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**The Pilgrim's Tale as a Means of Self-Promotion:  
Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's Journey to the Hijāz (1916)**

Rainer Brunner (Paris)

Pilgrims' travelogues are important – and at times entertaining – intellectual testimonies. Occasionally, as is the case with Felix Fabri in late medieval Christendom or Ibn Jubayr in medieval Islam, they become classics in their own right. Even those that remain of secondary literary importance do tell the reader something about the cultural background and historical setting in which they were written. For the individual writer, the timeless religious and spiritual experience may be of primary importance, but as pilgrimages are also political, social and economic events, the texts will inevitably reveal contemporaneity, too. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935), the famous reformist intellectual and political activist, is no exception to this rule, even if, as we shall shortly see, this was in a somewhat unusual sense. When he decided to embark on the *hajj* to Mecca in autumn 1916, in the midst of the First World War, the whole region was in deep turmoil, and it may be argued that the year 1916 was a turning point in modern Middle Eastern history.<sup>1</sup> Only a couple of months earlier, the Meccan Sharīf, Emir Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, started the so-called Arab Revolt and thus took a decisive step towards independence from the Ottoman Empire.<sup>2</sup> And at roughly the

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<sup>1</sup> For a short but concise overview of the significance of the First World War for subsequent Middle Eastern history, cf. Stefan Reichmuth, "Der Erste Weltkrieg und die muslimischen Republiken der Nachkriegszeit", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 40 (2014), 184-213. Rashīd Riḍā hardly needs to be introduced in the present context; as there is no comprehensive biography of him in Western languages, suffice it to refer to the article by Werner Ende in *EL2*, vol. 8, 446-48, and the literature given therein; the preface to the first volume of his reformist journal *al-Manār* has now been translated and commented upon in Stefan Reichmuth, "Rashīd Riḍā: Introduction to the First Annual Volume of *al-Manār* (Egypt, 1909)", *Religious Dynamics under the Impact of Imperialism and Colonialism. A Sourcebook*, ed. by Björn Bentlage et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 293-304.

<sup>2</sup> On the career of Ḥusayn (1853/54-1931), cf. in detail Joshua Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia* (London: New York University Press, 2001); a short overview is given by David Fromkin, *A Peace to End all Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1989), 218-28; for a critical assessment cf. Efraim and Inari Karsh, "Myth in the Desert, or Not the Great Arab Revolt", *Middle Eastern Studies* 33 (1997), 267-312; an important contemporary account is Christiaan Snouck-Hurgronje: *The Revolt in Arabia* (New York/London: G.P. Putnam's Sons,

same time, the colonial powers Great Britain and France reached a (for the time being secret) agreement on how to distribute the Arab provinces (except the Arabian Peninsula) after the expected downfall and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire after the war.<sup>3</sup> Given the extraordinary intellectual and political stance of Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, one may reasonably expect these developments with regard to the Arabian Peninsula to be reflected in his travelogue. To a certain degree, this is indeed the case, but they are by no means the focus of his attention. Instead, his text – which appeared in serialized form in his journal *al-Manār* over a period of nearly two years<sup>4</sup> – is a highly telling combination of various literary genres: it is a glimpse of autobiography, a collection of poetry, a devotional tract, a practical pilgrimage and travel guide, a political pamphlet and, last but not least, an avowal of Islamic reform.

At the same time, the travelogue provides a kind of personality profile of its author. In what follows, I will attempt to give a summary of Rashīd Riḍā's account that renders the author's style as faithfully as possible. What is of primary concern here is less an analysis of Rashīd Riḍā's political or reformist testimony, but rather an elucidation of the underlying motivation that made the author wield the pen. These intentions may aptly be summarised in one sentence: it is Rashīd Riḍā himself who is the focal point of his own travelogue, and the events he chooses to describe are important only to the extent that the author plays a more or less outstanding role in them.

As the text is too long to be translated verbatim, I will concentrate on several passages that are central to the understanding of Rashīd Riḍā's self-depiction. These passages I

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1917).

<sup>3</sup> On the Sykes-Picot agreement cf. James Barr, *A Line in the Sand: Britain, France and the Struggle that Shaped the Middle East* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2011), 31ff. and index, s.v.; Elie Kedourie, *In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth: The McMahon-Husayn Correspondence and Its Interpretations, 1914-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 159-84; on the situation further east, in Iraq, cf. now also Fabrice Monnier, *1916 en Mésopotamie. Moyen-Orient: naissance du chaos* (Paris: CNRS, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, "Riḥlat al-Ḥijāz", *al-Manār* 19.5 (Oct. 1916), 307-10; 19.8 (Jan. 1917), 466-72; 19.9 (Feb. 1917), 563-74; 20.2 (Aug. 1917), 108-26; 20.3 (Oct. 1917), 150-59; 20.4 (Nov. 1917), 192-98; 20.5 (Jan. 1918), 236-45; 20.6 (Feb. 1918), 276-88; 20.7 (Apr. 1918), 316-28; 20.8 (May 1918), 352-63; these instalments were assembled and edited (not always reliably) by Yūsuf ʿIbīsh in the volume *Riḥalāt al-imām Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā* (Beirut, 1971), 92-210. For the sake of convenience, the present article follows the pagination in the latter volume (henceforth quoted as Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*).

offer in paraphrase (given here in small print), without embellishing or distorting the account, and with much detail; it is Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā who is speaking here.

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Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā was an utterly prolific writer who left a number of personal memoirs and autobiographical passages.<sup>5</sup> Many of these pieces are a sort of PR on his own behalf, meant to stylise him as an unusually gifted and principled thinker who from childhood knew his destiny, i.e. to reform the deplorable state of the Muslim world.<sup>6</sup> While private moments or family life are, as a rule, absent from these texts, his pilgrimage travelogue offers a rare exception, for he starts by lamenting the great wrench that befell him upon his departure from Cairo. The pain was far greater than in the past, even greater than at the moment of his emigration from his native Lebanon to Egypt in 1897, because for the first time he felt it in his capacity of being a husband and a father. Accordingly, he is overcome by emotion when his two children Nu‘mā and Muḥammad Shafi‘ see him off at the station – whereas his wife is completely ignored.<sup>7</sup> This brief glance at his private and emotional life is not an end in itself, but offers Rashīd Riḍā the opportunity for two literary devices that he cherishes throughout his travelogue: poetic embellishment and the art of digression. He thus inserts a lengthy passage entitled “Poetico-philosophical section on farewell and in what way it refines the character”, in which he elaborates on the different degrees of pain of parting from the beloved and on the blessing of having children, even though they are a source of constant concern over their health and well-being. To this is added a poem by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāfi‘ī in which he expressed his anxiety because of his departure for Is-

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<sup>5</sup> The main autobiographical source for his early years is his book *al-Manār wa-l-Azhar* (Cairo, 1934), 129-200; cf. Elizabeth Sirriyeh, “Rashīd Riḍā’s Autobiography of the Syrian Years”, *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 3 (2000), 179-94. Also, his travelogues (Riḍā: *Riḥalāt*) contain a number of autobiographical passages.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., for example, his account of his school years: *al-Manār wa-l-Azhar*, 137-45.

