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THE NORTHERN HIJAZ
IN THE WRITINGS OF THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS
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by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is divided into three parts. Part One
summarises the description of individual localities in the
Northern Hijaz as presented in the writings of the Arab
geographers in the period 800-1150. Since it is not pract-
cable to include all the information they proffer on all
localities of this region, a representative selection of
places is given, arranged alphabetically, each entry con-
taining a synopsis of the data supplied by the Arab geographers
of this period. This part of the thesis is essentially infor-
mative except when, in order to eliminate contradictions, it
has been necessary to examine the evidence thoroughly and
refer to authors of later periods. Under Qurā 'Arabiyyah
and Nakhlah where there is great confusion, a few paragraphs
are added to elaborate the conclusions to be drawn from the
investigation. The second part is devoted wholly to the
pilgrim routes in the Northern Hijaz as described by the Arab
geographers. The tables of the routes frequented by the
Iraqis are based on the original mileages as recorded by the
geographers. In this part, fewer authors outside the period
have to be consulted; when they are, it is usually in con-
nection with the pilgrimage rites and administration. The
third and last part consists of a general survey of the infor-
mation supplied by the Arab geographers of the period on the
Northern Hijaz, and deals with sources, quotations, mis-

quotations and borrowings as well as attempts at the
authentication of works of disputed authorship. It also dis-
cusses the characteristics of these geographers, "geographical
poetry, the rise and decline of towns and villages, and the
dependencies of Medina and Mecca.

Discussion of the two cities of Mecca and Medina has
been excluded from this thesis.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The period 800-1150 was chosen because it is prolific
in original Arabic works on geography. Al-Asma'ī flourished
at the court of al-Rashīd at the turn of the 8th and 9th
centuries when he composed his influential "literary" geo-
graphical work Jazīrat al-'Arab. A few years later saw the
emergence of 'Arrām, the pioneer of "regional" geography,
and his revolutionary work on Tihāmah and the Hijaz. In the
mid 9th century Ibn Khurradadhbeh wrote the first "general"
geography. The closing limit was adopted because it was in
the mid 12th century that al-Idrīsī wrote his Nuzhah, and
Nasr compiled his Jibāl.

The chronological list of Arab geographers provided by
V. Minorsky is nearly accurate as it is almost comprehensive
It is certainly reliable as far as the general geographers
are concerned, but required to be supplemented by the addition
of mainly regional geographers, and by minor corrections of
the dates in the light of information which was not at the
disposal of this very eminent scholar. I have not included
biographical data on the Arab geographers since De Goeje,
Krachkovski, Minorsky, Dr Sālih al-'Alī, Shaikh Hamad al-
Jāsir and Dr Husain Nassār have already proffered all that
is required in this respect. An exception is made in the
case of authors whose works have not yet been utilized such
as Wakī' on whom a brief biographical reference is given in

this thesis. It has been found necessary to stress that

Ishāq b. al-Husain, the author of Akām al-Murjān, could not

have lived, as generally assumed, before the 12th century.

Five terms are applied in this thesis to denote certain

schools of geographers: literary geographers who, though

aiming at the definition of localities in Arabia, were mainly

concerned with literature, such as al-Asma'ī, Lughdah and

al-Hajarī; regional geographers, who limited themselves to

particular parts of Arabia such as 'Arrām and al-Hafsī;

official geographers who, being senior members of the admini-

stration for whose benefit they wrote, had access to official

archives; Fatimid geographers, namely Ibn Hauqal, al-

Muqaddasī and al-Muhallabī, who advocated the Fatimid cause,

and general geographers who describe all Islamic territories

or even the whole known world. This school includes the

official and Fatimid geographers as well as al-Jāhiz, Ibn al-

Faqīh, al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī. Al-Hamdānī's intention was

to compile a general geography, but his means apparently fell

short of the ambition to produce a work as exhaustive as his

description of the Yemen, Najd and Tihāmah. With the exception

of al-Mas'ūdī and al-Hajarī, the term "geographer" is applied

only to authors of works primarily concerned with geography.

The method of transliteration is conventional except for

a few names which have well-established English forms such

as Islam, Arab, Mecca, Medina, Taif and Ibn Rosteh. The

letters gh, kh, dh, th and sh are not underlined. Capital B,

denotes Banū, whereas small b.denotes Ibn between two names.

This occasion is not the first and will not be the last on which I express my heartfelt thanks to my supervisor Professor C.F. Beckingham for his indefatigable patience and enlightened guidance in all aspects of this thesis and beyond. Without his expert criticism, the shortcomings of this work would have been more numerous.

CONTENTS

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THE HIJAZ AS DEFINED BY THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS

The Arab geographers differ in their definitions of the Hijaz. Some of them limit themselves to the linguistic explanation of the word ḥijāz الحجاز (the barrier); others demarcate the Hijaz from east to west; a third group tries to delineate the Hijaz from south to north; undertakings in which they by no means agree.

It is impossible to accept Qudāmah's concept that it was the Prophet who حجز ḥajaza (set up a barrier) between the Yemen and the province of Mecca by assuming Talhat al-Malik as the borderline dividing the two provinces, a statement implying that the Prophet was the first to call that locality the Hijaz. It is most likely that the Prophet named it as the point where the two administrations separate, since the name Hijaz stems no doubt from a much earlier date than Islam. Qutrub proffers two explanations of the linguistic derivation of the word ḥijāz (the place surrounded by mountains,² or the cord). According to Yāqūt, al-Khalīl maintains that the Hijaz was given this name because it "separates al-Ghaur, Syria and the Steppe."³ This quotation is given by al-Bakrī in a more explicit form. Here al-Khalīl

1. Qudāmah, Kharāj, p. 189.

2. Ibn al-Anbārī, Sharh al-Qasā'id, p. 534.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 205.

says that it is called Hijaz because it separates al-Ghaur
from Syria, and Tihāmah from Najd,[1] a statement of which, by
the way, only the second part is correct. To al-Hasan (al-
Basrī) the word hijāz "denotes the land of rivers and plant
and signifies Paradise".[2] Ibn Duraid claims that it is
called Hijaz because it separates Najd from al-Sarāh. This
is incorrect since al-Sarāh is identical with the Hijaz
north of the Yemen. Al-Asma'ī is said to have maintained
that hijāz means "the land encircling the mountains".[3] This
cannot be accepted, as hijāz denotes the mountain and not the
land surrounding it.

Ibn 'Abbās is the first to define the Hijaz, according
to a report transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī to the effect that
the Hijaz is the mountain range called al-Sarāh which stretches
from the borders of the Yemen to the Syrian steppe. The low
land to its west is called Tihāmah, and the relatively high
land to its east bears the name of Najd. Had this report
ended here, it would be intelligible, but a reporter inter-
vened to complicate a hitherto clear issue. He added that
Najd was the desert stretching from al-Sarāh to the borders
of Iraq and al-Samāwah, and that the Hijaz was equivalent to
the mountain range stretching east of al-Sarāh as far as

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 12.

2. Ibid., p. 11.

3. Ibn Duraid, al-Jamharah, vol. 2, p. 55.

Faid and the two mountains of Tayy. He went on to say that these mountains were called Najd, Jals or Hijaz, though the latter was the common name.[1] This erroneous explanation caused many Arab geographers to confuse the Hijaz with Najd. Without this uncalled-for addition, it would have been perfectly clear that Arabia was divided into four sections, the Yemen, the Hijaz or Mt. al-Sarah, Tihāmah or al-Ghaur to the west of Mt. al-Sarah, and Najd to the east of that mountain.

Al-Hamdānī, who records this report, discards another attempt at the explanation of the Hijaz attributed to al-Harbī, apparently because he realises that it conflicts with the previous demarcation of the Hijaz and Najd. He is right, as in this report Bīshah, Tabālah, Tarj, al-Marāghan and Ranyah were all described as dependencies of Najd, whereas all the land east of Mt. al-Sarah from Tathlīth and the land of Madhhij until Faid and the two mountains of Tayy, were described as Hijazi lands. As this definition of the Hijaz includes these Najdī dependencies, al-Hamdānī, a native of Arabia, could not accept this mis-statement. It is also unlikely that either Ibn 'Abbās or Ibn al-Musayyib was responsible for these mistakes. Both al-Harbī and Wakī' attribute this report to Ibn Fadālah,[3] whereas Ibn al-Anbārī traces it back to Ibn Habīb.[4] It is, however, from Ibn 'Abbās that

1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 48.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 9.

3. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 72-73.

4. Ibn al-Anbārī, Mufaddaliyyāt, vol. 1, pp. 416-17.

the delineation of the Arab land and its sub-regions seems
to have originated, though his report is laden with many
additions and misleading explanations. Only one author,
namely Ibn Nāsih, seems to have rejected the erroneous assump-
tion that the Hijaz stretches as far to the east as Faid which
he locates thirteen days' journey from the Hijaz. His criti-[1]
cism, however, was ignored by other authors.

Ibn 'Abbās' definition of the Hijaz is far more authentic
and reliable than any attempted by his successors. 'Arrām
describes the Hijaz as stretching from al-Naqirah to Medina
which, according to him, is half Hijazi and half Tihāmī.[2] This
definition, though borrowed by Nasr, is unacceptable even when
taken as drawing a cross line through the Hijaz from east to
west, since not all the lands west of Medina are situated in
Tihāmah as he suggests. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Asadī
describes the land between the vicinity of Taif and Syria as
comprising the Hijaz.[3] This remark, too, is attributable to
al-Asma'ī who, on another occasion, defines the Hijaz as "the
land surrounded by the five lava fields of Shaurān, Laylā,
Wāqim, al-Nār and B. Sulaim.[4] In both definitions, the Hijaz
appears too small a region to be accepted. As to the other
definition attributed to al-Asma'ī by al-Bakrī who states that

1. Ibn al-Anbārī, Sharh al-Qasā'id, p. 534.

2. 'Arrām, Jibāl, p. 424.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 10.

4. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', pp. 1182, 1183.

Tihāmah forms the frontier of Najd at Dhāt 'Irq, and that of
the Hijaz at the pass of al-'Arj,[1] it cannot be accepted
since not only Dhāt 'Irq forms part of the Hijaz, but the
slopes of Mt. al-Sarāh west of it are also Hijazi localities.
It appears from al-Samhūdī[2] that al-Bakrī's source for the
borders of the Hijaz was al-Asma'ī. In this definition, the
Hijaz is bordered by Baṭn Nakhl, the upper Rummah and the
western parts of the Laylā lava fields in the east; by
Shaghb and Badā in the north; by Badr, al-Suqyā, Ruhāṭ and
'Ukāẓ in the west, adjacent to Tihāmah; and by Sāyah and
Waddān in the south.[3] This definition invites a number of
criticisms. Apart from the fact that the Hijaz is much
wider than the area thus delineated, al-Asma'ī's demarcation
of the borderline in the west and south is marred by logical
and geographical errors. Ruhāṭ and 'Ukāẓ are regarded as
western borders with Tihāmah, and Waddān is regarded as the
southern border. Now, 'Ukāẓ is situated well outside the
region described here as the Hijaz, lying as it does, not in
Tihāmah, but near Taif. Ruhāṭ should form part of the
southern borders, since it is distant from Badr as well as
al-Suqyā. Waddān cannot be regarded as a border town of the
Hijaz, since it is a port separated by Tihāmah from the Hijaz.
The nearest al-Asma'ī approaches to accuracy in his definitions
of the Hijaz is when he terms it "the land stretching from

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 14.

2. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1183.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 10-11.

the borders of Ṣan'ā' at al-'Ablā' and Ṭabālah to the Syrian
borders".[1] Though it is difficult to discover a connection
between Ṣan'ā' on the one hand, and al-'Ablā' and Ṭabālah on
the other, it can be said at least that al-Asma'ī looks for
the Hijaz in the right place. Al-Asma'ī is followed here by
Nasr.[2]

Ibn al-Kalbī himself is quoted by Yāqūt as having located
the Hijaz between the two mountains of Ṭayy, and the Iraqi
route to Mecca.[3] This does not include a definition, since the
distance between these two localities and the route is a
mere thirty-six miles, which hardly constitutes a region.
The fact is that Yāqūt misquotes Ibn al-Kalbī who, according
to al-Bakrī and in reliance on al-Ahwal, says that the Hijaz
is situated between the two mountains of Ṭayy and the Iraqi
route,   (the eastern borders of Tihāmah) شعف sha'af
(upper) Tihāmah, and the Yemen.[4] This coincides with the
explanation found in the report of Ibn 'Abbās and is, at
best, partly correct. Ibn al-Kalbī also proffers another
definition of the Hijaz which, according to him, stretches
between al-Yamāmah and al-'Arūd on the one hand, and Najd and
the Yemen on the other.[5] It is obvious from this definition

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 205.

2. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 62.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 205.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 11.

5. Ibid., p. 10.

that Ibn al-Kalbī regards both Taif and Medina as situated in Najd. It is difficult to understand why this definition is recorded, since it is contrary to fact, and conflicts with other reports transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī himself. Al-Harbī includes even Palestine in the Hijaz, but regards as the southern borders of the Hijaz the Basra pilgrim route (Rukbah) in the east and the pass of al-'Arj in the west.[1] He does so in defiance of the report he himself transmits from al-Zubair where Mt. al-Sarāh is equated with the Hijaz (except in the Yemenite part of al-Sarāh).

Mālik seems to follow Ibn 'Abbās when he divides Arabia into three (provincial) towns: Medina (the Hijaz), Mecca (Tihāmah) and al-Yamāmah (Najd) together with the Yemen.[2] Ibn 'Ayyāsh locates the Hijaz between al-Shuqrah (east of Medina) and the pass of al-'Arj.[3] This can be accepted only if taken as drawing a cross line through the Hijaz from east to west. Abū 'Ubaidah locates the Hijaz between al-Juhfah in the west and the two mountains of Tayy in the east "because the Hijaz separates al-Ghaur from Najd".[4] With this definition of the Hijaz, there would hardly be any Ghaur or Najd left, because al-Juhfah is only several miles from the sea, and the Tayy mountains are in the heart of Najd. Thus only the second part of this definition can be correct.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

4. Al-Nakā*id, vol. 1, p. 798.

There is also the information found in al-Hamdānī's Sifah
and attributed to three poets from Najd, Tihāmah and the
Hijaz who try to define their respective localities. Accor-
ding to their definitions, the Hijaz begins in Mecca and
stretches northwards along the coastal line until Yanbu', the
turns westwards at Dhul-Marwah near Wādī al-Qurā as far as
Medina. Consequently, many Hijazi localities south of
Medina along Mt. al-Sarāh as far as Kutnah are described
either as Tihāmī or as Najdī localities.[1] This cannot be
accepted, since it conflicts with the clear definition of
the southern borders of the Hijaz by al-Hamdānī himself.[2]
To describe Taif and Mt. al-Sarāh as Tihāmī territories is
even contradictory to the very meaning of the name "Tihāmah"
or "al-Ghaur", namely the low lands between the Red Sea and
Mt. al-Sarāh. It is likely that the poems in question have
been misquoted, possibly in order to disgrace their authors
or even al-Hamdānī himself, a malicious act similar to that
directed against another poet quoted by al-Hamdānī.[3] It is
more likely than not that these poems were the work of one
author. It has not been possible to ascribe this erroneous
location to administrative or political factors for lack of
information about the time at which they were composed.

1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, pp. 214-219.
2. Ibid., p. 51.
3. See Ibid., p. 234.

Al-Istakhri[1] and Ibn Hauqal[2] locate the Hijaz between
al-Sirrain south of Jiddah, al-Yamamah, the two mountains of
Tayy, al-Hijr and Madyan. Al-Muqaddasi's location of the
Hijaz is rather vague, since he situates it between the
borders of the Yemen and Qurh (Wadi al-Qura),[3] but describes
Madyan as Hijazi.[4] Al-Idrisi regards Dhat 'Irq as part of
Tihamah,[5] an opinion untraceable in other sources. In his
Masalik, al-Bakri defines al-Suwaida' (north of Medina) as the
frontier of the Hijaz.[6] It is likely that this strange
remark has its origin in a misreading of al-Hamdani's state-
ment:[7] اــــدا واوال الحجازية ايمن من السوي wa Uwal al-Hijaziyyah
aimanu min al-Suwaida' (the Hijazi Uwal is situated to the
right of al-Suwaida') where اوال Uwal may have been altered
into اول awal (first). Al-Zamakhshari does not define
the Hijaz, though he implies that its northern border stops
short of al-Hijr which he locates between Syria and the Hijaz.[8]
It is not clear on which border of the Hijaz Sayy'ah is[9]

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1. Al-Istakhri, Masalik al-Mamalik, p. 14.

2. Ibn Hauqal, Surat al-Ard, p. 19.

3. Al-Muqaddasi, Ahsan al-Taqasim, p. 94.

4. Ibid., p. 178.

5. Al-Idrisi, Nuzhat al-Mushtaq, fol. 41.

6. Al-Bakri, Masalik, fol. 22.

7. Al-Hamdani, Sifah, p. 130.

8. Al-Zamakhshari, Jibal, p. 47.

9. Ibid., p. 83.

situated, unless its name is a corrupted form of Sāyah which
is regarded by al-Asma'ī as part of the western borders of
the Hijaz. Al-Zamakhsharī, however, relies on 'Ulayy in
describing Haly as the Hijazi border with the Yemen.[1] As to
the Hijazi borders with Najd, al-Zamakhsharī seems to rely on
the traditional opinion that "he who sees Mt. Hadan is al-
ready in Najd",[2] which is unobjectionable. He, however,
locates al-A'rād between the Hijaz the Yemen and Mt. al-
Sarah,[3] an incorrect statement as the Hijaz is identical with
Mt. al-Sarāh north of the Yemen.

'Umārah b. 'Aqīl,[4] followed by al-Sukkarī,[5] maintains that
Najd begins (and the Hijaz ends) where the waters of Mt. al-
Sarāh turn east, and that Tihāmah ends (and the Hijaz begins)
at the edge of the slopes of Mt. al-Sarāh in the west. The
latter is essentially true, since Tihāmah is the coastal plain
between the Red Sea and Mt. al-Sarāh. The former is, however,
incorrect because both the western and eastern slopes of Mt.
al-Sarāh (the Hijaz) should be regarded as parts of the Hijaz.
Otherwise, many Hijazi localities would be included in Najd.
'Arrām, when mapping Tihāmah and the Hijaz, locates the
latter in the mountainous area between Medina and Turabah

1. Ibid., p. 8.

2. Ibid., p. 48.

3. Ibid., p. 116.

4. Lughdah, Bilād al-'Arab, pp. 14-15.

5. Nasr, Jibāl, fol. 145.

from north to south, and from al-Naqirah to Medina from east
to west.[1] The first part of this statement is less erroneous
than the second which has already been discussed. Lughdah
records the opinion that the territory stretching from Medina
to the hills of al-'Arj is Najdī, and the territory south of
al-'Arj until Mecca Tihāmī. It is likely that Najd here is
a misplacement of the Hijaz. Lughdah also states that the
frontiers of Najd begin where those of Tihāmah end which is
inaccurate. He is more correct when he places Najd immediately
east of Wajrah, and Tihāmah immediately west of Dhāt 'Irq.[2]
Ibn Qutaibah's location of the Hijaz and Syria at "Taimā' and
Mt. al-Sarāh of Najd" is not likely to be his actual utterance.[3]
Nasr identifies the Hijaz with al-Jauz which, being a Hudhailī
chain of hills west of Mt. al-Sarāh, is too small a locality to
be equated with the Hijaz.[4] Al-Hamdānī equates Ptolemy's Soëne
which he calls the island of سوينى Suwaini, vocalized as
Suwainā, with the Hijaz which is difficult to understand.[5]
Qudāmah correctly equates it with the region of Aswan.[6] Al-
Hamdānī may have been misled by the ancient description of
both sides of the Red Sea as inhabited by the Arabs. As Aswan

1. 'Arrām, Jibāl, p. 424.

2. Lughdah, op.cit., pp. 336-338.

3. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shu'arā', p. 358.

4. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 66.

5. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 15; Ptolemaeus, Almajest, p. 41.

6. Qudāmah, Al-Kharāj (MS.) fol. 54.

is situated on the same latitude on which parts of the
Northern Hijaz are located, al-Hamdānī may have used the name
Soene for the Hijaz.

In conclusion, it will be expedient to discard most of
the demarcations of the Hijaz proffered by the Arab authors
in order to clear up the confusion which reigns in this field.
As to the eastern and western borders of the Hijaz, the meaning
of the word hijāz itself proves that they end at the edge of
the slopes of Mt. al-Sarāh. As to the southern borders, it is
advisable to consult and accept al-Hamdānī's definition since
he is, in this respect, a most reliable authority on demarcat-
ing the political frontiers of the Yemen with the Hijaz in the
10th century. According to him, the borderline between the
Yemen and the Hijaz stretches from al-Hujairah in the east to
Tathlīth, the valley of Jurash, Kutnah and then Umm Jahdam in
Tihāmah in the west.[1] These are the Yemenite borders with the
Hijaz (and Tihāmah) which are quite unequivocally drawn. On
another occasion, al-Hamdānī describes Kutnah as the first of
the Hijazi localities in the vicinity of the Yemen.[2] This is
a later development on the demarcation attempted by Ibn
Khurradadhbeh[3] and Qudāmah, who both maintain that Ṭalhat al-
Malik (fifty-three miles south of Kutnah) is the southernmost
border of lands under Meccan administration, which is an
ancient demarcation. Al-Idrīsī follows them in this

1. Al-Hamdānī. Ṣifah, p. 51.

2. Ibid., p. 186.

3. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Masālik, pp. 135, 137.

respect,[1] This delineation by al-Hamdānī may clarify the confusing statement made by al-Asma'ī when locating the Hijaz between the borders of San'ā' at al-'Ablā' and Tabālah. San'ā' here may mean the Yemen because San'ā' is too far from al-'Ablā' and Tabālah to be situated on one line with them.

There is little doubt that, about the 7th century, the northern borders of the Hijaz used to end immediately north of Medina, near Dhū Khushub and al-'Īs. For some Medinese, the area beginning in Wādī al-Qurā and to the north of it was called al-Shām (Syria). Some authors do not even regard it as an Arab land and attribute to this the fact that 'Umar had desisted from deporting the local Jews.[2] This assumption may also be a legacy of the ancient "Provincia Arabia", or Qurā 'Arabiyyah, which most likely used to include these localities. The Prophet assigns a miqāt for the pilgrims on the way from Syria, which means the part of Arabia north of Medina. Ibn al-Kalbī calls this part "Bilād al-'Arab" and locates it north of Tihāmah,[3] of which Yanbu and Mt. Radwā are regarded as the northernmost frontiers. It is to this ancient concept that Ikhwān al-Safā' may have referred when they describe al-Yamāmah, Taif, Mecca and Medina as Hijazi, Yemenite, Tihāmī and "the home-town of the Prophet" respectively.[4] Nevertheless, the region north of Medina was des-

1. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 38.

2. Infra, p. 255.

3. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 73.

4. Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 123.

cribed as part of the Hijaz by later authors when Suragh
was cited as the northern border of the Hijaz. Al-Hamdānī
refers to Taimā' as the capital of the ancient kingdom of the
Hijaz.[1]

It is the administrative factors that account, no doubt,
for the confusing demarcation of the Hijazi frontiers by later
authors. The fact that the governor of the Hijaz was respon-
sible for the Iraqi pilgrim route south of Faid in-
fluenced Ibn al-Kalbī to describe the localities south of the
two mountains of Tayy as Hijazi. This statement was accepted
by many later geographers such as al-Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal,
al-Bakrī, and Nasr. It was perhaps the reason why Tihāmah
was later incorporated partly in the Yemen and partly in the
Hijaz, from which it was administered. Later, when both
Mecca and Medina had their own governors with the southern
and northern parts of the Hijaz and Tihāmah controlled by
the governors of Mecca and Medina respectively, some authors
included the northern part of the Tihāmah with the Hijaz, and
the southern part of Mt. al-Sarāh (the Hijaz) with Tihāmah.
Since Tihāmah is also surnamed al-Ghaur, some authors were
led to believe that it formed an entity separate from both
the Hijaz and Tihāmah, and located it between Yanbu' and al-
Juhfah; this may have been dictated by administrative
factors.[2] It may also account for the fact that some authors

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1. Al-Hamdānī, Iklīl, 1, pp. 73-74.

2. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 821; Lughdah, op.cit.,
   p. 79; and al-Muzarrid, Dīwān, p. 25.

allot parts of the Hijaz to corresponding provincial capitals
as "the Hijaz of Medina", "the Hijaz of Wādī al-Qurā" and
"the Hijaz of Taimā'", obviously because these parts happened
to be administratively linked with these centres. For this
reason, the Hijazi localities from al-Haurā' northwards
were regarded, in the 11th century, as part of Egypt.[2] Ibn
Hazm, however, regards Ailah as part of the Hijaz.[3]

Remarks by some authors on "the first Hijaz" seem to
suggest that there was a "second" or even a "third" Hijaz.
This misconception seems to have originated in a misunder-
standing of the phrase ... وحد الحجاز الاول wa haddu al-Hijāz
al-awwal (the first border of the Hijaz) which occurs in Ibn
Fadālah's[4] definition of the Hijaz. Yāqūt quotes Mālik to
the effect that Suragh is a village in the valley of Tabūk
and that it is "the farthest in the first Hijaz". al-Bājī,
the commentator on al-Muwaṭṭa', attributes the first part of
this statement to Ibn Habīb, and records the opinion that
Suragh is the Syrian locality nearest to the Hijaz.[5] Had
Mālik mentioned the first Hijaz, al-Bājī would have mentioned
it too. Yāqūt's reference may have originated in a mis-
interpretation, possibly by 'Iyāḍ, of Ibn Fadālah's report.
The author of Ākām al-Murjān greatly aggravates this error

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 914; Al-Hamdānī, Iklīl, vol. 1, p. 73.

2. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 538; Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p.53.

3. Ibn Hazm, Jamharah, p. 396.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 10.

5. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 77; and al-Bājī, Muntaqā,
   vol. 3, p.198.

when he locates the first Hijaz between al-Qairawān and

Ailah, localities which are described by al-Bakrī as comprising

اسفل الارض ٠٠ asfal al-ard = lower territories (of Egypt).

Since al-Idrīsī describes Ailah as being part of اسفل ارض الحجاز

asfal ard al-Hijāz, the author of Īkām al-Murjān may have

regarded even al-Qairawān as part of asfal = lower or awwal =

first Hijaz.[1] It may also be a misreading of عمل 'amal =

administrative area as اول awwal = first, which is not

unusual. الحجاز الاسود al-Hijāz al-aswad = the black Hijaz =

the Sarāh of Shanū'ah, compared by al-Bakrī with the Hijaz of

Medina,[2] seems to stem from al-Hamdānī's mention of the black

mountain of Shanū'ah.[3] 'Umārah b. 'Aqīl describes parts of

al-Bakrī's Hijaz of Medina as being a black hijāz = black

mountain[4] which al-Samhūdī changes to حجارة سود hijārah sūd =

black stones.[5]

Unlike the eastern and western geographical borders of

the Hijaz which end, as has already been seen, at the edge of

the slopes of Mt. al-Sarāh, the southern and northern geo-

graphical borders are not easy to ascertain on the basis of

the works of the Arab geographers.

Throughout this work, the term "Northern Hijaz" applies

to the whole region north of Mecca as far as Suragh and Ailah,

1. Īkām al-Murjān, p. 407; and al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 89.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 13.

3. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 70.

4. Lughdah, op.cit., p. 15.

5. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1183.

including the region between the Red Sea and Dhāt 'Irq
(al-Ḍarībah), Khaibar, Wādī al-Qurā, Tainā' and Tabūk The
occasional liberal interpretation of the eastern borders of
the Hijaz by some authors had to be disregarded, since it
includes most of Najd such as the two mountains of Ṭayv,
and al-Yamāmah.   The rather narrow interpretation by some
other authors which would entail the exclusion of the eastern
half of Mt. al-Sarāh from the Hijaz was also disregarded.
But Tihāmah had to be included in the Hijaz because the part
west of Mt. al-Sarāh was often called the Hijazi Tihāmah as
against the Yemenite Tihāmah.

PART ONE

A REPRESENTATIVE SELECTION OF LOCALITIES

AS DESCRIBED BY THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS

AL-ABWĀ'

Placing al-Abwā' on the conventional route between
Medina and Mecca, Ibn Khurradadhbeh states that it is rich
in wells. He gives the distance between al-Abwā' and al-
Suqyā as twenty-nine miles, and the distance between al-
Juhfah and al-Abwā' as twenty-seven miles.[1] Thus he places
al-Abwā' south of al-Suqyā and north of al-Juhfah. Qudāmah
follows him;[2] so does Ibn Rosteh who adds that al-Abwā' is
a huge-sized village not far from the sea which can be
reached from there by a journey lasting one day and one night.
Al-Ya'qūbī accepts their statements but only in so far as
the location is concerned. He adds that it belongs to the
Aslam.[4] Al-Mas'ūdī calculates the distance between Waddān
and al-Abwā' as eight miles.[5] Ibn Rosteh calculates the
distance between al-Suqyā and al-Abwā' as nineteen miles,
but follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh with respect to the distance
between al-Abwā' and al-Juhfah.[3]

Al-Muqaddasī mentions al-Abwā' in connection with the
route between Medina and Mecca. He states that it is equi-

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 130.

2. Qudāmah, op.cit., p. 187.

3. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 178.

4. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 313.

5. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 235.

distant from both al-Juhfah to the south and al-Suqyā to the north, from which it is separated by a day's journey.[1] Al-Istakhrī calculates the distance between al-Abwā' and Waddān to the east as six miles, adding that al-Abwā' is on the pilgrim route and that "it" - which may refer to either al-Abwā' or Waddān - was the residence of the Ja'farī chief during his stay there.[2] Ibn Hauqal is more explicit about this, stating that al-Abwā' is the residence of the chief in question.[3] He gives the same location as al-Istakhrī whose statement is attributed by Yāqut to Abū Zaid.[4]

'Arrām remarks that the water of the valley of Arah flows first into al-Abwā', then into Waddān and then into al-Turaifah, a small village on the sea coast.[5] This seems very accurate as al-Abwā' is higher than Waddān to the west which and lies between al-Abwā' and the sea, contrary to al-Istakhrī's statement. 'Arrām also says that al-Hashā, the mountain of al-Abwā', is to the right of Arah on the right hand side of the route from Medina to Mecca. This mountain is situated by the valley of Bu'q which is flanked by the valley of Shass to the left and al-Hashā to the right. Al-Abwā' is half a mile from there.[6] The whole statement is

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 106.

2. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 25.

3. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 33.

4. Yāqut, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 910.

5. 'Arrām, op.cit., p. 405.

6. Ibid., p. 411.

repeated by al-Bakrī without reference to his source

Al-Zubairī says that Arthad is the valley whose water flows into al-Abwā'.[2] This statement is attributed, in al-Bakrī's Mu'jam, to Ibn Habīb who adds that the distance from al-Abwā' to Medina is four miles,[3] which cannot be accepted unless "miles" reads "days". Al-Bakrī also quotes Ibn Habīb to the effect that al-Shabā, near al-Abwā', is Juhainī territory, which was true before his time.[4] In a third passage al-Bakrī borrows 'Arrām's statement about the link between Waddān, al-Turaifah and al-Abwā' without reference to a source.[5] (The Egyptian edition of al-Bakrī's Mu'jam prefers al-Turaiqah which contradicts al-Bakrī's spelling of it in another entry when he states clearly that it is al-Turaifah.)[6] Al-Bakrī describes al-Turaifah exactly as 'Arrām does though he quotes al-Sakūnī once only.[7]

As to the derivation of the name al-Abwā', there are different theories. Kuthayyir is quoted as a source for two of them, both related by al-Bakrī. Kuthayyir in one place

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 449.

2. Al-Zubairī, Nasab, p. 408.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 136.

4. Ibid., p. 777.

5. Ibid., p. 1052.

6. Ibid., p. 891.

7. Ibid., p. 1052.

ascribes the name to the prevalence of epidemics there
الوباء , which al-Bakrī immediately refutes as irrelevant.[1]
In another place, Kuthayyir attributes it to the alleged
circumstance that the rain water lingers تبوأ there,
which is improbable.[2] Yāqūt reports Kuthayyir as providing
a third derivation, namely, that people tend to settle
there بوأ .[3] But Yāqūt also refers to the attempts to
link it with constant rain which he traces back to the philo-
logist Marthad.[3] Al-Bakrī mentions al-Abwā' when mapping
the conventional route between Medina and Mecca, and follows
al-Hamdānī with respect to the distances to and from al-Abwā',
without referring to a source. He stresses, however, that
travellers occasionally choose to avoid al-Abwā' and take the
route leading through Waddān preferring the diversion
through al-Abwā' for a stretch of approximately eight miles.[4]
His source seems to be Wakī' or al-Asadī.[5] According to al-
Bakrī, al-Abwā' is a town with a minbar, subject to the
administration of al-Fur'.[6] As to the place called Mut'in

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1. Ibid., p. 102.

2. Ibid., p. 1257.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 100.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 954.

5. See al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1017, and Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 51.

6. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1021.

by al-Bakrī[1] and Muz'in by Yāqūt,[2] both authors quote the
same poem by Kuthayyir in support of their respective
variants of the name. They both locate it between al-Suqyā
and al-Abwā', a location which Yāqūt attributes to Ibn
al-Sikkīt.

Al-Hamdānī places al-Abwā' south of al-Suqyā and north
of al-Juhfah at the latitude 22°.30' . He assesses the
distance from al-Suqyā to al-Abwā' at nineteen miles and that
from al-Abwā' to al-Juhfah at twenty-three miles.[3] He quotes
a Hijazi poet, al-'Ajlānī, to the effect that al-Abwā' is
situated between Mt. Quds and the valley of Waddān.[4] Al-
Hajarī states that al-Hashā is a locality between Marr,
Shaukān and Khals Ārah.[5] Nasr places it between Mecca and
Medina.[6] He does the same with regard to al-Abwā',[7] and des-
cribes Arthad as the valley of al-Abwā'.[8] 'Iyād describes
al-Abwā' as a dependency of Medina subject to the administra-
tion of al-Fur'.[9] Al-Idrīsī places al-Abwā (al-Abwā'), which

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 1240.

2. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 568.

3. Al-Hamdānī, *Sifah*, p. 185.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

5. Al-Hajarī, *Nawādir*, part 2, fol. 150.

6. Nasr, *op.cit.*, fol. 100.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 4.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 11.

9. 'Iyād, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 49.

he describes as a halt with wells, in the fifth part of the second climate, adding that it is at a distance of twenty-seven miles from both al-Juhfah and al-Suqya.[1]

Al-Maqdisi states that al-Abwa' is a halt between Mecca and Medina and calculates the distance from al-Abwa' to Waddan as six miles.[3] Waki', followed by Al-Bakri, describes the valley of al-Abwa'[4] as the richest in the tamarisk trees among all the valleys. According to Yaqut, al-Sukkari describes al-Abwa' as a barren mountain, devoid of any sort of vegetation except for khazam and basham, adding that it belongs to the tribes of Khuza'ah and Damrah.[5] This description is identical with that of 'Arram with respect to al-Hasha. However, in another entry, Yaqut records part of this statement to describe al-Hasha itself.[6] As to al-Shaba, Yaqut states that it is a valley in al-Uthail (in al-Safra'), and a dependency of Medina with a spring called Khaif al-Shaba which belongs to the B. Ja'far.[7] Al-Bakri, in his Masalik, mentions two mosques of the Prophet near al-Abwa'; one is

1. Al-Idrisi, op.cit., fol. 37.

2. Al-Maqdisi, op.cit., vol. 4, p. 133.

3. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 182.

4. Al-Bakri, Mu'jam, p. 102; and Waki', Manazil, fol. 50.

5. Yaqut, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 100. Al-Sukkari here may be a misreading of al-Sakuni.

6. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 271.

7. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 246.

five miles distant and the other is eight miles distant.[1]
His source is obscure, but al-Asadī mentions these two
mosques south of al-Abwā' as well as a third in al-Abwā'
itself and a fourth at two miles to its north. Al-Asadī
maintains that the valley between Mt. Quds and Mt. Bāqil
(Thāfil) is the valley of al-Abwā'. He adds that there
are wells and cisterns, one of which lies near the (govern-
ment) palace, in al-Abwā'.[2] . Wakī' mentions a quadri-
lateral cistern near the small (government) palace. Accor-
ding to him, the distances from al-Abwā' are twenty-three
miles to al-Juhfah; sixteen miles to al-Suqyā; two miles
to the hills of Yumn; eight miles to either Waddān or the
pass of Hirshā; seven miles to the half-way sign on the
route from Medina to Mecca; and, finally, eleven miles to
the spring of Ja'far b. Sulaimān at (the valley of) Rābigh.[3]

Al-Abwā' is well-known in that area as it is the place
where the Prophet's mother was buried, though Shaikh Rushdī
Mulhis identifies al-Abwā' with al-Khuraibah.[4] This had been
generally the case until recently when the ancient name
al-Abwā' was revived.

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1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 75.
2. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1017.
3. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 50-51.
4. See al-Azraqī, Akhbār, vol. 2, p. 220.

AL-AGHRĀ'

Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions al-Aghrā' on the
pilgrim route from Ailah to Medina. He locates it south
of Madyan and north of an unnamed way-station north of
al-Kilābah.[1] Ibn Rosteh follows him to the letter,[2]
but al-Muqaddasī, while assuming the same geographical
location, misreads the name al-Aghrā' as al-A'rā', and
al-Kilābah as al-Kilāyah.[3]

Ibn Rosteh indicates that al-Aghrā' lies on
the inland route; al-Muqaddasī says that it lies on the
old and abandoned one, while Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions
only one route, the conventional inland one.

Al-Ya'qūbī also lists it as a halt on the
inland route, but differs from the other two in naming
the anonymous stop to the south which he calls Qālis.[4]
He passes over al-Kilābah in silence. Thus it is difficult
to be sure whether he means by Qālis the unnamed halt, or
a replacement of al-Kilābah. Wakī' locates al-Aghrā',

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1. Ibn Kurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 149.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 183.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., pp. 110, 111.

4. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.

which he calls al-Agharr, south of Qālis and north of
al-Kilābah,[1] which cannot be accepted as al-Aghrā' should
be located south of Madyan and north of Qālis. The latter
separates al-Aghrā' in the north from al-Kilābah in the
south. Musil correctly favours the form
of al-Agharr.[2]

Neither al-Bakrī nor Yāqūt have any mention of
it, which may imply that it lost its importance to another
place and fell into oblivion to reappear later under
another name. Nevertheless, al-Idrīsī does mention it
on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. He locates
it south of Madyan and north of an unnamed halt north of
Ankilāyah (al-Kilābah). However, al-Aghrā' re-appears
in al-Idrīsī's work, as al-A'dā'.[3]

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1. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

2. Musil, The Northern Hegāz, p. 322.

3. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 89.

AILAH

Ailah was the most important way station on the pil-
grimage route between Egypt and the Holy Cities of Arabia.
The Palestinian pilgrim caravans used to pass through Ailah
at times. Ibn Khurradadhbeh locates it north of Haql and
south of an anonymous halt south of al-Hafr.[1] He counts it
among the Egyptian provinces,[2] and describes it as the extreme
eastern limit of Egypt.[3]

Al-Ya'qūbī situates Ailah on the Palestinian pilgrim
route to Mecca and mentions that the Syrian caravans may also
choose this way if they wish to join the Palestinians, the
Maghribīs and the Egyptians.[4] The last halt mentioned by
al-Ya'qūbī on the Egyptian pilgrim route west of Ailah is
al-Qulzum, at a distance of six days. Sharaf al-Ba'l is the
first stop to the south. According to al-Ya'qūbī, Ailah is
a flourishing town on the "salt sea" and a meeting place of
pilgrims from Syria, Egypt and the Maghrib. It is rich in
trade but its population is heterogeneous. Some of its in-
habitants have claimed to be clients of 'Uthmān, and there
is a robe in existence which is said to have been bestowed by

1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 149.

2. Ibid., p. 81.

3. Ibid., p. 83.

4. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 330.

the Prophet upon Ru'bah b. Yuhannah when they met at Tabūk.[1]

All Ibn Rosteh has to say about Ailah is that it lies on the coast of the sea of Fāris. He locates it north of Sharaf al-Naml (Ba'l) and south of an unnamed halt south of al-Ḥafr.[2] The latter has become al-Ḥisn in Qudāmah's Kharāj, just as Sharaf al-Naml has become Sharaf al-Ba'l. Otherwise, Qudāmah's location is in concordance with that of his pre-decessors.[3] He also says that the town called Ailah is situated on the shore of a gulf of the sea of Fāris.[4] Qudāmah regards Ailah as one of the provinces of lower Egypt.[5] In one passage, Ibn al-Faqīh states that Ailah forms the extreme eastern limit of Egypt.[6] In another passage, however, he says that it is the south western limit of Syria.[7] According to him, Ailah is the eastern end of the Wilderness.[8] Al-Hamdānī quotes Ptolemy to the effect that the gulf of Ailah is on the western border of Arabia.[9] He also mentions the coast of Ailah which is not to be confused with a Hijazi

1. Ibid., p. 341.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, op.cit., p. 190.

4. Ibid., p. 230.

5. Ibid., p. 247.

6. Ibn al-Faqīh, Buldān, p. 57.

7. Ibid., p. 92.

8. Ibid., p. 69.

9. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 1.

mountain of the same name, among the coastal strips of
Arabia.[2] As regards the tribes inhabiting that area, al-
Hamdānī says that the territories of the Baliyy extend
between Tabūk, Mt. Sharāh, Ma'ān and Ailah.[3] Wakī', who
locates Ailah south of حمل (manzil = an anonymous
halt?), states that the Medina-bound Egyptian route bifur-
cates there, with the inland route leading to Sharaf al-Ba'l,
and the coastal route leading to 'Ainūnah.[4]

Al-Mas'ūdī records what was already common knowledge
that Ailah is situated on the coast of the sea of Fāris, but
he calls it the Ethiopian Sea.[5] He also records the episode
of Ru'bah b. Yuhannah, whom he calls Yuhannah b. Ru'bah,
upon whom the Prophet bestowed a robe of honour.[6] Al-
Muhallabī records the way stations between al-Fustāt and
Ailah. He states that the halt to its north, at a day's
distance from it, is called the pass of Ailah عقبة أيلة .
Describing Ailah, al-Muhallabī remarks that it is a flourish-
ing town on the "salt sea", a meeting place of the pilgrims
from Syria and al-Fustāt. Some of its inhabitants claim to
have been clients of 'Uthmān, and it is said that it possesses

1. Ibid., p. 182.

2. Ibid., p. 14.

3. Ibid., p. 130.

4. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

5. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 51.

6. Ibid., p. 272.

the robe of honour which the Prophet bestowed upon Yuhannah
b. Ru'bah when they met at Tabūk. He estimates that the land
tax levied in Ailah amounts to approximately 3000 dinārs.
Al-Muhallabī locates Ailah in the third climate at thirty
degrees of latitude.[1] Yāqūt states that Haql is sixteen miles
south of Ailah.[2] This statement is reminiscent of the system
followed by al-Muhallabī which suggests that he might have
been Yāqūt's source.

Al-Istakhrī states that the Arabian part of the sea of
Fāris ends at Ailah,[3] a statement borrowed by Ibn Hauqal.[4]
The latter's remark that the Qulzum coast ends at Ailah in
the east where the Arab territories begin,[5] is clearly borrowed
from al-Istakhrī.[6] So is[7] the information that the sea of
Fāris extends from 'Abbādan to Ailah, bordering about three
quarters of Arabia, the rest of which is bordered by Syria
from Ailah to Bālis; and that the wilderness adjacent to
Ailah does not form part of Arabia.[8] Al-Istakhrī's description
of Ailah as a prosperous small town with a few farms whose

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 423.

2. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 299.

3. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 20.

4. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 18.

5. Ibid., p. 18.

6. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 20.

7. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 18.

8. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 20.

Jews still treasure a deed from the Prophet, and where the
Jews who defied (God) in not observing the sabbath are said
to have been transformed into monkeys and pigs, is also found[1]
in Ibn Hauqal's work.[2] Ibn Hauqal proffers no new infor--
mation when he states that the distance between al-Jar and
Ailah equals twenty days' journey,[3] because al-Istakhri has
already said so.[4] Nor is there anything new about Ibn
Hauqal's assessment of the distance between Egypt and Medina
as twenty days' journey and the statement that the Egyptian
and Syrian pilgrims meet at Ailah at the southern end of the[6]
Syrian steppe,[5] as this assumption is recorded by al-Istakhri,
who adds that there is no need to map the Egyptian pilgrim
route, as the Egyptians mix with the Syrians at Ailah whence
the two routes become one and the Syrian steppe begins.[7]
Neither of these accounts is repeated by Ibn Hauqal. It
should be noticed, however, that neither author makes any
attempt to enumerate the stations on the Syrian route. Ibn
Hauqal borrows al-Istakhri's report about Taran which he[8]

1. Ibid., p. 31.

2. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 48.

3. Ibid., p. 40.

4. Al-Istakhri, op.cit., p. 27.

5. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 40.

6. Al-Istakhri, op.cit., p. 28.

7. Ibid., p. 28.

8. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 46.

describes as the most dangerous place between the Qulzum
and Ailah.[1]   Even al-Istakhri's description of the different
sorts of fish found near Ailah[2] is, as only to be expected,
taken over by Ibn Hauqal.[3]

The author of Hudūd al-'Ālam describes Ailah as a
Syrian borough on the coast of the Qulzum sea where the
steppes of Egypt and Syria divide.[4]   Ibn 'Abd Rabbih claims
that Ailah has a minbar.[5]   Al-Muqaddasī substitutes Wailah
for Ailah and says,

> "Wailah stands on an arm of the China Sea. It is
> a considerable and flourishing city, possessing
> many palm trees, and fish in plenty. It is the port
> of Palestine and the emporium of al-Hijaz. The
> common people call it Ailah, but the true Ailah lies
> near by it and is now in ruins. This is the place
> of which God – may He be exalted – has said: 'Enquire
> of them concerning the village that was situate on
> the sea'."

According to al-Muqaddasī:

> "Syria, al-Hijaz and Egypt dispute between them as
> to which province belongs Wailah – even as is the
> case with regard to 'Abbadan – but it is more
> properly included in Syria, since its weights and
> measures and the customs of its people are those
> of that province. Further, as before stated, it is
> the port of Palestine, from which the merchants sail
> to sea."[6]

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1. Al-Istakhri, op.cit., p. 29.

2. Ibid., p. 16.

3. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 30.

4. Hudūd al-'Ālam, p. 149.

5. Al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol, 3, p. 296.

6. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit.,pp. 178-179, English translation,
   pp. 292-294.

He also regards it as part of the Arabian steppe.[1]

Al-Muqaddasī, who divides Syria into four zones, counts Ailah, together with Tabūk and several others, among the towns of a belt he calls the valley of al-Ghaur. Ma'ān is enumerated among the towns of another belt.[2] He states that there are several routes between Ailah and Medina and adds that Ailah is situated on the pilgrim route from the Islamic west. (The editor reads كلبا for فلبا and is followed by the translator, p. 168. It is obviously attributable to a scribe's error.) Al-Muqaddasī locates Ailah north of Sharaf al-Ba'l, which he calls, in another place, Sharaf Dhū al-Naml.[3] He is alone in omitting the unnamed halt north Ailah, as he locates the latter immediately to the south of al-Hafr.[4]

Al-Maqdisī lists Ailah among the principal towns of the Hijaz.[5] Ibn 'Abd al-Barr quotes al-Wāqidī when saying that al-Zuhrī was buried in Shaghb and Badā in the Balliyÿh (Ailah) region.[6] Al-Bīrūnī situates it on the Qulzum Sea or on a gulf of that sea, calling it the Ailah of Transformation المسيح (it is printed المسح). According to al-Bīrūnī, its longitude is 56° and its latitude is 23.50. He lists it among

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1. Ibid., p. 249,

2. Ibid., p. 186.

3. Ibid., p. 112.

4. Ibid., p. 215.

5. Al-Maqdisī, op.cit., vol. 4, p. 70.

6. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Tamhīd, p. 116.

the towns of the third climate in Arabia.[1]   In his Masalik,
al-Bakri describes Ailah as a large village with markets and
mosques, and many Jews among its population. He situates it
on the conventional inland route between Egypt and Medina
north of Haql and south of Batn Najd (sic). Even Ailah is
corrupted in the MS. to 'Anmulah'. He also reports the story
of the Ailah delegation to the Prophet, but differs from the
others in stating that it was the Ailah chief who presented
the Prophet with the robe and with a white mule in Tabuk.[2]
He quotes Sa'id b. Ghalib al-Jaihani when saying that the
frontiers of Arabia extend from the Ailah coast eastward to
Kufa.[3]   He also states that the Red Sea is called the Sea
of Ailah between al-Haura' and the Qulzum and lists Ailah
among the towns situated on that Sea.[4]

In his Mu'jam, al-Bakri, relying on the authority of
Ibn Habib, identifies Uthal with the valley of Ailah.[5] He
quotes Abu 'Ubaidah to the effect that Ailah is half way
between Egypt and Mecca; and al-Ahwal on the derivation of
its name.[6]   He also believes that there is another name for
Ailah, Dar al-Qunfudh, and quotes a poem by 'Abd Allah b.

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1. Al-Biruni, Qanun, vol. 2, p. 557.

2. Al-Bakri, Masalik, fol. 77.

3. Ibid., fol. 22.

4. Ibid., fol. 32.

5. Al-Bakri, Mu'jam, p. 105.

6. Ibid., p. 216.

'Anbasah in support of this assumption.[1] It seems, however, that the word in question is only a poetic metaphor with a satirical undertone which, moreover, refers to another Ailah situated inland near Medina. In another passage, al-Bakrī counts Ailah among the lower provinces of Egypt.[2] Yāqūt attributes to Ibn al-Kalbī a statement on the origin of the name of Ailah[3] which is ascribed by al-Bakrī to al-Ahwal.[4] He also quotes Abū 'Ubaidah to the effect that Ailah is a Syrian town,[5] and relates Ibn al-Sikkīt's statement that the Hismā mountains and land, which are inhabited by the Judhām, lie between Ailah and the land of the 'Urdrah.[6] To Abū Zaid, Yāqūt attributes the two above-quoted statements found in the works of al-Istakhrī and Ibn Hauqal, one concerning Ailah and its population[7] and the other concerning Tārān.[8]

Al-Sam'ānī says that Ailah is a town on the Qulzum coast adjacent to the territories of Egypt. He adds that al-Zuhrī died in a place in the region of Ailah called Badā

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1. Ibid., p. 594.
2. Ibid., p. 1143.
3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 422.
4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 216.
5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 422.
6. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 267.
7. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 422.
8. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 811.

and Shaghb "two valleys on one day's journey from Ailah".[1]
Al-Balādhurī says that the Prophet accepted a 300 dinārs
tribute annually from Ailah when Yuhannah b. Ru'bah met him
at Tabūk.[2] 'Iyāḍ describes Ailah as a known "Syrian" town
half way between al-Fustāt (Cairo) and Mecca, attributing the
statement to Abū 'Ubaidah.[3] Nasr also states that Ailah is a
Syrian town, but draws attention to the claim that it is the
end of the Hijazi frontiers and the beginning of the Syrian.[4]
The author of Ākām al-Murjān places Ailah in the first Hijaz

الحجاز الاول , and adds that the Jews of Ailah treasure a
deed from the Prophet penned by 'Alī.[5]

Al-Idrīsī locates Ailah on the pilgrim route between
Egypt and Medina, north of Ḥaql and south of an anonymous halt
which, in its turn, lies to the south of al-Ḥafr. Describing
Ailah, al-Idrīsī says that it is a small town and a centre of
Arab (Beduin) trade.[6] He adds that a part of the sea of China
passes near Madyan and Ailah to the Qulzum.[7] He enumerates
Ailah among the famous localities in the fifth part of the
third climate.[8]

The Arab geographers' accounts of the routes between
Ailah and Medina and Mecca are discussed elsewhere.

1. Al-Sam'ānī, Ansāb, p. 55.
2. Al-Baladhurī, Futūh, p. 71.
3. 'Iyāḍ, Mashāriq, vol. 1, p. 50.
4. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 6.
5. Ākām al-Murjan, p. 35. For the "first Hijaz" see supra, p.2
6. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 89.
7. Ibid., fol. 5.
8. Ibid., fol. 89.

AL-'ARJ

Ibn Khurradadhbeh does not mention al-'Arj among
the recorded halts on the conventional route between Mecca
and Medina, but refers to it when mapping the route to
Medina followed by the Prophet when he emigrated from Mecca.
He locates al-'Arj between al-Qāhah and the hill of al-
A'yār.[1] Al-Ya'qūbī mentions it on the conventional route
between Medina and Mecca, placing it between al-Ruwaithah
and Suqyā B. Ghifār towards Mecca, and adds that it belongs
to the Aslam.[2] All Ibn Rosteh has to say about al-'Arj is
that it lies between al-Ruwaithah and al-Suqyā in the
direction of Mecca.[3]

Ibn al-Faqīh says that Mt. al-'Arj which lies
between Mecca and Medina, stretches to Syria and is
adjacent to Mt. Lebanon at Ḥims, and continues under the
name al-Lukām as far as Antioch and Muṣayyisah, is one of
the marvels of Medina.[4] This statement has subsequently
been borrowed by al-Idrīsī without referring to either
Ibn al-Faqīh or al-Aṣma'ī who seems to be the former's

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 130
2. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 313
3. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 178.
4. Ibn al-Faqīh, op. cit., p. 25.

source.[1] Ibn al-Faqīh also quotes al-Aṣma'ī as saying
that the border of Tihānah (edited Yamāmah) converges
with that of the Hijaz at the hills of al-'Arj.[2] Al-Bakrī
does not mention the source of this statement when
recording it.[3]

Al-Hamdānī enumerates al-'Arj (edited al-Mazj)
together with al-Majnabiyyāt which should read al-Khubaitāt
owing to the proximity of al-Khabt, among Juhainī
territories.[4] He places al-'Arj at twenty-four miles
from both al-Ruwaithah and al-Suqyā, giving its degree of
latitude as $23°$.[5] He states, on the authority of Ibn
al-Musayyib, that al-Abyaḍ, the mountain of al-'Arj,
emerges from the mountain range al-Sarāh.[6] Al-Bakrī,
when borrowing this statement does not mention his source,[7]
while Yāqūt, in one passage, traces it back to Ibn al-Kalbī
who attributes it to Ibn al-Musayyib,[8] and, in another

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 88.

2. Ibn al-Faqīh, op. cit., p. 27.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 322.

4. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 171.

5. Ibid., p. 184.

6. Ibid., p. 49.

7. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 8.

8. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 206.

passage, merely to al-Hamdānī himself.[1]

'Arrām states that Wariqān, which is the first
mountain after Medina, on the left hand side in the
direction of Mecca, ends at the "evening meal" halt between
al-Ruwaithah and al-'Arj, while Mt. Quds starts at the
"evening meal" halt between al-'Arj and al-Suqyā with the
Rakūbah pass separating the two mountains. 'Arrām says
that al-'Arj lies in the lower Nahb, and that the valley
of al-'Arj which has certain kinds of trees and grass, is
called Masīḥah.[2] Al-Bakrī borrows the whole statement
without acknowledging his source but with a number of
erroneous alterations such as placing al-'Arj in the upper
Nahb, instead of the lower Nahb, and locating some villages
near Wariqān with al-'Arj to their left, and with al-
Sayālah, al-Rauḥā' and al-Ruwaithah to the right of
Wariqān.[3] 'Arrām states clearly that Mt. Wariqān lies on
the left side of the route in the direction of Mecca, with
the three above-mentioned villages to the right of Mt.
Quds on the right of that route with al-'Arj on the route.[4]
Ḥamad al-Jāsir is no doubt correct when reading غيـر in

L. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 66.

2. 'Arrām, op. cit., pp. 401-4.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 1377, 1050-52.

4. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 401.

'Arrām's MS as يبست despite the editor's insistence on the contrary.[1] Thus it is clear that all four villages are situated on the right hand side of Wariqān with one of them on its far right on the other side of the route. Al-Bakrī seems to have been misled by his own error when he described Wariqān as the first mountain encountered by travellers from Mecca to Medina[2] which is contrary to fact and to 'Arrām's statement.

Though al-Bakrī, in one entry, follows 'Arrām in calling the valley of al-'Arj Masīhah[3] (edited Masyahah), he, in another, chooses the name al-Munbajis.[4] He also says that Mt. Quds is the mountain of al-'Arj,[5] though, in another passage, he follows al-Hamdānī - as has been seen - in conferring this distinction upon al-Abyaḍ.[6] It is, however, not contradictory, as Quds is a name for two mountains in that locality; one is called al-Abyaḍ - the white - and the other al-Aswad - the grey. As regards al-'Arj itself, al-Bakrī enumerates it among the twelve

1. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 403f.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1377.

3. Ibid., p. 1052.

4. Ibid., p. 930.

5. Ibid., p. 91.

6. Ibid., p. 8.

villages with <u>minbars</u> which are under the control of
al-'Fur'.[1] He describes al-'Arj as a principal village
with a mosque of the Prophet,[2] counts the lower parts of
al-'Arj among the Juhainī lands, in one passage,[3] and,
in another, among that of the Aslam.[4] As to the distances
to and from al-'Arj, al-Bakrī says that it is two miles
from al-Uthāyah,[5] seventeen from al-Suqyā,[6] three from
the pass of al-'Arj,[7] fourteen from al-Ruwaithah, three
from the mosque of the Prophet at al-'Arj and, according
to al-Sakūnī, five miles from the hill that contains two
or three graves.[8]

On the derivation of the name al-'Arj, al-Bakrī
mentions two theories attributing both to the poet Kuthayyir
who ascribes the name to its winding paths منعرج , in one
place,[9] and to the curves eroded in its soil by the rain

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1. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 1021.

2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 930.

3. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 38.

4. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 930.

5. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 954.

6. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 930.

7. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 686.

8. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 930.

9. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 930.

تخرج السيول بها .[1] Yāqūt, while ascribing to Kuthayyir that
it is called so because it is situated on a diversion
from the route, attributes to Ibn al-Kalbī a fourth deriving
from the campaigns of the Tubba' who noticed lame عرج
animals there. Yāqūt fares no better than al-Bakrī on
the subject of al-'Arj. He describes it as a principal
village of one of the valleys of Ṭaif, a statement taken
over by Abū al-Fidā'. Though he places it in the land
of the Hudhail, Yāqūt describes it as the border of
Tihāmah, seventy-eight miles from Medina.[2] These statements
cannot all be made about one locality as the land of the
Hudhail is too far from Medina to be calculated as such.
There are two places called 'Arj, one of which is near
Ṭaif and the other is Mt. 'Arj and its village between
Mecca and Medina. After relating al-Aṣma'ī's warning
to the necessity to distinguish between al-'Arj, the
valley of Ṭaif, and al-'Arj, the pass between Mecca and
Medina, Yāqūt follows this definition, describing what
he thinks a third 'Arj which, lying on the pilgrim route,
is no other than al-'Arj in question[3] and to which he
obviously refers when quoting al-Aṣma'ī's statement about

1. Ibid., p. 1257.
2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 637.
3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 637.

Rakūbah being a hill near al-'Arj,[1] and which al-Asma'ī
regards as lying on the border between Tihāmah and the
Hijaz.[2]

According to al-Muqaddasī, al-'Arj is equidistant
from both Suqyā B. Ghifār and al-Rauhā' on the conventional
route at one day's journey.[3] Al-Muqaddasī remarks that
there is in the proximity of al-'Arj, "a hill through
which it is said Gabriel hewed for the Prophet, peace and
blessing be upon him, at the time of his emigration a
pathway to al-Madina".[4] Al-Asadī is quoted as saying
that there is a mosque of the Prophet, three miles east
of al-'Arj, called the mosque of al-Munbajis, which is
the name of the valley of al-'Arj, and two cisterns built
on a spring called al-Munbajis eight miles from al-'Arj.
He also says that al-Suqyā is situated seventeen miles
from al-'Arj in the direction of Mecca, that al-Ruwaithah
is fourteen miles from al-'Arj which is three miles from
the pass of al-'Arj and two miles from al-Uthāyah.[5] Wakī'
states that al-'Arj, which belongs to the Muzainah,

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1. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 811.
2. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 902.
3. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 106.
4. Ibid., p. 103. The English translation pp. 156-157.
5. Al-Samhudī, Wafā', pp. 1013.14.

possesses many wells and is situated near three graves.
The distances from al-'Arj are fourteen miles to al-
Ruwaithah; eleven miles to al-Ṭalūb; seventeen miles to
al-Suqyā; and three miles to the local mosque of the
Prophet.[1] Al-Azharī states that al-'Arj is a halt between
Mecca and Medina.[2] This statement is borrowed by al-
Zamakhsharī.[3] The scribe of al-Bakrī's Masālik changes
al-'Arj to al-Qadah, in one place,[4] and to al-'Arfaj,[5]
in another. According to al-Bakrī, there is a mosque
of the Prophet at a distance of three miles from al-'Arj.
Al-Uthāyah has become, in his Masālik, al-Inābah.[6]

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1. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 48-49.

2. Al-Azharī, Tahdhīb, vol. 1, p. 356.

3. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 108.

4. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 22.

5. Ibid., fol. 23.

6. Ibid., fol. 75.

AL-'AUNĪD (AL-'UWAINĪD)

Al-Ya'qūbī seems to be the first Arab geographer in whose surviving work the name 'Aunīd occurs. He mentions it while mapping the coastal route from Ailah to Mecca, and locates it south of 'Ainūnah. According to him, it is separated from Dubā in the south by five halts.[1]   This indi- cates that unless al-Ya'qūbī's account is marred by scribal mistakes, it is not based on first-hand experience, but on extremely inaccurate sources. The distance between al-Nabk and Dubā is too short to require four days' journey as he assumes it to be. Nor does the distance from 'Ainūnah to Duba require seven days, as it can be covered in no more than two days. The distance from al-Haurā' to al-Juhfah on the other hand must have necessitated the interposition of not only one halt, as he supposes, but at least eight. As to the distance between al-Haurā' and al-Jār, and between al-Jār and al-Juhfah, they cannot be covered without intervening halts.

Wakī' locates al-'Aunīd north of al-Wajh and south of al-Murrah or al-Maddah which he places south of Dubā.[2]   Thus what is located by al-Ya'qūbī six days' journey north of Dubā, is situated by Wakī' two days' journey south of it. Though neither author is accurate, the margin of error in

1. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.

2. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

Wakī' is narrower. Qudāmah locates al-'Aunīd south of Dubā and north of al-Wajh which is almost correct, though al-'Aunīd is nearer Dubā than al-Wajh.[1] Al-Muqaddasī mentions not only one locality named 'Aunīd but two, the second being a watering place in the open country of Taimā', two days' journey from Amman.[2] As to the 'Aunīd in question, al-Muqaddasī differs from his predecessors in locating it on both the inland and the coastal route from Ailah to Medina and Mecca. On the inland route, he situates it, on one occasion, at one day's journey from Badā Ya'qūb, but makes no mention of it in a later reference to that route. On the coastal route, he follows Qudāmah in locating it south of Dubā and north of al-Wajh which he misreads as al-Ruhbah. He repeats this location on another occasion. Al-'Aunīd does not lie on the inland route.[3]

Both Wakī' and Qudāmah remain silent on the subject of al-'Aunīd, while al-Ya'qūbī refers to it as a populated area with palm groves and gold mines. Al-Muqaddasī describes al-'Aunīd as a Hijazī town and a dependency of Medina in one passage, and of Qurh in another. He states that it is the port of Qurh (= Wādī al-Qurā) with an adequate anchorage, and refers to the abundance of honey there.[4]

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1. Qudāmah, op.cit., p. 191.

2. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., pp. 26, 250, 253.

3. Ibid., pp. 107, 110, 112.

4. Ibid., pp. 69, 84.

Al-Bakrī does not mention al-'Aunīd in his Mu'jam and, but for the sake of zabarjad (chrysalite), might have totally disregarded it in his Masālik, where he mentions it in discussing the special products of Arabia. He states there that chrysalite is found on Zabarjadah which he describes as an island lying between al-'Aunīd and al-Haurā'.[1] An island bearing this name is still known in the Red Sea, but lies at too great a distance from both al-Haurā' and al-'Aunīd for al-Bakrī's location to be accurate. Apparently, al-Bakrī does not agree with al-Muqaddasī in regarding al-'Aunīd as the port of Wādī al-Qurā, since he assigns this function to al-Haurā'.[2] This variation may be due to a deterioration in security at Wādī al-Qurā between the time of al-Muqaddasī and the time of al-Bakrī's source, or to a different interpretation of Wādī al-Qurā.

Al-Idrīsī describes al-'Aunīd as a port with fresh water. Opposite to it lies the isle of al-Nu'mān ten miles from the coast. Al-Idrīsī, however, follows al-Ya'qūbī in placing al-'Aunīd north of Dubā, which cannot be accurate.

In al-Idrīsī's work, the locality in question can be read either "al-'Aunīd" or "al-'Uwainid".[3] None of the above-quoted geographers mentions its name in vocalized form. Apart from them, no geographer of this period even mentions it in a surviving work. Yāqūt, however, vocalizes it unequivocally

1, Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 66.

2. Ibid., fol. 22.

3. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 88.

as al-'Aunīd.[1]   This is not likely to be its correct form, as
the modern name of the locality is al-'Uwainidiyyah.   There
are several localities in Arabia called al-'Uwainid, three of
which are situated in the Northern Hijaz.   Musil rightly
corrects this form to al-'Uwainid.[2]   Al-Ya'qubī's form may
have been an Arabic transliteration of the Onne of Ptolemy
and Marcianus of Heraclia who described it as an emporium of
Arabia Felix.[3]   Though Ritter,[4] Burton[5] and Sprenger[6] identify
Onne with 'Ainūnah, Musil identifies it with al-Khuraibah,
the port of 'Ainūnah, and Glaser[7] and Rüppel[8] move it even
farther north, it is more likely that Onne is al-Ya'qubī's
'Aunīd.   In fact, the description of Onne is more applicable
to al-'Aunīd than to 'Ainūnah since the former is a port and
lies nearer Wādī al-Qurā than 'Ainūnah.   It is true that the
latitude of Onne does not coincide with that of al-'Aunīd,
but Ptolemy's locations are, understandably, not always
accurate.   What should be identified with 'Ainūnah is
Ptolemy's settlement of Aine which Musil, in spite of the

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 748.

2. Musil, Northern Hegaz, p. 323.

3. Ibid., p. 312.

4. Jawād 'Alī, Tārīkh, vol. 3, p. 390.

5. Burton, Gold Mines, p. 145.

6. Sprenger, Alte Geographie Arabiens, pp. 21, 22, 26.

7. Jawād 'Alī, op.cit., vol. 3, p. 390.

8. Sprenger, op.cit., p. 22.

longitude, correctly locates opposite Tārān.[1] This location of Aine is more convincing than Forster's who equates it with the 'Uyainah of Wādī Hanīfah,[2] Sprenger's who identifies it with Jubbah,[3] or even Hogarth's who assumes it to be Faid or Hā'l.[4]

1. Musil, Northern Hegaz, pp. 124, 306.

2. Forster, Historical Geography, vol. 1, p.lxix, vol. 2, p.313.

3. Sprenger, op.cit., pp. 170-171.

4. Hogarth, Penetration of Arabia, p. 156.

BADĀ

As will be seen in Shaghb, Badā is often mentioned with Shaghb though they are separated by one day's journey. Badā, for most Arab geographers, is a halt on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. Ibn Khurradadhbeh,[1] Ibn Rosteh[2] and Qudāmah[3] locate it south of Shaghb and north of al-Sarḥatain, al-Ya'qūbī differs from them only by having al-Suqyā instead of al-Sarḥatain.[4]

Al-Hamdānī says that the Baliyy posses land in Shaghb and Badā between Taimā' and Medina.[5]

Al-Muqaddasī, often calling it Badā Ya'qūb, describes it as one of the smaller urban dependencies of Mecca.[6] In another passage, he enumerates it among the towns of the Wādī al-Qurā region, which he calles Qurḥ.[7] In a third citation, he relates that it lies on the route from Ailah to Medina and describes it as inhabited and

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1. Ibn Kurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 149.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 190.

4. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.

5. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 170.

6. Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 69.

7. Ibid., p. 53.

prosperous.[1] According to him, it is three day's journey from al-Suqya in the southern direction, and at one day's journey from 'Aunid to the north.[2] On two occasions, he calls it Bada and locates it south of Shaghb,[3] not of al-'Aunid. The last mentioned location is no doubt more accurate.

Al-Istakhri seems to assume that Bada is north of Shaghb;[4] so does Ibn Hauqal.[5] Both place it on the inland route from Egypt and Palestine to Medina.

In al-Bakri's Masalik, the scribe calls it Nada Ya'qub,[6] which, in al-Jaziri's quotation from al-Bakri, has become Mada Ya'qub.[7] Al-Sa'mani calls it Yada Shaghb and describes it as a valley in the Ailah region.[8] In his Mu'jam, al-Bakri relies on al-Asadi when stating that Shaghb and Bada are the northern limits

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1. Ibid., p. 84.
2. Ibid., p. 107.
3. Ibid., pp. 110,112.
4. Istakhri, op. cit., p. 28.
5. Ibn Hauqal, op. cit., p. 40.
6. Al-Bakri, Masalik, fol. 77.
7. Al-Jaziri, Durar, p. 441.
8. Al-Sam'ani, Ansab, p. 335.

of the Hijaz.[1] He does not quote al-Hamdāni when saying
that the Baliyy possess land in Shaghb and Badā between
Taimā' and Medina.[2]

Ibn Khallikān adopts the spelling Badā, which
is right, but errs in stating that it is a mere valley,
though he adds that some call it a village. He says also
that it is situated at the northern corner of the Hijaz,
a statement which can be traced to al-Asadī.[3] Besides,
Badā is mentioned in the chronicles as one of the villages
of Egypt at the turn of the third century (A.H.) at the
time of the revolt of Abū al-Nadā, a client of the Bailyy.[4]
Wakī' errs when he locates Badā north of Shaghb and south
of al-Kilābah, since Badā is the halt south of Shaghb and
north of al-Sarḥatain.[5] It is still known in this region,
though al-Qalqashandī states that both Badā and Shaghb
are unknown to him.[6] Its name, however, appears on the
official map as al-Baiḍā'.

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 11.
2. Ibid., p. 90.
3. Ibn Khallikan, Wafyāt, vol. 3, p. 318.
4. Al-Kindī, Akhbār al-Wulāh, p. 412.
5. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.
6. Al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol. 3, p. 393.

AL-BAIDĀ'

The halting place, al-Baidā', is mentioned by five Arab geographers as situated on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. Ibn Khurradadhbeh locates it between al-Sarhatain in the north, and Wādī al-Qurā in the south.[1] Ib Rosteh[2] follows him in this respect, and so does Qudāmah.[3] Al-Muquddasī agrees with them in one place,[4] but has, in another, "Qurḥ" instead of Wādī al-Qurā.[5] However this is of little importance as al-Muqaddasī does not distinguish between Qurḥ and Wādī al-Qurā. Al-Idrīsī refers to al-Baidā' when recording the way-stations of the inland route between Ailah and Medina. He locates it south of Sha'b (Shaghb) and north of Wādī al-Qurā.

Neither al-Ya'qūbī nor al-Bakrī, in his Masālik, has any mention of al-Baidā' when marking out the halts on that route. Nor does Wakī' in his Manāzil.

Though it is tempting to identify the Baidā' in

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 149

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 190.

4. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 110.

5. Ibid., p. 112.

question with a place called Bi'r al-Baiḍā' between
Shaghb and Wādī al-Qurā, the latter is, in fact, a mis-
reading of Badā.

ḌUBĀ

Al-Yaʿqūbī is the first Arab geographer to mention Ẓubah as a halting place on the coastal route to Mecca from Ailah. He locates it between al-Mughīthah in the north and al-Wajh in the south.[1] Qudāmah follows him in mentioning it on the coastal route, but comes nearer to accuracy when he places it between al-Nabk to the north and al-ʿAunīd to the south.[2] Neither scholar provides any information whatever about this place. The first to do so is al-Muqaddasī who says that Ḍabbah is a town of Qurḥ,[3] situated between al-Nabk and ʿAunīd. He refers to it in two passages in his book in connection with the pilgrim route between Ailah and Mecca.[4]

Neither of the two names occurs in al-Bakrī's Muʿjam, even when he quotes al-Khalīl on the fact that al-Ẓaby valley lies in Tihāmah.[5] However, in his Masālik, he is the only one to situate Ḍubā on the conventional inland route from Ailah to Medina. There al-Bakrī locates

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1. Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, p. 341.

2. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 191.

3. Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 53.

4. Ibid., pp. 110, 112.

5. Al-Bakrī, Muʿjam, p. 902.

it north of Nadā (Badā) Ya'qūb and south of al-Nabk, and
relates that Ḍubā is a harbour with several wells and
plenty of daum trees, and that there are a number of
lofty mountains with caves, rock-hewn houses and graves.[1]
Wakī' locates Ḍubā, which he reads as Ṭaibah in his
Manāzil, south of al-Nabk and north of a place called
al-Marrah or al-Murrah which he places north of al-'Aunīd.[2]
It is obvious that he has no personal experience of that
area. Nor does he seem to have had access to the official
archives.

Al-Idrīsī says that the port of Ḍubā lies between
al-'Aunīd to the north and al-'Uṭūf to the south. His
source is somewhat obscure for, though al-Ya'qūbī locates
'Aunīd to the north of Ḍubah, al-Idrīsī is unique in
mentioning a place called al-'Uṭūf as lying to the south
of Ḍubā.[3]

Al-Idrīsī, however, has no mention of Ḍubā in
his list of the halting places on the coastal route between
Ailah and Mecca.[4] Indeed, he has two versions of the
coastal route with a very loose connection, as will be

1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 77.

2. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

3. Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 90, see infra, p. 287.

4. Ibid., fol. 89.

discussed elsewhere.[1]

Yāqūt, apparently following the hint by al-Khalīl, says that Ḍabbah is a village in Tihānah opposite to, and seventy miles distant from, Badā Ya'qūb.[2] Umayyah b. al-Ṣalt locates Ḍubā, corrupted to Ṭanah, in the eastern part of Egypt between al-Ḥaurā' and al-Nabk.[3] So does al-Maqrīzī, though he gives the locality in question the name of Ṭanasah.[4]

Al-Ḥimyarī states that Ḍubā is a dependency of Medina and, apart from that, a safe harbour with a good supply of water and plenty of daum trees. He also says that there are a number of lofty mountains between Ḍubā and Madyan, relying no doubt for this statement on the authority of al-Bakrī's Masālik and on al-Idrīsī.[5] For the statement, however, that there is an ancient footprint of usual proportions which has never been eroded by age or water,[6] no source has been traced.

Ḍubā is still a well-known town on the Red Sea.

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1. Infra, p. 433.

2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 464

3. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 548.

4. Al-Maqrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, vol. 1, p. 16.

5. Al-Ḥimyarī, al-Rauḍ, fol. 281.

6. Ibid, fol. 230, see al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol. 3, p. 393.

AL-FUR'

No information about al-Fur' is found in the work of Ibn Khurradadhbeh,[1] Ibn Rosteh[2] or Qudāmah,[3] except that it is one of the dependencies of Medina. A lost account by Ibn Faqīh describes it as the most important dependency of Medina, even implying that it had dependencies of its own, as well as a resident governor and a mosque attributed to the Prophet.[4] There is no mention of al-Fur', however, in any of the available copies of his book. Al-Hamdānī does not elaborate beyond recording a poem defining the Hijazi localities, in which al-Fur' occurs.[5]

Al-Mas'ūdī assumes the distance between Medina and al-Fur' to be eight postal stages.[6] The author of Hudūd al-'Ālam states that it is a small borough.[7]

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 129

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 177.

3. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 248.

4. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 878.

5. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 219.

6. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 249.

7. Hudūd al-'Ālam, p. 148.

Al-Muqaddasī refers to it in one passage as a town of
Mecca[1] and, in another, as a dependency of Mecca.[2] He
adds that it is a small fortress with a minbar.[3] Al-
Istakhrī says that the Ja'āfir have extensive properties
in al-Fur'.[4] Ibn Hauqal says the same except that he
substitutes "the chief of the Ja'āfir" for "the Ja'āfir".[5]
Both al-Istakhrī[6] and Ibn Hauqal[7] locate al-Fur' south of
Medina at four days' distance and mention that it has a
minbar. 'Arrām describes al-Fur' as a picturesque village
with a spring descending from Mt. Ārah. According to him,
it is inhabited by Quraish, Ansār and the Muzainah.[8]

Al-Bakrī quotes 'Arrām when stating that al-Fur'
is a dependency of Medina.[9] This definition is not to be
found in the available copy of 'Arrām's work. Al-Bakrī
also appears to regard al-Fur' as the north-eastern border

1. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 53.

