economic phenomena in al-Ḥijāz. Furthermore, we have provided a general comparison between the situation in al-Ḥijāz and that in Morocco.

Chapter four focused mainly on the biography of Ibn al-Ṭayyib. Much information is given about his religious beliefs, legal school, his shaykhs and students. The chapter provided an account on Sufism as a religious phenomenon that was dominant at that time and also a description of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s shaykhs and their influence on him. The chapter also described his influence on his students.
Chapter 5 described the dangers and hardships encountered by Ibn al-Ṭayyib in his *Rihla* to Hijāz, such as the lack of water, strong winds and the tribal attacks on the pilgrimage caravans. In addition, this chapter described a number of social and political phenomena recorded and examined by Ibn al-Ṭayyib. Among these phenomena is the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan with its camel-borne litter sent to Mecca and celebrated by the people of Egypt. The chapter also briefly described visits to graves/tombs and the trade and markets in the places, which the route of the journey passed through. Women are present in the poetry recited on the journey. This chapter has provided an analysis of the style of Ibn al-Ṭayyib and mentioned the major factors that affected his academic style.

Also, detailed descriptions of the social, political and economic phenomena are examined in great detail. In addition, the chapter presents a detailed description of the activities that Ibn al-Ṭayyib came across on his way to Mecca. Among such activities is the description of the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan and visits to graves and markets. Moreover, the chapter presents an analysis of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's poetic style.

**Findings and Implications:**

Ibn al-Ṭayyib's journey contains many minute details, which the author took care to record during his journey from place to place. It also contains a clear description of everything he saw and his comments regarding the social, economic and political conditions of the countries he visited, as well as comments about the scholars whom he met. With regard to the author's life and culture, satisfying information and
details are provided in this manuscript. In addition, the manuscript provided a full vision on the author's literary work, poetry and prose, both classical and modern. Besides the social, economic and political information, the manuscript describes the most important ʿḤajj routes taken by Moroccans making ʿḤajj during the eighteenth century, from Fez to the holy lands in the Ḥijāz. We also find that the author, as the travel writers used to do, gives special importance to mentioning the virtues and merits of travel.

Although this study is broad and incorporates so many aspects that, because of the scope of this research, we only briefly touched up on, I believe it is an important contribution to the field of travel literature as it provides an opportunity for those involved with and specialising in travel literature and Arabic literature to benefit from it and pursue further studies on it.
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