<sup>7</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 98-101. According to Aḥmad al-Sharabāṣī, *Rashīd Riḍā ṣāhib al-Manār* (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta‘rīf bi-l-Islām, 1970), 221, he married (for the third time, but the first two marriages remain unclear) in March 1913; on his children (in the end, there would be five altogether), cf. *ibid.*, 224-27. Another supposedly private piece of information is the fact that his mother and sister (both of whom, however, are mentioned only in passing throughout the text) accompanied him on the pilgrimage.

tanbul by order of Abū l-Hudā al-Şayyādī.<sup>8</sup>

Language and literature in general as well as poetry in particular had always been something Rashīd Riḍā had a penchant for, and in his autobiography, he makes a point of reminding the reader in great detail that he was a naturally-gifted and popular poet from an early age. A scholar to whom he once recited his first verses commented instantly that he began where others finished.<sup>9</sup> It comes as no surprise, therefore, that in his Mecca travelogue, there are a number of instances where he readily quotes classical Arabic poetry, which temporarily gives his account the character of a small literary anthology. The most extensive one is a passage over several pages containing a kind of *minnesang* about flirting with women (!) in the Meccan *ḥaram* and in Minā during the ceremony of the symbolic stoning – which the author immediately takes as a starting point for some priggish comments and the protestation that, his incessant ardent desire for the Ḥijāz and the nights at ‘Arafāt, Muzdalifa and Minā notwithstanding, he himself did not flirt with any woman there and – *li-llāhi l-ḥamd* – neither saw nor heard anything like it.<sup>10</sup> Apart from these poetical insertions, Rashīd Riḍā cultivates also his own linguistic ambitions: en route, he sought conversations about literature,<sup>11</sup> and he never tires of giving detailed linguistic explanations of place-names or other unclear expressions.<sup>12</sup>

Not all digressions, however, are of a linguistic nature and refer only to what he saw around him; sometimes, Rashīd Riḍā simply gets carried away by his own account and be-

<sup>8</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 98-102 (*nubdha falsafīyya shi‘riyya fi l-wadā‘ wa-mā fihi tahdhib al-ṭibā‘*); on al-Rāfi‘ī (1859-1932), cf. Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirikli, *al-A‘lām. Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisā’ min al-arab wa-l-musta‘ribūn wa-l-mustashriqīn* (Beirut, 1986), vol. 3, 257; on Şayyādī (d. 1909), cf. Thomas Eich, *Abū l-Hudā aṣ-Şayyādī. Eine Studie zur Instrumentalisierung sufischer Netzwerke und genealogischer Kontroversen im spätosmanischen Reich* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 2003).

<sup>9</sup> Riḍā, *al-Manār wa-l-Azhar*, 180-88 (quotation on p. 181); on his attitude towards language and nationalism, cf. Rainer Brunner, “*lātīniya lā-dīniya* – Muḥammad Rašīd Riḍā über Arabisch und Türkisch im Zeitalter des Nationalismus”, *Osmanische Welten. Quellen und Fallstudien. Festschrift Michael Ursinus*, ed. by Johannes Zimmermann, Christoph Herzog, Raoul Motika (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2016), 73-114.

<sup>10</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 188-97 (quotation on p. 197); the poets quoted therein are al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, al-Tanūkhī, al-Iṣfahānī, al-Numayrī, and (of all poets!) Abū Nuwās, “the profligate poet” (*fāsiq al-shu‘arā’*). Other passages with poems are on pp. 107, 126, 133, 147, 148, 151, 156.

<sup>11</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 106, 125.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 125f. (on various words for “stone”, “rock”, etc.), 152ff. (on the name ‘Arafa / ‘Arafāt), 172 (on the word *jamra* in the context of the stoning ceremony called *jamrat al-‘Aqaba*; cf. also *El2*, vol. 2, 438).

comes bogged down in remembrances and associations. One of the most characteristic examples in this regard is certainly the story of his thermos flask that stretches over two full pages: departing from the perfectly rational remark – in the context of a pilgrimage in the desert before the technical era – about the vital importance of a continuous supply of fresh water during the journey (which he considers to be more important than food), he goes on to tell the story of his metal jug:

Rashīd Riḍā owns a container of the European style called *tirmūs*, a very sophisticated model in which the ice would not melt for several days, as he had experienced once on a journey from Tripoli (*Ṭarābulus al-Shām*) to Cairo, when he stayed for two days in Beirut and for another two days at sea, where, however, he did not have to use it, as his first-class cabin was situated directly next to the ship's ice machine. When he arrived in Alexandria on the fifth day and opened the flask, he noticed that hardly any ice had melted. It had been a gift of the former Sultan of Muscat, the late Sayyid Fayṣal, whom he had visited in April 1913.<sup>13</sup> When the latter noticed that Rashīd Riḍā used to ask merely for iced water, he ordered the ice machine that was usually switched off in winter to be put into operation. Upon his departure from Muscat, Rashīd Riḍā found such a thermos flask in his luggage, and it served him well on the way from Baṣra to Baghdad, when they ran out of ice on the steamer, and from Baghdad to Aleppo, as there was ice only available in Dayr al-Zūr, which is situated between Iraq and Syria. Each of the 18 nights of the journey, they had to prepare water by filtering it in earthen pots and cool it by means of the dry and cold nightly air in small Baghdadian jugs and a metal jug wrapped in moistened cloth which would be cooled by the air and which would in turn then cool the water inside. This metal container had been given to Rashīd Riḍā by the knowledgeable physician Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Walī in Lucknow in India.<sup>14</sup> Before departure at the end of the night, he would then fill the water into said thermos flask and into another one, of a more widespread type that had been given to him by Yūsuf al-Zawāwī, the greatest leader – after the sultan – of Muscat. Rashīd Riḍā would then drink from this second flask during the morning and save the other one for the afternoon, knowing that it would keep the coldness of the water better. The Zawāwī jug was broken in Ḥamā, but Rashīd Riḍā was not too sorry about it, since there were so many of them around (except that it was a souvenir of a good friend), but the Sultan's thermos flask was later on broken in Cairo, which saddened him a lot, since it was such a useful gadget and a memory of the sultan of Muscat, may God

<sup>13</sup> On this journey, cf. Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 87-89. Sultan Fayṣal reigned from 1888 until his death in 1913; cf. *EI*, vol. 5, 391-93 (which includes a genealogy).

<sup>14</sup> On Rashīd Riḍā's journey to India in 1912, cf. Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 77-86.

irrigate his grave. But the Sultan's righteous and reliable son, Rashīd Riḍā's friend Sayyid Nādir, the commander-in-chief of the army of Muscat, gave him another such flask by way of compensation, and this is the one he brought along for his pilgrimage and in which he carried enough ice from Jeddah to Mecca; only the water in the leather skin went bad, because the skin had not been used for quite a while. The reason why the thermos flask keeps the temperature of its content so well is because it is composed of two containers, the outer one made of metal, the second one of glass, the inside of which looks like a mirror. The outer one is covered with a material of slow heat conductivity, while the inner glass container is detached from the outer, the joint being an upper orifice made of cork, on top of it a piece of white metal, and above it the metal cover joint to it. Whenever the orifice is lifted a little, it is possible to pour water from a spout.<sup>15</sup>

It is in the eye of the beholder to speculate about Rashīd Riḍā's motives for including such longwinded and wordy digressions. One purpose is without doubt his habit – generally to be felt in many of his writings – to put on his best pose as a seasoned traveler, well-connected throughout the Islamic world, who is not only writing about the Muslim world and the need for reform, but experiencing it with every fiber of his heart. Not without good reason does he terminate his thermos flask excursus by reminding the reader that foul water is the cause of many illnesses, that the traveler who cares about his health between Jeddah and Mecca does well to carry enough water, as the water available in the inns and coffeehouses on the way is generally bad and the sources are polluted – and that the Prophet himself, who used to eat everything and never found fault with food, did not drink every kind of water, but preferred the water from a well at a distance of a day's travel away from Medina.<sup>16</sup> It is this combination of personal experience and lesson for the reader (including passages that read like a travel guide),<sup>17</sup> occasionally grounded in the normative example of the Prophet, which can be found in other passages of his travelogue as well.

By far the most important part of every pilgrimage account to Mecca is certainly the

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<sup>15</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 120-21; this would, however, not save him from the awkward situation on the way back from Mecca to Jeddah, when they (i.e. Rashīd Riḍā, his mother, sister and some travel companions) run out of water and have to suffer terrible thirst, as the water his guard provides is bad and expensive: *ibid.*, 209-10; Rashīd Riḍā makes a point of stressing that he sacked the guard on the spot, as this was not the first time he was dissatisfied with his service.