2. Ibid., p. 69.

3. Ibid., p. 79.

4. Al-Istakhrī, op. cit., p. 25.

5. Ibn Hauqal, op. cit., p. 33.

6. Al-Istakhrī, op. cit., p. 23.

7. Ibn Hauqal, op. cit., p. 31.

8. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 404.

9. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 10.

of Tihāmah.[1] In another entry, he indicates, on the
authority of al-Zubair, that there are four routes leading
from Medina to al-Fur'.[2] Al-Bakrī provides abundant
information about al-Fur' describing it as a large Hijazi
dependency of Medina with many villages, twelve of which
have minbars. He lists these twelve villages which he
describes as dependencies of al-Fur', from which taxes
are collected by the central administration of the district.
They are in their original order of occurrence in al-Bakrī's
text: al-Maḍīq of al-Fur', al-Suwāriqiyyah, Sāyah, Ruhāṭ,
'Amq al-Zar', al-Juḥfah, al-'Arj, al-Suqyā, Al-Abwā',
'Usfān and Istārah (Sitārah).[3] He mentions also Umm
al-'Iyāl[4] and the routes from Medina to al-Fur'.[5]

Al-Bakrī quotes Hishām al-Zubairī to the effect
that al-Fur' was the first village to export dates to
Mecca at the time of Ishmael. To judge by the accounts
he gives of al-Fur''s early land owners, al-Bakrī seems
to rely heavily on reports by al-Zubair. He also states
that al-Fur' is one of the most important dependencies

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1. Ibid., p. 13.

2. Ibid., p. 1323.

3. Ibid., p. 1020.

4. Ibid., p. 196.

5. Ibid., p. 1323.

of Medina.[1]   Ibn Ishāq states that Baḥrān (Buḥrān), the
gold mine, lies in the Fur' region.[2]   Al-Maqdisī enumerates
al-Fur' among the Hijazi smaller towns.[3]   Al-Mas'ūdī
describes Buḥrān as a valley,[4] in one book, but as a gold
mine in another.[5]

   According to al-Samhūdī, al-Suhailī states that
there are two accepted forms of spelling of the name
al-Fur' in existence, al-Fur' and al-Fara'.   Al-Suhailī,
however, says that the form of the name is al-Furu'.[6]
The spelling adopted here is the prevalent one and is also *less*
apt to be confused with that of other places called al-
Fara'.   Wakī' refers to al-Fur' as lying on an alternative
route from Medina to the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim.[7]   He also
regards it as a dependency of Medina.[8].   Al-Hajarī records
a debate in which al-Fur' figures as the habitat of al-Zunūj.[9]

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1. Ibid., p. 1020.

2. Ibn Hishām, al-Sīrah, vol. 2, p. 46.

3. Al-Maqdisī, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 70

4. Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, vol. 4, p. 143.

5. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 249.

6. Al-Samhūdī, Khulāṣah, p. 291, see al-Suhailī, Sīrah,
   vol. 2, p. 120.

7. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 17.

8. Ibid., fol. 40.

9. Al-Hajarī, Nawādir, part 2, fol. 149.

ḤAQL

Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions this name when listing the way-stations on the pilgrim route from Ailah to Medina. He locates it to the immediate south of Ailah and to the immediate north of Madyan.[1]

No geographer, for about two centuries, followed in his footsteps. Not even Ibn Rosteh, who is often a consistent borrower of Ibn Khurradadhbeh's work, mentions this name.

It seems unlikely that the route as set out by Ibn Khurradadhbeh is fully detailed, as Ḥaql is too close to Ailah and too far from Madyan to be regarded as equidistant from both.

Al-Bakrī mentions Ḥaql in al-Mu'jam but only in the introductory part in which he records the territories of each particular tribe. He says there that Juhainah had come north and driven Judhām and Baliyy from their habitations in the region of Ḥaql on the coast of Taimā'.[2] He seems here to be quoting Ibn al-Kalbī to whom Yāqūt attributes a statement of this kind.[3] Al-Hamdānī also

1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 149.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 38.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 299.

says that Ḥaql is the port of Taimā'.[1]

Al-Bakrī also mentions Ḥaql in al-Masālik as a way-station on the conventional route between Medina and Ailah. He locates it south of Ailah and north of Wādī al-Ghurāb.[2]

Al-Sam'ānī says of Ḥaql that it is a valley near Ailah on the sea.[3] Yāqūt gives the distance between Ḥaql and Ailah as sixteen miles. However, he confuses the Ḥaql in question with another place of the same name. He quotes a poem by Kuthayyir in which the poet reminisces about his love dwelling in a place called Ḥaql. Yāqūt believes it is a question of Ḥaql near Ailah, and adds that 'Azzah, Kuthayyir's love, used to have two gardens there.[4] As, however, the poet speaks not of gardens, but of grazing camps, it is unlikely that Kuthayyir's Ḥaql is identical with Ḥaql near Ailah. There are many places in Arabia called Ḥaql and it is more probable that 'Azzah's dwelling was in the Ḥaql south of Yanbu'. The Ḥaql in question, however, is still known and is situated to the immediate south of Ailah. Al-Idrīsī no doubt means this

1. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 171.

2. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 77.

3. Al-Sam'ānī, op. cit., p. 172.

4. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 299.

Ḥaql when speaking about it as being on the pilgrim route between Egypt and the Holy Cities in Arabia. In one passage he calls it Ḥaql;[1] in another its name becomes al-Ḥaql.[2] On both occasions, al-Idrīsī locates it to the immediate south of Ailah and to the immediate north of Madyan.

The other geographers, who disregard Ḥaql when mapping the route, mention Sharaf al-Ba'l, apparently as a replacement. The two localities are, however, not identical.

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 89.
2. Ibid., fol. 89.

AL-ḤAURĀ'

Mapping the Egyptian coastal pilgrim route, both Wakī'[1] and al-Ya'qūbī[2] locate al-Ḥaurā' south of Munkhūs. Unlike al-Ya'qūbī who places it north of al-Jār, Wakī' mentions four halts which separate the two localities, the one south of al-Ḥaurā' being al-Qusaibah which cannot be accepted, since the latter is situated further north. Al-Ya'qūbī, on the other hand, is mistaken in naming no halts between al-Ḥaurā' and al-Jār which were separated by at least three halts. This may be the result of a scribal omission which must be of early date, because al-Idrīsī follows him in this respect. Al-Muqaddasī[3] states that al-Ḥaurā' is a town of Mecca, a dependency of Medina and a town of the valley of Khaibar. The anchorage itself is full of rocks at its entrance where ships are taken unawares. The town has a fortress and a flourishing suburb with a market on the side which faces the sea. According to him, al-Ḥaurā', together with al-Marwah and Khaibar, are the only towns in the valley of Khaibar. An interesting reference is made to a fire which once "fell between al-Marwah and al-Ḥaurā' which blazed like burning coals."

Al-Muqaddasī's description of al-Ḥaurā' as the port of Khaibar is more correct than al-Bakrī's assumption in his

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1. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

2. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., pp. 12, 69, 83, 103, 110, 112.

Masālik, that al-Haurā' is the port of Wādī al-Qurā the port[1]
of which is, according to al-Muqaddasī, al-'Aunīd. This
variation may be due to a deterioration in security at Wādī
al-Qurā between the time of al-Muqaddasī and the time of al-
Bakrī's source, or to a different interpretation of Wādī al-
qurā. Al-Bakrī also refers to the existence of chrysolite on
an island between al-'Aunīd and al-Haurā' called Zabarjadah[2]
(chrysolite). This island is, in fact, situated far from
these two localities. In his Mu'jam, al-Bakrī shows little
consistency with these statements made in al-Masālik. In al-
Mu'jam, al-Bakrī relies on Ibn al-Sikkīt in locating al-
Haurā' opposite to Yanbu' whose port he claims it is, which
cannot be accepted.[3] Al-Bakrī places al-Tajbār (al-Nukhbār)
between Munkhūs and lower al-Haurā',[4] whereas al-Wāqidī
locates al-Nukhbār in the region of al-Haurā' behind Dhul-
Marwah on the coast.[5] Al-Bakrī names no source when locating
the mine of al-Hurādah between al-Haurā'; Shaghb and Badā;
and Yanbu' in the region of al-Haurā'. Yāqūt attributes this
statement to Ibn al-Sikkīt who makes it clear that it is al-
Hurādah which lies near al-Haurā'.[6] In fact, al-Hurādah is
nearer Yanbu' than al-Haurā'.

1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fols. 22.

2. Ibid., fol. 66.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 474, 1310.

4. Ibid., p. 656.

5. Al-Wāqidī, Maghāzī, p. 101.

6. See al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1038; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p.230.

Ibn al-Kalbī reports the story of 'Abd al-Dār b. Hudaib of Juhainah who asked his tribe to erect a temple in a place within their territories called al-Haurā', so that it could rival Mecca in attracting the Arabs, and became indignant when his suggestion was turned down.[1] This Haurā' is the one in question which is still inhabited by Juhainah. This story may be taken as evidence of the importance of al-Haurā' in pre-Islamic history. Al-Hamdānī also describes al-Haurā' as part of Juhainah land.[2] Al-Idrīsī, on the other hand, states that it is a flourishing village populated by the descendants of the Prophet, which is partly correct. According to him, it has a quarry for hewing stones for storage jars which are taken to all places near and far. Al-Idrīsī fails to distinguish between al-Haurā' and al-Rauhā' and thus makes some errors which are pointed out below.[3]

Though al-Haurā' is part of the Hijaz, the description of it as a dependency of Medina during the period under consideration cannot be credited. In fact, al-Haurā' had been the southern frontier of the Egyptian-controlled territories in the Hijaz for the whole period. This is clear from Ibn Hauqal's statement that the governor of Aswan in 232 A.H. (846) administered al-Haurā' and 'Ainūnah.[4] Both al-Qudā'ī

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1. Ibn al-Kalbī, Asnam, p. 39.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 171.

3. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 88, see below, p.392.

4. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 53.

and Umayyah b. Abū al-Salt regard al-Haurā' as the frontier
between Egypt and the Meccan administration.[1]   It remained
so for many centuries. Though it is unknown now, al-Haurā'
was famous until the early years of this century. It lies
to the very north of Umm Lujj, the Red Sea town. In the
Cambridge MS. of his journey, Kabrīt locates it west of
Samnah[2] which is situated north east of Umm Lujj.

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol.4,p.548, vol. 2, p. 356.

2. Kabrīt, Rihlah, fol. 8.

AL-ḤIJR

Ibn Khurradadhbeh counts al-Ḥijr, which he
locates south of al-Junainah and north of Wādī al-Qurā,
among the way-stations of the Syrian pilgrim route to
Medina.[1] He is followed in this respect by Ibn Rosteh[2]
and Qudāmah.[3] Al-Istakhrī regards al-Ḥijr as the northern
limit of the Hijaz and the land to its north as part of
the Syrian steppe.[4] Ibn Hauqal borrows the entire passage
without referring to a source.[5] In describing al-Ḥijr
itself, al-Istakhrī states that it is a small, sparsely
populated and strongly fortified village.[6] He assesses
the distance between it and Wādī al-Qurā at one day's
journey through the mountains. He mentions particularly
the dwelling of Thamūd, the story of which is related in
the Qur'ān, and claims to have seen those dwellings which
he found similar to the ordinary houses of his time
except for the fact that they were hewn out of mountain

1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 150.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 191.

4. Al-Istakhrī, op. cit., p. 21.

5. Ibn Hauqal, op. cit., pp. 19, 21.

6. Al-Istakhrī, op. cit., p. 24.

rock. Of the mountain range called Athālib on which they were situated, he says that it seemed to be a single mountain but proved to be separate mountains. They were surrounded by lofty sand hills which could not be surmounted easily. The well of Thamūd was among them.[1] Ibn Hauqal uses the same words to describe al-Hijr except that he does not claim first hand knowledge of the Thamūdite dwellings on which he quotes al-Istakhrī by his name, al-Fārisī.[2] Al-Istakhrī's statement on the location of Tabūk between al-Hijr and the southern boundaries of Syria[3] is repeated by Ibn Hauqal[4] and, about three centuries later, by Yāqūt, who attributes it to Abū Zaid.[5] There must have been another revised copy of Ibn Hauqal's work in existence which is not available yet, because Abū al-Fidā' quotes him to the effect that he himself had seen the Thamūdite dwellings.[6] As to the statement of al-Istakhrī that the distance between Wādī al-Qurā and al-Hijr equals one day's journey, Ibn Hauqal repeats

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1. *Ibid*., p. 24.

2. Ibn Hauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

3. Al-Istakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4. Ibn Hauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 825.

6. Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, p. 89.

it literally and incurs the severe criticism of Abū
al-Fidā' who claims to be sure that it equals five days'
journey, which is not the case. Al-Bakrī estimates the
distance between al-Ḥijr and Qurḥ as eighteen miles. He
is of the opinion that Qurḥ is another name of Wādī al-
Qurā.

According to al-Bakrī, al-Ḥijr was the habitat
of Thamūd between Syria and the Hijaz. It seems that
individual dwellings of Thamūd were famous even in his
time for he states that they were rock-hewn and that the
graves could also be seen. They were normal in size
which suggests, according to him, that the Thamūdites
were of normal stature, unlike 'Ād, the ancient, who were
giants. This information is borrowed from al-Mas'ūdī,
though al-Bakrī does not mention his name.[1] Al-Bakrī
believes that what accounts for their strange manner of
building is the unusual longevity of the Thamūdites who
would have outlasted any dwelling erected by ordinary
means.[2] Al-Maqdisī, however, indicates that both
tribes were contemporary.[3] Al-Bakrī situates al-Ḥijr
between the Hijaz and Syria near the Red Sea and on the

1. Mas'ūdī, Murūj, vol. 3, p. 84.

2. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 12.

3. Al-Maqdisī, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 36.

Syrian pilgrim route in the Tabūk region.

In al-Mu'jam, al-Bakrī states that the route between Medina and Taimā' leads through al-Ḥijr[1] which implies that al-Ḥijr was on the Syrian pilgrim route even for those who chose the north-eastern route. Naṣr locates al-Ḥijr between Syria and Wādī al-Qurā.[2] Of al-Ḥijr, al-Muqaddasī says:

> "a small town and fortified. It has many wells and cornfields. The Mosque of Ṣāliḥ is situated in close vicinity on a height; it has the form of an open gallery, cut in a rock. In this place are to be found the Marvels of Thamūd and their habitations".[3]

Wakī' locates al-Ḥijr south of al-Junainah and north of Wādī al-Qurā on the Syrian pilgrim route.[4] Lughdah describes al-Ḥijr as a market-town whose inhabitants live just outside the dwellings of Thamūd.[5]

Al-Idrīsī says that al-Ḥijr is one day's journey from Wādī al-Qurā. It is, according to him, a small fortress in the mountains which contains the Thamūdite rock-hewn dwellings and/is called by the natives Abālib

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 330.

2. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 51.

3. Al Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 84, the English translation, p. 134.

4. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

5. Lughdah, op. cit., pp. 397-98.

(Athālib). They seem to be a single mountain, but prove
to be separate mountains. They are surrounded by lofty
sand hills which could not be surmounted easily. The
well of Thamūd is there.[1] It is clear that he is copying
Ibn Hauqal's statement. He adds, however, that the
distance between al-Hijr and Taimā' is four days. This
is contradictory to the assessments of both al-Hamdānī[2]
and al-Bakrī[3] who state that it is three days only.
Al-Idrīsī might have been misled by al-Muqaddasū's
estimate of the distance between Taimā' and Wādī al-Qurā,
not al-Hijr, as four days.[4] Mapping the Syrian pilgrim
route, al-Idrīsī locates al-Majz (al-Hijr) between al-
Hanīfiyyah (al Junainah) in the north, and a small village
on a small river (Wādī al-Qurā) to the south, adding that
it is a strongly fortified fortress amidst mountains in
the territory of Thamūd.[5] He enumerates al-Hijr among
the famous localities in the fifth part of the third
climate.[6]

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 89.

2. Al-Hamadānī, Ṣifah, p. 131.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 330.

4. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 107.

5. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 96, and see infra, p. 433.

6. Ibid., fol. 89.

Al-Ḥijr is a well-known site in that region where massive efforts are being made to increase our knowledge of its past.

AL-'ĪS

Al-Iṣṭakhrī, who describes al-'Īs as a small fortress
is correct in locating it between Yanbu' and al-Marwah.[1]
Ibn Hauqal omits this statement in the printed text of his
Masālik, but calls it, in the unpublished MS. III Ahmet 3012,
al-Faid الفيض and describes it as "from Yanbu' and al-
Marwah".[2] "From" من here is no doubt a corruption of
"between بين " which is the only acceptable form. Al-
Mas'ūdī places it in the land of Juhainah[3] and, in another
passage, on the route to al-Marwah, one day's journey from
the latter and four days from Medina. He locates it south-
west of al-Marwah.[4] His source seems to be Ibn Sa'd.[5] Al-
Hamdānī's location of al-'Īs is somewhat obscure in the
printed version where he says that al-'Īs lies between "them"
by which he refers to Wādī al-Qurā and al-Ḥijr, which is
unlikely to be al-Hamdānī's actual statement. However, he
correctly adds that al-'Īs grows a famous kind of date which
is called after it.[6] He places al-'Īs in the Juhainī land[7]

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1. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, op.cit., p. 25.

2. p. 26.

3. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 233.

4. Ibid., p. 253.

5. Ibn Sa'd, op.cit., part 1, vol. 2, p. 63.

6. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 131.

7. Ibid., p. 171.

though he states, in another passage, that both Juhainah and
Muzainah live there.[1]   He also records a poem by the Hijazi
poet al-'Ajlānī who is precise in locating it between Buwāt
in the south and al-Rass in the north. Since the poet locates
al-Rass south of al-Marwah,[2] it appears that his location of
al-'Is is in line with the above-quoted authors apart from al-
Hamdānī.

Al-Wāqidī speaks of the environment of al-'Is, where some
of the early Meccan Muslims took refuge when persecuted by the
native polytheists and were turned away by the Prophet in
accordance with a pledge he had given to the latter. But the
refugees molested the Syrian-bound Meccan caravans until the
polytheists themselves begged the Prophet to admit the refu-
gees to Medina. Al-Wāqidī implies that they lived near the sea
whose fish they ate.[3] This statement indicates that al-'Is
is not only the village, but a large area stretching to the
sea. Al-Hajarī situates al-'Is at or near the route between
Medina and al-Marwah.[4] Both al-Zubairī[5] and Ibn Hazm[6] state
that the descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf possessed
property at al-'Is. They do not, however, attempt to locate

1. Ibid., p. 130.

2. Ibid., p. 218.

3. Al-Wāqidī, op.cit., p. 629.

4. Al-Hajarī, Nawādir, part 1, fol. 213.

5. Al-Zubairī, Nasab, p. 271.

6. Ibn Hazm, Jamharah, p. 125.

it apart from describing it as a dependency of Medina. Al-Zamakhsharī does not elaborate beyond saying that it is a "place".[1] Yāqūt voices the assumption, which he attributes to al-Hazimī, that Jumdān is a mountain between Yanbu' and al-'Īs, the latter being one night's journey from Medina.[2] This statement can be traced back to Nasr who adds that al-'Īs is a dependency of Medina.[3] Wakī' describes al-'Īs as a dependency of Medina, inhabited by Juhainah and the Hasanīs.[5]

So far, the location of al-'Īs is, on the whole, correct. As to the 'Īs mentioned by 'Arrām, it is situated off the Iraqi pilgrim route to Mecca near Sufainah.[4] Since 'Arrām makes no mention of the 'Īs in question which was more famous than the one he does mention, al-Bakrī fails to distinguish between the two places and consequently applies 'Arrām's statement to both.[6] Clearly, 'Arrām's 'Īs is situated at the foot of Mt. Burthum near al-Suwāriqiyyah, in Sulaimī land, whereas our 'Īs is near al-Marwah in Juhainī land.[7] Yāqūt's

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1. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 117.

2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 753.

3. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 44.

4. Ibid., fol. 116.

5. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 40.

6. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 814, 985.

7. 'Arrām, op.cit., p. 436.

information is even more confusing as he mentions that Dhanabān is a watering place in al-'Īṣ. He records 'Arrām's statement, applying it to the Juhainī 'Īṣ about which he quotes Ibn Ishāq to the effect that it lies in the Marwah region.[1]

Al-'Īṣ is a valley containing several villages to the east of Umm Lujj on the Red Sea.

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1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 753.

AL-JĀR

Ibn Khurradadhbeh records the fact that Jiddah and al-Jār are frequented by non-Muslim traders from east and west.[1] Listing the halts of the pilgrim coastal route from Egypt, al-Ya'qūbī locates al-Jār south of al-Ḥaurā' and north of al-Juḥfah.[2] Qudāmah, on the other hand, mentions three way-stations between al-Jarrah (al-Ḥaurā') and al-Jār, namely al-Ahsā', Yanbu' and Mas'ūlān. He implies that the pilgrim route leads from al-Jār to Medina which can be reached in two days.[3] Ibn Rosteh merely enumerates al-Jār among the towns of the second climate, without giving further information.[4] Ibn al-Faqīh relates that the adjoining section of the Red Sea is called "Sea of al-Jār".[5]

Al-Muqaddasī lists al-Jār among the towns of Mecca,[6] and describes it, together with Jiddah, as "the

1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 153.
2. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.
3. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 191.
4. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 99.
5. Ibn al-Faqīh, op. cit., p. 78.
6. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 69.

two granaries of Egypt".[1] As to the distances to and from
al-Jār, al-Muqaddasī states that it is equidistant at one
day's journey from both Badr and al-'Ushairah,[2] at two
days' distance drom both al-Juhfah and Yanbu' and at four
days' journey from Jiddah.[3] Describing al-Jār, al-
Muqaddasī says,

> "Al-Jār is on the sea coast; it is fortified
> and walled on three sides, the quarter facing
> the sea being open. It contains lofty mansions
> and a thriving market. Al-Jār is the granary
> of al-Madinah and its townships. Water is
> carried to the town from Badr and food grains
> from Egypt. Its mosque has no courtyard".[4]

Al-Istakhri mentions al-Jār when speaking about the Sea
of Fāris which stretches to al-Jār, Madyan and al-Qulzum.[5]
Ibn Hauqal follows him in this[6] and in other details[7]
such as that al-Jār is the port of Medina, that it is
situated at three days' journey from it, and that it is
smaller than Jiddah and is "on the sea".[8] When borrowing

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1. _Ibid._, p. 97.
2. _Ibid._, p. 110.
3. _Ibid._, p. 107.
4. _Ibid._, p. 83, the English translation, p. 132.
5. Al-Istakhri, _op. cit._, p. 20.
6. Ibn Hauqal, _op. cit._, p. 18.
7. _Ibid._, p. 31.
8. Al-Istakhri, _op. cit._, p. 23.

al-Iṣṭakhrī's assessment of the distance from al-Jār to al-Juḥfah and Ailah,[1] Ibn Ḥauqal is definite that they equal three days' and twenty days' journey respectively,[2] unlike al-Iṣṭakhrī who only says that this is more or less the case. Ibn Ḥauqal, however, is alone in stating that the B. حدان H.d.an islands which stretch as far as 'Aidhāb opposte al-Jār on the other side of the Red Sea, have ships ready for pilgrims desirous to cross to either al-Jār or Jiddah.[3] He also states that there are uninhabited places facing Madyan, al-Jār and Jiddah.[4] The author of Ḥudūd al-'Ālam describes al-Jār as "a borough on the sea coast which is the emporium of Medina".[5]

Relying on Ibn al-Ṣabbaḥ, Wakī' locates al-Jār on the coast and lists it among the dependencies of Medina.[6] On another occasion, however, Wakī' locates al-Jār, the sea port ساحل البحر الجار at a few miles from the pass of Hirshā.[7] This is likely to be a scribal mistake,

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1. Ibid., p. 27.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal, op. cit., p. 40.

3. Ibid., p. 42.

4. Ibid., p. 48.

5. Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, p. 148.

6. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 40.

7. Ibid., fol. 51.

since Hirshā is too far from al-Jār to be located at a
few miles from it. It appears that the phrase: "al-Jār
the sea port الجار ساحل البحر is a misreading of "the coast
of the sea of al-Jār ساحل بحر الجار".

'Arrām states that al-Jār is a port frequented
by ships from Ethiopia, Egypt, Bahrain and China. He
describes it as a large, densely populated town with a
minbar, and adds that one half of it is on an island
while the other half is on the coast. Opposite al-Jār
there is an island, Quraf by name and a square mile in
area, to which there is no access except by boat. This
island is frequented only by Ethiopian ships. Its
inhabitants, like those of al-Jār, are traders. They
get their water from (a place) two parasangs away, while
the people of al-Jār get theirs from a spring in the
valley of Yalyal which flows from "the depths of the
sands". That spring is renowned for its most abundant
and very fresh water which flows through the sands and
which withstands any attempt at control on the part of
the peasants except in a few sandy zigzags (where) it
irrigates groves of palm trees and (some fields of)
vegetables and melons.[1] Both al-Bakrī[2] and Yāqūt[3]

1. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 399.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 355.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 5.

borrow 'Arrām's description of al-Jār with very minor
alterations. Their quotation of 'Arrām provides his
editor with the statement about Quraf which is missing
from the MS.

Al-Idrīsī states that al-Jār is the port of
Medina from which it lies at a distance of three days.
According to him, al-Jār used to be a prosperous densely
populated "village" about the size of Jiddah, and
its trade was dwindling in his time, though ships were
still sailing in and out of it. He describes the journey
between al-Jār and Jiddah as taking ten days along the
sea coast where most of the way-stations are surrounded
by lofty mounds, and the old road signs have been obli-
terated. The only signs remaining there are the mountains
and the sea. Al-Idrīsī's route from Medina to al-Jār
comprises the following stations:

from Medina to H. s. b ـشـب (Khushub); then to
'Ar. b عـرب ('Udhaibah) which he says lies at the foot
of a mountain, and has a fresh water well within easy
reach; and finally al-Jār.[1] On another occasion, he
maps the rout from al-Ḥaurā' as follows:

from al-Ḥaurā' to Wādī al-Ṣafrā', which is an
adequate port;

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 37.

from Wādī al-Ṣafrā' to al-Quraifah which is a
prosperous port getting its water from afar;

From Quraifah to al-Jār, and then to al-Juḥfah.[1]
Al-Idrīsī, in a third passage, locates al-Jār south of
al-Ḥaurā' and north of al-Yazīd (Qudaid).[2] He places
al-Jār in the fifth part of the second climate and
describes it as one of its famous ports.[3]

Al-Hamdānī speaks of al-Jār as the port of
Medina,[4] adding that the valley of al-'Ushairah is not
to be confused with the sands of al-'Ushairah in the
region of al-Sirrain.[5] According to the Ḥijazi poet,
al-'Ajlānī, whom al-Hamdānī quotes, al-Jār is situated
between Waddān and Badr.[6] It should be borne in mind,
however, that location by poetry cannot always be precise.
Ibn Sa'd claims that al-Jār has another name, Būlā.[7]
Al-Maqdisī lists al-Jār among the Arab territories of

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1. Ibid., fol. 89, and see supra, p. 287.

2. Ibid., fol. 88.

3. Ibid., fol. 34.

4. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 47.

5. Ibid., p. 182.

6. Ibid., p. 218.

7. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, part 1, vol. 1, p. 139.

the second climate.[1] Al-Bīrūnī describes al-Jār as the port of Medina "on the sea", giving its degrees of longitude and latitude as 66,20 and 23,50 respectively.[2]

In his Mu'jam, al-Bakrī mentions a multitude of places adjacent to al-Jār such as Kulfā on which he quotes Ibn Ḥabīb's location between Waddān and al-Jār;[3] al-Bazwā', which is inhabited by B. Ḍamrah;[4] al-Surair which he describes as one of the valleys of Khaibar at seven miles from al-Jār;[5] al-Jamīsh, a desert between Mecca and al-Jār;[6] Shanūkah between al-'Udhaib ('Udhaibah) and al-Jār, sixteen miles from al-Jār and thirty-two miles from Yanbu';[7] al 'Udhaib ('Udhaibah), a locality on the route (from Egypt) to Mecca between Yanbu' and al-Jār;[8] Dhāt al-Sulaim, a well in the possession of the B. Ḍamrah; Ḥasnā, a mountain between Waddān and al-Jār;[9]

1. Al-Maqdisī, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 50.

2. Al-Bīrūnī, Qānūn, vol. 2, p. 551.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 355.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 248.

5. Ibid; p. 737.

6. Ibid., p. 395.

7. Ibid., p. 884.

8. Ibid., p. 928.

9. Ibid., p. 355.

and the Faifā' of Khuraim on the route from Medina to
al-Jār.[1] As regards the above-mentioned statement
attributed by al-Bakrī to Ibn Ḥabīb in relation of Kulfā,
Yāqūt ascribes it to Ibn al-Sikkīt,[2] to whom Yāqūt also
ascribes al-Bakrī's location of al-'Udhaibah. Moreover,
he quotes Ibn Ḥabīb when saying that Ḥasnā' is a desert
between al-Jār and Waddān where al-jaihal (ḥayyahal)
grass grows.[3] Al-Bakrī attributes to al-Ḥarbī the
statement that al-Jār is the port of Medina,[4] a statement
attributed by Yāqūt to Ibn al-Kalbī.[5] As to al-Surair,
it is clear that the waters of a Khaibar valley cannot
abut upon al-Jār, and thus Naṣr's distinction between
two Surairs, one in Khaibar and the other in the proximity
of al-Jār[6] is more correct. Al-Bakrī refers to 'Arrām
when saying that al-Jār is a dependency of Medina without
dependencies of its own,[7] but this statement is not
traceable in the available work of 'Arrām.

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1. Ibid., p. 1038.

2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 300.

3. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 268.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 7.

5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 5.

6. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 39.

7. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 10.

Al-Bakrī assesses the distances between al-Jār
and Badr at sixteen miles and adds that the latter gets
its food supply from al-Jār.[1] 'Iyāḍ follows al-Bakrī
as regards this distance,[2] and describes al-Jār as the
port of Medina, a large village "on the sea", densely
populated and abounding in mansions.[3] Al-Zamakhsharī
describes al-Jār as a coastal village where ships from
'Aidhāb, Qulzum and the Sea of al-Na'ām can be seen.[4]
Naṣr says that al-Jār is the sea port of Medina, but
reduces the distance between al-Jār and Medina to a mere
journey of one day and one night.[5] The truth of this
contention is disproved by the following story: 'Umar
is said to have intimated to a client that he liked
fresh fish, whereupon the client hurried to al-Jār from
which he came, after three days, bringing the fish with
him. But 'Umar refused to consume the fish himself, as
he believed that the mount had been subjected to cruelty
by being ridden at excessive speed.[6] Another version of

1. Ibid., p. 231.

2. 'Iyāḍ, Mashāriq, vol. 1, p. 100.

3. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 145.

4. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 165.

5. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 39.

6. Al-Suyūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulafā', p. 129.

the story cites the round journey of the client as taking
four days, which ʿUmar regarded as unusually short for
such a distance.[1]

Al-Bakrī proffers an explanation of the origin
of the name al-Jār which strikes one not merely as archaic,
but even as so contrary to all logic that it could be
safely disregarded. The author of al-Tijān relates a
story in which the name al-Jār الجار is derived from Jāruh
جاره in this poem:[2]

أعيذك بالرحمن ان تجمعى هوى   عليه وهجرانا وحبك (حبك) جاره

Now al-Bakrī attributes this story to Ibn al-Kalbī, but
replaces the support word Jāruh جاره by قاتله Qātiluh
and thus regards the whole poem as a support, which, in
spite of the editor's efforts, carries no conviction
whatsoever.[3] This, however, does not mean that the
author of al-Tijān has offered an acceptable theory.

Al-Jār is identical with what is called now
al-Rāʾis, a small village on the Red Sea south of Yanbuʿ.

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1. Al-Ḥimyarī, al-Rauḍ,   fol. 85.
2. Al-Tijān, p. 194.
3. Al-Bakrī, Muʿjam, p. 356.

JIDDAH

Jiddah is the most important coastal town of the Hijaz. It derives its importance from being the port of Mecca. Al-Shu'aibah used to perform this function before Islam and until the time of 'Uthmān who, in 26 A.H. (646) chose Jiddah to replace it.[1] However, at the time of political crises, which were by no means infrequent, Jiddah was often passed over in favour of weaker neighbouring ports such as al-Shu'aibah, al-Qunfudhah or even Rābigh, and was either besieged by the rulers of Mecca or had to appease their insatiable avarice which was often attracted by its wealth. Jiddah suffered from successive rulers of Mecca and native chiefs more than from the foreign enemies who also attacked it. Nevertheless, Jiddah, which had been at the time of 'Uthmān mere huts, was transformed gradually into a bulwark of Mecca and the garrison for troops, of which it was said, in later years, that a prayer in Jiddah was more rewarding than many million prayers elsewhere. This was a result of the growth of the seafaring trade and the increasing number of pilgrims as well as the dangers of foreign attack.

Mapping the coastal route from Oman to Mecca, Ibn Khurradadhbeh situates Jiddah between Mecca and an unnamed halt north of al-Shu'aibah.[2] He also records the fact that Jiddah, like al-Jār, was frequented by non-Muslim traders

1. Al-Fāsī, Shifa', vol. 1, p. 88.
2. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 148.

who imported wares from east and west.[1]   Ibn Rosteh lists
Jiddah among the towns of the second climate,[2] adding that
a part of the Red Sea is referred to as the Sea of Jiddah.[3]
He states that sea-borne pilgrims from Egypt cross the Red
Sea from al-'Allāqī to Jiddah in twenty-four hours.[4]   It is
interesting to notice here that al-Muqaddasī assesses it at
300 parasangs which can be covered in twenty-five to sixty
days' journey according to the direction of the wind.[5]   Ibn
Rosteh calculates the distance from Jiddah to Mecca as two
days.   Al-Ya'qūbī lists Jiddah among the dependencies of
Mecca,[6] and points out that the food supplies from Egypt to
Mecca are transported by way of Jiddah.[7]   He implies, in
another passage, that Jiddah is on the Yemenite coast.[8]   All
that Ibn al-Faqīh has to say about Jiddah is that the stretch
of the Red Sea facing Mecca is called the Sea of Jiddah.[9]   Al-
Hamdānī refers to Jiddah as the port of Mecca,[10] and places it

1. _Ibid._, p. 153.

2. Ibn Rosteh, _op.cit._, p. 87.

3. _Ibid._, p. 99.

4. _Ibid._, p. 183.

5. Al-Muqaddasī, _op.cit._, p. 215.

6. Al-Ya'qūbī, _Buldān_, p. 316.

7. _Ibid._, p. 317.

8. _Ibid._, p. 319.

9. Ibn al-Faqīh, _op.cit._, p. 78.

10. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 47.

in the second climate.[1] He follows the traditionalists in stating that it was in Jiddah that Hawwā (Hawwā' = Eve) began her search for Adam.[2] Ibn 'Abbās is quoted to the effect that Eve was buried there.[3] Al-Bakrī, in al-Masālik, states, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, that Jiddah was the place to which Eve went from Paradise and that she was buried at Mecca.[4] Al-Idrīsī, however, says that Eve went from Paradise to Jiddah where she died and was buried.[5] Al-Hamdānī also quotes al-'Ajlānī, the Hijazi poet, in support of locating Jiddah between al-Qirsh and Judaidāt.[6]

Al-Istakhrī states that Jiddah which lies at two days distance from Mecca whose port it is is larger than al-Jār. According to him, Jiddah is a large flourishing town dominated by the Persians. It is second only to Mecca with regard to trade and the capital invested in it.[7] Ibn Hauqal proffers the same in the early copy of his Masālik, but[8] implies, in the later copy, that Jiddah suffered economically under the harsh governorship of Ibn Ja'far, the Hashemite

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1. Ibid., p. 6.

2. Ibid., p. 222.

3. Al-Fāsī, Shifā', vol. 1, p. 88.

4. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fols. 4, 6.

5. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 36.

6. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 218.

7. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 23.

8. P. 27.

ruler of Mecca, which led to the break up of its trading community.[1] Al-Istakhrī assesses the distance from Jiddah to Aden at about one month's journey and from Jiddah to al-Juhfah at about five days' journey.[2] Ibn Hauqal records the same, except for the omission of "about" with respect to the distance from Aden to Jiddah.[3] Yāqūt, however, attributes this statement to Abū Zaid of Balkh.[4] Ibn Hauqal's location[5] of Jiddah on the Sea of Fāris is identical with that of al-Istakhrī,[6] but differs from him in stating, in his later copy, that there are uninhabited places between Ailah, Madyan, al-Jār and Jiddah.[7] In the later copy, Ibn Hauqal adds that there are boats on the islands of B. 'H.d.an حيدان ready to transport the pilgrims to Jiddah at a moment's notice. He states that the "islands" of Sawākin face Jiddah, whereas the isle of Sinjelah lies at one day's journey from Jiddah.[8] The author of Hudūd al-'Ālam says: "Judda is a town belonging to Mekka and situated on the sea coast, prosperous and

1. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 32.

2. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 27.

3. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 40.

4. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 41.

5. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 18.

6. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 19.

7. P. 48.

8. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 42.

flourishing".[1]   He describes Jiddah as situated on the
western borders of the Arabian desert.[2]   Al-Mas'ūdī assumes
the distance from Jiddah to Bāb al-Abwāb as 600 parasangs,
and the distance from Jiddah to Mecca as thirty-two miles.[3]

Al-Muqaddasī states that Jiddah is a Hijazi town, and[4]
that pilgrims coming from 'Aidhāb, which lies opposite to
Jiddah on the other side of the Red Sea, begin performing
their pilgrimage rites at Jiddah.[5]   About Jiddah itself, al-
Muqaddasī says,

> "Juddah is a town on the Sea shore, whence it derives
> its name.   It is fortified, flourishing and populous
> and its inhabitants are chiefly merchants and people
> of wealth.   Juddah is the granary of Makkah and the
> emporium of al-Yaman and Egypt.   It has a noble mosque.
> The water supply, however, is not sufficient although
> there are many reservoirs in the town.   Water is
> brought from a distance.   The Persians are the ruling
> class and live in splendid palaces.   The streets are
> straight and the situation of the town excellent, but
> the heat is very great."[6]

He states that millet is imported to Jiddah from al-Sharjah,
Hirdah and 'Atanah;[7] and that Jiddah and al-Jār are the two
granaries of Egypt.[8]   Al-Muqaddasī also proffers some infor-

1. Hudūd al'Ālan, p. 148.
2. Ibid., p. 91.
3. Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, vol.4, p. 30.
4. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 69.
5. Ibid., p. 78.
6. Ibid., p. 79, English translation, p. 127.
7. Ibid., p. 86.
8. Ibid., p. 97.

mation about the customs and taxes of Jiddah saying,

> "At Juddah ½ dinār is exacted on every load of
> wheat and a kail (gallon) from each half of a
> camel-load; on a bundle of Shatawī linen, 3
> dinārs and on a bundle of Dabiqī, 2 dinārs and
> on every bale of wool, 2 dinārs. The land taxes
> are as follows:- on the caravans of Juddah half
> a dinār at both al-Qarīn and Batn Marr."[1]

As regards the population of Jiddah, al-Muqaddasī states
that the Persians are in the majority there, but that their
language is Arabic.[2] He calculates the distance from Jiddah
to Mecca as two days' journey, to Batn Marr as one day's
journey,[3] to either al-Jār or al-Sirrain as four days'
journey[4] and that to al-Qulzum as 300 parasangs. He is in no
doubt about the last mentioned figure because he states that
this journey lasts from 25 to 60 days according to the
direction of the wind. Al-Bīrūnī states that Jiddah is the
port of Mecca and assesses its latitude at $21°.20'$ and its longi-
tude at $66°.30'$.[5] Al-Maqdisī enumerates Jiddah among the large
urban communities of the Hijaz,[6] and situates it in the second
climate.[7] The author of Ākām al-Murjān states that Jiddah is
the port at which the seaborne pilgrims dock on their way
from Suez to Mecca.[8]

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1. Ibid., pp. 104-105, English translation, p. 159.
2. Ibid., p. 96, English translation, pp. 159-160.
3. Ibid., p. 106.
4. Ibid., p. 107.
5. Al-Bīrūnī, Qānūn, vol. 2, p. 551.
6. Al-Maqdisī, op.cit., vol. 4, p. 70.
7. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 50.
8. Ākām al-Murjān, 33.

In his Mu'jam, al-Bakrī concerns himself with the
origin of the name "Juddah" which he attributes to its
coastal position termed "al-Juddah" in Arabic.[1] This name
seems to have been regarded as ancient at least as a certain
Juddah b. Jurm who was born at Jiddah and named after it as
is recorded by al-Bakrī on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās.[2]
Al-Bakrī quotes Ibn Fadālah to the effect that Jiddah is
famous,[1] and that it is the port of Mecca.[3] He records this
statement in another passage without quoting a source.[1] Al-
Bakrī also mentions Jiddah's situation on the extreme
(western) border of Arabia,[4] and the Sea of Jiddah which he
designates as the western border of the Yemen.[5] He points
out that Jiddah is in the Ghaur of Tihāmah.[6] Yāqūt quotes
al-Zamakhsharī when calculating the distance between Jiddah
and Mecca as three days' journey;[7] a statement not to be
found in al-Zamakhsharī's Jibāl from which Yāqūt usually
derives his quotation, and where Jiddah is referred to as a
mere "place".[8] Nor is Yāqūt's quotation traceable in the two

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 371.

2. Ibid., p. 17.

3. Ibid., p. 7.

4. Ibid., p. 6.

5. Ibid., p. 16.

6. Ibid., p. 12.

7. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 41.

8. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 38.

other works of al-Zamakhsharī which are likely to contain
geographical information of this sort, al-Fā'iq and Asās
al-Balāghah. As to the assessment of this distance at one
day's and one night's journey which Yāqūt attributes to al-
Hāzimī,[1] it is to be found in Nasr's work.[2] Yāqūt also
quotes Ibn al-Kalbī when stating that the region of Jiddah was
allotted from the first to the Qudā'ah.[1] Ibn al-Kalbī claims
that 'Amr b. Luhayy introduced to the Arabs the worship of
five idols which he discovered at Jiddah.[3] He also states
that an idol called Sa'd erected on the coast of Jiddah, re-
mained in the care of the Kinānah.[4] Al-Zuhrī, on the other
hand, is thought to have said that Jiddah was the camping
place of the tribes Hā', al-Ash'ar and 'Akk who used to settle
between "Jiddah and the sea".[5] Mālik is quoted as saying
that the distance between Jiddah and Mecca is forty-eight
miles.[6] Ibn 'Asākir records a 9th century debate in which a
poet from Medina pleaded with Dāwūd b. 'Īsā, the Abbasid
governor of the Hijaz, to pay a visit to Medina as he tarried
too long in Mecca. A Meccan poet rebuked the Medinese and
expatiated on the merits of Mecca with some harsh criticism of

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 41.

2. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 40.

3. Ibn al-Kalbī, Asnām, p. 54.

4. Ibid., p. 36.

5. Al-Aghānī, vol. 11, p. 160.

6. Al-Bājī, al-Muntaqā, vol. 7, p. 192.

Medina. At this point, a third poet, al-'Ijlī by name, a native of Jiddah and one of the military volunteers, appeared on the scene to advocate the merits of Jiddah as the port of Mecca, the sacred bulwark of defence, a place which would witness great future events and the place whose martyrs were favoured above all martyrs.[1] Al-Jāhiz, in his Rasā'il indicates that Jiddah plays the role of a health resort to which (wealthy) Meccans repair in winter.[2]

Al-Idrīsī lists Jiddah among the famous ports of the fifth part of the second climate.[3] He gives a very interesting account of the conditions prevailing at Jiddah in his time. According to him, no pilgrim was allowed to cross from 'Aidhāb to Jiddah without satisfying the authorities there that he was economically able to meet the demands of the pilgrimage. Once the boat had safely crossed, it docked at a distance from Jiddah whose governor then sent out customs officials to assess dues payable on taxable wares on board ships, and accompany the passengers to the shore where the duties were collected. If a passenger could not acquit himself of the landing tax of eight dinārs, and the captain was unwilling to pay, the passenger was detained until the pilgrimage period was over. Sometimes, such passengers were saved by the beneficence of a third person. This payment was exacted on behalf of the Hashemite ruler of Mecca to cover the expen-

1. Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vol. 5, p. 210.

2. Al-Jāhiz, Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 187.

3. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 34.

diture on his troops and household, as his revenue was not
large enough to meet all his needs.[1]

Al-Idrīsī's description of Jiddah is not as genuine as
his information about the customs proceedings there. In
describing Jiddah, he seems to rely on Ibn Hauqal and al-
Muqaddasī. Nevertheless, his description is not devoid of
interesting points. He states that Jiddah is a flourishing
town with a brisk trade, a wealthy population with immense
capital investment, large profits and adequate living con-
ditions. It has a yearly trade season which precedes the
pilgrim period when imported wares, selected goods and
magnificent treasures are exchanged with satisfactory profit.
Its people are second only to the Meccans in wealth and
property. Its governor, appointed by the ruler of Mecca,
receives its taxes, alms tax and customs duties and super-
vises its security arrangements. (The merchants of) Jiddah
have numerous boats sailing in many directions, and also a
number of fishing boats. As to the distances, al-Idrīsī
locates Jiddah north of al-Sufayyah (al-Shu'aibah) at three
days' journey which he equates with forty miles.[2] According
to him, Jiddah, together with Mecca, lies in the north of
Tihāmah.[3]

Al-Idrīsī's harsh words about the severe treatment of
pilgrims at Jiddah sound rather apologetical when compared

1. Ibid., fol. 35.

2. Ibid., fol. 36.

3. Ibid., fol. 38.

with the statement of Ibn Jubair.[1] Though writing forty
years after al-Idrīsī, Ibn Jubair refers to a period wider
in span than that covered by al-Idrīsī's authorities. It
appears that the ruler of Mecca had a representative at
'Aidhāb, the Egyptian port, to supervise the collection of
dues levied on all pilgrims in transit. Those who did not
pay were humiliated, and those who could not pay exposed to
various atrocities, surpassed only by the severe torture
perpetrated at Jiddah. According to Ibn Jubair, this had
been common practice in the whole Fatimid period, which is
hard to credit, since the ruler of Mecca did not acquire
absolute power until the 11th century, when both Baghdad
and Cairo were too helpless to intervene. Moreover, Nāsir-i
Khusrav, though by no means intent on white-washing the ruler
of Mecca, does not mention cruelty at Jiddah. In fact, he
was himself exempted from paying the dues without experiencing
hardship.[2] He mentioned the cruelties imposed by the tribes
on the route between Mecca and Medina.[3] Besides, it can
hardly be credited that 'Aidhāb had always been the centre
of such blatant oppression. It is more likely that it became
one after the closure of the pilgrim coastal route through
Ailah by the crusaders, which is implied by Ibn Jubair him-
self when suggesting some substitutes for 'Aidhāb until Ailah

1. Ibn Jubair, Rihlah, pp. 56, 71, 73, 77, 78.

2. Nāsir-i Khusrav, Sefer-Nāmeh, p. 75.

3. Ibid., p. 68.

is regained. In fact, it was not only the ruler of Mecca,
notorious no doubt though he was, who exploited the pilgrims
at 'Aidhāb; according to Ibn Jubair himself, shipowners also
used to cram their ships so full of people that they re-
covered their cost with profit already on the maiden voyage of
their craft. Authors earlier than Ibn Jubair view this
procedure with resignation. Al-Idrīsī implies that the
Hashemite ruler of Mecca needed the revenue from these dues to
maintain his household. 'Umārah acted as a go-between to
secure the payment of some dues held back by the Fatimid
government as a result of some Egyptian pilgrims having been
slain by the retinue of the ruler of Mecca.[1] The Muslim
rulers themselves vied with each other in appeasing the ruler
of Mecca by paying an annual tribute so that he should forego
levying dues and tolls from the pilgrims. However, this only
encouraged him to exact more money from pilgrims whenever
the official payment failed to arrive or fell short of satis-
fying his greed. It was not until Saladin put a temporary
end to this practice that voices were raised against an abuse
too inveterate to be successfully eradicated. According to
Ibn Jubair, the ruler of Mecca claimed it as his right to
exact these dues unless paid by other governments. The
pilgrims were looked upon as legitimate booty, "even more so
than non-Muslims." Moreover, wealthy Muslims had to bribe
the ruler before carrying out any improvement or maintenance

1. 'Umārah, al-Nukat, pp. 42, 123.

projects at places of religious interest in Mecca, or
attempting to facilitate the pilgrimage journey. Dues on
pilgrims had been levied before Ja'far b. al-Hasan whom
'Abd Allāh Ghāzī accuses of originating the practice in
358 A.H. (969);[1] an Abbasid chief minister had even been
praised, thirty years before, for trying to bring the dues
system to an end.[2] The avarice of the ruler was by no means
limited to pilgrims, since the trading community of Jiddah
was subjected to periodical atrocities which, as Ibn Hauqal
observes, usually resulted in a temporary break-up of these
communities.

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1. Ahmad al-Sibā'ī, Tārīkh Makkah, vol. 1, p. 175.

2. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī, Dhail, p. 39.

AL-JUHFAH

Al-Juhfah, a halt on the northern pilgrim route to Mecca, is important in that it is not only the rendezvous of pilgrims, but also the point at which certain pilgrims have to start observing the rules of the hajj. Hence it is mentioned by all Arab geographers of the period under consideration, often with additional information. According to Ibn Khurradadhbeh, who locates it south of al-Abwā' and north of Qudaid, it is a place in Tihāmah with wells; and lies at a distance of eight miles from the sea. The distance between al-Juhfah and al-Abwā' is twenty-seven miles which is the same as that between al-Juhfah and Qudaid. He singles out the Syrian pilgrims as having to start their pilgrimage rites there.[1]

Al-Ya'qūbī locates al-Juhfah, which, according to him, forms a dependency of Mecca, south of al-Abwā' and north of[2] Qudaid without giving the mileage. He mentions al-Juhfah[3] both in connection with the conventional route between Mecca and Medina, and the coastal route between Ailah and Mecca.[3] [4] He locates Ghadīr Khumm at two miles' distance from the road to al-Juhfah.[3] Of the population of al-Juhfah, al-Ya'qūbī says that it comes from the Sulaim.[3] Ibn Rosteh's calculation

1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 131.

2. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 316.

3. Ibid., p. 314.

4. Ibid., p. 341.

of the mileage of the distance to and from al-Juhfah is in
accordance with that of Ibn Khurradadhbeh, except for the
distance between al-Juhfah and Qudaid which is assessed at
twenty-nine miles. Ibn Rosteh also states that al-Juhfah is
the point at which the Syrian pilgrims should start perfor-
ming their pilgrimage rites. He describes al-Juhfah as a [1]
huge-sized village whose supply of water comes from wells.
Qudāmah differs from his predecessors not only in calculating
the distance between al-Juhfah and Qudaid as twenty-six miles,
but also in describing al-Juhfah as a sea port.[2] Ibn Khurra-
dadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah mention only the conventional
route between Medina and Mecca. Al-Mas'ūdī states that al-
Juhfah lies at a distance of ten miles from Rābigh for those
who travel from Medina.[3] This somewhat complicated definition
is borrowed from al-Wāqidī to the letter.[4] Ibn Sa'd's des-
cription is less complicated as he says that al-Ahyā',
situated in the valley of Rābigh, is at a distance of ten
miles from al-Juhfah on the left hand side of the road "if
you want Qudaid".[5] Al-Mas'ūdī also places Ghadir Khumm near
al-Juhfah.

Al-Istakhrī describes al-Juhfah, situated at two miles'
distance from the sea, as the only village between Mecca and

1. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 178.

2. Qudāmah, op.cit., p. 187.

3. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 234.

4. Al-Wāqidī, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 10.

5. Ibn Sa'd, op.cit., part 2, vol. 2, p. 2.

Medina with a permanently settled population. It shares this trait with Faid to which it is also comparable in size. Al-Juhfah, he adds, is notable for its prosperity.[1] Ibn Hauqal borrows the whole of this statement, except in implying that there are other, though minor, settlements of this kind between Mecca and Medina as he says, "As to size and settled character of the population, al-Juhfah is second to none".[2] Both al-Istakhri[3] and Ibn Hauqal[4] assess the distance between Waddan and al-Juhfah at one day's journey, which Yaqut attributes to Abu Zaid.[5] Al-Istakhri gives the distance from al-Juhfah to Jiddah in the south, and al-Jar in the north as five and three days' journey respectively, which corresponds to the data given by Ibn Hauqal,[6] who obviously relies on him for this information. Al-Istakhri[7] mentions the existence of a coastal route from Madyan to Mecca which leads through al-Juhfah where pilgrims from Iraq, Damascus, Palestine and Egypt meet.[8] Ibn Hauqal says the same except that he speaks of pilgrim routes instead of pilgrims.[9]

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1. Al-Istakhri, op.cit., p. 24.

2. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 33.

3. Al-Istakhri, op.cit., p. 25.

4. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 33.

5. Yaqut, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 41.

6. Al-Istakhri, op.cit., p. 27.

7. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 40.

8. Al-Istakhri, op.cit., p. 28.

9. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 41.

Al-Hamdānī enumerates al-Juhfah among the places of Tihāmah[1] and indicates, in another passage, that it is in the extreme northern limit of the administrative districts of Mecca.[2] He records the well-known fact that al-Juhfah is the point at which the Syrian pilgrims should start performing their pilgrimage rites and includes the Egyptians with them in his statement.[3] As to the distance between al-Juhfah and al-Abwā' to the north, and Qudaid to the south, al-Hamdānī assesses it at twenty-three and twenty-four miles respectively. He gives its latitude as $22°.10!$.[4] In another passage, he inserts a poem by al-'Ajlānī, a Hijazi poet, in which al-Juhfah is counted as a place in the Hijaz between al-Sitārah and Quds.[5] Al-Azharī points out that al-Juhfah the point at which the Syrian pilgrims start performing the rites of the Hajj, is a village near the sea.[6] Al-Bīrūnī describes it as a flourishing Arabian locality in the second climate near the sea and gives its degree of longitude as 65 and that of its latitude as $22°.15!$[7] Al-Maqdisī lists it among the principal rural towns of the Hijaz.[8]

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1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 48.

2. Ibid., p. 120.

3. Ibid., p. 264.

4. Ibid., p. 185.

5. Ibid., p. 218.

6. Al-Azharī, Tahdhīb, vol. 4, p. 160.

7. Al-Bīrūnī, Qānūn, vol. 2, p. 551.

8. Al-Maqdisī, op.cit., vol. 4, p. 70.

Al-Muqaddasī says that al-Juhfah is:

"a flourishing town inhabited by the Banū Ja'far; it is commanded by a strong fortress which has two gates. It possesses a few wells and at a distance of two miles from it is a spring of water; it has also a large reservoir, but water sometimes becomes very scarce in it. Al-Juhfah is a hot-bed of fever. It is related to a tradition that the Prophet of God, peace and blessing be upon him, said, 'O God, endear al-Madīnah to us as thou hast endeared Makkah, and even more, and transplant its fever to al-Juhfah'."[1]

He also mentions the fact that al-Juhfah is the point at which the Syrian pilgrims start observing the requirements of pilgrimage, and the existence of a mountain called al-Dhabīb or al-Dhunaib by name, situated on the opposite side of al-Juhfah, at which the (sea-borne) pilgrims begin their pilgrimage rites.[2] Al-Muqaddasī[3] enumerates al-Juhfah among the dependencies of Mecca and states that dragon's blood is found there.[4] According to al-Muqaddasī, al-Juhfah is equidistant from al-Khaim (in the direction of Mecca) and Badr (in the direction of Medina) at one day's journey, but that it is at two days' journey from al-Jār.[5] Al-Muqaddasī expresses one adverse judgment on al-Juhfah describing it, together with al-Marwah, as the "native country of libertines".[6] He finds a point of similarity between al-Juhfah and Dandānaqān in

1. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., pp. 77-78, English translation, p.124

2. Ibid., p. 77.

3. Ibid., p. 69.

4. Ibid., p. 102.

5. Ibid., p. 107.

6. Ibid., p. 33.

that they have the baths and guest houses in their out-
skirts.[1]

Al-Bakrī describes al-Juhfah, in his Mu'jam, as a
principal village with a minbar,[2] giving details of several
routes leading through the place.[3] According to him, there
are two mosques of the Prophet there and a third in Ghadīr
Khumm, which is at three miles' distance from al-Juhfah on
the left of the road. There is also a spring which flows
into a cistern richly surrounded by trees. It was from that
thicket that the Prophet announced to his people: "Friends
of mine are friends of 'Alī. O God, befriend his friends
and destroy his enemies." Al-Bakrī adds that the Prophet
pointed out al-Juhfah as the place at which all pilgrims
from Syria should start the rites prescribed for the pil-
grimage.[2] He claims that it forms one of the twelve villages
which have minbars and are subordinated to the administrative
control of al-Fur'.[3]

As to the distances between al-Juhfah and the neigh-
bouring halts, al-Bakrī says that it is two days' distant
from Badr; twenty-three miles from al-Abwā'; two miles from
Dhātul-Asāfir and twelve miles from Kulayyah.[4] It seems
rather strange that he places Rābigh, which lies at a dis-
tance of a mere ten miles north of al-Juhfah, between the

1. Ibid., p. 312.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 368.

3. Ibid., p. 954.

4. Ibid., p. 1021.

latter and Medina which lies at several days' journey from
al-Juhfah.[1] In another entry, he states that al-Marad is a
locality between Rabigh and al-Juhfah.[2] Of these two state-
ments, the latter is very exact and the former rather vague.

Al-Idrisi places al-Juhfah at a distance of twenty-six
miles from Qudaid in the south, and twenty-seven miles from
al-Abwa (al-Abwa') in the north. He describes it as a
flourishing halt, unfortified but densely populated. He also
mentions that it is the point at which the Syrian pilgrims
should start practising their rites of pilgrimage.[3] He lists
al-Juhfah among the sea ports in the fifth part of the second
climate and adds that it is one of the fortresses with a
governor of its own.[4] He omits it from the Egyptian coastal
route in one version[5] but mentions it in another.[6] 'Iyad
assesses the distance between al-Abwa' and al-Juhfah at
twenty-three miles.[7] He also differs from the rest in
placing al-Juhfah north of al-Abwa' which can be attributed
only to inadvertence. 'Iyad situates Khumm at three miles

1. Ibid., p. 954.
2. Ibid., p. 625.
3. Al-Idrisi, op.cit., fol. 36.
4. Ibid., fol. 35.
5. Ibid., fol. 88.
6. Ibid., fol. 36.
7. 'Iyad, Mashariq, vol. 1, p. 49.

from al-Juhfah adding that there is a thicket with a famous pool named after it. Describing al-Juhfah, 'Iyād says that it is one of the places where the first rites of al-Hajj are performed; that it is a principal village in Minā (sic) on the route between Mecca and Medina from which it is at eight days' distance, and that it is six miles from the sea.[1] 'Iyād is clearly mistaken in locating al-Juhfah at Minā, since Minā does not lie on the route from Medina to Mecca. What he has in mind is Manāh, the idol erected at al-Mushallal near Qudaid at a day's journey from al-Juhfah.

Al-Khawārzmī is quoted to the effect that the distance between al-Juhfah and al-Suqyā is twenty-nine miles.[2] Al-Asadī assesses the distance between al-Juhfah and Kulayyah to the south, at twelve miles,[3] and that from al-Juhfah to Khumm at four miles.[4] Al-Sukkarī calculates the distance between al-Juhfah and Mecca as three days' journey, and states that it is the point where the southern and eastern borders of al-Ghaur converge with al-Thaghr.[5] The commentator on the dīwān of al-Khansā' says that (the village of) Shuwān lies in the upper section of the valley of al-Juhfah which he describes as a Tihāmī village.[6] Al-Kutbī claims that

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1. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 145.

2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 104.

3. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1295.

4. Ibid., p. 1018.

5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 35.

6. Al-Khansā', Dīwān, p. 97.

"al-Juhfah was built" by 'Umar b. 'Abdl al-'Azīz.[1] Al-Zubairī implies that al-Juhfah used to be cultivated, in the seventh century by Ibn 'Āmir, a wealthy Meccan who also owned a village called "Bustān Ibn 'Āmir" which lay on the Iraqi pilgrim route to Mecca.[2] This piece of information may provide a solution to the old argument about the identity of the owner of that village. Some authors identify him with Ibn Ma'mar, who according to al-Batalyūsī was interested in wells and farming,[3] Others believe that it was Ibn 'Āmir, who is known to have owned a farm in al-Juhfah.[4] Al-Zubairī is well-informed about Mecca and about the rural settlements in the Hijaz. His explanation is more likely to be correct than that of others.[5]

The etymological derivation of the name al-Juhfah varies from one author to another. Ibn al-Kalbī seems to be the source of the most frequently quoted explanation. According to him, 'Abīl, his sons and his followers, all from 'ād, were driven out from Yathrib by the 'Amālīq. While in Mahya'ah, the former were carried away by the flood, an opisode which accounts for the name of the place الجحفة

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1. Al-Kutbī, Fawāt, vol. 2, p. 208.

2. Al-Zubairī, Nasab, p. 148.

3. Al-Batalyūsī, Iqtidāb, p. 226.

4. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 89.

5. Infra, p. 198.

which is derived from اجتحفهم السيل .[1] Al-Mas'ūdī relates
this story without mentioning Mahya'ah.[2] The Prophet is
said to have used both names. Once seeing his Meccan com-
panions suffering from the fever of Medina, the Prophet
prayed to God to transfer that fever to Mahya'ah, al-Juhfah
in another hadith.[3] On another occasion he referred to al-
Juhfah in connection with the pilgrimage rites.[4] Thus the
philologists were obliged to look for a link between those
two names. Ibn Qutaibah digs less deep than Ibn al-Kalbī,
merely pointing to the flood of the year 80 A.H., (699) as
the origin of the name.[5] Though he is followed in this res-
pect by 'Iyād, it is clear that this assumption is groundless
as the name al-Juhfah is found in use at least seventy years
before this catastrophe. Apparently to shirk responsibility
when recording Ibn al-Kalbī's view, Ibn Duraid voices some
suspicions of the correctness of that view.[7] In his Masālik,
al-Bakrī records both stories without citing any source.[8] Al-
Maqdisī attributes the name to a flood whose date he does not

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 369.

2. Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, vol. 3, p. 301.

3. Al-Qastallānī, Mawāhib, vol. 1, p. 420.

4. Al-Nawawī, Al-Majmū', vol. 7, p. 198.

5. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ārif, p. 181.

6. 'Iyād, Mashāriq, vol. 1, p. 145.

7. Ibn Duraid, al-Jamharah, vol. 2, p. 57.

8. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 10.

mention.[1] Mahī'ah is said to be another name of al-Juhfah.[2] A fourth name for this locality which occurs in a reliable early source is al-Juhūf, used by the poet Kuthayyir in one of his poems.[3] Kuthayyir believes that it was called al-Juhfah because torrential rain cut through its soil.[4] According to Wakī', al-Juhfah has many wells, a cistern and a spring. Its citadel has two gates, and its market and houses are situated within the castle. The distances from al-Juhfah are twenty-four miles to Qudaid; twenty-three miles to al-Abwā'; six miles to the sea; four miles to Khumm; three miles to the local mosque of the Prophet at Khumm; one mile to the spring of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās; and finally twelve miles to (al-Mushallal). The scribe seems to have omitted the distance from Kulayyah to al-Mushallal. This can be deduced from the total distance between al-Juhfah and Qudaid which does not tally with the sum total of the particular distances quoted in the work. Wakī' also states that al-Juhfah is the mīqāt of the Syrian pilgrims,[5] and that it is a dependency of Medina.[6]

Summing up, it can be safely said that al-Juhfah was the accepted name even before Islam, because the name Mahya'ah

1. Al-Maqdisī, op.cit., vol. 4, p. 100.

2. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1316.

3. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 226.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1257.

5. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 51.

6. Ibid., fol. 40.

or Mahī'ah is not to be found in the poems of pre-Islamic
or even early Islamic poets, who are held to have been men
of wide knowledge. What we find is only al-Juhfah or al-
Juhūf. Al-Jāhiz and Ibn Duraid, however, imply that Mahya'ah
and al-Juhfah are two separate localities when they speak
about the notorious fever of both.[1] Al-Zamakhsharī comments
or Mahya'ah in two entries; under al-Juhfah he says that
it is called Mahya'ah;[2] but records under Mahya'ah that it
is said to be identified with al-Juhfah.[3] This indicates that
he is in doubt. Yāqūt records that Mahya'ah is said to be
identified with al-Juhfah or a place near it.[4] There is a
village called Mahāyi', about which we read in the works of
'Arrām[5] and al-Muqaddasī.[6] This village is situated on the
Sāyah valley north east of al-Juhfah.

'Arrām says that three valleys all situated between
Mt. Shamansīr and Mt. Dhurah separate the pass of Hirshā
in the north, from al-Juhfah in the south. There is Ghazāl,
rich in wells and inhabited exclusively by the Khuzā'ah
who live there in tents. Secondly, there is Daurān which
has two well-known wells, Rahbah and Sakūbah and belongs to

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1. Al-Jāhiz, Hayawān, vol. 4, p. 135 and Ibn Duraid,
   Jamharah, vol. 3, p. 144.

2. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 21.

3. Ibid., p. 98.

4. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 702.

5. 'Arrām, op.cit., p. 414.

6. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., pp. 53, 69, 80.

the Khuzā'ah. The third is Kulayyah which equally belongs
to then. As regards the pool of Khumm, 'Arrām situates it at
one mile to the east of al-Juhfah.[1]

'Arrām seems to err when he places the valley Kulayyah
between Hirshā and al-Juhfah, as al-Juhfah is situated
between Hirshā in the north and Kulayyah in the south. Al.-
Ajlānī, the poet, locates al-Juhfah north of Sitārah which
lies north of Kulayyah.[2] Al-Asadī correctly places Kulayyah
at twelve miles south of al-Juhfah.[3]

Ibn Habīb mentions a place called Maghbat al-Juhfah
where al-Hārith, the Ghassānī king, defeated the Kinānah.[4] In
al-Bakrī's Mu'jam, it has become Ma'yat near al-Juhfah.[5] Al-
Bakrī quotes Ibn al-Kalbī when he locates al-Juhfah at the
extreme limit of al-Jals.[6] When al-Bakrī places al-Juhfah in
al-Ghaur,[7] his source seems also to be Ibn al-Kalbī. Nasr
places Daurān between al-Juhfah and Qudaid in contradiction
to 'Arrām.[8]

Al-Juhfah is still known in that area though its impor-
tance has dwindled owing to causes to be discussed elsewhere.

1. 'Arrām, op.cit., pp. 411-13.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 218.

3. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1295.

4. Ibn Habīb, al-Mughtalūn, p. 234.

5. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1246.

6. Ibid., p. 11.

7. Ibid., p. 9.

8. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 70.

KHAIBAR

Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions Khaibar as a dependency of Medina.[1] Ibn al-Faqih also names it as one of the northern administrative districts of Medina.[2] This is the only significant statement he relates about it. Like al-Jahiz, he quotes a proverbial saying in connection with its endemic fever.[3] Ibn Rosteh and Qudamah[4] follow Ibn Khurradadhbeh in describing it as a dependency of Medina.[5] Al-Mas'udi registers the distance from Khaibar to Medina as eight postal stages.[6] Al-Hamdani concerns himself with the origins of the tribes settled at Khaibar. In one passage, he enumerates it among the Juhaini lands,[7] while he states in another that it is inhabited by the Sulaim alone, except for some nomadic Ansar who often live with them, but also reside, on some occasions, with the Tayy. In a third passage he says that it is inhabited by Jews, Mawali and a variety of Arabs.[8] In another book he states that the 'Anazah live in Khaibar.[9]

1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 127.

2. Ibn al-Faqih, op.cit., p. 26.

3. Ibid., p. 118, and see al-Jahiz, Hayawan, vol. 4, p. 135.

4. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 177.

5. Qudamah, op.cit., p. 248.

6. Al-Mas'udi, Tanbih, p. 258.

7. Al-Hamdani, Sifah, p. 171.

8. Ibid., pp. 130, 131.

9. Al-Hamdani, Iklil, vol. 1, p. 304.

Al-Hamdānī registers two routes leading from Medina to Khaibar;
one is straight and direct, whereas the other turns to the
right after Hisn B. 'Uthmān.[1] Being a Yemenite himself, al-
Hamdānī says that the Yemenite dates, al-Mudabbas, are not
surpassed in excellence even by the Burdī (Barnī) dates of
Khaibar.[2] He also says that its fever is notorious.[3]

Al-Muqaddasī represents Khaibar as a main town of Mecca,[4]
a dependency of Medina and one of the only three towns in the
Khaibar region, the other two being al-Marwah and al-Haurā'.
He says about the latter that it is the port of Khaibar.
Describing Khaibar itself, al-Muqaddasī says "Khaibar is a
strong town as large as al-Marwah. It possesses a good
Mosque. Here is the gate which the Prince of the Faithful
lifted by main force."[5] Al-Istakhrī says that Khaibar is a
fortress abounding in palm groves and farms.[6] Ibn Hauqal has
the same to say about it except that he refers to it by a
masculine pronoun in place of the feminine form used by al-
Istakhrī.[7]

Al-Bakrī mentions Khaibar in his Masālik only when dis-
cussing the specialities of different parts of Arabia. On

1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 130.

2. Ibid., p. 200.

3. Ibid., p. 124.

4. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., pp. 53, 69.

5. Ibid., p. 83, see the English translation, p. 133.

6. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 25.

7. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 33.

this occasion, he says that the whetstone (ḥijārat al-masann

حجارة المسن) of which the floors of the baths of Mecca are made,
is plentiful in the Khaibar region near Medina.[1] This state-
ment, later, misled al-Idrīsī who assumed that Mt. Raḍwā was
near Khaibar[2] because Ibn Ḥauqal mentions that whetstone is
found on that mountain. In his Mu'jam, al-Bakrī gives a
very detailed description of Khaibar. First, he quotes
'Arrām when saying that Khaibar is a dependency of Medina.
Then he quotes al-Asadī, in counting Khaibar among the twelve
settlements which form part of the Hijaz.[3] In another place,
he says that Khaibar is one of the Arabian قرى عربية villages
because it lies in the Arab land.[4] He regards it as originally
inhabited by the Juhainah;[5] and assumes the distance between
Khaibar and Medina as eight postal stages, equating it with
three days' journey.[6] He places Numār, which al-Wāqidī and
Yāqūt call Thibār,[7] at a distance of six miles from Khaibar.

Al-Bakrī lists the villages of Khaibar which he calls
fortresses as follows:

1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 66.

2. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 89.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 10.

4. Ibid., p. 15, see infra, pp. 225-257.

5. Ibid., p. 38.

6. Ibid., p. 521.

7. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 916; and al-Wāqidī, op.cit.,
   p. 708.

Al-Dūmah, to the extreme south-west of Khaibar in the direction of Medina;

Al-Mirṭah, the market of Khaibar, which had been made the seat of the Khaibar province by 'Uthmān. It belongs to the descendants of 'Umar;

Wajdah with trees and palm groves which belong to the Prophet;

Sulālim belonging mainly to the Prophet;

Al-Watīh, a compound of Jewish fortresses, farms and properties in the mountain of Al-Ahyal, from whose products the Prophet's wives and some of his relatives received their shares;

Khals, adjacent to al-Watīh, belongs entirely to the Prophet and is also called al-Katībah;

Al-Ṣahbā', of which he clearly says that it is at a distance of one postal stage from Khaibar;

Al-Qamūs, the strongest of them all, which was con-quered by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib. It has a mosque of the Prophet extravagantly built by 'Īsā b. Mūsā (a governor of the Hijaz in the early Abbasid period);

Naṭāh, a valley containing Marhab's fortress and his palace, which was then allotted to al-Zubair and whose main spring is called al-Luhaihah;

Dār B. Qirmah, which was the first fortress conquered. Marhab's brother, al-Yāsir has his palace there;

and, finally, al-Shaqq, a valley containing the spring called Hammah, whose water was miraculously divided at the

Prophet's wish, a division which no effort, however hard, could change.[1] Though Wakī' seems to be the original source, al-Bakrī quotes al-Sakūnī or the whole list.

In another passage, he quotes 'Isā b. Dinār when saying that al-Kharrār is a spring in Khaibar.[2] Ibn Ishāq states that al-Zubair's share in Khaibar is called al-Khū' in Natāh,[3] not Marhab's palace as in the above quoted passage.

In contrast to al-Bakrī, Yāqut says that Khaibar has seven villages, which he also calls fortresses. Those are: Nā'im, al-Shaqq, al-Natāh, al-Sulālim, al-Watīh, al-Katībah and al-Qamūs.[4] The latter is called al-Ghamūd in another place.[5] In other passages of his Mu'jam, Yāqut names additional villages, some of which such as al-Khāss, are mentioned[6] by al-Bakrī who calls it Khals, and Wakhdah,[7] which al-Bakrī calls Wajdah. Other villages such as al-Zihār and al-'Uzum,[8] which, he says, is a dependency of Khaibar abounding in springs and fine groves of palm trees,[9] are not to be found in al-Bakrī's Mu'jam.

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 523, and Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 74-75.
2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 492.
3. Ibn Hishām, op.cit., vol. 2, p. 350.
4. Yāqut, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 504.
5. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 816.
6. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 399.
7. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 909.
8. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 581.
9. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 687.

Yāqūt says that al-'Ird is the name of the Khaibar valley
which is dominated by the 'Anazah.[1] He quotes Abū Zaid when
recording the statement found in the works of al-Istakhrī
and Ibn Hauqal in praising the quality of the Baradī (Barnī)
dates of Khaibar.[2] Yāqūt also quotes al-Sakūnī when assessing
the distance between Khaibar and al-Jabalain at five nights'
journey.[3]

Al-Idrīsī enumerates Khaibar among the dependencies of
Medina.[4] His description of it is full of confusions as he
thinks that it is a small town resembling a fortress, with
farms and groves of palm trees. He says that, in the early
days of Islam, it used to be inhabited by B. Quraizah,[5] and —
according to another MS. and a quotation found in Abū al-Fidā'[6] —[7]
B. al-Nadīr. He adds that Khaibar was the home of al-Samau'al
b. 'Ādiyyā', who was famous for keeping his promises. Al-
Idrīsī locates Medina and Taimā' at an equal distance, i.e.
four days' journey from Khaibar. He states, besides, that
Mt. Radwā is near Khaibar,[8] apparently because this was the
only way to reconcile the contradictory statements of al-

1. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 644.

2. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 683.

3. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 123.

4. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 37.

5. Ibid., fol. 89.

6. MS. No. 2221, fol. 131.

7. Abū al-Fidā', Taqwīm, p. 89.

8. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 89.

Bakrī, and Ibn Hauqal concerning the place of the main supply of whetstone.

Al-Idrīsī may, in his turn, have misled a later geographer, Ibn Sa'īd, who says that Yanbu' is between Khaibar and Medina,[1] because Mt. Radwā, which al-Idrīsī locates near Khaibar, is seen from Yanbu'.

In the history of music, Khaibar is regarded by Ibn al-Kalbī as one of the six principal towns of Arabia where Arabian music developed. Those towns are also the main markets of Arabia.[2] Ibn Habīb also regards Khaibar as one of the annual fairs of Arabia.[3] Al-Mazūqī indicates that the market used to be held at al-Natāh.[4]

Al-Wāqidī relates the importance of Khaibar among the Arabs even before Islam. When the Prophet decided to set out on his campaign against Khaibar, there was a widespread belief that Khaibar would be the real test as it was regarded as the richest part of the Hijaz in food and property.[5] That belief was shared by Muslims and polytheists[6] alike. It had enough permanent supply of water to enable its defenders to resist

1. Ibn Sa'īd, _Bast al-Ard_, fol. 43.

2. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, _'Iqd_, vol. 3, p. 197.

3. Ibn Habīb, _al-Muhabbar_, p. 268.

4. Al-Marzūqī, _Al-Azminah wa al-Amkinah_, vol. 2, p. 165.

5. Al-Wāqidī, _al-Maghāzī_, p. 634.

6. _Ibid._, p. 704.

for a long time.[1] In al-Wāqidī's _Maghāzī_, the Khass of Yāqūt
and Khals of al-Bakrī is called Hiyād.[2] There are a number
of villages there which are not reported by either al-Bakrī
or Yāqūt, such as al-Nizār,[3] al-Sa'b[4] and Ubayy.[5]

Like al-Wāqidī, Ibn Ishāq[6] records the view of the poly-
theists that Khaibar was strong and important. Wakī' describes
Khaibar as a dependency of Medina.[7] Nasr states the same, and
adds that it comprises plenty of farms and many fortresses.
He locates it at several days' journey from Medina, and refers
to its endemic fever.[8] In Nasr's text, al-Bakrī's Wajdah,
a village of Khaibar, has become Wakhdah.[9] Al-Idrīsī
enumerates Khaibar, which is a well-known region in the
Northern Hijaz, among the famous localities of the fifth
part of the third climate.[10]

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1. _Ibid._, p. 637.

2. _Ibid._, p. 641.

3. _Ibid._, p. 648.

4. _Ibid._, p. 658.

5. _Ibid._, p. 667.

6. Ibn Ishāq, _op.cit._, vol. 2, p. 345.

7. Wakī', _Manāzil_, fol. 39.

8. Nasr, _op.cit._, fol. 59.

9. _Ibid._, fol. 150.

10. Al-Idrīsī, _op.cit._, fol. 89.

KHULAIS

Khulais is described by al-Muqaddasī as a small town in the Hijaz,[1] adjoining Amaj, with a canal, a reservoir, palm trees, vegetable gardens and corn-fields,[2] and situated together with Amaj, one day's journey from both 'Usfān to the south and al-Khaim to the north.[3] This is one theory concerning its location. 'Arrām proffers another, mentioning a spring named after a certain 'Amrī called Khulais. He locates it opposite to 'Ukāz in the region of Rukbah.[4] These two conflicting reports cannot be reconciled. Nor is it possible to identify either of them with what Shaikh Mulhis alleges to be a village called Khulais found, at present, in Marr al-Zahrān.[5]

It is clear that each of the three localities is meant to be separate; for 'Arrām's Khulais lies in Rukbah which forms part of the western borders of Najd. Nor can the existence of the Khulais of al-Muqaddasī be denied. That of Shaikh Mulhis, however, does not exist. His statement is the result of inadvertence, as there is no such place in Marr al-Zahrān. He might have been thinking of the Khals spring

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 69.

2. Ibid., p. 79.

3. Ibid., p. 106.

4. 'Arrām, op.cit., p. 441.

5. See al-Azraqrī, Akhbār, vol. 1, p. 79 ff.

there, but this is no excuse for overlooking Khulais itself.
On the other hand, it is unlikely that 'Arrām would have
located Khulais in the Rukbah while ignoring the Khulais of
Tihāmah because it is certain that the latter was known in
his time long before al-Muqaddasī located it. Wakī', of the
third century A.H., followed by al-Asadī, speaks of it,[1] and
so does Ibn al-Athīr when recording events of that century.[2]
Besides, there is no mention of the Rukbah's Khulais in the
works of the geographers apart from al-Bakrī, in his Mu'jam.[3]
Al-Bakrī's MS. of 'Arrām's work was no doubt disordered in
some places as will be seen elsewhere.

Al-Asadī states that Khulais lies just above eight
miles south of Qudaid and two miles north of Amaj. According
to him, there is a pass called the pass of Khulais three
miles from the village of Khulais (the spring of Ibn Bazī')
and lies on the road to the latter. It is separated from
Khulais by a lava field called Zāhirat al-Barakah which grows
trees. A mosque of the Prophet is found at Khulais. Al-Asadī
describes Khulais as a rich spring abounding in groves of
palms with canals and a reservoir. Al-Bakrī, in his Mu'jam,
borrows this statement of al-Asadī, but alters the distance
from Qudaid to Khulais to seven miles. He adds that it used
to be a thriving village rich in water, palms, fruit trees

1. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1019, and Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 51-52.
2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, vol. 7, p. 111.
3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 956, 960.

and canals before it was devastated by Ismā'īl b. Yūsuf.
However, he records an emendation to the effect that it was
reclaimed after the year 180 A.H. (796) which is an obvious
miscalculation, as Ismā'īl's rising in the Hijaz took place
in 251 A.H. (865). Al-Bakrī's account of Khulaiṣ in his
Masālik, is almost identical with that of al-Asadī,[1] except
that he substitutes 'Ain abu Rabī for 'Ain Ibn Bazī', and
uses tharrah ثــرة instead of ghazīrah غزيـــرة
meaning "rich" in both cases. He records the distance from
Qudaid to Khulaiṣ as eight miles instead of "just above eight
miles" which al-Asadī has. As to the Khulaiṣ of Rukbah,
al-Bakrī records the whole of 'Arrām's statement without
mentioning a source or adding information.

Al-Asadī's source seems to be Wakī' who identifies
Khulaiṣ with the spring of Ibn Bazī', and locates it eight
miles south of Qudaid, three miles south of the pass of
Khulaiṣ, two miles south of the Prophet's mosque at that
pass, two miles north of Amaj and fifteen miles north of
'Usfān. As for the lava field there, he calls it Ẓāhirah,
the omission of al-Barakah is clearly due to a scribal mis-
take. The scribe is also to blame for the misreading of the
reference to plants growing on that lava field. Wakī' also
mentions that the rich spring of Khulaiṣ had palm groves,
fruit trees and many cisterns, and that Ismā'īl b. Yūsuf had
caused this spring to dry out.

1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 75.

Abū al-Fidā''s account coincides with that of Wakī' and al-Asadī in locating Khulais north of 'Usfān.[1] So does the account of al-Jazīrī who has a first-hand knowledge of the whole coastal area between Mecca and Medina.[2] Yāqūt states that Khulais is a fortress between Mecca and Medina.[3] Khulais is not to be confused with Khals Ārah which 'Arrām describes as a valley with villages, cultivated land and groves of palm trees. According to him, Khals Ārah is adjacent to Mt. Dharah, his implication being that Khals Ārah lies to the north of Mt. Dharah.[4] Al-Bakrī, however, defines Khals Ārah as a village. His source is no other than 'Arrām's work though through its transmitter, al-Sakūnī.[5] Al-Wāqidī states that Khals is a valley in the Ruwaithah region.[6] Al-Hajarī's location is in line with that of al-Wāqidī, since he situates it near Mt. al-Hashā.[7] Nasr gives substance to the claim that Khalas (Khals) is the valley of Mt. Ba'āl, a Ghifārī territory near 'Usfān.

The Khulais in question is a thriving settlement between Qudaid and 'Usfān.

1. Abū al-Fidā', Taqwīm, p. 32.

2. Al-Jazīrī, Durar, p. 451.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 467.

4. 'Arrām, op.cit., pp. 405-407.

5. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1052.

6. Al-Wāqidī, Maghāzī, p. 80.

7. Al-Hajarī, Mawādir, part 2, fol. 149.

DHŪ KHUSHUB

Dhū-Khushub is a halt on the pilgrim inland
route between Medina and al-Marwah. It is not described
in any geographical source as a dependency of Medina or
even as a village. According to Ibn Khurradadhbeh, it
is situated between al-Suwaidā' to the north and Medina.[1]
He states this when listing the way-stations on the
inland route between Egypt and Medina, and also repeats
it when referring to the Syrian route.[2] Ibn Rosteh
follows him to the letter.[3] Since al-Ya'qūbī does not
mention al-Suwaidā', he locates Dhū Khushub as the first
stop to the south of al-Marwah.[4] Qudāmah follows Ibn
Khurradadhbeh with respect to locating this place, which
he, however, calls Khushub omitting the article Dhū.[5]

Al-Bakrī refers to it as Naqā Dhū Khushub when
listing the halts between Medina and Ailah in al-Masālik.[6]

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 150.
2. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 150.
3. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 183.
4. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.
5. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 191.
6. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 77.

Al-Jaziri, who quotes him, calls it Banā Khushub.[1] In
al-Mu'jam, al-Bakrī does not distinguish between two
places called Dhū Khushub which are both near Medina;
one is situated to the east of Medina near al-Kulāb in
the territory of B. 'Uqail,[2] while the other is the place
in question. However, he relies for his description of
the latter on poems referring to the former which results
in confusion.[3] He even says that Dhū Khushub is adjacent
to al-Kulāb at one day's journey on the Syrian pilgrim
route,[4] though it is clear that al-Kulāb does not lie on
that route. He states that there is a mosque at Dhū
Khushub where the Prophet held prayers when setting out
on the campaign against Tabūk.[5]

Wakī' is the only Arab geographer to mention
a halt between al-Suwaidā' and Dhū Khushub, namely
al-Arāk.[6] Lughdah describes Dhū Khushub as a valley
with many springs, and situates it near Medina. Commenting
on this location, Ḥamad al-Jāsir identifies Dhū Khushub

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1. Al-Jaziri, op. cit., p. 441.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 500.

3. Ibid., p. 633

4. Ibid., p. 500.

5. Ibid., p. 1223.

6. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

with the region of al-Ghābah.[1]

Al-Hamdānī implies that the Dhū Khushub in
question is different from the valley of Dhū Khushub
in Najd,[2] whereas the former is in the territory of the
Juhainah.[3] He speaks of the settlements of the people
of Lot which are to the left of Mt. al-Sharāh and proceeds
to say that Dhū Khushub and al-Ghamr are among them.[4]
As he does not elaborate on this statement and Dhū
Khushub is at quite a distance from there, it seems to
be a question of a scribe's error. It is very likely,
however, that he intended to include Dhū Khushub, not
among the settlements of the people of Lot, but among
the settlements of the Juhainah, which is partly accepted.
Al-Idrīsī counts Dhū Khushub among the halts on the
pilgrim inland route from Ailah to Medina.[5] He locates
it south of al-Suwaidā' and north of Medina. Naṣr
describes Dhū Khushub (he calls it Khushub) as a valley
near Medina comprising some houses, and assesses the
distance between Khushub and Medina at one day's

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1. Lughdah, op. cit., pp. 406, 415.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 171.

3. Ibid., p. 131.

4. Ibid., p. 147.

5. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 89.

journey.[1] According to al-Isfahānī, there was a spring
at Dhū Khushub which once belonged to Marwān and was later
given as an igtā' by al Saffāh to al-Hasan, a descendent
of 'Alī.[2] Al Zamakhsharī describes Dhū Khushub merely
as a mountain.[3] Al-Wāqidī states that the distance
between Buwāt, in the region of Dhū Khushub and Medina
is three postal stages.[4] Al-Mas'ūdī describes this
mountain as Juhainī territory in the region of Dhū
Khushub, but gives the distance as eight postal stages.[5]

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1. Nasr, op. cit., fol. 65.

2. Al-Isfahānī, Maqātil, p. 190.

3. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 68.

4. Al-Wāqidī, op. cit., p. 12.

5. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 235.

AL-KILĀBAH

This is a way-station on the conventional inland route from Ailah to Medina. Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions it on the only route he lists for that part of Arabia. He locates al-Kilābah between Shaghb to the south and an anonymous halt immediately to the north of al-Aghrā'.[1] Ib Rosteh repeats this account literally when listing al-Kilābah on the inland route for the Egyptian pilgrim caravans via Medina;[2] so does Qudāmah who calls it al-Kulabah.[3]

Al-Ya'qūbī does not mention al-Kilābah, nor does he refer to the unnamed stop between it and al-Aghrā'. Instead, he cites Qālis immediately after al-Aghrā'.[4] It is therefore, impossible to ascertain whether he has either of them in mind when he speaks of Qālis.

Al-Muqaddasī, however, mentions both al-Aghrā' and the unnamed stop on one occasion, but omits the unnamed stop on another without a replacement, as al-Ya'qūbī does.

Al-Muqaddasī not only changes al-Aghrā' into

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1. Ibn. Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 149.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 190.

4. Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.

al-A'rā', but also changes al-Kilābah into al-Kilāyah throughout his book.[1]

Al-Idrīsī calls it Ankilāyah and locates it north of Sha'b (Shaghb) and south of an anonymous halt to the immediate north of al-Aghdā' (al-A'rā').[2] Wakī' locates al-Kilābah south of al-Agharr north of which he locates Qālis, and north of Badā south of which he erroneously locates Shaghb.[3]

1. Muqaddasī, op. cit., pp. 110, 112.
2. Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 89.
3. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

KULAYYAH

'Arrām mentions Kulayyah as a village with wells
on the route between Medina and Mecca, adding that the name
Kulayyah, given to the third and last valley between
Hirshā in the north and al-Juḥfah in the south, derives
from these wells. He states that the valley of Kulayyah
begins in the east at Mts. Shamanṣīr and Dharah. In the
upper reaches of the Kulayyah valley there are three small
isolated mountains called Shanā'ik. The valley belongs
to the Khuzā'ah.[1] Al-Bakrī, without giving a source,
records the same statement but substitutes Sanābik for
Shanā'ik,[2] a distortion which cannot be attributed to
a scribe's error as al-Bakrī vocalizes it out very clearly
in another passage.[3] According to Naṣr, who does not
refer to a source, these mountains are called al-Shanā'ik.[4]

As to the location of Kulayyah, it is clear
that 'Arrām speaks about the valley, not the village, of
Kulayyah when he places it between Hirshā and al-Juḥfah.
There is a place called Khabt, not valley of, Kulayyah

1. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 412.
2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1352.
3. Ibid., p. 578.
4. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 89.

to the north east of Rābigh[1] which cannot be the locality
meant by 'Arrām, as the village and the valley of Kulayyah
are no doubt south of al-Juḥfah. In his Mu'jam, al-Bakrī
follows 'Arrām, in one passage,[2] with respect to the
situation of the Kulayyah valley north of Rābigh. In
another passage, al-Bakrī describes Kulayyah as equidistant
at twelve miles from al-Juḥfah to the north and Qudaid
to the south.[3] Al-Bakrī, however, implies, in a third
passage, that Kulayyah is in Najd and quotes, in support
of this statement, Kuthayyir who refers to Kulayyah
together with al-Nibā'.[4] On the strength of the fact that
al-Qattāl (who mentioned Kulayyah) was a native of Najd,[5]
he gives his statement preference over the more authentic
information contained in the poems of two Hijazis, Kuthayyir
and al-'Arjī, whose location of al-Nibā' near Kulayyah is
clear and whose poems he quotes without utilizing them to
suggest, at least, that the Hijazi Kulayyah is more famous
as it lies on the pilgrim route.

Al-Bakrī states that the distance between

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1. Al-Quṭbī, Al-Barq al-Yamānī, p. 212.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1134.

3. Ibid., p. 956.

4. Ibid., p. 1292.

5. Ibid., p. 469.

Kulayyah and al-Mushallal, which lies to its south, is nine miles only.[1] According to al-Asadī Kulayyah is the name of a salt-watered well in al-Qā', twelve miles from al-Juhfah, which is two cubits in diameter. He also mentions some shops in that area.[2] All al-Zamakhsharī has to say about Kulayyah is that it is a watering place.[3] Al-Hamdānī quotes al-'Ajlānī, a Hijazī poet, to the effect that Kulayyāt (Kulayyah) is to the north of Qudaid and the south of al-Sitārah, which is situated south of al-Juhfah.[4] Unlike 'Arrām, al-Bakrī states, in another entry in his Mu'jam, that Kulayyah belongs, not to the Khuzā'ah, but to the Damrah.[5] It is, however, not a great mistake, as it is a question of two related tribes between whom there is no clear dividing line. Al-Isfahānī mentions Kulayyah as a village between Medina and Mecca where the poets Nasīb and Kuthayyir used to reside.[6]

Unlike al-Bakrī, Yāqūt does not locate al-Nibā' as far as Najd but misplaces it, nevertheless, when he

1. Ibid., p. 956.

2. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1295.

3. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 141.

4. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 218.

5. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 956.

6. Al-Aghānī, vol. 1, p. 130.

says that it lies between Yanbu' and Medina, quoting,
in support of his location, a poem by Ibn Harmah which
mentions al-Mushallal, a very famous place near Qudaid.[1]
Nasr thinks that Kulayyah is a valley in the Hijaz between
Mecca and Medina and adds that it is also a locality in
Najd on the pilgrim route from Basra to Mecca.[2]

Due to a scribal mistake, not only the name of
Kulayyah is found misread as al-Mukallabah in Wakī''s
Manāzil, but also its description and the distance from
there to al-Mushallal are omitted.[3]

Kulayyah, a rural community, is still known in
that area south al-Juḥfah.

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 737.
2. Nasr, op. cit., fol. 130.
3. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 51.

AL-MA'DAN (OF B. SULAIM)

The Ma'dan (mine) of B. Sulaim is one of the most famous gold mines in Arabia in general and in the Hijaz in particular. It is certain that it had been exploited by the ancient Arabs until some centuries after Islam; it afterwards remained derelict for a long time. It was by no means exhausted, and was reactivated during the second world war to alleviate the dire need for gold. Thus it must be assumed that this mine was neglected either for security reasons or through sheer ignorance on the part of the local people who succeeded the Sulaimīs, its previous owners. The Sulaim migrated from Arabia in numbers in consequence of the expansion of Islam.

When mapping the Iraqi pilgrim route, Ibn Khurradadhbeh locates the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim twenty-four miles west of al-Rabadhah from which it is separated by the "evening meal" halt Sharaurā, at twelve miles' distance, and twenty six miles east of al-Salīlah from which it is separated by al-Kunābain, an "evening meal" halt at thirteen miles distance. Though he mentions the cisterns of the Ma'dan, Ibn Khurraddadhbeh is by no means appreciative of its water which is, according to him, the last thing to be looked for there. He quotes a poem advising

the traveller not to linger in the place as even wild animals and birds are complaining there.[1] Al-Ya'qubi places the Ma'dan west of al-'Umaq and east of Ufai'iyah without recording the mileage.[2] Ibn Rosteh follows al-Ya'qubi with respect to the location, but adds that it is situated nineteen miles from al-'Umaq and thirty-two miles from Ufai'iyah. As regards the Ma'dan itself, Ibn Rosteh describes it as a densely populated halt with wells and cisterns. He proceeds to say that it comprises ancient villages whose inhabitants are B. Sulaim.[3] Qudamah locates the Ma'dan nineteen miles west of al-Rabadhah and twenty-six miles east of al-'Umaq, and adds that it has wells and cisterns.[4]

Waki' places the Ma'dan between al-'Umaq and al-Ufai'iyah. The distances from the Ma'dan are twenty-two miles to al-'Umaq; 102 to Medina; twenty-six and a half miles to al-Ufai'iyah; ten miles to al-Safhah; fourteen miles to the 46th postal stage; and two and a half miles to al-Rayyan, the old palace of al-Rashid. Describing the Ma'dan, Waki' says that it has a palace

1. Ibn Khirradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 131.
2. Al-Ya'qubi, Buldan, p. 312.
3. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 179.
4. Qudamah, op. cit., p. 186.

and a mosque, a round cistern erected by Zubaidah, and
many wells, old and new. Wakī' quotes 'Ali B. Muhammad
to the effect that gold used to be dug there, and even
the soil of the Ma'dan was mixed with gold, but that its
exploitation was abandoned due to the enormous cost
involved. However, Ibn Abū Sa'd claims that as soon as
the gold was produced, it was confiscated, so that its
owners were deprived of it by the sheer force of B.
Huraish, B. Ja'dah and B. Qasr.[1]

Al-Mas'ūdī identifies the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim
with the Ma'dan of Buhrān in al-Fur[2] which cannot be
acceptable as they are separated by a considerable
distance. Probably he is misled by al-Wāqidī's location
of Buhrān in the region of the B. Sulaim Ma'dan.[3] Al-
Mas'dui places the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim at eight postal
stages from Medina. His source seems to be Ibn Sa'd.[4]
Al-Asadī assesses it at a hundred miles which is more
acceptable.[5] Al-Hamdānī calls the region "Harrah (lava
fields) of B. Sulaim" and places it at twenty-two miles

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1. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 14-16.

2. Al Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 244.

3. Al-Wāqidī, op. cit., p. 17.

4. Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., pt. 2, vol. 2, p. 21.

5. Al Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1124.

west of al-'Umaq and twenty-six miles east of al-Ufai'iyah,
giving its latitude as $23^{\circ}.30'$.[1] Al-Muqaddasī follows
Ibn Khurradadhbeh literally in so far as the location of
the Ma'dan and the mileage between it and both al-Rabadhah
and al-Salīlah are concerned.[2] The versions of the
seven geographers who record the way-stations between
al-Naqirah and Mecca on the route leading through the
Ma'dan of B. Sulaim, with Medina on the right hand side,
by no means coincide in their details. It may be useful
to compare their data on the location of the places in
the original order, but omitting al-Kunābain and Sharaurā
which, being mere "evening meal" halts with no effect on
the actual location, are mentioned by Ibn Khurradadhbeh
alone. Al-Hamdānī's account records the route from
Mecca eastward, but rearranged to blend in with the
others:

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1. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 185.
2. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 108.

TABLE VI: Al-Naqirah-Mecca pilgrim route with
            the mileage

Ibn Khurradadhbeh	Wakī'	al-Ya'qūbī
al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah
33	27	
Mughīthat al-Māwān	Mughīthat al-Māwān	Mughīthat al-Māwān
24	20	
al-Rabadhah	al-Rabadhah	al-Radadhah
24	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Al-Ma'dan	al-Salīlah	al-'Umaq
25	18	
al-Salīlah	al-'Umaq	al-Ma'dan
21	22	
al-'Umaq	al-Ma'dan	Ufai'iyah
32	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Ufai'iyah	Ufai'iyah	al-Mislah
34	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	
al-Mislah	al-Mislah	al-Ghamrah
18	17	
al-Ghamrah	al-Ghamrah	Dhāt 'Irq
26	20	
Dhāt 'Irq	Dhāt 'Irq	Bustān Ibn 'Āmir
22	21	Mecca
Bustān B. 'Āmir	al-Bustān (a lacuna. On the Basra-Mecca route:	
24	Dhāt 'Irq	
Mecca	24	
	al-Bustān	
	28	
	Mecca	

Ibn Rosteh	Qudāmah	al-Hamdānī	al-Muqaddasī
al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah
34	27	20	33
Mughīthat al-Mawān	Mughīthat al-Mawān	al-Māwān	al-Mughithah
23	24	26	24
al-Rabadhah	al-Rabadhah	al-Rabadhah	al-Rabadhah
26	19	23	24
al-Salīlah	al-Ma'dan	al-Salīlah	al-Ma'dan
21	26	13	26
al-'Umaq	al-'Umaq	al-'Umaq	al-Salīlah
19	32	22	21
al-Ma'dan	Ufai'iyah	al-Harrah	al-'Umaq
32	34	26	32
Ufai'iyah	al-Mislah	al-Ufai'iyah	al-Ufai'iyah
28	18	28	24
al-Mislah	al-Ghamrah	al-Mislah	al-Mislah
18	26	17	18
al-Ghamrah	Dhāt 'Irq	al-Ghamrah	al-Ghamrah
26		20	
Dhāt 'Irq	Bustān Ibn 'Amīr	Dhāt 'Irq	
22		24	
Bustān B. 'Amīr	Mecca	al-Bustān	
24		29	
Mecca		Mecca	

As the table shows, the Ma'dan is unanimously
located west of al-Rabadhah though it is not uniformly
considered the immediate halt in the western direction.
Three geographers situate it immediately west of al-
Rabadhah. They are Ibn Khurradadhbeh, al-Muqaddasī and
Qudāmah. Wakī', al-Hamdānī and Ibn Rosteh insert al-
Salīlah immediately west of al-Rabadhah followed by
al-'Umaq then the Ma'dan. Al-Ya'qūbī and Qudāmah omit
al-Salīlah altogether, but differ with regard to al-'Umaq
which al-Ya'qūbī locates between al-Rabadhah and the
Ma'dan, and Qudāmah, as has been mentioned, immediately
west of the Ma'dan. Ibn Khurradadhbeh and al-Muqaddasī
both locate al-Salīlah immediately west of the Ma'dan
followed by al-'Umaq. However, only those who locate
both al-Salīlah and al-'Umaq east of the Ma'dan are
correct.

As to al-Hamdānī, he states, in one passage,
that the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim is a Najdi locality,[1] but
includes it, in another, in the territories of Baliyy,
thus implying that it is part of the Hijaz.[2] 'Arrām[3]
regards that region as Hijazi which is true. So does

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1. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 154.

2. Ibid., p. 170.

3. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 430.

al-Bakrī.[1] Al-Hamdānī, however, quotes a poem recording
the Najdi localities in which the two Ma'dans, that of
B. Sulaim and that of Buḥrān, figure.[2] Terminologically,
he records another name for the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim,
Farān, which he ascribes to Farān b. Baliyy, the ancestor
of a branch of Baliyy.[3] Al-Bakrī goes a step further
stating that Farrān (Farān) b. Baliyy comes from a Sulaimī
branch but claims to belong to Baliyy.[4] It should however,
be noted that there is another form of the name in
existence, namely Qarān, a valley in that area. Yāqūt
seems to prefer the form Farān, though he does not identify
it with the Ma'dan.[5] He also mentions Qurān but locates
it at Marr al-Ẓahrān near Mecca.[6] Neither form is used
by 'Arrām who mentions the valley of Qaurān in that area.[7]
As to Qarān, it is the correct name of a valley there,
but it cannot be equated with the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim
because Qarān is nearer to Buḥrān than to the Ma'dan in

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 12.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 217.

3. Ibid., p. 170.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 28.

5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 866.

6. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 51.

7. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 432.

question. Naṣr mentions Farān as/a Sulaimī locality called

the Ma'dan of Farān, but also records the opinion that

it is identical with the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim. As to

Qurrān, he locates it near al-Yamāmah[1] which suggests

that he neither regards it as identical with Farān nor

as applicable to the Ma'dan. Al-Hamdānī, who lists the

places called Qurrān, situating them all far away from

the Ma'dan region, seems to exclude, by implication,

the use of the name Qurrān for any Sulaimī locality.[2]

'Arrām mentions a mountain called Dhul-Mauqiḥah

which he calls "the mountain of the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim".[3]

Al-Bakrī changes it to Dhul-Marqi'ah and calls it the

Ma'dan of B. Sulaim.[4] Al-Hajarī describes the Ma'dan

of Sulaim as a famous white mountain to the right hand

(eastern) side of the Iraqi pilgrims returning from Mecca.

It lies between al-Asyaq and al-Rayyān, on one morning's

journey from al-Suwāriqiyyah.[5] All al-Iṣṭakhrī[6] and

1. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 122.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 264.

3. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 430.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 432.

5. Al-Hajarī, Nawādir, part 1, fols. 97, 172; part 2, fols. 14, 242.

6. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, op. cit., p. 28.

Ibn Hauqal[1] have to say about the Ma'dan is to mention
it in connection with a shorter route from Iraq to Mecca.
Ibn Ḥabīb calls the locality in question "the Gold Mine".[2]
Naṣr is quoted by al-Samhūdī when locating al-Rabadhah
between al-Salīlah and al-'Aqīq and explaining the latter
by the 'Aqīq at Dhāt 'Irq.[3] Al-'Aqīq should read al-'Umaq
as Naṣr has it[4] and as correctly quoted by Yāqūt.[5]

1. Ibn Hauqal, op. cit., p. 40.

2. Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Muhabbar, 227.

3. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1091.

4. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 72.

5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 749.

MADYAN

The attention that Madyan has always attracted
from the Arab geographers is due to the fact that it is
mentioned in the Qur'ān in connection with the story of
the prophet Shu'aib. Besides, it is mentioned in the
Prophet's campaigns on the occasion when a party of
Muslim troops was sent there and took some prisoners
from Magnā. This incident is often cited in juristic
works not only because of its importance but also because
the Prophet directed his troops not to separate the
captive families when bartering them.[1] Moreover, Madyan
is an important halt on the routes that lead to the holy
places of Islam in Arabia. Most of the geographers who
refer to Madyan concern themselves with all or most of
these facts.

Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions it as a dependency
of Medina,[2] and a stop after Ḥaql and before al-Aghrā'
on the route to Mecca.[3] Ibn Rosteh follows him with
regard to its relationship with Medina,[4] but has Sharaf

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1. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, al-Sīrah, vol. 2, p. 159.

2. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 129.

3. Ibid., p. 149.

4. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 177.

al-Naml instead of Ḥaql when defining the location of
Madyan.[1]

Al-Ya'qūbī mentions Madyan as a halt on the
route from Palestine to Mecca,[2] and an alternative route
for the Syrian caravans if they wish to mix with the
Egyptians and the Maghribīs whose caravans come through
Madyan.[3] He adds that there are two routes leading from
there: a coastal one to Mecca; its first stop is at
Ainūnah,[4] and an inland one leading to Medina; its first
stop is at Aghrā'.[5] He names neither Ḥaql nor Sharaf
al-Naml as a halting place before Madyan, but has Sharaf
al-Ba'l instead.[6] He says that Madyan is a flourishing
ancient town with numerous wells and permanently flowing
springs whose water has a good taste. There are farms,
gardens and groves of palm trees in Madyan. Its inhabi-
tants are of heterogeneous origins.[7] Like Ibn Khurradadhbeh,

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1. Ibid., p. 183.
2. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 330.
3. Ibid., p. 341.
4. Ibid., p. 341.
5. Ibid., p. 341.
6. Ibid., p. 341.
7. Ibid., p. 341.

Qudāmah states that Madyan is a dependency of Medina;[1]
he also accepts al-Ya'qūbī's spelling of Sharaf al-Ba'l.[2]
He differs from all his predecessors in omitting the name
of Madyan from his list of way-stations on the coastal
route. Al-Hamdānī does not give any information about
Madyan except that it lies on the border of the Judhāmī
territories.[3]

Al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and al-Muqaddasī take
us a step further because they stress the importance of
Madyan as a geographical factor. Al-Iṣṭakhrī says that
the northern borders of the Hijaz end near Madyan. He
considers the territories north of Madyan as a part of
the Syrian desert.[4] Ibn Hauqal says exactly the same.[5]
About Madyan itself, al-Iṣṭakhrī says that it is situated
on the Red Sea opposite Tabūk which is smaller and is at
six days' distance from it. There is the well from which
Moses watered the flocks of Shu'aib. He claims to have
seen that well which was covered and upon which a house
had been built. Its inhabitants took their water from

L. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 248.

2. Ibid., p. 190.

3. Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 129.

4. Iṣṭakhrī, op. cit., p. 21.

5. Ibn Hauqal, op. cit., p. 21.

a spring. He says that Madyan derives its name from the
tribe of Shu'aib which bore it.[1] Ibn Ḥauqal's statement
is identical with al-Iṣṭakhrī's except that he does not
claim that he has seen the well.[2] Al-Iṣṭakrī regards
Madyan as a stopping place on the route of the Egyptians
and Palestinians to Mecca and Medina. He states that
there are two routes from Madyan to Mecca; a coastal route
and an inland one which leads through Shaghb, Badā and
Medina.[3] Ibn Ḥauqal, not unexpectedly, says the same.[4]

According to al-Muqaddasī, Madyan "in reality
is within the borders of the Ḥijāz; for the Arab peninsula
includes all that is bordered by the sea and Madyan lies
in this tract. Here may be seen the stone which Moses
removed when he gave water to the flocks of Shu'aib.
Water here is abundant. In this town the weights and
measures and customs are those of Syria".[5] He believes
that the province of Ailah includes Madyan and that it
is Syrian rather than Hijazi or Egyptian in appearance,
because the weights, measures and customs of its people

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1. Iṣṭakhrī, op. cit., p. 24.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal, op. cit., p. 33.

3. Iṣṭakhrī, op. cit., p. 28.

4. Ibn Ḥauqal, op. cit., p. 40.

5. Muqaddasī, op. cit., pp. 179, 180, the English trans-
   lation pp. 293-294.

are those of Syria.[1] Nevertheless, he states that the
centre of the third climate is "near Madyan, the city
of Shu'aib on the side of Syria".[2] Al-Muqaddasī cites
Madyan on the conventional route to Medina, but states
immediately afterwards that the route in use in his time
did not lead through Madyan.[3] He locates Madyan before
A'rā' (Aghrā') and after Sharaf Al-Ba'l in another
passage.[4] The author of Hudūd al-'Ālam describes Madyan
as a flourishing town on the sea coast. He also mentions
the well from which Moses drew water for Shu'aib's sheep.[5]

Al-Bakrī, in his Masālik, provides no geogra-
phical information about Madyan, but enlarges on the
story of Shu'aib and the ancient kings of that area.
He also says that Madyan is the name of the tribe dwelling
in al-Aikah and that Shu'aib is of that tribe.[6] He
speaks of the lofty mountains between Ḍubā and Madyan
where there is a cave to which Shu'aib used to bring
his sheep. There are other caves which have served as

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1. Ibid., p. 179.
2. Ibid., p. 60.
3. Ibid., p. 110.
4. Ibid., pp. 110, 112.
5. Hudūd 'Ālam, p. 148.
6. Al-Bakrī: Masālik, fol. 15.

dwellings, and graves which contain decaying bones as large as those of camels. Those dwelling places extend to about 20 cubits. They emit a disgusting smell which nobody can bear without protection. He also says that the Jews of Madyan possess a document from the Prophet written on a goat skin blackened in the course of centuries, though the writing is clear and said to be in the hand writing of either 'Alī or Mu'āwiyah.[1] He lists it among the way-stations, and locates it between 'Ainūnah and Ashrāf al-Ba'l.[2]

In his Mu'jam, al-Bakrī adds that Madyan is a well-known balad in Syria, opposite to Gaza and is the dwelling place of the Judhām. He relies on Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Aḥwal in describing Madyan as a dependency of Medina.[3] He also attributes to Ibn 'Abbās two conflicting reports in trying to locate al-Aikah. According to one report, it comprises the territories between Madyan and Shaghb and Badā; the other places it between Madyan and the coast and states that the tree prevalent there is the daum palm.[4]

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1. Ibid., fol. 77.

2. Ibid., fol. 77.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1201.

4. Ibid., p. 216.

Al-Quḍā'i is quoted as saying that Madyan is a dependency of Egypt.[1] It is clear that Madyan had been regarded as a dependency of Egypt well before al-Quḍā'i, as it is related that a qāḍī of Egypt sought refuge in Faid in 196 A.H. (812) taking his property from Madyan.[2] Had Madyan not been within the confines of Egypt, he would have felt safe there. This question will be discussed in another place.[3]

Al-Idrīsī locates Madyan in the fifth part of the third Climate.[4] He follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh in describing Madyan as a dependency of Medina[5] and borrows Ibn Hauqal's words in referring to Madyan and its well and even in comparing it with Tabūk and in saying that it is on the sea coast. He adds a new item of information, relating that its inhabitants live in precarious conditions, drawing their livelihood from a stagnant trade. He places it on both the inland and the coastal routes from Ailah to the Holy Cities.[6]

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1. Yāqut, _Mu'jam_, vol. 4, p. 451.

2. Al-Kindī, _op. cit._, p. 412.

3. Sūra, p. 25.

4. Al-Idrīsī, _op. cit._, fol. 89.

5. _Ibid._, fol. 36.

6. _Ibid._, fol. 89.

Yāqūt attributes to Abū Zaid a description of
Madyan which coincides with that of al-Iṣṭakrī and Ibn
Ḥauqal. Yāqūt also quotes al-Ḥāzimī to the effect that
Madyan lies between Wādī al-Qurā and Syria. Madyan was
occasionally the residence of an Umayyad prince, 'Abd
al-Wāḥid b. Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik who received his
guests there; among them was Ibn Harmah, the poet, who
has recorded this fact.[1] On the whole, it was not unusual
in the Umayyad era to find influential people living in
or near Madyan.

When mapping the Egyptian inland pilgrim route,
Wakī' situates Madyan south of Sharaf al-Ba'l and north
of Qālis.[2] The author of Ākām al-Murjān describes Madyan
as a city, and places it between the borders of Egypt
and those of Syria. According to him, its latitude is
29°, and its longitude is 61°. For the information on
religious matters, he seems to rely on al-Bakrī.[3] Al-
Maqdisī refers to the flourishing trade of Madyan,
previously a tribal metropolis. His reference to the way
in which its merchants' deal with counterfeit coins is

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1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 202, vol. 4, p. 451.

2. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

3. Ākām al-Murjān, p. 34.

somehow obscure.[1] The old town of Madyan is near the
site of al-Bid'.

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1. Al-Maqdisī, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 76.

MALAL

Ibn Khurradadhbeh describes Malal as the first way-station on the Mecca-bound route from Medina, at a distance of twelve miles from the latter. The first stop, nineteen miles after it, is al-Sayālah. Ibn Khurradadhbeh states that Malal possesses wells.[1] Al-Ya'qūbī says that its inhabitants are the Ja'āfir. He counts two stops, Dhul-Ḥulaifah and al-Ḥufairah between Medina and Malal, and names al-Sayālah as the immediate halt after Malal.[2] Qudāmah follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh with respect to the distance between Malal and al-Sayālah and on the existence of wells there, but agrees with Ibn Rosteh in regarding al-Shajarah as the stop immediately after Medina. As to the distance between Malal and al-Shajarah, he also assesses it at twelve miles. The information about Malal's numerous wells of fresh water recurs in al-Idrīsī who assumes the distance between al-Sayālah and Malal to be seventeen miles and that between Malal and al-Shajarah twelve miles. He states that the latter is the point at which the pilgrims emerging from Medina have to start performing their

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 130.

2. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 313.

pilgrimage rites.[1]

Al-Bakrī implies that the distance between Malal and al-Sayālah is seven miles[2] and that between Malal and Medina twenty-two miles.[3] He also mentions a place called al-Ḥufair (the Egyptian edition prefers the form al-Ḥufain,[4] in one place, and al-Jafīr in another,[5] but the correct form is al-Ḥufair or al-Ḥufairah which is followed by the European edition). Al Bakrī himself varies the spelling of other names. A well with ten cisterns at three miles from Malal and which he correctly attributes, in one entry, to Abū Hishām,[6] is called in another entry the spring of Banū Hāshim,[7] A mountain situated on this region is called Ṣafar in one passage,[8] and Ḍafir in another.[9] Yāqūt in his Mu'jam calls it both

1. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 187.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1258, see Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 46.

3. Ibid., p. 465.

4. Ibid., p. 954.

5. Ibid., p. 465.

6. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1258,

7. Ibid., p. 113.

8. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1258,

9. Ibid., p. 878.

Ṣaghar[1] and Ṣafar.[2] It is the latter which is to be regarded as the correct form. Al-Bakrī is doubtful whether to use Yain or Bain for a place which he describes as a village of Medina, and the residence of a notable Quraishī. Relying on a MS. of al-Bakrī's Mu'jam, Prof. al-Saqqā has وهو الذى يقال له غريس (= this Quraishī) but the European edition seems less erroneous in reading وهي التي يقال لها غريس (= the village).[3] It is clear from the author's own immediately following comment that what he has in mind is a place, as he says: they may be two places. غريس here is no doubt a corruption of مر بين i.e. "the valley of Yain". Both al-Bakrī[4] and Yāqūt[5] quote Abū Ziyād when speaking of Turbān near Malal, but Yāqūt uses "Barthān"[6] in another entry. Yāqūt subjects Yain to the same treatment. In a passage which should read مريين "the valley of Yain", Yāqūt says مر بين وملل "Marr which is between Malal and ...."[7] In

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 396.

2. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 400.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 297.

4. Ibid., p. 308.

5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 833.

6. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 547.

7. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 329, see Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 57b.

another entry it is called Marayain.[1] Another passage

shows the correct spelling: Yain or Marr Yain.[2]

Speaking of a hill near Malal, al-Bakrī calls

it 'Adhbah عذبة , in one entry,[3] and 'Udnah in another.[4]

'Abbūd which al-Bakrī correctly locates between al-

Furaish and Malal is called by Yāqūt 'Abbūd[5] and 'Attūd.[6]

Ghamīs al-Ḥamām which occurs in its correct spelling in

al-Bakrī's Mu'jam[7] has become in Yāqūt: 'Amīs al Ḥamām,[8]

Ghamīs al-Ḥamā'im, Ṣukhairāt al-Ḥamām,[9] and Thumāmah.[10]

However, he by no means excludes the proper spelling.[11]

Naṣr, who is usually very meticulous, is

responsible for one of Yāqūt's mistakes about Yain.[12]

1. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 372.
2. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 1046.
3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 926.
4. Ibid., p. 1358.
5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 306.
6. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 612.
7. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 957.
8. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 731.
9. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 875.
10. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 329.
11. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 816.
12 Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 57b.

As for Turbān,[1] al-Hufair,[2] Ghamīs al-Hāmām[3] and Yain,
in its entry,[4] Naṣr is correct. He describes Yain as a
dependency of Medina at a distance of one postal stage
from it.

As to Malal itself, Ibn al-Sikkīt states that
it is a halt between Medina and Mecca, at a distance of
twenty-eight miles from Medina. Ibn al-Kalbī tries to
trace the derivation of the name Malal to the account in
which the Tubba' gave the place that name because he was
tired and bored[5] مل mall. Al-Bakrī, on the other hand,
attributes to Kuthayyir the statement that people in
general were tired when they reached that place, hence
the name "Malal".[6] Describing Malal, al-Bakrī states
that it lies on the left hand side of the travellers
from Medina to Mecca on a diversion which is shorter than
the conventional route. He relates that it has several
public wells, which he attributes to the caliphs 'Uthmān,
Marwān, al-Mahdī, al-Makhlū' (= al-Amīn) and al-Wāthiq.

1. Ibid., fol. 37.
2. Ibid., fol. 57a.
3. Ibid., fol. 57b.
4. Ibid., fol. 30.
5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 637.
6. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1258, see Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 46.

Only one well is named after a tree ; which is al-Sidrah.[1]

Al-Zamakhshari relates that Ibn Udhainah, the poet, used to live in Turban, which he locates on the pilgrim route between Malal and al-Sayalah.[2] 'Iyad situates Malal at a distance of eighteen miles from Medina, but quotes Ibn Waddah's assessment of that distance at twenty-two miles.[3] Al-Samhudi attributes to Kuthayyir another etymological explanation of the name Malal deriving it from the boredom ملال felt by its inhabitants.[4] The same derivation is attributed to Kuthayyir by Waki' who also describes Malal as a place with numerous wells and cisterns. The distances from Malal are six miles to al-Hufair, seven miles to al-Sayalah and sixteen miles to Medina. It is obvious that al-Asadi, on whom al-Bakri relies, has borrowed Maki''s description of Malal.[5]

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1. Al-Bakri, _Mu'jam_, p. 1258.
2. Al-Zamakhshari, _Jibal_, p. 26.
3. 'Iyad, _Mashariq_, vol. 1, p. 344.
4. Al-Samhudi, _Wafa'_, p. 1312.
5. Waki', _Manazil_, fol. 46.

AL-MARR

Only three Arab geographers of the early period mention al-Marr as a stop between al-Marwah and Medina.

Ibn Khurradadhbeh locates it between al-Marwah, to the north and al-Suwaidā' to the south.[1] So does Ibn Rosteh[2] and Wakī'.[3]

Al-Bakrī makes no mention of it in his Masālik. In al-Mu'jam, he speaks of it only when locating Balākith which, as he says, lies between al-Marr and al-Shabakah near Birmah above Khaibar on the Egyptian inland route to Medina. He also says that al-Shabakah is among the dependencies of Medina.[4] He does not quote a source, but a statement implying this piece of information is attributed in Yāqūt's Mu'jam, to Ibn Habīb.[5] Yāqūt also states that al-Hazimī calls it al-Murr and locates it in the centre of 'Idam valley. According to some reports, Yāqūt says, it is the centre of that valley.[6]

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 150.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 183.

3. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 271.

5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 711.

6. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 495.

Al-Idrīsī enumerates al-Marr among the way-stations on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. He also locates it to the south of Dhul-Marwah and to the north of al-Suwaidā'. He calls it Marr.[1]

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 89.

MARR AL-ZAHRĀN

In his version of the conventional route from
Medina to Mecca, Ibn Khurradadhbeh locates Marr al-Zahrān,
which he calls Baṭn Marr, and describes as having a spring
and a cistern, at thirty-three miles from 'Usfān and
sixteen miles from Mecca.[1] Al-Ya'qubī's information is
identical with Ibn Khurradadhbeh's except for the distances
which are omitted, and the addition that it is inhabited
by B. Kinānah. According to him, Marr al-Zahrān is a
dependency of Mecca and some of its springs and properties
are in the hands of Meccans. Al-Ya'qubī calls it Marr
al-Zahrān in the two passages, and Baṭn Marr in another.[2]
Ibn Rosteh's location coincides with Ibn Kurradadhbeh's,
but the distance from 'Usfān to Marr al-Zahrān, which
he calls Baṭn Marr, is calculated as thirty-four miles,
and that between Marr al-Zahrān and Mecca as fifteen
miles, i.e. three miles from Marr al-Zahrān to the burial
place of Maimūnah – the Prophet's wife who was buried at
Sarif –, six more miles to the Mosque of 'Āishah and then
a further six miles to Mecca. As to the village itself,
Ibn Rosteh describes it as very large and prosperous,

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 131.
2. Al-Ya'qubī, Buldān, pp. 313, 316, 341.

densely inhabited, abounding in farms and palm groves
and with a cistern which draws its water supply from a
neighbouring mountain.[1] Qudāmah concurs with Ibn
Khurradadhbeh with respect to location, and with Ibn
Rosteh on the distance from Maimūnah's burial place to
Mecca, but assesses the distance from Marr al-Ẓahrān -
he calls it Baṭn Marr - to Maimūnah's burial place at
four miles, and to 'Usfān at sixteen miles. According
to Qudāmah, Marr al-Ẓahrān is a village of considerable
size, densely populated with farms, palm trees and a
cistern of running water.[2]

Al-Mas'ūdī records the story of the Khuzā'ah
who, on leaving the Yemen, stayed at Marr when their
cousins went farther north.[3] Al-Muqaddasī describes Marr
as a point near Mecca where customs were collected from
caravans.[4] According to him Marr is nearly equidistant
from Mecca, Jiddah and 'Usfān as it is separated from
each by one day's journey.[5] It is to be noted that all
the above-mentioned geographers call it Baṭn Marr except,

1. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 178.

2. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 187.

3. Al-Mas'dui, Tanbīh, p. 249.

4. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 105.

5. Ibid., p. 105.

for one occasion, on which al-Ya'qūbī calls it Marr
al-Ẓahrān. 'Arrām, venturing on an explanation, differ-
entiates between Marr the village itself and al-Ẓahrān
the valley.[1] So does Naṣr who probably relies on him.[2]
According to 'Arrām, there are some "named" villages
between 'Usfān and Marr one of which is called Masīhah
and another called Mudrakah (Madrakah), both large and
rich in water and palm groves. As to Marr itself, he
describes it as a valley possessing many springs and
groves of palm and sycamore trees جميز . 'Arrām points
out that it is inhabited by the tribes of Aslam, Hudhail
and Ghāḍirah. Naṣr's information about these tribes
coincides with that of 'Arrām. Al-Hamdānī states that
the surroundings of Mecca, among which is Marr al-Ẓahrān,
are inhabited by Khusā'ah and Quraish.[3] In one passage
he locates Marr in the lower region of Mecca;[4] in another,
he places it at thirteen miles from Mecca and twenty-three
from 'Usfān, adding that its latitude is, $21°.9'$.[5] Al-
Idrīsī's location and his assessment of the distances are

1. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 415.

2. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 102.

3. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 120.

4. Ibid., p. 179.

5. Ibid., p. 185.

identical with that of Ibn Khurradadhbeh. Al-Idrīsī
also calls it Baṭn Marr. As to Baṭn Marr itself, al-
Idrīsī says that it is the first way-station after Mecca
in the direction of Medina. He mentions a spring surrounded
by palm groves and some properties. He also mentions
some minor palm groves to which some Arabs repair.[1] In
another MS., the description runs as follows: "It is a
way-station with a spring in a sandy valley surrounded
by a few palms to which some Arabs repair".[2]

 Wakī' fails to describe Baṭn Marr and limits
himself here to its distances. They are twenty-three
miles to 'Usfān, four to the well of al-Biḥār, thirteen
to Mecca, seven to Sarif, ten to al-Tan'īm, twelve to the
mosque of 'Ā'ishah and fourteen to Fakhkh which lies
at two miles from the great mosque of Mecca. Wakī'
seems to assume that Mecca stretches three miles from
the mosque in the direction of Medina, since he assesses
the overall distance from Baṭn Marr to Mecca as thirteen
miles which is three miles less than the sum of his
details.[3] Mecca is unlikely to have stretched so far
in the 9th century.

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 34.

2. MS2221, fol. 63.

3. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 53.

Al-Bakrī calculates the distance between 'Usfān and Marr as twenty-three miles, and that from Marr to Mecca as thirteen miles.[1] In another passage, his calculation of the last-mentioned distance is sixteen miles.[2] He says that Rābigh is a place in Marr where[3] he also situates Majannah, at a distance of a few miles from Mecca.[4] Rābigh, however, is too far from Majannah to be located in the same valley. Rābigh is situated near al-Marād, not Marr.[5] Al-Bakrī describes Batn Marr as the valley upon which the waters of the two Nakhlah abut.[6] He also borrows 'Arrām's statement about Marr al-Zahrān, but attribute it to al-Sakūnī, a transmitter of 'Arrām.[7] Al-Bakrī quotes Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib to the effect that Marr al-Zahrān was once the dwelling place of the 'Akk. He claims that Kuthayyir ascribes the name Marr to the bitter taste murr مرّ of its

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 957.
2. Ibid., p. 1212.
3. Ibid., p. 628.
4. Ibid., p. 1187.
5. Ibid., p. 1006.
6. Ibid., p. 1304.
7. Ibid., p. 787.

water;[1] and Abū Ghassān to two letters inscribed in the
rock on a small hill there which resemble the letters
in the word marr.[2] The first theory which is also recorded
by Wakī', is untrue and the last is archaic.

Yāqūt[3] attributes to Abū Zaid the statement
found in al-Iṣṭakhrī's Masālik[4] to the effect that the
valley of Sitārah lies between 'Usfān and Marr. The
printed work of Ibn Ḥauqal does not contain this statement,
but a MS. of his work does.[5] Ibn 'Abbās is quoted as
saying that Marr is situated in the vicinity of Mecca.[6]
Al-Aṣma'ī mentions that the fair of Majannah used to
take place during the ten days before pilgrimage day and
maintains that Majannah lies in Marr, on one occasion,[7]
and describes it as a mountain in the exclusive territor-
ies of B. Di'l in Tihāmah. Al-Wāqidī[8] and al-Asadī[9]

1. Ibid., p. 1257, see Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 53.
2. Ibid., p. 1212.
3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 27.
4. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, op. cit., p. 24.
5. MS. III Ahmet 3012, p. 26.
6. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 943.
7. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 421.
8. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 494.
9. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1020.

locate Marr at five miles' distance and at seventeen
respectively from Mecca. Al-Asadī adds that, in Marr,
there is a mosque at the place where the Prophet once
prayed; and a cistern, thirty cubits in length, mostly
filled with rain water but sometimes by a spring called
al-'Aqīq. Al-Asadī points out that this cistern is
flanked by two wells. 'Iyāḍ believes that both Marr and
Marr al-Ẓahrān are acceptable names for this locality,
and places al-Ẓahrān itself at twelve miles' distance
from Mecca. However, he records Ibn Waḍḍāḥ's assessment
of this distance as twenty-one miles and the claim by
others that it is sixteen miles only.[1] It is possible
that only the last-mentioned assessment refers to the
distance from Marr to Mecca, while the former refers to
that from Marr to 'Usfān. 'Iyāḍ also quotes Ibn Waḍḍāḥ
when saying that this locality is called Maraẓahrān by
some.

Al-Sam'ānī states that there is a village
called al-Ẓihran الزهران near Mecca which is not identical
with either Marr al-Ẓahrān or Baṭn Marr,[2] a statement
rejected by Yāqūt.[3] Al-Sam'ānī's Ẓihrān could be identified

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1. 'Iyāḍ, Mashāriq, vol. 1, p. 286.

2. Al-Sam'ānī, Ansāb, p. 377.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 582.

with al-Zāhir الزاهر , which al-Zamakhsharī describes
as the watering place nearest to Mecca on the route to
Yanbu' (and Medina).[1] It is now known to be one of the
fashionable quarters of the city. Al-Zamakhsharī also
states that Baṭn Marr is the point at which the waters
of the two valleys of Nakhlah converge.[2] He borrows
al-Aṣma'ī's description of Majannah.[3] Of Marr al-Ẓahrān,
al-Zamakhsharī says that it lies in Tihāmah near 'Arafāt
('Arafah).[4]

Marr al-Ẓahrān is now called Wādī Fāṭimah.

1. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 169.

2. Ibid., p. 13.

3. Ibid., p. 33.

4. Al-Zamakhsharī, al-Fā'iq, vol. 3, p. 113.

DHUL-MARWAH

This is an important locality in the Northern Hijaz not only because of its paramountcy among the way-stations of the ancient trade route through Arabia to Syria, but also because it kept its importance in the early period of Islam and was used as a main halt on the pilgrim routes from Egypt and Syria. It is mentioned in the campaigns of the Prophet as dominated by a friendly tribe, Juhainah, who gave shelter to the Muslim scouts,[1] and who were given in recompense a large area as an iqtā' from the Prophet.[2] It is recorded, however, that the Prophet prayed to Allah that He should restrain the Juhainīs from vexing the pilgrims and vice versa.[3]

The Arab geographers of the early period gave attention to Dhul-Marwah. Ibn Khurradadhbeh describes it as a dependency of Medina,[4] and locates it between al-Ruhaibah (al-Ruhbah) to the north and al-Marr to the south when listing the stops of both the Egyptian and

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1. Maqrīzī, Imtā' al-Asmā', p. 62.
2. Hamīdullah, op. cit., p. 140.
3. Al-'Abbāsī, 'Umdah, p. 359.
4. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 129.

the Syrian caravans.[1] Al-Ya'qūbī locates it on the inland route between Madyan and Medina, south of al-Suqyā and north of Dhū Khushub.[2] Ibn Rosteh says that it is a dependency of Medina,[3] and places it between al-Ruḥbah and al-Marr on both the Syrian and the Egyptian routes to Medina.[4] Qudāmah also says that it is one of the dependencies of Medina.[5] He locates it between al-Ruḥaibah (al-Ruḥbah) and al-Suwaidā' when listing the way-stations on the inland route between Egypt and Mecca.[6] Al-Mas'ūdī says that the route from al-Marwah runs between al-'Īṣ and the sea at a distance of one night's journey from al-'Īṣ.[7] He seems to have in mind the ancient trade route between Mecca and Syria. In another passage he indicates that the distance between al-Marwah and Medina is three postal stages[8] which is unthinkable though

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1. Ibid., p. 150.
2. Al-Yā'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.
3. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 177.
4. Ibid., p. 183.
5. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 248.
6. Ibid., p. 190.
7. Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 253.
8. Ibid., p. 266.

al-Maqrīzī concurs.[1] It may also be a scribe's error,
as al-Bakrī assesses the distance at eight postal stages.[2]

Al Hamdānī says of al-Marwah that it is in the
land of Juhainah.[3] He also says that two routes lead
from Medina to Wādī al-Qurā, one of which passes al-
Marwah. He assumes the distance between it and Medina
as two days' journey with al-Suwaidā' as the only halt.
He states that the palm groves of al-Marwah are in Uwāl.
The inhabitants of al-Marwah are the B. Ja'far, Mawālī
and a variety of people.[4] He also says that Balākith
lies between al-Marwah and Shabakat al-Daum, a dependency
of Medina.[5] Throughout his book he calls the place al-
Marwah except in one passage where he uses the form
Dhul-Marwah.[6] Al-Iṣtakhrī mentions al-Marwah in connection
with al-'Ushairah[7] and an Egyptian inland route to Medina.[8]
Ibn Hauqal does not refer to it except when following

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1. Maqrīzī, *Imatā' al Asmā'*, p. 356.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1218.

3. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 171.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

7. Iṣtakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

al-Iṣṭakhrī about the inland route.[1] Neither author
does more than register its name giving al-Marwah only,
and omitting Dhul.

Al- Muqaddasī says that Khaibar, al-Marwah and
al-Ḥaurā' are the only towns in the Khaibar region.[2] He
describes al-Marwah as a principal town of Mecca,[3] and a
dependency of Medina.[4] He uses the term al-Marwah without
Dhū throughout his book, and locates al-Marwah to the
south of al-Suqyā at a distance of one day's journey,
and to the north of al-Ma'dan in one direction and al-
Suwaidā' in another as equidistant from both at two days'
journey.[5] In describing al-Marwah, al-Muqaddasī says
that it is

> "a strongly fortified town abounding in palm
> trees and excellent dates. A wide canal
> supplies it with drinking water. It is
> surrounded by a ditch and guarded by iron gates.
> It abounds in bdellium   (= chamoerops humilis)
> مقل and an excellent variety of dates known
> as Burdī (Barnī). The town is hot in summer.
> It is dominated by B. Ja'far".[6]

He mentions the Burdī (Barnī) dates and the bdellium of
al-Marwah again when speaking of the specialities of the

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1. Ibn Ḥauqal, op. cit., p. 40.

2. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 83.

3. Ibid., p. 69.

4. Ibid., p. 53.

5. Ibid., p. 107.

6. Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 83, the English translation
   p. 133.

different parts of Arabia.[1] He says that between al-
Marwah and Yanbu' there are gold mines[2] and "between
al-Marwah and al-Ḥaurā', there was once a fire which
blazed like burning coal."[3] He is, however, by no means
pleased with everything in the town which he describes
as "the native country of libertines".[4]

Al-Bakrī, in his _Masālik_, mentions al-Marwah
as a place on the route between Medina and Ailah. He
locates it north of al-Suwaidā' and south of Suqyā Yazīd.[5]
In his _Mu'jam_, however, he locates it between Wādī al-
Qurā and Dhū Khushub.[6] He says that it belongs to Medina
and that it consists of several large villages.[7] As to
its inhabitants, al-Bakrī says that the tribes of Juhainah,
Ashja' and Muzainah lived there together.[8] In another
passage, he describes it as Juhainī territory.[9] He

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1. _Ibid._, p. 98.

2. _Ibid._, p. 101.

3. _Ibid._, p. 103.

4. _Ibid._, p. 33, the English translation, p. 48.

5. Al-Bakrī, _Masālik_, fol. 77.

6. Al-Bakrī, _Mu'jam_, p. 1038.

7. _Ibid._, p. 1218.

8. _Ibid._, p. 38.

9. _Ibid._, p. 1218.

quotes al-Ḥarbī when counting al-Marwah among the Mashārif ,
i.e. the Arabian settlements adjoining the fertile lands.[1]
In the Masālik he calls it al-Marwah but Dhul-Marwah in
al-Mu'jam. Wakī' relies on Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ when listing
al-Marwah among the dependencies of Medina. According
to him, it belongs to the Juhainah.[2] Wakī' locates al-
Marwah south of 'Anāb and north of al-Marr.[3] According
to Lughdah, Dhul-Marwah, which he locates between Dhū
Khushub and Wādī al-Qurā in one passage, and between
Birmah and 'Ain Ma'n in another, is a village of huge
proportions on the route from Syria and Egypt to Medina
and Mecca. Its inhabitants are of heterogeneous origin.[4]

All al-Idrīsī has to say about al-Marwah is
that it is a dependency of Medina to which he refers as
Dhul Marwah,[5] and he mentions it on the inland route,
locating it between al-Ruḥaibah and al-Marr,[6] calling
it here Abū al-Marwah.

Al-Marwah enjoyed its importance until the

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1. Ibid., p. 793.

2. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 40.

3. Ibid., fol. 114.

4. Lughdah, op. cit., pp. 396, 414.

5. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 36.

6. Ibid., p. 89.

Egyptian pilgrim route was finally diverted to the coast
mainly because of the dangers besetting the pilgrims
from the tribes of that region. Al-Marwah is now unknown,
but Shaikh Hamad al-Jāsir thinks that it is identical
with the ruins called Umm Zarb.[1] All the information
derived from the early authors supports his conclusion.

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1. Hamad al-Jāsir, _Bilād Yanbu'_, p. 216.

MUNKHŪS

Al-Ya'qūbī is the first Arab geographer to record this name. He states that Munkhūs lies on the coastal route from Ailah to Mecca, and locates it south of al-Wajh and north of al-Haurā'. Besides, he is the only geographer to hint at the conditions of life in this place, as he mentions the divers there who search the sea for pearls.[1] Qudāmah concurs with al-Ya'qūbī with respect to the location though he changes al-Haurā' to al-Jarrah.[2] Al-Muqaddasī mentions it twice as situated on what was then the only used route. In his version, al-Haurā' and al-Wajh are changed to al-Jarrah and al-Rahbah respectively.[3] Wakī' locates it south of al-Wajh and north of al-Haurā'.[4]

Al-Bakrī does not mention Munkhūs in his Masālik. Even in al-Mu'jam he refers to it only to locate al-Tajbār which is situated between "lower" al-Haurā' and Munkhūs on the trade route from Mecca to Syria.[5] Al-Bakrī's Tajbār is correctly called al-Nukhbār in al-Wāqidī's Maghāzī.[6]

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.

2. Qudāmah, op.cit., p. 191.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., pp. 110, 112.

4. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

5. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 657, 1168.

6. Al-Wāqidī, Maghāzī, p. 101.

Munkhūs is not known in the region nowadays. However,
it is tempting to identify it with Mons Hippos of Ptolemy
not only because the sound of the name Munkhūs, which is not
Arabic, is reminiscent of Mons Hippos, but also because
there is a bay called after Habbān south of al-Wajh.
Sprenger, Musil, Burton and Hogarth locate Mons Hippos north
of Dubā, but Forster identifies it with Mt. Hassānī on one
occasion, and with Mt. Hanak south of Habbān, on another. It
is the latter location that seems to be correct.[1]

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1. See Sprenger, op.cit., pp. 23, 24; Musil, The Northern
   Hegaz, p. 312; Burton, The Land of Midian, vol. 2, p. 56;
   Hogarth, op.cit., p. 182; and Forster, op.cit., vol. 1,
   p. 346 and vol. 2, p. 126.

AL-NABK

Ibn Khurradadhbeh does not mention the coastal route between Ailah and Medina, so that al-Nabk does not occur in his work. Al-Ya'qūbī refers to it, assuming that it lies between al-Ṣilā in the north, and al-Quṣaibah in the south.[1] His account cannot be accepted because al-Quṣaibah is actually situated to the north of al-Nabk.

Qudāmah places al-Nabk south of al-Ṣilā, and north of Dubā.[2] Al-Muqaddasī states that there are two places in that region called al-Nabk, one being the place in question and the other between Taimā' and Amman.[3] His account makes it very clear that al-Nabk is different from al-Ṣilā as he assesses the distance between the two localities at one day's journey.[4] He also locates al-Nabk which, according to him, is one of the towns of Qurḥ, between al-Ṣilā and Dubā, which he calls Dabbah.[5] Wakī' also locates it between al-Ṣilā and Dubā.[6]

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.
2. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 191.
3. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., pp. 53, 253.
4. Ibid., p. 110.
5. Ibid., p. 112.
6. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

Umayyah b. al-Ṣalt is quoted as saying that
al-Nabk lies between Ḍubā, which he calls Ṭanah, and the
land of Madyan, and forms part of the eastern region of
Egypt.[1]   Al-Bakrī makes no mention of al-Nabk in his
Mu'jām, but places it in al-Masālik on the route between
Ailah and Medina.   He differs from other Arab geographers
not only in listing it among the way-stations of the
inland route, but also in identifying it with the
stopping place called al-Ṣilā.[2]

Later, as stated by al-Jazīrī,[3] the name al-Nabk
was changed to al-Muwailiḥ which appears on the maps of
the Northern Hijaz.   Unfortunately, Musil had not seen
al-Jazīrī's book.   Otherwise, his location of al-Nabk
would have been less erroneous.

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1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 548.

2. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 77.

3. Al-Jazīrī, op. cit., p. 450, see Musil, the Northern
   Hegāz, p. 71.

NAKHLAH (THE BUSTĀN OF IBN 'ĀMIR)

Al-Ya'qūbī lists Nakhlah among the dependencies of
Mecca.[1] Defining Nakhlah, al-Mas'ūdī says that it is identical
with the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir on the Iraqi pilgrim route,[2] and
al-Wāqidī believes that Nakhlah is the valley of Ibn 'Āmir's
Bustān.[3] Al-Hamdānī states that Nakhlah used to be inhabited
by the Hudhail who were subsequently driven out by B. Sa'd
with the help of 'Ujj b. Shākh, the governor of Mecca in the
early 10th century A.D.[4] He records a poem by a Hijazi poet,
al-'Ajlānī, which lists Nakhlah, together with al-Zaimah,
among the Hijazi localities.[5] Al-Hamdānī also enumerates
Nakhlah among the places where heathen idols were worshipped.[6]
He attributes to Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib the information that
Nakhlah is adjacent to al-Sarāh, the mountain range, in the
place where Mts. Khais and Yasūm mountains rise.[7] He is
followed by al-Bakrī with respect to this quotation.[8]

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 316.

2. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 236.

3. Al-Wāqidī, op.cit., p. 13.

4. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 173.

5. Ibid., p. 218.

6. Ibid., p. 127.

7. Ibid., p. 48.

8. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 8.

Nakhlah is the name of two adjacent localities near
Mecca, one called Nakhlah al-Yamaniyyah (the southern), and
the other Nahklah al-Shamiyyah (the Northern). Abu Ziyad al-
Kilabi states that Nakhlah is a Hijazi valley at two nights'
distance from Mecca, and equates the Nakhlah where pilgrims
from the Yemen, Najd, Oman, Bahrain, Hajar and Yabrin meet,
with al-Yamaniyyah. They meet at al-Waba'ah (Buhaita') which
is the topmost peak of this valley. The other Nakhlah is cal-
led al-Shamiyyah and is identical, in his opinion, with Dhat
'Irq on the pilgrim route from Basra and Kufa. The upper
reaches of its valley belong to B. Sa'd b. Bakr to whom the
Prophet was entrusted in his childhood. It abounds in groves
of palm trees. Its lower reaches are called the Bustan of
Ibn 'Amir.[1] Al-Sukkari describes the two Nakhlahs as flanking
Ibn 'Amir's Bustan.[2] According to Yaqut, al-Sakuni describes
Nahklah as a halt, equidistant from Wajrah and Ibn 'Amir's
Bustan at one day's journey from either, which cannot be
accepted.[3] When, in another passage, Yaqut records this
quotation, he makes no mention of Nakhlah which indicates
that it is identical with the Bustan.[4] Al-Bakri states that
the expression "Batn Nakhlah" refers to the Nakhlah in question

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1. Yaqut, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 768.

2. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 770.

3. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 906.

4. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 550.

and quotes Ibn Wallād who differentiates between the two
Nakhlahs, al-Shāmiyyah, upon which the waters of al-Ghumair
abut; and al-Yamāniyyah, into which the waters of Qarn al-
Manāzil flow. When the waters of the two Nakhlahs mix at al-
Masadd, they form the valley of Batn Marr.[1] Al-Bakrī speaks
of a battle between the Hudhail and B. Laith which took place
at Nakhlah.[2] Al-Hamdānī lists Batn Nakhlah among the watering
places on the pilgrim route.[3] Al-Zamakhsharī describes the two
Nakhlahs as two Hudhailī valleys on the route to Mecca at two
nights' distance from it.[4] He seems to rely on the above-
mentioned statement of Abū Ziyād when he mentions Qarn al-
Manāzil and al-'Umair (al-Ghumair).[5] In another passage, he
states that the two Nakhlahs - which are valleys - converge
at Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān. In a third passage, al-Zamakhsharī
says that the point they meet at is Batn Marr.[6] Al-Mas'ūdī
says that the idol al-'Uzzā was erected at Nakhlah al-
Yamāniyyah,[7] but al-Tibrīzī speaks in this connection of a
Nakhlah near Medina.[8] Al-Hamdānī calls this idol al-Lāt.[9]

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1304.

2. Ibid., p. 1186.

3. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 143.

4. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 148.

5. Ibid., p. 108.

6. Ibid., p. 13.

7. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 266.

8. Al-Tibrīzī, Hamāsah, p. 612.

9. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 143.

The correct account is that of al-Mas'ūdī. Wakī' locates
Nakhlah before Dhāt 'Irq on the pilgrim route from Basra,[1]
which is incorrect, and contradicts another reference he makes
when enumerating the halts on this route.[2] In another passage,
he equates it with the Bustān.[3] This Bustān is ascribed by
Wakī' to B. 'Āmir,[4] but one of his poets ascribes it to
'Umar[5] (Ibn Ma'mar). The description of the Bustān is missing
from the account of Wakī',[6] but the distance from there to
Mecca is mentioned on another occasion.[7]

In the period under consideration, Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān was
even more famous than its valley, Nakhlah, mainly because it
was the halting place of the Iraqi pilgrims, but also due to
its connection with Ibn 'Āmir, who was born in the Prophet's
time and rose to meteoric fame under 'Uthmān who appointed him
governor of Basra and the East. He spent his immense wealth on
irrigation and founded several settlements around his springs.
Among his most famous settlements were al-Nibāj, in al-Qasīm;
the Bustān of Nakhlah; the Bustān near 'Arafah; and the
Bustān of al-Juhfah. It appears from his choice of places that
his concern was mainly with providing fresh water for the

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1. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 102.

2. Ibid., fol. 98.

3. Ibid., fol. 113.

4. Ibid., fol. 54.

5. Ibid., fol. 110.

6. Ibid., fol. 58.

7. Ibid., fol. 98.

pilgrims, but it cannot be excluded that he had the secondary idea of putting the land to agricultural use as there were descendants of his at Basra and at al-Nibāj some hundred years later,[1] and part at least of his property at al-Juhfah was sold by his sons to Caliph al-Walīd I.[2] He was so popular among the people of the Hijaz and even among the caliphs that one of them, Mu'āwiyah, a caliph known for his impassivity, asked Ibn 'Āmir, in the latter's old age, to marry the caliph's beautiful and influential young daughter.[3] A poet related to her expresses his despair as his wait for Ibn 'Āmir's death after which the young princess would be free to marry him seemed to be long.[4] Apparently Ibn 'Āmir was sure of his own longevity and thus the princess did not have to wait for his death; he sent her back to her father on the ground that she was too rich to need his money and he was too old to give her enjoyable company.[5] This story is more accurate than another story given by al-Bakrī about Ibn 'Āmir being lured to divorce a wife of his after Mu'āwiyah hinted that he might marry the caliph's daughter.

Al-Asma'ī and Ibn al-A'rābī are quoted by al-Balādhurī when saying that al-Bustān belonged, not to Ibn 'Āmir, but to

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1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 736.
2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 492.
3. Al-Zubairī, Nasab, p. 149.
4. Al-Bakrī, Simt, p. 513.
5. Al-Bakrī, Fasl, p. 233.

Ibn Ma'mar and that only the ignorant allowed themselves to ascribe it to Ibn 'Āmir.[1] Thus the argument about the identity of the owner of the Bustān at Nakhlah was sparked off. So effective was this criticism that even Ibn Qutaibah listed among his cardinal rules that the authors should not attribute it to Ibn 'Āmir, but to Ibn Ma'mar. Contrary to his wont, al-Baṭalyūsī, the commentator of Ibn Qutaibah's Adab al-Kuttāb, does not argue on this point. Indeed he goes so far as to mention that there are two places called Bustān, one in Nakhlah and the other near al-Juhfah. Of the two, only the latter can be attributed to Ibn 'Āmir, while the former must be ascribed to Ibn Ma'mar. He does not deny, however, that Ibn 'Āmir won legitimate fame by his successful irrigation projects.[2] Al-Bakrī,[3] Naṣr[4] and Yāqūt[5] all stress this claim, though ironically none of them dare call it Bustān Ibn Ma'mar except on the authority of al-Asma'ī and Ibn al-A'rābī. Even so, they attribute it to Ibn Ma'mar only once or twice. Instead, they seem to defy these two scholars on almost every occasion. Yāqūt seems suspicious of the accuracy of Ibn al-A'rābī's and al-Asma'ī's statement, since he refers the reader under Ibn

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1. Al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ, p. 59.
2. Al-Baṭalyūsī, Iqtidāb, p. 226.
3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1186.
4. Naṣr, op.cit., fol. 24.
5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 527.

'Āmir's Bustān to the entry on Ibn Ma'mar's Bustān.[1] In
the latter's entry he states that it is wrong to call it
"Ibn 'Āmir's", a mistake he himself already has committed
if his judgement were true. Al-Zamakhsharī ascribes it, in
one passage, to Ibn 'Āmir[2] and to Ibn Ma'mar in another,
without accounting for the contradiction. Indeed, he uses
both names in a single passage.[3] Apart from the hesitation of
these authors, little attention has been paid to al-Asma'ī or
Ibn al-A'rābī in this regard. All Arab geographers attribute
it to Ibn 'Āmir or Banū 'Āmir. Besides, al-Zubairī states
very clearly that al-Juhfah "belonged" to Ibn 'Āmir who also
"owned" Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of Nakhlah at one day's journey
from Mecca.[4] Most acceptable and likely are the accounts of
the geographers, some of whom are officials, and that of
al-Zubairī'who is well informed about people and places in
the Hijaz.

As to the Bustān itself, Ibn Khurradadhbeh locates it at
a distance of twenty-two miles from Dhāt 'Iraq with the Ghamr
of Dhū Kindah half way between both. He assesses the distance
between the Bustān and Mecca at twenty-four miles, adding that
water is abundant at the Bustān.[5] Al-Ya'qūbī gives the same
location, but places Dhāt 'Irq between Chamrah and the Bustān.[6]

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam vol. 4, p. 527.
2. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 13.
3. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 89.
4. Al-Zubairī, Nasab, p. 148.
5. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., pp. 132, 147.
6. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 312.

Ibn Rosteh follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh with respect to the location and mileage, but adds that the Bustān is densely populated and that it gets its water through a canal.[1] All three attribute it to Banū 'Āmir. Qudāmah attributes it to Ibn 'Āmir, and implies that it is the meeting point of Yemenite pilgrims coming from al-Futuq; and Iraqi and Najdī pilgrims coming from Dhāt 'Irq.[2] Al-Muqaddasī situates it half-way between Mecca and Dhāt 'Irq at one day's journey from either.[3] Al-Hamdānī states that the distance between the Bustān and Mecca is twenty-nine miles, and between the Bustān and Dhāt 'Irq twenty-four miles. He gives its degree of latitude as $21°15'$. According to him, its name is al-Bustān.[4] He mentions another bustān = fruit gardens, which he attributes to Ibn 'Ubaid Allāh al-Hāshimī and situates it at al-Zaimah. In the reign of al-Muqtadir in the early 10th century this bustān was a very thriving estate, producing a revenue of 5000 "mithqāl dinārs." It had a fortified palace garrisoned by B. Sa'd. Its palms numbered thousands and its rich spring gushed from the valley of Nakhlah, flowed across the farm and formed a large pool. It was planted with banana and henna trees, and several sorts of vegetables.[5] Al-Hamdānī mentions a milestone which had been erected at Sabūhah near al-Zaimah. He gives the latitude of al-Zaimah as $21°.6'$,[6] which indicates

1. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 179.
2. Qudāmah, op.cit., pp. 190, 192.
3. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 106.
4. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 185.
5. Ibid., p. 265.   6. Ibid., p. 187.

that he does not identify al-Zaimah and the bustān of al-
Hāshimī with the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir . Another indication
of this is his use of al-Zaimah for the Yemenite pilgrims
and the Bustān for Iraqi pilgrims.

Both al-Istakhrī[1] and Ibn Hauqal[2] speak of the hā'it =
bustān of Ibn 'Āmir which they situate at 'Arafah. Ibn Hauqal
says: "The Hā'it of Banū 'Āmir has palm trees and there are
palms also west of 'Arafah". Al-Istakhrī says: "The Hā'it
of Banū 'Āmir are palms at 'Arafah". What they have in mind
is clearly the Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān near 'Arafah. Abū al-Fidā'
describes this Hā'it as one of the borders of 'Arafah and
locates it near the great local mosque.[3] He also ascribes it
to Ibn 'Āmir. His source seems to be al-Shāfi'ī.[4] This Hā'it
had fallen into oblivion by the time of Ibn Zuhairah of the
16th century,[5] but the matter-of-fact style of al-Azraqī
(9th century) admits no doubt of its existence as he locates
it near al-Dahādih where Ibn 'Āmir carved a public road through
a hill.[6] According to an account recorded by al-Fāsī, it was
more than two Hā'its.[4] In later years this Hā'it was also known
as the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir. Ibn al-Athīr describes how the
pilgrims fled to Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān when fighting broke out

1. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 22.

2. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 29.

3. Abū al-Fidā', Taqwīm, p. 78.

4. Al-Fāsī, Shifā', vol. 1, p. 301.

5. Ibn Zuhairah, al-Jāmi', p. 346.

6. Al-Azraqī, Akhbār, vol. 2, p. 236.

between the troops and the governor of Mecca at Minā in 295 A.H.
(908 A.D.).[1] It is difficult to imagine pilgrims having to
seek refuge in so remote a place as Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of
Nakhlah. A more probable alternative is that of 'Arafah where
they could have waited until the fight had died down and then
gone back to complete their pilgrimage rites.

'Arrām's statement about Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān needs de-
tailed consideration. It runs as follows:

" ثم تخرج منه في (بحرس) ثم تؤم مكة منحدرا من ثنية يقال لها (الجفجف) وينجد في حد

مكة واد يقال له (والأترية) بنصب الى بستان (ابن عامر) واسفل تربة لبني هلال وحواليه

من الجبال (الشراة) و (يسم)و (قرقد) و (معدن البرام) وجبلان يقال لهما (شوانان)

واحدهما شوان ...