<sup>16</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 121-22.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 122 (the coffeehouses on the way from Jeddah to Mecca), 123 (Baḥra), 146ff. (the way from Mecca to 'Arafāt and from Minā to Muzdalifa), 151ff. ('Arafāt itself).

description of the various rites, and many authors take the opportunity to reflect upon their emotions and the spiritual experience they are going through. So does Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā. Once he managed to overcome the physical hardship of pre-modern travel – he covered the way from Jeddah to Mecca on a mule’s back – and arrived in the *ḥaram*, he immediately performed the first circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Ka‘ba and the first sevenfold run (*sa‘y*) between Ṣafā and Marwa. The *ḥajj*, he goes on to explain, is a spiritual, physical and social exercise that strengthens all three components of human life. As for the physical aspect, the sevenfold *ṭawāf* (on an average of 100 meters for each round) and the *sa‘y* of approximately three kilometers are like track-and-field disciplines that are recommended by physicians. The social factor is obvious from the great number of people from all parts of the world who are assembled, who get to know each other and interact in a harmonious way. But most important of all is the spiritual experience that constitutes the actual purpose of the pilgrimage.<sup>18</sup> Although he complains several times about the physical strain, the heat and the loss of appetite that made him feel weak most of the time and considerably reduced the number of circumambulations he was able to perform,<sup>19</sup> the continuous state of spiritual rapture more than makes up for it. Seeing and circumambulating the Ka‘ba upon his arrival and having the opportunity to enter it shortly before his departure threw him into a permanent emotional state of exception,<sup>20</sup> as did the standing (*wuqūf*) in the plain of ‘Arafāt. Particularly this latter occasion, an integral part of the *ḥajj* ceremonies, is depicted as the unconditional highlight of his pilgrimage, and the incessant recitation of the *talbiya* (the formula *labbayka, Allāhumma, labbayka* with which every pilgrim presents himself to God upon entering the sacred space) as well as the *takbīr* (the call *Allāhu akbar*) fulfil perfectly the purpose of putting the believer into a trance: there is a huge crowd, but no-one sees or cares about the other, for it is as if everyone is alone and completely focused on the Lord.<sup>21</sup> And yet, there was one drop of wormwood: big as the

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 129-31; cf. “Sa‘y”, *EI2*, vol. 11, 97; “Circumambulation”, *EI3*.

<sup>19</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 129, 130, 131-32, 140, 144. Apparently, the climate of the Ḥijāz was not very salubrious for Rashīd Riḍā: during his second journey to Mecca in 1926 (see below) he also suffered from a severe fever attack; cf. *al-Manār* 32.2 (Feb. 1932), 116.

<sup>20</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 132-34, 200-1.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 163-65; on the *talbiya*, cf. *EI2*, vol. 10, 160-61 and the literature given there; on ‘Arafāt (or ‘Arafa) cf.

crowd may be, it was not as big as it ought to be, let alone as it used to be in the past. Since the number of pilgrims in 1916 was rather small (a fact that Rashīd Riḍā repeatedly emphasizes),<sup>22</sup> the experience of the masses was not as impressive to him as he had possibly hoped for, and it becomes clear that he feels he had missed something: the grand view of the plain and the small mountain there (the *Jabal al-raḥma*) covered with people from all over the world. Instead, he has to make do in his travelogue with quotations from previous pilgrims: Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī described the area just a couple of years earlier as so crowded “that it is hardly possible to see a place where there is no one standing or sitting, and their camels and donkeys are tied up next to them”; and the inexhaustible Ibn Jubayr knew that nothing resembles this crowd except the day of the resurrection (*al-ḥashr*), as the pious residents in Mecca (*mujāwirūn*) had confirmed to him that never since the days of Hārūn al-Rashīd had such a crowd be seen as in that year of 1184 [CE].<sup>23</sup>

In all this, the Prophet is never far away. His usefulness in recommending the care for fresh water has already been mentioned;<sup>24</sup> in Mecca, Muḥammad becomes the absolutely indispensable guide at each and every stage of the pilgrimage, and Rashīd Riḍā tried hard to come as close as possible to his normative example: he entered the city through the same gate as the Prophet had done, he pitched his tent in ‘Arafāt near the spot where the Prophet’s tent had been (by chance, as he protests), and upon entering the Ka’ba at the end of his stay, he visualized the situation on the day of the Prophet’s conquest of Mecca and

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*EL2*, vol. 1, 604 (‘Arafa) and vol. 11, 220-21 (*wuqūf*), as well as the article “‘Arafāt” in *EL3*. A useful and concise summary of all *ḥajj* ceremonies is G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals* (London: Schuman, 1951), 15-49.

<sup>22</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 100, 122, 145, 160-61; see also below, note 30.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 160-62; al-Batanūnī (d. 1938) accompanied the last Egyptian Khedive, ‘Abbās Ḥilmī II, on his pilgrimage in 1909; on his account *al-Riḥla al-ḥijāziyya* (Cairo, 1911), cf. Henri Lammens, “Le pèlerinage du dernier khédive d’Égypte”, *Revue du Monde Musulman* 38 (1920), 58-84. On Ibn Jubayr (1175-1217) cf. *EL2*, vol. 3, 755; Ewald Wagner, “Der *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* eines frommen Pilgers. Die Religion in Ibn Gubairs Dichtung”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 165 (2015), 93-124; F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 109-14; an abridged German translation of his travelogue was published by Regina Günther, *Ibn Dschubair. Tagebuch eines Mekkapilgers* (Stuttgart, 1985) (the passage quoted by Rashīd Riḍā being on pp. 126-27). On the *mujāwirūn* see *EL2*, vol. 7, 293-94. A richly-illustrated book about the pilgrimage at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is Farid Kioungi and Robert Graham, *A Photographer on the Hajj: The Travels of Muhammad ‘Ali Effendi Sa‘udi (1904 / 1908)* (Cairo/New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> See above, note 16.

located the exact spot where Muḥammad had been standing.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the Prophet is, of course, the conclusive guide as far as the exact performance of the various rites of the *ḥajj* are concerned, especially for the *sa'y* between Ṣafā and Marwa, the shortening and combination of the afternoon and evening prayers at Muzdalifa, and the symbolic stoning of the devil in Minā, but also for seemingly minor details, such as the “correct” way to wear the *iḥrām* garment.<sup>26</sup> This imagined closeness to the Prophet is anything but unusual for Rashīd Riḍā: on the occasion of his first Syrian journey in 1908, the enthusiastic reception that was given to him in his native village of Qalamūn explicitly reminded him of the welcome that the Prophet experienced in Medina,<sup>27</sup> and in his autobiography, he relates a number of dream narratives according to which other people either saw him sitting next to Muḥammad, or even saw the Prophet in the shape of Rashīd Riḍā, since the latter (as he was repeatedly assured) bore more resemblance to the Prophet than any other human being.<sup>28</sup>

Important though the spiritual experience is for Rashīd Riḍā, he does not limit his description to it, but includes some observations on the social aspects and the mostly dire economic situation in the Ḥijāz as well. The *ḥajj* in 1916 was the first one under the new government, i.e. after the outbreak of the Arab Revolt, while in the previous year, the pilgrimage was largely cancelled due to the Anglo-Ottoman hostilities and the naval blockade of the port of Jeddah, the vital gate to the Ḥijāz for pilgrims from abroad.<sup>29</sup> When Jeddah

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<sup>25</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 129, 146, 159, 201.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 164, 166-67, 168-69, 171, 186, 187; on the *iḥrām* garment, see p. 129; according to Rashīd Riḍā, the Prophet performed the *ṭawāf* and the *sa'y* with a bare right shoulder so that the heathens may see the strength of the Muslims, after he had heard some insulting remarks on their alleged weakness.

<sup>27</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 19-20.