والطريق من بستان ابن عامر الى مكة على (قفل) وقفل الثنية التي تطلعك على قرن

المنازل حيال الطائف ٠ ومن جبال مكة (ابو قبيس)) ومنها (الصفا) و (الجبل الاحمر) وجبل

اسود مرتفع يقال له (المهيلا٠) يقطع منه الحجارة للبناء والارحا٠ و (المروة) جبل الى الحمرة

ماهو و (ثبير) جبل شامخ يقابله حرا٠ ٠٠ وليس في شبي٠ منها ما٠ ٠ ثم جبال عرفات تتصل بها

جبال الطائف وفيها مياه كثيرة اوشال وكظائم فقر منها (المشاش) وهو الذى يخرج بعرفات ويتصل

الى مكة " ومن قعيقعان الى مكة " اثنا عشر ميلا على طريق الحوف الى اليمن و(قعيفعان) قرية

بها مياه وزروع ونخيل وفواكه وهي اليمانية ٠

1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, vol. 8, p. 9.

Then (after what appears to be Marr al-Ẓahrān) you descend
to B.h.r.n. (or Kh.r.i.n.), then you proceed to descend to
Mecca from a hill called al-Jafjaf. And in Najd on the
border of Mecca there lies a valley (this is the reading
suggested by Shaikh Ḥ. al-Jāsir. According to Yāqūt, however,
'Arrām says: 'And you descend to the borders of Mecca through
a valley') called the valley of Turabah whose waters abut
upon the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir. The lower region of Turabah
belongs to B. Hilāl. Around it stand Mts. al-Sarāh, Yasūm
and Qirqid, and also the Birām mine and the two mountains of
Shuwān. ...The route from Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān passes through
Qafal, a hill from which you ascend to the Qarn of al-Manāzil
near Taif. (al-Bakrī records it as: ثم جبال الطائـــف
and then the mountains of Taif.) And among the mountains of
Mecca there are Abū Qubais, al-Safā, the Red Mountain, al-
Hailā', al-Marwah and Thabīr which faces Mt. Ḥirā'. None
has water. Then the mountains of 'Arafāt ('Arafah) join that
of Taif which have plenty of water running through canals,
one of which is al-Mushāsh which gushes from 'Arafāt and flows
into Mecca. And from Qu'aiqi'ān to Mecca (an addition borrowed
by the editor from Yāqūt) the distance is twelve miles on
the Hauf (Jauf in Yāqūt) route from the Yemen. Qu'aiqi'ān
is a village with water, palms, corn-fields and fruit. It
is al-Yamāniyyah."[1]

The unusual step of recording the whole statement in
Arabic has been taken because its main feature seems to be

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1. 'Arrām, Jibāl, pp. 415-19.

confusion. It is exceedingly difficult to pinpoint all the
errors, some at least of which go back to a pre-eleventh
century MS. With the passage of time, the MSS have become
laden with what their copyists and readers think to be correc-
tions. There is good reason to assume that some mis-statements
are due to a misplacement of some folios. How else could it
have happened that 'Arrām, speaking of Marr al-Zahrān in
Tihāmah, suddenly shifts to Turabah in the Hijaz, or even in
Najd according to some authors, and also suddenly goes back
to Tihāmah? Al-Bakrī quotes a passage from 'Arrām's work
in which Qarn al-Manāzil is followed by the mountains of Taif
which are followed by the mountains of 'Arafah;[1]   an indication
that the description of the mountains of Mecca has been mis-
placed in the available MS. of 'Arrām's text. Al-Bakrī
himself seems to be sceptical about the beginning of the
statement. Therefore he simply says: "Then after Marr al-
Zahrān you descend in the direction of Mecca where you en-
counter a hill called the valley of Turabah whose water flows
into Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān. The lower region of Turabah belongs to
B. Hilāl." This correction is no less archaic than the mistake
it tries to rectify. Moreover, the correction made by 'Arrām's
editor on the authority of Shaikh H. al-Jāsir cannot be accep-
ted, because the waters of the Turabah valley flow eastward and
not westward. Besides, there is the huge mountain range of
al-Sarāh which divides Turabah from Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān. Nor

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jan, p. 787.

can Yāqūt's version be accepted. Moreover, the traveller
from Marr al-Zahrān does not descend into Mecca. Indeed he
ascends almost constantly as Marr al-Zahrān is in the lower
region of Mecca.

'Arrām, being a native of the area, could hardly have
been responsible for the error contained in the statement by
locating Qu'aiqi'ān at a distance of twelve miles from Mecca
in the very middle of which it actually stands. Nor can the
description of Qua'iqi'ān as a village with water, palms,
cornfields and "Yemenite fruit", be taken at its face value.
The editor attributes to Yāqūt the claim that "Yamāniyyah" is
a description of the fruit, but in fact it simply refers to
Nakhlah al-Yamāniyyah the description of which has no doubt
been lost. Al-Bakrī locates Hunain at a distance of twelve
miles from Mecca in his _Masālik_,[1] but at twelve to fifteen
miles from Mecca in al-Mu'jam where he adds that it has water.
He refers to it as the valley of Taif,[2] which he inadvertently
confuses with Wajj, the famous valley of Taif. Could
Qu'aiqi'ān be a misplacement of Hunain?

Similarly, the valley whose water flows into Ibn 'Āmir's
Bustān is not Turabah, but is actually called Sabūhah which
was known to many authors of that time, including al-Hamdānī,
al-Zamakhsharī,[3] Nasr[4] and Yāqūt.[5] Even al-Bakrī mentions it,

1. Al-Bakrī, _Masālik_, fol. 74.
2. Al-Bakrī, _Mu'jam_, pp. 471, 1370.
3. Al-Zamakhsharī, _Jibāl_, p. 83.
4. Nasr, _op.cit._, fol. 146.
5. Yāqūt, _Mu'jam_, vol. 3, p. 35.

though he substitutes al-Yaman for al-Yamāniyyah.[1]   The
mountains which 'Arrām has allegedly grouped around Turabah
are in fact not to be found there.   They are found around
Nakhlah as stated by al-Hamdānī, al-Bakrī and Yāqūt.   The
passage about Turabah may well have been shifted from its
original place among the Hijazi localities because another
place name has been corrupted to Turabah.

Yāqūt attributes to 'Arrām information not found in the
latter's text about Turabah's being at two days' distance
from Mecca.[2]   This cannot be accepted because 'Arrām is un-
likely to have recorded so short a distance.   The suggestion
that 'Arrām's Turahab is a Turabah of Tihāmāh different from
its famous Hijazi namesake is equally unacceptable, because
'Arrām mentions its inhabitants, B. Hilāl, who cannot have
lived except in the Hijaz.   The inhabitants of the area around
the Bustān long before 'Arrām's time, the early 9th century,
down to the present day, have always belonged to the Hudhail
tribe, except for a short time after 'Arrām when the B. Sa'd
and B. Laith dominated it.   Unless a new source or MS. appears,
there can be no absolute and final say as to how 'Arrām dic-
tated the above-mentioned statement.   What alone is certain
is that this statement, in its present shape, could not have
emanated from 'Arrām himself.   There are some possibilities
suggested by parts of this statement which should be taken

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 720.
2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 834.

separately because it would be futile in the extreme to attempt rearranging it as a whole. Some sentences admit of more than one attempt at correction, all of which are mutually exclusive. It is not the fault of the editor that so confused a text has been handed down. Be this as it may, it is an advantage to have 'Arrām's work, whatever its state.

The first problem presented by the statement is how to read B.h.r.n. or Kh.r.i.n. If we accept that this sentence still occupies its original place in the text, then the best choice is خيرتين Khairatain, namely those two mountains which according to Nasr, lie between Marr al-Ẓahrān and Mecca, the part facing Marr being hill حِل = free for all to hunt[1], and the part facing al-Mudairah is haram حرم a sanctuary. If one accepts this, Jafjaf جفجف may be also accepted with a slight alteration in spelling, as Nasr, in reliance on al-Sukkarī says that the mountains of Mecca are called Jabājib جباجب[2]. As, however, 'Arrām is unlikely to have suggested that travellers descend from Marr al-Ẓahrān to Mecca, the possibility cannot be excluded that this sentence has been shifted from its original place i.e. east of Mecca on the route to Taif or Najd. If this is assumed, حرسن could be read ضريبة Ḍarībah, الضرائب al-Ḍarā'ib, or الظريبة al-Ẓarībah, three names for one locality on the Najdī route to Mecca. The form given by the Egyptian edition for حرسن is not very helpful, but the editor observes that al-Maimanī, in

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1. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 61.
2. Ibid., fol. 40.

his Indian edition, has read it al-ṭarīq الطاريــق which
is not very remote from الطارايـب . Yāqūt states that
al-Darā'ib is a locality separated from Marr al-Ẓahrān by a
pass,[1] a statement implying that 'Arrām's text may read so;
al-Bakrī says: "al-Ẓuraibah (al-Ḍarībah) is a place in al-
shām" which suggests that his source might have been speaking
of al-Shāmiyyah الشـامية (northern Nakhlah), especially
as he states that a wealthy Meccan, Saʿīd b. al-'Āṣī died
there, and also quotes Ibn Isḥāq to the effect that al-Ẓuraibah
lies in the Ṭaif region where Sa'īd had an estate.[2] Yāqūt
follows Ibn Isḥāq in this matter.[3] In a third passage, Yāqūt
maintains that the waters of the Ḍarībah valley abut upon
Dhāt 'Irq.[4] If such a reading is accepted, then Jafjaf should
read Ghabghab غبغـب ,described by Ibn al-Kalbī as the
sacrificial place of the idol al-'Uzzā at Nakhlah.[5] It could
also read جبجـب Jabjab which, according to Ibn al-A'rābī,
is a mountain near 'Ukāẓ, not very far from Nakhlah.[6] Bahrain
بحريـن , a spring in Marr al-Ẓahrān, cannot be accepted
without assuming that this sentence is cut off from the rest
of the statement, and that a preposition, في or ب ,
is missing. Moreover, there is no proof that it was known
at the time of 'Arrām by this name as Wakī' calls it al-Bihār.[7]

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1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 799.
2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 903.
3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 576.
4. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 471.
5. Ibn al-Kalbī, Aṣnām. p. 20.
6. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 364.
7. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 53.

As to the passage which reads, in Shaikh H. al-Jāsir's revision "and in Najd in the borders of Mecca lies a valley" or according to Yāqūt's reading "and you descend to the borders of Mecca through a valley" which is acceptable to the editor "called the valley of Turabah", it is difficult to accept either of the two readings in clear conscience. It is tempting to read وينحدر في حد مكة as وينجد كبكب = and in the Najd of Kabkab" or وينجد مكة = in the Najd of Mecca, because al-Bakrī, relying on the authority of both al-Akhfash and al-Ṭūsī, locate this Najd near 'Arafah. The Jāhilī poet Imru' al-Qais places the Najd of Kabkab near 'Arafah;[1] al-Hamdānī mentions Najd of al-Hill which is identical with that of Kabkab.[2] Al-Jafjaf جفجف could also read Kabkab كبكب , but it must be supposed that Turabah is a corruption of a place name which fits this location. The valley of Turabah تربة could easily be a corruption of the valley of 'Uranah عرنة which lies near both 'Arafah and Kabkab. This assumption, however, would only be correct if Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān, upon which the waters of that valley abut, is not that of Nakhlah, but the other Bustān in 'Arafah which is known to absorb some waters of the 'Uranah valley. This solution requires also that this sentence should be regarded as separate from its following sentence not only because B. Hilāl did not live in that region, but also because Mts. Yasūm, Qirqid and Shuwān as well as the Biram mine are situated nearer to Ibn

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 1112, 1298, 1305.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 265.

'Āmir's Bustān of Nakhlah than to 'Arafah.

Thus it is advisable to look for an alternative reading. One of the possibilities is Zaimah زيمة which seems to be a more likely name for that valley than Turabah as it lies near Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān at Nakhlah, the more so as the waters of the valley of al-Zaimah flow into the village of al-Zaimah near which the Bustān is situated. Jafjaf would then read Ghabghab as it lies nearest to al-Zaimah of all the above-mentioned places. However, it is highly likely, that the mention of Jafjaf is misplaced and should form part of another passage. If the reading of al-Zaimah is accepted, it will fit in conveniently with Mts. Yasūm, Qirqid and Shuwān. What militates against it is that B. Hilāl lived far from Nakhlah. So does the fact that the Birām mine lies at some distance from Nakhlah as it is actually situated south of Taif. Besides, the route from Marr al-Zahrān to Mecca does not lead through al-Zaimah.

Were it not for the statement that the valley of Turabah whose waters flow into Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān is inhabited by the B. Hilāl who lived in the eastern Turabah, it would be possible to accept the whole passage in its original wording. There is a mention in al-Bakrī's Mu'jam of the Qarn of Turabah, whose inhabitants are the A'jāz of the Hawāzin,[1] which implies that this Qarn is not very distant from the Sulaimī territories. It is a vague notion, but then there is not much certainty about any of the above suggestions. If the Qarn of Turabah

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 90.

were identical with the Qarn of al-Manāzil, whose waters abut
upon Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of Nakhlah, the statement in question
would be at least partly correct. Al-Hamdānī also maintains
that the territories of the Hawāzin lie between Tabālah and
Nakhlah,[1] but he does not state exactly which Nakhlah he has
in mind. This statement forms part of al-Hamdānī's comment
on a verse referring to Nakhlah with a distinctly Najdī land-
scape as he describes the hamd plant which does not grow in
the region of Bustān Ibn 'Āmir. He also mentions salt marshes
which are of rare occurrence in the Tihāmī Nakhlah. The poet
himself seems to locate it near Dhū Tuwā which, according to
al-Asma'ī[2] lies on the Taif route and which al-Bakrī, apparently
misled by this statement, places between Mecca and Taif.[3]
There is also the Birām mine which actually lies south of
Taif, and the famous valley of Sabūhah which 'Arrām could not
possibly pass over in silence if he were dealing with the
region of Nakhlah.

'Arrām's mention of Mt. Shuwān, or rather of the two
Mts. Shuwān in the proximity of Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān seems to
have encouraged some authors to jump to the conclusion that
the waters of the valley of Shuwān flow into the region of
al-Juhfah which contains another of Ibn 'Āmir's Bustāns.[4]
Moreover, the existence of the valley of Uthāl near Ibn

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1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 265.
2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 554.
3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 896.
4. Diwān al-Khansā', p. 197.

'Āmir's Bustān of al-Juhfah, has led to the mistaken assumption that Uthāl lies between Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of Nakhlah and al-Ghumair.[1] Actually Shuwān is nearer to Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of Nakhlah than to Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of al-Juhfah contrary to the Uthāl valley. As to the hill of Qafal, it is called Jabal by al-Hamdānī,[2] Qafīl by al-Bakrī and al-Zamakhsharī,[3][4] and Hamal by Nasr.[5] A Qafīlah mentioned by al-Azraqī[6] lies too far from Qarn al-Manāzil to be identifiable with Qafal.

Yāqūt mentions a certain Nakhlah of Mahmūd at one day's distance from Mecca[7] and al-Zamakhsharī regards Nakhlah as an entity separate from al-Nakhlatain (the two Nakhlahs), for he assigns to each its own entry.[8] Obviously the two entries should be treated as one. As to the Mahmūd's Nakhlah, it is unknown.

CONCLUSION

The names Nakhlah, Batn Nakhlah, Nakhlatān and Wādī Nakhlah all denote one locality, namely the valley at which the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir is situated. Prior to Islam and for

1. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 7.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 143.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 787.

4. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 130.

5. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 58.

6. Al-Azraqī, Akhbār, vol. 2, p. 237.

7. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 769.

8. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, pp. 148, 154.

at least half a century after the Hijrah, this valley was called
by one or another of these four names. Later, however, it
became known as "the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir", and became the last
major halt before Mecca on the pilgrim routes from Kufa, Basra,
Najd and the Yemen. The controversy on whether it was Ibn
'Āmir or Ibn Ma'mar to whom this Bustān belonged has been also
discussed. It appears that its real owner was Ibn 'Āmir but
some scholars tend to exclude him as he also had other bustāns,
one near 'Arafah and the other near al-Juhfah. This, however,
should not argue against his having owned also this Bustān,
especially as al-Zubairī, a well-informed Hijazī scholar,
states that it was Ibn 'Āmir to whom the Bustān of Nakhlah
as well as that of al-Juhfah belonged. Besides, geographers
and route-mappers ascribe it to either Ibn 'Āmir or his descen-
dants.

'Ārrām's reference to the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir is extremely
confused and consequently unreliable in its present state.
Several suggestions have been made in order to get a clear
picture of what 'Ārrām actually said. All these suggestions
concern alterations in the statement allegedly ascribed to
'Ārrām. There is little doubt that scribal mistakes have
rendered this part of 'Ārrām's work wholly chaotic in the
available MS. as well as in the quotations attributed to him
or his transmitters by both al-Bakrī and Yāqūt. This con-
fusion is not limited to this part of 'Ārrām's work, since
there are numerous mis-statements on many other localities

in the entire region covered by his work.

It has also been seen that 'Ārrān's location of both Mts. Shuwān near Bustān Ibn 'Āmir at Nakhlah might have encouraged some scholars to locate Shuwān near al-Juhfah where the other Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir is situated. This is a perfect parallel to the manner in which Uthāl, a valley near al-Juhfah, was located near Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān at Nakhlah.

The Nakhlah of "Mahmūd", which Yāqūt situates at one day's distance from Mecca, is unknown under that name. This location, however, suggests that it is the Nakhlah in question, and that the name "Mahmūd" is an erroneous addition due to lack of revision. Most likely Yāqūt copied a description of Nakhlah from the work of Mahmūd (al-Zamakhsharī), which consequently became Nakhlah of "Mahmūd" when Yāqūt entered it in his Mu'jam.

QĀLIṢ

No Arab geographer of the period under consideration other than Wakī' and al-Ya'qūbī mentions Qāliṣ. They do so when recording the halting places on the pilgrim inland route between Ailah and Medina. In his _Buldān_, al-Ya'qūbī locates Qāliṣ south of al-Aghrā' and north of Shaghb.[1] He omits al-Kilābah, which is cited in several geographical works as being to the immediate north of Shaghb. He also omits the anonymous halt to the immediate south of al-Aghrā'. Whether Qāliṣ is to be equated with al-Kilābah itself, or with the unnamed halting place between al-Aghrā' and al-Kilābah, cannot be decided off-hand. Though Wakī' locates Qāliṣ south of Madyan and north of al-Agharr south of which he locates al-Kilābah, his account is unreliable, since his list of the halts on this route is clearly mistaken with respect to Badā, Shaghb and Sharaf al-Ba'l.[2]

Yāqūt says that Qāliṣ lies on the territory of the 'Udhrah tribe and was given by the Prophet to B. al-Ahabb of that tribe.[3] Ibn Sa'd, who calls it Fāliṣ,

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, _Buldān_, p. 341.

2. Wakī', _Manāzil_, fol. 114.

3. Yāqūt, _Mu'jam_, vol. 4, p. 14.

names, as the _iqtā'_ holder, not B. al-Ahabb as Yāqūt
does, but a certain al-Ajabb, and his tribe as Sulaim,
not 'Udhrah.[1]

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1. Ibn Sa'd, _op. cit._, p. 1, vol. 2, p. 26.

QUDAID

Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions Qudaid when mapping the route of the Prophet when he migrated from Mecca to Medina. On that route, he locates it north of 'Usfān and south west of al-Kharrār.[1] When drawing up the pilgrim route between Medina and Mecca, Ibn Khurradadhbeh places Qudaid between 'Usfān to the south and al-Juhfah to the north which is also true. He describes it as a place with water and calculates the distance from Qudaid to al-Juhfah as twenty-seven miles and from Qudaid to 'Usfān as twenty-four miles.[2]

Al-Ya'qūbī mentions Qudaid twice, first on the Egyptian coastal route to Mecca,[3] and second on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca.[4] On both occasions, al-Ya'qūbī locates Qudaid south of al-Juhfah and north of 'Usfān, but states on the second that Qudaid belongs to Khuzā'ah. Ibn Rosteh gives the same location but adds that the distance between al-Juhfah and Qudaid is twenty miles and that between the latter and 'Usfān

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 129.
2. Ibid., p. 131.
3. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.
4. Ibid., p. 313.

twenty-four miles. He also describes Qudaid as a principal, densely populated and fertile village with several water wells. Ibn Rosteh implies that Qudaid is not a sea port as he places it to the left of the sea.[1]

Qudāmah indicates that the water in Qudaid is obtained by storing rain water in cisterns. He gives the distance between al-Juḥfah and Qudaid as twenty-six miles and that between Qudaid and 'Usfān as twenty-four miles.[2] Al-Mas'ūdī mentions a place called Kudaid which is not identical with Qudaid, as he locates the former between Qudaid and 'Usfān.[3] Al-Hamdānī describes Qudaid as Khuzā'ī land under Meccan administration.[4] He calculates its degree of latitude as 22°, and its distance from al-Juḥfah as twenty-four miles. The distance between Qudaid and 'Usfān is given as twenty-three miles.[5] Al-Hamdānī quotes a Hijazi poet, al-'Ajlānī, to the effect that Amaj is situated between Qudaid and 'Usfān.[6] Al-

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1. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 178.

2. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 187.

3. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 264.

4. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 120.

5. Ibid., p. 185.

6. Ibid., p. 218.

Zubairī places al-Mushallal near Qudaid and adds that it is a hill.[1] Ibn al-Sikkīt calculates the distance between Qudaid and Mecca as two days' journey.[2] 'Iyāḍ agrees with al-Zubairī as regards al-Mushallal and adds that it is a mountain from which travellers descend to Qudaid.[3] He locates al-Mushallal between Qudaid and the sea.[4] Wakī' describes Qudaid as a dependency of Medina with a minbar[5] and numerous wells, four of which are protected (from the sands) by a wooden fence. The distances from Qudaid are twenty-four miles to al-Juḥfah, twenty-three to 'Usfān, eight to Khulaiṣ, one and a half to the spring of al-Futūq, over two miles to the valley of Bidāl, one mile to the pass of Khulaiṣ, six to a mosque of the Prophet, six to Amaj, ten to al-Rauḍah, twelve to the Kāmiliyyah of Ibn Muḥriz and sixteen to al-Kadīd.[6]

Al-Bakrī describes Qudaid as a rural community with a minbar, forming part of al-Fur' administration.[7]

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1. Al-Zubairī, op. cit., p. 127.

2. Ibn al-Sikkīt, Dīwān 'Urwah, p. 55.

3. 'Iyāḍ, al-Mashāriq, vol. 1, p. 345.

4. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 345.

5. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 40.

6. Ibid., fols. 51-52.

7. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1021.

In another passage, he describes it as a principal village
abounding in water and groves of palm trees.[1] He says
that the distance from Qudaid to al-Mushallal is three
miles, and to Khulais seven miles more.[2] Al-Bakrī quotes
"ancient" authors when saying that it was thither that
the prophet Solomon was carried by the wind to meet the
Queen of Shiba. He also mentions the battle between the
people of Medina and the Khārijites which took place there
in 130 A.H. (748). Al-Bakrī attributes the name Qudaid
to the fact that the torrential rain carves قد its way
there;[3] an explanation Wakī' and al-Bakrī, in another
passage, attribute to Kuthayyir.[4] Ibn al-Kalbī's deri-
vation comes from the history of the campaign which the
Tubba' mounted against Medina. According to Ibn al-Kalbī,
when the Tubba' camped there, his tents were torn قدّت
quddat by gales.[5] Hence the origin of the name. As to
the location of Qudaid, the information al-Bakrī provides
is irritating. In two passages it seems accurate, but in
a third he places Qudaid between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah

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1. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 1055.

2. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 956.

3. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 1055.

4. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 1257, and Wakī', <u>Manāzil</u>, fol. 51.

5. Yāqūt, <u>Mu'jam</u>, vol. 3, p. 147.

in Mecca in the vicinity of al-Mushallal which he says is there "above Qudaid", an inconsistency obviously due to lack of revision. He adds an account of pre-Islamic rites at al-Mushallal[1] without reference to his source, which is no other than Ibn al-Kalbī.[2] Al-Bakrī also places al-Mushallal near Medina together with 'Azwar, but quotes Ibn al-Sikkīt as his authority.[3] He also places the valley of Daurān, in one passage, between Hirshā and al-Juḥfah[4] and, in another, between al-Juḥfah and Qudaid on the authority of Ibn Ḥabīb.[5]

Al-Idrīsī locates Qudaid on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca. He describes it as a small fortress inhabited by a variety of Arabs who show signs of misery and rely for their livelihood on a few palm trees. He calculates the distances as twenty-four miles from 'Usfān to Qudaid, twenty-six miles from the latter to al-Juḥfah and five miles from Qudaid to the sea.[6] He also includes Qudaid, with the same location,

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1217.

2. Ibn al-Kalbī, Aṣnām, p. 13.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1233.

4. Ibid., p. 1352.

5. Ibid., p. 561, and see supra, p. 144.

6. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 37.

in the coastal route from Egypt to Mecca.[1]   In another
location of Yazīd (Qudaid), he places it between al-Jār
and 'Usfān.[2] Al-Idrīsī describes Qudaid as one of the
inland sections of the fifth part of the second climate.[3]

Al-Zamakhsharī states that Qudaid is a village
with wells. He identifies it with a place called Khaimatā
Umm Ma'bad.[4] In another passage he quotes 'Ulayy to the
effect that Uthāl is a valley emerging from the valley of
Sitārah and flowing into the direction of Khaimatā Umm
Ma'bad. He adds that Uthāl is only another name for
Qudaid.[5] In a third entry, al-Zamakhasharī describes
Qudaid merely as a "place",[6] and, in a fourth, he locates
Kudaid between Qudaid and 'Usfān in the direction of
Mecca.[7] Nasr locates Kudaid on the conventional route
from Mecca to Medina between Amaj and the pass of Ghazāl[8].
Uthāl has become Uthāmid in Nasr's work, but its location

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1. _Ibid._, fol. 90.

2. _Ibid._, fol. 89.

3. _Ibid._, fol. 34.

4. Al-Zamakhsharī, _Jibāl_, p. 169.

5. _Ibid._, p. 9.

6. _Ibid._, p. 135.

7. _Ibid._, p. 141.

8. Nasr, _op. cit._, fol. 129.

varies, as Naṣr once places it as a valley between
Qudaid and 'Usfān;[1] and, on another occasion, as a mountain
between al-Mushallal, near Medina, and the sea.[2] Naṣr
seems to be keen on placing al-Mushallal near Medina, as
he assesses its distance from there at only seven miles,
which is not true.[3]

Qudaid between al-Juḥfah and 'Usfān is still
known in that area.

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1. *Ibid.*, fol. 18.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 59.

3. *Ibid.*, fol. 140.

QURĀ 'ARABIYYAH

Four Arab geographers who list the dependencies of Medina
mention one called Qurā 'Arabiyyah قرى عربية . Two of them,
Ibn Khurradadhbeh[1] and Ibn Rosteh[2], have no hesitation in naming
it among the dependencies of Medina, using the conjunction
و ! . The absence of this conjunction in Qudāmah's version[3]
is by no means indicative of any doubt on his part, as he
definitely considers it a dependency of Medina. Though al-
Idrīsī's version[4] concurs with the above-mentioned statements,
it cannot be considered corroborative as it is no doubt
borrowed from these sources, even though the form of the name
is corrupted to Qurā 'Uraibah or 'Arībah عريبة . None of
the four geographers, however, ventures to give information
about this locality.

Four more forms of this name occur in other sources:
Qurā Gharbiyyah قرى غربية in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's Istī'āb[5];
Qurā 'Uyainah قرى عيينة in al-Baghawī's commentary on
the Qur'ān; Qurā 'Urainah قرى عرينة , clearly accepted by[6]

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 129.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 177.

3. Qudāmah, op.cit., p. 248.

4. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 36.

5. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Istī'āb, vol. 2, p. 442.

6. Al-Baghawī, Tafsīr, vol. 2, p. 165.

Yāqūt,[1] al-Ḥāfiẓ al-'Irāqī,[2] al-Samhūdī,[3] al-'Abbāsī[4] and al-Kattānī;[2] and Quran 'Arabiyyah قرئ عربية , favoured in the 8th century A.D. by Abū 'Ubaid Allāh, the chief secretary of al-Mahdī,[5] and in the early 9th by al. Qāsim b. Sallām.[6] Three of the six forms, Gharbiyyah, 'Uraibah and 'Uyainah, which are no more than scribes' errors, require no further discussion. As to the three remaining forms, one, Qurā 'Urainah, though accepted by many later reliable authors, is also a mere corruption. It is not conceivable that al-Shāfi'ī should have called it Qurā 'Urainhah which appears in print on the pages of both al-Umm[7] and Aḥkām al-Qur'ān,[8] not only because he was an outstanding scholar of contemporary Arabic and Islamic studies, but also because al-Muzanī, who has abridged al-Shāfi'ī's works, explicitly invokes the latter's authority when calling it Qurā 'Arabiyyah.[9] So does Ibn Abū Hātim in his biography of al-Shāfi'ī.[10] Also the explanation given by al-Shāfi'ī's closest disciple, al-Rabī',

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 663.

2. Al-Kattānī, al-Tartībāt, vol. 1, p. 245.

3. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 159.

4. Al-'Abbāsī, 'Umdah, p. 254.

5. Al-Zubaidī, Tabaqāt, p. 149.

6. Al-Qāsim b. Sallām, al-Amwāl, p. 23.

7. Al-Shāfi'ī, al-Umm, vol. 4, pp. 64, 65.

8. Al-Shāfi'ī, Aḥkām al-Qur'ān, p. 154.

9. Al-Muzanī, al-Mukhtasar, pp. 180, 183.

10. Ibn Abū Hātim, Ādāb al-Shāfi'ī, p. 146.

explicitly excludes any possibility of the form being
'Urainah.[1]   The same is true of Ibn Hazm who, though the
printed version of his Jawāmi' al-Sīrah has "Qurā 'Urainah",[2]
calls it Qurā 'Arabiyyah in his Jamharah.[3]   Yāqūt, however,
seems to have encountered this corrupted form in most of his
sources because he is reluctant to accept responsibility when
quoting the form correctly given and clearly vocalized by
al-'Abdarī.   Qurā 'Urainah appears to have wrongly become the
accepted form in the 14th century by the time of al-Ḥāfiẓ
al-'Irāqī who has recorded it in a poem in which he defines
its vowels:

وحكما اخاهما على قرى   كذاك عمرا اخذوا وادى القرى

اخاهما أبان منه الخطا   عرينة كذاك ايضا اعطـــــى

Al-Samhūdī's definition, though not quoted in verse-form,
is no less emphatic than that of al-Ḥāfiẓ for, as he rhymes it,
it corresponds in its vocalized form with Juhainah.[4]   Al-
'Abbāsī[5] and al-Kattānī[6] both draw on the information found in
the above quoted authors.   This form cannot be accepted.
First, because it is in contradiction with all early sources
where the argument is limited to the two forms, Qurā 'Arabiyyah
and Quran 'Arabiyyah.   Secondly, because the 'Urainah tribe
have no qurā (villages) of their own, at least not in the

1. Ibid., p. 145.
2. Ibn Ḥazm, Jawāmi', p. 24.
3. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharah, p. 73.
4. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 159.
5. Al-'Abbāsī, 'Umdah, p. 254.
6. Al-Kattānī, al-Tartībāt, vol. 1, p. 245.

region concerned. Though a group of 'Urainīs were allowed, by the Prophet, to encamp on the pastures adjacent to Medina, they were soon put to a terrible death for endangering the security and peace of the community.[1] As to the form Qurā 'Urainah found in the tafsīrs of al-Jassās,[2] al-Qurtubī[3] and Abū Hayyān,[4] it can be safely assumed that the authors are clear of blame, and that the corruption is not of their making.

The two remaining forms Qurā 'Arabiyyah and Quran 'Arabiyyah formed the subject of protracted argument at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century. When Abū 'Ubaid Allāh once used the form Quran 'Arabiyyah with nunation, Shabīb promptly criticized this usage and stressed that the only correct form was Qurā 'Arabiyyah with annexation اضافة idāfah . It was a matter of logic as well as grammar as Abū 'Ubaid Allāh's usage would permit us to identify Qurā 'Arabiyyah with any village in any part of Arabia, whereas Shabīb simply wanted to indicate a specific locality which the chief secretary also had in mind. The verdict of a philologist, Qutaibah, favoured Shabīb's opinion, as he decided that Quran 'Arabiyyah was only applicable to villages in Arabia as a whole, and not to specific villages in the Hijaz.[5] A few years later, al-Qāsim b. Sallām maintained that

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1. Al-Wāqidī, op.cit., p. 570.
2. Al-Jassās, Tafsīr, vol. 3, p. 430.
3. Al-Qurtubī, Tafsīr, vol. 18, p. 12.
4. Abū Hayyān, Muhīt. vol. 8, p. 245.
5. Al-Zubaidī, Tabaqāt, p. 149.

"Quran 'Arabiyyah" was the correct form, though Qurā 'Arabiyyah had, in his opinion, become the vogue among the "modern" authors of that time.[1] However, and in spite of Ibn Sallām's insistence, this form cannot be accepted for the following reasons:

1. a pure Arab of the post-Islamic era would not say Quran 'Arabiyyah if what he had in mind was a specific locality;

2. Shabīb and Qutaibah maintain that it is called Qurā 'Arabiyyah;

3. both Yaḥyā b. Ādam[2] and Ibn 'Abbās[3] state that Qurā 'Arabiyyah refers to specific villages, which leads to the exclusion of the form Quran 'Arabiyyah;

4. al-Bakrī insists that it is Qurā 'Arabiyyah without nunation;[4] so does al-'Abdarī according to Yāqūt;[5]

5. had Quran 'Arabiyyah been the accepted form or even one of the accepted forms, it would have been given the definite article al ال which is also condemned as wrong by al-Bakrī.

The interpretation of the term Qurā 'Arabiyyah as given by al-Shāfi'ī,[6] Abū Yūsuf,[7] and al-Bakrī,[8] unintentionally allows

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1. Al-Qāsim b. Sallām, al-Amwāl, p. 23.
2. Yaḥyā b. Ādam, al-Kharāj, p. 122.
3. Al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, vol. 28, p. 23.
4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 930.
5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 663.
6. Ibid., p. 145.
7. Abū Yūsuf, al-Kharāj, p. 33.
8. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 930.

the reading of Ibn Sallām which contradicts their own asser-
tion that "Qurā 'Arabiyyah" denotes a specific place in the
Hijaz. For it emerges unmistakably from their statements
that they incline to the latter opinion; Abū Yūsuf contrasts
this term with Qura A'jamiyyah (the non-Arabian villages);
al-Shāfi'ī opposes it to Hajar and Bahrain which he seems to
regard as non-Arabian land; al-Bakrī applies it to every
village in Arabia, though he insists on annexation and rejects
both nunation and the definite article "al"   ال   as
erroneous.

Summing up, it can safely be assumed that Qurā 'Arabiyyah
is the only acceptable form. This implies annexing Qurā to
'Arabiyyah with the result that both nunation and the definite
article "al"   are excluded, since 'Arabiyyah is not
used here to denote Arabia as a whole, but a specific locality
in the Hijaz.

Having reviewed the different versions of the name in
the sources, it has been thought advisable to use, in the
following pages, the correct form, Qurā 'Arabiyyah.

Authorities are in conflict on whether Qurā 'Arabiyyah is
a dependency of Medina or a congeries of dependencies of
Medina. Al-Qāsim b. Sallām records a hadīth in which al-Zuhrī
observes that Qurā 'Arabiyyah comprises "Fadak and so on".[1]
Al-Balādhurī remarks that Tabūk, Khaibar and Fadak are qurā

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1. Al-Qāsim b. Sallām, al-Amwāl, p. 23.

'Arabiyyah [1] which means, in his opinion, Arabian villages. Ibn Ḥazm states that Qurā 'Arabiyyah "comprises Fadak plus others" [2]. Ibn al-Anbārī relates that Taimā' is one of the principal villages of Qurā 'Arabiyyah. [3] Al-Samhūdī, [4] al-Khaṭṭābī, [5] al-'Abbāsī [6] and al-Balādhurī [7] record al-Zuhrī's ḥadīth as transmitted by Ibn Sallām. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr describes Tabūk, Khaibar and Fadak as being "some of qurā 'Arabiyyah (Arabian villages) to which 'Amr b. Saīd was sent by the Prophet. [8] Al Ya'qūbī mentions Qurā 'Arabiyyah among other localities in the Northern Ḥijaz, each of which has its own governor at the time of the Prophet. [9] Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ states that Khaibar, Wādī al-Qurā, Taimā' and Tabūk form the Qurā 'Arabiyyah of which 'Amr was the governor at the time of the Prophet's death. [10] Al-'Abbāsī equates Qurā 'Arabiyyah with the villages of Medina. [11] He seems to rely on Yāqūt who states that 'Urainah ('Arabiyyah) are villages in the Medina region. [12] Al-Bakrī enlarges the scope by stating that every village in Arabia such as Khaibar, Fadak, al-Suwāriqiyyah and

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1. Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, vol. 4b, p. 128.
2. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharah, p. 73.
3. Ibn al-Anbārī, Sharh al-Qaṣā'id, p. 106.
4. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 159.
5. Al-Khaṭṭābī, Ma'ālim, vol. 3, p. 17.
6. Al-'Abbāsī, 'Umdah, p. 254.
7. Al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ, p. 36.
8. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Istī'āb, vol. 2, p. 442.
9. Al-Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh, vol. 2, p. 81.
10. Khalīfah, Tārīkh, p. 62.
11. Al-'Abbāsī, 'Umdah, p. 322.
12. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 663.

the like is called Qurā 'Arabiyyah.[1]   Dr A. al-Sharīf

quotes a statement referring to Khaibar as "the best of Qurā

'Arabiyyah".[2]   His source, which he does not mention, seems to

be of early Islamic concept.

The above statements refer to different places as forming

part of Qurā 'Arabiyyah. In contrast to that, other sources

tend to regard Qurā 'Arabiyyah as a specific stretch of land

with a number of villages. In al-Ṭabarī's _tafsīr_, Ibn 'Abbās

and al-Ḍaḥḥāk are quoted to the effect that Qurā 'Arabiyyah

stretches from Medina to Syria.[3]   Qatādah is of the opinion

that the _qurā_ of 'Arabiyyah were so close to each other that

the travellers would leave a village in the afternoon and

spend the night in another and so on for several days.[4]   Sa'īd

b. Jubair says that Qurā 'Arabiyyah is identical with _qurā_

Ẓāhirah   قرى الظاهرة   "the known villages" mentioned in the

Qur'ān.[5]   He situates them between Medina and Syria. Abū

Hurairah tells of the Jews who, on their flight from Nebu-

chadnezzar's persecution to Medina, attempted to identify the

city they knew by description with al-Qurā al-'Arabiyyah

القرى العربية (the Arabian villages)which stretch all the

length of the way from Palestine to Medina.[6]   As has already

1. Al-Bakrī, _Mu'jam_, p. 15.
2. Al-Sharīf, _Makkah_, p. 6.
3. Al-Ṭabarī, _Tafsīr_, vol. 22, p. 58.
4. Al-Qurṭubī, _Tafsīr_, vol. 14, p. 289.
5. Yaḥyā b. Ādam, _al-Kharāj_, p. 122.
6. Al-Samhūdī, _Wafā'_, p. 160.

been seen, al-Shafi'ī, Abū Yūsuf and al-Bakrī tend to equate Qura 'Arabiyyah with the whole of Arabia. Al-Bakrī attributes this statement to al-Asma'ī on the authority of Ibn al-Sikkīt.[1] However, it can hardly be credited that either al-Asma'ī or Ibn al-Sikkīt should have defied Shabīb or Qutaibah who were so emphatic on Qura 'Arabiyyah denoting specific villages in the Hijaz. Besides, this statement is defective in that it identifies Iraq with the region between al-Raml (the Nafud) and Iraq, which suggests a lacuna in al-Bakrī's source, or in his own text. Al-Bukhārī reports, on the authority of Dajājah, that 'Uthmān had promised that no religion but Islam should be tolerated in Qura 'Arabiyyah.[2] In the light of this report, Qura 'Arabiyyah is not applicable to any locality in Arabia south of Wādī al-Qura since the Jews had been expelled by the Prophet from the neighbourhood of Medina and deported by 'Umar from Khaibar, Fadak and Najrān. All Arabs in these regions had become Muslims, so that there were no other religions left in what was regarded as Arabia in 'Umar's time. The Jews of Wādī al-Qura and to the north of it had remained undisturbed on the ground that it was not regarded as Arabian territory.[3]

No Arab chronicler denies that the Prophet's campaign against Wādī al-Qura took place immediately after that of Khaibar. Since Ibn Habīb mentions that the Prophet marched

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 15.

2. Al-Bukhārī, al-Tārīkh, vol. 2, p. 236.

3. Abū Dāwūd, Sunan, vol. 4, p. 217.

from Khaibar to Qurā 'Arabiyyah,[1] Shaikh Mahmud Shākir
feels justified in applying the name Qurā 'Arabiyyah to
Wādī al-Qurā.[2] There is, however, another passage where
Ibn Habīb, naming the regional administrators appointed by
the Prophet, lists one for Wādī al-Qurā, another for Taimā'
and a third for Qurā 'Arabiyyah,[3] which precludes a confusion
between Qurā 'Arabiyyah and Wādī al-Qurā at that time. It is
also clear from the list of the dependencies of Medina as
recorded by Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Qudāmah and Ibn Rosteh all of
whom had access to the official archives, that Qurā 'Arabiyyah
was a single dependency of Medina, separately administered,
like all its other dependencies, by an amīr subordinate to
the governor of Medina.

Another point tends to limit Qurā 'Arabiyyah to Medina.
This is observable in the statements attributed to Ibn
Zabālah and recorded by both al-Samhūdī and al-'Abbasī, as
will be described later. They allege that there is an in-
scription on two stones at Medina, one of which says that a
messenger of Solomon or Jesus was sent to Qurā 'Arabiyyah or
Yathrib (Medina) or to "this village".

Both acceptable and reliable is the approach of the early
Islamic era, which sees in Qurā 'Arabiyyah a separate unit
with an identity of its own. The most acceptable version of
course is that of tax officials such as Ibn Khurradadhbeh

1. Ibn Habīb, al-Muhabbar, p. 115.
2. Private communication from Mahmud Shākir, published later
   in al-'Arab, vol. 2, pp. 769-97.
3. Ibn Habīb, al-Muhahhar, p. 126.

and Ibn Rosteh, for whom Qurā 'Arabiyyah is one of the
dependencies of Medina. This is the version accepted by
Shabīb and Qutaibah who are convinced that Qurā 'Arabiyyah
consists of certain villages in the Hijaz. Ibn 'Abbās known,
among other things, for his geographical and biblical reports,
is quoted by al-Tabarī to the effect that Qurā 'Arabiyyah
figures, together with Fadak and part of Khaibar, among
the estates allotted to the Prophet.[1] In al-Qurtubī's version,
Ibn 'Abbās names these estates as Quraizah and Banū al-Nadīr
at Medina, Fadak which lies at a distance of three days from
Medina, Qurā 'Arabiyyah and Yanbu'.[2] Abū Hayyān quotes Ibn
'Atiyyah (the later) when stating that Qurā 'Arabiyyah lies
near Wādī al-Qurā.[3] Yahyā b. Ādam states that Qurā 'Arabiyyah
is a specific locality.[4] Al-Maqdisī asserts that Qurā
'Arabiyyah, Fadak, al-Nadīr and most of Khaibar were estates
of the Prophet.[5]

Moreover, the authors whose statements have been quoted
in support of alternative attitudes are quite decisive when
implying that Qurā 'Arabiyyah is a separate dependency of
Medina. Al-Zuhrī's hadīth is reported as having the con-
junction , between the name Qurā 'Arabiyyah and the names

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1. Al-Tabarī, Tafsīr, vol. 28, p. 23.

2. Al-Qurtubī, Tafsīr, vol. 18, p. 12.

3. Abū Hayyān, Muhīt, vol. 8, p. 245.

4. Yahyā b. Ādam, al-Kharāj, p. 122.

5. Al-Maqdisī, op.cit., vol. 5, p. 25.

which follow it in the list of the Prophet's estates. This
is recorded by al-Tabari,[1] Ibn Abu Hatim,[2] al-Bakri[3] and al-
Samhudi.[4] Al-Jassas[5] quotes al-Zuhri when mentioning Fadak
and Qura 'Arabiyyah among these estates. It is very likely that
al-Zuhri used the conjunction , which had been omitted by some
transmitters. Besides, most of al-Zuhri's account is attributed
to 'Umar, a fact which strongly supports the opinion that Qura
'Arabiyyah was one of the estates and not a term describing all
of them, because there would have been no need for 'Umar to
explain to his listeners what Qura 'Arabiyyah meant. The lack
of logic in both al-Baladhuri's and Ibn Abd al-Barr's opinion
is obvious. There is no need to describe any of the villages
administered by the Prophet as an Arabian village, since the
Prophet's control was limited to what they considered Arabia.
Indeed, al-Baladhuri's description of Tabuk as "Arabian" is
contested by early writers such as Malik[6] and al-Waqidi.[7] On
the other hand, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr states in another passage of
his Isti'ab, that 'Amr b. Sa'id was the governor of Taima',
Khaibar and Qura 'Arabiyyah,[8] which does not tally with his

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1. Ibn Hazm, Jamharah, p. 73.

2. Ibn Abu Hatim, Adab al-Shafi'i, p. 146.

3. Al-Bakri, Mu'jam, p. 930.

4. Al-Samhudi, Wafa', p. 1265.

5. Al-Jassas, Tafsir, vol. 3, p. 430.

6. Abu Dawud, Sunan, vol. 4, p. 217.

7. Al-Waqidi, op.cit., p. 711.

8. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Isti'ab, vol. 1, p. 155.

assumption that Qurā 'Arabiyyah comprises Tabūk, Khaibar, Fadak and others.

It is almost certain that Qurā 'Arabiyyah was regarded as a separate unit already by the time of the Prophet who sent Mu'ādh to collect its land-tax.[1] Had it been a question of all the Arabian villages or even that of the Northern Hijaz, the task would have presented insuperable difficulties to one man, even as youthful and devoted as Mu'ādh. It is well known that it was the practice of the Prophet to send one or two men to one tribe, while large regions were divided between two or even three tax collectors.[2] What frustrates every attempt at identifying Qurā 'Arabiyyah at that time with some of the famous settlements of the Northern Hijaz, where it must be located, is that all these famous places are excluded by virtue of their being mentioned in many reports beside Qurā 'Arabiyyah. This is the reason why Fadak, Yanbu' and al-Safrā' cannot be identified with Qurā 'Arabiyyah. Nor can Khaibar, since al-Hasan, Qatādah and al-Suddī mention Khaibar and Qurā 'Arabiyyah in connection with a conspiracy to corrupt early Islam. Nor can Taimā' or Wādī al-Qurā be the Qurā 'Arabiyyah of the post Islamic era, because each of the three places had its own governor at the time of the Prophet. As to Tabūk, it was not even considered Arab land.

All the above can be taken to prove that Qurā 'Arabiyyah had come to denote a single locality by the time of the Prophet.

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1. Ibn Ḥanbal, _Musnad_, vol. 5, p. 228.

2. Al-Khuzā'ī, _Takhrīj_, fol. 158; and al-Ya'qūbī, _Tārīkh_, vol. 2, p. 135.

Nevertheless, there are some reports to indicate that this was not the case before Islam. To begin with, there is the report about the flight of the Jews from Palestine to Medina in which Qurā 'Arabiyyah is used to denote all the settlements on their route two of which, Taimā' and Wādī al-Qurā, are mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī and Sharqī who substitute the Hijaz for Qurā 'Arabiyyah.[1] Ibn 'Asākir attributes this report to Abū Hurairah,[2] while al-Suyūtī, who also attributes it to Abū Hurairah, maintains that it is recorded by Abū Nu'aim.[3] However, it does not figure in the latter's Dalā'il, the place most likely to contain a report of this kind. The second report is that of Ibn 'Abbās, al-Dahhāk, Qatādah and Sa'īd b. Jubair, all of whom state that Qurā 'Arabiyyah stretches from Medina to Syria. Their knowledge of the pre-Islamic history of Arabia and their geographical and biblical reports were held to be authoritative. A third report, recorded by al-'Abbāsī, equates Qurā 'Arabiyyah, by implication, with Medina or its region. This report is extremely confused. Its transmitter, 'Umair ('Amr) b. Sulaim al-Zurqī, is alleged to have found an inscription on two large stones close to the grave of "Jeremiah ارميا , the messenger of Jesus" near Medina. Neither Jews nor Christians, nor members of other faiths that have sacred books at Medina, could decipher this inscription. However, two men from Māh (there are several places called

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1. Al-Balādhurī, Futūh, p. 15.

2. Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vol. 1, p. 350.

3. Al-Suyūtī, Khasā'is, vol. 1, p. 25.

Māh all of which are situated either in Iraq or to the east of it) succeeded in reading the writing on one of the two stones as follows: "I am al-Aswad b. Suwādah, the messenger of Jesus to Qurā 'Arabiyyah". In another version of the report, Qurā 'Arabiyyah has been replaced by "this village" and by Yathrib (Medina) in a third; al-Aswad by 'Abd Allāh, and Jesus by Solomon. There is no mention of the inscription on the other stone, but al-Samhūdī, on whom al-'Abbāsī might have relied, says that it proved too heavy to be removed.[1] The story must be very old, as 'Umair ('Umar in al-Samhūdī and 'Amr in actual fact)[2] lived in the 7th century. Al-Samhūdī has the correct form: "Iranī grave قبر ارمسـى " instead of "the grave of Jeremiah", though it has been corrupted in its turn to "human grave قبر آدمسى " in another passage.[3] The story is unreliable as a whole, since no Muslim of the 7th century could have tolerated the idea that there were sacred books of any faith apart from Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The two men of Māh are said to have claimed that their people used to live, in ancient times, in Qurā 'Arabiyyah or Medina,[4] a claim to which authors pay no attention. This report is, however, not devoid of geographical significance as it indicates where the early learned men of Arabia locate Qurā 'Arabiyyah. In his Masālik, al-Bakrī refers to this story, but without

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1. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā, p. 158.
2. Ibn Abū Hātim, al-Jarh, vol. 3, p. 236.
3. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā, p. 1064.
4. Ibid., p. 159.

mentioning Qurā 'Arabiyyah,[1] and so does al-Ṭabarī in his

Tārīkh.[2] Ibn Isḥāq, on the other hand, is more explicit and

states that a certain Ibn al-Thalma[3] was the messenger of

Jesus to al-A'rābiyyah which he identifies with the Hijaz.[3]

These reports, which illustrate the Arab's idea of the Qurā

'Arabiyyah of pre-Islamic history, may have contributed to the

confusion which reigns among later authors, when they try to

locate the post-Islamic Qurā 'Arabiyyah which was no more than

a dependency of Medina. The post-Islamic Qurā 'Arabiyyah became

identified with a relatively small region, small enough to be

regarded as a dependency of Medina like Fadak, Khaibar, Dhul-

Marwah, Wādī al-Qurā and Taimā!

As regards the history of Qurā 'Arabiyyah at the time of

the Prophet, it has already been said that it was among the

estates allotted to the Prophet by virtue of their surrender

without a war. Later lists of state-controlled properties

contain no mention of Qurā 'Arabiyyah though the Prophet's

estates had become state-controlled.[4] This may be accounted

for by the fact that the Prophet had bestowed many of his

estates upon his Companions. He had, however, exploited them

for some time, as Mu'ādh was sent to collect the revenue which

was estimated at 7/12 of the produce.[5] This means that the

1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 76.

2. Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vol. 1, p. 738.

3. Ibn Hishām, Sīrah, vol. 2, p. 608.

4. Al-Farrā', al-Ahkām, p. 296.

5. Ibn Hanbal, Musnad, vol. 5, p. 244.

cultivation of Qurā 'Arabiyyah was relatively less expensive than that of Khaibar or Fadak whose peasants were allowed to live there and till the land in return for half of the harvest. Wādī al-Qurā paid one third, but it does not mean that it was more expensive to run than Khaibar, as it was divided in equal parts between its Jews, the 'Udhrah and the Prophet.[1] This was because the 'Udhrah, who had owned a third of Wādī al-Qurā before Islam in return for protecting its Jews, were left in possession of that third, but the Jews had to share their two thirds with the Prophet. Qurā 'Arabiyyah is mentioned as the place to which the companions of the Prophet were about to look for supplies and means of livelihood after the Prophet's death. Yāqūt ascribes to Abū Hudhaifah the account that (ان not Ibn ابن) Mu'ādh speaks of the feelings of the companions whose leaders had decided to live in peace on the proceeds of Qurā 'Arabiyyah to avoid making war on the apostates and to spend their days in the worship of God. This report is attributed by al-Balādhurī to Ibn Mas'ūd who ends by saying that Abū Bakr insisted on waging war against the apostates.[2] Ibn al-Athīr also attributes it to Ibn Mas'ūd.[3] Al-Balādhurī's and Ibn al-Athīr's version is the most acceptable, because Mu'ādh survived this war by a mere six or seven years, when the events in question were still so fresh in the memory that there was no need to dwell on them. Thus Ibn

1. Al-Māwardī, al-Ahkām, p. 296.

2. Al-Balādhurī, Futūh, p. 113.

3. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, vol. 2, p. 259.

Mas'ūd is more likely to be the real source of that report.
Abū Ḥudhaifah says that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ passed Qurā 'Arabiyyah
which lay on his way from Medina to Palestine, while al-[1]
Balādhurī states that 'Amr's route led through Ailah.[2] Al-
Wāqidī relates that the Prophet once sent 'Amr to Dhāt al-
Salāsil, which lies between Wādī al-Qurā and Tabūk. In this
story 'Amr was allowed to invoke the help of "al-'Arab which
is the land of Baliyy, 'Udhrah and Balqain".[3] It is very
probable that al-Wāqidī means Qurā 'Arabiyyah. Abū Bakr
may have been referring to it when he said to 'Amr: "You
are my governor of the Baliyy, 'Udhrah, the rest of Qudā'ah
and the variety of Arabs there".[4]

Some years later, Ibn 'Abbās, Sa'īd, al-Ḥasan, Qatādah
and al-Suddī mention Qurā 'Arabiyyah when trying to explain
events relating to Islamic history or mentioned in the Qur'ān.
It has been seen that the officials of Baghdad, especially
the tax administrators, paid attention to Qurā 'Arabiyyah. So
did theologians such as al-Shāfi'ī, Abū Yūsuf, Yaḥyā b. Ādam
and Ibn Sallām when trying to define Islamic tax legislation.
Traditionalists such as Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, al-Nasā'ī,
Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Abū Ḥātim, al-Khaṭṭābī, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and
Ibn al-Qayyim[5] naturally concern themselves with Qurā 'Arabiyyah.

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam vol. 3, p. 663.

2. Al-Balādhurī, Futūh, p. 115.

3. Al-Wāqidī, op.cit., p. 770.

4. Ibn 'Asākir, Tārīkh, vol. 1, p. 446.

5. Ibn al-Qayyim, Mukhtasar, vol. 4, p. 214.

Qur'ānic commentators such as al-Ṭabarī, one at least of the
two Ibn 'Aṭiyyahs, al-Jaṣṣāṣ, al-Qurṭubī, al-Baghawī, Abū
Ḥayyān and Ibn Kathīr[1] record all the information available in
their time which can be ultimately traced back to 'Umar,
Mu'ādh, Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Mas'ūd. So do chroniclers such as
Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Ṭabarī, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Balādhurī, al-Maqdisī,
Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn al-Athīr. It is not certain whether al-
Asma'ī or Ibn al-Sikkīt mentions Qurā 'Arabiyyah, because it
is confused with al-Suwāriqiyyah which could not have been
allotted to the Prophet as it was owned by the Sulaim tribe.
Arab estates were not confiscated by the Prophet and the
zakāh =(alms tax) of 10%, 5% or 2.5% was the only tax applic-
able to them. Shabīb, Qutaibah and al-Zubaidī have tried
to define the form of the name Qurā 'Arabiyyah. Al-Bakrī,
Yāqūt, al-Samhūdī, and al-'Abbāsī list it in their geographical
dictionaries. 'Arrām, when enumerating the dependencies of
Medina, does not mention Qurā 'Arabiyyah.[2] Nor does Ibn
al-Kalbī when he lists the principal villages of Arabia among
which he records Wādī al-Qurā and the Daumah of al-Ḥandal.[3]
Al-Asadī omits both Qurā 'Arabiyyah and Wādī al-Qurā when he
records the dependencies of Medina,[2] and Wakī' omits the former.[4]

Some of the terms "'Arabī" or "'Arabiyyah" refer to
certain objects of daily life which have no clear connection

1. Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr, vol. 3, p. 532.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 10.

3. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 'Iqd, vol. 3, p. 197.

4. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 39-40; and al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 10.

with the Arabs or Arabia as a whole, such as "'Arabī-barley"
which is said to be of the best quality and is larger than
the corresponding Iraqi product, or the 'Arabī [1] عربي
(printed عرسي) wine which is made of dates. [2] The Prophet
is said to have recommended 'Arabī sheep for curative pur-
poses. [3] He has also praised the 'Arabiyyah bow. [4] Five
hundred 'Arabiyyah bows, which were among the equipment
found at Khaibar after its conquest by the Prophet, formed
the top of the list of important objects. [5] "To lop off palm
trees" تعريب derives one of its forms from 'Arab عرب
which also denotes a curative treatment of service animals and
also means "to have plenty of fresh water". [6] Abū al-'Ajfā',
reporting a speech by 'Umar, attributes his own failure to
understand an uncommon phrase to the fact that he was an
'Arabī by birth, unable to comprehend Beduin phraseology. [7]
In the last mentioned report, 'Arabī may be opposed to A'rābī
اعرابي , Beduin, but there is little doubt that "'Arabī"
or 'Arabiyyah" in the other reports indicate the locality
called 'Arabiyyah. It is clear that some of these words were

1. Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān, vol. 1, p. 592.

2. Ibn Sīdah, Mukhssas, vol. 11, p. 90.

3. Ibn Mājah, Sunan, vol. 2, p. 939.

4. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 88.

5. Al-Wāqidī, op.cit., p. 670.

6. Al-Jauharī, Sihāh, vol. 1, p. 79, and al-Zabīdī, Tāj,
   vol. 1, p. 374.

7. Al-Nasā'ī, Sunan, vol. 6, p. 118.

of pre-Islamic usage. There is a poem attributed by al-Jāhiz
to Aus b. Hajar which represents the 'Arabī merchant as the
symbol of avarice.[1] Unfortunately, there is no indication of
how or why this pre-Islamic poet had reached this conclusion,
as the poem cannot be found in his diwān, and al-Jāhiz records
but one verse of it. This single verse, however, implies that
'Arabiyyah is an urban settlement where frugality is considered
a virtue, contrary to the wont of the nomadic tribes praised
by Aus.

Trying to explain the term "Qurā Arabiyyah" al-Shāfi'ī
says that "the Jews used to live in the Arab villages around
which the Arabs lived. These villages were Fadak and Khaibar
which were Jewish villages in the Arab land".[2] This is a very
confused definition, as the villages supposed to be Arab turn
out to be Jewish villages. Al-Azharī, in his book on al-
Shāfi'ī's uncommon words, quotes the latter to the effect that
some pre-Islamic Arab tribes migrated to the Jewish and
Christian settlements in Arabia, and were converted to these
religions.[3] This is indeed in line with al-Shāfi'ī's infor-
mation, but leads nowhere. In his Tahdhīb, al-Azharī speaks
of the Arab villages which he defines as habitations of the
Arabs as opposed to the A'rābs who have no villages and who
become Arabs only by migrating to the settlements.[4] These

1. Al-Jāhiz, Rasāil, vol. 1, p. 188.

2. Ibid., p. 145.

3. Al-Azharī, Kitāb al-Gharīb, fol. 67.

4. Al-Azharī, Tahdhīb, vol. 2, pp. 361-62.

reports illustrate the Arabs' vague concept of pre-Islamic Qurā 'Arabiyyah: Al-Azharī reiterates the last-mentioned report when warning his readers not to refer to the Muhājirūn and the Ansār as A'rāb, since they are, in fact, Arabs who live in the "Arab" towns and villages.

Before the advent of Islam, the meaning of the word "al-'Arab" had come to denote the people of the settlements as opposed to "al-A'rāb" = the nomads. By the time of the Prophet, the distinction between al-'Arab and al-A'rāb had become very clear and any member of one section crossing the line to the other was added to the section of his choice. They were not identical at that time, but Islam helped to remove this distinction. Apparently as a move to discredit the settlers who had not embraced Islam, the term was changed to Muhājirūn and Ansār as opposed to A'rāb. Thus any non-Muslim Arab was called A'rābī. It was an offence to call any member of the Muhājirūn and Ansār an A'rābī. Any town or village in Arabia embracing Islam was immediately added to the distinguished class of Muhājirūn without its inhabitants being asked to move to Medina, but with the responsibility of defending the new state at any time. As to the Muslim nomads, they remained A'rāb with no military obligations. This meant that the settlers = the Muhājirūn or the Arabs were paid soldiers, whereas the A'rāb were paid only for the battles they fought. Later, when the needs of the new state claimed every available male in Arabia, they all became Arabs as they fought side by

side. Only the nomads who stayed in Arabia were called
A'rāb.[1] Because of its early enmity to the Prophet, who was
so incensed that he abandoned it in favour of Medina, Mecca
was described as A'rābiyyah by a scholar of the 8th century
with the ulterior motive of deterring other scholars from
setting up residence there.[2]

Though the conception of the post-Islamic Arabs of Qurā
'Arabiyyah was very vague indeed, reliable sources are, for
the most part, definite in locating it in the Northern Hijaz.
Some of them such as 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Mālik and al-Wāqidī
exclude, from their map of the Arabian peninsula, Wādī al-Qurā
and the rest of Northern Hijaz. What they probably have in
mind are the political implications of the old "Provincia
Arabia". Ibn 'Abbās, Abū Hurairah, Sa'īd and others state
ahat Qurā 'Arabiyyah stretches from Medina to Syria. Other
reports, on the other hand, define the actual status of Qurā
'Arabiyyah as it was known to later generations. In another
context, al-Wāqidī interprets the word "al-'Arab" as the land
of Baliyy, 'Udhrah and Balqain which, though not a small area
is by no means as large as 'Arabiyyah of pre-Islam. Al-Zuhrī's
version of Qurā 'Arabiyyah is likely to refer to an even
smaller area, for he is quoted by the most reliable sources as
including it among the estates allotted to the Prophet, an
opinion which coincides with that of Ibn 'Abbās and with
Mu'ādh's report. Several of the Arab chroniclers who list

1. See al-Farrā', Ahkām, p. 122.
2. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 50.

the regional governors of the Prophet name one for Qurā 'Arabiyyah which was known to the tax administrators of Baghdad.

It is difficult to give a definite location of the Qurā 'Arabiyyah of which these officials speak as a dependency of Medina. There is, however, the possibility that it lay between Khaibar and Wādī al-Qurā, as Ibn Ḥabīb maintains that the Prophet marched to Qurā 'Arabiyyah from Khaibar. Other authors state that it was Wādī al-Qurā and not Qurā 'Arabiyyah. It is unlikely that Ibn Ḥabīb equates the two places since, in another passage, he mentions separate governors for each. Thus he must have another locality in that area in mind when he speaks of Qurā 'Arabiyyah other than Wādī al-Qurā. Al-Wāqidī points out that the Prophet passed through Birmah on his way from Khaibar to Wādī al-Qurā . This remark may help to identify what was described as Qurā 'Arabiyyah at that time. Birmah is adjacent to Balākith and al-Shabakah which are described as lying near Khaibar to its north-west.[1] All three used to be considered dependencies of Medina. Indeed, two of them are even said to be great dependencies of Medina.[2] Could the absence of Birmah, Balākith and al-Shabakah form the lists provided by Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah for the dependencies of Medina imply that they formed part of Qurā 'Arabiyyah? The fact that Fadak and Qurā 'Arabiyyah surrendered to the Prophet while he was at Khaibar also

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 271.

2. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1329.

speaks in favour of this assumption. A companion was sent
to sign an agreement with the people of Fadak[1] which is about
three days from Khaibar, but no such delegate is mentioned in
connection with Qura 'Arabiyyah. This suggests that it lay
too close to Khaibar to require a special envoy. Mahmud
Shakir justifiably accepts al-Samhudi's tendency to identify
Qura 'Arabiyyah with Dhul-Marwah, Balakith and Birnah and the
other villages there. In support of his claim, al-Samhudi
stresses that his Medinese contemporaries did not identify
Wadi al-Qura with what must be considered its actual site,
but with the region of Dhul-Marwah, Balakith and Birnah.[2] This
idea seems to be acceptable on condition that one excludes
Dhul-Marwah which has always been regarded as a dependency of
Medina. Dhu Khushub may also have formed part of Qura
'Arabiyyah as it does not figure in the lists of the depen-
dencies of Medina.

As to Birnah, Balakith and Shabakat al-Daum (al-Shabakah),
there is no doubt that they are situated to the north-west of
Khaibar. According to al-Hamdani, Birnah borders on Syria.
This definition is not relevant unless he has another Birnah
or another Syria in mind, especially as he situates al-Shabakah
near a Birnah which lies "above" Hunain on the Egyptian
route[3]. He might have been using the term Syria from the view
point of the Medinese who used to describe the territories

1. Al-Waqidi, Maghazi, p. 706.

2. Al-Samhudi, Wafa', p. 1329.

3. Al-Hamdani, Sifah, p. 182.

north of Medina as Syrian or Shānī. Al-Bakrī records the
same location, but substitutes Khaibar for Hunain[1] apparently
because he knows of no Hunain in the region of Birmah. As
Khaibar does not lie on the Egyptian route, it may be safe to
assume that al-Bakrī is mistaken. Hunain should also be
excluded; it is Hasīn (now known as Husayyin) which lies near
Hisār, a mountain described as belonging to Birmah.[2] The
latter, which was an important market in the 7th century, is
described by Ibn Habīb as a great dependency of Medina with
spring and palm gardens owned by Quraishī lords. He situates
it between Khaibar and Wādī al-Qurā.[3]

As to Balākith, both al-Hamdānī[4] and al-Bakrī[1] state that
there are two places of that name north of Medina. When
trying to locate them, the two authors agree on locating one
between Dhul-Marwah (or al-Marr according to al-Bakrī) and
Shabakat al-Daum, but differ on the other which al-Hamdānī
locates between Ghamr and al-'Anāb; and al-Bakrī between
Gaza and Madyan. It is, however, possible that Balākith lies
nowhere except near Birmah as Ghamr and al-'Anāb lie there.
Al-Bakrī was misled by the mention of its being near "Syria"
which occurs in an account of a Medinese poet's journey to
"Syria".[5] It is, on the whole, not unusual for the Medinese
to describe the region north of their city as "Syria" which

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 271.
2. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 78.
3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 711.
4. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 182.
5. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 275.

may be an echo of the old idea of "Provincia Arabia". Ibn
Habib describes Balakith as a great dependency of Medina
between Khaibar and Wadi al-Qura.[1] Ibn al-Sikkit places it
between Dhul-Marwah and Dhu Khushub in the valley of Idam.[1]

Shabakat al-Daum is described by both al-Hamdani[2] and
al-Bakri[3] as a dependency of Medina in the vicinity of Birmah,
while Nasr[4] places Dhul-Daum in the territory of the 'Udhrah.
Yaqut states that Wadi al-Daum stretches from al-Ghamrah,
north of Khaibar, to al-Qusaibah, south of it.[5] Al-Asma'i
says that al-shabakah indicates an abundance of wells.[6]

'Amr b. Sa'id, who was the governor of Qura 'Arabiyyah
for the Prophet, is said, by his nephew, to have been the
Prophet's governor for the sawad – the rural area – of Khaibar.
Birmah is described by al-Bakri as situated at the sawad of
Khaibar.[8] There is no doubt that the term "sawad" was known
even before Islam, though al-Bakri applies it, when used by
Aus b. Hajar, the Jahili poet, to the Sawad of Iraq.[9]

1. Yaqut, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 711.

2. Al-Hamdani, Sifah, p. 182.

3. Al-Bakri, Mu'jam, p. 271.

4. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 78.

5. Yaqut, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 875.

6. Al-Bakri, Mu'jam, p. 779.

7. Ibn Hajar, al-Isabah, vol. 3, p. 1283.

8. Al-Bakri, Mu'jam, p. 245.

9. Al-Bakri, Simt, 662.

These settlements seem to have formed part of not only "Provincia 'Arabia" but also the old Arabian kingdoms of *the* Northern Hijaz. Philby has discovered some Thamudic in-scriptions there.[1] The Qurā 'Arabiyyah of the post-Islamic era was but a very small portion of the huge 'Arabiyyah, so small that it would be difficult even to conjecture its location but for the fact that Birmah was located near Hasin and Hisār, two mountains near Khaibar, and that 'Amr was governor of the sawād of Khaibar. The Muslim Arabs retained no precise know-ledge of this province, and even their reports about the post-Islamic Qurā 'Arabiyyah are conflicting.

CONCLUSION

Qurā 'Arabiyyah, its status, its local history, location and the controversy concerning its nomenclature have already been discussed in the preceding pages. As has been seen, the only correct form of its name is Qurā 'Arabiyyah. Any attempt at locating Qurā 'Arabiyyah should consider the gradual change which occurred in the course of its political history. There is no doubt that it formed, at first, part of the Nabatean kingdom. After the disintegration of the latter, Qurā 'Arabiyyah was almost certainly incorporated in the Roman Provincia Arabia for at least a short period. That Brunnow, (

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1. Philby, The Land of Midian, p. 56.

Euting and Domaszewski;[1] Hitti,[2] Musil;[3] and Jawād 'Ali[4]
do not include this region in the Provincia Arabia does not
automatically necessitate its exclusion, since neither the
information on this province nor on Qurā 'Arabiyyah suffices
to determine its southern boundaries. It is most likely
that the name "Qurā 'Arabiyyah" is a later development of an
older form, namely "Kūrah 'Arabiyyah", a literal translation
of "Provincia Arabia".[5] There would be no point in the region
north of Medina being called "'Arabiyyah" (Arabian land) by
the Arabs themselves, since it would lead to the exclusion of
the rest of Arabia from this term, which would hardly be
logical, unless 'Arabiyyah were, in their opinion, different
from Arabia. Besides, the Arabs themselves do not seem to
call their peninsula Arabia until many centuries later when
they speak of Bilād al-'Arab. Prior to that it was sufficient
to name its regions or to apply to some parts of it, the name
of their inhabitants. Equally, foreigners would not have
called this region "'Arabiyyah" had it not been for the need
to distinguish between it and the rest of Arabia which they
already knew at that time. The name "'Arabiyyah" is only
ascribable to foreign usage, i.e. by non-Arabs, who alone
would feel the need to describe this part of the province

1. Die Provincia Arabia, vol. 3, pp. 250, 264.

2. Musil, "Die Provincia Arabia," Vienna Oriental Journal, vol.
   18, part 4, p. 379; and The Northern Hegaz, pp. 255-59.

3. Hitti, History of Syria, p. 289.

4. Jawād 'Ali, Tārīkh al-'Arab qabl al-Islām, vol. 3, p. 55.

5. The name Kūrah is still preserved in lave-fields in this region.

as "inhabited by Arabs". The Arabs themselves accepted this name and applied it to this region. The very fact that only the towns and villages of this region were given the attribute "'Arabiyyah" indicates that they were subject to a rule different from that governing the Hijaz and Tihāmah which were both adjacent to "'Arabiyyah".

That this region was regarded as different from the rest of Arabia is confirmed by the apparent contradiction that it was termed, by some Arab scholars, as "the land of the Arab", and excluded by others from Arabian territory. The last-mentioned opinion is probably that of those who identify Arabia with that Arabian territory which had never been con-trolled by foreign powers, whereas the other opinion is that of scholars with some knowledge, albeit vague and indirect of foreign sources on the part of the region and its Arabian nature. Al-Wāqidī's assumption that the region around Wādī al-Qurā was called "the land of the Arab" is plainly, though not explicitly, influenced by the viewpoint of the past his-tory of this region and the ancient historians of Syria and Palestine who had every reason to regard it as "the Arab land". The same could be deduced from Ibn Ishāq's references to the inhabitants of this region as "the Arabs". This was, perhaps, the motive of Ibn al-Kalbī when he limited the Arab land to the region north of Medina. This conception was still vivid in the memory of the 11th century when Nasir-i Khusrav equates al-'Arab with the northern part of Arabia.[1] Indeed,

1. Nasir-i Khusrav, Sefer-Nāmeh, p. 78.

Ibn al-Kalbī described "the land of the Arabs" as the territory comprising the lands north of Medina, and stretching as far north as Sinai and north-west Mesopotamia,[1] which seems to be a demarcation of Provincia Arabia, and partly corresponds with the delineation of Qurā 'Arabiyyah in certain references to its pre-Islamic history by some religious scholars.

With the passage of time, Qurā 'Arabiyyah seems to have shrunk to much smaller proportions, a fact to be accounted for by the disintegration of Provincia Arabia itself. The Qurā 'Arabiyyah described as a dependency of Medina is likely to have been the fertile valley between Khaibar and Dhul-Marwah. It is in this region where Birmah was situated. Ibn Ḥabīb states that the Prophet marched from Khaibar to Qurā 'Arabiyyah, whereas al-Wāqidī refers to the place to which the Prophet went from Khaibar as Birmah. The lava fields of al-Kūrah lie close to this region. It is also an established fact that 'Amr b. Sa'īd was appointed by the Prophet governor of Qurā 'Arabiyyah. 'Amr's nephew states that the region governed by his uncle was the sawād (the rural land) of Khaibar. Since the rest of the ancient Qurā 'Arabiyyah was allotted to various governors, it is likely that this part adjoining Khaibar was the only one still described by the name Qurā 'Arabiyyah. Caliph 'Abd al-Malik granted Kuthayyir, the poet, a property called al-'Arab العرب. Naṣr reads it al-'Arib near Medina.[2] 'Abd al-Malik used

1. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 74.

2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 633.

to have his landed properties at Dhū Khushub which was situated in the region near Birnah.

It is from Qurā 'Arabiyyah that the name "'Arab" as opposed to "A'rāb" is to be derived, since the word "'Arab" denotes the settlers, as opposed to "A'rāb" the Beduin. This distinction is definitely pre-Islamic and can be assumed to have originated in this region which is known to have possessed commercial, agricultural and cultural centres. The region to its south was known as "al-A'rābiyyah" the land of the Beduin or the Hijaz as indicated by Ibn Ishāq, who was probably relying on early Christian sources. The people of Qurā 'Arabiyyah were called 'Arab as against A'rāb, the people of al-A'rābiyyah. This distinction seems to be the result of Qurā 'Arabiyyah being included in the Roman Provincia Arabia, as the Roman officials could not but have called the inhabitants of this region "Arab". This became later a distinguishing term in opposition to the "A'rāb" or the inhabitants of the rest of Arabia whom nothing connected with the Romans. Arab traders from other parts of Arabia would find it advantageous to accept, and later claim, the description "Arab" when visiting the Roman trading centres. As their settlements and way of life approximated more closely to those of the people of Qurā 'Arabiyyah than those of the Beduin, it is possible that the inhabitants of the settlements of Arabia gradually acquired the name "'Arab" by which they were all called at the advent of Islam.

The original meaning of the word "al-'Arab" the inhabitants of Qurā 'Arabiyyah or the Arabian part of Provincia

Arabia was, however, not totally forgotten by the time of the Prophet and the early days of his first successor, Abū Bakr. This can be inferred from the fact that even the nomadic inhabitants of the region around Wādī al-Qurā were still referred to as 'Arab on several occasions at that time.[1] This represents a deviation from the general practice of that era, and cannot be accounted for except by the fact that all the people there had always been called "'Arab", regardless of their mode of life. This, however, did not include the whole of Qurā 'Arabiyyah, since the tribes around Medina were described as "A'rāb" in the Qur'ān. This application is pejorative, aiming to discredit non-Muslim Arabs. For political reasons, the term "A'rāb" was applied to all non-Muslim Arabs, and the term "'Arab" was restricted to the Muhājirūn and Ansār, the Muslims of Medina in the early years of the Prophet until the surrender of Mecca and the rest of Arabia, when Medina could no longer accommodate all Muslims. The term "'Arab" was once again used to distinguish the inhabitants of the Arabian settlements on whom the defence of the new states was incumbent, and the term "A'rāb" once more came to denote the Beduin who were not paid soldiers except when their help was needed. It was immediately after the time of the Prophet that the earlier practice of calling most of the "'Arab" "A'rāb" was reversed into promoting most of the "A'rāb" to "'Arab" when they joined the Muslim armies outside Arabia.

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1. See Ibn Hishām, op.cit., vol. 2, pp. 377, 591, 623; al-Wāqidī, op.cit., pp. 768, 770.

The term "A'rab" came to denote only the few Beduin elements
who did not leave Arabia or certain settlers whose mode of
life was semi-nomadic.[1]

Yāqūt states that B. Usaidah regard their Najdī village,
Wāsiṭ, as عربيــة 'Arabiyyah,[2] a statement which is difficult
to understand. Qurā 'Arabiyyah is not to be confused with
Qaryat al-A'rāb in north-east Arabia.

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1. Muslim, Sahīh, vol. 6, p. 27; Ibn Hanbal, Musnad, vol. 2,
   p. 522.

2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 890.

QURH

Al-Muqaddasī describes Qurh as a region with Wādī al-Qurā as its capital.[1] He cites five towns which, he says, belong to Qurh.[2] He also regards Qurh as one of the principal towns of the Hijaz.[3] Its population, according to him, are Sunnīs,[4] its "dried peaches" represent a renowned speciality of Arabia,[5] but its water is totally unwholesome.[6] Al-Muqaddasī's description of Qurh appears under the entry on Wādī al-Qurā.

Al-Bakrī, in his Masālik, concurs with al-Muqaddasī in equating Qurh with Wādī al-Qurā.[7] In al-Mu'jam, he, however, contradicts this assumption declaring on two occasions that Qurh is the capital of Wādī al-Qurā.[8] Al-Muqaddasī assesses the distance between Qurh

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 53.

2. Ibid., p. 84.

3. Ibid., p. 69.

4. Ibid., 96.

5. Ibid., p. 98.

6. Ibid., p. 101.

7. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 13.

8. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 247, 1056.

and al-Ḥijr at one day's journey,[1] while al-Bakrī says
that it is eighteen miles,[2] which is a little less than
a day's journey. According to al-Muqaddasī, the port of
Qurḥ is al-'Aunīd;[3] according to al-Bakrī, it is al-Ḥaurā?.[4]
In another entry in his Mu'jam, al-Bakrī mentions Qurḥ
as a mere place without locating it.[5] Al-Maqdisī is also
of the opinion that Qurḥ is another name for Wādī al-
Qurā.[6] Al-Suddī, however, is quoted as saying that Qurḥ
is the capital of Wādī al-Qurā[7] which is actually the
case as Wādī al-Qurā is a region whereas Qurḥ is one of
its several towns and villages. Naṣr follows al-Suddī
as regards Qurḥ.[8]

It might have been a corrupted form of Wajj
وج which led to the theory that Qurḥ قرح was another
name of Wādī al-Qurā, as Wajj was said to be the ancient

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 107.

2. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 12.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 84.

4. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 22.

5. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1061.

6. Al-Maqdisī, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 36.

7. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 54.

8. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 122.

name of Wādī al-Qurā.[1] It is, however, not unusual that
a town gives its name to a region, as Wādī al-Qurā is
known to-day by the name al-'Ulā, which is the capital
of that region.

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1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 22.

AL-QUSAIBAH

Al-Ya'qūbī is the only official geographer to mention al-Quṣaibah when mapping the coastal route between Ailah and Mecca.[1] According to him, it is located between al-Nabk and al-Buḥrah. Were his description of the whole route consistent with the actual situation, it would be difficult to identify the place he had in mind. Things being what they are, it is likely that he refers to what is now called Ra's al-Quṣaibah, near 'Ainūnah. Wakī', on the other hand, locates al-Quṣaibah south of al-Haurā' and north of al-Buḥrah.[2] His account of the Egyptian pilgrim routes is on the whole unreliable and thus cannot be taken for granted. Al-Quṣaibah, though ignored by the early Arab geographers apart from al-Ya'qūbī and Wakī', was a way-station on the pilgrim route from Egypt. It was called 'Uyūn al-Qasab.[3]

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, _Buldān_, p. 341.

2. Wakī', _Manāzil_, fol. 114.

3. Al-Jazīrī, _op. cit._, p. 450.

RĀBIGH

Rābigh is mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī in connection with the history of the Prophet's campaigns. He places it at a distance of ten miles from al-Juḥfah on the route of travellers from Medina to Qudaid.[1] It is clear that his source is al-Wāqidī because both their statements are identical.[2] Ibn Sa'd is less complicated and more exact when he states that Rābigh is at a distance of ten miles to the left of the route from Medina to Qudaid.[3] It should, however, be borne in mind that all of them speak of the valley of Rābigh, not the village of Rābigh which is actually on the right side of this route. Al-Wāqidī assesses the distance between Rābigh and Medina at several days' journey.[4] In al-Zubairī's Nasab, Rābigh is called Rāfi'.[5] Al-Balādhurī describes Rābigh as a valley ten miles from al-Juḥfah;[6] and Ibn al-Sikkīt situates it

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1. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 234.

2. Al-Wāqidī, op. cit., p. 2.

3. Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., part 2, vol. 2, p. 2.

4. Al-Wāqidī, op. cit., p. 205.

5. Al-Zubairī, op. cit., p. 94.

6. Al-Balādhurī, Ansāl, vol. 1, p. 371.

between Waddān and al-Jiḥfah.[1] So does Lughdah.[2]

Al-Bakrī places Rābiɣh between Medina and al-
Juḥfah in the valley of Marr which belongs to Khuzā'ah.[3]
This valley of Marr should be read al-Marāḍ, as Marr is
a name of two localities neither of which lies in that
region, whereas al-Bakrī himself quotes Ibn Ḥabīb when
he locates al-Ghamīm near al-Marāḍ which is situated between
Rābigh and al-Juḥfah.[4] In a third passage, al-Bakrī
describes Rābigh as a place behind (west of) the pass
of Hirshā, some miles off the Medina-Mecca route. He adds
that it has a spring, wells and palm groves.[5] He also
mentions another place called Rābigh which he locates
in the proximity of Medina.[6]

Naṣr describes Rābigh as a valley on the pilgrim
route immediately before al-Juḥfah and 'Azwar.[7] Yāqūt
attributes this statement to Ibn al-Sikkīt.[8] But Naṣr
also locates Rābigh at al-Marrūd in the territories of

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1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 597.

2. Lughdah, op. cit., p. 411.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 625.

4. Ibid., p. 1006.

5. Ibid., p. 1350.

6. Ibid., p. 1328.

7. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 71.

8. Yāūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 728.

Damrah.[1] Al-Ḥāzimī describes Rābigh as a valley in
al-Juḥfah.[2] Al-Zamakhsharī places Rābigh between al-
Juḥfah and al-Abwā' at ten miles' distance from the
former.[3] Ibn al-Ṣābūnī says that Rābigh is a halt on
the Syrian pilgrim route,[4] but Abū al-Fidā' indicates
that Rābigh has already replaced al-Juḥfah as a stopping
place, and the place where the Egyptian pilgrims begin
to perform their pilgrimage rites.[5] Abū al-Fidā''s
account is more accurate as the Syrian pilgrim caravans
used to call at Medina, which pilgrims should start
observing their Ḥajj rites at al-Shajarah.

Yāqūt attributes to Ibn al-Sikkīt the location
of al-Barūd near Rābigh.[6] However, both Yāqūt,[7] in
another entry, and Naṣr[8] mention al-Marrūd which is
identical with this locality, as Yāqūt stresses in both
places that it is in the territories of Ḍamrah near

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1. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 137.
2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 728.
3. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 50.
4. Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, Takmilah, p. 145.
5. Abū al-Fidā', Taqwīm, p. 80.
6. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 597.
7. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 505.
8. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 137.

Rābigh. Moreover, al-Bakrī gives it the name al-Barūd, but places it in the territories of Ḍamrah in one passage,[1] and in that of Aslam near al-Fur', in another.[2]

Rābigh is a flourishing town in that region, but should not be confused with Mt. Rābighah which is situated on what used to the Iraqi pilgrim route near al-Suwāriqiyyah.

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 246.
2. Ibid., p. 1020.

AL-RAUḤĀ'

Neither Ibn Khurradadhbeh nor Qudāmah mention al-Rauḥā' on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca. Ibn Rosteh places it at thirty-one miles from al-Shajarah and thirty-four miles from al-Ruwaithah. He adds that al-Rauḥā' is but another name for al-Sayālah, a statement which cannot be accepted.[1] Al-Ya'qūbī places it on the pilgrim route between al-Sayālah and al-Ruwaithah in the direction of Mecca, adding that it is the land of Muzainah.[2] Al-Muqaddasī fares no better than Ibn Rosteh when the former describes al-Rauḥā' as equidistant from al-'Arj and al-Ruwaithah in the direction of Medina at one day's journey from either. Actually it is al-Ruwaithah that lies between al-Rauḥā' and al-'Arj.[3] He assesses the distance between Badr and al-Rauḥā' at a journey of two days.[4]

'Arrām states that al-Rauḥā' is one of several villages at the foot of Mt. Warīqān on the right side of the mountain in the direction of Mecca. He implies that

1. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 178.
2. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 313.
3. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 106.
4. Ibid., p. 107.

al-Rauhā' lies in the same direction between Sayālah and al-Ruwaithah.[1] Al-Hamdānī points out al-Rauhā' as Juhainī land,[2] and adds that the water of the valley of Shanūkatān (the two Shanūkahs) flows into al-Rauhā'.[3] He places al-Rauhā' at twenty-four miles from al-Sayālah and thirteen miles from al-Ruwaithah, giving its degree of latitude as $23°.20'$.[4] Al-Bakrī enumerates al-Rauhā' among the lands usurped by the Juhainah tribe in their drive to the north.[5] In another passage, he describes it as a principal village situated forty-one miles from Medina and inhabited by Muzainah. He states that there is a mosque of the Prophet erected in the place where the Prophet once held prayers, and quotes al-Bukhārī on the location of that mosque. He also quotes Mālik as saying that where the houses of a village stand close together, as they do in al-Rauhā', the Friday prayer should be held. He relates the story of Mudar's burial, who is said to have been laid to rest in al-Rauhā'. Al-Bakrī attributes two different statements on the derivation of the name

1. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 402.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 171.

3. Ibid., p. 181.

4. Ibid., p. 184.

5. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 38.

al-Rauhā' to the poet Kuthayyir; one of them he
attributes to the prevalence of a breeze اريح there;[1]
the other to the fact that the wind blows through it
ريح.[2] Yāqūt relies on Ibn al-Kalbī when relating that
the Tubba' gave it its name because he had found comfort
راحة rāhah there.[3]

Al-Bakrī states that the valley of al-Rauhā'
lies south of Mt. al-Ash'ar,[4] and that Sajsaj is a well
in the region of al-Rauhā'.[5] In another passage, he,
however, describes it as the "well of al-Rauhā'".[6] Al-
Bakrī corrupts 'Arrām's above-quoted statement on al-
Rauhā' without naming his source. Whereas 'Arrām says
that al-Rauhā' lies between Sayālah and al-Ruwaithah
at the foot of Mt. Wariqān on its right side in the
direction of Mecca,[7] al-Bakrī claims that al-Rauhā'
is situated between Sayālah and al-Ruwaithah on the
right side of Mt. Wariqān in the direction of Medina,

1. Ibid., p. 681-2, and see Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 48.
2. Ibid., p. 1257.
3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 828.
4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 154.
5. Ibid., p. 724.
6. Ibid., p. 958.
7. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 402.

which cannot be true. This error is attributable to his
misplacement of Wariqān which 'Arrām describes as the
first mountain encountered by travellers leaving Medina
for Mecca. Al-Bakrī, inadvertently, substitutes Mecca
for Medina and vice versa.[1] He calculates the distances
from al-Rauhā' to al-Sayālah as eleven miles, that from
al-Rauhā' to al-Ruwaithah as twenty-four miles and that
from al-Rauhā' to the village of Nūh as twelve miles.[2]
According to al-Bakrī there is more than one route that
leads from al-Rauhā' to Mecca.[3] Yāqūt quotes Muslim and
Ibn Abū Shaibah when saying that the distance from al-
Rauhā' is thirty-six and thirty miles respectively without
signifying the other end of that journey. Yāqūt seems
to imply that this other end is al-Fur',[4] but al-Samhūdī
is clear in pointing it out as Medina[5] which is true.
Both authors seem to rely on 'Iyāḍ who describes al-
Rauhā' as a dependency of Medina controlled from al-Fur'.
As to the distances, 'Iyāḍ situates al-Rauhā' at forty
miles from Medina, but quotes Muslim and Ibn Abū Shaibah

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1. Al-Bakrī, _Mu'jam_, p. 1377.
2. _Ibid._, p. 959.
3. _Ibid._, p. 959.
4. Yāqūt, _Mu'jam_, vol. 2, p. 828.
5. Al-Samhūdī, _Wafā'_, p. 1222.

who assess it at thirty-six and thirty miles respectively.[1] Yāqūt also relies on al-Wāqidī in his calculation of the distance between 'Irq al-Ẓabyah and al-Rauḥā' which, as he assumes, is three miles,[2] but it is two miles only in al-Wāqidī's Maghāzī.[3] Al-Asadī, however, states that the distance from al-Rauḥā' to Medina is thirty-five or thirty-six miles, and, in another place, forty-two. As al-Asadī is usually accurate, the discrepancy could be the result of a variation made in the actual points of departure and arrival as al-Samhūdī suggests.[4] Another fact recorded by al-Asadī is that there are two pillars at the entrance to, and two at the exit from, al-Rauḥā'. He adds that al-Rauḥā' possesses relics of the Prophet, two palaces and several wells, one of which is attributed to Marwān, and has a cistern built by al-Rashīd, while another provided with a water-scoop is ascribed to 'Uthmān. Its water also flows into a cistern. 'Umar b. 'Abd al 'Azīz had a well dug there whose water gushed from one of the two cisterns, in the middle of the market. As to the well of al-Wāthiq,

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1. 'Iyāḍ, Mashāriq, vol. 1, p. 263.
2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 574.
3. Al-Wāqidī, Maghāzī, P. 40.
4. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1223.

al-Asadī says that it is the worst of them all, since its depth is sixty cubits. He situates 'Irq al-Ẓabyah at two miles from al-Rauhā'.[1] Apart from the reference to al-Wāthiq's well, al-Asadī's information is derived from Wakī'.[2] Al-Idrīsī seems to confuse al-Rauhā' with al-Ḥaurā', which results in locating al-Ṣafrā' on the coast.[3]

Al-Zamakhsharī states that al-Rauhā' is situated at four postal stages minus three miles from Medina.[4] In his Masālik, al-Bakrī mentions a mosque of the Prophet called al-Makhḍūb at a distance of three miles from al-Rauhā'.[5] The name of the mosque is al-Munṣaraf as al-Asadī mentions it, with the same location.

According to a letter addressed to Ibn Bulaihid, al-Rauhā' is still known and lies at a distance of 75 K.M. from Medina in the direction of Mecca.[6] In fact, it is called Bi'r Rāḥah.

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1. Ibid., pp. 1008-10.

2. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 48.

3. See supra, p. 94.

4. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 79.

5. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 75.

6. Ibn Bulaihid, Ṣaḥīḥ, vol. 5, p. 180.

AL-RUHBAH

Ibn Khurradadhbeh refers to al-Ruhbah as a
dependency of Medina.[1] However, in listing the names
of the stops, he calls it al-Ruhaibah and locates it
between al-Marwah in the south, and Wadi al-Qura in the
north, and mentions it twice, once when speaking of the
Egyptian route,[2] and the second time when drawing up the
Syrian route.[3] Ibn Rosteh follows him to the letter
except in calling it al-Ruhbah throughout his book.[4]
Both authors vocalize it "al-Rahbah". Qudamah follows
Ibn Khurradadhbeh even with respect to the use of the
name al-Ruhaibah,[5] but does not mention it with regard
to the Syrian route. Indeed, he omits all stops between
Wadi al-Qura and Medina, apparently because he has already
mentioned these in connection with the Egyptian route.
He uses the name al-Ruhbah when enumerating the depen-
dencies of Medina.[6]

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 129.

2. Ibid., p. 150.

3. Ibid., p. 150.

4. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., pp. 177, 183.

5. Qudamah, op. cit., p. 190.

6. Ibid., p. 248.

Al-Ya'qūbī does not mention al-Ruḥbah either in connection with the Egyptian or the Syrian inland route. Al-Bakrī does not refer to al-Ruhbah in his Masālik, but does so in al-Mu'jam. He also discusses its spelling on which he is definite. He is less so on its population: he says, in one passage, that its inhabitants were from Baliyy,[1] and, in another place, that it lies in the land of 'Udhrah.[2] The editor, however, vocalizes it al-Raḥbah in many places.[3]

Al-Idrīsī uses the name al-Ruḥbah when describing the place as a dependency of Medina,[4] but substitutes al-Ruḥaibah for it when listing the halting places on the conventional overland route between Ailah and Medina. He locates it south of Wādī al-Qurā and north of Dhul-Marwah.[5] He, however, calls it al-Ruḥbah when mapping the Syrian route.[6]

Al-Muqaddasī locates al-Ruḥbah, apparently on the coastal route, north of Munkhūs and south of al-

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 28.

2. Ibid., p. 643.

3. Ibid., pp. 28, 793, 1281.

4. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 36.

5. Ibid., fol. 88.

6. Ibid., fol. 89.

'Aunīd.[1] This is likely to be a result of misreading al-Wajh as al-Ruḥbah. Its form is al-Ruḥbah, according to Naṣr, who describes it as a region between Syria and Medina near Wādī al-Qurā.[2] Al-Maqdisī lists al-Ruḥbah among the small Hijazi rural towns.[3]

Al-Ruḥbah has gone out of existence, but it is easy to locate it as it is identical with, or lies near, Suqyā al-Jazl which means that both of them were situated near the valley of al-Jazl. It should be remembered that there are many places in Arabia called al-Ruḥbah and al-Raḥbah, no less than three among them in the Hijaz alone.

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., pp. 110, 112.
2. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 73.
3. Al-Maqdisī, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 70.

AL-RUWAITHAH

Ibn Khurradadhbeh places al-Ruwaithah thirty-six miles north of al-Suqyā and thirty-four miles south of al-Sayālah on the conventional route between Mecca and Medina. As to the place itself, he does not elaborate beyond saying that it has cisterns.[1] Al-Ya'qūbī locates it south of al-Rauḥā' and north of al-'Arj, adding that its population comprises descendants of 'Uthmān and other Arabs.[2] Ibn Rosteh follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh with respect to the location of al-Ruwaithah, and in the calculation of the above-mentioned distances, stating that it is a watering place on the pilgrim route, with a well called al-Aḥsā', and with a seasonal population during the pilgrimage months.[3] Qudāmah seems to have borrowed Ibn Rosteh's statement about both location and distances, but what the latter calls al-Aḥsā' has become in Qudāmah's Kharāj, mere aḥsā' "wells within easy reach".[4]

Al-Muqaddasī places al-Ruwaithah north of al-Rauḥā' and regards it as the last halt for travellers

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 130.
2. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 313.
3. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 178.
4. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 187.

from Mecca to Medina.[1] He does not seem to be accurate
either about the location or the distances as al-Ruwaithah
lies, in fact, south of al-Rauhā', and is sixty miles
distant from Medina according to al-Asadī,[2] and fifty-
nine miles according to Ibn Khurradadhbeh; such a distance
could not be covered in a mere day's journey, and cannot
be compared with the distance between al-Ruwaithah and
al-Rauhā' which is, according to al-Hamdānī, thirteen
miles only.[3] Al-Hamdānī describes Thāfil as a village
of al-Ruwaithah.[4] He places the latter at twenty-four
miles from al-'Arj in the south and thirteen miles from
al-Rauhā' in the north, giving its latitude as $23^{\circ}.10'$.[5]
He describes it as Juhainī land,[6] in one passage, and
mentions, in another, a locality with that name as a
territory of B. Murrah.[7]

'Arrām states that Mt. Wariqān stretches from
Sayālah to the "evening meal" halt between al-Ruwaithah

1. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 106.

2. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1225.

3. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 184.

4. Ibid., p. 181.

5. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 184.

6. Ibid., p. 171.

7. Ibid., p. 180.

and al-'Arj.[1] Al-Bakrī borrows this statement without
mentioning his source.[2] In another passage, al-Bakrī
relates that al-Ruwaithah was among the territories
conquered by Juhainah.[3] He quotes Ibn Ḥabīb when he
states that the waters of Buzrah valley flows into the
fresh-water wells of al-Ruwaithah.[4] Relying on the
authority of Ibn al-Sikkīt, Yāqūt calls it Burzah,[5]
but draws on Naṣr in another entry where he calls it
Buzrah which is the correct form. Naṣr, however, calls
it both.[6] Al-Bakrī calculates the distance from
Medina to al-Ruwaithah as seventeen parasangs [7] in one
passage, and, in another, twenty-one parasangs,[8] from
al-Ruwaithat to al-Sugyā as ten parasangs,[9] and from
al-Ruwaithah to al-Ṣafrā' twelve miles.[10] The pass of

1. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 402.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1377.

3. Ibid., p. 38.

4. Ibid., p. 248.

5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 565.

6. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 604.

7. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 686.

8. Ibid., p. 930.

9. Ibid., p. 686.

10. Ibid., p. 954.

al-'Arj is eleven miles distant from al-Ruwaithah, in
one passage,[1] and, in another, fourteen miles.[2] As
to the distance between al-Rauḥā' and al-Ruwaithah, al-
Bakrī mentions that it is twenty-four miles. He says
that two different routes lead from al-Rauḥā' to Badr,
one of which passes al-Ruwaithah. Twelve miles south of
al-Ruwaithah lies al-Uthāyah[3] where the southern borders
of the Hijaz end. He describes al-Uthāyah as a well
close to a mosque of the Prophet.[4]

Al-Bakrī seems to have relied mainly on al-
Asadī whose information is derived from Wakī. According
to the latter, al-Ruwaithah belongs to Muzainah, and
possesses many wells. He refers to the Prophet's mosque
at the 51st postal stage near al-Ruwaithah. He also
mentions the Prophet's mosque, and a very old tree with
numerous inscriptions on its trunk[5] in close proximity
of this mosque.

Al-Idrīsī follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh with regard
to the distances and location of al-Ruwaithah which he

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 686.

2. Ibid., p. 930.

3. Ibid., p. 954.

4. Ibid., p. 686.

5. Wakī, Manāzil, fol. 48.

describes as a place in ruins, but still possessing its cisterns.[1] Naṣr claims that the Jiyy valley near al-Ruwaithah was the place where ancient people were carried away by a flood while they were asleep.[2] Yāqūt records a statement by al-Azharī which describes al-Ruwaithah as a watering halt between Mecca and Medina. Ibn al-Sikkīt is also quoted as saying that al-Ruwaithah is the "evening meal" stop between al-'Arj and al-Rauḥā'. In the same entry Yāqūt quotes Ibn al-Kalbī to the effect that the Tubba' was late arriving at al-Ruwaithah and gave it a name commemorating the delay raith رَيث .[3]

Al-Bukhārī locates the Prophet's mosque of al-Ruwaithah at two miles north of the postal sign of al-Ruwaithah near which stands a very old tree with numerous writings on its trunk.[4] Al-Asadī gives two estimates of the distance between al-Ruwaithah and al-Rauḥā': thirteen miles and sixteen miles and a half. He calls the two mountains flanking al-Ruwaithah "al-Ḥamrā'," which faces its houses," and al-Ḥasnā' "which

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 37.
2. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 24.
3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 875.
4. Al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, vol. 1, p. 134, and see infra, p. 514

lies to the east on the left side of it".[1] Al-Ruwaithah
is identical with Bi'r 'Abbās.

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1. Al-Samhūdī, _Wafā'_, p. 1012.

AL-ṢAFRĀ'

Wakī' regards al-Ṣafrā' as a dependency of Medina. He locates it at twelve miles from al-Ruwaithah and states that it belongs to the descendants of 'Uthmān and Ja'far.[1] Mapping what seems to be the conventional route from Mecca to Medina, al-Muqaddasī situates al-Ṣafrā' between Badr, in the direction of Mecca, and al-Rauḥā' in the direction of Medina. It is separated from either by one day's journey. Al-Muqaddasī mentions its abundant palm groves and springs, and equates it with a place called al-Ma'lāh.[2] Of all Arab geographers of that era, 'Arrām gives the most detailed description of al-Ṣafrā' to which he refers as a village abounding with corn-fields and groves of palm trees, and water derived from springs. He locates it between Medina and Yanbu', and states that its waters flow into the latter. Raḍwā, which he locates close to 'Azwar, lies west of al-Ṣafrā'. 'Arrām also speaks of small hills and mountains surrounding al-Ṣafrā', and adds that al-Ṣafrā' belongs to the tribes Juhainah, al-Anṣār, B.

1. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 40, 48.
2. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 107.

Fihr and Nahd.[1] As regards the location, the text cannot
be identical with 'Arrām's original account for two
obvious reasons. First, the statement that Raḍwā lies
to the west of al-Ṣafrā' is contrary to fact, as Raḍwā
lies at a considerable distance from al-Ṣafrā' to the
north of it. Secondly, the assumption that Yalyal is the
valley of Yanbu' and that its waters flow into the latter
is erroneous. Yalyal is not the valley of Yanbu', but
of al-Ṣafrā' and its waters flow into Ghaiqah. As it is
unthinkable that 'Arrām could have placed Raḍwā west of
al-Ṣafrā' or confused Yalyal with the valley of Yanbu',
it is obvious that alterations have been made to 'Arrām's
text. Equally puzzling is the location of 'Azwar at the
distance of a race course from Raḍwā, since all other
authors locate it near al-Juḥfah, and some even speak of
it in connection with the route which the Prophet took
when travelling from Medina to Mecca.[2] This is the region
in which it is placed by al-Zamakhsharī who relies on the
authority of the well-informed 'Ulayy,[3] as well as al-

1. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 398.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 368, 656.

3. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 164.

Hamdānī[1] and Ibn al-Sikkīt.[2] Hijazi poets such al al-Muzarrid,[3] Ibn Harmah, Kuthayyir[4] and al-Aḥwaṣ[5] also situate it near al-Juḥfah. 'Arrām speaks of a spring in Yalyal called al-Buḥair, a spring of extremely fresh water which gushes from a mound and runs on through the sands. So profuse is this spring that it defies all attempts at control on the part of the peasants, except where it meanders through the sands. It waters palm trees, melons and vegetables.

Al-Bakrī follows 'Arrām's description of al-Ṣafrā', but mentions that al-Buḥairah (al-Buḥair) is a spring of al-Ṣafrā', and attributes the statement that al-Ṣafrā' is the valley of Yalyal to al-Qālī.[6] Al-Bakrī relies on al-Sakūnī, a transmitter of 'Arrām, in listing al-Ṣafrā' among the settlements of Ḍamrah.[7] In another passage, he states that it belongs to B. Ghifār (a branch

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1. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, pp. 177, 181.
2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 727.
3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1233.
4. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 669.
5. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1280.
6. Ibid., p. 836.
7. Ibid., p. 659.

of Ḍamrah).[1] As to the location of al-Ṣafrā', al-Bakrī
states that it lies on the way from Medina to Mecca, but
not on the conventional route. He assesses the distance
from al-Ṣafrā' to al-Ruwaithah at twelve miles, to Badr
at twenty miles, to al-Khiyān at thirteen miles and to
the village of Nūḥ at seventeen miles.[2] He implies that
al-Ṣafrā', albeit having dependencies of its own, is a
dependency of al-Fur'.[3] According to him, one of the
valleys whose waters abut upon al-Ṣafrā' is Ṭāsā (Ḍās);[4]
so is Raḥqān.[5] Among the places which al-Bakrī locates
at or near al-Ṣafrā' are 'Irq al-Ẓabyah;[6] Nuṣ', a grey
mountain;[7] Musliḥ and Mukhrī which are the mountains of
al-Ṣafrā';[8] Faifā Khuraim;[9] al-Maḍīq of al-Ṣafrā';[10] and
Thirā which he locates at two days' distance from

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 1227.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 954.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1020.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 439.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 903.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 1309.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 1227.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 1038.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 958.

Medina.[1]

Al-Hamdānī lists al-Ṣafrā' among the Juhainī settlements,[2] and records a poem by al-'Ajlanī, the Hijazi poet who situates it between Badr and al-Rauhā'.[3] Naṣr maintains that al-Ṣafrā' lies in the valley of Yalyal.[4] Al Wāqidī places it in the neighbourhood of Sayar[5] which Ibn Sa'd locates at three days' distance from Medina.[6] Al-Zamakhsharī mentions al-Dabbah as lying between al-Ṣafrā' and al-Rauhā',[7] and describes the former as a place, in one passage,[8] and as a village in the valley of Yalyal, in another.[9] Al-Idrīsī describes al-Ṣafrā' as an adequate port lying between two other ports, al-Haurā' in the direction of Egypt and al-Quraifah in the direction of al-Jār.[10] Both the location and the

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1. Ibid., p. 340.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 171.

3. Ibid., p. 218.

4. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 34.

5. Al-Wāqidī, op. cit., p. 100.

6. Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 2.

7. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 61.

8. Ibid., p. 99.

9. Ibid., p. 165.

10. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 88.

description are erroneous, as al-Ṣafrā' is situated in an inland valley east of al-Jār. Al-Idrīsī seems to confuse al-Rauḥā', a way-station east of al-Ṣafrā', with al-Ḥaurā', the famous port north of Yanbu'. Such confusion, if it happens, requires him to assume that al-Ṣafrā' lies on the coast between al-Ḥaurā' and al-Jār. Al-Quraifah القريفة may be a corruption of al-'Udhaibah العذيبة which lies west of al-Ṣafrā' and east of al-Jār. Thus the route from al-Rauḥā', in the interior, to the port of al-Jār, has been confused with the route from the port al-Ḥaurā' to the port of al-Jār.

Yāqūt records 'Arrām's statement about al-Ṣafrā' with minor alterations in phrasing. Instead of "Raḍwā lies west of al-Ṣafrā'", Yāqūt has "The valley of al-Ṣafrā' lies east of Raḍwā,"[1] which is of course the same mistake. He quotes Ibn al-Sikkīt when stating that al-Kharmā', which is a spring in the valley of al-Ṣafrā', belongs to a certain member of Ghifār,[2] while al-Uthayyil (al-Uthail), which abounds in palm trees and lies between Badr and al-Ṣafrā', belongs to B. Ja'far.[3] He attributes the information that the valley of al-Samak,

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1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 790.
2. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 426.
3. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 121.

which pilgrims sometimes pass, is a Hijazi locality in
the region of al-Ṣafrā', to al-Hāzimī,[1] and the assumption
that Farāqid is a valley whose waters flow into the valley
of al-Ṣafrā' to Ibn al-Sikkīt[2] whom he also quotes when
describing Fi'rā as a mountain whose waters abut upon the
valley of al-Ṣafrā'.[3] However, Yāqūt relies on al-Bakrī in
vocalizing the name Fi'rā. It is true that al-Bakrī
vocalizes it so, but he also gives another form Fu'rā
which he attributes to Ibn Habīb.[4] Yāqūt also relies
on Ibn Habīb when locating Wāsiṭ between al-'Udhaibah
and al-Ṣafrā',[5] and on Ibn al-Furāt when describing al-
Nāziyyah near al-Ṣafrā' as a wide area with wild plants
and grass.[6] There is a spring called Kutānah located
by Yāqūt at al-Ṣafrā' and described by him as the property
of the descendants of Abū Maryam who inherited it from
B. Ja'far. Yāqūt relies for both pieces of information
on the authority of Ibn al-Sikkīt,[7] while al-Bakrī

1. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 140.

2. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 865.

3. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 903.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1026.

5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 890.

6. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 728.

7. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 235.

attributes it to Ibn Ḥabīb and locates Kutānah in Najd which is unacceptable.[1] Al-Bakrī seems to confuse Kutānah with Kutnah which he describes, in another passage, as a Najdī dependency of Mecca.[2] Lughdah situates al-Ṣafrā' at two days' distance from Medina and describes it as a valley with palm groves. Its inhabitants are B. Yaḫīd, clients of the 'Uthmānis.[3]

Al-Ṣafrā' still has many villages and springs and is still famous in that area.

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1. _Ibid_., p. 1114, and see Lughdah, _op. cit_., p. 417.
2. Al-Bakrī, _Mu'jam_, p. 309.
3. Lughdah, _op. cit_., p. 410.

AL-SARHATAIN

The name al-Sarhah has, in Arabic, a poetic, almost nostalgic sound, because it reminded the early Arabs of a very dear commodity, water. Where there was a sarhah, there was also water; when the well was exhausted, the early Arab wandered on. In view of this desert character of the early Arabs, neither trees of which the Sarhah is only one kind, nor water, nor wells can be traced with any certainty. That may account for our inability to identify this place which is mentioned by no less than four Arab geographers of the early period. Ibn Khurradadhbeh,[1] Ibn Rosteh,[2] Qudāmah[3] and al-Muqaddasī[4] speak of it as a way-station on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. All of them locate it between Badā in the north, and al-Baiḍa' in the south. In spite of his different version of that route, al-Muqaddasī is quite consistent as regards its location. Al-Ya'qūbī omits both al-Sarhatain and al-Baiḍā' from his account of the inland route between Ailah and Medina. Al-Bakrī

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 149.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 190.

4. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., pp. 110, 112.

seems to follow him in this respect, as he passes over both these places in silence when mapping that route in his _Masālik_. Though he mentions al-Baiḍā' in his version of that route, al-Idrīsī fails to mention al-Sarḥatain.[1] Wakī' locates al-Sarḥatain north of al-Suqyā and south of Shaghb which should be Badā, as Badā separates al-Sarḥatain from Shaghb.[2]

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1. Al-Idrīsī, _op. cit._, fol. 88.
2. Wakī', _Manāzil_, fol. 114.

AL-SAYĀLAH

Ibn Khurradadhbeh lists al-Sayālah among the dependencies of Medina.[1] As to the conventional route between Medina and Mecca, he places al-Sayālah, which possesses wells, at nineteen miles from Malal in the direction of Medina and thirty-four miles from al-Ruwaithah in the direction of Mecca.[2] Al-Ya'qūbī adopts the same location, but without mention of distances. As to the inhabitants of al-Sayālah, al-Ya'qūbī relates that they are Hasanīs who have displaced the Quraishī and other elements.[3] Ibn Rosteh describes al-Sayālah as fairly densely populated, with a small market and some wells. He points out that Shahines and Sakers are sold there. Ibn Rosteh places al-Sayālah at thirty-one miles from al-Shajarah towards Medina, and thirty-four miles from al-Ruwaithah in the direction of Mecca, adding that al-Sayālah is identical with al-Rauhā',[4] an opinion which is not acceptable. Al-Hamdānī is sure that al-Sayālah lies at twenty-four miles from al-Rauhā' to the

1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 129.
2. Ibid., p. 130.
3. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 313.
4. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 177.

south and at twenty-three miles from Medina. He gives
its degree of latitude as $23°.40'$,[1] and adds that there
is a direct route from Sayālah to Uwāl north of Medina
which some Egyptian and Syrian pilgrims choose to follow.[2]
He mentions a poem by the Hijazi poet, al-'Ajlānī, in
which al-Sayālah is located between al-Fur' and al-
Khulai'āt (Khubaitāt?).[3]

Qudāmah follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh on the
location of al-Sayālah and on the distances to and from
this place.[4] He also concurs in describing it as a
dependency of Medina,[5] and on the existence of wells
there.[6] Besides, Qudāmah follows Ibn Rosteh on the
fact of Shahines and Sakers being sold there. According
to Wakī', al-Sayālah belongs to the descendants of al-
Husain (al-Hasan) b. 'Alī. It possesses many famous
wells. At a mile's distance from al-Sayālah on the
right side of the route lies the Suwaiqah of the des-
cendants of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hasan. The distances from

1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 184.

2. Ibid., p. 130.

3. Ibid., p. 219.

4. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 187.

5. Ibid., p. 248.

6. Ibid;, p. 187.

al-Sayālah are seven miles to Malal; eleven miles to
al-Rauḥā', and twenty-four miles to al-Ruwaithah.[1]

Al-Bakrī assesses the distance from al-Sayālah
to Malal at seventeen miles. He describes al-Sayālah
as a principal village, dominated by the Ḥasanīs (they
had been driven out well over a century before in the
ninth century by the Ḥarb tribe), at twenty-nine miles
from Medina and twelve miles from al-Rauḥā'. He adds
that there are wells in al-Sayālah, the biggest of which
is that of Calph al-Rashīd with a diameter of nine
cubits.[2] Without referring to a source, al-Bakrī borrows
'Arrām's statement about Mt. Wariqān which stretches
from al-Sayālah to the "evening meal" halt between al-
'Arj and al-Ruwaithah.[3] Al-Bakrī errs with regard to
the location of Wariqān, which he describes as the first
mountain to encounter travellers emerging from Mecca, a
location contradictory to fact and to 'Arrām, and which
leads to more errors discussed under the entry on al-'Arj.
In another entry al-Bakrī calculates the distance between
al-Sayālah and al-Rauḥā' as eleven miles.[4] 'Arrām,

1. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 46.
2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 769-70.
3. Ibid., p. 1377.
4. Ibid., p. 958.

however, locates al-Sayalah west of Mt. Wariqan which he describes as the first mountain from Medina to Mecca, unlike al-Bakri.[1]

    Al-Idrisi lists al-Sayalah among the famous localities in the fifth part of the third (sic) climate.[2] He also counts al-Sayalah as a dependency of Medina. Al-Idrisi says that al-Sayalah is a poor way-station, but that its water is fresh and good to drink. He follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh in respect of both the location and the distance from al-Ruwaithah. As regards the distance between al-Sayalah and Malal, he states that it is seventeen miles.[3] Al-Maqdisi regards al-Sayalah as one of the smaller towns in the Hijaz.[4] Al-Hajari records that there are four hills each called Hamra', on the right hand side of travellers from Medina to Mecca.[5] Al Zamakhshari attributes to 'Ulayy a statement to the effect that al-Sayalah valley is the southern limit of the Qabaliyyah region on the pilgrim route.[6] Ibn al-

1. 'Arram, op. cit., p. 402.

2. Al-Idrisi, op. cit., fol. 89.

3. Ibid., fol. 37.

4. Al-Maqdisi, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 70.

5. Al-Hajari, Nawadir, part 1, fol. 132.

6. Al-Zamakhari, Jibal, p. 134.

Kalbī is of the opinion that the name al-Sayālah derives from the campaign of the Tubba' who, being short of water on his arrival there, was exceedingly pleased to find the valley flooded with rain.[1]   Al-Samhūdī attributes this to Ibn al-Sikkīt,[2] which is unlikely.

Ibn 'Asākir mentions that Ibn Harmah, the 8th century poet, lived there.[3]   Al-Iṣfahānī relates that Ibn Harmah, having run out of wine during a party, sent a message in verse to a Ṭālibī notable, also resident in al-Sayālah, asking him for a supply (of wine), but begging him not to divulge the news to the people of al-Sayālah. The Ṭālibī was so outraged by this insulting hint that he summoned the governor of al-Sayālah, who broke up the party at his demand.[4]

Like Wakī', Al-Asadī locates al-Sayālah at eleven miles from al-Rauḥā', seven miles from Malal, one mile from Suwaiqah, two miles from the Prophet's mosque of al-Sharaf and nine miles from that of ('Irq) al-Ẓabyah. He adds that it is owned by the descendants of al-Ḥusain

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 208.
2. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1240.
3. Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vol. 2,   p. 237.
4. Isfahānī, Aghānī, vol. 10, p. 129.

b. 'Alī (it should read al-Ḥasan) and some Quraishīs.[1]
In al-Bakrī's Masālik ('Irq) al-Ẓabyah has become 'Irq
al-Ṭīb.[2]

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1. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', pp. 1008-9.

2. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 75.

SHAGHB

Shaghb is the twin village of Badā. The Arab geographers of the era in question hardly ever mention one without the other. Ibn Khurradadhbeh locates Shaghb north of Badā and south of al-Kilābah;[1] so do Ibn Rosteh[2] and Qudāmah.[3] All of them, except Wakī have an anonymous halt between Shaghb and al-Kilābah. Al-Ya'qūbī has Qālis instead of both of the unnamed halt and al-Kilābah.[4] Neither Ibn Khurradadhbeh nor Ibn Rosteh refer to its position on the inland route, but this fact is clearly stated by the others as every one of them has more than one route.

Al-Iṣṭakhrī says that it is on the Egyptian and Palestinian inland route from Ailah to Medina, adding that it was an iqtā' granted by the Umayyads to al-Zuhrī, the muḥaddith, who died and was buried there:[5] Ibn Ḥauqal says the same except that he omits "muḥaddith" and, when speaking about the Umayyads, employs كانـوا ,

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 149.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 188.

3. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 190.

4. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.

5. Iṣṭakhrī, op. cit., p. 28.

which is not good Arabic, instead of كان .[1]

Al-Muqaddasī refers to Shaghb only when discussing the inland route from Ailah to Medina. He does so twice and on both occasions locates it between al-Kilāyah (al-Kilābah) and Badā.[2] However, he omits it altogether in another passage and is content with the mention of al-'Aunīd.[3]

Al-Bakrī's Masālik contains no mention of Shaghb, though he alludes to Badā when speaking of the conventional route.[4] However, he quotes al-Asadī in al-Mu'jam when saying that Shaghb and Badā are the northern limits of the Hijaz.[5] In another passage he locates both Shaghb and Badā between Taimā' and Medina, saying that they are situated within the territory of Baliyy.[6] This can be traced to al-Hamdānī, who says that Baliyy possess land in Shaghb and Badā between Taimā' and Medina.[7] According to al-Bakrī, Shaghb was

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1. Ibn Hauqal, op. cit., p. 40.

2. Muqaddasī, op. cit., pp. 110, 112.

3. Ibid., p. 107.

4. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 77.

5. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 11.

6. Ibid., p. 90.

7. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 170.

the residence and the burial place of al-Zuhrī. He
describes it as a watering place between the Egyptian
and the Syrian routes.[1] The last-mentioned statement is
borrowed by Naṣr.[2] Wakī' is mistaken in locating Shaghb
south of Badā, as the latter is actually situated south
of Shaghb. In consequence of this mistake, he locates
Shaghb north of al-Sarḥatain from which it is, in fact,
separated by Badā.[3]

Al-Idrīsī calls it Sha'b and lists it among
the way-stations on the inland route between Ailah and
Medina. He locates it south of Ankilāyah (al-Kilābah)
and north of al-Baidā'.[4]

Yāqūt quotes Ibn al-Sikkīt when describing
Shaghb as a town larger than Badā, and adds that Badā
has a minbar, while Shaghb has both a minbar and a
market. Yāqūt mentions two places, one called Shaghb
and the other Shaghbā, which are no doubt the same.[5]
The corruption of Shaghb to Shaghbā seems to derive
from a poem by Kuthayyir, in which Shaghb is nunated

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 802.

2. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 92.

3. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

4. Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 89.

5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 302.

to become Shaghban. It is not unusual for nunation with fathah to become alif maqsurah. Thus Shaghban becomes Shaghba in some works, which confuses Yaqut.

According to al-Sam'ani, the full name of the place is Yada Shaghb. He describes it as a valley in the Ailah region. In connection with al-Zuhri, he states that he died there and asked to be buried on the road-side to remind the Muslims to pray for him.[1]

Ibn Khallikan states that al-Zuhri's grave is not found in Shaghb, but in a village called Adama or Adama behind Shaghb and Bada, two valleys or villages between the Hijaz and Syria where the Hijazi territory ends and that of Palestine begins.[2] He does not quote any source for such information, but al-Bakri relates that al-Asadi states that the Hijazi territory ends, and that of Palestine begins, there.[3] As to Adama being the burial place of al-Zuhri, Yaqut attributes it to Abu al-Qasim al-Sa'di, adding that Nasr describes Adama as a dependency of Medina where al-Zuhri, in his old age, planted groves of palm trees.[4] In another passage Yaqut

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1. Al-Sam'ani, op. cit., p. 335.

2. Ibn Khallikan, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 318.

3. Al-Bakri, Mu'jam, p. 11.

4. Yaqut, Mu'jam, vol. 1. p. 167, and see Nasr, op. cit., fol. 17.

says that Shaghb, a village behind Wādī al-Qurā, once belonged to al-Zuhrī who was buried there.[1]

Moreover, Ibn Khallikān relies on the author of al-Tamhīd when saying that al-Zuhrī is buried in al-Na'f, a village in that region which was the residence of al-Zuhrī.[2] Ibn Qutaibah mentions an anonymous village on the northern border of the Hijaz to the south of Palestine where al-Zuhrī lived and was buried.[3]

Shaghb, by this name, is still known in the northern Hijaz though al-Qalqashandī expresses his inability to locate either Shu'aib (Shaghb) or Badā.[4]

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1. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 302.

2. Ibn Khallikān, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 318.

3. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ārif, p. 239.

4. Al-Qalqashandī, Subh, vol. 3, p. 393.

SHARAF AL-BA'L

This name does not occur in Ibn Khurradadhbeh's
Masālik. Nevertheless it is mentioned by Ibn Rosteh,
though in a different form, Sharaf al-Naml, which is
probably attributable to a scribe's error.[1] Al-Ya'qūbī,
who is the first Arab geographer to mention it, calls
it Sharaf al-Ba'l.[2] So does Qudāmah.[3] All three authors
assume that this place is situated on the pilgrim route
from Ailah to the Holy Cities of Arabia. They are un-
animous in locating it south of Ailah and north of Madyan.

In al-Muqaddasī's work it occurs three times,
but the spelling varies between Sharaf al-Ba'l[4] and
Sharaf Dhul Naml.[5] According to him, it is the starting
point of both the inland and the coastal routes to Medina
and Mecca. Those who want to follow the inland route go
from Sharaf al-Ba'l to Madyan, while those who want to
use the coastal route turn to al Ṣalā (al-Ṣilā). He

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1. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 183.

2. Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.

3. Quadāmah, op. cit., pp. 190, 191.

41. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 112.

5. Ibid., p. 110.

states that the latter route was the one in use at that time.[1]

Al-Bakrī does not refer to it in his Mu'jam, but mentions it in al-Masālik as a halt on the route from Medina to Ailah, calling it Ashrāf al-Ba'l. He locates it between Madyan in the south and Wādī al-Ghurāb in the north.[2]

Yāqūt states, in one passage, that Sharaf al-Ba'l is a mountain on the pilgrim route between Syria and Medina.[3] In another passage, he records the opinion that it is a region in Syria.[4] He mentions no source, though it is likely to have been Naṣr.[5]

Wakī' is in no doubt that Sharaf al-Ba'l does not lie on the Egyptian coastal route, since he describes it as the first halt on the inland route after Ailah. He locates it south of Ailah and north of Madyan.[6] The geographers who do not mention Sharaf al-Ba'l refer to Haql as the first stop after Ailah. The two localities

1. Ibid., p. 110.

2. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 77.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 675.

4. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 178.

5. Naṣr, op. cit., fols. 81, 148.

6. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

are not identical.

Up to the last century, this place was known under the name al-Sharfā? It is still known as such to the old people of the area surrounding Mt. Buwārah.

AL-ŞILĀ

Al-Ya'qūbī gives the name al-Şilā to a stopping place on the coastal route between Ailah and Medina.[1] He is the first geographer to record it in an available work. In his book, however, it is misspelt - probably due to a scribe's error - al-Şalāh. The place so described is located between al-'Aunīd to the north, and al-Nabk to the south. As has been seen in al-'Aunīd, al-Ya'qūbī's location cannot be accepted, as al-'Aunīd actually lies at several days' distance south of al-Şilā.

Qudāmah concurs with al-Ya'qūbī in locating al-Şilā north of al-Nabk, but differs from him in placing Sharaf al-Ba'l immediately to the north instead of al-'Aunīd, which he removes further south.[2] In Qudāmah's work the name al-Şilā takes the form of al-Şalāh. Al-Muqaddasī mentions al-Şilā twice, mentioning, in one place, that it lies on what was the then used route,[3] but stating, in another, that it is at one day's journey north of Sharaf al-Ba'l and south of al-Nabk.[4] He uses

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.

2. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 191.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 110.

4. Ibid., p. 112.

the name al-Ṣalā.

Al-Bakrī does not mention al-Ṣilā in his
Mu'jam. He does so, however, in al-Masālik where he
calls it al-Ṣalāh, locating it on the inland route from
Ailah to Medina.[1] Al-Jazīrī has obviously used a correct
MS. of this book as he mentions only al-Ṣilā.[2] Al-Bakrī
states very clearly that the location of al-Ṣilā is the
same as that of al-Nabk. Yāqūt's location of 'Ainūnah
might lead to the same conclusion as he insists on three
occasions that 'Ainūnah lies between Madyan and al-Ṣalā.[3]
This tendency is supported by the location, in the Map
of Saudi Arabia, of al-Muwailiḥ, alias al-Nabk, exactly
opposite to the Ṣilā islands, which suggests that the old
Ṣilā of the al-Ya'qūbī had been forgotten and its name
conferred upon a place in the proximity. Wakī', however,
locates al-Ṣilā – which he calls al-Muṣallā – south of
'Ainūnah and north of al-Nabk.[4]

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1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 77.

2. Al-Jazīrī, op. cit., p. 441.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 376, vol. 3, pp. 758, 765.

4. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

ṢUFAINAH

Al-Mas'ūdī mentions al-Ṣufainah when listing
the settlements of the descendants of Abd-al-Raḥmān,
son of the first caliph Abū Bakr, who inhabit that part
of Arabia which lies on the Iraqi route to Mecca, and
are mostly of Beduin extraction.[1] In another book, he
calls it al-Ṣufainiyyāt and locates it in the Hijaz.
On this occasion, however, he does not stress the pre-
valence of the Beduin element among the Bakrīs.[2] The
commentator on the _dīwān_ of the poetess al-Khansā'
quotes 'Arrām in support of the statement that Ṣufainah
is a Sulaimī village between من (at فى) al-Suwāri-
qiyyah, and adds that it is the property of B. al-Sharīd
(of the Sulaim),[3] a statement not to be found in 'Arrām's
work. In another passage of this commentary, al-Ṣufainah
is described as a Sulaimī village amid lava fields,
abounding in groves of palm trees.[4]

Al-Hamdānī includes Ṣufainah, together with

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1. Al-Mas'ūdī, _Tanbīh_, p. 287.

2. Al-Mas'ūdī, _Murūj_, vol. 4, p. 181.

3. Al-Khansā', _Dīwān_, p. 103.

4. _Ibid._, p. 104.

al-Suwāriqiyyah, among the Juhainī settlements.[1] It is
recorded that the Prophet bestowed Ṣufainah as an _iqtā'_
upon B. Shamkh of Juhainah on condition that they
refrained from claiming what they could not cultivate.[2]
At the time of the Prophet, Juhainah used to live in
their own land north west of Medina, whereas Ṣufainah
lies to its south east. Besides, B. Shamkh were regarded
as belonging to Fazārah and lived far away from Ṣufainah.[3]
As to al-Hamdānī's statement that Ṣufainah is a Juhainī
village, it is only acceptable in so far as it refers to
the pre-Islamic past of this tribe. Al-Maqdisī describes
Ṣufainah as a place between Dhāt 'Irq and al-Bustān,[4]
which cannot be accurate as Dhāt 'Irq is actually situated
between Ṣufainah and al-Bustān.

'Arrām describes Ṣufainah as a village abounding
in farms and palm groves which are watered by wells, and
adds that its mountain, al-Sitār, faces Mt. al-Ḥarrās.
He states that Ṣufainah lies on the part of Zubaidah's
pilgrim route from Iraq which the pilgrims choose if they

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1. Al-Hamdānī, _Ṣifah_, p. 171.

2. Hamidullah, _Wathā'iq_, p. 141.

3. Al-Bakrī, _Mu'jam_, p. 869.

4. Al-Maqdisī, _op. cit._, vol. 4, p. 76.

run short of water.[1] Yāqūt attributes this passage to al-Kindī, one of the transmitters of 'Arrām, who adds that the route leads through the Ṣufainah pass which is difficult to ascend.[2] 'Arrām goes on to say that there are wells called al-Nujair and one called al-Nijārah whose water is slightly salty; all these wells face Ṣufainah. The "lower" region of these wells contains Mts. 'Amūd al-Bān and 'Amūd al-Safḥ which "nobody can conquer unless he flies". 'Amūd al-Safḥ is on the right hand side of the route, at one mile's distance from Ufai'iyah which he also calls Ufā'iyah. He describes the latter as a "towering elevation" and with a village called Dhul-Nakhl which is also a halting place on that route.[3] The remark "and salt is found there = وبها ملح " should read "its water is salty = ومياهها ملح " "as it does in Yāqūt.[4] 'Arrām also states that Dhul-Nakhl draws its fresh water from al-Nijārah and al-Nujair, Dhū Mahbalah and al-Ṣubḥiyyah.

Most of this statement recurs in al-Bakrī's

1. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 436.

2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 403.

3. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 437.

4. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 762.

Mu'jam,[1] but with some alterations; in one passage, al-Harrās is called al-Harrād[2] (al-Harrās in the European edition); al-Nijārah and al-Nujair are called al-Thijārah and al-Thujair, a spelling ascribable to al-Bakrī himself;[3] 'Amūd al-Bān is spelt 'Amūd Albān[4] which is the correct form. Unlike 'Arrām who situates al-Nujair and al-Nijārah opposite Sufainah, al-Bakrī maintains that they face al-Harrās.[5] In one passage, al-Bakrī records only one form of the name Ufā'iyah,[6] but two forms in another.[7] He describes it as a "large elevation" and adds that it has a village, which he does not name, which draws its fresh water from al-Subhiyyah. 'Arrām, on the other hand, states that its water comes from al-Nijārah and al-Nujair, and Dhū Mahbalah as well as from al-Subhiyyah. Al-Bakrī also adapts 'Arrām's imaginative metaphor on the impossibility of ascending 'Amūd al-Bān, to the more pedestrian statement that "only birds" reach

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 722.

2. Ibid., p. 814.

3. Ibid., p. 336.

4. Ibid., p. 971.

5. Ibid., p. 721.

6. Ibid., p. 722.

7. Ibid., p. 174.

its summit.[1]

Like al-Bakrī, Yāqūt misquotes 'Arrām's state-
ment about Ṣufainah and its neighbourhood. The two
versions of one name, Ufai'iyah and Ufā'iyah are mis-
interpreted as two different localities, between which
lies al-Nujl (Dhul-Nakhl).[2] Besides, he not only locates
Ufai'iyah on the slopes of Ṣufainah, but also locates
'Amūd al-Bān and 'Amūd al-Safḥ there which is contrary
to the statement of 'Arrām's transmitter, al-Kindī, whom
Yāqūt quotes.[3] What Yāqūt quotes correctly is 'Arrām's
statement about the fresh water of al-Nujl (Dhul-Nakhl)
which helps to correct 'Arrām's edited work.[4] As to
al-Bān, Yāqūt records two forms of its name Albān[5] and
Alyān,[6] though he does not favour the latter. His source
seems to be Naṣr[7] who also describes Ṣufainah as a
Hijazi village with groves of palm trees, farms and a

1. Ibid., p. 721.

2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 762.

3. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 730.

4. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 762.

5. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 730.

6. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 348.

7. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 14.

sizeable population.[1] For its description, he seems
to rely on 'Arrām though the latter's available text
contains no mention of its population, merely referring
to the size of its farms and palm groves. Naṣr is not
consistent as regards the location of Ṣufainah, stating
on the one hand, that it is a Hijazi village, but speaking,
on the other, of its mountain, al-Sitār, as situated on
al-'Āliyah, which is part of Najd.[2] He also mentions
the two watering places near al-Ṣufainah, Bard and Shir',[3]
as belonging to B. al-Ḥārith of Sulaim. 'Arrām's Dhul-
Nakhl figures as al-Najl which is borrowed by Yāqūt.[4]
According to Wakī', Ṣufainah used to be a halt on the
Iraqi pilgrim route before this route was diverted by
'Īsā b. Musā (d. 167 A.H. – 782 –). Wakī' assesses the
distance from Ṣufainah to Ḥādhah at twenty miles, and
that from Ṣufainah to al-Mislaḥ at twenty-eight and a
half miles.[5]

Ṣufainah is still known as a village at the
same location.

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1. Ibid., fol. 96.

2. Ibid., fol. 80.

3. Ibid., fol. 82.

4. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 730.

5. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 16.

AL-SUQYĀ (OF B. GHIFĀR)

Al-Suqyā lies, according to Ibn Khurradadhbeh on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca. He places it at thirty-six miles from al-Ruwaithah, in the direction of Medina, and twenty-nine miles from al-Abwā' in the direction of Mecca. He mentions that it has a "flowing river".[1] Ibn Rosteh concurs with regard to location as well as the distance between al-Suqyā and al-Ruwaithah, but states that al-'Arj lies between them at fourteen miles from al-Suqyā. As to the distance from al-Suqyā to al-Abwā', Ibn Rosteh calculates it as nineteen miles. He says of it that it is densely populated, with a large garden and palm groves.[2] Al-Ya'qūbī locates al-Suqyā between al-'Arj and al-Abwā'. He is the first geographer to call it Suqyā B. Ghifār, adding that it belongs to Kinānah.[3] Qudāmah follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh to the letter adding that it has "a plantation".[4] Al-Muqaddasī calls it Suqyā B. Ghifār and locates it between al-Abwā' and al 'Arj at one day's

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 130.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p.178.

3. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 313.

4. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 187.

journey.[1] In another passage he describes it as a mere
way-station in the Hijaz.[2]

'Arrām states that Mt. Quds ends at the "evening
meal" halt between al-'Arj and al-Suqyā, thus accepting
that the distance between them equals one day's journey.[3]
In another place, he locates al-Suqyā west of the villages
of Ārah at three days' journey from al-Fur'.[4] Al-Idrīsī
places al-Suqyā twenty-seven miles north of al-Abwā'
and thirty-six miles south of al-Ruwaithah. He mentions
its "flowing river", its garden and groves of palm trees.
As to its inhabitants, al-Idrīsī says that they come
from the Ṭayy, and a variety of other Arab tribes.[5]
No source has been traced for this last statement which,
however, is highly unlikely. Al-Hamdānī locates al-
Suqyā twenty-four miles south of al-'Arj and nineteen
miles north of al-Abwā', adding that its latitude is
$22^\circ.45'$.[6] Wakī' states that al-Suqyā possesses a spring
which flows into the inalienable properties of al-Ḥusain

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 29.

2. Ibid., p. 27.

3. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 403.

4. Ibid., p. 405.

5. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 37.

6. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 184.

(al-Ḥasan) b. Zaid. Having run dry for years, it began
to flow again in the year 248 A.H. (862), but in 253 (866)
it stopped again, and once more started to flow. Wakī'
states that it was not flowing when he saw it in the
year 274 (887). However, he mentions that it flowed
once more after that year. This statement is more
detailed than that of al-Asadī. Wakī' calculates the
distances from al-Suqyā at seventeen miles to al-'Arj,
seven miles to the spring of al-Qushairī, one mile to
'Askar which possesses the properties of al-Ḥusain (al-
Ḥasan) b. Zaid, three miles to the spring of Ti'han and
sixteen miles to al-Abwā'.[1]

Al-Bakrī states that the distance from al-
Suqyā to al-'Arj is seventeen miles,[2] to al-Ruwaithah
ten parasangs[3] and to al-Abwā' nineteen miles. He also
remarks that there is, at seven miles from al-Suqyā, an
ancient well called Bi'r al-Ṭalūb, and less than a mile
north of al-Suqyā the valley of al-'Ababīd, otherwise
known as al-Qāḥah. In another entry he divides al-
Suqyā from al-Qāḥah by a well called Ti'han. He assesses
the distance between Ti'han and al-Suqyā at three

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1. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 49.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 954-55.

3. Ibid., p. 686.

4. Ibid., pp. 954-55.

miles.[1] He quotes al-Sakūnī when placing al-Suqyā at three days' journey from Ārah,[2] but makes no reference to his source when placing the far limit of Mt. Quds between al-'Arj and al-Suqyā.[3] As to the latter, al-Bakrī says that it is a village with a _minbar_ administered from al-Fur'[4] with an abundance of wells, springs and cisterns.[5] He mentions the existence of some _waqfs_ attributed to al-Ḥasan b. Zaid.[6] Al-Bakrī regards al-Suqyā as the northern limit of Tihāmah.[7]

As to the origin of the name al-Suqyā, al-Bakrī quotes Kuthayyir who ascribes it to its abundant supply of fresh water.[8] Yāqūt quotes an account by Ibn al-Kalbī who relates that the Tubba' gave it the name because it rained there at a time of dire need. Yāqūt also records a statement by al-Khwārizmī to the effect that the distance between al-Suqyā and al-Fur' is twenty-

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1. _Ibid._, p. 743.

2. _Ibid._, p. 1051.

3. _Ibid._, p. 1050.

4. _Ibid._, p. 1021.

5. _Ibid._, p. 743.

6. _Ibid._, p. 743.

7. _Ibid._, p. 11.

8. _Ibid._, p. 743.

nine miles. He also quotes al-Hamadhānī on the location
of al-Suqyā which the latter places in the lower valley
of Tihāmah, adding that it is a very large village at a
mere day's journey from the sea,[1] a statement untraceable
in al-Hamadhānī's available work.

Al-Samhūdī quotes al-Hamadhānī on the origin
of the name al-Suqyā, but it is very unlikely that al-
Hamadhānī should have concerned himself with a matter
of this kind. Besides, it is clear that al-Samhūdī relies
very heavily on Yāqūt's account of al-Suqyā. It seems
that, in copying Yāqūt, he attributes Ibn al-Kalbī's
account to al-Hamadhānī, overlooking Ibn al-Kalbī's name
and al-Hamadhānī's statement. He does not err, however,
when copying al-Khawārizmī's statement. Al-Samhūdī
records a statement by al-Asadī which implies that the
distance between Medina and al-Suqyā is ninety-six miles.
'Iyāḍ places al-Suqyā seventeen miles north west of
al-Fur'.[2] He also places Ti'ahn (Ti'han) three miles
from al-Suqyā.[3]

Al-Bakrī's 'Abābīd is called 'Ānid by both

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1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 104.
2. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1234.
3. 'Iyāḍ, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 108.

al-Asadī,[1] about two centuries before, and Yāqūt,[2] about two centuries after al-Bakrī. Ibn Hishām calls it 'Abābīd and 'Abābīb.[3] In his _Masālik_, al-Bakrī mentions a mosque of the Prophet at a distance of one mile from al-Ṭalūb.[4] Khalīfah locates al-Ṭalūb between al-'Arj and al-Suqyā,[5] but al-Zubairī calls it al-Ṣalūb.[6] Al-'Asadī mentions the Prophet's mosque at one mile's distance from al-Ṭalūb which he locates at eleven miles from al-'Arj and six miles from al Suqyā, adding that its water is unwholesome. Another mosque mentioned by al-Asadī is that of al-Suqyā, near which gushes a fresh water spring. He states that there are more than ten wells, some with cisterns, at al-Suqyā. He adds that a rich spring runs through a cistern in the pilgrim's camp and gushes into the _waqf_ estate of al-Ḥasan b. Zaid which abounds in palms and other trees. He, however, points out that this spring had ceased to flow until 243 A.H. (856 A.D.) when it resumed flowing, but it was

1. Al-Samhūdī, _Wafā'_, pp. 1014-16.

2. Yāqūt, _Mu'jam_, vol. 3, p. 594.

3. Ibn Hishām, _op. cit._, vols. 1, p. 491.

4. Al-Bakrī, _Masālik_, fol. 75.

5. Khalīfah, _Ṭabaqāt_, p. 33.

6. Al-Zubairī, _Nasab_, p. 315.

blocked again after ten years. Al-Asadī describes the estate of al-Ḥasan as having eighty wells, fifty of which were dug during al-Mutwakkil's reign, each well having fresh water within easy reach. Each well watered a farm.[1]

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1. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', pp. 1014-16.

SUQYA AL-JAZL

There are several places in Arabia which bear the name of Suqya. The place with which we are concerned here lies on the inland route between Ailah and Medina, according to the Arab geographers. The first among them to record it is al-Ya'qubi. He locates it south of Bada and north of al-Marwah, calling it al-Suqya.[1] Neither Ibn Khurradadhbeh, nor Ibn Rosteh nor Qudamah mention it in their respective versions of the route.

Al-Muqaddasi refers to it several times, but with little consistency. He often calls it Suqya Yazid and points out that it is a Hijazi town,[2] a dependency of Qurh,[3] and, in another place a dependency of Medina.[4] He asserts that al-Suqya lies on the inland route between Ailah and Medina and on the route between Medina and Syria. He places it one day's journey from al-Marwah and three days' journey from Bada. In another passage, he enumerates the stopping places on these journeys. For the Syrian route, he mentions Wadi al-Qura as the first halt to the north of al-Suqya and al-Hijr as the next. However, he substitutes Qurh for Wadi al-Qura in a third passage.[5] This is not unexpected of him. It

1. Al-Ya'qubi, Buldan, p. 341.
2. Al-Muqaddasi, op.cit., p. 69.
3. Ibid., p. 84.
4. Ibid., p. 53.
5. Ibid., pp. 107, 112.

is noteworthy that in drawing up the routes, he shortens
the form of the name to al-Suqyā, omitting Yazīd. In des-
cribing al-Suqyā, al-Muqaddasī says that it is the best town
in the region of Qurh, alias Wādī al-Qurā. Its farms and
groves of palm trees stretch in a continuous line as far as
Qurh. He adds that the mosques lie outside the town.[1] In
distinguishing Suqyā Yazīd from Suqyā B. Ghifār, both in the
Hijaz, al-Muqaddasī states that the former is a town whereas
the latter is a mere way-station in the Hijaz.[2]

Al-Bakrī mentions it in both al-Masālik and al-Mu'jam.
In the latter he says that Suqyā al-Jazl is a village in Wādī
al-Qurā, and quotes Ibn Habīb to prove that this was the
accepted form of the name.[3] He also states that it was in-
habited by Baliyy who used to live in the vicinity of Medina
before they migrated to that part of Arabia.[4] Nevertheless,
he quotes Ibn Habīb's statement that it belonged to 'Udhrah.[5]
Yāqūt also says that Suqyā al-Jazl is within the territory of
'Udhrah attributing this statement, in one passage, to Ibn
Habīb,[6] and, in another, to Ibn al-Sikkīt.[7] In al-Masālik,

1. Ibid., p. 84.

2. Ibid., p. 27.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 784.

4. Ibid., p. 28.

5. Ibid., p. 784.

6. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 702.

7. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 104.

al-Bakrī follows al-Muqaddasī in calling it Suqyā Yazīd.[1]

Long after the Egyptians had ceased to use the inland route from Ailah to Medina, al-Samhūdī described al-Suqyā as the point where the routes from Syria and Egypt converge.[2] In al-Wafā', al-Samhūdī attributed this statement[3] to al-Asadī who situates Suqyā al-Jazl at a distance of seven days' journey from Medina and two days' journey from al-Marwah.

Al-Asadī's source seems to be Wakī' who locates al-Suqyā north of 'Anāb and south of both Wādī al-Qurā on the Syrian route and al-Sarhatain on the Egyptian inland route.[4] Lughdah describes al-Suqyā as prosperous and abounding in (fruit) trees. He also locates it north of 'Ain Ma'n and 'Amūdān, and south of Wādī al-Qurā.[5]

1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 77.

2. Al-Samhūdī, al-Khulāsah, p. 283.

3. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1234.

4. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

5. Lughdah, op.cit., p. 396.

AL-SUWAIDĀ'

Al-Suwaidā' is noted for its proximity to
Medina on the conventional route of the Egyptian and
the Syrian pilgrim caravans. In most Arab geographical
works that care to mention the stopping places, al-
Suwaidā' is named as a half-way halt between Medina and
al-Marwah.

Ibn Khurradadhbeh locates it between al-Marr
to the north and Dhū Khushub to the south.[1] So do Ibn
Rosteh[2] and Qudāmah, except that the latter omits Dhū
before Khushub.[3]

Al-Muqaddasī is satisfied to state that al-
Suwaidā', which he calls al-Suwaidiyyah, is at an equal
distance, i.e. two days' journey, from both Medina and
al-Marwah.[4]

Al-Hamdānī is alone in saying that it is at
one day's journey from Medina. He does not state it
directly, but implies it by stressing that the distance
between al-Marwah and Medina is two days' journey with

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 150.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 190.

4. Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 107.

one halt at al-Suwaidā', which, he says, is a watering
place. He adds that to the right of al-Suwaidā' (appa-
rently, he means to the west of it) there is Uwāl to
which the Egyptian and Syrian caravans are diverted
after al-Suwaidā' if they choose the route through al-
Sayālah (in order to avoid visiting Medina). He says
that Uwāl is populated by the Ja'afir, Mawālī and a
mixture (of Arabs).[1]

Ibn al-Kalbī quotes Abū Miskīn as saying that
al-Suwaidā' is at two days' journey from Medina on the
route to Syria.[2]

Al-Bakrī's only statement about al-Suwaidā'
in his Mu'jam is that it is "a place".[3] Nevertheless,
in his Masālik, he mentions al-Suwaidā' as the second
halt after Medina on the way to al-Marwah which he places
north of al-Suwaidā'.[4] He regards it as the northern
limit of the Hijaz.[5]

Al-Idrīsī counts al-Suwaidā' among the halts
on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. He locates

1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 130.

2. Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, vol. 1, p. 172.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 767.

4. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 77.

5. Ibid., fol. 22.

it north of Dhū Khushub and south of Marr.[1] Wakī' is
alone in locating al-Suwaidā' north of al-Arāk.
However, he agrees with the other geographers with
respect to al-Marr which he locates north of al-
Suwaidā'.[2]

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 89.
2. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

TABŪK

Ibn Khurradadhbeh cites Tabūk as situated on the Syrian pilgrim route to Medina, south of Suragh and north of al-Muḥdathah.[1] So do Ibn Rosteh[2] and Qudāmah.[3] In the surviving part of al-Ya'qūbī's Buldān, Tabūk is mentioned only as the place at which the Prophet received a delegation from Ailah led by Ru'hah b. Yuḥannā upon whom he bestowed a robe of honour.[4] Al-Mas'ūdī gives the distance between Tabūk and Medina as ninety parasangs which he equates to twelve days' journey.[5] Wakī' locates Tabūk south of Asrā' (Suragh) and north of al-Muḥdathah on the Syrian pilgrim route.[6]

Al-Iṣṭakhrī indicates that Tabūk is part of the Syrian desert,[7] a statement borrowed in its entirety

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 150.
2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 183.
3. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 191.
4. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.
5. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 270.
6. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.
7. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, op. cit., p. 21.

by Ibn Ḥauqal[1] who also concurs[2] with al-Iṣṭakhrī in
stating that Taimā' is a more prosperous fortress than
Tabūk which lies to its south.[3] According to al-Iṣṭakhrī
Tabūk is situated between al-Ḥijr and the borders of
Syria, from which it is four days' distant. He also
states that Tabūk is half way between Syria (Damascus)
and Mecca. Of Tabūk itself, al-Iṣṭakhrī says that it
is a fortress with a spring, groves of palm trees and
a garden said to have belonged to the Prophet. The
people of al-Aikah, to whom prophet Shu'aib was sent,
are said to have lived there, though Shu'aib himself came
from Madyan of which al-Iṣṭakhrī says that it is larger
than, and opposite to, Tabūk from which it is at six
days' distance.[4] Ibn Ḥauqal borrows the whole description,
even the wrong location of Tabūk in relation to Taimā',
but with a few minor alterations such as النبى instead
of الرسول and نحو instead of نصف طريق الشام , نصف الطريق
of مراحل ست instead of في نحو ست مراحـــل.[5] The author
of Ḥudūd al-'Ālam locates Tabūk in the desert and

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1. Ibn Ḥauqal, op. cit., p. 21.

2. Ibid., p. 34.

3. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, op. cit., p. 25.

4. Ibid., p. 24.

5. Ibn Ḥauqal, op. cit., p. 32.

describes it as a very prosperous borough in Arabia.[1]

Al-Muqaddasī describes Tabūk as a small Syrian town with a mosque of the Prophet.[2] Listing the towns of al-Ghaur, the third zone of Syria, al-Muqaddasī counts Tabūk among them together with Ṭabariyyah and Nablus, whereas Ma'ān, Adhri'āt and Amman are situated on the fourth zone.[3] There seems, however, to be no logical explanation for this distinction. Al-Muqaddasī assumes the distance between Tabūk and al-Manhab, in Najd, to be seven days' journey.[4] Al-Hamdānī mentions Tabūk, not for its own sake, but only to define the territories of Judhām and Lakhm.[5]

Al-Bakrī points out that Tabūk is the extreme northern limit of the Hijaz.[6] Nevertheless, he states in another passage, that it forms the extreme southern boundary of Syria.[7] In a third passage, he implies that Tabūk is part of Syria when he says that al-Ḥijr lies

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1. Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, p. 148.

2. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 179.

3. Ibid., p. 186.

4. Ibid., p. 252.

5. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, pp. 129, 131.

6. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 12.

7. Ibid., p. 303.

between Syria and the Hijaz.[1] Al-Bakrī attributes to
Sa'īd b. Ghālib al-Jaihānī the location of Tabūk on the
line which leads from the coast of Ailah eastward to
al-Kufa, dividing the land of the Arabs from Syria.[2]
Al-Balādhurī regards Tabūk as Syrian territory.[3] So
does 'Iyāḍ, who describes it as a known locality in the
extreme south of Syria.[4] Al-Bīrūnī regards it as one
of the towns of the second climate, and, including it
in Arabia, places it opposite to Madyan. Its longitude,
according to him, is $58^{\circ}.50'$ and its latitude 27°.[5]
Naṣr, who locates Tabūk between Wādī al-Qurā and Syria,
states that the well of Tabūk ceased to fill every now
and then since Ibn 'Urayyiḍ repaired it when asked by
'Umar.[6]

Al-Idrīsī is the first Arab geographer to
enumerate Tabūk among the dependencies of Medina.[7]
Indeed, he states that it is at four days' journey from

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1. Ibid., p. 426.

2. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 22.

3. Al-Balādhurī, Futūh, p. 71.

4. 'Iyāḍ, Mashāriq, vol. 1, p. 108.

5. Al-Bīrūnī, Qānūn, vol. 2, p. 551.

6. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 144.

7. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 36.

the nearest Syrian territory to the north. The distance
between Tabūk and Madyan is, according to him, six days.
Describing Tabūk, he says that it is surrounded by
fortifications. (Here the scribe changes مطيف بها to
لطيف بها which obviously has no bearing on the statement).
Its inhabitants draw their water from a purling spring
round which there are palm trees in plenty. He regards
its ancient population as identical with the people of
al-Aikah to whom prophet Shu'aib was sent. Al-Idrīsī
says that Tainā', which he places at a distance of four
days' journey from Tabūk, surpasses the latter in size.
As to the tribes inhabiting that area, al-Idrīsī claims
that the territories between Ailah, Wadī al-Qurā and
Tabūk are inhabited by the tribes of Juhainah, Baliyy
and Judhām who are rich in camels, milk and clarified
butter. He describes them as nomads who are generous
and hospitable.[1] Al-Idrīsī also regards Tabūk as a
town on the Syrian pilgrim route to Medina south of a
place which he calls Dimnah, a prosperous village. To
the south of Tabūk, al-Idrīsī places al-Muhdathah.[2]
He lists Tabūk among the famous localities in the fifth

1. Ibid., fol. 89.
2. Ibid., fol. 96.

part of the third climate.[1]

Yāqūt repeats the above-quoted statement found
in the works of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥauqal which he
attributes to Abū Zaid.[2] Yāqūt also quotes Mālik to
the effect that Tabūk is the metropolis of the Tabūk
valley, and that it is the extreme northern limit of
the "first Hijaz الحجاز الاول ".[3] According to Yāqūt
al-Sam'ānī says that Tabūk has another name, al-Maulah.[4]
This statement is not to be traced in al-Sam'ānī's
Ansāb. What al-Sam'ānī says there is that Taimā' is
among the territories of Tabūk.[5] Al-Zamakhsharī,
however, says that al-Maulah is the name of the spring
of Tabūk.[6] Yāqūt also states that he was told by Ibn
Abū Jarādah that Mt. Sharaurā could be seen from Tabūk
when looking east.[7] In another passage, Yāqūt says
that the people of Tabūk could see Mt. Sharaurā in the

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1. Ibid., fol. 88.

2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 824.

3. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 77, see supra, p. 26.

4. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 670.

5. Al-Sam'ānī, op. cit., p. 26.

6. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 147.

7. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 282.

east and Mt. Ḥismā in the west.[1] Al-Maqdisī calculates the distance between Tabūk and Medina at 90 parasangs,[2] but he, unlike al-Mas'ūdī, does not convert it into travelling days.

Tabūk is of major importance in the history of the Prophet's wars as it was the object of his last campaign. It is still known in the northern Hijaz. It used to grow the famous large red Tabūkī grapes.[3]

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1. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 167.

2. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 239.

3. Ibn Sīdah, *op. cit.*, vol. 11, p. 71.

TAIMĀ'

Ibn Khurradadhbeh enumerates Taimā' among the dependencies of Medina, mentioning its fortress, al-Ablaq of al-Samau'al, the Jew, to whom he refers as the king of Taimā', who was famous for keeping his promises. He locates Taimā' between Syria and the Hijaz.[1] Ibn Rosteh follows him in this respect but omits the reference to the religion of al-Samau'al.[2] Qudāmah does not elaborate beyond saying that Taimā' is a dependency of Medina.[3] Ibn al-Faqīh adds to this that it lies to the north of Medina.[4]

Al-Iṣṭakhrī regards it as part of the Syrian desert.[5] So does Ibn Ḥauqal.[6] The former says that it is three days' journey from Syria. He locates Taimā' north of Tabūk, and describes it as a fortress and more prosperous than Tabūk, with groves of palm trees. He describes it as the market of the open country of al-

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 128.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 177.