<sup>28</sup> Riḍā, *al-Manār wa-l-Azhar*, 158-59; until modern times, dreams and their interpretation have kept their important function for securing the charisma either of the scholarly dreamer himself or the scholar who appears in the dreams of others; cf. Rainer Brunner, “Le charisme des songeurs. Ḥusayn al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisi et la fonction des rêves dans le shī‘isme duodécimain”, *Le shīisme imamite quarante ans après. Hommage à Etan Kohlberg*, ed. by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Meir M. Bar-Asher, Simon Hopkins (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 95-115.

<sup>29</sup> Another short but instructive account of the 1916 pilgrimage is J.S. Kadri, “My Experience of the Hajj of 1916”, *Journey to the Holy Land. A Pilgrim’s Diary. Translated, and with an Introduction, by Mushirul Hasan, Rakhshanda Jalil*, ed. by Amir Ahmad Alawi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 71-78. On the war-time pilgrimages cf. John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj 1865-1956* (Cambridge, Mass./London: Harvard University Press, 2015), 166-97; Luc Chantre, *Le pèlerinage à La Mecque à l’époque coloniale (v. 1866-1940): France – Grande Bretagne – Italie*, Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Poitiers, 2012, 311-54; Sylvia

fell to Sharīf Ḥusayn's troops on June 16, immediately after the beginning of the revolt, the roads to Mecca were clear again, and the pilgrimage season, which, in 1916, started in late September, was the first test of the new rulers.<sup>30</sup> Supposedly they did well, and Rashīd Riḍā underlines from the beginning that the small number of pilgrims that had so chagrined him in 'Arafāt when it cut him out of the real rally did have two highly positive side-effects: firstly, the generally poor quality of water supply notwithstanding, there was no outbreak of epidemics. This was anything but a matter of course, despite the obligatory cholera vaccination, if one takes into account that immediately before the First World War, there was a severe cholera epidemic claiming approximately 1,000 lives per day.<sup>31</sup> And secondly, it meant that the roads, especially those between Jeddah and Mecca, were comparatively safe. For most of the journey, armed guards supplied by the Sharīf accompanied Rashīd Riḍā, but they had to intervene on his behalf only once, when there was a nightly shoot-out in their vicinity, whereupon they all fled to a nearby coffeehouse. In general, however, they reassured him, robbers in larger units would never attack individual pilgrims or small groups, but would instead be out for the big caravans, but there were no complaints in this regard either. It was the combination of organized watchfulness – a dense net of watch-towers along the route – and individual precaution – “in this region, it is prudent to think bad (of people)” – that made him feel rather comfortable most of the time.<sup>32</sup>

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Chiffolleau, *Le Voyage à La Mecque. Un pèlerinage mondial en terre d'Islam* (Paris: Belin, 2015) 251-68.

<sup>30</sup> For statistics of the number of pilgrims, cf. Teitelbaum: *The Rise and Fall*, 200 (1916: 6,800 pilgrims by sea; no number for 1915); Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, 187 (1916: 26,000 pilgrims altogether), 190 (1917: 50,000 pilgrims at 'Arafāt), 196 (1918: 44,000 pilgrims at 'Arafāt); *Records of the Hajj: a Documentary History of the Pilgrimage to Mecca, Vol. 5: The Hashimite period (1916-1925)*, n.p. (Archive Editions) 1993, 57-59 (official British report on 1916) and 69-76 (on 1917); see also David Long, *The Hajj Today: A Survey of the Contemporary Makkah Pilgrimage* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1979), 127-28 (no numbers for 1915 and 1916). The Sharīf's newspaper *al-Qibla* reported (no. 1.14, September 29, 1916, p. 4) that according to the Egyptian paper *al-Ahrām* the number of Egyptian pilgrims was “without doubt” more than 1,000; Kadri, “My Experience” writes that 2,500 pilgrims from India went on *hajj* in 1916.

<sup>31</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 100, 103, 187; on the pre-war epidemic see “The Mecca Pilgrimage in 1913-14”, *The Moslem World* 5 (1915), 82; in general, cf. Peters, *The Hajj*, = 301-15; Eric Tagliacozzo, “Hajj in the Times of Cholera. Pilgrim Ships and Contagion from Southeast Asia to the Red Sea”, *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*, ed. by James L. Gelvin and Nile Green (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 103-20; Rita Stratkötter, *Von Kairo nach Mekka. Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Pilgerfahrt nach den Berichten des Ibrāhīm Rifāt Bāšā: Mir'āt al-Ḥaramain* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1991), 100-06; Chiffolleau, *Le Voyage à La Mecque*, 153-200.

<sup>32</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 122-23, 124-25 (quotation on 125). Kadri, “My Experience”, p. 74, confirms that “the road was

Rashīd Riḍā is less consistent with regard to the economic well-being of the inhabitants of the Ḥijāz. He cannot completely shut his eyes to reality: the number of camels had dramatically diminished that year, since in the time before the revolt many animals had starved, the sacrificial meat was hardly enough for the poor of the *ḥaram* (whereas in previous years there had been plenty of it for the needs of the inhabitants of the country and its neighbors). Moreover, begging in the holy precinct was pervasive, and Rashīd Riḍā saw many scenes of dreadful misery and hunger. He decided to give alms to every beggar, although active begging is actually forbidden in Islam.<sup>33</sup>

At the same time he assures the reader that the residents of this faithful country forever enjoy Abraham's intercession, which is mentioned in the Qur'ān ("and provide them with fruits; haply they will be thankful"), as well as Abraham's request that God bless their meat and water, as ascertained in a *ḥadīth* recorded by Bukhārī.<sup>34</sup> By consequence, he explains, there is plenty of good meat and vegetables available, although everything becomes more expensive during the pilgrimage season.<sup>35</sup> He goes even so far as to remind the reader of the well-known traditions about Abraham's building of the Ka'ba and Hagar's desperate run between Ṣafā and Marwa, before God made the Zamzam well bubble up. God made the hearts of all Muslims aspire to this land, and has always made it serviceable to them and provided them with its fruits. Rashīd Riḍā then draws a parallel to the situation in 1916: the rich and powerful nations that dispose of fertile and cultivated lands suffered from heavy losses, hunger and fear, due to the European war, and the pressure caused by the naval blockades had been very strong and nearly made the people of the *ḥaram* starve, but now God again made this land serviceable to them and provided them with food and money by

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clear of the Bedouins and there was a mounted escort of the Sherif's men accompanying the caravan". This early honeymoon between tribes and the Sharīfian government was, however, short-lived, and relations quickly and permanently deteriorated so that security was much worse in later years; cf. Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall*, 199-205.

<sup>33</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 145, 172, 205-07.

<sup>34</sup> Q 14:37 (Arberry's translation); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ. Ṭab'a jadīda kāmila fī mujallad wāḥid mashkūla wa-muraqqamat al-kutub wa-l-abwāb wa-l-aḥādīth*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ḥasan Naṣṣār (Beirut, 1425/2004), 615-16 (no. 3364); French translation by O. Houdas and W. Marçais, *El-Bokhāri: Les traditions islamiques* (Paris, 1906), vol. 2, 478-82 (p. 481).