3. Qudāmah, op. cit., p. 248.

4. Ibn al-Faqīh, op. cit., p. 26.

5. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, op. cit., p. 21.

6. Ibn Ḥauqal, op. cit., p. 21.

Jazīrah.[1] Ibn Ḥauqal follows him to the letter.[2] Their
location of Taimā' is inaccurate, as it is, in fact,
situated south-east of Tabūk.

Al-Muhallabī says that Taimā' is the metropolis
of Ṭayy, and relates the story of the foundation of its
fortress al-Ablaq, and its ruler al-Samau'al.[3] Al-
Muqaddasī praises its water[4] and describes it as the
only town in the Arab steppe. According to him, Taimā'
is a large ancient town abounding in groves of palm
trees whose dates are all of good quality, and amazingly
luxuriant gardens. Its water supply is fresh and abun-
dant. The spring there flows through iron bars to a
pool from which it spreads to the farms. There are many
other fresh-water wells, but most of them are abandoned.
The mosque and the houses are near to the market. But
his judgment on the character of its inhabitants is
adverse. They are greedy and have neither reliable
'ulamā' nor an able governor. He testifies to having
seen that their governor was a shoemaker and their
imām a grocer. They are also excessively clannish and

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1. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, op. cit., p. 25.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal, op. cit., p. 34.

3. Abū al-Fidā', Taqwīm, p. 87.

4. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 101.

resort to arms at the slightest provocation. Al-Muqaddasī
relates different views as to the nature of its connection
with neighbouring districts. He disagrees with those
who regard it as a part of Syria or al-Jazīrah or even
with those who consider it any intermediate region. He
rather inclines to the opinion that it is part of the
Arab open country which he regards as a separate region.
He offers a detailed list of the routes leading through
Taimā' from Syria to the Holy Cities of Arabia and to
Najd and Iraq, saying that those routes had served as
postal routes for the Umayyads of Damascus, and had been
used by the armies that carried Islam to Syria.[1]

Both al-Muqaddasī and al-Hamdānī[2] state that
travellers in that region are exposed to highway robbery,
unless they are accompanied by a native escort. Al-
Muqaddasī adds that pilgrims were at times assaulted
and robbed of their property and camels. Al-Hamdānī
refers to Taimā' as the home of al-Samau'al and locates
it at full three days' journey from al-Ḥijr. He mentions
the existence of routes leading from Taimā' to Najd and
Iraq, but stresses the necessity of a native escort.
As regards the population of Taimā', al-Hamdānī says

1. Ibid., pp. 248, 251, 252.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 131.

that it consists of members of Ṭayy with an admixture
of Mawālī.[1] He also states that there is another place
called Taimā' in eastern Arabia.[2]

Al-Idrīsī believes that Taimā' is equidistant
from al-Ḥijr, Khaibar, Tabūk and Daumah at four days'
journey from each, a calculation lacking in accuracy.
He also says that the distance between Taimā' and the
southern border of Syria equals three days' journey.
According to him, Taimā' is the market of the Arab
steppe with groves of palm trees and plenty of water,
but a declining trade. However, he describes Taimā'
also as a flourishing ancient fortress more prosperous
than Tabūk.[3] It is clear that he relies for this infor-
mation upon both Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Muqaddasī. Where he
differs from them is that he locates the fortress al-
Ablaq, the home of al-Samau'al, in Khaibar, not in Taimā'
where it actually stands.

Al-Bakrī points out in both al-Masālik[4] and
al-Mu'jam[5] that Taimā' has a port on the Red Sea near

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1. Ibid., p. 131.
2. Ibid., p. 178.
3. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 89.
4. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 22.
5. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 7.

Ailah.   Both al-Hamdānī[1] and Ibn al-Kalbī[2] call this
port Ḥaql. So does al-Bakrī, in another passage of
al-Mu'jam, when listing the gradual expansion of the
Juhainah tribe.[3] He locates Shaghb and Badā between
Taimā' and Medina,[4] which can be accepted only on the
assumption that the Taimā' region does stretch as far to
the west as the Red Sea. On this occasion, al-Bakrī
states that Baliyy lived in that locality. Another
mention of a tribe camping in Taimā' occurs in connection
with Jarm who, as he says, used to reside in Taimā' and
Wādī al-Qurā until they were driven out to the Yemen by
B. Sa'd.[5] Al-Bakrī states that there is a Hijaz for
Taimā' and Wādī al-Qurā.[6] Al-Hamdānī describes the coast
of Taimā' as wilderness.[7] Ibn al-Anbārī marks out Taimā'
as one of the principal villages of 'Arabiyyah;[8] Ibn
Qutaibah describes it as a city between Syria and the

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1. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 171.

2. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 291.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 38.

4. Ibid., p. 29.

5. Ibid., p. 45.

6. Ibid., p. 914.

7. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 127.

8. Ibn al-Anbārī, Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id, p. 329, see supra,
   pp. 225-257.

Hijaz. His definition of the Hijaz is rather confusing.[1]

The author of Hudūd al-'Ālam describes Taimā' as a very prosperous borough and situates it in the desert.[2] Al-Bīrūnī, locating Taimā' in Arabia among the towns of the second climate, assesses its longitude at 58°.30' and its latitude at 27°.[3] Al-Maqdisī regards Taimā' as a Hijazi town.[4] Al-Hamdānī, in al-Iklīl, says that al-Arqam was king of the Taimā' tribe in the time of Moses who sent an expedition against that king.[5] Al-Bakrī relates that a branch of the 'Amāliq called Dāsim used to control the Hijaz of Taimā' and that al-Arqam was their king.[6] According to 'Iyāḍ, Taimā' is one of the principal villages situated in the territory of the Ṭayy. Though he states that Taimā' is a coastal town, 'Iyāḍ nevertheless adds that it is the point from which a route leads to Syria.[7] Al-Marzūqī claims

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1. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, pp. 45, 358.

2. Hudūd al-'Ālam, p. 148.

3. Al-Bīrūnī, Qānūn, vol. 2, p. 551.

4. Al-Maqdisī, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 70.

5. Al-Hamdānī, Iklīl, vol. 1, p. 74.

6. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 9.

7. 'Iyāḍ, Mashāriq, vol. 1, p. 108.

that Taimā' is a town in the Medina region.[1] Ibn al-Sikkīt, however, places Taimā' at Wādī al-Qurā' and mentions its abundant groves of palm trees.[2] Naṣr agrees to this location and adds that Jews used to reside there.[3] The name of its fortress al-Ablaq is, according to Naṣr, al-Hillīt.[4] Al-Iṣfahānī says that Taimā' is the home town of a very wealthy and numerous family, B. Yasār, the clients of 'Uthmān.[5]

Al-Sam'ānī lists Taimā' among the territories of Tabūk, and adds that it is situated between the latter and Khaibar.[6] Al-Muqaddasī, however, calls that area the desert of Taimā'.[7] Yāqūt quotes al-Sakūnī to the effect that the distance between Wādī al-Qurā and Taimā' is four days' journey, and between Taimā' and Daumah of al-Jandal three or four days' journey.[8] Al-Hajarī points out that al-'Urudāt is half way between Taimā' and Wādī

1. Marzūqī, Hamāsah, p. 710.

2. Ibn al-Sikkīt, Dīwān 'Urwah, p. 62.

3. Naṣr, op. cit., fol. 35.

4. Ibid., fol. 65.

5. Al-Aghānī, vol. 2, p. 124.

6. Al-Sam'ānī, op. cit., p. 26.

7. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 248.

8. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 76.

al-Qurā.[1] Al-Sam'ānī places Tainā' half way between Syria and Medina.[2]

Taimā' appears to have been an important station on routes running in several directions. The Syrian pilgrim route must have often led through Taimā' before the 12th century A.D., as Ibn Khallikān says that prince Shirkuh went to Mecca via Tainā' and Khaibar in the year 555 A.H. (1160).[3] Al-Sam'ānī, writing before that year, indicates that Taimā' and Khaibar lie on the Syrian pilgrim route.[4] As has been seen, al-Muqaddasī mentions several routes converging at Taimā' from all directions.[5] Besides, a highwayman who raided a herd of camels in Egypt in the early 8th century, drove them to al-Yamāmah via Tainā'.[6]

As is the case with Wādī al-Qurā, some Muslim traditionists believe that Taimā' is situated outside Hijazi territory, because 'Umar did not exile its

1. Al-Hajarī, Nawādir, part 1, fol. 133.

2. Al-Sam'ānī, op. cit., p. 113.

3. Wafayāt, vol. 2, p. 176.

4. Al-Sam'ānī, op. cit., p. 113.

5. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 251.

6. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 365.

Jews.[1] Indeed, it is for that reason that some of them
do not regard these two localities as part of Arabia at
all.[2] Ibn Sa'd, on the other hand, considers it so much
part of Arabia that he reports a statement in which "O,
women of Taimā'" means women of Arabia.[3] In another
passage he relates a statement to the effect that the
land of Taimā' would be blessed by a prophet, meaning
Prophet Muhammad, words which identify Taimā' with
Arabia itself.[4]

Al-Wāqidī attributes to Hizām b. Muhayyisah
of the early seventh century A.D. a statement that betrays
the prosperity of Taimā' at that time. Hizām says that
the spring of Taimā' gushes from a mountain and that it
has never encountered any obstacle on its way.[5]

Taimā' has been recently fully integrated with
the Arabian territories in its neighbourhood.

L. Al-Balādhurī, Futūh, p. 39.

2. Abū Dāwūd, Sunan, vol. 4, p. 247.

3. Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., vol. 8, p. 9.

4. Ibid., part 1, vol. 4, p. 58, see supra, pp. 11-27.

5. Al-Wāqidī, Maghāzī, p. 713.

'USFĀN

In mapping the route which the Prophet followed when he emigrated from Mecca to Medina, Ibn Khurradadhbeh includes 'Usfān in the list of places on that route.[1] In the register of halts on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca, Ibn Khurradadhbeh locates 'Usfān at twenty-four miles from Qudaid and thirty-three miles from Baṭn Marr in the direction of Mecca. He points out that there are wells in 'Usfān.[2] Al-Ya'qūbī assumes the same location, except that he changes Baṭn Marr to Marr al-Ẓahrān in one passage,[3] but follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh's form in another.[4] According to al-Ya'qūbī, 'Usfān is a dependency of Mecca.[5] Ibn Rosteh accepts Ibn Khurradadhbeh's location as well as his calculation of the distance from Qudaid to 'Usfān, but assesses that from 'Usfān to Marr at thirty-four miles. Describing 'Usfān, Ibn Rosteh states that it is a very large village, densely populated, fertile and supplied with water by wells and occasionally

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op. cit., p. 129.
2. Ibid., p. 131.
3. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 313.
4. Ibid., p. 341.
5. Ibid., p. 316.

by ponds found between Arāk and Umm Ghailān.[1]

Qudāmah follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh as regards the description, the location and the distances to and from 'Usfān, with the sole exception of that from 'Usfān to Baṭn Marr which he calculates as sixteen miles.[2] Al-Mas'ūdī mentions al-Had'ah at seven miles distance from Usfān,[3] and Kudaid, situated between 'Usfān and Qudaid.[4] Al-Hamdānī describes 'Usfān as a dependency of Mecca, inhabited by Khuzā'ah and Quraish.[5] As to the conventional route, al-Hamdānī locates 'Usfān at an equal distance of twenty-three miles from Qudaid and from Marr al-Zahrān in the direction of Mecca, giving 'Usfān's degree of latitude as $21^\circ.40'$.[6] In another passage, he places al-Ghamīm between 'Usfān and Marr.[7] All that al-Muqaddasī has to say about 'Usfān is that it is equidistant from both Baṭn Marr, and Khulaiṣ and Amaj in the direction of Medina at one day's journey

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1. Ibn Rosteh, op. cit., p. 178.

2. Qudāmah, op. cit ., p. 187.

3. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 246.

4. Ibid., p. 264.

5. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 120.

6. Ibid., p. 185.

7. Ibid., p. 187.

from each.[1]

'Arrān states that before 'Usfān to the left
there stands Mt. al-Sharāh from where a pass leads to
'Usfān itself.[2] 'Arrām relates that 'Usfān lies on the
road and has a minbar, palm groves and numerous farms.
Its inhabitants derive solely from Khuzā'ah. After
'Usfān the traveller reaches the sea and loses sight of
the mountains and villages.[3] Al-Istakhrī says that the
valley of Sitārah is situated between Batn Marr and
'Usfān on the left hand side of those who travel from
Medina to Mecca.[4] Unlike his usual practice Ibn Hauqal
does not borrow al-Istakhrī's statement this time, but
Yāqūt attributes it to Abū Zaid.[5] Al-Idrīsī places
'Usfān at thirty-three miles from Batn Marr and twenty-
four miles to Qudaid in the direction of Medina. Of
'Usfān, al-Idrīsī says that it is ten miles distant from
the sea and has wells of fresh water. According to him,
it is populated by Juhainah, a statement that cannot be

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., p. 106.
2. 'Arrām, op. cit., p. 413.
3. Ibid., p. 415.
4. Al-Istakhrī, op. cit., p. 24.
5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 27.

traced to any of his predecessors,[1] and which is untrue.

Al-Bakrī relies on the Ḥadīth when saying that 'Usfān lies on the route of the Prophet's migration,[2] and that al-Had'ah is between Mecca and 'Usfān.[3] He places Kudaid (al-Bakrī vocalizes it Kadīd which is also acceptable) between Amaj and 'Usfān, adding that it possesses a running spring flanked by many palm trees belonging to the Meccan Ibn Muḥriz.[4] Al-Bakrī also locates al-Rajī', a Hudhailī watering place, between Mecca and 'Usfān.[5] He borrows Arrām's entire statement about 'Usfān attributing it to al-Sakūnī, but changes Mt. al-Sharāh to al-Sharā'.[6] In another passage, al-Bakrī describes 'Usfān as a principal village with a number of wells and cisterns.[7] According to him, 'Usfān has a minbar and is administered from al-Fur' which is a dependency of Medina.[8] He quotes al-Aṣma'ī as saying

1. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., fol. 37.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1161.

3. Ibid., p. 1347.

4. Ibid., p. 1119.

5. Ibid., p. 641.

6. Ibid., p. 787.

7. Ibid., p. 943.

8. Ibid., p. 1021.

that Ghurān of which he claims first-hand knowledge is
a valley in the region of 'Usfān, owned by Hudhail,
whereas Ibn Isḥāq says that it is a Liḥyanī village
stretching to Sāyah. Liḥyān and Hudhail are, however,
related tribes.[1]

Al-Bakrī states, in one passage, that the
borders of Tihāmah converge with that of the Hijaz at
al-Fur',[2] which situates 'Usfān and Qudaid within Tihāmah.
Nevertheless, he places Mt. Jumdān, which he locates between
Qudaid and 'Usfān, in the Hijaz when trying to point
out the error of a leading muhaddith who corrupts it to
Jundān.[3] However, in the entry on Jundān, al-Bakrī
himself records a poem in which Jumdān is a corrupted
form of Jumrān because the poet was a native of Najd
expressing his longing for his native encampment which
cannot but be Jumrān.[4] In connection with 'Usfān, al-
Bakrī quotes two hadiths, one mentioning 'Usfān among
the places within the radius of the jurisdiction of
Mecca, and the other relating that the Prophet quickened
his pace when passing through a colony of lepers near

1. Ibid., p. 993.

2. Ibid., p. 13.

3. Ibid., p. 3.

4. Ibid., p. 391.

'Usfān.[1] As to the distances of 'Usfān, al-Bakrī cal-
culates them at six miles from Kudaid, eight miles from
Kurā' al-Ghamīm and twenty-three miles from Khulaiṣ.
There is the public well and the mosque of al-'Adanī
at a mile's distance before al-Ghamīm. Adjoining that
well there is a place called Masdūs, at which he says
there are other wells belonging to some descendants of
Abū Lahab.[2] According to him, 'Usfān is inhabited by
the Khuzā'ah tribe.[3]

Yāqūt relates that al-Rashīd had a palace built
near 'Usfān.[4] He relies on Abū al-Ash'ath, a transmitter
of 'Arrām's work when borrowing the latter's description
of al-Sharāh.[5] He also quotes al-Sukkarī when locating
'Usfān at two days' journey from Mecca and three days'
journey from al-Juḥfah.[6] In his quest for the derivation
of the name 'Usfān, Yāqūt refers to a source he does not
define assuming that it was called so because of the
difficulties the rainwater السيل (misread as الليل =

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1. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 943.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 957.
3. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 943.
4. Yāqūt, <u>Mu'jam</u>, vol. 4, p. 371.
5. <u>Ibid</u>., vol. 3, p. 270.
6. <u>Ibid</u>., vol. 3, p. 673.

night) encounters in emerging from this place.[1] Al-
Bakrī attributes this statement to Kuthayyir.[2] Al-
Samhūdī, quoting from al-Asadī, speaks of wells, cisterns
and a spring called al-'Aulā' in connection with this
locality.[3] Al-Azharī states that 'Usfān is a watering
place on the route between Mecca and al-Juḥfah.[4] Al-
Zamakhsharī says that al-Had'ah is found at seven miles
from 'Usfān in the direction of Mecca.[5] He locates
Kudaid between Qudaid and 'Usfān. About the latter,
al-Zamakhsharī states, in one passage, that it is a
"place",[6] but describes it, in another, as wells in the
valley of Faidah when he enumerates the watering places
between Mecca and Yanbu'.[7] 'Iyāḍ places Kadid (Kudaid)
between Qudaid and 'Usfān at a distance of forty-two
miles from Mecca.[8] He also situates Kurā' al-Ghanīm at

L. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 673.

2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1257.

3. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1266.

4. Al-Azharī, Tahdhīb, vol. 2, p. 107.

5. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 76.

6. Ibid., p. 114.

7. Ibid., p. 169.

8. 'Iyāḍ, Mashāriq, vol. 1, p. 306.

eight miles from 'Usfān in the direction of Mecca.[1]
Wakī' states that 'Usfān used to be a dependency of
Medina, but belonged to Mecca in his time.[2] It possesses
many wells and a spring attributed to the descendants of
Ja'for b. Sulaimān. This spring has a cistern and is
located at one mile south of 'Usfān. Other distances
from 'Usfān are two and a half miles to the pond of al-
Ashṭāṭ, seven to the mosque of al-'Arabī (al-'Adanī),
eight to Kurā' al-Ghanīm, ten to the well of the Beduin,
twelve to the valley of al-Kurā', nineteen to the Janābidh
of Ibn Ṣaifī, seventeen to the well of al-Qurashī,
eighteen to the well of Ibn Ḍubai', and twenty-three
to Qudaid in the north and Baṭn Marr in the south.[3]

'Usfān is a well-known locality in the Northern
Hijaz.

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1. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 305.

2. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 40.

3. Ibid., fol. 52.

WADDĀN

All al-Mas'ūdī has to say about Waddān is that it is
eight miles distant from al-Abwā'.[1] Al-Istakhrī assesses
this at six miles and also points out that it lies at one
day's journey from al-Juhfah. He claims that during his
stay there, in the early tenth century, the Ja'farī chief
used to reside "there" (it can be either al-Abwā' or Waddān).
He describes the Ja'āfir as a powerful tribe with extensive
properties in al-Fur' and al-Sā'irah, but laments the feud
that existed between them and their cousins and neighbours,
the Ḥasanīs, a feud that led to the domination of the new-
comer tribe Ḥarb over the whole region. However, he is in
no doubt that Waddān is east of al-Abwā', which is contrary
to fact.[2] Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥauqal borrows the whole state-
ment except for not referring to his stay there and
pointing out al-Abwā' as the actual residence of the Ja'farī
chief.[3] Yāqūt records al-Istakhrī's statement literally
but attributes it to Abū Zaid.[4]

Al-Hamdānī includes Waddān in his list of the Hijazi
settlements, in one passage,[5] but describes it as Juhainī

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1. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 235.

2. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 25.

3. Ibn Ḥauqal, op.cit., p. 34.

4. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 810.

5. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 181.

territory, in another.[1] The Hijazi poet, al-'Ajlānī,
whose work he has recorded, locates Waddān between al-Abwā'
to the south east and al-Jār to the north.[2] Al-Bakrī des-
cribes Waddān, together with Sāyah, as the south-western
limit of the Hijaz,[3] and follows al-Hamdānī in regarding it
as Juhainī territory.[4] In defining Waddān, al-Bakrī says
that it is a principal village.[5] In another passage, he
quotes al-Sakūnī in stating that the waters of the valley
of Ārah flow into al-Abwā' then into Waddān and finally
into al-Turaifah before flowing into the sea.[6] There is no
need to stress that this statement is 'Arrām's, as al-Sakūnī
is one of his reporters. But al-Bakrī does not refer to his
source when he states that Waddān lies west of Hirshā at
two miles' distance from it and below it.[7] This statement is
also 'Arrām's and is to be found literally in his work.[8] In
another entry, al-Bakrī claims that Waddān is five miles
distant from Hirshā and adds that some travellers incline to
avoid al-Abwā' on their way from al-Suqyā to al-Juhfah, pre-
ferring the route leading through Waddān which is eight

1. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 11.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1374.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1052.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 1351.

8. 'Arrām, *op.cit.*, p. 411.

however, he corrects. Both al-Istakhrī and Ibn Ḥauqal
assert that the land of B. Jaʼfar, Waddān, lies to the
east of the Ḥasanī land in Yanbuʼ. Al-Idrīsī states that
Waddān is south of the Ḥasanī land, which is accurate,[1] but,
in another MS., Waddān is located east of the Ḥasanī land.[2]

The ancient Waddān lay near a village known as Mastūrah in
that region.

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op. cit., MS. 2222, fol. 88.

2. MS. 2221, fol. 133.

WĀDĪ AL-QURĀ

Wādī al-Qurā is, in fact, a region of major importance. Ibn Khurradadhbeh enumerates it among the dependencies of Medina,[1] implying that it is the point at which the Egyptian and the Syrian pilgrim caravans bound to Medina converge. He locates Wādī al-Qurā north of al-Ruhaibah (al-Ruhbah) and south of al-Hijr, on the Syrian route and al-Baidā' on the Egyptian route.[2] Qudāmah states the same in both passages in which he refers to Wādī al-Qurā[3] and so does Ibn Rosteh who differs from them only in calling the halt south of Wādī al-Qurā al-Ruhbah instead of al-Ruhaibah.[4] Ibn al-Faqīh proffers the additional information that the Red Sea borders Wādī al-Qurā[5] which he describes as a northern dependency of Medina.[6] Lughdah locates Wādī al-Qurā north of al-Suqyā and south of al-'Awālī (= al-'Ulā). He says that its palm groves belong to 'Udhrah, Baliyy, Sa'd Allāh and Juhainah, but all the inhabitants take part in the exploitation of its gold, silver and copper mines. He mentions its market, al-Sa'īd, and the two famous springs, Ghālib and Zayyān.[7] Wakīʿ quotes

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 129.

2. Ibid., p. 150.

3. Qudāmah, op.cit., pp. 190, 191, 248.

4. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., pp. 177, 183.

5. Ibn al-Faqīh, op.cit., p. 7.

6. Ibid., p. 26.

7. Lughdah, op.cit., pp. 397-399.

Ibn al-Sabbāḥ to the effect that Wādī al-Qurā is a dependency
of Medina. Its inhabitants are of heterogeneous origin.[1]
He locates it south of al-Hijr and north of al-Suqyā on the
Syrian pilgrim route.[2]

Al-Mas'ūdī claims that the distance between Medina and
Wādī al-Qurā equals seven days' journey.[3] This claim is con-
tradicted by al-Hamdānī who states that it is five days'
journey by the conventional route and takes only four days
through Ḥiṣn B. 'Uthmān in Najd.[4] Al-Hamdānī is, however,
inconsistent with regard to the inhabitants of Wādī al-Qurā
as he states, in one passage, that it lies within the terri-
tories of 'Udhrah,[5] but counts it, in another place, among
the territories of Sulaim and inhabited by them alone or
together with some nomadic Anṣār, who may choose to leave
Sulaim for a while for the grazing lands of Ṭayy. As to the
distance between Wādī al-Qurā and Taimā', al-Hamdānī assesses
it at full three days' journey.[6]

According to al-Isṭakhrī, Wādī al-Qurā represents the
northern limit of the Hijaz south of the Syrian desert, a[7]

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1. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 39.

2. Ibid., fol. 114.

3. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 265.

4. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 130.

5. Ibid., p. 180.

6. Ibid., p. 131.

7. Al-Isṭakhrī, op.cit., p. 21.

statement which is literally repeated by Ibn Hauqal.[1] In describing Wādī al-Qurā, al-Istakhrī says that, after Mecca and Medina among the Hijazi towns, it is second only to al-Yamāmah in size and production.[2] Ibn Hauqal's description is a literal repetition of these words.[3] Al-Istakhrī states that Wādī al-Qurā is one day's journey from al-Hijr.[4] This statement is borrowed by Ibn Hauqal whom Abū al-Fidā' strongly and unjustifiably condemns on the ground that the distance is five days' journey.[5] Abū al-Fidā' is no doubt mistaken, as the journey takes no more than one day...[6] Ibn Hauqal says that the land of the Ṭayy is parallel to Wādī al-Qurā,[7] a statement which could be traced in al-Istakhrī's Masālik.[8]

Al-Muqaddasī says that Wādī al-Qurā is "the mart of both Syria and Iraq".[9] According to al-Muqaddasī "the province of Qurh is also called Wādī al-Qurā". He then describes its town as:

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1. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 21.

2. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 23.

3. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 31.

4. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 24.

5. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 32.

6. Abū al-Fidā', Taquwīm, p. 89.

7. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 34.

8. Al-Istakhrī, op. cit., p. 25.

9. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 97, the English translation, p. 148.

"the largest in al-Hijaz at the present day (= 375 A.H.
985 A.D.) after Makkah, as well as the most flourishing
and populous, and the most abounding with merchants,
commerce and riches. It is commanded by an impregnable
fortress, at the angle of which a castle rises. Vill-
ages encircle it on all sides and palm trees skirt it
about; and, besides, it is possessed of very cheap
dates and excellent bread and copious springs of water,
pretty houses and busy markets. The town is surrounded
by a ditch and has three gates covered with iron plates.
The mosque is in the midst of the main streets of the
town; there is a bone in the mihrab of this mosque
said to be the bone which spoke to the Prophet saying,
'Do not eat me, I am poisoned'. In fine it is a Syrian,
an Egyptian, and Iraqian and a Hijazite town all in one,
but the water is unwholesome and its dates of middling
quality."[1]

Al-Muqaddasi notices here, as he does in al-Juhfah,[2] that the
public bath is outside the town. He points out that the
inhabitants of Qurh (alias Wadi al-Qura) are mainly Jews.[3]
He lists al-Hijr, Bada Ya'qub, Dabbah and Nabk as the towns
of that region,[4] adding Al-'Aunid as its port.[5]

According to al-Muqaddasi, the distance between Wadi
al-Qura and Medina equals six days' journey,[6] but only four
days' journey to Taima' on the Syrian route. He also assesses
the distance between Wadi al-Qura and al-Manhab near Faid at
five days' journey. According to him, the route between

1. Ibid., p. 84, the English translation, pp. 133-134.
2. Ibid., p. 312.
3. Ibid., p. 84.
4. Ibid., p. 53.
5. Ibid., p. 84.
6. Ibid., p. 107.

Wādī al-Qurā and Basra leads through the Arab steppe indicating, in another place, that it is that of al-Manhab.[1] Al-Muqaddasī's Egyptian route does not pass through Wādī al-Qurā as he implies that it leads from al-Suqyā to Badā Ya'qūb, though he locates Wādī al-Qurā on the Egyptian route in another passage. Nevertheless, he makes it clear that that route, in his time, followed the coast.[2]

Al-Bakrī in his Mu'jam refers to 'Arrām when stating that Wādī al-Qurā is one of the large dependencies of Medina and that it has, in turn, dependencies of its own,[3] a statement untraceable in 'Arrām's work. He quotes Ibn al-Kalbī when relating the historical changes in the population of Wādī al-Qurā which consisted, at first, mainly of Jews who came after Thamūd and cultivated the land, discovered its springs and planted palm trees. Then came some branches of Qudā'ah one of which, 'Udhrah, concluded an alliance with the Jews engaging to protect the latter in return for an annual levy with the ultimate result that all other branches were driven out. The 'Udhrah proved very effective in combating not only the Arab tribes but even Al-Nu'mān, the Ghassānī king, who tried to conquer Wādī al-Qurā and was driven back. With the emergence of Islam, the 'Udhrah tribe and some of the Jewish families there flocked to the Prophet and were

1. Ibid., pp. 250-252.

2. Ibid., pp. 107, 110, 112.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 10.

treated with generosity.[1] Al-Bakrī mentions that Qurh is
the capital of Wādī al-Qurā.[2] He cites no source, but Yāqūt
quotes al-Suddī to the effect that Qurh is the capital and
market of Wādī al-Qurā.[3] Al-Bakrī relies on Ibn Ḥabīb for
the information that Suqyā al-Jazl is a village in Wādī al-
Qurā;[4] Yāqūt quotes both Ibn Ḥabīb[5] and Ibn al-Sikkīt[6] to that
effect. Al-Bakrī also counts al-Muraisī' among the villages
of Wādī al-Qurā.[7]

In his Masālik, al-Bakrī states that the ancient name of
Wādī al- Qurā is Wajj. He counts it, together with the land
of al-Ḥijr, among the Arab lands south of Ailah adding that it
was the land of Thamūd.[8] Nevertheless, al-Bakrī, in another
place, locates Wādī al-Qurā and al-Ḥijr between the Hijaz
and Syria.[9] He regards al-Ḥaurā' as the port of Wādī al-Qurā.[10]
He also identifies Qurh with Wādī al-Qurā.[11]

The author of Ḥudūd al-'Ālam places Wādī al-Qurā in the
desert and describes it as a very prosperous borough.[12] Al-
Idrīsī mentions Wādī al-Qurā among the dependencies of

1. Ibid., p. 44.
2. Ibid., p. 246.
3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 54.
4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 743.
5. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 702.
6. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 104.
7. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 22.
8. Ibid., fol. 22.
9. Ibid., fol. 9.
10. Ibid., fol. 22.
11. Ibid., fol. 12.
12. Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, p. 148.

Medina[1] and also among the halts on the overland route
between Ailah and Medina where he locates it south of al-
Baidā' and north of al-Ruhaibah (al-Ruhbah).[2]   As to the
Syrian route, al-Idrīsī mentions only al-Majz (al-Hijr) which
he says is an impregnable fortress among mountains in the
land of Thamūd. He locates it between al-Hanīfiyyah (al-
Junainah) in the north, and a small town on a small river in
the south.[3] This small town seems to be Wādī al-Qurā as he
locates it north of al-Ruhbah, He also lists Wādī al-Qurā
among the famous places in the fifth part of the third
climate.[4]   Ibn al-Kalbī regards Wādī al-Qurā as one of six
main "villages" of Arabia in which (Arabian) music developed
and which he also calls the market places of Arabia.[5]

Yāqūt attributes to al-Sakūnī the statement that the
distance between Wādī al-Qurā and Taimā' is four days'
journey.[6] He also quotes Ibn al-Kalbī when relating that
Wādī al-Qurā was a very fertile valley covered with villages
from end to end, adding that it lay in ruins in his time
with its water resources wasted, and that there was nobody
to exploit them. Al-Sakūnī is quoted as saying that Mu'āwiyah

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 36.

2. Ibid., fol. 88.

3. Ibid., fol. 96.

4. Ibid., fol. 89.

5. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, vol. 3, p. 167.

6. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 76.

rediscovered eighty spring there.[1] Al-Hajari regards al-
'Urudah as half way between Taima' and Wadi al-Qura.[2] Yaqut
calls it al-Uradah and locates it between al-'Ula (in Wadi
al-Qura) and Taima'.[3] According to Ibn al-Sikkit Taina' is
opposite Wadi al-Qura.[4] Nasr holds it to be at Wadi al-Qura.[5]
Al-Biruni, locating it in the second climate, assesses the
longitude of Wadi al-Qura as 50° and its latitude at 26°.[6]
Al-Maqdisi regards Wadi al-Qura as one of the Hijazi rural
towns.[7] Al-Bakri claims that there is a Hijaz for Wadi al-
Qura and Taima'.[8]

Al-Sam'ani claims that Wadi al-Qura is an ancient town
in the Hijaz towards Syria. He quotes Ibn Hibban as saying
that Wadi al-Qura is Syrian territory. He also quotes Sa'id
b. 'Abd al-'Aziz when regarding Wadi al-Qura as the extreme
northern limit of Arabia.[9] Al-Maqdisi states that Qurh is
Wadi al-Qura,[10] but Nasr says that it is the market of Wadi
al-Qura.[11] Nasr also places al-Hijr between Wadi al-Qura and

1. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 82.
2. Al-Hajari, Nawadir, part 1, fol. 133.
3. Yaqut, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 638.
4. Ibn al-Sikkit, Diwan 'Urwah, p. 62.
5. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 35.
6. Al-Biruni, Qanun, vol. 2, p. 551.
7. Al-Maqdisi, op.cit., vol. 4, p. 70.
8. Al-Bakri, Mu'jam, p. 914.
9. Al-Sam'ani, op.cit., p. 576.
10. Al-Maqdisi, op.cit., vol. 3, p. 36.
11. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 122.

Syria,[1] adding that Wādī al-Qurā lies between Medina and Syria too.[2]

Muslim traditionists remained, for a long time, uncertain as regards the nature of Wādī al-Qurā and its relationship with the Hijaz. Some of them were of the opinion that 'Umar did not regard Wādī al-Qurā Hijazi territory, because its Jews, unlike those of Khaibar and Najrān, had not been deported.[3] Mālik even thought that neither Wādī al-Qurā nor Taimā' were in Arabia as 'Umar had desisted from deporting the local Jews.[4] It should, however, be borne in mind that he did so for political, not for religious reasons, as he left those Jews who were not strong enough in their own right quite undisturbed. Those who remained in Wādī al-Qurā were dependent on the Arab tribes who were too strongly committed to Islam, and too busy outside Arabia, to encourage their clients to cause any trouble there. Nevertheless, Wādī al-Qurā was regarded by many as situated outside the Arab territory.[5]

Wādī al-Qurā is still known as a prosperous region in the Northern Hijaz, though it is called al-'Ulā.

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1. _Ibid._, fol. 51.

2. _Ibid._, fol. 123.

3. Al-Balādhurī, _Futūh_, p. 39.

4. Abū Dāwūd, al-_Sunan_, vol. 4, p. 247.

5. _Supra_, pp. 225-257.

AL-WAHĪDAH

The only three Arab geographers of the period under consideration to mention al-Wahīdah are Ibn Khurradadhbeh,[1] Ibn Rosteh,[2] and al-Idrīsī,[3] who state that it is a dependency of Medina. However, the poet Ibn Harmah, a native of that area, trying to trace his love, speaks of al-Wahīdah and al-Ghamr.[4] Nasr describes it as a place in the Hijaz without reference to its status.[5] Confusion is to be avoided with al-Wahīd which is referred to by al-Bakrī in his Mu'jam.[6]

Al-Marzūqī, apparently relying on al-Asma'ī, says that a few years before Islam there was, at the fair of 'Ukāz, an exceptionally large gathering of Arabs who had come to barter their camels, cattle and money for goods from Egypt, Syria and Iraq. It happened on that occasion that Ma'mar, of B. 'Udrah, took good care of 'Amr, of Sulaim, who told his two sons that he had never seen such kindness and asked their permission to recompense him. Having obtained it, he asked for paper and a notary to whom he dictated this very detailed document:

1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 129.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 177.

3. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 36.

4. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 908.

5. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 151.

6. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1372.

"This is what was presented by 'Amr b. al-Sharīd al-Sulamī to Ma'mar b. al-Harith b. al-Khaibarī b. Zubyān b. Hinn b. Hizām 'al-'Udhrī, namely his property at al-Wahīdah which is one of the makhālīf مـخـاليـف (dependencies) of Yathrib, with its abandoned habitations, its living quarters, ruins, pens, grazings, terraced fields, ravines, hillock grazing lands, high-growing plants (qaswar), 'ajram and bashām with both first and last products thereof, figs, shīh, and arāk, ujzah and uncultivated lands, hillocks, small lava-fields, its donkeys and all things animate and inanimate, all things wet by rain or growing on land, belong to Ma'mar to the exclusion of 'Amr, given from the bottom of his heart with no disability to his enjoyment and without hint as to the source of ownership, totally detached from any claim arising from ineradicable friend-ship which time will not efface, ever renewed, till the end of time and the extinguishing of the stars while day and night succeed one another and the mountains and great hills stand. This was inscribed 35 years after the year of the elephant."

Then he sent the deed, together with some Yemenite presents to Ma'mar. Al-Asma'ī says that the descendants of Ma'mar remained in possession of this property up to his own time.[1]

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1. Al-Marzūqī, al-Azminah wal-Amkinah, vol. 2, p. 169.

    shīh: a kind of wormwood (Musil, Northern Negd, p. 362).

    bashām and arāk: a shrub of which tooth-sticks are made (A.A.Bevan, al-Naka'id, vol. 3 pp. 276, 289 Glossary).

    'ajram: a shrub with long, stiff branches and solid needle shaped leaves. (Musil, Arabia Deserta, p. 121).

    ujzah: obscure. It may be a misreading of Ukhdhah: pond.

AL-WAJH

Al-Wajh, an important town on the Red Sea, has received very little attention from the Arab geographers. Al-Ya'qūbī locates it on the coastal pilgrim route from Ailah to Mecca without proffering any information about its nature. He merely describes it as the first way-station after Zubah (Dubā) to the north on the route from Madyan to Mecca. He places Munkhūs to the immediate south.[1]

Qudāmah, apparently following al-Ya'qūbī, locates it on the same route, but instead of listing it just after Zubah, places 'Aunīd between it and Zubah (Dubā).[2]

Al-Muqaddasī twice mentions that al-Ruhbah is the halt to the north of Munkhūs.[3] It is more likely that al-Ruhbah here is a corruption of al-Wajh. Wakī' also seems to misread al-Wajh as al-Rajjah. According to him, it is situated south of al-'Aunīd and north of Munkhūs.[4]

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 341.

2. Qudāmah, op.cit., p. 191.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., pp. 110, 112.

4. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

YANBU'

'Arrām, who begins his work on Tihāmah with Mt. Radwā,
locates both Radwā and Yanbu' in the extreme north of Tihāmah.
According to him, Yanbu' is "situated to the right of Radwā
for those descending from Medina to the sea at a distance of
one night's journey from Radwā." The underlined words, when
omitted, make the definition rather less hazy. 'Arrām des-
cribes Yanbu' as a large and gorgeous "village" with a minbar;
it has rich springs of fresh water; its population consists
of Ansār, Juhainah and Laith; its valley, Yalyal, empties
into Ghaiqah. According to him, the waters of al-Safrā' abut
upon Yanbu'. As regards Mt. Radwā, 'Arrām locates it one
day's journey from Yanbu'; two days from the sea and seven
days from Medina; to the right of the Medina route and to
the left of the Burairā' route in the direction of Mecca.
Opposite to Radwā from which it is separated by the Mu'riqah
route, lies Mt. 'Azwar at a distance of about a race course.
The waters of these two mountains abut upon Ghaiqah whose
valley empties into the sea. He estimates the distance bet-
ween Mts. Radwā and 'Azwar, and the two Mts. of Thāfil at
two days journey, on one occasion, and seven days on another.[1]

These are the statements in which 'Arrām is alleged to
have spoken of Mts. Radwā and 'Azwar, and the region of Yanbu'.

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1. 'Arrām, op.cit., pp. 397-398.

So hopelessly erroneous are most of these statements that
the situation need not be aggravated by allowing for a mis-
understanding on Yalyal by al-Bakrī and the editor of 'Arrām.
According to 'Arrām,

> "the valley of Yalyal empties into the sea 'there'
> through the left bank of Ghaiqah in the direction
> of Medina to the right of travellers from Medina to
> Mecca and to the left of travellers from Syria to
> Mecca."

" ووادى يليل يصب في البحر ثم من عدوة غيقة اليسرى مما يلي المدينة عن يمين
المصعد الى مكة من المدينة وعن يسار المصعد من الشام الى مكة " ٠

According to al-Bakrī[1] and the editor, it reads:

> "and the valley of Yalyal empties into the sea.
> 'And' to the left bank of Ghaiqah in the direction
> of Medina...lie the two Mts. of Thāfil."

This misreading is not the responsibility of 'Arrām's scribes,
who are to blame for a sufficiency of other errors. The
point here is the alteration of   ثَمَّ   thamma – there –
to   ثُمَّ   thumma – and –. Consequently, al-Bakrī voices
his only criticism of 'Arrām in the person of his transmitter,
al-Sakūnī, for misdirecting the waters of Yalyal to the sea,
without letting them first abut upon Ghaiqah.

There are, however, the numerous and gross mistakes of
'Arrām's scribes which go back to before the eleventh century
in which the MSS. were apparently laden with what their copy-
ists and readers think to be corrections. There is good
reason to assume that these mis-statements are due to a mis-
placement of some folios. How else could 'Arrām, a native

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 356.

of the region and an acknowledged authority on its geography, have misplaced many famous localities such as al-Safrā', Kulayyah, al-Juhfah, Khulais, the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir and Mts. Radwā and 'Azwar and the two Thāfils. As regards localities placed by 'Arrām in the region of Yanbu', it is necessary to point out his mistakes and rectify some of them.

The most lasting of these mistakes is the assumption that 'Azwar lies at about a race course from Radwā which is no doubt a result of the misplacement of folios in an early MS., as 'Azwar should be situated far to the south near al-Abwā'. Indeed, it is 'Azwar but not Radwā, which lies to the right of the Medina-Mecca route. Al-Burairā' is situated between al-Abwā' and Waddān (near Mastūrah) and cannot be connected with Radwā. Moreover, Radwā cannot separate the Burairā' route (the coastal route from al-Juhfah to Badr) from the Medina-Mecca route as Radwā lies too far from the Medina-Mecca route to be situated there. Though this erroneous location of 'Azwar has been unquestioningly accepted by al-Bakrī, Nasr and Yāqūt, all three register other references, mainly in verse, which indicate the right location.[1] Al-Hamdānī, whose list of the dependencies of Mecca does not contain localities in the north beyond the region of al-Juhfah,

1. See al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 656, 1233, 1280; Nasr, op.cit., fol. 75-76, 114; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, pp. 669, 727,

regards 'Azwar as one of these dependencies.[1] Al-Zamakhsharī, who is the most reliable source for the location of places between Yanbu' and Mecca, seems to have located 'Azwar accurately. It is almost certain that he locates it between Mt. al-Ṭawāl in the north and Dhirwah in the south. Both localities are situated in the region of al-Abwā' and al-Juhfah.[2] The Hijazi poets such as Kuthayyir, al-Ahwas, al-Muzarrid and Ibn Harmah also place it near al-Juhfah. 'Azwar has never been mentioned in any early Arabic poem in one breath with Radwā to suggest their proximity. It is 'Abāthir which is connected with Radwā.

Another mistake is the statement that the Mu'riqah route separates Radwā from 'Azwar both of which are lofty mountains. 'Arrām describes the Mu'riqah route as a short cut to Mecca, Medina and Syria. This route was used by the ancient Quraishī caravans between Mecca and Syria via Radwā, al-'Īs, Dhul-Marwah and Ailah. The Medina-Syria route used to pass through Dhū Khushub and Dhul-Marwah. The Mu'riqah route cannot represent a short-cut from Medina to Mecca or Syria via Radwā and al-'Īs. This statement is likely to be a mixture of two statements, one on the Mu'riqah route and the other on the pass of Hirshā. The Mu'riqah route separates Radwā not from 'Azwar, but from 'Irdah عرضــة which lies close to it. Since the Mu'riqah route does not represent a

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1. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 177.

2. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, p. 164.

short cut for the Medinese, the description should be taken
to refer to the Hirshā route which is used by these caravans
in time of security and which is a short cut.

A third erroneous statement is that the waters of Radwā
and 'Azwar abut upon Ghaiqah. In fact, the waters of Radwā
and 'Irdah abut upon the sea north of Yanbu', and thus north
of Ghaiqah. The waters of 'Azwar abut upon the sea far from
Ghaiqah to the south near Waddān.

A fourth mis-statement is that Radwā lies west of al-
Safrā' whose waters abut upon Yanbu'. Actually, Radwā lies
north of al-Safrā' whose waters abut upon Ghaiqah. The alti-
tude between Yanbu' and al-Safrā' prevents the waters of al-
Safrā' from abutting upon Yanbu'. Equally wrong is the
assumption that Yalyal is the valley of Yanbu', since it is,
in fact, the valley of al-Safrā'.

A fifth error is the estimate of the distance from Radwā
and 'Azwar to the two Mts. Thāfil at two days' journey, in
one passage, and seven days in another. This is clear evi-
dence of the alteration to which 'Arrām's work has been sub-
jected. These estimates cannot be accepted except by applying
the former to Radwā and the latter to 'Azwar. This also
applies to the claim that the distance from Radwā to Medina is
seven days.

There is also the assumption that the waters of the two
Mts. Thāfil abut upon Ghaiqah, which is untrue as they are
situated too far in the south to send their waters to Ghaiqah
or indeed anywhere north of Waddān.

These mistakes and many others have penetrated into
'Arrām's work and been accepted by al-Bakrī, Nasr and Yāqūt.
They are also preserved in the available MS. of this work.
Except for the above-mentioned groundless criticism of al-
Sakūnī by al-Bakrī, none of these authors or any other author
whom we know of has rectified or even pointed out 'Arrām's
mistakes. It is because 'Arrām is so important an author that
it is necessary to list his errors.

Wakī'[1] and Ibn al-Kalbī,[2] followed by Nasr,[3] regards Yanbu'
as a dependency of Medina. It does not figure as such in the
lists of the "official" geographers, which is not surprising
as they seem to speak only of what was listed in their arch-
ives. Ibn al-Kalbī claims that Ruhāt lies in the region of
Yanbu' which is inadvertent, since it is obvious from his
statement that Ruhāt is inhabited by B. Hudhail whose lands
have always been around Mecca. On another occasion, he
places Ruhāt in the valley of Nakhlah which is inhabited by
B. Hudhail and situated north of Mecca. Ibn Duraid seems to
have been the source of al-Bakrī's erroneous location of
Yanbu' between Mecca and Medina.[4] Ibn al-Sikkīt describes
Yanbu', whose mountain is Radwā, as the valley of 'Alī which
is true, since 'Alī did a great deal to develop it, and some

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1. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 40.

2. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Asnām*, pp. 9-10, 57.

3. Nasr, *op.cit.*, fol. 154.

4. See Ibn Duraid, *al-Jamharah*, vol. 1, p. 317; Al-Bakrī,
   Mu'jam, p. 1402.

of his descendants have lived there for the last thirteen centuries. Ibn al-Sikkīt, on the other hand, locates al-Haurā' opposite to Yanbu' whose port he claims it to be which is incorrect.[1] Ibn al-Sabbāh of the 9th century estimates the number of springs of Yanbu' at ninety-nine.[2] This rose by the 12th century to 170.[3] Ibn Sa'd,[4] followed by al-Mas'ūdī[5] and al-Bakrī,[6] places al-'Ushairah in the valley of Yanbu'. Al-Mas'ūdī also seems to rely on Ibn Sa'd in estimating the distance between Medina and al-'Ushairah at nine barīds. In his Murūj, al-Mas'udī locates al-'Ushairah in the bed of the valley of Yanbu' which is correct.[7]

Al-Hamdānī is the only Arab geographer of that period to mention "Yanbu' al-Nukhail" in the lower reaches of Yanbu'.[8] Yanbu' al-Nukhail may be identical with al-Bakrī's Nujail and Yāqūt's Nukhail which the latter describes as a spring near Medina.[9] Both al-Bakrī and Yāqūt rely on one verse by Kuthayyir. It is, however, not identical with "Yanbu' al-Nakhl" since this term means the whole valley of Yanbu' and

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 474, 1310.

2. Ibid., p. 656.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 1039.

4. Ibn Sa'd, op.cit., vol. 1, part 2, p. 4.

5. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 236.

6. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 154.

7. Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, vol. 4, p. 142.

8. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1300.

9. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 770.

is of recent date. Unlike 'Arrām, al-Hamdānī regards Yanbu'
as part of the Hijaz, though one of his poets seems to regard
it as the northern frontier of the Hijaz.[1]

Al-Muqaddasī[2] regards Yanbu' as a town of Mecca and a
dependency of Medina. He describes it as a large and splendid
town, with an impregnable wall and a copious supply of water,
more flourishing than Medina and with larger palm groves.
Its citadel is well-built and its market brisk, the majority
of its dealers coming from Medina. It has two gates with
the mosque standing close to one of them. It is dominated by
the descendants of al-Hasan - b. 'Alī -. Ra's al-'Ain is
twelve miles from Yanbu'. Ra's al 'Ain lies at one day's
journey from Yanbu'. The distance from both al-Jār and Badr
to Yanbu' is two days' journey. Al-Muqaddasī does not regard
Yanbu' as a halt on the Egyptian coastal route for which he
has al-'Ushairah. Speaking of the specialities of Arabia,
al-Muqaddasī mentions the henna and whetstone of Yanbu', and
the gold mines between Yanbu' and al-Marwah. He is not
appreciative of the water of Yanbu' which he describes as
notoriously bad. Al-Muqaddasī refers to the quarrels between
the Sunnīs and Shī'īs of Yanbu'.

In locating al-'Ushairah between Yanbu' and the sea,
al-Muqaddasī is less inaccurate than al-Istakhrī who locates
it between Yanbu' and al-Marwah. In fact, al-'Ushairah lies

1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, pp. 171, 181, 219.
2. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., pp. 69, 83, 98, 101, 102, 107, 110.

in the lower reaches of Yanbu', near the spring of al-Barakah.[1]
Al-Istakhri[2] and Ibn Hauqal[3] describe Yanbu' as a citadel with
palm groves, water and farms. They mention that the inalien-
able properties of 'Ali are controlled by his descendants.
They situate Mt. Radwā near Yanbu' from which whetstone is
carried "to all regions". This remark, coupled with that of
al-Bakrī about whetstone being carried from Khaibar, seems to
have driven al-Idrīsī to the erroneous location of Khaibar
near Radwā. Al-Idrīsī also changes Ibn Hauqal's statement
on having seen Radwā from Yanbu' looking like a green meadow
ورأسه من ينابيع الماء به كخضرة البقل into ورأيته من ينبع كخضرة البقــــــل
"the fords has rendered its summit like a green meadow."
Apart from this, al-Idrīsī uses Ibn Hauqal's words in des-
cribing Yanbu' and Radwā.[4] Qudāmah mentions Yanbu' only in
connection with the Egyptian coastal pilgrim route, and gives
no information beyond locating it south al-Ahsā' and north
Mas'ūlān.[5]

The Yanbu' of which our geographers speak is what we now
call "Yanbu' al-Nakhl" because "Yanbu'" at present applies to
the sea port of the same name.

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1. Hamad al-Jāsir, Bilād Yanbu', p. 201.
2. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., p. 25.
3. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 33.
4. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 88.
5. Qudāmah, op.cit., 191.

PART TWO

THE PILGRIM ROUTES
IN THE NORTHERN HIJAZ

I - AILAH-MEDINA INLAND ROUTE

Ibn Khurradadhbeh[1] is the first author to record the way-stations between Ailah and Medina which, according to him, number fourteen. It is noteworthy that he offers no information about water or other requirements on that route. Nor does he give the mileage between the way-stations. Musil[2] believes the absence of mileage to be due to the lack of postal services on this route, and this is quite likely as it was not until later that the Hijaz was officially subordinated to Egypt. It is almost certain that the route between Egypt and the Hijaz was assessed in miles in the early days of the Fatimids when Cairo replaced Baghdad as the administrator of the Hijaz.[3]

Ibn Khurradadhbeh names all the way-stations between Ailah and Medina with the exception of one which he situates between al-Aghrā' and al-Kilābah. According to him, the route led through Wādī al-Qurā which suggests that the pilgrims of his time used to follow the ancient caravan routes. Otherwise, pilgrims would have avoided the longer journey through Wādī al-Qurā, as it was easier and shorter to follow the

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., pp. 149-150.

2. Musil, The Northern Hegāz, p. 321.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, pp. 422-3.

valley of al-Jazl. Indeed, Wakī', followed by al-Asadī,[1] states that the junction where the Egyptian route converged with the Syrian route was al-Suqyā. It is safe to assume that what Wakī' has in mind is the actual route followed by the pilgrims of his time, whereas Ibn Khurradadhbeh may rely on some older sources concerned with trade or military interests. Though Ibn Ḥabīb situates al-Suqyā on Wādī al-Qurā, the two can by no means be equated since al-Suqyā lies, as its full name Suqyā al-Jazl suggests, on Wādī al-Jazl. Wādī al-Qurā is an extensive region, but the name, when applied to a way-station, usually refers to Qurḥ, the capital of that region. Wakī' enumerates fifteen halts on the inland route between Ailah and Medina.[2] He mentions Qālis as the halt between Madyan and al-Agharr; 'Anāb, between al-Suqyā and al-Marwah; and al-Arāk as the halt between Dhū Khushub and Medina. Apart from enumerating the halts, Wakī' proffers no information except that al-Suqyā is the meeting point of the Syrian and Egyptian routes. He mentions both the inland and the coastal Egyptian routes. Wakī' is the only geographer to state that the Egyptian route bifurcates at Ailah after which the first halt on the inland route is Sharaf al-Ba'l, and on the coastal route 'Ainūnah.

Ibn Rosteh[3] follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh to the letter with regard to the inland route between Ailah and Medina, with

1. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1234.

2. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

3. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 183.

the sole exception that he substitutes Sharaf al-Naml for Haql and correctly changes Ruhaibah to al-Ruhbah. While the name Ruhaibah is probably attributable to a scribal error, it is interesting to note that in mentioning Haql as the first halt south of Ailah, Ibn Khurradadhbeh was alone among the Arab geographers for nearly two centuries when the name was revived by al-Bakrī[1] and, a century later, by al-Idrīsī.[2] As to Sharaf al-Naml, Ibn Rosteh probably borrows from al-Ya'qūbī[3] who uses the name Sharaf al-Ba'l. Al-Ya'qūbī differs from Ibn Khurradadhbeh on the number of way stations on that route: the latter records fourteen, but the former mentions only eight. The six way-stations omitted by al-Ya'qūbī are: Haql, which he replaces with Sharaf al-Ba'l; the unnamed station between al-Aghrā' and al-Kilābah; al-Kilābah itself, the latter two halts being replaced by one called Qālis; al-Sarhatain; al-Baidā'; Wādī al-Qurā; al-Ruhaibah, all the four being replaced by al-Suqyā alone; al-Marr; al-Suwaidā', with no replacement for the last two. Thus al-Ya'qūbī leaves out nine of the fourteen halts mentioned by Ibn Khurradadhbeh and introduces only three new names instead. Al-Ya'qūbī's Qālis is not mentioned by any other geographer mapping this route except Wakīʿ, but al-Suqyā is mentioned by Wakīʿ and revived later by al-Muqaddasī and al-Bakrī, albeit it is mentioned only once by the former

1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 76.

2. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fols. 88-89.

3. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, pp. 330, 340-1.

and only in one book of the latter.

Al-Ya'qubī differs from Ibn Khurradadhbeh also in other points, especially in proffering information about the major halts. He mentions that a Syrian route to Mecca leads through Palestine to Ailah, where it converges with the Egyptian route. He also records a coastal route between Ailah and Mecca, including information on some intervening halts. Unfortunately, no such information is provided on the inland route beyond Madyan. This is difficult to account for, unless one assumes that Egyptians preferred the coastal to the inland route to Medina. Al-Ya'qubī had strong connections with the contemporary ruling dynasty of Egypt, the Tulūnīds for whom he worked; and was too well versed in administrative matters to overlook the importance of watering places. This suggests that the inland route was almost disregarded, as it was natural for those concerned with pilgrimage to follow the coastal route even if they intended to visit Medina. Qudāmah seems to follow Ibn Khurradadhbeh[1] literally, except for the substitution of Sharaf al-Ba'l for Haql, and the omission of al-Marr. Qudāmah also mentions a coastal route between Ailah and Medina which suggests that that route had been finally recognized by the administration of Baghdad.

Al-Muqaddasī[2] gives more than one version of this route, but the accounts are all incomplete. His sources are diffi-

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1. Qudāmah, op.cit., pp. 190-1.

2. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., pp. 107, 109-112.

cult to trace. He seems to follow Ibn Rosteh in one version,
but none of his predecessors can be made responsible for the
others, though he mentions al-Suqyā which occurs in al-
Ya'qūbī. It is surprising that al-Muqaddasī should have had
first-hand knowledge of that route since his accounts of it
are conflicting. He states once very clearly that this route
was derelict in his time, and uses the name Sharaf al-Ba'l
in one account and Sharaf Dhul-Naml in another. Besides, he
locates Wādī al-Qurā, named Qurh in another passage, to the
north of al-Suqyā on both the Egyptian and the Syrian routes.
However, he states on another occasion that al-Suqyā is at
the junction of the two routes which contradicts his own
lists of the way stations. It also indicates some uncertainty
on his part that he should try four times to record what he
believed to be a definitive list of the way stations, but
uses different names and totals of halts at each attempt.
He states that there were "several" routes between Wailah
(Ailah) and Mecca, whereas in fact there were two only. This
discrepancy may be due to variations in the sources at his
disposal. Moreover, he records in a matter-of-fact tone
that the route of the "western" pilgrims to Mecca leads
inland through Medina, but soon adds that they have "several"
routes which he prefers to his own experience. Al-Muqaddasī
also records the coastal route between Ailah and Medina,
without proffering any information on the conditions pre-
vailing there while enumerating the way-stations. However,
he does describe the major towns when he refers to the region.

He is quite unaware of the mileage on the Egyptian route
or, for that matter, the Syrian route, which indicates that
they had not been measured at the time his work was com-
piled. Nevertheless, he states that the three postal routes
between the Hijaz and Syria during the Umayyad period were
known to have led through Taimā'. His location of al-'Aunīd
on the inland route cannot be accepted since he himself
describes it as the port of Wādī al-Qurā.[1] The information
inherited from his predecessors appears in al-Muqaddasī's
account, enriched with explanations of the names of some halts
on the inland route. He connects Badā with Ya'qūb and al-
Suqyā with يزيد Yazīd, a name which, though borrowed by
al-Bakrī, is probably a corruption of الجسزل al-Jazl, the
valley in which al-Suqyā is situated and to which it is
usually assigned. Al-Kilābah figures as al-Kilāyah, Dhul-
Marwah as al-Marwah, and al-Aghrā' as al-A'rā'.

Al-Bakrī's[2] account seems even more confused than al-
Muqaddasī's. Not only are most of the names given in
corrupted forms, but al-Bakrī mentions eleven way-stations
between Ailah and Medina, three of which are between Madyan
and Ailah, instead of the one listed by the other geographers.
The first seven halts of his route are definitely part of
the coastal route and represent less than a third of that
route. His predecessors name Madyan as the point at which
the inland route parts from the coastal route, but al-Bakrī's

1. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 84.
2. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 76.

route keeps to the coast as far as Ḍubā. This new arrangement requires that four halts on Ibn Khurradadhbeh's route between Madyan and Badā should be omitted and replaced by three coastal ones. Al-Bakrī follows al-Ya'qūbī in omitting the way-stations between Badā and al-Suqyā which, according to al-Muqaddasī should be three, but adds al-Suwaidā' which is not mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī. Like al-Ya'qūbī and al-Muqaddasī, he fails to mention al-Marr and that the distance between al-Suwaidā' and al-Marwah equals a journey of two days as stated by al-Muqaddasī. Apparently, al-Bakrī, in his Masālik, relies on al-Muqaddasī with regard to the names Suqyā Yazīd and Badā Ya'qūb because he refers to them, in his Mu'jam, as Suqyā al-Jazl[1] and Badā.[2]

Al-Bakrī seems to have consulted more than one source and relies on several accounts. This is borne out by the fact that he assesses the distance between Ailah and Madyan as four days journey, whereas he refers to the distance between Badā and al-Suqyā, which is longer, as one day's journey. An innovation is the location of three places on the route between Ailah and Madyan instead of one, which may point to a reduction of the distance covered in a single journey. There is no explanation for the statement that the inland route went as far as Ḍubā on the coast, unless one assumes that it is an attempt to reconcile the coastal route with the inland route, since there would be no point in

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 743.

2. Ibid., p. 230.

going to Dubā with the intention of turning east in order
to reach the inland route. Al-Bakrī is the only Arab geo-
grapher to call the inland route from Egypt to Medina
"al-Jāddah الجادة " = the conventional route, which
suggests that he knew of the existence of the coastal route
though he does not mention the latter. In fact, this con-
ventional route was derelict in his time. In al-Bakrī's
text, the distances between some of the way-stations seem
to be shorter than his predecessors maintain, at least as
far as Dubā, between which and Ailah he names six halts,
whereas between Dubā and Medina he names only five way-
stations, which is improbable as the section between Dubā
to Medina represents more than two thirds of the whole.

Al-Bakrī describes both al-Suwaidā' and Ailah as towns,
which implies that he looks upon the other places as minor
halts. The MSS of his Masālik are full of corruptions of
the names of these stations. Ailah is referred to as الملة
Anmulah; Badā as نـدى Nadā; al-Silā as الصلاة al-Salāh;
and Suqyā as سقـى Suqyu. The identification of al-Silā
with al-Nabk is, however, accurate. Dhū Khashub is called
Naqā Dhū Khushub, a name which is not to be found in any
other source. The same might be said of al-Bakrī's account
as a whole. It cannot be traced to any available source
before him which we know of. Nor can his knowledge of the
region always be accepted, as his account is contradicted
by information he himself gives in his Mu'jam. There he
describes some of the way-stations as mere "places", states

that Badā lies between the Egyptian route and the Syrian route, and makes the same assertion of Shaghb.[1] Like al-Muqaddasī, he proffers no information about the way-stations while mapping the route, but details of some of the way-stations are found in a separate place.

Al-Idrīsī[2] records two routes between Ailah and Medina, the coastal route and the inland route. His inland route is identical with that of Ibn Khurradadhbeh except for the omission of two way-stations: Badā and al-Sarhatain. He seems to consider it the main route, with the coastal route as the second choice, though he does not record any information on the inland route, but includes some data of this kind when discussing particular places regionally. Most of the names of the way-stations are recorded in corrupted forms: Haml حمل for Haql; Ankilāyah انكلاية for al-Kilābah; Saʼb سعب for Shaghb; al-Wujaih الوجيه for al-Ruhaibah; Abū al-Marw ابا المرو for Dhul-Marwah; Maryam مريم for al-Marr; Dhū Shuʼab ذوشــعب for Dhū Khushub. The last four way-stations, however, are also mentioned on the Syrian route where their names are correct. Al-Idrīsī does not record the mileage when he maps the Egyptian route, probably because there is no mention of it in the sources available to him.

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1. Ibid., p. 230.

2. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fols. 88-89.

Neither al-Istakhrī[1] nor Ibn Hauqal[2] gives any list
of the way-stations between Ailah and Medina, though each
of them points out that there is such a list in existence.
The information they provide coincides almost in its en-
tirety. Egypt is separated by twenty days' journey from
Medina; the Egyptian route and that of the Maghribīs
converge with the Palestinian route to Ailah; after Madyan
the route bifurcates, so that the inland route leads on
through Shaghb an. Badā, and al-Marwah to Medina, while
the other follows the coastline to converge with the inland
route at al-Juhfah. Ibn Hauqal describes the relationship
between the Egyptian and the Maghribī caravans on the pil-
grim route. In his earlier version, he states that the two
parties do not encamp together, so that one of them must
leave before the other arrives. Later, however, he says that
the Maghribīs form part of the Egyptian caravan, though they
sometimes prefer to occupy a separate camp.

According to Yāqūt,[3] the route from Egypt to Ailah is also
recorded by al-Muhallabī. There is little doubt that this
route did not stop at Ailah, but extended to Medina or Mecca.
Though there is no mention of it in the available sources,
the extant part of al-Muhallabī's account of it indicates
a further development in the relationship between Cairo and
Arabia. For the first time, the mileage system is adopted

1. Al-Istakhrī, op.cit., pp. 27-8.
2. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., pp. 40-41.
3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, pp. 422-3.

at some stages of this route, as from Cairo to Qulzum.
Yāqūt says that Ḥaql is separated from Ailah by sixteen
miles[1] and that Dubā lies at seventy miles' distance from
Badā.[2]   Though Yāqūt does not quote his source, it seems
most likely that this piece of information stems from al-
Muhallabī's 'Azīzī.   Al-Muhallabī seems to follow al-Ya'qūbī
in providing information about some halts while mapping the
route.

This inland route from Medina to Ailah is identical
with the old Mu'riqah route used by the Quraishī caravans
between Mecca and Syria or Egypt.   The Quraishī caravan did
not pass through Medina, as generally accepted, but followed
the Mecca-Medina route as far as Badr, 148 km from Medina,
and hence proceeded through the valley of Yanbu' and the
valley of al-'Īs northward to al-Marwah and Wādī al-Qurā.
This is confirmed by the fact that the point assigned by the
Prophet to the Syrians to start their pilgrimage rites was
different from that of ~~which the~~ pilgrims emerging from
Medina.   This is also borne out by the fact that when the
Prophet decided to surprise this caravan in the year 2 A.H.
(March 624), he obtained the necessary information by sending
some scouts to al-Marwah, after having tried to surprise
this caravan at Buwāt between al-'Īs and al-Marwah six
months before.[3]   It was often seen at Badr.   When the Prophet

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 299.

2. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 464.

3. Al-Wāqidī, op.cit., p. 12.

turned away some of his Companions in accordance with a
treaty between him and Quraish, these Companions camped at
al-'Īs and molested the Quraishī caravan.[1] Abū Yūsuf's
statement that they camped at Dhul-Hulaifah[2] contradicts
all reliable sources and, anyway, the caravan could not have
passed there for reasons of security since Dhul-Hulaifah
lies six miles from Medina.

It is true that most of the above information concerns
the Syrian route, but it is the Ailah branch and this branch
led to Egypt. Besides, al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah refers to an
Egypt-bound caravan following the same route.[3] It is called
al-Mu'riqah as against al-Tabūkiyyah which leads to Syria
through Tabūk.[4] It was by these two that the Muslim armies
went to Syria. Throughout the 7th century, the route from
Medina to Syria often led through al-Marwah and Ailah, which
cannot but mean that the Egyptian caravan followed an inland
route since there is no mention of a coastal route from
Egypt until two centuries later. This is also the implied

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1. Ibn Hishām, op.cit., vol. 2, p. 324.

2. Abū Yūsuf, al-Kharāj, p. 130.

3. Al-Wāqidī, op.cit., p. 596.

4. Yāqūt (Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 573) states that it was called
    al-Mu'riqah after Iraq which cannot be accepted,
   since the route to Iraq was called al-'Unsulain (Ibid.,
   vol. 3, p. 736). Al-Mu'riqah may be derived from
   al-'araq = sweat from which the camels suffer on this العرق
   difficult route.

opinion of Ibn Khurradadhbeh in the 9th century. It was Wakī', al-Asadī and al-Ya'qūbī who mentioned an alternative coastal route at the end of the 9th century. At the time of al-Muqaddasī, a century later, the inland route had been deserted by the pilgrims. Forty years later, in 415 A.H. (1025), the governor of Wādī al-Qurā, 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs, a Ṭālibī, invaded Ailah, and this led to his dismissal from the governorship of Wādī al-Qurā. There he defied the authority of Egypt and was supported by the local tribes.[1] This incident is a clear indication of the conditions prevailing on the inland route at that time and an overwhelming reason for the pilgrims to prefer the coastal route. As regards the mention of this inland route by al-Bakrī (1094) and al-Idrīsī (1154), it is clear that they merely quote the information recorded by previous geographers. So does, presumably, al-Muqaddasī who mentions this inland route though it was he who stated that it was no longer in use.

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1. Al-Maqrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, vol. 1, p. 183.

TABLE I: Ailah-Medina inland route

Ibn Khurradadhbeh	Wakī'	al-Ya'qūbī	Ibn Rosteh
Ailah	Ailah	Ailah	Ailah
Haql	Saraf (Sharaf) al-Ba'l	Sharaf al-Ba'l	Sharaf al-Naml
Madyan	Madyan	Madyan	Madyan
al-Aghrā'	Qālis	al-Aghrā'	al-Aghrā'
"a station"	al-A'arr (al-Agharr)	Qālis	"a station"
al-Kilābah	al-Kalābinah (al-Kilābab)	Shaghb	al-Kilābah
Shaghb	Badā	Badā	Shaghb
Badā	al-Shaghab	al-Suqyā	Badā
al-Sarhatain	(al-Sarhatain)	Dhul-Marwah	al-Sarhatain
al-Baidā'	al-Sufyā (al-Suqyā)	Dhū Khushub	Wādī al-Qurā
Wādī al-Qurā	(and then with the Syrian pilgrims to:)	Medina	al-Ruhbah
al-Ruhaibah			Dhul-Marwah
Dhul-Marwah			al-Marr
al-Marr	'Anāb		al-Suwaidā'
al-Suwaidā'	al-Marwah		Dhū Khushub
Dhū Khushub	al-Mayy (al-Marr)		Medina
Medina	al-Suwaidā'		
	al-Arāk (Uwāl)		
	Dhū Khushub		
	Medina		

Qudāmah	al-Muqaddasī	al-Bakrī	al-Idrīsī
Ailah	Wailah I	Anmulah	Ailah
Sharaf al-Ba'l	Sharaf Dhul Naml	Haql	Hamal
Madyan	Madyan	Wadī al-Ghurāb	Madyan
al-Aghrā'	al-A'rā'	Ashrāf al-Ba'l	al-A'dā'
"a station"	"a station"	Madyan	"a station"
al-Kilābah	al-Kilāyah	'Ainūnah	Ankilāyah
Shaghb	Shaghb	al-Nabk and al-Silā	Sa'b
Badā	Badā	Dubā	al-Baidā'
al-Sarhatain	al-Sarhatain	Bāda Ya'qub	Wadī al-Qurā
Wādī al-Qurā	Wādī al-Qurā	Suqyā Yazīd	al-Ruhaibah
al-Ruhaibah		al-Marwah	Dhul-Marwah
Dhul-Marwah	II	al-Suwaidā'	Marr
al-Suwaidā'	al-A'rā'	Naqā Dhu-Khushub	al-Suwaidā'
Dhu Khushub	al-Kilāyah		Dhu Khushub
Medina	Shaghb		
	Badā		
	al-Sarhatain		
	al-Baidā'		
	Qurh		
	Suqyā Yazīd		

II AILAH-MEDINA OR MECCA COASTAL ROUTE

Table II (p.399)

According to al-Samhūdī,[1] al-Asadī states that if the Egyptian pilgrims choose the inland route, they meet with the Syrians at al-Suqyā. Al-Asadī's source seems to be Wakī' who enumerates the halts on the Egyptian coastal route.[2] Al-Ya'qūbī states that this coastal route was actually in use towards the end of the 9th century.[3] Indeed, it seems from his detailed description of the way-stations on this route that it was the major one, as he gives no details of the stops on the inland route. Al-Ya'qūbī's account of this route is confusing with regard to the way-stations. It cannot be explained by the not unusual omission of a line, since there are at least seven instances of it in a list containing thirteen names. 'Aunīd (al-'Uwainid), for example, should not be located between 'Ainānah and al-Silā, as it actually lies farther south immediately after Ḍubā. Similarly, Ḍubā should be located immediately south of al-Nabk as the actual distance between the two does not allow for more halts. Al-Nabk is clearly identical with al-Silā, so that the two should be treated as one. Al-Ḥaurā' is too far from al-Jār for the distance between them to be covered in one journey. Al-Quṣaibah should be located north of

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1. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1234.

2. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

3. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, pp. 330, 340-1.

al-Nabk and al-Ṣilā. Al-Mughīthah is probably identical
with Qudāmah's al-Ahsā', as the two words have, in Arabic,
the same meaning of "water within easy reach". As al-Ahsā'
is located immediately north of Yanbu' or al-'Ushairah by
both Qudāmah and al-Muqaddasī, it can be assumed to be iden-
tical with Nabṭ, which lies opposite to a locality called
Sharm Hasī south west of Umm Lujj which, in its turn, is
adjacent to the site of al-Haurā'. Al-Mughīthah is described
by al-Ya'qūbī as "tilled after rain" which means that rain-
water can be kept there for a fairly long time. A place of
this kind would be ideal for al-ahsā', hence the name: "wells
within easy reach". Al-Buhrah is difficult to locate unless
it is identified with Yanbu' or al-Buhairah which 'Arrām
describes as a very rich spring between Yanbu' and al-Jār.

Al-Ya'qūbī's route leads to Mecca. He regards Madyan
as the junction at which the coastal route converges with
the inland route. The journeys required between the stations
are extremely long in some places, such/that between Ailah
and Sharaf al-Ba'l, and extremely short in other places such as
that between al-Ṣilā and al-Nabk and al-Qusaibah. Al-
Ya'qūbī does not record the distances, either by reference
to the mileage, or even by specifying the length of time
spent between one halt and another. It is, however, gener-
ally accepted that unless the actual length is quoted, one
journey is required to cover the distance between one station
and the next. Though Wakī''s list of these halts is less
confused than al-Ya'qūbī's, he offers no description of these

halts.[1] There is neither evidence of personal experience of this route, nor of reliance on an official source. The names of the halts are given in a corrupted form, but the location of al-'Aunīd is correct. There is a blank space where the halt (called Mas'ūlān by Qudāmah) between al-Jār and Yanbu' should be, which indicates that this name was not generally known to scholars.

Qudāmah[2] records the way-stations on the coastal route in their correct sequence. Nevertheless, he omits Madyan which Musil[3] correctly observes. The distance from Sharaf al-Ba'l to al-Silā is too long to be bridged in one journey. Otherwise, Qudāmah seems to be consistent in spreading the halts over almost equal, though long, distances. Thus al-Wajh is divided by one halt from Dubā in the north and al-Jarrah (al-Haurā') in the south. Equally, Yanbu' is divided by one halt from al-Haurā' in the north and al-Jār in the south. It should be noted that al-Silā and al-Nabk are identical. Though Qudāmah calls it "the coastal route to Mecca" he, unlike al-Ya'qūbī, does not record the way-stations between al-Jār and Mecca. Indeed, he indicates that some pilgrims go from al-Jār to Medina from which it is separated by two days' distance. The number of stops and presumably also of the journeys recorded by both Wakī' and al-Ya'qūbī exceeds that recorded by Qudāmah, though the latter introduced a new

1. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

2. Qudāmah, op.cit., pp. 190-91.

3. Musil, The Northern Hegāz, p. 323.

place name: Mas'ūlān.

Though al-Muqaddasī[1] states that he has first-hand knowledge of the area and that he himself had crossed it several times, the halts he records are identical with those of Qudāmah, except that he substitutes al-'Ushairah for Yanbu' and omits Mas'ūlān. The first difference is explained by the fact that al-'Ushairah lies in the valley of Yanbu', but the omission of Mas'ūlān is noteworthy, as the distance between Yanbu' and al-Jār requires two days' journey as stated by al-Muqaddasī himself in another passage.[1] Some forms of the names are misread: Sharaf al-Ba'l is alternately called Sharaf al-Ba'l and Sharaf Dhul-Naml; Dubā is called Dabbah; al-Wajh is called al-Ruhbah; al-Haurā' is called Buhairah. He follows Qudāmah with respect to the omission of Madyan from this route, but does not add immediately, as Qudāmah does, that al-Jār is separated from Medina by two days' distance, though he does so on another occasion. He differs from Wakī', al-Ya'qūbī and Qudāmah in calling this route "the conventional" route on one occasion and the coastal route on another, while they describe it as the coastal route. Similarly, he calls it the Ailah-Medina route when the other three call it the Egyptian route. One of al-Muqaddasī's two versions of this route is incomplete as it stops at al-Ahsā'. On the whole, his two versions are

1. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 84.

consistent as re ards the names and the sequence of the
stops.

Al-Idrīsī[1] also has two versions of the route, but neither
can be described as even approximately complete. To judge
by the way he speaks of the distance between Ailah and Haql
on the one hand, and between Madyan and al-Haurā' or al-Haurā'
and al-Jār on the other, these places seem to be more or less
equidistant, though the distance in one case is 40 km, and more
than 350 km, and 200 km, respectively in the other. Whereas
al-Ya'qūbī records thirteen halts between Ailah and al-Jār,
al-Idrīsī records but three. In his other version, al-Idrīsī
omits Haql and Madyan for which he substitutes 'Aunīd, Dubā
and al-'Utūf العطـوف , a name which is untraceable in early
sources and not identifiable with any of the old halts there.
Between al-Haurā' and al-Jār, al-Idrīsī records two places:
Wādī al-Safrā' and al-Quraifah, both of which he describes
as prosperous ports. It is clear that he has confused the
port of al-Haurā' with al-Rauhā' which lies in the interior
of the territory east of al-Jār, from which it is separated
by al-Safrā' and al-'Udhaibah which he confuses with al-
Quraifah. Neither al-Safrā' nor al-'Udhaibah is situated
on the coast, but al-Idrīsī believes that they lie between
the ports of al-Haurā' and al-Jār and therefore regards them
also as ports. Thus al-'Utūf may be a misreading of
al-Munsaraf which lies near al-Rauhā'. It is difficult to

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fols. 88-89.

trace al-Idrīsī's source as regards this route, though for
the sector between Ailah and Madyan he seems to rely on
Ibn Khurradadhbeh's inland route. It appears that al-Idrīsī
regards Madyan as the place at which the route bifurcates.
He also differs from Qudāmah and al-Muqaddasī in naming all
the halts to Mecca after al-Jār but unlike al-Ya'qūbī, omits
al-Juhfah without a substitute.