<sup>35</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 143-44.

directing the flow of pilgrims towards them.<sup>36</sup>

As has already been indicated above, it goes without saying that Rashīd Riḍā's travelogue cannot do without reference to the political situation in the Ḥijāz that had changed so dramatically during the previous months – the more so as the Arab revolt did away with the regime of the Young Turks that had been anathema to him in recent years.<sup>37</sup> Incidentally, this was also the reason why Rashīd Riḍā went on pilgrimage only at the age of 51: first, he had been prevented from carrying out the *ḥajj* by the threat of being persecuted by the Hamidian government, and later on by what he used to call the atheism (*ilḥād*) of the Young Turks. All the more willing was he to accept, apparently at short notice, the invitation by the Egyptian government, based on a safety guarantee by Sharīf Ḥusayn.<sup>38</sup> The two had been in contact with each other since the time Ḥusayn assumed the Sharifate in 1908, and one of the new dignitary's collaborators even delivered the invitation to Rashīd Riḍā – on his return from his Syrian journey in autumn 1908 – to become Ḥusayn's secretary.<sup>39</sup> Although subsequent correspondence was apparently prevented by Ottoman censorship, Rashīd Riḍā kept in touch through the Sharīf's second son, 'Abdallāh, whom he made a member of his *Society of the Arab Association* in 1914.<sup>40</sup>

It did, therefore, probably not come as a surprise to him that in the summer of 1916

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 136-37; cf. the article "Zamzam" in *EI2*, vol. 11, 440-42; G.R. Hawting, "The Disappearance and Rediscovery of Zamzam and the 'Well of the Ka'ba'", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43 (1980), 44-54.

<sup>37</sup> On his growing opposition against the Young Turks (whose revolution against Sultan 'Abdülhamid II. he originally had supported), cf. Brunner, "*lātiniya lā-dīniya*", 82-88; Mahmoud Haddad, "Arab Religious Nationalism in the Colonial Era: Rereading Rashīd Riḍā's Ideas on the Caliphate", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117 (1997), 253-77 (esp. pp. 261-63).

<sup>38</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 94, 100; on Rashīd Riḍā's attitude towards the Hamidian rule, cf. Haddad, "Arab Religious Nationalism", 254-61.

<sup>39</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, p. 110; on his Syrian journey, see *ibid.*, pp. 9-53; cf. also Richard van Leeuwen, "Mobility and Islamic Thought. The Syrian Journey of Rashid Rida in 1908", in: Giuseppe Contu (ed.), *Centre and Periphery within the Borders of Islam. Proc. of the 23rd Congress of l'UEAI* (Leuven, 2012), pp. 33-46.

<sup>40</sup> Eliezer Tauber, "The Political Life of Rašīd Riḍā", *Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic Sections of the 35<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS), Part One, Budapest 1-7 July 1997*, ed. by K. Dévény and T. Iványi (Budapest, 1998), 261-72 (pp. 262-63); there is, however, no trace of such an appointment in 'Abdallāh's own memoirs: *Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan. Edited by Philip P. Graves* (...) (London: Jonathan Cape, 1950), 105-10 (I owe a copy of this book to Prof. Jens Scheiner, Göttingen). On 'Abdallāh (1882-1951), who after the war was to become *amīr* of Transjordan by the grace of Britain and later on King of independent Jordan, cf. also the article in *EI3* <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_ei3\\_COM\\_0148](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_0148)>.

there were many rumors to the effect that he, i.e. Rashīd Riḍā, was to be accompanied by a delegation of scholars sent by the Egyptian Sultan, in order to take the oath of allegiance (*bay'a*) to Ḥusayn as the new caliph, or that he would even do so on his own. He dismissed all this as “the gossip of the rabble” (*taqawwul li-ghawrā' al-nās*),<sup>41</sup> but he was unmistakably flattered to be treated, throughout his stay, as the guest of honor of the Sharīf.<sup>42</sup> As for the ongoing revolt, he hardly caught any hints at it en route; only once did he see a group of Turkish soldiers, who had been taken captive after the conquest of Ṭā'if.<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless, politics do play an important role in his travelogue, albeit he makes a point of turning his attention to this topic only after he completely finished all pilgrimage ceremonies. Incidentally, the new Sharifian government was proclaimed on 7 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1334 (October 5, 1916), i.e. right in the midst of the pilgrimage ceremonies,<sup>44</sup> and it is small wonder that this step quickly became the talk of the day. Immediately, the rumors about a *bay'a* during the *ḥajj* – Rashīd Riḍā uses the allusive expression *bayn al-rukn wa-l-maqām*<sup>45</sup> – resumed, although at the Friday sermon, the reigning Ottoman caliph, Meḥmed V Reşad, was invoked. Rashīd Riḍā learned that all members of the new government, as well as the Meccan notables, regarded the oath of allegiance as obligatory, while the Sharīf himself inclined to the opinion that this question should be left to the whole Muslim community abroad.<sup>46</sup> Thereupon, Rashīd Riḍā decided to deliver a speech the next day, on the occasion of the Feast of the Sacrifice at Minā, in order “to explain the truth that I knew from research

<sup>41</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 94; Sharabāṣi, *Rashīd Riḍā ṣāhib al-Manār*, 153, even mentions rumors that Rashīd Riḍā would accept the position of chief judge (*qāḍī l-quḍāt*) or *Shaykh al-Islām*, without, however, giving any references; for the general mixing of the pilgrimage with the question of the caliphate, cf. also Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, 176.

<sup>42</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 109, 125, 139, 175, 203-05.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 127; Ṭā'if was conquered on September 22; cf. Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall*, 81.

<sup>44</sup> For the text of the first two proclamations (one on the formation of the *hay'at al-wukalā'*, the other one on the foundation of the *majlis al-shuyūkh al-a'lā'*), see Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 174-75, quoted from *al-Qibla*, no. 1.17 (Oct. 13, 1916), 2.

<sup>45</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 175; lit. “between the South-eastern corner (*al-rukn al-yamānī*) and the station of Abraham” (from which, according to tradition, Abraham overlooked the building he had just erected). In eschatological literature, this denotes the place where the *mahdī* is supposed to emerge, whereupon the Meccan people will pledge allegiance to him; cf. “Mahdī”, *EI2*, vol. 5, 1230-38 (on 1232); David Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 203.

<sup>46</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 176.

and from personal experience".<sup>47</sup>

This address, in the presence of the Sharīf, is a more or less conventional piece on Arab and Islamic reform with all relevant ingredients in the first part, and a strong plea for support of the cause of the Sharīf and of the political independence of the Ḥijāz in the second part:

Rashīd Riḍā starts by quoting two verses of the Qur'ān in order to remind his listeners that Islam means religion and politics (Q 4:59) and that not only the Holy Book is, but also the rule (*ḥukm*) derived from it should be, an Arab one (Q 13:37). After mourning the loss of Arab unity and the ensuing weakness caused by the invasion of non-Arabs (*a'ājim*), he elaborates on the additional setbacks of the previous century-and-a-half: the conquests of the Egyptian governor, Muḥammad 'Alī, the ineffective *tanẓīmāt* reforms, and especially the destruction and corruption caused by the Young Turks under whose reign the state lost more territory than ever before. But in what situation is the Empire now, in wartime and in the face of the enmity of the great powers? Many Muslims are loyal to the Ottoman state, few know how big the danger is, and even fewer try to fight this danger. Of all Muslim leaders, only the Meccan Sharīf is resisting the looming breakdown, but to save the entire Ottoman state would exceed his capabilities, so he has to start with what is possible, by saving the Ḥijāz and by creating the conditions for maintaining Islamic independence (*ḥifẓ al-istiqlāl al-islāmī*). The Young Turks have massed their troops in the Ḥijāz, knowing that their enemies, the European allies, do not intend to occupy the Arabian Peninsula. The presence of Ottoman troops forces the European powers to block the ports and to cause famine and epidemics – which again proves that for the Young Turks, maltreatment of the Arabs is more important than fighting their own enemies. For this reason, the Sharīf has declared the independence of the Ḥijāz, for nowhere on earth is there a better place for a successor state of the Ottoman Empire and the preservation of Islamic independence. But even if the Ottoman state could be saved from overthrow, Arab independence in the Ḥijāz would not be an obstacle for an Arabic-Turkish cooperation with equal rights for both parties. If there hadn't been the declaration of independence, the *ḥaramayn* would – in case of the Ottoman fall – become a prey to the European conquerors and could at best be handed over by them to the Muslims as a kind of alms. And Rashīd Riḍā corroborates that he is saying all this not in order to flatter the Sharīf, but because it is the simple truth.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 177.

<sup>48</sup> The text of the speech is given *ibid.*, 178-82, as a quotation from *al-Qibla*, no. 1.17 (Oct. 13, 1916), 3-4 (in-

Nowhere, however, does Rashīd Riḍā talk about the question of the caliphate or the pledge of allegiance to the Sharīf, and when, later on, ‘Abd al-Malik al-Khaṭīb, a Meccan notable, complained to him that this speech ought to have been the prelude to the *bay‘a* of Ḥusayn, he answered that this was neither his conviction nor would he have been entitled to undertake such a step.<sup>49</sup> This is all the more remarkable as the question had been in the air long since: during his journey to Istanbul in 1910, Rashīd Riḍā reported that Ottoman politicians had for many years been afraid of an Arab revolt and the establishment of an Arab state or an Arab caliphate.<sup>50</sup> One thus indeed gets the impression that this was precisely what he had in mind when he delivered his speech at Minā: in a way to have his cake and eat it – to show enthusiastic support for the move of the local Arab warlord, but not to forsake his overriding loyalty as a subject of the Ottoman state. The only way to achieve this aim in the heated atmosphere of the pilgrimage was by giving a fiery speech without consequences, the intention of which was precisely to *prevent* the *bay‘a*. Also, in a pamphlet that he distributed during the pilgrimage (and that was procured by French officials), he announced the establishment of a “Supreme Committee” in order to strengthen Arab unity in the face of the colonial threat, but again passed over the question of the caliphate in silence.<sup>51</sup> One may speculate that it was for this reason that he was willing to endorse the Sharīf’s proclamation as king of the Hijāz only a few weeks later, as this title did not necessarily interfere with the religious office of the caliphate and was, moreover, geographically restricted to the Arabian Peninsula.<sup>52</sup> His uncompromising enmity towards the Young Turks notwithstanding, Rashīd Riḍā was not yet ready to question the Ottoman caliphate.

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cluding the editor’s comments that recorded the listeners’ applause).

<sup>49</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 183.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 57; Eliezer Tauber, *The Emergence of the Arab Movements* (London: Frank Cass, 1993), 154 notes that as early as 1911 local warlords such as the notorious Iraqi Sayyid Ṭālib al-Naqīb were ready to pay tribute to Sharīf Ḥusayn “publicly when circumstances require it”.

<sup>51</sup> Tauber, *The Emergence of the Arab Movements*, 115-16 and 354, n. 16; it seems, however, that at roughly the same time Rashīd Riḍā did promote the idea of an Arab caliphate: in a “General Organic Law of the Arab Empire” that he handed over to the British, he expressly stipulated that the “Caliph will come from the Sharifs of Mecca, (...) [that he] will be in charge of all religious matters, (...) [and that t]he headquarters of the Caliphate shall be in Mecca”; cf. *ibid.*, 116-17 (quotations on p. 117); *idem*, “The Political Life of Raṣīd Riḍā”, 264-65; Haddad, “Arab Religious Nationalism”, 269 (with a different wording).

<sup>52</sup> Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall*, 107-11; see also Elie Podeh, “The *bay‘a*: Modern Political Uses of Islamic Ritual in the Arab World”, *Die Welt des Islams* 50 (2010), 117-52 (esp. pp. 127ff). Rashīd Riḍā does not mention the coronation in his travelogue.

This would happen only much later, after the First World War, when the new Turkish National Assembly first abolished the sultanate and, in March 1924, the caliphate. But this is another story.<sup>53</sup>

What is also striking about Rashīd Riḍā's dealing with politics in this context is the fact that the European powers, and above all Great Britain, under whose protection the pilgrimage was *de facto* taking place, are conspicuously absent from his account. Rashīd Riḍā mentions only in passing that the *maḥmal* (a somewhat strange camel palanquin that was sent by foreign Muslim rulers for mostly unclear purposes)<sup>54</sup> was transported on a British warship, but other than that and a friendly remark about the generally polite behavior of British soldiers in Egypt, the colonial powers are left completely out of the picture.<sup>55</sup> So are also the Sharīf's relations with the representatives of the European powers, all of whom had their advisors, consuls or agents in the region. Thus, the former head of the French military mission to the Ḥijāz, Édouard Brémont, reported 15 years later (possibly with not totally unselfish intentions) that Rashīd Riḍā "avait fait à Mina, en présence du Grand Chérif un discours anti-français, dénonçant les ambitions de la France sur la Syrie: l'Emir l'interrompt publiquement, et l'invita à ne pas aborder ces questions".<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Cf. in more detail Haddad, "Arab Religious Nationalism", 269-76; Malcolm H. Kerr, *Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 153-86.

<sup>54</sup> On the *maḥmal* cf. Peters, *The Hajj*, 165-67; Stratkötter, *Von Kairo nach Mekka*, 63-68; for pictures see Kioungi and Graham, *A Photographer on the Hajj*, 2-3; occasionally, it is stated that the *maḥmal* brought the cover (*kiswa*) of the Ka'ba (e.g. Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, 186), but this is explicitly denied by others; cf. Jacques Jomier in *El2* vol. 6, 44-46, p. 45: "Those (legends) according to which the palanquin contained Qur'āns or served to transport the hangings (*kiswa*) of the Ka'ba have no firm basis. The *maḥmal* was normally empty". For a general history of the *maḥmal* caravan, see Jacques Jomier, *Le Maḥmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque, XIIIe - XXe siècles* (Cairo, 1953); Chiffolleau, *Le Voyage à La Mecque*, 26-30 calls it a symbol of political power, by which the Mamlūks (and later the Ottomans) underlined their supremacy over the Ḥijāz and the pilgrimage.

<sup>55</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 103, 105; this is all the more remarkable, as the British even had had the final say over allowing Rashīd Riḍā to come to Mecca: Ronald Storrs, the Oriental Secretary of the British Residency in Cairo at the time, remembers in his memoirs that local informants of the British in the Ḥijāz called for taking "strict measures to keep him in Egypt or deport him altogether to Malta", and that the French "expressed some surprise at our having allowed him to go to Mecca at all". Cf. *The Memoirs of Sir Ronald Storrs* (New York: Putnam, 1937), 179 and 190; on Rashīd Riḍā's attitude towards Great Britain in general, cf. Umar Ryad, "Islamic Reformism and Great Britain: Rashid Rida's Image as Reflected in the Journal *Al-Manār* in Cairo", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 21 (2010), 263-85.

<sup>56</sup> Édouard Brémont, *Le Hedjaz dans la Guerre mondiale* (Paris: Payot, 1931), 53 (English translation in Pe-

As for Rashīd Riḍā, it goes without saying that he does not insinuate anything of this kind; instead, he emphasizes that the Sharīf himself applauded and agreed on his analysis that the Arab Revolt had fulfilled its purpose: to ensure the end of suppression by the Young Turks.<sup>57</sup> He would fall out with Ḥusayn only a couple of years later, under conditions having to do with the new political order after the end of the war, and with the continuing dependence of the Sharīf on the European powers, whom he now suspected to intend to encroach on the *ḥaramān*.<sup>58</sup> When he went to the Ḥijāz the second time, ten years later, the political situation had thoroughly changed. The Hashimite kingdom no longer existed, and large parts of the Arabian Peninsula had come under the control of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Sa‘ūd and his Wahhābī troops.<sup>59</sup>

Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā would not have been himself, had he not also included in his Mecca travelogue reformist issues of a more general nature. Religious reform meant for him first and foremost faithfully and diligently sticking to the normative model of the Prophet, while at the same time fighting against unlawful innovations and other aberrations from the “correct” form of religion. One of these forms against which he fought most vehemently throughout his life was that particular kind of Sufism and folk religion that he deemed a veneration of saints or spiritual masters (i.e. a danger to *tawḥīd*, Islamic mono-

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ters, *The Hajj*, 326-27); another rather amusing but nevertheless telling detail is Brémond’s allegation according to which the Sharīf made his military band play the *Marseillaise* at ‘Arafāt (cf. *Le Hedjaz*, 52). Rashīd Riḍā does corroborate that the Sharīf arrived (together with the *maḥmal*) in ‘Arafāt with pomp and circumstance, including firing a salute and music, but he turns a blind eye (or rather a deaf ear) to what they were playing; Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 165. On the French endeavors to gain a foothold in the Ḥijāz, cf. Chiffolleau, *Le Voyage à La Mecque*, 258-64; on the British role cf. Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall*, 42-50, 70-73, 112-25, 152-67, and index, s.v.; see also Timothy J. Paris, *Britain, the Hashemites and Arab Rule 1920-1925: The Sherifian Solution* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 6-62.

<sup>57</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 184.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Dirk Boberg, *Ägypten, Nağd und der Ḥijāz. Eine Untersuchung zum religiös-politischen Verhältnis zwischen Ägypten und den Wahhabitiden, 1923-1936, anhand von in Kairo veröffentlichten pro- und anti-wahhabitischen Streitschriften und Presseberichten* (Bern et al.: P. Lang, 1991), 304-9.

<sup>59</sup> Rashīd Riḍā did not leave a separate travelogue about this second journey which he undertook on the invitation of Ibn Sa‘ūd to the Islamic congress that took place in Mecca in June/July 1926; there are only two short announcements in *al-Manār*, the one from 1932 mentioned above (note 19), and an earlier one: “‘Awdatunā min al-Ḥijāz”, *al-Manār* 27.5 (Aug. 1926), 400, in which he announced his intention to write a second travelogue, which, however, never materialized; see also Sharabāshī, *Rashīd Riḍā ṣāhib al-Manār*, 158-59. On the Mecca congress see also Martin Kramer, *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 106-22.

theism). In his autobiography, he takes great pains to justify this stern approach<sup>60</sup> and his rejection of Sufi “superstitions” is also expressed in his travelogue:

On the steamer on the Red Sea he enjoys the company of cultivated fellow-travelers such as ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Jamāl, a scholar from Port Said, and Muḥammad Tawfiq ‘Alī, a captain in the Egyptian army, with whom he discusses poetry and literature, occasionally also religion, science and society. Moreover, a pilgrimage epistle that he had hastily composed in the days before departure is much sought-after, even among illiterates, whereupon he makes it a condition that the literate travelers should read it out to the illiterates. Yet he finds ample reason to complain, because the travelers in the third class, all belonging to the lowest classes of society, have decidedly different interests: they spend the night with amusement and games, music and entertainment, even with *dhikr* events where they are dancing and uttering ecstatic sounds, transforming religion into a pastime and a despicable play, close to God’s wrath, far from His approval, as what they call *dhikr* is nothing but refractoriness and sin. As if this were not enough, there is this tramp, wandering all night on deck and invoking the saint, Sayyid al-Badawī, with a dreadful and coarse voice and thus depriving Rashīd Riḍā and his company of their sleep; all attempts to reason with him are bound to fail.<sup>61</sup>

But even the state of *iḥrām* did not save him from trials and tribulations, although of a slightly different kind. It is his close friend and host in Jeddah, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Naṣif, of all people, who caused his chagrin by making a remark that was actually meant to be friendly: he was delighted to see Rashīd Riḍā already in his *iḥrām* garment upon setting his foot on Ḥijāzī soil, because recently, he explained to his guest, there were some young people who came to Mecca and strolled around and entered the *ḥaram* not being in the state of *iḥrām*.<sup>62</sup> Rashīd Riḍā was clearly annoyed, for if the bad behavior of these youngsters made his righteous host think that Rashīd Riḍā – whose seriousness in everything religious

<sup>60</sup> Riḍā, *al-Manār wa-l-Azhar*, 146-59, 171-76; on his attitude towards Sufism in general cf. Albert Hourani, “Rashid Rida and the Sufi Orders. A Footnote to Laoust”, *Bulletin d'études orientales* 29 (1977), 231-41; Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Sufis and Anti-Sufis: The Defence, Rethinking and Rejection of Sufism in the Modern World* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999), 98-102.

<sup>61</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 106-08; on Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 1276), the alleged progenitor of the Badawiyya, the most important Sufi order in Egypt, cf. Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, *Al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī. Un grand saint de l'Islam égyptien* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1994).

<sup>62</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 112; on the influential Naṣif family, cf. Teitelbaum *The Rise and Fall*, 27-28; Muḥammad ‘Alī Maghribī, *A‘lām al-Ḥijāz fi l-qarn al-rābi‘ ‘ashar lil-hijra, 1301-1400H, 1883-1980M* (Jeddah, 1401/1981), vol. 1, 208-15; Luitgard Mols / Arnoud Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections. Traces of a Colourful Past* (Leiden: Leiden Publications, 2016), 118-19; see also the article by Ulrike Freitag in the present volume. On the *iḥrām* cf. *EL2*, vol. 3, 1052-53.

was well known to him – could entertain the idea of arriving in Jeddah without *iḥrām*, what would he possibly think of someone with whose good character he was not familiar or for whom he did not cherish sympathetic feelings? But he concealed his anger and assured his host that he would not disregard the *iḥrām* even if it were only recommended (and not obligatory),

neither out of indifference nor out of preference for the diffidence, the embellishment or the comfort of normal cloths, since he wants to be the one who knows most about its utility and craves most for putting it into practice, and if he disregarded it, nobody would be able to convince him to put it on, because he would disregard it – if he disregarded it – only on account of a conclusive legal injunction, such as if he believed firmly that it would be harmful to his health which makes obligatory things forbidden, or if, by wearing it, he were sinning against God and not obeying Him. In religious matters, he does not bother about what people might think of him, God knows he is not a hypocrite who plays up to people, who refrains from what he knows is true, or who does what he knows is wrong. Many people are hostile to him because of that, but this character is more important to him than their affection. It is sad, however, that there are so many well-intended people who let themselves be led astray by the clueless. Yet one must beware of self-delusion: nobody likes looking at his own mistakes, only few correct their friends' mistakes, mostly it is the opponents who confront a person with his mistakes, and few are those who are willing to learn from this and who do not react with anger or retaliation. Therefore he praises God for having endowed him, from an early age, with the maturity to encourage his friends to draw his attention to his shortcomings, and by this he keeps going, even if the other is younger or less learned. This is also why he asks the readers of the *Manār* for their criticism which will be published in the journal – because it is better to have it appear in the *Manār* than elsewhere.

What Muḥammad Naṣīf says about the *iḥrām* reminds Rashīd Riḍā of what Muḥammad Makkī b. ‘Azzūz al-Tūnisī told him in Istanbul in 1910:<sup>63</sup> A Tunisian scholar had turned to him (i.e. Tūnisī) and complained that even many Muslim reformers did not carry out the religious obligations in a correct way; how about Rashīd Riḍā in this regard? To this, Tūnisī answered that he had never seen a more accomplished and correct form of praying as with Rashīd Riḍā.

Is what Naṣīf and the unnamed Tunisian writer say not a sign for the weakness of the Islamic religion? Of course it is, and there is another story that

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<sup>63</sup> On Rashīd Riḍā's journey to Istanbul in 1909/10 cf. Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 55-75; on Tūnisī (1854-Dec. 1915 or Jan. 1916) see Andreas Tunger-Zanetti, *La communication entre Tunis et Istanbul 1860-1913. Province et métropole* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), 107-08 and index, s.v.

comes to his mind: one day, at noon during Ramadan, Rashīd Riḍā paid a visit to ‘Alī Yūsuf, the owner of the newspaper *al-Mu’ayyad*, and also finds Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī there, smoking, who was just criticizing the Ottoman import ban on the *al-Manār*, which was totally incomprehensible to him, in view of the reformist zeal and the service to Islam performed by this journal.<sup>64</sup> This was overheard by Ibrāhīm Bek al-Hilbāwī<sup>65</sup> who then wrote an article published in *al-Mu’ayyad* in which he mocked the scene he had witnessed by saying that there was someone sitting there, singing the praise of the reformist zeal of the *Manār* and smoking during Ramadan. This was understood by some readers as if it had been Rashīd Riḍā who was smoking. The latter at first did not bother about it, but then realized that the story spread further and further, until one day, he received a telegram from Bombay, the famous Indian harbor, from Muḥammad Bāshā ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, who was travelling to Suez on his way to the pilgrimage, so Rashīd Riḍā went out to meet him, although he did not know him or anything about him, and found him in the company of a number of Arabs and Indian Muslims whom he had invited for the pilgrimage. They offered Rashīd Riḍā cigarettes and a *shīsha*, which he refused by declaring that he had loathed smoking since his childhood, whereupon the Bāshā turned to his company and finally cleared the misunderstanding caused by Hilbāwī’s wording, because as a matter of course Rashīd Riḍā would not break the fast during Ramadan. On top of it, the question was about breaking the fast in public, which anyway is more detestable than breaking it secretly.

What he wants to tell the reader after this long excursus is the fact that not only do many young people, whose belief was spoilt in Turkish or foreign schools, not put on the *iḥrām* when entering the holy places or neglect the *ṭawāf*, the prayer and the fast, but that one of them protests publicly against the Qur’ān, another slanders the Prophet’s companions, or strays from the right path in other forms – which is why some inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula start thinking bad of the younger generation, or take their bad behavior as an argument against those visitors whose righteousness is obvious. As far as the nature of the people of the Peninsula is concerned, they do not have much patience with atheism. In many Arab lands, there are now those who want to imitate the Young Turks, their policy, fanaticism (*‘aṣabiyya*) and atheism, but they cannot hope to bring a state like the Ottoman under their

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<sup>64</sup> On ‘Alī Yūsuf (1863-1913) see Abbas Kelidar, “Shaykh Ali Yusuf: Egyptian Journalist and Islamic Nationalist”, *Intellectual Life in the Arab East, 1890-1939* ed. by Marwan R. Buheiry (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1981), 10-20; on Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī, see Roger Allen, “The Works of Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī (1844-1906)”, *Middle Eastern Literatures* 13 (2010), 131-39; on him and his son Muḥammad see also Werner Ende, *Europabild und kulturelles Selbstbewusstsein bei den Muslimen am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, dargestellt an den Schriften der beiden ägyptischen Schriftsteller Ibrahim und Muhammad Al-Muwaylihi*, Ph.D. dissertation, Hamburg University, 1965.

<sup>65</sup> 1858-1940; see Arthur Goldschmidt Jr., *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2000), 78.

control; rather, their intentions and their evil influence will become apparent.<sup>66</sup>

Having made this clear once and for all, Rashīd Riḍā can afford to keep the hints about his activities for the sake of Islamic reform comparatively brief and discreet during this journey,<sup>67</sup> especially as his religious reformism is clearly overshadowed by his political agenda mentioned above. But his interlocutors knew anyway with whom they had dealings: in Jeddah, he was welcomed by both Muḥammad Naṣīf who delivered the Sharīf's regards, and by visitors and well-wishers who paid their respects in droves so that Rashīd Riḍā did not have enough time to return their visits.<sup>68</sup> And as far as Mecca is concerned, there were not only far more visits by notables and scholars than he could return, but also nearly a conflict between the Shāfi'ī Muftī, 'Abdallāh al-Zawāwī, and the Emir Ḥusayn, in person, about who would be his host – and Rashīd Riḍā immediately informs the reader that this was not the first time that he experienced such a situation, as also during his journey to Oman, the local notables had been fighting over accommodating him.<sup>69</sup> Before departing for Cairo after the pilgrimage, he paid a farewell visit to the Sharīf, who honored him with such friendly words that Rashīd Riḍā nearly dissolved into embarrassment (which does not prevent him from quoting them in detail), and he replied in all due modesty that he considered himself to be merely a simple soldier who is at all time ready to serve his religion and his community in sincere devotion, and that neither any personal benefit nor the family nor his children could ever dissuade him from doing so.<sup>70</sup> This, then, reminds the reader of many other passages in his previous and subsequent travel accounts, where he makes a point of emphasizing that wherever he appeared in public, he was greeted by an unprecedented crowd of believers who sometimes had been going on hours of pilgrimage in order to see him and who cheerfully hung on his every word, as well as by the local notables who vied with one another in showing their hospitality, be it in Tripoli, Qalamūn, Da-

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<sup>66</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 112-17; the passage is entitled *Ibra lil-mu'tabirīn wa-jināyat al-muḥsidīn 'alā l-muṣliḥīn*.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 97 and 107 (on the pilgrimage epistle mentioned above); 111 and 119 (working indefatigably on his Qur'ānic commentary *Tafsīr al-Manār*, even during the journey).

<sup>68</sup> Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 108-9, 110-11.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 127-28, 139-41; see also above, note 13.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 202-3.

mascus, Homs, Istanbul, Lucknow, Aligarh, Deoband, Muscat, Kuwait<sup>71</sup> – or, for that matter, in Jeddah and Mecca. Upon reading his pilgrimage travelogue, it thus becomes once again clear that Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's accounts of the necessity and the conditions of Islamic reform are inevitably and to not small a degree accounts of the outstanding merits and virtues of the great Muslim reformer Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 13, 19-20, 23, 29, 43, 62, 80, 83-85, 87, 90, 223-24; see also above, note 27.

<sup>72</sup> It was only after terminating the present article that my attention was drawn to the study by Mehdi Sajid, "Rashīd Riḍā in Europe. A Monomythic Reading of His Travel Narrative", *Venturing Beyond Borders: Reflections of Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing*, ed. by Bekim Agai et al. (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag Würzburg, 2013), 179-202. In this highly instructive article, the author describes Rashīd Riḍā's European journey in 1922 (cf. Riḍā: *Riḥalāt*, 311-84) in his capacity as a member of the Syrian delegation to a Syro-Palestinian congress organised by the League of Nations in Geneva. Drawing on the concept of "hero's journey" as laid out by Joseph Campbell (*The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, new edition 2004), he interprets Rashīd Riḍā's travelogue as an archetypal "monomyth" (a word coined by James Joyce) with the author playing the leading role, and with "a particular purpose: staging the author as a hero who had the courage to face his worst 'enemy' (European imperialism) in a totally unknown geographical and cultural context" (Sajid, 200). The hero sets out to battle, passes manifold trials and tribulations, and returns as a "transformed" hero, disposing of the experience and authority to lead his followers against this common enemy: "As any other hero's story, his travel narrative can be seen as an invitation to the Muslim reader to identify with him and to take part in all the transformations he underwent during his journey in Europe. At the end, the reader should also have gotten the impression that he – like the hero or the traveller – has grown and changed and his restored self-confidence empowers him to face the imperialist powers at home" (ibid.). Several details of the "hero's journey" can also be found in Rashīd Riḍā's pilgrimage travelogue (leaving the ordinary world, meeting with God as the mentor, crossing thresholds in the form of a dangerous and cumbersome journey to Mecca, finding allies, fighting enemies, undergoing ordeals and being rewarded, returning as a honoured and authoritative transformed hero), and Sajid's conclusion, as quoted in the above passage, most certainly also applies to his Ḥijāz adventure in 1916. Another relevant article that most unfortunately came to my attention only at the stage of proof-reading is Richard van Leeuwen, "Islamic Reform and Pilgrimage. The Hajj of Rashid Rida in 1916", *Hajj. Global Interactions through Pilgrimage*, ed. by Luitgard Mols & Marjo Buitelaar (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015), 83-93, whose findings (a number of which correlate with mine) could therefore not be incorporated in this article.