It has been mentioned already that al-Bakrī implies the
existence of a coastal route between Ailah and Medina. There
is, however, no trace of such a route in his Masālik, and it
is not clear where he places the meeting point of these two
routes. He carries the inland route as far as Ḍubā, which
represents a new departure with regard to the conventional
route, since it suggests that the conventional route coin-
cided with the coastal route as far at least as Ḍubā. This
development cannot be taken for granted. Not only does the
political unrest in the interior at about al-Bakrī's time
militate against it; it is also made to appear improbable
by the fact that he mentions so few halts between Ḍubā and
Medina. What is probable is that al-Bakrī quotes a much
earlier source and a modern one in an attempt to reconcile
the coastal with the inland route. Once pilgrims arrive
at Ḍubā, the coastal route becomes easier and safer than the
inland route. Ibn Rosteh does not mention the coastal route
but states that sea-borne pilgrims travel from Qulzum to
Jiddah, and estimates the journey as lasting one day and

one night.   Al-Istakhrī and Ibn Hauqal mentions the
coastal route as an alternative to the inland route.   Accor-
ding to them, the route bifurcates at Madyan and meets again
at al-Juhfah.

Though this route is called coastal, it is not always
so.   After Ḥaql it crosses a mountainous area to Ainūnah
via Madyan.   The same is true of the sector between al-Ḥaurā'
and al-Jār.

TABLE II: Ailah-Medina or Mecca Coastal route

Wakī'	al-Ya'qūbī	Qudāmah	al-Muqaddasī	al-Idrīsī
Ailah	Ailah	Ailah	Wailah	Ailah [I]
'Ainūnā ('Ainūnah)	sharaf al-Ba'l	Sharaf al-Ba'l	Sharaf Dhul-Naml	al-Haql
al-Muṣallā (al-Ṣilā)	Madyan	al-Ṣilā	al-Ṣilā	Madyan
al-Nīl (al-Nabk)	'Ainūnah	al-Nabk	al-Nabk	al-Haurā'
Ṭaibah (Dubā)	'Aunīd	Zubah	Dubbah	al-Jār
al-Maddah	al-Ṣilā	'Aunīd	al-'Aunīd	Qudaid
'Aunīd ('Uwainid)	al-Nabk	al-Wajh	al-Ruhbah	'Usfān
al-Rajjah (al-Wajh)	al-Qusaibah	Munkhūs	Munkhūs	Batn Marr
Munkhūs	al-Buhrah	al-Jarrah	al-Buhairah	Mecca
al-Haurā'	al-Mughithah	al-Ahsā'	al-Ahsā'	[II] [I]
Qusaibah	Zubah	Yanbu'	al-'Ushairah	Ailah
al-Buhrah	al-Wajh	Mas'ūlān	al-Jār	'Aunīd
Yalba' (Yanbu')	Munkhūs	al-Jār		Duba
(Mas'ūlān)	al-Haurā'			al-'Uṭūf
	al-Jār		Medina	al-Haurā'
	al-Juhfah	Medina		Wādī al-Safrā'
al-Jār	Qudaid			
Medina	'Usfān			al-Quraifah
	Batn Marr			al-Jār
	Mecca			

1. Al-Idrīsī (op.cit., fol. 89) seems to have misread al-Haurā' for al-Rauha' in his second version of the route (see p. 392).

III THE CONVENTIONAL ROUTE BETWEEN MEDINA AND MECCA

Table III (pp.415-20)

This pilgrim route between Mecca and Medina is the most discussed route in the works of the Arab geographers of the period under consideration. Most of these geographers concern themselves with the details of this route, its halts and their conditions. It is also by far the best known route with respect to the location of its stopping places. Little change seems to have occurred in its course for thirteen centuries, apart from a diversion aimed at avoiding the inland sector as far as possible. Beside this conventional route, there are several other routes which connect the two Holy cities.

Ibn Khurradadhbeh[1] mentions ten halts on this route, starting with al-Shajarah six miles from Medina. Unlike some other geographers, Ibn Khurradadhbeh implies that al-Shajarah is a halt, apparently because he considers it self-evident as its religious functions require pilgrims to linger there for a while. He gives the mileage between the way-stations. Qudāmah's[2] version of this route is identical with that of Ibn Khurradadhbeh as regards the location of the halts. The same could be said about the mileage between the way-stations. Exceptions are the distance between al-Juhfah

1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., pp. 129-131.

2. Qudāmah, op.cit., p. 187.

and Qudaid which Qudāmah assesses at twenty-six miles instead
of twenty-seven in Ibn Khurradadhbeh's estimate, and that
between Baṭn Marr and 'Usfān which, according to Qudāmah,
amounts to sixteen miles, far less than the thirty-three
quoted by Ibn Khurradadhbeh. A mile's difference is accep-
table, but seventeen miles are not. It is wrong to suppose
that the distance between 'Usfān and Baṭn Marr is thirty-
three miles. Qudāmah's estimate is more nearly correct.
The information given by Qudāmah about the way-stations is
more detailed than that of Ibn Khurradadhbeh. Whereas the
latter limits himself to the water available there, its
quantity and its quality, Qudāmah goes a step farther and
speaks of agriculture, trade and the importance of these
stations.

In naming the halts on this route, Ibn Rosteh[1] differs
from Ibn Khurradadhbeh by omitting Malal between al-Shajarah
and al-Sayālah while assessing the total of mileage between
the two to be the same. The distance between al-Juhfah and
Qudaid is given as twenty-nine miles as against the twenty-
seven miles given by Ibn Khurradadhbeh. As to the distance
between 'Usfān and Baṭn Marr, Ibn Rosteh's thirty-four miles
exceed the former's assessment by one mile. This mileage is
probably meant to cover the whole sector between 'Usfān and
Mecca, though both authors allot sixteen more miles for the
intervening distance between Baṭn Marr and Mecca. Ibn Rosteh

1. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., pp. 177-8.

seems to be Qudāmah's source for the information on the halts. Both authors state that al-Shajarah is not a halt but merely the point at which pilgrimage rites start. What Ibn Rosteh called al-Ahsā' near al-Ruwaithah, Qudāmah calls ahsā' = "wells within easy reach". Ibn Rosteh tends to over-rate the importance of some halts there, since he describes al-Abwā', al-Juhfah and 'Usfān as huge-sized villages. He errs in equating al-Sayālah with al-Rauhā', as they are separated by more than 20 km. As a whole, Ibn Rosteh gives more details about the conditions of the stops than either Ibn Khurradadhbeh before him or Qudāmah who probably relies on his work.

Contrary to his usual practice, al-Ya'qūbī[1] tries once to give the mileage between two halts. He situates Dhul-Hulaifah (al-Shajarah), where pilgrims emerging from Medina perform their first pilgrimage rites, at four miles from Medina. This solitary estimate is, however, inaccurate, as the distance is at least five and a half miles. However, he regards it as a halt and names it as the first of the ten halts between Medina and Mecca. Al-Ya'qūbī announces his intention of naming ten halts and in fact enumerates thirteen. Three of these halts are not proper way-stations, since two of them, al-Rauhā' and al-'Arj, are known as "stopping places for evening meal", and the third, al-Hufair, is so described, though it is separated by eight miles from either al-Shajarah

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, pp. 313-4.

or Malal. Al-Ya'qūbī, however, does not refer to any distinction between the thirteen halts. The names Suqyā B. Ghifār and Marr al-Zahrān are used for the first time by al-Ya'qūbī instead of al-Suqyā and Batn Marr, used by Ibn Khurradadhbeh before him and both Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah after him. Apart from mentioning the religious functions of Dhul-Hulaifah, al-Ya'qūbī limits his information entirely to the origins of the inhabitants of these stations. Ghadīr Khumm is situated by him at two miles off the route, but he does not refer to its significance in connection with Shiite belief.

Al-Hamdānī[1] records ten halts on the way from Median to Mecca. The number of way-stations coincides with that recorded by Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah, but al-Hamdānī differs from them by omitting al-Shajarah and Malal, for which he substitutes al-Rauhā' and al-'Arj. He also estimates the distance from Medina to al-Sayālah as twenty-three miles against the thirty-seven miles at which they assess it. The same could be said about the distance between al-Sayālah and al-Ruwaithah which he estimates as thirty-seven miles, while they record it as thirty-four miles, without mentioning al-Rauhā' as a stop, though Ibn Rosteh erroneously equates it with al-Sayālah. Al-Hamdānī refers to it as a stop, separated from al-Sayālah by twenty-four miles, and from al-Ruwaithah by thirteen miles. The last-mentioned

1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, pp. 184-5.

distance does not require a full day's journey as the local road conditions are not bad. The distance between al-Ruwaithah and al-Suqyā is, according to al-Hamdānī, forty-eight miles with al-'Arj as an equidistant way-station between them. The other three geographers omit al-'Arj and more correctly regard the distance as only thirty-six miles. Ibn Rosteh locates al-'Arj between al-Suqyā and al-Ruwaithah at a distance of thirteen miles, but does not regard it as a halt. In fact, both al-'Arj and al-Rauhā' were mere "evening meal" halts.

In estimating the distance from al-Suqyā to al-Abwā' as nineteen miles, al-Hamdānī is more accurate than the other three geographers who assess it at twenty-nine miles. Al-Hamdānī also differs from them in recording the distance between al-Abwā' and al-Juhfah as twenty-three miles, while they quote it as twenty-seven miles. Here, al-Hamdānī obviously errs less. The distance between Qudaid and 'Usfān estimated by al-Hamdānī at twenty-three miles, is one mile shorter than that recorded by them. Besides, Ibn Khurradadhbeh and Ibn Rosteh tend, as has been seen above, to exaggerate the distance between 'Usfān and Mecca which Qudāmah assesses at thirty-two miles, against forty-nine and fifty miles in the respective estimates of Ibn Khurradadhbeh and Ibn Rosteh. Al-Hamdānī assesses it at thirty-six miles which is nearest to correct, as the distance is 70 km when more or less the same route is followed. Al-Hamdānī regards this route as a

continuation of the Iraqi pilgrim route. He limits his concern to the distance, and to the latitude, for which he relies on "some Iraqi authors".

Al-Muqaddasi[1] ventures to record the route from Mecca to Medina according to his own experience. While he apparently borrows Ibn Khurradadhbeh's mileage on the Iraqi route, he prefers to ignore it as regards this route which he measures by journeys. Nevertheless, he commits a gross error here. The distance between al-Suqya and al-Ruwaithah cannot be three days, for it can be covered in one or two days at most. According to al-Muqaddasi, al-Rauha' is situated between Mecca and al-Ruwaithah, whereas it actually lies between al-Ruwaithah and Medina. He also states that the distance between al-Ruwaithah and Medina requires one day's journey only which cannot be accepted. He mentions new way-stations instead of old names such as al-Khaim, and Khulais and Amaj between al-Juhfah and 'Usfan, which suggests that he has substituted these two way-stations for Qudaid. The distance between al-Juhfah and 'Usfan can be covered in no more than two days. Though al-Muqaddasi does not give information on the particular halts while mapping the route, he describes some of them on other occasions. He gives the way-stations starting from Mecca to Medina, in which he is followed by al-Idrisi.

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1. Al-Muqaddasi, op.cit., 106.

Al-Idrīsī[1] differs from all his predecessors by stating, in the Paris 2222 MS. that the number of halts between Mecca and Medina is twenty, and, in the Paris 2221 MS. 33a, that it is ten. Unlike al-Ya'qūbī who announces ten halts but enumerates thirteen, al-Idrīsī stops far too short of the promised twenty. The ten halts he names are entirely identical in number, name and sequence with those given by Ibn Khurradadhbeh, except that the former terminates his route at al-Shajarah. Further differences concerns the distances on that route. Al-Idrīsī, understandably, ignores the distance from al-Shajarah to Medina altogether. The distance between Malal and al-Sayālah, which he assesses at seventeen miles and that between al-Suqyā and al-Abwā' which he assesses at twenty-seven miles, are both two miles shorter than Ibn Khurradadhbeh's estimate. Al-Idrīsī mentions an alternative route which, however, turns out to be the Prophet's Hijrah route. The information proffered by al-Idrīsī is richer than that of his predecessors. It ranges from the availability of water to the origins of the people inhabiting the way-stations and the conditions of life there, and even the distances between some halts and the sea. Nevertheless, it should be noted that he departs from his previous statement that al-Juhfah is situated on the sea coast, and that it is a port.[2] Regarding the population, he seems to rely on

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fols. 36-7.

2. Ibid., fol. 34.

different sources, since he mentions both the ancient and
the new inhabitants of these places. His assumption that
the Tayy also lived at al-Suqyā cannot be accepted.

Apart from Wakī''s, al-Asadī's account of the route[1]
between Mecca and Medina is the most detailed among the Arab
geographers. His work is not yet available, with the excep-
tion of a number of quotations recorded by al-Samhūdī on the
subject of the mosques of the Prophet between Mecca and
Medina, and some halts on the pilgrim routes. Fortunately,
it is possible to derive from these quotations a relatively
clear picture of the route between Mecca and Medina, the main
feature of which is obviously the description of the Prophet's
mosques on that route, which is not a mean feat. Less clear
are the data on distance and directions from place to place.
Al-Asadī seems also very concerned with the living conditions
of the natives; the post officials and the road signs. He
disregards neither historical information about the route nor
its contemporary condition. His admiration of the projects
carried out by or under al-Mutawakkil in contrast to those
of al-Wāthiq which he treats with contempt, is not shared by
Wakī'.

How much has been recorded of al-Asadī's account of the
distances between one place and another is not always clear,
as al-Samhūdī does not mention all the distances. Once al-
Samhūdī attributes to al-Asadī the assessment of the distance

1. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', pp. 1001-1021.

between Medina and al-Ruwaithah at sixty miles[1] but, as he does not quote him on the intervening distance between al-Shajarah and Malal, one is left with the assumption that it is at least nineteen and a half miles in order to obtain the total of sixty miles. Also the assessment of the distance between Medina and al-Suqyā at ninety-six miles is attributed to al-Asadī.[2] This would imply that the distance between the latter and al-Ruwaithah is thirty-six miles, though the actual total is given as thirty-one miles. It should be noted, however, that Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah calculate the distance between al-Ruwaithah and Medina as seventy-one miles, and that between al-Suqyā and Medina as 107 miles.

Almost all the information attributed to al-Asadī by al-Samhūdī is to be found in Wakī''s Manāzil which contains the most detailed and consistent data on the conventional route from Medina to Mecca. It deals with many aspects, such as the spring and wells on this route and the inhabitants of the halts. The mosques of the Prophet are also discussed in detail. His meticulous assessment of the distances has not been exceeded by any other geographer whose complete work we know of.[3]

Wakī''s concern about the distances is not limited to those between two successive halts or the total of distances

1. _Ibid._, p. 1225.
2. _Ibid._, p. 1234.
3. See Wakī', _Manāzil_, fols. 41-54.

between several halts, but includes the distances between intervening points, even if they are only one mile apart. It seems to have been his purpose to compose a very detailed map of that route. It was his misfortune that his work was no doubt frequently consulted and borrowed from by both al-Bakrī and Yāqūt, but with a clear determination to suppress his name, as neither of them mentions a source when utilizing Wakī''s data on this route. Yāqūt assesses the distance between Medina and al-Shajarah,[1] between al-Qāhah and al-Suqyā[2] and between al-Suqyā and Ti'han[3] exactly as laid down by Wakī', but without reference to any source, not even to al-Asadī or al-Sakūnī whose reliance on Wakī' is clear.

Al-Bakrī in his Mu'jam[4] supplies a detailed description of almost all halts on the route from Medina to Mecca, including the distances from one place to another, their history and the contemporary condition. Most of this account is clearly identifiable with that of Wakī' and al-Asadī. There is the distance between al-Ruwaithah and al-Uthāyah, and that between the latter and al-'Arj which coincides with Wakī''s and al-Asadī's data. The same can be said of the distances between al-Qāhah and al-Suqyā; between the latter and Ti'han; between al-Ruwaithah and 'Aqabat al-'Arj;

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 856.

2. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 5.

3. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 856.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 954-58.

between the latter and al-'Arj itself; between Wādī al-Azraq
and Amaj. Also al-Bakrī's estimate of other distances is
identical with some of al-Asadī's and Wakī''s assessments,
but as these places are famous, the coincidence is less in-
dicative of al-Bakrī's consistent borrowing from them than
in the case of minor data. They situate the half-way point
between Mecca and Medina at one mile before Hirshā in the
direction of Mecca, a statement borrowed by al-Bakrī; they / equate
Khulaiṣ with Ibn Bazī's spring and so does al-Bakrī. The
latter estimates the distance between al-Juhfah and Kulayyah
at twelve miles, an exact copy of what al-Asadī states.[1]
The same can be said of the information on the mosque of the
Prophet five miles south of al-Abwā'. Al-Samhūdī states
that the mosque of the Prophet at Ti'han is not mentioned
by any author except al-Asadī, so that the mention of this
mosque by al-Bakrī is convincing proof of al-Bakrī's reli-
ance on al-Asadī or Wakī' who mentions it before al-Asadī.
These quotations suffice to demonstrate how heavily al-Bakrī
is indebted to Wakī' or al-Asadī, at least with regard to
this route. There is, however, no explanation yet why both
al-Bakrī and Yāqūt persistently ignore their source here;
but the very fact that al-Bakrī and Yāqūt adopt the same
attitude suggests that this work had been handed down anony-
mously for undisclosed reasons as regards al-Asadī, and
because Wakī' did not finish his work.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 956.

Al-Bakrī's account is not limited to that of Wakī' or al-Asadī. The traces of their work are strongest in the sections of al-Mu'jam which are devoted to the route from Medina to Mecca. Nevertheless, there are numerous occasions on which al-Bakrī tries to record the distance between one place and another, or to map parts of the route, about which there is no doubt that he has consulted sources which are sometimes contradictory to both Wakī' and al-Asadī. Thus, though al-Bakrī gives the total mileage between Medina and al-Rauhā' as forty miles when mapping the route, he estimates it, in another passage, at forty-one miles.[1] Similarly, the distance from Medina to al-Ruwaithah which varies between sixty-four,[2] sixtry-three[3] and fifty-one miles[4] in three different passages. The thirty-one mile distance between al-Ruwaithah and al-Suqyā shrinks to thirty miles in another entry;[5] so does that between al-Sayālah and al-Rauhā' which is given as twelve miles in one passage and eleven in another.[6] Arthad, the valley of al-Abwā', is situated four miles from Medina[7], which is erroneous as miles ابسال here is clearly a misreading for nights ليسال . Al-Bakrī seems

1. Ibid., p. 681.

2. Ibid., p. 954.

3. Ibid., p. 930.

4. Ibid., p. 686.

5. Ibid., p. 686.

6. Ibid., p. 770.

7. Ibid., p. 136.

hesitant with respect to Ti'han which he correctly situates, in one passage, after al-Suqyā in the direction of Mecca, probably relying on Wakī' or al-Asadī. But in another passage, obviously confronted by a report transmitted by al-Bukhārī which, despite all al-Samhūdī's and Ibn Hajar's efforts, defies reconciliation with actual fact, he locates Ti'han before al-Suqyā.[1] Though al-Bakrī rightly followed al-Asadī in stating that 'Azwar is near al-Juhfah where there are two mosques of the Prophet, al-Bakrī commits the error of relying on 'Arrām when he situates 'Azwar near Radwā, north east of Yanbu'.[2] He draws on al-Asadī in locating al-Mushallal three miles north of Qudaid and nine miles south of Kulayyah, but in another passage he locates both Qudaid and al-Mushallal in Mecca[3] which is clearly inadvertent. The distance between Qudaid and al-Kadīd is given, in a separate entry, as sixteen miles,[4] one mile in excess of the total mileage assumed between the two places when mapping the route. Al-Bakrī follows al-Asadī when correctly locating Kulayyah at twelve miles south of al-Juhfah, but situates it, in accordance with 'Arrām, north of al-Juhfah in another context.[5] The fact that a description of the conventional route immediately precedes the

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1. Ibid., pp. 315, 1041. See al-Samhūdī, Wafā; pp. 1162-1163.
2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 362, 656, 942.
3. Ibid., pp. 1054, 1217.
4. Ibid., p. 1054.
5. Ibid., p. 1352.

statement that the total mileage between Mecca and Medina is 200 miles excludes the applicability of this statement to any other route, while the actual total of the distances given in the same passage is 209 miles, which implies that the Manāzil of Wakī' is not the only source of this route. Only when mapping the route does al-Bakrī calculate the distance in miles. In other entries his estimate varies, as some distances are given in miles and others in days' journeys. The latter method is exemplified by his estimate of the distance between Medina and Thirā (two nights' journey);[1] that between Medina and al-Qāhah (three nights' journey)[2] and that between Arthad and Medina (four nights' journey).[3]

According to al-Bakrī, there are several routes from Medina to Mecca. He mentions the one from al-Rauhā' to Badr mapped by Wakī', and another one from al-Ruwaithah to Badr. After Badr, the route leads for two days through land which is barren though it has wells of fresh water. The route converges with the conventional route at al-Juhfah. He states that some travellers do not go to al-Abwā' as they prefer to travel from al-Suqyā to Waddān. On this occasion, al-Bakrī mentions the distance from Waddān to al-Juhfah, though he disregards Waddān altogether when mapping the route from Badr to al-Juhfah which actually leads through Waddān. All this information is recorded by Wakī' who states in a

1. Ibid., p. 248.

2. Ibid., p. 1040.

3. Ibid., p. 136, printed اميال amyāl instead of ليال layāl.

third passage that Waddān lies in ruins.[1] It is this route
which became the سلطانی sultānī "official" route in the
following centuries.

The account of the route between Medina and Mecca
given by al-Bakrī in his Mu'jam is of the highest value,
since it comprises the minute details derived from Wakī' and
al-Asadī together with numerous additions which are often
correct and always important. He also mentions the Hijrah
route which will be discussed later. In his Masālik, al-
Bakrī does not proffer any original or new information about
this route. He does not even refer to it, except briefly
in connection with the mosques of the Prophet between Mecca
and Medina. The forms in which the names occur are marred
by constant misreading.[2]

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1. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 40, 50.
2. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fols. 74-5.

TABLE III: Medina-Mecca Conventional route with
the mileage

Ibn Khurradadhbeh	al-Ya'qūbī	Ibn Rosteh
Medina	Medina	Medina
6 miles	4	6
al-Shajarah	Dhul-Hulaifah	al-Shajarah
12		31
Malal	al-Hufairah	al-Sayālah = (al-Rauhā')
19		34
al-Sayālah	Malal	al-Ruwaithah
34		36
al-Ruwaithah	al-Sayālah	al-Suqyā
36		29
al-Suqyā	al-Rauhā'	al-Abwā'
29		27
al-Abwā'	al-Ruwaithah	al-Juhfah
27		29
al-Juhfah	al-'Arj	Qudaid
27		24
Qudaid	Suqyā B. Ghifār	'Usfān
24		34
'Usfān	al-Abwā'	Batn Marr
33		16
Batn Marr	al-Juhfah	Mecca
16	2	
Mecca	Ghadīr Khumm	
	Qudaid	
	'Usfān	
	Marr al-Zahrān	
	Mecca	

Qudāmah	al-Hamdānī	al-Muqaddasī
Medina	Medina	Yathrib
6	23	
al-Shajarah	al-Sayālah	al-Ruwaithah
12	24	
Malal	al-Rauhā'	al-Rauhā'
19	13	
al-Sayālah	al-Ruwaithah	al-'Arj
34	24	
al-Ruwaithah	al-'Arj	Suqyā B. Ghifār
36	24	
al-Suqyā	al-Suqyā	al-Abwā'
29	19	
al-Abwā'	al-Abwā'	al-Juhfah
27 J	23	
al-Juhfah	al-Juhfah	al-Khaim
26	24	
Qudaid	Qudaid	Khulais and Amaj
24	23	
'Usfān	'Usfān	'Usfān
16	23	
Batn Marr	Marral-Zahrān	Batn Marr
16	13	
Mecca	Mecca	Mecca

al-Idrīsī	al-Asadī according to al-Samhūdī		
al-Shajarah 12 Malal 17 al-Sayālah 34 al-Ruwaithah 36 al-Suqyā 27 al-Abwā' 27 al-Juhfah 26 Qudaid 24 'Usfān 33 Batn Marr 16 Mecca	Medina 6 (repeated by Yaqut) al-Mu'rras (Dhul-Hulaifah) 6 al-Hufairah Malal 7 al-Sayālah 11 al-Rauhā' 3 al-Munsaraf)13 al-Ruwaithah) or 16½ 4 al-Jiyy 7 the pass of al-'Arj 1 al-Uthāyah 2 al-'Arj 3	the Mosque of al-Munbajis 5 the spring of al-Munbajis 3 al-Talūb 1 Lihyay Jamal 4 al-Qāhah 1 (repeated by Yaqut) al-Suqyā (repeated by Yaqut) 3 Ti'han) the Mosque of)18 al-Ramādah) al-Abwā') 13 al-Juhfah 12	Kulayyah the Mosque of Taraf Qudaid 3 Qudaid 8 Khulais Marr al-Zahrān 17 Mecca

al-Bakrī

Medina
6
Dhul-Hulaifah
8
al-Hufair
8
Malal
7
al-Sayālah
11
al-Rauhā'
24
al-Ruwaithah
12
al-Uthāyah
2
al-'Arj
Talūb
6
al-Qāhah
1
al-Suqyā
3

Ti'han
16
al-Abwā'
23
al-Juhfah
12
Kulayyah
9
al-Mushallal
3
Qudaid
7
Khulais
2
Amaj
4
al-Raudah
2
al-Kadīd
5
valley of Ghazāl
1

'Usfān
5
al-Janābidh
2
the Well of
al-'Adanī
1
Kurā' al-Ghamīm
15
Batn Marr
7
Sarif
6
Mecca

Medina	al-'Arj	a mosque of the Prophet
2	3	1
al-'Aqiq } 5½	a mosque of the Prophet	the half-way sign
Dhul-Hulaifah (al-Shajarah)	8	2
6	al-Talub	the pass of Hirsha with a mosque of the Prophet
al-Hufair	1	4
6	23 Lihyay Jamal 17	the well of Rabigh
Malal	4	1
5	Wadi al-'Abid (al-Qahah)	'Arun ('Azwar) with a mosque of the Prophet
a mosque of the Prophet	1	11
2	al-Suqya	al-Juhfah with a mosque of the Prophet at the entrance and another at the exit
al-Sayalah	3	3
9	Ti'han	a mosque of the Prophet
'Irq al-Zabyah	4	9
2 } 11	the spring of al-Qushairi	
al-Rauha' 24	7	
2	the spring of Ibn Muti'	
al-Munsaraf, a mosque of the Prophet	1	
11	a mosque of the Prophet 17	
al-Ruwaithah	1	
4	the spring of Thaqib	
al-Jiyy	1	
7	al-Abwa'	
the pass of al-'Arj where the Hijaz ends	2	
1	the hills of Yumn	
a mosque of the Prophet at al-Uthayah near the barid no. 51	3	
2		

23

al-Mukallabah
(al-Mushallal; the scribe
seems to have omitted
kulayyah which accounts
for the discrepancy
between the detail and
the sum of the distances)

3

Qudaid

1

four wells

$\frac{1}{2}$

the derelict spring of ?

$\frac{1}{2}$

the valley of Ghurān

3

the pass of Khulais

1

a mosque of the Prophet

2   23

Khulais=the spring of
Ibn Baẓī'

2

Anaj   } 8

6

al-Kadīd

8

the valley of ?

1

'Usfān

1

the spring of B. Ja'far b.
Sulaimān

$1\frac{1}{2}$

the pond of al-Ashtāt

$4\frac{1}{2}$

the mosque of al-'Adanī

1

Kurā' al-Ghamīm

2

the well of the Beduin   23

2

the valley of al-Kurā'

7

al-Janābidh

4

Marr (Batn Marr)

7

Sharaf (Sarif)

3

al-Tan'īn

2

the mosque of 'Ā'ishah

2   13(sic

Fakhkh

2

Mecca

Medina

200

Mecca

(one mile less than his sum of
the distances between the nine
halts)

IV THE HIJRAH ROUTE FROM MECCA TO MEDINA

Ibn Khurradadhbeh[1] accords to this route more attention than any other geographer of this period. He records it as an ordinary route, but assigns to it the historic honour of having been chosen by the Prophet when he migrated from Mecca in 622 A.D. He does not mention a source, nor does he treat his account as a hadīth. Nevertheless, it is almost certain that he relies, with minor alterations, mainly omissions, on Ibn Ishāq's account of this route.[2] He omits about a line of Ibn Ishāq's account where it concerns the convergence of the Prophet's route with the conventional route at the lower region of 'Usfān until after Amaj, where the Prophet deviated from the route for a while before and after Qudaid. Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions neither Liqf nor the route of Liqf referred to by Ibn Ishāq. Nor does he mention al-Jadājid. The name al-'Ababīd is replaced by al-'Ithyānah, and al-'Āir by al-A'yār. The place called Dhū Salam by Ibn Ishāq, is called by Ibn Khurradadhbeh Dhū Samr; the two names are, however, consemantic, both dealing with one tree. Ibn Ishāq's Batn Marjih Dhul-Ghadawain is modified to Marjih ... as the word Batn بطن is changed to the verb tabattan تبطّن "went through". Batn Ri'm is called Ri'm; Mujāh is called Mujāj.

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., pp. 129-131.

2. Ibn Hishām, op.cit., vol. 1, pp. 491-492.

Al-Idrīsī regards this route as an alternative to the
conventional route from Mecca to Medina. He implies that it
was used by his contemporaries as he states that it is
longer than the conventional route and that it leads through
mountainous passages. The last-mentioned observation is
correct, but the Hijrah route is not longer than the conven-
tional route. Both Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Khurradadhbeh state
very clearly that the guide of the Prophet avoided the route
on several occasions, no doubt to evade the pursuit by the
Quraish, but also to take a short-cut. Al-Idrīsī substitutes
"travellers" for "the guide of the Prophet", and proceeds to
quote the account of Ibn Khurradadhbeh, again with some
alterations which are mianly due to misreading. So full of
misreadings is the account that it is impossible to form a
clear idea of this route on the basis of al-Idrīsī's version
alone. Here is a list of place names given by Ibn Khurradadh-
beh and in the two MSS of al-Idrīsī:

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1. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fols. 36-7.

Ibn Khurradadhbeh

Al-Idrīsī

	Paris MS.2221, fol.63	Paris MS.2222
	Batn Marr, on the coastal route.	Batn Marr, on the coast.
'Usfān,	'Usfān,	Ghusfān,
Qudaid,	Qudaid,	Qudaid,
Al-Kharrār	Al-Khawwār,	al-Jiwār,
Thaniyyat al-Mar'ah,	Thaniyyat al-Marah,	al-Thaniyyah
		al-Harrah
Madlajat Mujāh,	Madlajat Mujāh,	Marlad,
Marjih of Mujāj;	Batn Madhhaj,	Batn Marbah
Marjih Dhū al-Ghādawain,		
Batn Dhāt Kishd,	Natn Dhāt Kishd,	Batn Dhāt Kabsh,
al-Ajrad	al-Ajrad,	al-Ajwad,
Dhū Samr,	Dhū Shamir,	Dhū Summ,
A'dā' Madlajat Ti'han,	Batn Aghrā',	Batn A'zā',
	Madlajat Ya'fur,	Madlajat Ya'fur,
al-'Ithbānah ('Ithyānah),	al-'Aithā',	al-'Aaifā'
al-Qāhah,	Adhān al-Qāhah,	Adhān al-'Azjah,
al-'Arj,	al-'Arj,	al-'Arj,
al-A'yār,	al-A'yār,	al-A'yār,
Ri'm and	Rubbamā,	Ri'mā,
B. 'Amr b. 'Auf at Qubā	B. 'Amr b. 'Auf and Medina	B. 'Amr b. 'Auf and Medina

It should be noted that al-Idrīsī's Adhān al-Qāhah or Adhān al-'Azjah is the result of misreading Ibn Khurradadhbeh's thumma ajāz al-Qāhah ثمّ اجازِ القاحـة = then he passed al-Qāhah. The same can be said of Thaniyyat al-Mar'ah which has been split, in one MS., into two halts: al-Thaniyyah and al-Harrah. Ri'm is called Ri'mā which is due to a grammatical misconception. It should read Ri'mā رِمـا in Ibn Khurradadhbeh's account, as it is there the object of the verb وَسبِط ; no alteration is necessary in al-Idrīsī's version. Similarly, owing to the omission of the place name Qubā after "B. 'Amr b.'Auf", B. 'Amr figures as a place, though the correct place name would be Qubā where B. 'Amr used to live at the time of the Hijrah. Deviating in this particular instance from Ibn Khurradadhbeh, al-Idrīsī seems to rely on the account of 'Urwah b. al-Zubair,[1] though the latter states definitely that B. 'Amr lived at Medina, whereas al-Idrīsī indicates with equal clarity that B. 'Amr is a separate halt before Medina. The one addition of al-Idrīsī, Batn Marr is not mentioned by the other three on this route. He is, however, mistaken in placing it on the coast in one MS.

Though Ibn Ishāq's account is more detailed than 'Urwah's, the latter is clearly more successful in his attempt to map this route, as he unequivocally states on several occasions that the Prophet avoided some routes which

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1. Al-Tabarī, Tārikh, vol. 1, p. 1237.

he names, implying that they were known and used at that time.
Ibn Ishāq's account merely suggests that the Prophet avoided
"the route". 'Urwah traces the Madlajah route between those
of al-Rauhā' and 'Amq, and correctly substitutes al-Ghā'ir
for Ibn Ishāq's 'Ā'ir, describing it as a watering place,
not a pass as Ibn Ishāq does. 'Urwah locates his Ghā'ir east
of the Rakūbah pass. Both authors call Ri'm Batn Ri'm which
is also correct. 'Urwah is alone in omitting Amaj, Liqf,
Mujah, Marjih, Dhū Kushd, al-Jadājid, al-Ajrad, Dhū Salam,
al-Qāhah and Ti'han. Ibn Hishām correctly preferred Dhul-
'Asawain and al-Qāhah to Dhul-Ghadawain and al-Fājah respec-
tively as accepted by Ibn Ishāq.

Al-Bakrī[1] repeats part of Ibn Ishāq's account as given
by Ibn Hishām. This part stops at Liqf which Ibn Hishām
corrects to Lift. Al-Bakrī, however, regards this correction
as an indication that Liqf and Lift are two places at a short
distance from one another. Though this part of the Hijrah
route appears shorter than the corresponding section in Ibn
Ishāq's account, the place names coincide as far as Liqf.
This part is recorded by al-Bakrī as a hadīth; on another
occasion, he refers to the whole route as "the Hijrah hadīth",
which suggests that he does not suppose that it was used by
his contemporaries. However, he seems to be oblivious of
this hadīth when he situates the Rakūbah pass on the route from

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1161.

Medina to Tabūk.[1] Similarly, he quotes Mālik to the effect that Ri'm is at four postal stages from Medina.[2] According to 'Abd al-Razzāq,[3] Ri'm is thirty miles from Medina. Ri'm is much closer to Medina than their estimate. Al-Bakrī also states that Dhū Kishd is mentioned in the "Hijrah hadīth",[4] but this name does not occur in the part he records. Incidentally, Dhū Kishd is the correct form of the name and not Kishr or Kushr as printed in Ibn Hishām's Sīrah because Kishr lies east of Medina. Al-Bakrī also rectifies the name of the place which occurs in Ibn Khurradadhbeh as Mujāj and in Ibn Hishām as Muḥāj, spelling it Mujāh,[5] which is the correct form.

Naṣr rarely errs, but he is mistaken in defining Marjiḥ as Mudajjaj.[6] He also seems to overlook the story of the Hijrah, as he assumes wrongly that the Prophet shunned this place.[7] Yāqūt borrows the entire statement, but attributes it to Abū Bakr al-Hamadhānī.[8] On another occasion, Yāqūt confuses it with another Marjiḥ near al-Khall in the Yemen.[9] Al-Muqaddasī refers to this route once in connection with a difficult pass through which, according to legend, a pathway was hewn by Gabriel for the Prophet when he migrated from Mecca to Medina.[10]

1. Ibid., p. 670.
2. Ibid., p. 689.
3. 'Iyāḍ, Mashāriq, vol. 1, p. 263.
4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1130.
5. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1161.
6. Naṣr, op.cit., fol. 68.
7. Ibid., fol. 136.
8. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 442.
9. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 464.
10. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 103.

V OTHER ROUTES BETWEEN MEDINA AND MECCA

There are other minor routes between Medina and Mecca
such as those leading through al-Fur', south of Medina.
According to al-Zubair,[1] there are four routes leading from
Medina to al-Fur'. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair passed al-Fur'
when he fled from Medina to Mecca in the 7th century.[2] The
route through al-Fur' is a short-cut, but it is difficult
and unsafe for pilgrim caravans in times of unrest. Abū
al-Fidā' indicates that some of his contemporaries travelled
through al-Fur' though it was infested by robbers.[3]

To judge by the information found in Nasr,[4] the conven-
tional route had already been diverted from its ancient
course through al-Suqyā to its present course through Badr
by the 6th Hijri century (12th century). As the old route
was shorter and richer in water, this diversion can only be
accounted for by the requirements of safety.

Al-Maqdisī[5] mentions three routes from Mecca to Medina,
the conventional route, the coastal one and the one called
al-Khālif. Unfortunately he chooses not to enumerate the
halts on each route on the ground that they are too many.
It is, however, clear from his statement that both the coastal

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1323.
2. Al-Dīnawarī, al-Akhbār, p. 228.
3. Abū al-Fidā', Taqwīm, p. 95.
4. Nasr, op.cit., fol. 37.
5. Al-Maqdisī, op.cit., vol. 4, p. 91.

and the conventional routes were in use at his time, the
10th century. It has already been seen that al-Bakrī men-
tions two routes leading from Medina to Badr from which a
route leads to al-Juhfah. Al-Maqdisī's Khālif is no doubt
the Hijrah route which is known as al-Ghā'ir. Ibn Zabālah
implies that the Prophet followed the Fur' route, and had
three mosques there.[1] It is presumably the route he followed
during the campaign of Buhrān. The Najdi route between
Medina and Mecca converges with the Iraqi route at the Ma'dan
of B. Sulaim. This route was in constant use in the early
centuries of Islam, and al-Rashīd had dams built at al-
Arhadiyyah, half-way between Medina and the Ma'dan.[2]

According to al-Samhūdī, Hirshā, north of Rābigh, is
described by 'Arrām as the meeting point of travellers from
Medina and Syria to Mecca.[3] This piece of information is
not to be found in 'Arrām's text. What appears in his text
is the statement that the Mu'riqah route, between Radwā and
'Azwar, is a short-cut taken by the Arabs going to Syria,
Mecca and Medina.[4] Any route with such a function should be
located between Mecca and Medina, but Radwā lies north west
of Medina, so that any short-cut from Medina to Syria would
have to avoid Radwā. It is also difficult to understand
what 'Arrām means by placing Radwā and 'Azwar west of the

1. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1026.

2. Ibid., p. 1224.

3. Ibid., p. 1326.

4. 'Arrām, op.cit., p. 396.

Medina route and east of the Buraira' route in the direction
of Mecca, since Radwā does not lie on the direct route linking
the two cities. The same applies to his assertion that
Yanbu' lies "right of Radwā for those who travel west"[1] unless
the word "Radwā" is omitted. The distance between the two
Mts. Thāfils and both Radwā and 'Azwar is given by 'Arrām
as "two nights' journey" in one passage,[2] and "seven nights'
journey" in another,[3] which cannot be explained except by
assuming a lacuna in the MS., especially if one notes that
'Azwar does not lie near Radwā. 'Arrām refers to two
"evening meal" halts on the route between Medina and Mecca,[4]
and mentions the mileage for some of the distances, but only
sporadically since it occurs once or twice, so that it cannot
be taken as proof that he knew the length of the whole route
in miles. Nor can al-Wāqidī's reference to the mileage, though
often accurate, be regarded as the result of an official
survey, since he mentions places unlikely to be of interest
to the official administration. It is true that Lughdah and
al-Hajarī refer to the mileage on the conventional route in
the Malal region,[5] but by the time of al-Hajarī, the route had
already been measured in miles.

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1. Ibid., p. 397.

2. Ibid., p. 399.

3. Ibid., p. 401.

4. Ibid., pp. 401, 403.

5. Al-Hajarī, Nawādir, part 1, fol. 132, and part 2, fol. 142;
   and Lughdah, op.cit., pp. 371, 376.

Wakī' mentions the diversion leading from al-Rauhā' to
al-Juhfah through Badr[1] to which al-Bakrī refers without naming
a source. Since Wakī' relies on the authority of a native, it
seems that this diversion was not in general use, though the
distances are quoted in miles as far as Badr. Waddān, which
lies on this diversion, is not mentioned here, but is described
on another occasion as "lying in ruins"[2]. Wakī' also mentions
the Najdī route from Medina to Mecca, and quotes the distances
in miles[3]. As regards the route from Medina to Mecca through
al-Suwāriqiyyah, Wakī' quotes the distances in days' journeys
as far as al-Ma'dan where it converges with the Najdī route.[4]
He mentions the palaces of al-Rashīd, and the springs and
wells dug by many prominent Muslims on this route.

1. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 40-41.

2. Ibid., fol. 40.

3. Ibid., fol. 14.

4. Ibid., fol. 17.

VI SURAGH-MEDINA ROUTE

Table IV (p.439)

The ancient Tabūkiyyah route was known to pre-Islamic Arabs whose trade caravans passed it on their way to Syria. Caliph Abū Bakr is said to have instructed two of his armies to follow this route on their way to Syria, and sent a third via Ailah.[1] According to al-Asadī, the northernmost frontier of the Hijaz is Suragh.[2] Ibn Khurradadhbeh[3] mentions eleven way-stations between Suragh and Medina. He neither records the mileage nor proffers any other information with regard to this route. Ibn Rosteh[4] enumerates the same number of halts in precisely the same sequence. Qudāmah[5] carries the route only up to Wādī al-Qurā, observing the number and sequences of Ibn Khurradadhbeh's account, but referring by implication to his own previous account of the route from Ailah to Medina through Wādī al-Qurā. Since Qudāmah omits al-Marr from the latter account, his way-stations between Suragh and Medina number only ten. Al-Ya'qūbī[6] indicates that Syrian pilgrims travel to Mecca and Medina through Ailah

1. Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vol. 1, pp. 2078-79.

2. Al-Samhūdī, Khulāsah, p. 280.

3. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 150.

4. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 183.

5. Qudāmah, op.cit., fol. 94.

6. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, pp. 330, 340-1.

where they join the Egyptians. Though he describes their passage to Ailah as difficult and mountainous, he fails to mention the Tabukiyyah route which was no doubt in use at his time.

Though al-Idrisi[1] follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh to the letter with respect to the journey from Tabuk to al-Hijr, he seems to utilize an additional source in Wadi al-Qura and on the journey from Suragh to Tabuk which Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudamah locate immediately south of Suragh. Al-Idrisi mentions two halts, al-Bathniyyah and Dimnah, between Suragh and Tabuk, and identifies al-Bathniyyah with Adhri'at[2], while Musil identifies Dimnah with Dhatul-Hajj[3]. It can, however, hardly be credited that such a short distance from Suragh to Dhatul-Hajj requires more than one day's journey. Nor is it possible to cover the whole distance from Suragh to Tabuk in one day's journey as Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Qudamah and Ibn Rosteh suggest. Even the distance from Dhatul-Hajj to Tabuk, measuring, according to Musil, 80 km, is more than could possibly be bridged in one day's journey. The other place on which al-Idrisi differs from Ibn Khurradadhbeh is Wadi al-Qura. According to the latter, it is the halt south of al-Hijr and north of al-Ruhbah that is called Wadi al-Qura. The same halt is named by both authors with respect

1. Al-Idrisi, op.cit., fol. 94.

2. Ibid., fol. 93.

3. Musil, The Northern Hegaz, p. 328.

to the Ailah-Medina route. Al-Idrīsī does not name it on the Syrian route, but prefers to describe it as a small town on a small river. There are no rivers there. In another MS., however, it is called "Wādī" which suggests that an attempt at correction has been made.

The misreadings in al-Idrīsī's account are legion. The following is a juxtaposition of al-Idrīsī's two MSS compared with the account of Ibn Khurradadhbeh:

Ibn Khurradadhbeh	Al-Idrīsī	
	Paris 2221, fol.138	Paris 2222
Saragh,	Yanū',	Yabū',
Tabūk,	al-Buthainiyyah,	al-Buthainiyyah,
al-Muḥdathah,	Da'ah (Dimnah),	Dimnah,
al-Aqra',	Tabūk,	Tabūk,
al-Junainah,	al-Muḥdathah,	Imā Far', (al-Aqra')
al-Hijr,	al-Aqra',	al-Hanīfiyyah,
Wādī al-Qurā,	al-Hanīfiyyah, (al-Junainah)	al-Majz (al-Hijr)
	al-Ḥijr	a small town on a small river.
	Wādī, a very small town on a small river.	

Al-Idrīsī also differs from Ibn Khurradadhbeh in proffering information about some of the way-stations. Since al-Idrīsī does not try to give similar information about the inland route from Ailah to Medina, it is to be assumed that he had access to some first-hand data supplied by a traveller on

this route.

Al-Istakhri[1] and Ibn Hauqal[2] state that there are two
routes from Syria to Medina, one from Palestine through
Ailah, and the other, by implication, from Damascus through
Tabūk. Both routes require twenty days' journey. Neither
al-Istakhri nor Ibn Hauqal attempts to map either route.

Al-Muqaddasi[3] is the first Arab geographer to record
the fact that three Syrian pilgrim routes converge at
Taimā'. Though all three routes start from Amman, only one
requiring eight days' journey to reach Taimā' leads through
Tabūk. The second route leads through Thajr and takes twelve
days all in all. The third leads through al-Nabk (north
of Taimā') and requires thirteen and a half days. He men-
tions that these three routes are the choice of most Arabs
(tribes), and adds that the Umayyads used these routes for
their postal services. Nevertheless, he says that many
Syrians travel along these routes from Amman to Mecca, and
that he himself had followed them more than once. Al-
Muqaddasi mentions on this occasion that these routes are
safe and short. To judge by his other accounts, they were
neither. The ircny of this statement is illustrated by
another, following close on its heels, that the natives
there often take to highway robbery if pilgrims do not engage

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1. Al-Istakhri, op.cit., pp. 27-8.

2. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., pp. 40-41.

3. Al-Muqaddasi, op.cit., pp. 248-52.

a native escort or protect themselves by force of arms.
He says that pilgrims had been attacked and robbed of their
beasts of burden and of their property. On another occasion
also, he describes these routes as unsafe. He has handed on
descriptions of numerous way-stations on these routes, especi-
ally of minor watering places in the desert about which he
complains vociferously. His account has probably been written
in several successive stages as some of the distance measure-
ments are contradictory. On one occasion, he refers to
Taimā' as situated at four days' journey from Tabūk, but on
another he speaks of seven days. It could be the influence
of early sources.

Al-Hamdānī does not mention the Syrian pilgrim route,
though he implies that the way from Medina to Syria passes
through Taimā'.[1] It is uncertain whether he has this route
or the other through Ailah in mind when he states that Syrian
and Egyptian pilgrims can avoid Medina by deviating from the
main route, travelling from al-Suwaidā' to al-Sayālah by way
of Uwāl (Dhū Uwān).[2] Like al-Muqaddasī, al-Hamdānī states
that travellers there are advised to have an escort among the
natives,[3] his implication being that no traveller is safe
there without a native escort. He also mentions two routes
from Khaibar to Medina, one which is a short-cut and the other

1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 131.

2. Ibid., p. 130.

3. Ibid., p. 131.

through Hisn B. 'Uthmān(west of Khaibar), and adds that a route leads from al-Hijr to Taimā', without naming the stations on this route.

Al-Bakrī[1] mentions fifteen mosques of the Prophet between Medina and Tabūk, erected on the places at which the Prophet is known to have prayed on his return journey from Tabūk to Medina. However, it is impossible to assume that there are known mosques at all places at which the Prophet has prayed since he has no doubt prayed at least at three different places every day. The distance between Tabūk and Medina is too great to be covered in five days by an army whose beasts of burden were emaciated and few in numbers. There may be mosques at the main halts at which the Prophet not only prayed, but also encamped to rest. Though al-Bakrī seems to rely on Ibn Hishām's account with regard to these mosques,[2] he differs from him in omitting al-Akhdar and Dhul-Jīfah which he mentions in another context,[3] locating al-Akhdar at four days' journey from Tabūk. It should be three days. Dhātul-Khatmī is located, in another entry, at five days' journey from Tabūk.[4] This is no doubt due to inadvertence, as he mentions, apart from al-Akhdar, two halts between Dhātul-Khatmī and Tabūk which means that the distance could

1. al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1223.

2. Ibn Hishām, op.cit., vol. 2, pp. 530-531.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 124.

4. Ibid., p. 504.

be covered in four days only. This equals, according to
Musil,[1] an average of 25 km, which can be assumed as fairly
reasonable for the "army of hardships". It is almost certain
that these mosques are enumerated in their geographical order
though Musil suggests that al-Sa'īd الصعيد is identical
with Sa'īd سعيد , located at 100 km. northwest of al-
Hijr and not south of it as would appear from Ibn Hishām's
account. In fact, al-Sa'īd, or Sa'īd Qurh, was the capital
of Wādī al-Qurā which lies south of al-Hijr. Musil also
identifies the mosque of Haudā' with the well of al-Hausā'
at some distance north east of Tabūk, and not to the immediate
north of al-Hijr according to the location of Ibn Hishām.
In fact, the Prophet did not travel beyond Tabūk.

In another entry, al-Bakrī, quoting al-Sakūnī, indicates
that the route from Medina to Taimā' leads through al-Hijr.[2]
Beside this route, he mentions three others from Medina to
Taimā', one by way of Silāh and al-Jināb; another by way of
Faid and Judad, and a third by way of Faid and Jafr al-Jufāf.
The route from Medina to Taimā' via Silāh and al-Jināb leads
no doubt through Khaibar. The first reference to this route
is met with in al-Bakrī's Mu'jam. A century later, Khaibar
is mentioned as a fortress on the Syrian pilgrim route.[3] In
the year 555 A.H. (1160), the governor of Syria took this

1. Musil, The Northern Hegāz, p. 318.
2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 330.
3. Al-Sam'ānī, op.cit., p. 113.

route for the hajj.[1] It should be noted, however, that the conventional route via Wādī al-Qurā was never deserted except in time of crisis. Al-Maqdīsī assesses the distance between Tabūk and Medina at ninety parasangs.[2] His source seems to be al-Mas'ūdī.[3] Their estimate of the distance seems to be accurate. Wakī' enumerates thirteen halts between Suragh and Medina, and reiterates that the Egyptian and Syrian routes converge at al-Suqyā.[4] He also mentions the route from Medina to Khaibar[5] and the route to Fadak.[6] The lack of other information on these routes, of which he has no first-hand knowledge, indicates that his sources here are of minor value. He also lists the mosques of the Prophet between Medina and Tabūk without proffering any information.[7]

During the late 7th and the early 8th centuries, the pilgrim route from Damascus to Mecca was in a good state of repair and many caliphs tried to make the journey less arduous for the pilgrims. 'Uthmān, Marwān, al-Walīd I and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz attempted to ensure adequate provision of water for pilgrims on this route.

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1. Ibn Khallikān, op.cit., vol. 2, p. 176.

2. Al-Maqdīsī, op.cit., vol. 4, p. 239.

3. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 270.

4. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 114.

5. Ibid., fols. 74-75.

6. Ibid., fol. 75.

7. Ibid., fol. 115.

TABLE IV: Suragh-Medina route

Ibn Khurradadh-beh	Wakī'	Ibn Rosteh	Qudāmah	al-Idrīsī
Suragh	Asra' (Suragh)	Suragh	Suragh	Suragh
Tabūk	Tabūk	Tabūk	Tabūk	al-Bathniyyah
al-Muhdathah	al-Muhdathah	al-Muhdathah	al-Muhdathah	Dimnah
al-Aqra'	al-Aqra'	al-Aqra'	al-Aqra'	Tubūk
al-Junainah	al-Junainah	al-Junainah	al-Junainah	al-Muhdathah
al-Hijr	al-Hijr	al-Hijr	al-Hijr	al-Aqra'
Wādī al-Qurā	Wādī al-Qurā	Wādī al-Qurā	Wādī al-Qurā	al-Junainah
al-Ruhaibah	al-Suqyā	al-Ruhbah		al-Hijr
Dhul-Marwah	(then to Medina with the Egyptian pilgrims on the inland route)	Dhul-Marwah		Wādī
al-Marr		al-Marr		al-Ruhbah
al-Suwaidā'		al-Suwaidā'	Medina	Dhul-Marwah
Dhū Khushub		Dhū Khushub		al-Marr
Medina		Medina		al-Suwaidā'
				Dhū Khushub
				Medina

VII   AL-NAQIRAH-MEDINA ROUTE

Table V (pp.445-6)

Ibn Khurradadhbeh[1] states that there is a diversion on the Kufa-Mecca route at al-Naqirah in the direction of Medina. That he regards it as a diversion from the main route is implied by the fact that he does not mention the "evening meal" halts as he does on the main route to Mecca. Pilgrims who prefer to visit Medina as well as Mecca follow this route to Medina and then embark on the Medina-Mecca route. He records some information about water facilities on this route. Qudāmah follows him to the letter,[2] but Ibn Rosteh's account is more detailed than theirs.[3] It contains the reference to one "evening meal" halt and several mentions of distances between intervening places. Even the information he gives on the water facilities on this diversion is richer than that of Ibn Khurradadhbeh. He also mentions some historical data concerning these facilities. Though Ibn Rosteh agrees with Ibn Khurradadhbeh with respect to the actual number of way-stations to Medina, and the names of the halts on this route, he differs from the latter on the total distance between al-Naqirah and Medina. Indeed, the sum of the detailed distances between al-Taraf and Medina in

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 128.

2. Qudāmah, op.cit., p. 187.

3. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 177.

Ibn Rosteh's account is, at twenty-five miles, two miles
short of his own total of twenty-seven. Despite these short-
comings, Ibn Rosteh's assessment of the total distance is, at
126 or 128 miles, less mistaken than the 137 miles quoted by
Ibn Khurradadhbeh. Al-Ya'qūbī[1] does not mention the distances
and even differs from Ibn Khurradadhbeh in locating Baṭn-
Nakhl to the immediate north west of al-Naqirah instead of
al-'Usailah. He has also Ṭarafah instead of al-Ṭaraf. Ibn
Khurradadhbeh is correct in both respects.

Al-Hamdānī[2] regards this route as a continuation of the
Iraqi main route to Mecca, his assumption being that pilgrims
go via Medina and return via Dhāt 'Irq. He is partly correct,
as Iraqi pilgrims usually do not pass through Medina twice.
Al-Hamdānī's mileage for this sector of the route is, at
ninety-eight miles, too short to be acceptable. Besides, his
information, in this account, is limited to degrees of lati-
tude. Al-Asadī's account of this route is not given in a
complete form. Moreover, the accounts attributed to him
are contradictory. There is Bi'r Rukānah,[3] which he situates at
ten miles from Medina and two miles from Bi'r B. al-Muṭṭalib,
mentioned in another passage as al-Rikābiyyah, and in a third
as Bi'r Abū Rukānah.[4] Another example is the alleged state-
ment that the distance between al-Nukhail and Medina is

1. Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 312.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, p. 184.

3. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1138.

4. Ibid., p. 1158.

forty-five miles whereas, in another passage, this distance [1] is described as more than sixty miles. [2] Bi'r Rukānah, called al-Rukāniyyah by Ibn Rosteh but printed al-Rikābiyyah, is said to be the farthermost frontier of al-Ṭaraf آخر عمل الطرف in the direction of Median according to al-Asadī, [3] but this is misread in another passage as "the last of the upper-most of al-Ṭaraf" آخر اول الطرف . [4] Al-Shuqrah is situated at twenty-four miles from al-Nukhail. [5] Al-Samhūdī quotes al-Asadī to the effect that there are more than 300 wells at al-Nukhail all with good quality water. [6] He also quotes al-Asadī as situating al-Nakhl at forty-five miles from al-Rabadhah. [7]

Al-Muqaddasī mentions that Batn Nakhl is equidistant between Medina and al-Naqirah, at two days' journey from either. [8] Al-Mas'ūdī situates al-Ṭaraf at thirty-six miles from Medina, and Batn Nakhl at four postal stages from Medina. [9] While the last quoted figure is more or less accurate, the former cannot be accepted, as al-Ṭaraf lies

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1. Ibid., p. 1149.

2. Ibid., p. 1319.

3. Ibid., p. 1138.

4. Ibid., p. 1158.

5. Ibid., p. 1138.

6. Ibid., p. 1149.

7. Ibid., p. 1149.

8. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 107.

9. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 253.

half-way between Batn Nakhl and Medina. Both figures are traceable to Ibn Sa'd.[1] 'Arrām mentions Batn Nakhl as lying on the route to Medina.[2] The same account is repeated by al-Bakrī who also quotes al-Sakūnī who mentions Nakhl as situated on the route to al-Naqirah and Fadak from Medina. When al-Bakrī states that al-Shuqrah is a village on the derelict route to Medina,[4] he implies that there was more than one route from al-Naqirah to Medina. Al-Shuqrah is mentioned by Ibn Khurradadhbeh as situated on the diversion from al-Naqirah to Medina. No information is traceable as to how or when this route was diverted from al-Shuqrah.

Al-Idrīsī[5] follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh as regards this sector with the exception of assessing the distance between al-Taraf and Medina at fifteen miles instead of the thirty-six miles quoted by the latter. Al-'Usailah is given in a corrupted form: al-'Umlah. Though the information about the halts seems to be expanded, it actually remains within the outlines laid down by Ibn Khurradadhbeh. Wakī' maps two diversions from al-Naqirah to Medina, an ancient route called al-Akhrijah,[6] and a new one leading through al-'Usailah[7] which

1. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, part 1, vol. 2, pp. 62, 63.

2. 'Arrām, op.cit., p. 424.

3. al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1016.

4. Ibid., p. 749.

5. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 42.

6. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 68-70.

7. Ibid., fols. 83-84.

figures in the other geographers. He quotes the distance in miles on the former, but not on the latter on which he quotes a poet. His own description of al-'Usailah diversion seems to be missing from the MS.

TABLE V: Al-Naqirah-Medina pilgrim route with
the mileage

Ibn Khurradadhbeh	Wakī'	al-Ya'qūbī
al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah
46		
al-'Usailah	al-Muhdath	Batn Nakhl
36		
Batn Nakhl	al-'Usailah	al-'Usailah
22		
al-Taraf	Batn al-Nakhl	Tarafah
35		
Medina	al-Taraf	Medina
	Medina	

Wakī' also maps this ancient diversion to Medina which he
calls al-Akhrijah:

Faid	Husayy
27½ miles	34
al-Akhrijah	Arqam
6	24
Lihyay Jamal	al-Sa'd
6½	25
Azmam	al-Nukhail
2	18½
al-Talūb	al-Shuqrah
	24
Ghamrat Marzūq	Bi'r al-Sā'ib
24½	24
al-'Unābah	Medina
27	

Ibn Rosteh	Qudāmah	al-Hamdānī	al-Idrīsī
al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah
43	46	26	46
al-'Usailah	al-'Usailah	al-'Usailah	al-Umlah
36	36	28	36
Batn al-Nakhl	Batn al-Nakhl	Batn Nakhl	Batn Nakhl
22	22	20	22
Taraf	al-Taraf	al-Taraf	al-Taraf
27	35	24	15
Medina	Medina	Medina	Medina

VIII AL-NAQIRAH-MECCA ROUTE

Almost all geographers, with the exception of Wakī'
and al-Hamdānī, imply that the Iraqi pilgrim route leads to
Mecca via al-Naqirah with a diversion at al-Naqirah for
those who want to visit Medina. As seen before, al-Hamdānī
implies that both routes constitute, in fact, one main route,
since the majority of pilgrims go by way of Medina and return
through Dhāt 'Irq, or vice versa. This is also the impli-
cation of a poem quoted by Wakī'.[1] Al-Asadī, however, ob-
serves that some, including al-Rashīd, began by visiting
Medina, but returned to Mecca by the Najdī route which leads
through al-Arhadīyyah and the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim.[2] The
stations as far as Mecca are mentioned by all geographers
except al-Muqaddasī who stops at al-Ghamrah. Qudāmah[3] stops
at Dhāt 'Irq, but completes the number of stations in another
account,[4] without giving the mileage on the last mentioned
addition. All geographers apart from al-Ya'qūbī quote the
mileage on this route from station to station. None of them,
except al-Hamdānī, records the latitude of these stations.

1. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 79-84.

2. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1224.

3. Qudāmah, op.cit., p. 186.

4. Ibid., p. 192.

Ibn Khurradadhbeh[1] and Ibn Rosteh[2] alone mention the inter-
vening "evening meal" halts between stations. They all
try to proffer some sort of information about this route
except al-Ya'qubī whose interest in this aspect of pilgrim
routes wanes at al-Naqirah.[3] Ibn Khurradadhbeh, followed
by Qudāmah and al-Muqaddasī, errs in placing the Ma'dan of
B. Sulaim east of al-Salīlah and al-'Umaq immediately west
of al-Rabadhah. It should be placed west of al-'Umaq and
east of Ufai'yah.

Al-Muqaddasī's account is identical with that of Ibn
Khurradadhbeh as regards the mileage, the names of the
stations and their actual order. He, however, differs from
the latter in the omission of the water facilities at some
stations and in the mention of these facilities at others.
On the whole his attitude is more critical than that of Ibn
Khurradadhbeh. Al-Ya'qubī agrees with Ibn Rosteh on the
number of stations, except for al-Salīlah which he omits.
Ibn Rosteh follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh on the number of
stations and on the names of the "evening meal" halts, but
he does not mention the one between Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān and
Mecca. Owing to Ibn Khurradadhbeh's erroneous location of
the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim, his "evening meal" halts differ from
those of Ibn Rosteh whose information on this route is richer
than Ibn Khurradadhbeh's, as the former is concerned, in

1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 131.
2. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., pp. 178-9.
3. Al-Ya'qubī, Buldān, p. 312.

addition to the water facilities, with the history of the
places discussed and the origin of their inhabitants. More-
over, Ibn Rosteh mentions the total distance between Mecca
and Baghdad on both courses, while Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions
only the total of the main branch of the route. It should be
noted, however, that Ibn Rosteh refers to the discrepancy
between the total distance and the sum of the detailed dis-
tances on the route from Basra to Mecca, his declared inten-
tion being to revise the assessment.

The information proffered by Qudāmah about stations on
this route is similar to that of Ibn Khurradadhbeh. His
total of the distance up to Dhāt 'Irq is 205, thirty-six miles
shorter than that of the latter. Al-Hamdānī's total for the
whole sector is 247 miles, also thirty-five miles below Ibn
Khurradadhbeh's total mileage. Al-Hamdānī[1] is the only geo-
grapher to mention the station; eastward from Mecca. He is
also the only one to refer to the latitude of these stations,
though he acknowledges his debt to an Iraqi author in this
respect. Al-Samhūdī has preserved parts of al-Asadī's
account of this route, which represent a valuable geographical
description of some halts. Indeed, he seems to discuss this
route in all its details as he proceeds from the ancient site
of Dhāt 'Irq for about eight miles to the contemporary Dhāt
'Irq. He mentions, and locates, the cistern of Autās together

1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 185.

with a mosque of the Prophet.[1] He also pays a good deal of
attention to the wells and cisterns of Ufai'iyah and the
origins of its inhabitants.[2] He does the same with regard
to al-Rabadhah which he locates at four days from Medina.[3]
Waki''s account of this route is by far the most detailed
and accurate of all complete descriptions of this route by
any author of this period.[4] It contains the mileage of the
distances between the major halts as well as between the
intervening places, references to some short-cuts and di-
versions, and to other routes converging with this route.
A good deal of attention is paid to the history of these
halts and the facilities they offered to pilgrims, such as,
for instance, the "light-house" at Umm Khurmān where the
Kufa-Mecca and Basra-Mecca routes converge. As to al-Idrīsī,
he does not fulfil his promise to enumerate the stations on
the route from Baghdad to Mecca.[5]

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1. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1033.

2. Ibid., p. 1129.

3. Ibid., p. 1091.

4. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 12-20.

5. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 42.

IX CONCLUSION

It can be said that most of the pilgrim routes leading through the Hijaz were in use in the pre-Islamic era and were the subject of continuous care in the early centuries of Islam. The route from Basra to Mecca was a purely Islamic innovation - Ibn 'Āmir did a great deal to facilitate its use by having wells dug at some of its halts in the 7th century. In the 8th century Muhammad b. Sulaimān, the Abbasid prince and governor of Basra, ordered the route over the vast marshes west of al-Dathīnah to be paved with stone since it was impassable after rain, a project which was carried out except for eight miles.[1] As to the Kufa - Hijaz route, Caliph 'Uthmān initiated certain improvements; the Abbasid caliphs gave it priority; al-Saffāh erected mile-stones on it, lighthouses in the desert and rest-houses; al-Mansūr increased the number of rest-houses; and al-Mahdī paid special attention to the upkeep of the route as well as the buildings along it and had cisterns dug at the halts. None, however, did more for this route than Zubaidah from whom the two official routes Basra - Mecca and Kufa - Mecca derive their names:

درب زبيدة darb Zubaidah (Zubaidah's route). She had many a cistern dug there, and made many difficult parts on it accessible. Al-Mutawakkil erected the mile-stones on the

1. Lughdah, op.cit., p. 371.

Medina – Mecca route which had been provided with wells by most caliphs. Difficult parts of the pass of Ailah were partly levelled by the Tulunids.[1] The improvement made by the Umayyads on the Tabukiyyah route consisted mainly of digging wells. No mile-stones were erected on non-Iraqi routes in the Hijaz until late in the 10th century when mileages were first mentioned on the Egyptian route to the Hijaz which implies that calculation in miles there was introduced by the Fatimids. There were places on the Iraqi routes where fires were lit to guide pilgrims in the desert, especially where the routes converge.[2] These fires might have also been lit in times of emergency. Where the route bifurcates, there were road-signs to indicate points of bi-furcation. It emerges from the accounts of Waki' and al-Asadi that the mile-stones between the postal stages which had their own numbers, bore the figures from one to twelve. Some postal stages are given certain names.[3]

The most discussed pilgrim routes during the period under consideration are those used by the Iraqis, mainly those leading from Kufa to Mecca, Kufa to Medina and Medina to Mecca. Far less information is supplied on the other Iraqi routes: the Basra – Hijaz, Samarra – Hijaz and Wasit – Hijaz, though they are mentioned and their distances are

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1. Al-Himyari, Raud, fol. 40.

2. See Lughdah, op.cit., p. 376; Nasr, op.cit., fol. 43; al-Tabari, Tarikh, vol. 3, p. 81; and Waki', Manazil, fol. 18.

3. Al-Samhudi, Wafa', pp.1141, 1012, 1017 and Waki', Manazil, fols. 2, 4, 5.

quoted in miles by Wakī' and al-Sakūnī. Pioneers in this respect, who are no doubt independent from each other, though their sources are not necessarily different, are Ibn Khurradadhbeh and Wakī'. Both authors seem to have utilized the official archives or religious and literary works. Wakī' is better informed, and seems to possess more first-hand knowledge about these routes than any other geographer except perhaps al-Sakūnī whose concern is not limited to the pilgrim routes as he records many others, especially those frequented by the Zakāh collectors. Al-Asadī seems to have incorporated most of Wakī''s information which he enriches with personal observations. Al-Hamdānī is unique in recording the degrees of latitude of all halts between Mecca and both Medina and Kufa in reliance on "some Iraqi authorities", possibly al-Fazārī or Habash. Ibn Rosteh draws heavily on Ibn Khurradadhbeh from whom he differs on some of the distances and on the succession of the halts about which his information is more detailed than that of Ibn Khurradadhbeh. Ibn Rosteh is the first official geographer to calculate the distances on the complete Basra – Mecca route in mileage. Wakī''s assessment is, however, more consistent and detailed than that of Ibn Rosteh.[1] Qudāmah relies on Ibn Khurradadhbeh and Ibn Rosteh, adding some information about the local postmasters and their residences. Al-Ya'qūbī maps the

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1. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 11, 91-99.

coastal route from Egypt to Mecca proffering ample information with respect to its inhabitants and the commodities available there. He seems to rely on 'Arrām with regard to the tribes of the region between Medina and Mecca. 'Arrām's is probably the first attempt at mapping the Najdī route from Medina to Mecca, which for reasons discussed elsewhere, is not entirely successful. Al-Muhallabī utilizes both al-Ya'qūbī and Ibn Rosteh, though he seems to resort to a new, possibly official, survey for the distances. According to him, the distance from al-Tha'labiyyah to Faid is eighty-seven miles,[1] whereas Ibn Khurradadhbeh and Ibn Rosteh assess it at ninety-two miles, which is one mile less than the assessment of Qudāmah, nine miles more than that of al-Hamdānī and two miles more than that of al-Muqaddasī. The latter enumerates more routes in the Northern Hijaz than any other geographer, but some of his information is contradictory. He is unsuccessful in mapping the route from Mecca to Medina, as he disregards the definitions of his predecessors, but gives room to information which, on some occasions, is contrary to fact. As to the other Iraqi routes, al-Muqaddasī follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh even where the latter errs with respect to the sequence of the halts from al-Naqirah to Mecca.

According to Ibn Khurradadhbeh, the total distance between Baghdad (he means Kufa) and Mecca is $275\frac{2}{3}$ parasangs =

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1. Abū al-Fidā', Taqwīm, p. 97.

827 miles.[1] Ibn Rosteh assesses the Kufa - Mecca route at 848 miles, and the Kufa - Medina - Mecca route at 960 miles.[2] Summing up the distances between the individual halts, one arrives in each case at a different total, namely 841, 838 and 948 miles respectively. Neither of them seems to notice this discrepancy, which may be due to scribal mistakes. According to al-Maqdisī, the Kufa - Mecca route is 765 miles,[3] which agrees neither with Ibn Khurradadhbeh nor with Ibn Rosteh. The most consistent and unequivocally clear estimate is that of Wakī'. He quotes the total mileage between Basra and Mecca (675 miles);[4] between Baghdad and Mecca through Medina, (758 miles, minus six miles if one takes the short-cut from al-Ma'dan-of al-Naqirah - to al-'Usailah); and the postal stages between Baghdad and Mecca through Medina (sixty-two and two thirds = 752 miles).[5] His assessment of the length of the route from Baghdad to Mecca through Dhāt 'Irq seems to be 694 miles.[6] He also quotes the total mileage between Medina and Mecca as 200 miles.

The information provided by al-Bakrī in the Mu'jam contains the most detailed data on the Medina - Mecca con-

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 132.

2. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 180.

3. Al-Maqdisī, op.cit., vol. 4, p. 90.

4. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 98.

5. Ibid., fol. 54.

6. Ibid., fols. 4-19.

ventional route because it is mainly derived from Wakī' or al-Asadī whom he does not even mention. In his Masālik, however, al-Bakrī refrains from mapping this route which is by no means a great loss. To judge by his description of the Ailah – Medina route, al-Bakrī could not have achieved, in his Masālik, the same degree of success as in al-Mu'jam, because the sources on which he relied for the latter, at least as far as the Northern Hijaz is concerned, are clearly superior to those he used for al-Masālik. The only innovation there concerns the comparatively short distances covered by the daily journey from Ailah to Dubā.[1] The proximity of the halts to each other is probably due to the huge size of the pilgrim caravans and the leisurely habits of the users in al-Bakrī's time, as well as to considerations of safety which seem to have required that the whole party of pilgrims should travel together.

Safety conditions on the pilgrim routes of that time were often precarious. Before Islam, the tribes on these routes used to exact a toll from the caravans.[2] The advent of Islam modified their greed for only a short while. Already as early as the 8th century, the Abbasid caliphs launched out on a policy of appeasement of the tribes on the Iraqi routes to Mecca. From the mid-9th century onwards, conditions on all pilgrim routes became intolerable. In opposition to the

1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 76.
2. See al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1134.

the introduction of Turkish elements in the military ranks in the state, a very dangerous nationalistic revolt headed by a self-styled "caliph" broke out in 843. Though this unsuccessful revolt caused a sudden change in the policy of the state in favour of the Arab soldiers,[1] the Iraqi pilgrims found themselves entirely at the mercy of these tribes whose greed was increased by the weakness of the central administration. The general uncertainty obviously favoured the aggressiveness of the tribes which began to bargain for the safety of the pilgrims. Caliph al-Muqtadir is said to have bought safety for the pilgrims between Medina and Mecca from B. Ḥarb,[2] and it is most likely that other tribes on other parts of the route were similarly bribed. An honest chief minister in Baghdad was confident that 5000 Arab horsemen would suffice to keep order on the Iraqi pilgrim route.[3] This indicates that most of the huge sums ostensibly spent on this purpose by the official contractors were misappropriated. However, no pilgrim route in the Northern Hijaz was ever safe after the mid-9th century, since they were passable only if the pilgrims were accompanied by a native escort or a sizeable military force.[4] Pilgrim caravans began to steer clear of the troubled territories as far as possible. This

1. See al-Mas'udī, Tanbīh, pp. 361-363.
2. Al-Hamdānī, Iklīl, vol. 1, p. 306.
3. 'Arīb, Silah, p. 130.
4. See: al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 131; al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 252; al-Tanūkhī, al-Faraj, p. 170; Nasir-i Khusrav, op.cit., p. 89; and Ibn Jubair, op.cit., pp. 77, 134, 171, 205.

happened on the Ailah - Medina route which was replaced by
the coastal route before the 10th century. It also occurred
a century later, on the Medina - Mecca route, where pilgrims
preferred the coastal line after al-Munsaraf to ensure a
safe passage. Not all pilgrim routes in the Northern Hijaz
followed the course of the pre-Islamic trade routes. The
coastal route between Ailah and al-Jār, the old Medina -
Mecca route and the Basra - Mecca route were mainly post-
Islamic. The ancient route between Mecca and Syria was
diverted from al-'Īs to Medina, possibly for administrative
rather than religious reasons.

The attention paid by the geographers to the mīqāts
(the points at which pilgrims start their rites) is con-
siderable. However, only one out of the three mīqāts in the
Northern Hijaz, al-Shajarah, on the outskirts of Medina, has
always had a definite location, and has been in use since the
time of the Prophet, though its name has undergone two
changes, first from al-Shajarah to Dhul-Hulaifah, and later
to Abyār 'Alī. As regards al-Juḥfah, its location is of
recent date, since the part of the route on which it is
situated was, for safety reasons, replaced by a coastal
route. Thus it ceased to be a mīqāt as early as the late
11th century. Most geographers describe it as the mīqāt of
the Syrian pilgrims. In fact, it has been solely used by
pilgrims arriving from Ailah by the coastal route, mostly
Egyptians and Magribīs with a small admixture of Syrians.

The main Syrian caravans came via Medina and had therefore to use al-Shajarah. As for Dhāt 'Irq, it was assigned to Iraqi pilgrims as it proved more convenient for them than Qarn al-Manāzil, the mīqāt allotted by the Prophet to pilgrims coming from Najd and the rest of the east. Since the Prophet did not mention the Iraqis when assigning Qarn al-Manāzil for this purpose, 'Umar allotted Dhāt 'Irq to them. However, the original Dhāt 'Irq was forsaken in less than a century by most pilgrims who preferred to start their ritual in the modern section of the town, situated nearly a mile ahead of the ancient Dhāt 'Irq. Sa'īd b. Jubair, al-Shāfi'ī[1] and al-Asadī[2] express their preference for the old site, but this advice seems to have been unheeded. Indeed, by the 10th century, pilgrims began to start their ritual not only a mile but, according to al-Ya'qūbī, a full journey ahead of the right place, at al-Ghamrah. Ibn Rosteh states that only camel-drivers waited until Dhāt 'Irq. Qudāmah's statement that all pilgrims waited until Dhāt 'Irq is unlikely to have been correct at that time. Ibn Khurradadhbeh assigns al-Mislah, two days before Dhāt 'Irq, for this purpose, probably because the sources he utilized were out of date. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the pilgrims used to start their rites at al-Ghamrah as early as the late 8th century, which is implied in a eulogy

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1. Al-Shāfi'ī, al-Umm, vol. 2, p. 119.

2. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1033.

on Zubaidah quoted by Wakī'.[1] Al-Muqaddasī remains silent
on this point. The tendency of the pilgrims to neglect
Dhāt'Irq is motivated solely by their concern for their own
comfort for, by beginning the pilgrimage rites so far ahead
of the assigned place, they succeeded in shortening their
journey by virtually a whole day.

A similar controversy exists on whether it is prefer-
able to visit Mecca or Medina first. The majority are of the
opinion that, as Mecca is the target, it should be visited
first.[2] This of course does not apply to the Syrian pilgrims
who could easily visit Medina before and after Mecca, as their
route led through Medina already before the 8th century.

Camel-driving as a profession apparently goes back to
the 8th century, i.e., the time of Abū Ḥanīfah. Before that
time, pilgrims used to keep their own camels ready for the
pilgrimage journey.[3] By the time of al-Hamdānī, this pro-
fession had acquired a high prestige since not only al-
Hamdānī himself, but even his father and some of his own
teachers were all camel-drivers, and were familiar with the
literary and administrative circles in Iraq, Syria and
Egypt. Nevertheless, many camel-drivers were so notorious
that, for some pilgrims, the journey was not regarded as
perfect without beating the camel-driver.[4]

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1. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 34.

2. Al-Samhūdī, p. 83.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 650.

4. See Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ārif, vol. 1, p. 230.

The pilgrim amirate was founded in the early days of
Islam for the pilgrims to be led, on their pilgrimages rites,
by a representative of the absent head of state. This prime
religious function was soon to become a minor duty. By the
early Abbasid period, the governor was entrusted with more
administrative and political power. They used to be very
important dignitaries, as only the ablest administrators or
the relatives of the caliph were appointed to this post.
This was done, apparently, to familiarise the Hijazis with the
Abbasid dynasty. Later, the custom developed into a sort of
appeasement of the tribes on the route. By the 10th century,
the governor was more concerned with the actual journey to
Mecca than with the rites of pilgrimage. Instead of one
governor for all pilgrims, it became almost necessary to
have a governor for every pilgrim party such as the
Egyptian, the Syrian, the Maghribī, the Yemenite and of
course the Iraqi caravans. Fighting broke out in 341 A.H.
(952), between the Egyptians and the Iraqi governors, both
acknowledging the sovereignty of the same Abbasid caliph.[1]

The administration of the pilgrimage used to be a
major topic of discussion not only among the officials but
also among the religious authorities.[2] They laid down some
rules to be followed in appointing governors of the hajj,
their main concern being the political aspect of this office

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1. Al-Fāsī, Shifā', vol. 2, p. 192.

2. Al-Māwardī, Ahkām, pp. 185-195.

such as protection from highway robbery and the appeasement
of the tribes on these routes, by offering them money on
behalf of the pilgrims. The governor should also be efficient
in allotting camping spaces to different groups of pilgrims
and providing facilities for caravans.[1] Abū Hanīfah and his
followers were rather meticulous with respect to the details
of contracts between pilgrims and camel-drivers, especially
with regard to provisions and camping apparatus, the welfare
of the servants, presents taken from Mecca to Iraq, transport
charges and times of departure. It can be deduced from
their account that the first ten days of Dhul Qi'dah were
considered the usual time to set out from Kufa, with the
fifth as the ideal date. To leave earlier was regarded as
harmful for the pilgrims, and to leave later as inconvenient
for the camel drivers who had to feed their camels at Kufa.
It was ruled that the distance from Kufa to Mecca amounted to
a journey of twenty-seven days, except for the route via
Medina which lasted thirty days. The hajj rites at Mecca
added six days to the journey. If a pilgrim died at Mecca
after the completion of the hajj rites, the camel driver
was, according to the Hanafīs, entitled to $\frac{11}{20}$ of the cartage
only on the direct route to Mecca: to $\frac{12}{21}$, if the route led
through Medina on the return journey: to $\frac{11}{21}$, if the stay
in Medina happened during the outward trip: to $\frac{6}{11}$ if the
circular route via Medina was planned.[2]

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1. Al-Farrā', Ahkām, pp. 92-95.
2. Al-Ḥaṣī, Sarakhsī, Shifā', vol. 2, p. 219. al-Mabsūt, vol. 16, pp 18-23.

There were several settlements on the pilgrim routes
whose only purpose it was to trade with the pilgrims. With
the passage of time some of these settlements, such as Faid
and al-Juhfah, became permanent. The former, half-way between
Kufa and Mecca, used to be the residence of the governor of
the pilgrim route who was usually a member of one of the
dominant local tribes such as B. Asad and B. Tamīm. The
Basra – Mecca route led to Dhāt 'Irq, but some pilgrims used
to follow a diversion to the north west in order to join the
pilgrims arriving by the Kufa – Mecca route to visit Medina.
In times of crisis, the Iraqi pilgrims followed the Syrian
route to avoid the menacing tribes,[1] but did so with little
success, as disorder was by no means limited to one region
of Arabia.

1. Al-Sarakhsī, al-Mabsūt, vol. 16, pp. 18-23.
    Al-Fāsi, Shifā', vol. 2, p. 219

PART THREE

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

I – CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS

The Arab geographers differ widely in their treatment of the Northern Hijaz. Some of them are inconsistent in their treatment of separate parts of this region, and various aspects of its geography. Moreover, cases are not rare where their own reports about this region are found to conflict not only in different works, but also within one and the same work.

In the majority of geographers, Arabia is by no means the most discussed part of the empire. Nor is the Northern Hijaz always the most discussed of the regions of Arabia. Besides, the attention accorded to different parts of the Northern Hijaz varies. The southern part of this region is understandably treated in most detail, since it is the stretch of territory between Mecca and Medina more frequented by the pilgrims than any other part of the Northern Hijaz. Hence the abundance of information which renders this region the least disputed among the authors. The localities are generally known, and mistaken locations, though by no means occasional, are often easy to detect and rectify.

The information on the Northern Hijaz can be divided into five categories:

1. pre-Islamic, mainly derived from Jāhilī poetry and vague Arab conceptions of the pre-Islamic Northern Hijaz;

2. purely Islamic in nature, originating in the hadīth and tafsīr;

3. stemming from the first-hand knowledge of early Arab authors who frequented Arabia for literary reasons, and of well-informed natives who resided outside Arabia;

4. archives of administrative departments; and

5. the personal experience of the geographers themselves.

Jāhilī poetry represents the main source of information for the early works on Arabia. This is true of al-Asma'ī and Abū 'Ubaidah whose influence on literary circles was prominent, and whose data are often very detailed. As to Arabia's pre-Islamic past, the Northern Hijaz is fortunate in that the ancient caravan routes from Mecca and Medina to Syria used to be of great importance to the people of the Northern Hijaz, so that many towns on these routes were both flourishing and famous. It is mainly data derived from the pre-Islamic legacy that have now made possible the location of the southern frontier of "Provincia Arabia" or "Qurā 'Arabiyyah" and, indeed, illuminated the origin of the words 'Arab and A'rāb. That this concept of Qurā 'Arabiyyah was so soon disregarded is ascribable to numerous alterations which rendered it so unacceptable that many geographers do not seem to be conversant with the meaning of Qurā 'Arabiyyah or even the accurate form of its name.[1] The demarcation of

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1. Supra, pp.225-258.

the Hijaz by Ibn 'Abbās is no doubt inherited from pre-Islamic times. This demarcation has been accepted by most geographers, though the transmitters have obscured its meaning by one or two uncalled-for additions. There are also the translations of the works of Dioscorides, Ptolemy and Hermes[1] which have been utilized by both al-Bakrī and al-Hamdānī in so far as the Northern Hijaz is concerned. Ibn al-Kalbī is the most quoted source on pre-Islamic information about this region. Ibn al-Muqaffa'of the 8th century refers to the very ancient past when he states that the Arab steppe used to be covered with water.[2] The great al-Bīrunī adds colour to the story by referring to actual finds of marine life among the excavated remains of that region which led him to the same conclusion.[3] There are also the references to archeological discoveries and ancient monuments in this region which were known to the Arabs and are mentioned by al-Zurqī, al-Mas'ūdī, al-Hamdānī, al-Muqaddasī, Ibn Hauqal and al-Istakhrī. Both al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī seem to draw on this information.

As to purely Islamic sources, the commentators on the Qur'ān as well as the Muhaddithūn and the early historians

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1. Hermes, the herald of the Greek gods, trismegistos = the thrice greatest, the Egyptian Thot', is, to some Arabs, Hermes the philosopher and a reliable source on science. Hermetica, or part of it, seems to have been translated into Arabic.

2. Al-Maqdisī, op.cit., vol. 2, p. 150.

3. Al-Bīrunī, Tahdīd Nihāyāt al-Amākin, p. 21.

derive their information from a number of geographical references with a bearing on many localities in the Northern Hijaz, their proximity to Medina, their population and the revenue they yield. Among the Arab geographers, al-Mas'ūdī is alone in exploiting this aspect of information in both his available works. Whenever possible, he ekes it out with contemporary data on the inhabitants of these localities.

It is, however, the works of the early Arab authors who resided in Arabia as well as the native Arabian scholars, e.g. 'Arrām of the Northern Hijaz, who emigrated from Arabia, which represent the real progress in the development of Arab geography. These authors, mainly men of letters, catered for the demands of their disciples by giving accurate descriptions of the localities mentioned in Arabic poetry up to the early 8th century. This school has produced many important works on the geography of Arabia. The work of 'Arrām, in particular, is the most advanced among them in that it pioneers regional geography proper. He is naturally interested in his native land which forms part of the Northern Hijaz. The influence of 'Arrām's work has been so great that no author has pointed out the many erroneous locations, ingrained in this work as early as the 10th century. The only exception is al-Bakrī's above-mentioned groundless criticism of al-Sakūnī.[1] 'Arrām's work has been borrowed almost in its entirety by al-Bakrī; some of

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1. Supra, p. 368.

is also to be found in Nasr's Jibāl. The description of
Yanbu' and Radwā is quoted by Wakī'.

The administrative archives were utilized with respect
to the Hijaz by the official geographers of Baghdad as well
as by al-Muhallabī. They form, indeed, an important source
of information about the mileages on the pilgrim routes
measured up to their respective times. Many data proffered
by the official geographers of Baghdad on the dependencies of
Medina and Mecca are clearly taken from lists and records of
the administration. It is only in the lists of the Medina
dependencies as compiled by the official geographers that
Qurā 'Arabiyyah is mentioned. Similar is the case with al-
Wahīdah which does not figure in any other geographical work
except theirs. Admittedly, al-Idrīsī mentions both, but
there is no doubt that, in doing so, he draws on the official
geographers. It is noteworthy that al-Wahīdah has the dis-
tinction of being the subject of a very detailed and meticu-
lous document, allegedly going back to a pre-Islamic date.[1]

The most interesting kind of geographical information is,
of course, that supplied by geographers who are personally
acquainted with the area. The dominant figure among them
after 'Arrām is the late 9th century author Wakī' whose
mapping of the Iraqi pilgrim routes in the Northern Hijaz
surpasses the description of this region by any other author
except perhaps al-Sakūnī of the early 10th century. Though

1. Supra, pp. 364-5.

he has first-hand knowledge of the routes frequented by
the Iraqi pilgrims, Wakī' also relies on the data proffered
by native scholars, such as Ibn al-Sabbāh, Ibn Jumai', Abū
Ishāq al-Bakrī and a certain Nādir to whom Ibn Jumai' refers
as the most reliable authority on the route between Medina
and Mecca.[1] Wakī' describes these mosques with meticulous
care and equal accuracy in the assessment of the distances.
Halts, springs, wells and cisterns are also most carefully
listed. Poems in metre are recorded to serve partly mnemo-
technical purposes for the better retention of the names of
the halts on the Iraqi pilgrim routes. With respect to the
distances, Wakī'is the most consistent of Arab geographers.
There is absolutely no danger of confusion, since he states
the distance between two major halts before he starts giving
the distances of the intervening places, always in the direc-
tion of Mecca. Analogously to the official geographers, the
information proffered by Wakī'on the Iraqi pilgrim routes is
superior to that he provides on the Syrian and Egyptian
routes. Data on the Yemenite routes are even more exiguous
than those proffered by Ibn Khurradadhbeh or Qudāmah. This
is of course due to Wakī''s inability to utilize the official
archives on the routes of which he has no personal experience.
The few cases of inconsistency found in Wakī''s work are
mainly due to scribal omissions. The MS. teems with mis-
readings; some of its folios are misplaced and others

1. Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 46.

missing. Wakī', followed by al-Asadī and al-Sakūnī, combines
successfully the method of the literary circles with the
approach of the official geographers. Wakī' seems to be a
very important source to al-Asadī whose additions are often
brief but always valuable. Al-Sakūnī also appears to have
relied heavily on this work, though his description of the
whole region is comparatively more detailed, since he des-
cribes even those parts of the Northern Hijaz which are not
situated on the pilgrim routes. Al-Sakūnī is unique in that
he combines his own experience with that of 'Arrām, al-Asma'ī,
Wakī', Ibn Shabbah and Abū Ziyād al-Kilābī as well as that of
his own masters.

Al-Hamdānī's early profession as a camel-driver is
likely to have taken him to at least some parts of the Northern
Hijaz. He gives data on the genealogy of the local inhabitants
and their way of life which are of the highest value, though
inferior to his information on other parts of Arabia. Here,
he differs from al-Muqaddasī whose work is richer in detail
on the Northern Hijaz than on other parts of Arabia. Al-
Muqaddasī is alone among the Arab traveller-geographers in
paying more attention to the parts north of Medina than to
the stretch between Medina and Mecca on which his information
is unreliable. Ibn Hauqal and al-Istakhrī resided there,
so that their information is generally trustworthy. Al-
'Udhrī lived in Mecca for several years,[1] and the quotations

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1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 582; and see al-Bakrī,
   Masālik, fol. 74.

attributed to him by al-Bakrī are informative. He seems
to be al-Bakrī's source for the coastal route from Ailah
to Dubā. Al-Zamakhshari also lived in Mecca, and his enu-
meration of the localities between Yanbu' and Mecca is
orderly and accurate.

Those are the main geographers to discuss the Northern
Hijaz. No doubt there are other authors whose information
on that region is valuable, but they do not treat it as a
geographical entity, and merely refer to particular locali-
ties in connection with some event or statement. Nevertheless,
they have exerted some influence on succeeding geographers.
The influence of Wahb, Ibn al-Musayyib, Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī,
al-Wāqidī, Shabīb, and even Ibn Ishāq is observable in the
works of most Arab geographers. Authors of literary works
have influenced both al-Bakrī (in the Mu'jam) and Nasr.
Prominent among these authors are Ibn Habīb, al-Harbī, al-
Sukkarī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, Ibn al-Anbārī, and Ibn Jinnī. There
are also other authors such as al-Muhallabī - not to be con-
fused with the geographer -, Ibn Wallād, al-Suhailī, 'Iyād
and al-Sam'ānī, whose works contain many valuable references
to the Northern Hijaz. However, these works are not devoted to
geography.

Apart from al-Bakrī - on many occasions - and Nasr -
on very few - none of the Arab geographers of the period
under consideration seem to doubt the trustworthiness of
their sources. True some of them, like Ibn Hauqal and al-
Muqaddasī, voice some criticism, but it is symptomatic of a

tendency to condemn a work as a whole which suggests other motives than a desire to rectify a particular mistake. Thus it is not surprising if al-Muqaddasī condemns the very work of al-Jāhiz which Ibn Hauqal praises.[1] The faith of the majority of these geographers in their sources is so profound that they have even attempted to reconcile diametrically opposed statements found in different sources. This is true of al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī with respect to some localities in the Northern Hijaz. Al-Muqaddasī's respect for his sources is even deeper since, though possessed of personal experience, he not only follows them in including descriptions of what he has already declared to be derelict routes, but also adopts Ibn Khurradadhbeh's erroneous order of the halts of the Naqirah-Mecca route. Al-Hamdānī does not question the erroneous definition of Najd, Tihāmah and the Hijaz by three allegedly native poets of these regions. The most influential, and the least correct, source on the Northern Hijaz is 'Arrām's _Jibāl_ which not a single author has dared to put right. The book itself contains conflicting statements on Mts. Thāfil, Radwā and 'Azwar, and on Qu'aiqi'ān, Turabah and the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir as well as Kulayyah and al-Juhfah.

Understandably, the traveller geographers are not so deeply influenced by their sources as the compilers of geography or geographical references. The information of

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1. See Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 330; and al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 5.

'Arrām, al-Asadī, al-Sakūnī, and, to a lesser extent, of al-Asma'ī, Abū 'Ubaidah, Ibn al-Kalbī, al-Zubair and al-Hamdānī, dominates the part of al-Bakrī's Mu'jam devoted to the Northern Hijaz. This Mu'jam is the most important work to discuss the whole region in detail. Because of its numerous entries and manifold sources, its statements on localities in the Northern Hijaz are not always correct or even consistent. The influence of Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh, al-'Udhrī and al-Mas'ūdī dominates the other geographical work of al-Bakrī, al-Masālik, which cannot compete with al-Mu'jam except in inaccuracy and the number of misreadings. As regards al-Idrīsī's Nuzhah, the influence of Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh, Ibn Hauqal and al-Bakrī is coupled with that of private informants, and to a lesser extent, that of al-Muhallabī. Nasr's sources are also numerous, but he finds it easier to avoid inconsistency, as the statements in his book are relatively concise.

No geographer, except al-Idrīsī, is equally exhaustive in his treatment of all parts of the Northern Hijaz. Being officials about to map the pilgrim routes, Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah exhibit a natural tendency to discuss the southern parts of this region on which their departmental archives supply more information than on the northern parts which are not frequented by Iraqi pilgrims. Though Wakī' is not an official geographer, his original information is limited to the Iraqi pilgrim routes. On the northern parts, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Muhallabī and al-Bakrī, in al-Masālik, seem

to have had access to new sources. Al-Hamdānī is unable to
provide on the northern parts of this region the same degree
of information as on its southern parts, namely the stretch
between Medina and Mecca. Dr Ḥusain Nassar rightly observes
that 'Arrām is more informative on Tihāmah than on the Hijaz.[1]
This is difficult to explain, since the Hijaz is his native
land. Nor can it be accounted for by the scarcity of sources,
as he is a pioneer in this respect. Al-Muqaddasī does pay
attention to the northern parts of this region, and not only
to the pilgrim routes there. Though one has the impression
that Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Iṣtakhrī accord equal treatment to
all parts of the Northern Hijaz, their information on the
south is, on the whole, superior to that provided on the
north where they resort to traditions. Al-Zamakhsharī is
most informative on the region between Yanbu' and Mecca of
which his location is more accurate than the available MS.
of 'Arrām. Al-Idrīsī is intent on describing the localities
in a way which would permit him to accord to many of them
the same amount of attention and consults, so it appears,
many sources to achieve this objective at the expense of
accuracy. Nasr's treatment of this region is also even, but
he often neglects to describe its localities. Al-Bakrī's
sources for his Mu'jam are richer in information on the south
of this region than on its north.

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1. Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī, vol. 14, p. 204.

Not all the Arab geographers deal with the Northern
Hijaz, or even the Hijaz as such. The official geographers
mention it mainly for the purpose of pilgrimage. They pay
more attention to the pilgrim routes and the localities
situated on them than to localities not frequented by pilgrims.
Al-Sakūnī and al-Hamdānī, on the other hand, also seem aware
of the need to describe localities and routes which are not
connected with the pilgrims. Ibn Hauqal and al-Istakhrī
dismiss the pilgrim routes in the Northern Hijaz with a few
lines, and recoil from recording the tribal routes on the
ground that their use was limited to the natives. Al-Muqad-
dasī's original information is mainly on the localities on
the pilgrim routes, but has little bearing on the routes
themselves. He allots to the Hijaz a fairly sizeable section
of his book. Al-Hamdānī also treats the Hijaz as a region of
Arabia. Al-Sakūnī seems to be very meticulous in delineating
the frontiers of every region, if not every individual
locality. This is also the pattern observable in the works
of 'Arrām, Wakī', Lughdah and al-Asadī and, to a lesser
extent, al-Istakhrī and Ibn Hauqal. On the works of the
authors who follow the climate system, the treatment of the
Northern Hijaz is spread over two climates which, owing to
the lack of first-hand knowledge of the region, gives rise to
the erroneous location of parallel towns in two different
climates. This occurs in the Zīj of al-Battānī, the Qānūn[1]

1. Al-Battānī, Zīj, part 1, pp. 234-241.

of al-Bīrūnī[1] and the Nuzhah of al-Idrīsī.[2] Al-Battānī
even describes al-Jār as the port of Mecca. The alphabetical
system of al-Bakrī, al-Zamakhsharī and Nasr does not allow
for regional treatment.

Finally, it can be said that almost every Arab geographer
of the period under consideration has his own special contri-
bution to make to the geography of the Northern Hijaz.
'Arrām pioneers the regional geography proper. He is also
informative on the fauna and flora of this region, its trade,
agriculture and the ownership of its grazing lands. Wakī'
excels in measuring the distances even between almost contig-
uous localities, and in indicating the milestones and postal
stages on the Iraqi pilgrim routes, and in mentioning the
wells and springs in the Northern Hijaz. He is alone in
locating all the mosques of the Prophet between Medina and
Mecca including their respective distances. He is the first
Arab geographer to record poems in the metre for the purpose
of enumerating, in successive order, the halts on the pilgrim
routes, in the form of 'حُدا huda', to entertain pilgrims
by praising the caravan leader. Al-Asadī makes few, but
important additions to Wakī''s work. Al-Asadī's information
has provided al-Bakrī with most of his successful passages
on this region. Al-Asma'ī, followed by Lughdah, delineates
the tribal boundaries, and Abū 'Ubaidah enumerates, and

1. Al-Bīrūnī, Qānūn, pp. 551, 557.
2. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fols. 34, 88.

comments on, the ancient battlefields of Arabia. By relying on many natives and tribesmen, al-Hajarī revives, at Medina, the old system of the Iraqi scholars. Ibn al-Kalbī records the early Arab conceptions of their peninsula. Ibn Khurradadhbeh is the pioneer of official geography whose main concern was the global aspect. He mentions the distances and quality of water on the pilgrim routes and refers to the local revenue as well as the dependencies of Medina and Mecca. Ibn Rosteh proffers more historical information than Ibn Khurradadhbeh, whereas Qudāmah surpasses the latter in matters relating to revenue and the residences of local postmasters. Al-Ya'qūbī is the first to record the coastal halts between Ailah and al-Jār as well as their original descriptions, agriculture, mines, trade and inhabitants. Al-Jāhiz is the first to allot to Arabia geographical precedence over the rest of the world because of the religious prominence of Mecca and Medina.[1] Ibn al-Faqīh records additional eastern dependencies of Medina. Al-Hamdānī is the most reliable source on the demarcation of the Hijaz, and the inhabitants of its northern region. He records the latitude of all halts on the Iraqi pilgrim route from Kufa. He is also the first to record exclusively geographical poems. Ibn Hauqal and al-Istakhrī resided in the Hijaz and recorded the ways of tribal life there. Al-Mas'ūdī regards Medina as the centre of the region, and gives distances from it. He

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1. Al-Jāhiz, "'Ajā'ib al-Amsār," al-Machriq, vol. 60, p. 171, 1966.

mentions the tribal descendants of the caliph Abū Bakr and
of Talhah. Unlike al-Muqaddasī and al-Bakrī, al-Mas'ūdī is
generally consistent in both his works. Al-Muqaddasī is the
most disciplined among the Arab general geographers, as he
consistently follows the system and phraseology he promises
to adopt. He integrates the Hijaz into the general classi-
fication of all regions of the empire. Indeed the information
he proffers on social life there is unparalleled. As regards
the sectarian aspect of his work, it suffices to record that
he was regarded as a source on theology.[1] No other geo-
grapher has mentioned more routes in the northern parts of
the region than al-Muqaddasī. His careful consideration of
its citadels, its main mosques, its guest-houses and the
public baths is original. Al-Muhallabī proffers valuable
and original information based on new surveys of the dis-
tances, inhabitants and sources of revenue as well as the
climates in which its localities are situated. Al-Bakrī's
Masālik is valuable in that he gives a new description of the
Egyptian pilgrim routes from Ailah to Dubā, and mentions
the ancient monuments of the Northern Hijaz. In the Mu'jam,
al-Bakrī is the first Arab geographer to arrange entries in
alphabetical order. Contrary to some opinions,[2] it is to the
advantage of Arab geography that al-Bakrī tends to record
long geographical statements on many localities under the

1. See al-Asfarāyinī, al-Tabsīr, p. 4.
2. See Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī, vol. 14, p.212.

entry for one locality and then refers to them wherever the
need arises. This is very valuable if one considers the
possibilities of omission, misreading, misquotation and
erroneous location which result from dividing such state-
ments. Al-Zamakhsharī accurately enumerates the valleys,
wells, mountains and hills between Yanbu' and Medina. Nasr's
Jibāl is a most reliable guide in defining the forms of the
place-names. Al-Idrīsī's information on the contemporary
standard of life of the natives, and on the treatment of the
pilgrims at the hands of the ruler of Mecca, is both de-
tailed and original.

II - DESCRIPTION OF LOCALITIES

The Arab geographers vary in their approach to the description of localities. The early authors are mainly concerned with locating the places covered by their literary works. Chief among them is al-Asma'ī whose detailed description of Arabia represented the main source of information for literary circles for a good many centuries. He defines the locality, its watering places, mountains and inhabitants. Abū 'Ubaidah seems to have followed the same pattern. 'Arrām is more interesting in this context since his work deals solely with parts of the Northern Hijaz. He follows al-Asma'ī in beginning with the definition of the locality with its watering and grazing places and the genealogy of its inhabitants, but goes further and discusses trade, agriculture, drinking water, administration and the actual size of the towns and villages he deals with. He even seems surprised, on one occasion, that a certain village has not been accorded the status of a town in spite of its size.[1] His reference to the flora and fauna of this region is also of interest, since no other Arab geographer has tried to record information of this kind about the Northern Hijaz.

Wakī', followed by al-Asadī, shares the concern for the description of many localities in the Hijaz, large and small, with his predecessors, but is unique in paying great

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1. 'Arrām, Jibāl, p. 414.

attention to the mosques of the Prophet. No other geographer can claim equality with him in recording the actual location of the mile-stones and postal-stage. points and in enumerating the wells on the pilgrim routes. His local character is more pronounced than that of any other geographer concerned with mapping these routes. His description of localities is more meticulous than of any other except al-Sakūnī whose range is wider than that of Wakī', since he seems to have covered, among other things, virtually the whole of the Northern Hijaz. Unlike his contemporaries or even immediate predecessors, al-Sakūnī's concern is not limited to the pilgrim routes. Indeed the delineation of the zakāh collectors' routes is, for the most part, traceable to him. His detailed description of the Himās (reserves or state-owned grazing lands) is far more efficient than that of al-Asma'ī who describes it.[1] Al-Hajari's description of localities in his Nawādir is of considerable value, though by no means equal to that of al-Sakūnī. What remains of al-Zubair's geographical work on al-'Aqīq is similar in approach to that of al-Asma'ī. Lughdah follows al-Asma'ī with respect to the description of locality according to the territories and watering places of particular tribes. Besides, he mentions the mines of Arabia and their products. He even refers to the methods used in exploiting these mines, and to their ownership.[2]

1. Dr. Saiih, al-'Alī, "Al-Mullafāt al-'Arabiyyah," Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Iraqi, vol. II, p. 155.
2. Lughdah, op.cit., pp. 380-381, 398.

Ibn Khurradadhbeh, al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah
supply very little information about localities which are not
situated on the pilgrim routes of the Northern Hijaz, except
for the enumeration of the dependencies of Mecca and Medina.
Even as regards localities situated on the routes, al-Ya'qūbī
is alone in describing the towns and villages on the coastal
route from Ailah to Mecca which are only listed by Qudāmah,
and ignored altogether by the other two. Al-Ya'qūbī does not
attempt to provide original information about the Iraqi
pilgrim routes, apparently because he feels satisfied with
that proffered by Ibn Khurradadhbeh. Al-Ya'qūbī's description
covers the watering places, agriculture and mining. On the
region between Mecca and Medina, his sole concern is the gene-
alogy of the inhabitants. Ibn Rosteh adds some historical
information on the halts listed by Ibn Khurradadhbeh. Qudāmah
ekes this out by some administrative details such as the
places of residence of the local postmasters and the size of
towns and villages. By the time of Ibn Rosteh, one of the
villages listed by Ibn Khurradadhbeh had acquired the status
of a town, and by Qudāmah's time a second. None of these
"official" geographers can compete with 'Arrām, Wakī', al-
Asadī, al-Sakūnī or al-Muqaddasī as regards the excellence
of the geographical description of towns and villages in the
Northern Hijaz. Ibn al-Faqīh's information on the localities
in Northern Hijaz apart from Mecca and Medina is limited
and is similar to the available abridgement of al-Jāhiz'

'Ajā'ib al-Amsār. The former attempts to list the dependencies of Medina. It is in his work that some dependencies added to Medina such as al-Dathīnah, Faljah and Ma'dan al-Hasan in the distant south west appear for the first time.

Al-Hamdānī is alone in recording the latitude of virtually every halt on the Iraqi pilgrim route in the Northern Hijaz. Another, no less unique, aspect of his work is the revival of the ancient Arab approach of using poety in defining the localities in their actual geographical order. The Hijaz gets a lion's share of attention in a whole poem which enumerates almost all the major Hijazi localities as known to the poet.[1] Al-Hamdānī tries to distinguish between different homonymous places, an attempt further pursued by al-Bakrī and perfected by Nasr. On the whole, al-Hamdānī's description of localities in the Northern Hijaz is less informative than that of 'Arrām, Wakī', al-Asadī or al-Sakūnī. It is also inferior to his own description of the Yemen, Tihāmah and Najd. That of al-Mas'ūdī is limited to the distances between one locality and another, for which he apparently relies on al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd. He occasionally refers to the genealogy of the inhabitants.

With the advent of the Fatimid geographers, the description of locality takes a new turn. The old method of describing the towns and villages individually within the

1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 218.

framework of the provinces with more or less detail, is
replaced by a commentary on maps provided for every region.
Ibn Hauqal (and al-Istakhri) give original information about
localities in the Northern Hijaz. Indeed, they seem to be
the first general geographers to have travelled widely
throughout the area. Thus the description of the towns and
villages in the Northern Hijaz gradually assumes equal
importance with the actual location which has been left to
the maps - which are subject to alteration from one scribe
to another. There is the mention of the size of every
locality, its inhabitants, trade, agriculture, history and
even antiquities. There is also the recurrent remark that
certain places are only occasionally inhabited. Equally
important is the reference to some "Beduin" tribes descending
from eminent early settlers, and to the tribes which inhabit
different parts of the area. In the last mentioned respect,
al-Hamdānī is superior to Ibn Hauqal.

Al-Muqaddasī's description of localities is by far the
most exhaustive not only among the Fatimid geographers, but
also among the general as well. It is also more varied than
any other description. He seems to have a unique flair for
the definition of towns and villages in the Hijaz, since he
divides the region according to its provincial capitals to
which he subordinates many towns, large and small.[1]   He
speaks of the locality, its citadel, mosque, agriculture and

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., pp. 68-69.

trade. He is also interested in the drinking water, the guest-houses and the public baths. Al-Muqaddasī allots the ports in the Northern Hijaz to corresponding inland capitals. His description is also unique in its inclusion of customs, costume and weights and measures. Indeed, the information he provides gives more space to social than to geographical details at the expense of the actual location which is not always accurate. Al-Muhallabī seems to draw on information found in al-Ya'qūbī's Buldān. Nevertheless he has also something new and valuable to offer such as the degrees of latitude and the climates, the inhabitants and the revenue. He also gives the distances on the Egyptian route to Mecca which is new, and the revised distances on the Iraqi routes.

Al-Bakrī has no first-hand knowledge of the region and the subject matter of his Masālik is almost alien to the description of localities with respect to the Northern Hijaz[1] except that he mentions some specialities and antiquities, and describes two or three towns in the extreme Northern Hijaz,[2] a description which is partly borrowed by the author of Ākām al-Murjān.[3] In his Mu'jam, al-Bakrī is more concerned with the literary heritage of the region. Nevertheless, the geographical value of al-Mu'jam is very considerable indeed because he quotes many sources which are not available elsewhere. Al-Idrīsī's description of locality is often

1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 66.

2. Ibid., fols. 12, 76.

3. See Ākām al-Murjān, p. 406.

derived from early geographers whom he sometimes misquotes.
It is his merit that he proffers new information about many
towns and halts in the Northern Hijaz, especially as regards
the conditions of life of the natives and the treatment to
which pilgrims were subjected. Al-Zamakhsharī's main concern
is to list the place-names, often without even locating them.
He, however, adds a very valuable section in which he des-
cribes the mountains, valleys and watering places on the
route between Yanbu' and Mecca.[1] Nasr's approach is mostly
limited to clearing up the confusion surrounding the forms
of place-names which he locates in their respective regions.
His locations are often correct,and his delimitation of the
place-names is almost always accurate.

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1. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jibāl, pp. 166-169.

III – POETRY AS A MEANS OF LOCALITY DEFINITION

Ulrich Thilo believes that ancient Arabic poetry is richer than any other poetry in place-names because of the conditions of life which compelled the Arabs of the desert to move from one place to another and required that poets should record their previous dwellings in their poetry.[1] Their longing to revisit these places, together with their desire to preserve for posterity the "tribal register" led them to produce elementary "maps" of numerous parts of Arabia which helped to entertain their audience who were well acquainted with these parts. This was the early stage of Arab geography in which poets of the _Jāhiliyyah_ and early Islam realized the importance of accuracy in recording the places in their geographical order, though they felt entitled to distort the names occasionally to meet metrical requirements. This often led to different versions of one and the same name which is a trivial loss compared with the valuable basis provided by the rhyme and metre of poetry when it is a question of the right pronunciation of place-names. In research on the topography of this period one is, however, threatened by the ever-present danger of not only misreading a name, but of making unjustified assumptions about the vicinity of two places whose names occur in juxtaposition.

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1. Ulrich Thilo, _Die Ortsnamen_, p. 9.

This should be carefully examined, because it often happened
that a tribe, driven or migrating from its habitat, longed
for the localities it had left and gave their names to some
of the localities where they had just settled. Similarly,
there are always places named after plants, colours, after
their size, the direction in which they lie or even after
historical events, and this is not confined to a particular
region. In the Northern Hijaz alone there is more than one
place called 'Īs, Suqyā, Ruhbah, Marwah, 'Uwainid, Suwaiqah,
Bustān, Hunain, Haql, Jār, Ma'dan, Marr, Rābigh, Ailah,
Shajarah and Nakhlah, to name but a few. When al-Surair was
mentioned beside al-Jār, for example, al-Bakrī located al-
Surair near the sea[1] which is wrong, as al-Jār in question is
the inland place near Khaibar and not the port of Medina.

It is obvious that the "literary" geographers were those
most interested in this aspect of location, as it was conducive
to a full understanding of the text. It was this motive that
drove them to visit Arabia and linger there to collect more
convincing data which would enable them to compete with their
rivals in Basra, Kufa and even Baghdad. Thus Abū 'Amr b.
al-'Alā' was rightly regarded as a great authority in ex-
pounding poetry up to his own time, because he had travelled
widely throughout Arabia, and was able to locate most places
mentioned by the poets. After 'Abū 'Amr, it became almost

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 737.

obligatory on those of his contemporaries and disciples who
aspired to fame to follow his example. It was this movement
that produced the earliest and most influential literary
work on the geography of Arabia, Jazīrat al-'Arab of al-
Asma'ī, parts of which are reserved in Lughdah's Bilād al-
'Arab. Soon many prominent men of literature in Arabia it-
self realized that they would find it more profitable to take
their knowledge to Iraq instead of waiting for potential
disciples to come to them in search of it. Thus many well-
informed Arabian men and women moved to Iraq where their
residences were frequented by numerous scholars in pursuit
of knowledge.[1] Those men, termed "A'rāb", were a great
source of geographical information for literary circles.
They penetrated as far to the east as Naisābūr,[2] and many a
prominent author studied under them. One of those "A'rāb",
'Arrām, was so filled with local patriotism that he dictated
a book on Tihāmah and the Hijaz, which marked a further stage
in the development of regional geography. In this work
'Arrām quotes only a few verses with a bearing on the defini-
tion of localities. Nevertheless, he was an important source
for commentators on early Arab poetry, especially that of
al-Khansā' whose poems he expounds, describing the localities
whose names occur in them.[3]

1. See Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, p. 114.
2. Al-Safadī, Nakt al-Humyān, p. 97.
3. See al-Khansā', Diwān, pp. 4, 17, 97, 103.

The early Arab poets were very conscientious in their mention and definition of localities. They rarely mentioned one beside another unless there was actual proximity to warrant it, except when they explicitly voiced their despair at the long distance separating them. Even the town-settlers of Iraq of the early 9th century were not happy listening to a poet who listed localities between which there was no obvious connection. Thus Ibn Munādhir was obliged to change Habbūd, a spring in al-Yamāmah, into 'Abbūd, a mountain to correspond with Radawā,[1] which is not, even with this alteration, typical of the early Arab poets whose sense of locality was precise.

Arab general geographers did not study poetry in order to define names of places in Arabia or to locate them. Ibn Khurradadhbeh quoted some verses containing place-names, and Ibn Rosteh, Ibn al-Faqīh and al-Muqaddasī recorded some verses of poetry, but in so doing, their aim was solely to clarify a story. It was the regional geographers who partly relied on poetry as a basis for mapping the localities. Chief among them was al-Hamdānī who recorded many poems relevant to this. Indeed, he quoted three Arab poets from Najd, Tihāmah and the Hijaz, enumerating their respective regions in strictly geographical order.[2] It is almost certain that these poems were composed by one poet. Wakī' records

1. Yāqūt, _Mu'jam_, vol. 4, p. 951.

2. Al-Hamdānī, _Sifah_, pp. 214-219.

many poems in metre for the purpose of mapping the Iraqi
pilgrim routes. Some of these poems go as far back as the
7th century.[1]   Al-Hamdānī also records a long poem by al-
Radā'ī, where the Yemenite pilgrim route was mapped. As to
the other pilgrim routes through the Northern Hijaz, they had
to wait for many centuries before being mapped in poetry.
Al-Hamdānī rejected two poems mapping some of these routes,
because he considered that they fell below the required
standard.[2]   Indeed, al-Hamdānī was very careful in choosing
the "geographical" poetry to utilize in his book. This
caution ensures that one can trust him as to the correct
geographical order of the localities in the Northern Hijaz
in the poems he quotes.

Al-Hajarī's locations of place-names mentioned in
poetry are numerous and correct. Though his poets are
generally more or less his contemporaries, their sense of
location is perfect. Al-Sakūnī also relies on poetry, and,
indeed, records a story in which poetry has been used as a
guide for discovering many localities.[3] Among the Arab
geographers, al-Bakrī makes by far the most use of poetry in
connection with defining localities in the Northern Hijaz.

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1. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 75-90, 103-112.

2. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 234.

3. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 894; vol. 2, p.1; vol. 3,
   pp. 153, 262-263, 274, 563, 738; vol. 4, p. 356; and
   compare with al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 324-327.

Owing to this fact, al-Bakrī's success in his Mu'jam is
marred by many mistakes as regards the location of places.
There is a particular poem about localities in the Northern
Hijaz, which is unlikely to have been composed by an early
Arab poet, since no such poet could have committed the mis-
take of listing a medley of place-names from different
regions in an arbitrary succession.[1] In this poem, the
following localities are listed apparently on the Mecca -
Medina route - from south to north -: al-Safh, al-Na'f,
Ghaul, Yalyal (near Yanbu'), Birām (south of Taif), Kudayy,
Batn Marr, Masdūs, Khulais, Wajj (near Taif), Qudaid, 'Usfān
(south of Qudaid), al-Juhfah, Kudaid (south of al-Juhfah),
al-Rauhā', al-Ruwaithah, al-'Arj, al-Abwā' (the order of the
last four localities is reversed), al-Sayālah and al-Suqyā
(north of al-Abwā' alone among the last five halts). This
poem is absolutely devoid of any sense of location, and
seems to have been an attempt to discredit Ibn al-Ruqayyāt's
eulogy of the Zubairīs. In the prelude, Ibn al-Ruqayyāt
lists the localities between Mecca and Medina - south to
north - as follows: 'Usfān, al-Juhfah, al-Qā', al-Abwā',
Ti'han and al-Suqyā.[2] A list of this kind, perfect in respect
of the geographical order, is representative of that type of
poetry which is so helpful in locating ancient places, and

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1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1225.

2. Ibn al-Ruqayyāt, Diwān, pp. 170-171.

which modern scholars have come to appreciate for its topographical value.[1] Al-Bakrī often quotes a verse connected with another homonymous place. He also tends to locate a place in the homeland of the poet in whose verse it occurs, which is not always safe. Thus he places wādī al-Daum, mentioned by Kuthayyir, at the land of B.Damrah.[2] Kuthayyir was not talking to 'Azzah, his Damrī love, but to Buthainah, an 'Udhrī beauty, on behalf of Jamīl, an 'Udhrī poet. Wādī al-Daum is situated in the 'Udhrah land. In his Masālik, al-Bakrī refrains altogether from reciting poetry for the purpose of defining localities in the Northern Hijaz. Both al-Zamakhsarī and Nasr quote "geographical" poetry to locate a place or to vocalize the form of its name.

In brief, it can be said that poetry was the most reliable source of locality definition in the early stages of the period under consideration. The existence of homonymous places in poetry induced authors to engage on al-Mu'talif and al-Mushtarik, which deal with the enumeration of homonymous places. The Northern Hijaz abounds with localities mentioned by poets, such as Kuthayyir and the Hudhailīs, which became a subject of lengthy studies by prominent authors, such as al-Sukkarī, Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn al-Sikkīt and al-Bakrī. It was natural that the need to locate place-

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1. See Krachkovski, Tārīkh al-Adab, vol. 1, pp. 43, 44.
2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 563.

names occurring in poetry, for the purpose of which many
scholars visited Arabia, should give rise to regional
geography among the Arabs even before general geography.
The Northern Hijaz, in particular, gained immensely from
this development.

IV – RISE AND DECLINE OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES IN THE NORTHERN HIJAZ

During the period under consideration, a number of towns and villages appeared, while some others disappeared. In both cases the primal cause was often the position of the place on one of the routes. The movements of the tribes to and from the Northern Hijaz was another determining factor. A third cause was the political and economic situation in the area in question.

The convenience of the increasingly large pilgrim caravans required that a number of towns and villages corresponding, if possible, to the stages of the journey, should be found along their routes. The decisive factor was, naturally, water; if water was within easy reach, the halt would develop into a small village and, later, into a town provided that the prospects for agriculture and trade were promising there, as happened at Suqyā b. Ghifār, al-Sayālah, al-Rauḥā' and Nakhlah. In some cases, halts on the ancient trade routes in the Northern Hijaz which were followed by pilgrim caravans grew into flourishing towns and villages such as Dhul-Marwah, al-Ruḥbah and Suqyā al-Jazl. The religious requirements of al-Ḥajj necessitated the establishment of villages at the mawāqīt (the starting points of pilgrim rites), since pilgrims had to bathe and change their garments there. Thus al-Juhfah and Dhāt 'Irq changed into permanent settlements able to cope with the needs of

the pilgrims, some of whom indulged in trade.

Nevertheless, the pilgrim routes also exacted their toll. The number of villages on the ancient routes dwindled as they were abandoned in favour of newer, more convenient sites. In order to pass through Medina, the ancient caravans from Syria to Mecca were diverted at Dhul-Marwah from the ancient trade route to Mecca. Consequently, some thriving towns on the deserted part of this route, such as Ras al-'Ain, al-'Īs, Badr and Waddān were reduced to minimum proportions. Badr and Waddān were to thrive in later years in consequence of the re-routing of the pilgrim caravans which by-passed all towns and villages between al-Rauhā' and Qudaid in favour of the coastal route. These localities even lost their agricultural importance, so that most of their inhabitants moved to halts on the new diversion or migrated to other regions. It is noteworthy that two large towns of considerable religious importance on that conventional route fell into oblivion as a result of the abandonment of the part on which they are situated. Those two towns, al-Abwā', where the Prophet's mother was laid to rest, and al-Juhfah, a prominent mīqāt, were so thoroughly forgotten that it was not until very recently that they were correctly located. Such fluctuation in the course of the routes often caused a change of place-names. Thus al-Abwā', Waddān and al-Jār became al-Khuraibah, Mastūrah and al-Rā'is respectively. The diversion of the inland route

from Ailah to Medina caused the dereliction of many towns
and villages between Madyan and Medina such as Shaghb,
Badā, al-Baidā', Suqyā al-Jazl, al-Ruhbah, Dhul-Marwah and
al-Marr, all of which still flourished as late as the early
10th century. After the establishment of the coastal route
at approximately that time, these ancient trading centres
began to lose their importance. Most of them have not yet
been definitely located.

The movement of the Arab tribes to the new Islamic
region caused the decline of some ancient settlements, chief
among which had been the mining centres in the Northern Hijaz.
The newly emerging centres were rich in mineral resources
and therefore attractive to expert miners of the Northern
Hijaz who were fascinated by the wealth of the new mines.
Besides, famines, by no means infrequent in the Northern
Hijaz, drove many inhabitants out of this region.[1] Emigration
was easy after Islam and the Arab tribes became free, and
sometimes were paid, to emigrate to other parts of the
empire, especially to Egypt and North Africa where they were
sometimes politically useful. This occurred as late as the
11th century.[2] There had been numerous local mines in the
Northern Hijaz, but they appear to have been deserted by the
9th century as they were neglected by their ancient owners,
and disregarded by the nomadic newcomers, mainly B. Harb and

1. Al-Zubairī, Ansāb, p. 246; Nāsir-i-Khusrav, op.cit., p. 67.
2. See Ibn Muyassar, Annales d'Egypt, p. 6; Yāqūt, Mu'jam,
   vol. 1, p. 328; Ibn al-Abbar, I'tāb, pp. 199-200.

the Beduin descendants of the Companions. Thus while the
Arab miners were busy exploiting the mines of North Africa,[1]
the mines of the Northern Hijaz fell into the hands of in-
experienced immigrants. The rich mines of the Northern
Hijaz and the surrounding settlements were so far forgotten
that succeeding generations believed them to be derelict
from times immemorial.

Among the political and economic causes of these
vicissitudes in the life of towns and villages in the
Northern Hijaz was the rise of the new wealthy class in
Medina in the 7th and 8th centuries, which consisted of
descendants of the Prophet's prominent Companions. Their
wealth was so enormous that many a valley was irrigated and
settled by them and their families. The valley of Yanbu'
was developed by 'Alī and his descendants; al-'Īṣ by the
descendants of Ibn 'Auf; al-Fur' by the descendants of al-
Zubair; al-Juhfah by those of Ja'far; al-Suwāriqiyyah by
those of Abū Bakr and Ṭalhah; and Waddān by those of Ibn
Muṭī'. Many prominent Companions possessed shares in Khaibar
and Wādī al-Qurā. Some descendants of Abū Bakr, 'Alī,
Ja'far and Ṭalhah, and some Anṣar became nomads and were
officially encouraged to remain so by the Abbasids.[2] Those
of 'Alī and Ja'far became prominent with settlements of their
own, famous examples of which are Waddān, al-Abwā', Yanbu'

1. See al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, pp. 334-335, and Ibn Hauqal,
   op.cit., p. 53.

2. Al-Tanūkhī, al-Faraj, p. 70.

and Suwaiqah, which was twice destroyed in the course of little more than a century by al-Mansūr and by al-Mutawakkil.[1] Al-Mansūr himself decreed that Medina should be deprived of the use of its natural port, al-Jār,[2] in an attempt to nip potential rebellions in the bud. Al-Wāthiq had a number of settlements in the Northern Hijaz destroyed in the aftermath of another serious rebellion. Bughā, the leader of this expedition, slew or captured many Arabs which accounts for the subsequent desertion of these settlements.[3]

One remarkable aspect of the procedure of establishing new settlements in the Northern Hijaz is that a number of places thought to be new and virgin sites were, in fact, ancient thriving settlements. Clear examples are the valley of Yanbu', Shaghb, Badā, al-Suqyā (of B. Ghifār) and al-Juhfah which are said to have been cultivated, populated and provided with springs by 'Alī, al-Zuhrī, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan and Ibn 'Āmir respectively. What the latter did, apparently, was merely to restore the previous prosperity of these settlements. It is probable that stories of their ancient wealth were still vivid in the memory of their inhabitants after they had long ceased to flourish. Besides, the advice of the engineers was sought with respect to irrigation, especially along the pilgrim routes.[4]

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 874; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 199.

2. Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vol. 3, p. 257.

3. See Abū 'Ubaidah, al-Nakā'id, vol. 2, p. 557.

4. See Wakī', Manāzil, fol. 13.

V – THE DEPENDENCIES OF MEDINA AND MECCA

To denote the dependencies of Medina, Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh, Qudāmah and al-Bakrī use the word عرض 'ird. To denote those of Mecca, they apply the term مخلاف mikhlāf. 'Ird and Mikhlāf convey the same meaning, i.e. "dependency" or "district", but the distinction made by the Arab geographers is dialectal, since 'ird is used in connection with the Northern Hijaz, whereas mikhlāf is applied to Mecca and the Yemen apparently because of closer proximity of the Yemen to Mecca. Al-Hamdānī uses a third term, حوز hauz, to denote the dependencies of Mecca, but applies none of the three to those of Medina. Nor indeed does he attempt to give any details of these dependencies. He speaks of the lands of Yathrib (Medina) and its properties[1] without considering the usual list of its dependencies. Both Ibn Khurradadhbeh and al-Ya'qūbī list the dependencies of Mecca in detail, but later describe some of them as dependencies of the Yemen.[2] Referring to the dependencies of the Yemen, al-Ya'qūbī uses the term mikhlāf, but عمل 'amal for those of Mecca. Contrary to Ibn al-Faqīh who speaks of the 'amals of Medina, but not those of Mecca, al-Ya'qūbī does not mention the dependencies of Medina. Al-Muqaddasī's terminology differs

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1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, pp. 120, 124.

2. See al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, pp. 120, 124; Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., pp. 133, 139.

from that of all his predecessors. He regards the Hijaz
as one of the four provinces كورة (kūrah) of Arabia, but when
he attempts to divide the Hijaz into regions ناحية (nāhiyah)
he mentions Qurh only. Later he adds Yathrib (Medina) which
he describes as a region, though he describes both Qurh and
Yathrib, in another passage, as mere towns of Mecca.[1] He
regards the dependencies of Mecca, Medina and Qurh as towns
which he classifies as large and small. Al-Idrīsī, on the
other hand, uses one term, mikhlāf, to denote the dependencies
of both Mecca and Medina.[2] Nasr refers to some dependencies
of Medina as 'Irds and to those of Mecca as mikhlāfs.[3]

What the Arab geographers, apart from al-Muqaddasī, seem
to have in mind when they speak of dependencies, are the
regions which used to have minbars or governors of their own.
If their appointment was made by the governor of Medina, then
they were considered part of the Medina administration; if
their governors were appointed by the amīr of Mecca, then
they were regarded as dependencies of Mecca. This is not
always clear, not only because these dependencies were some-
times brought in connection with Mecca and sometimes with
Medina, but also because Mecca and Medina often had the same
governor. Similarly, some of the Medina dependencies had
governors who were subordinated to the Egyptian administration

1. See al-Muqaddasī, op.cit.,pp. 53, 71, 80.

2. Al-Idrīsī, op.cit., fol. 37.

3. Nasr, op.cit., fols. 30, 45.

such as Madyan, 'Ainūnah and al-Haurā' in the 9th and 10th
centuries.[1] Obviously, this was a definition handed down from
the early days of Islam when Mecca was ruled by a governor of
its own, while Medina was directly subject to the head of the
state himself.

It is noteworthy that al-Ya'qubī is the only "official"
geographer to mention any locality north of Mecca when listing
its dependencies such as al-Juhfah and 'Usfān. Ibn
Khurradadhbeh[2] and Qudāmah[3] list Sāyah and Ruhāt among the
dependencies of Medina, though they lie nearer to Mecca than
al-Juhfah.[4] Ibn Rosteh also mentions Sāyah as a dependency
of Medina.[5] 'Arrām, followed by al-Bakrī,[6] even includes
'Usfān among the minbars (dependencies) of Medina. Al-
Hamdānī, however, regards the localities north of Mecca as
far as al-Juhfah as dependencies of Mecca. It should be
noted that, at one time or another, these dependencies were
assigned to one or the other of the two cities. Thus it
would be unjust to accuse those authors of error, even
though it can hardly be assumed that this happened in the
life-time of all of them. It is clear that most of them

1. See Al-Kindī, Akhbār al-Wulāh, pp. 143, 269,
   412;   and Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p. 53.

2. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 129.

3. Qudāmah, op.cit., p. 248.

4. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 177.

5. 'Arrām, op.cit., p. 414.

6. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1201.

used earlier sources, or may have been misled by the mention
of the governor of Mecca or Medina in connection with the
administration of these dependencies, especially as both
offices were often conferred on one person. The mention of
many of these dependencies is traceable to al-Ahwal who no
doubt relies on Ibn al-Kalbī. It is unlikely that he men-
tioned all the dependencies of Medina which are mentioned
by his successors, since al-Bakrī's quotation from al-Ahwal
speaks of examples only.[1] As to those of Mecca, he describes
them in detail,[2] though his list is not exhaustive so that his
successors add a few more localities. It is most likely
that they also utilize official archives for their infor-
mation on dependencies unknown to ordinary scholars, such as
Qurā 'Arabiyyah, which may have been the responsibility of
the revenue departments. Had Ibn al-Kalbī included the name
of this dependency in his list, al-Bakrī would have known
that it did not denote "all villages in the Arab lands".[3]

Al-Bakrī states that al-Fur', a dependency of Medina,
had twelve ninbars or dependencies of its own.[4] This can only
mean that, at one time, the governor of al-Fur' was so in-
fluential and powerful as to gather in his hands the admini-
stration of a large area stretching from 'Usfān in the south

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1201.

2. Ibid., p. 309.

3. Ibid., p. 15.

4. Ibid., p. 1121.

to al-Sayālah in the north. This must have occurred - if it ever did - in the 10th and 11th centuries, when the Northern Hijaz suffered desperately from the despotism of tribal chiefs. The dependencies of Najd are listed in al-Bakrī's Mu'jam.[1] Since these dependencies are those of Mecca, and listed by him as such in another passage,[2] it is obvious that he errs here. They should be listed as "the dependencies of Mecca in Najd", a definition by which they were known at that time. He seems to have relied on al-Hamdānī whose concept of Najd is, however, different from that of al-Bakrī.[3]

As to the eastern Medinese dependencies, they used to stretch as far as al-Ṭiff in Iraq until the reign of al-Mutawakkil.[4] By the time of Wakī', no Najdī locality was regarded as a dependency of Medina. There is no doubt that his list of the Medinese dependencies is accurate, since he relies on a native scholar, Ibn al-Ṣabbāh. In this list, the descriptions of some of these dependencies, termed minbars, contain details of their administration, agriculture, springs and even the genealogy of their inhabitants. 'Usfān is mentioned as having been a dependency of Medina before it became a Meccan minbar.[5] Wakī' is more accurate than his

1. Ibid., p. 9.

2. Ibid., p. 309.

3. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifah, pp. 117, 119.

4. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 540.

5. Wakī', Manāzil, fols. 39-40.

contemporary, al-Fākihī, who seems to rely on ancient sources when he describes the Janābidh of Ibn Ṣaifī, half-way between Mecca and 'Usfān as the northernmost Meccan territory.[1] Wakī''s list is superior to those of the officials, because it contains none of the classical names which, though mentioned by Ibn Khurradadhbeh and his successors, had ceased to correspond to the actually known dependencies such as those listed by Wakī'.

1. Al-Fakīhī, Tārīkh, p. 50.

VI - QUOTATIONS, MISREADINGS, BORROWINGS AND DISPUTED WORKS

One cannot expect the Arab geographers of the period under consideration, or indeed any authors of that period outside the circle of the Muhaddithūn, to conform to present-day standards of research. Their way of imparting information does not always disclose whether it is their own or has been borrowed from other authors. Thus unless the source is explicitly mentioned, or the said piece of information traceable to an available work, its origin and sometimes its real significance are impossible to ascertain. Ibn Khurradadhbeh utilized official archives and the reports of the caliph's envoys. He was also conversant with the hadīth. Nevertheless, he seldom names his sources. Al-Ya'qūbī no doubt used the libraries of the Tulūnīds of Egypt and the Tāhirīds of Naisābūr, with both of whom he maintained friendly relations. It is probable that he read 'Arrām's book which was available in the Tāhirīd library, since his information about the tribes inhabiting the stretch of territory between Medina and Mecca is similar to that of 'Arrām. Al-Mas'ūdī relied on al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd with respect to localities in the Northern Hijaz, whereas Ibn al-Faqīh seems to have depended on al-Jāhiz.

Except when it is a question of personal experience, Wakī' is both consistent and conscientious in naming the sources of almost any statement in his Manāzil. It is to his

credit that he has preserved the names of a number of yet
untraced sources, such as Nādir on the mosques of the
Prophet; Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ on the dependencies of Medina;
Abū Isḥāq al-Bakrī on the Najdī route between Medina and
Mecca; and al-Ḥasanī on the Khaibar region.

Al-Hamdānī is superior to all other geographers
except Wakī' in that he often names his sources. He does
not limit himself to contemporary transmitters such as
al-Khuzaʿī, al-Jarmī, al-ʿĀdī and his own father, but
also consults two Iraqi and six Yemenite astronomers, com-
paring their estimates with those of Ptolemy. He also
quotes Hermes, Dioscorides and such Indian and Chinese
works as were known to his contemporaries. Al-Hamdānī is
unique in vocalizing the names of localities quoted from
Roman sources in as faithful a transliteration as the
difference between Latin and Arabic script allows, and
gives their equivalent in Arabic if he knows them. His
version of Ptolemy's name is surprisingly accurate. Very
interesting is his attempt to explain the Greek reference
to spices which abound in "Najd and the Hijaz and its
Tihāmahs". Al-Hamdānī translates "spices" as   الأفاويه
afāwīh (spices or aromatic plants), but explains their
nature by reference to "scented plants of the desert such
as uqhuwān, khuzāmā and the like". This is a strong indi-
cation that, by the time of al-Hamdānī, the ancient Yemenite
trade in spices had fallen into oblivion. Al-Hamdānī also

translates "Arabia Felix" by "fertile land of the Beduin:
Najd and the Hijaz".[1] Al-Bakrī's translation is more
accurate, since he renders the epithet as al-'Arabiyyah
al-Sa'īdah, applying it, however, to Arabia as a whole.[2]

Ibn Hauqal claims to have read the geographical works
of al-Jaihānī, Ibn Khurradadhbeh, al-Jāhiz, Qudāmah and al-
Kalbī. Though he does not hesitate to admit that the work
of al-Jāhiz is "valuable" and that of Qudāmah "impeccable",
he states in no equivocal way that he never borrows from
them under any circumstances, as he disdains the prestige to
be gained by appropriating other people's work. Apart from
some references to matters of common knowledge in his book,
and the mention of the "sweet smells" of Medina, and Ibn
Jud'ān's guest-house at Mecca, which are traceable to al-
Jāhiz, and the demarcation of the Hijaz which goes back to
Ibn al-Kalbī, there is little reason to question the sin-
cerity of Ibn Hauqal's bold statement as far as the Northern
Hijaz is concerned. As to his liberal adoption of al-
Istakhri's work which he neither tries to conceal nor
apologises for, he may have considered himself entitled to
it since he regards it, for the most part, as his own, with
al-Istakhrī's contribution amounting to no more than four
maps, two of which are hopelessly wrong.[3] But his claim to

1. Al-Hamdānī, Sifah, p. 37.

2. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 23.

3. Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., pp. 330-331.

the sole authorship of al-Istakhrī's commentary cannot be fully accepted as far as the Northern Hijaz is concerned, because of the presence of unmistakeable signs of al-Istakhrī's hand such as the reference to the Hasanī and the Ja'farī tribes who had been subordinated to B. Harb before Ibn Hauqal started on his travels. Besides, Ibn Hauqal himself quotes al-Istakhrī on Radwā, al-Hijr and Madyan. Nevertheless, Ibn Hauqal is definitely the main contributor of information about Arabia. As to Abū Zaid to whom Yāqūt attributes most of the information contained in the work of Ibn Hauqal (and al-Istakhrī), he is unlikely to have been a co-author of this work. Indeed, not even the copy utilized by Yāqūt was that of al-Istakhrī, but that of Ibn Hauqal, since the quotation contains the same slight variations which appear in Ibn Hauqal's copy, such as unmistakable stylistic and linguistic differences.

Al-Muqaddasī also consults the geographical works of his predecessors, including Ibn Hauqal's, though he attributes the latter to al-Istakhrī and two other authors, Ibn al-Marzubān of Karkh and Abū Zaid. This is probably a deliberate attempt to deny the actual authorship of Ibn Hauqal, which is in line with the political position of Ibn Hauqal, if one considers that al-Muqaddasī wrote his book in Egypt, in 375 A.H. (985), immediately after Ibn Hauqal's denunciation of its rulers, the Fatimids. It is probable that it was this allegation of al-Muqaddasī that prompted Ibn Hauqal to explain the nature

of his relationship with al-Istakhri. As to Ibn al-Marzubān, Ibn Hauqal is full of praise for him and his family, which suggests that a copy of Ibn Hauqal's work was presented to this influential secretary by Ibn Hauqal himself, a presentation which may have led to al-Muqaddasi's false accusation. The alleged authorship of Abū Zaid is mentioned for the first time by al-Muqaddasi and seems to be the basis for Yāqūt's acceptance of Abū Zaid's authority on the Northern Hijaz. The extent of al-Muqaddasi's influence on Yāqūt can be realized from the fact that he pretends to have read the work of al-Jaihāni,[1] when in fact his only quotation of al-Jaihāni is to be found in al-Muqaddasi's work.[2] It is noteworthy that Yāqūt does not mention Ibn Hauqal when he refers to the authorship of the work in question as being disputed between Abū Zaid and al-Istakhri,[3] a statement which is in line with al-Muqaddasi's claim. Its trustworthiness, however, can be judged by the fact that Yāqūt himself attributes the same work to Ibn Hauqal on numerous occasions.

Al-Muqaddasi's information about the Northern Hijaz is derived from personal observation and theological literature, though his description of Jiddah bears some similarity to that given by Ibn Hauqal. He also depends on the author of the history of Medina. Al-Muqaddasi criticises an alleged state-

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 3, p. 394.
2. Al-Muqaddasi, op.cit., p. 269.
3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 122.

ment of Ibn Khurradadhbeh in which the latter assesses the
kharāj (land tax) of the Yemen at 600,000 dīnārs, though the
term kharāj does not apply to Arabia whose tax is defined as
irtifā' (revenue).[1] To do justice to Ibn Khurradadhbeh, he
does not use term kharāj, merely states that the archives of
the "Kharāj Department" in Baghdad show that the "revenue" of
the Yemen once reached the peak of 600,000 dīnārs,[2] which means
that both kinds of tax, "land tax" as well as "revenue", were
collected under the supervision of the Kharāj Department.
Al-Muqaddasī's estimate of the distance between Jiddah and the
town of al-Qulzum by sea at 300 parasangs is untraceable to
other sources. Similarly, his claim that it takes between
twenty-five and sixty days to cross this distance is made in
defiance of Ibn Rosteh's assessment of twenty-four hours.
Though both assumptions are incorrect, the former is far more
so.

Al-Muhallabī's information about the region preserved by
Yāqūt and Abū al-Fidā' is not exhaustive, apparently because
Yāqūt gives, with respect to the Northern Hijaz, preference
to Abū Zaid's (Ibn Hauqal's) work who has first-hand knowledge
of it. Abū al-Fidā' also prefers Ibn Hauqal's information to
that found in other geographies. To judge by the information
he himself proffers, al-Muhallabī seems to have relied, among
others, on al-Ya'qūbī and Ibn Rosteh. Al-Muhallabī's

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, op.cit., p. 105.

2. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, op.cit., p. 144.

original information, though scant, is of the greatest
value, since it indicates the existence of new sources for
writing about the Northern Hijaz. He gives the distances
there in miles, and brings the data on the tribes in that
area up to date. He also seems to be interested in revenue.
Not only does he point out the climate in which a locality is
situated, but also its latitude, a distinct improvement on
previous authors on the Northern Hijaz. This is likely to
be the result of a new survey.

Al-Bakrī's sources on the Northern Hijaz differ from
work to work. Whereas he quotes Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn
Qutaibah, Ibn Rosteh, al-Mas'ūdī and, most important, al-
'Udhrī in al-Masālik, he relies on al-Asma'ī, Abū 'Ubaidah,
Ibn al-Kalbī, 'Arrām, al-Sukkarī, and, also most important,
al-Sakūnī. There is no doubt that he also utilizes al-Asadī's
work, especially on the pilgrim routes and the mosques of the
Prophet in the Northern Hijaz. As to al-Hajari's Nawādir,
it is likely that its complete text was unknown to al-Bakrī,
not only because al-Hajarī is so rarely mentioned in al-Mu'jam,
but also because there are few similarities between al-
Hajarī's and al-Bakrī's geographical statements. It is most
probable that al-Bakrī quotes al-Hajarī through Qāsim b. Thābit
or the latter's father, as both were disciples of al-Hajarī,
and often quoted by al-Bakrī. Nasr relies on many authors,
mostly of a literary nature. His chief sources on the
Northern Hijaz are al-Sukkarī, 'Arrām and al-Bakrī, though

he never mentions the names of the last two. He quotes al-
'Udhrī, but through Ibn Ḥazm.[1] Al-Zamakhsharī quotes 'Ulayy
as the authority for the most original passages of his jibāl.
Al-Idrīsī's description of the Northern Hijaz is mainly de-
rived from Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh, Ibn Ḥauqal and al-
Bakrī. Nevertheless, there are several occasions on which
he proffers new information whose source is untraceable.

As regards numerous misquotations and misreadings it is
obvious that they are, to a great extent, attributable not
so much to the authors themselves as to the scribes who were
by no means always well-informed on the Norther Hijaz. When
a mistake is committed in a highly respected work, either by
the author or by a scribe, the chances are that it will sur-
vive unnoticed. A clear example of this is the alleged
existence of كتب كثيرة kuthubun kathīrah (several mounds)
on the trunk of the famous tree at the mosque of the Prophet
near al-Ruwaithah which figures in al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ. It
is of course a question of كتب كثيرة kutubun kathīrah
(several inscriptions) though all transmitters and commenta-
tors of al-Bukhārī as well as authors quoting from him – not
excepting al-Bakrī – appear to be convinced that it is a matter
of mounds.[2] Another example is the erroneous assumption of
both al-Asma'ī and Abū 'Ubaidah that the proper name of the

1. Naṣr, Jibāl, fol. 130.

2. See al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, vol. 1, p. 134; Al-Qastallānī,
   Irshād al-Sārī, vol. 1, p. 533; Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 686;
   Ibn Ḥajar, Fath al-Bārī, vol. 1, p. 451.

halt between al-Ghamrah and Mecca is not the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir, but the Bustān of Ibn Ma'mar. Al-Bakrī does not seem to be aware of the contradictions between certain statements in his Mu'jam with regard to several localities in the Northern Hijaz such as Kulayyah, Radwā, 'Azwar, al-Safrā', al-Juhfah, al-Mushallal and Qudaid. On some occasions, he admits his inability to choose between conflicting statements, e.g. commenting on al-Qāhah and al-Suqyā.[1] He is, nevertheless, the first geographer to subject many statements to a thorough vetting. The defects, and they are many, in his own pronouncements, are the consequence of the large size of his Mu'jam and the magnitude of his task, for he attempts to locate a vast number of places. As is evident from the differences between the MSS, his Mu'jam teems with scribal mistakes.

Al-Bakrī's quotations are not always exactly as they appear in their original sources, e.g., some of his quotations from al-Bukhārī, 'Arrām and al-Sakūnī.[2] Though it is al-Bakrī's prime objective in compiling his Mu'jam to forestall the misreading of place-names, it happens that he himself commits mistakes of this kind. The most striking example is his confusing Jumrān in Najd, with Jumdān in the Hijaz,[3] although the

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1. See al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1266.

2. See al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 356, 686, 811; and compare with al-Bukhārī, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 134; and 'Arrām, op.cit., pp. 399, 410.

3. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 391.

very misreading of Jumdan itself by Yazid b. Harun is an example of mistakes he himself indicts in the very first pages of his Mu'jam.[1] He corrects Dharah to Dharwah, but misreads al-Shana'ik as al-Sanabik, al-Nijar and al-Nujair as al-Thijar and al-Thujair, and Ghuran as Ghurab, to mention only a few alterations in statements he attributes to 'Arram. A very shocking misquotation of 'Arram is al-Bakri's location of Mt. Wariqan as the first mountain encountered by travellers from "Mecca to Medina". Al-Bakri's rearrangement of directions in this statement indicates his awareness of the alteration he has made, but this rearrangement increases the disorder. In this corrupted form, the statement has found its way into Nasr's Jibal. The same is true of Dharwah,[2] but not al-Nijar and al-Nujair[3] which means that Nasr consulted the works of both 'Arram and al-Bakri. Nasr also misreads Marjih as Mudajjaj,[4] though on the whole, his misreadings are rare indeed. Al-Zamakhshari seems to alter Sayah into Sayy'ah, and fails to distinguish between the two Nakhlahs.[5] Al-Hamdani alters Hasin into Hunain.[6] His confusing demarcation of Wadi al-Qura and its surroundings is[7] most likely to be caused by a scribal omission.

1. Ibid., p. 3.
2. Nasr, op.cit., fols. 150, 71.
3. Ibid., fol. 144.
4. Ibid., fol. 137. Nasr records the erroneous assumption that the Prophet obviated this valley when he emigrated from Mecca.
5. Al-Zamakshari, Jibal, pp. 83, 154, 13.
6. Supra, p. 250.
7. Al-Hamdani, Sifah, p. 131.

Al-Idrīsī's text abounds in misreadings of place-names
in the Northern Hijaz some of which are scribal mistakes.
Nevertheless, numerous mistakes suggest the direct responsi-
bility of al-Idrīsī himself. Most important among them is
his failure to distinguish al-Rauhā', the inland town on the
route from Medina to al-Jār, from al-Haurā', the port between
al-Wajh and al-Jār which prompted him to assume that al-
Safrā' and al-'Udhaibah, which lie between al-Rauhā' and al-
Jār, must also be ports, which is of course erroneous. It
is perhaps this reading of al-Rauhā' as al-Haurā' that
accounts for the mention, for the first time, of an alleged
port called العطوف al-'Utūf to the north of al-Haurā'.
There is a halt called al-Munsaraf المنصرف in the proxi-
mity of al-Rauhā' which he might have misread as al-'Utūf.
There is also his misinterpretation of the sentence: ثم اجاز
القاحة thumma ajāza al-Qāhah (thence he crossed al-Qāhah)
from which he conclu_es that there are two halts: Adhān and
al-Qāhah or al-'Azjah. Similarly, he splits the name ثنية المرة
Thaniyyah al-Marah into two place-names: Thaniyyah and al-
Marah, thus erroneously assuming the existence of two places.
In the other MS. al-Idrīsī seems to have corrected the
erroneous location of Waddān east of the lands of the
Hasanīs by Ibn Hauqal.[2] Al-Idrīsī, however, deliberately
alters Ibn Hauqal's sentence about Radwā ورأيته من ينبع كخضرة البقل

1. Supra, p. 424.

2. Supra, p. 354.

(I saw it from Yanbu' looking like a green meadow) into:

ورأسه من ينابيع الماء كخضرة البقـل (the fords have rendered its summit
like a green meadow).[1] He also tries to reconcile two
contradictory statements about whetstone. Ibn Hauqal says
that it is carried from Radwā, whereas al-Bakrī believes
that it is found near Khaibar. In a compromise solution,
al-Idrīsī locates Khaibar near Radwā, and finds hence no
difficulty in assuming that whetstone is carried from both.
It is perhaps this, or some inaccurate maps, that prompted
a later geographer to locate Yanbu', the port on the route
between Khaibar and Medina.[2] Other misreadings of al-Idrīsī
have already been listed.[3]

'Arrām's erroneous locations are not only surprisingly
numerous, but also unchallenged by other authors. He locates
'Azwar close to Radwā, Kulayyah south of al-Juhfah, Turabah
west of Mt. al-Sarāh, Mt. Qua'iqi'ān as a village   twelve
miles from Mecca, the two Mts. Thāfil at two days distance
from Radwā in one passage and seven days distance in another,
and al-Safrā' east of Radwā. Since 'Arrām is a native of the
Northern Hijaz, these mistaken locations are likely to be the
result of erroneous pagination of the original MS., as has
already been discussed.

In his Masālik, al-Bakrī lists the mosques of the
Prophet between Mecca and Medina, but in an extremely corrupted

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1. Supra, p. 375.

2. Supra, p. 132.

3. Supra, p. 423.

form such as المقوس al-Muqawwas (al-Mu'rras), and

عرق الطيب 'Irq al-Ṭīb('Irq al-Ẓabyah), المخضوب
al-Makhdūb (al-Munsaraf), الانابة al-Inābah (al-Ithāyah)

الشكل al-Mushkil (al-Mushallal), عين أبي ربيع 'Ain Abū
Rabī'('Ain Ibn Bazī') and ثلثة كعب Thulthat Ka'b (Thaniyyat
Kuft).[1]   Many other localities in the Northern Hijaz are
treated in the same manner in al-Masālik. While it is
possible to blame a scribe for most of these corruptions,
there is no doubt that al-Bakrī follows al-Muqaddasī in
altering سقيا الجزل Suqyā al-Jazl into سقيا يزيد Suqyā Yazid.
Al-Samhūdī attributes to al-Suhailī the location of a mosque
of the Prophet bi-Ba'lā بألى (at Ba'lā).[2] What al-
Suhailī says in reality is merely that such a mosque is
situated bi-Alā' (at Alā').[3] The latter form figures in al-
Bakrī's Mu'jam,[4] and is no doubt the accurate name.

Not all mistakes and erroneous assumptions recur in the
work of compilers. Such was the fate of Lughdah's mention of
a silver mine in Mt. Shaibān, near Wādī al-Qurā, which does
not seem to have been accurate. Ibn Rosteh states that rice
is reaped three or even four times a year in the Yemen.[5] Apart
from the impossibility of three annual harvests of rice, it
was not until five centuries later that rice was introduced

1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fols. 74-75.

2. Al-Samhūdī, Wafā', p. 1029.

3. Al-Suhailī, Rauḍ, vol. 2, p. 322.

4. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 1223.

5. Ibn Rosteh, op.cit., p. 109.

to the Yemen and only as an experiment.[1]   Dr Serjeant
believes that the word ارز aruzz = rice here is a mis-
reading of ذرة dhurah = maize,[2] which is very likely.
This statement of Ibn Rosteh is not repeated by the compilers;
nor is that of al-Idrīsī on the existence of the alleged port
of al-'Utūf north of al-Ḥaurā'. Neither is al-Bakrī's
erroneous assumption that al-Suwaidā' is the border of the
Hijaz repeated by any of his successors.[3]

An error or misquotation leads sometimes to far wilder
errors not only by successive aut ors, but even by the author
who gives rise to the misquotation. Al-Bakrī's misquotation
of 'Arrām's statement on Mt. Wariqān and the consequent re-
arrangement of localities following it is an example. Another
is al-Idrīsī's compromise solution in locating Khaibar near
Raḍwā, and his failure to distinguish between al-Ḥaurā' and
al-Rauhā', which have already been mentioned. An even more
erroneous assumption springs from Ibn Faḍālah's reference to
حد الحجاز الاول (the first frontier of the Hijaz) which has been
interpreted, possibly by 'Iyāḍ, as being "the frontier of
the first Hijaz". The author of Akām al-Murjān describes
the "first Hijaz" as comprising "al-Qairawān, Egypt and Ailah",
which is a misinterpretation of اسفل الارض asfal al-Arḍ

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1. Al-Ghassānī, Bughyah, fol. 32.

2. Private communication.

3. Supra, p. 19.

(the lower Province of Egypt) changed by al-Idrīsī to

asfal ard al-Hijāz (the lower territories of the Hijaz).

It is certain that this conception cannot be earlier than

the 12th century, which means that the author of Ākān al-

Murjān must have lived no earlier.[1]

Some place names are misread as a result of philological

errors. Thus the definition of Shaghb, Ri'm and Ṭās (Ḍās) as

Shaghbā, Ri'mā and Ṭāsā respectively is due to an alteration

of Shaghban, Ri'man and Ṭāsan, which is the accurate reading

if accompanied by فتحة تنوين fathah nunation.

In many cases an author, after releasing the first

version of his work, became aware of some errors he had

committed or reiterated. It is natural that he should have

corrected these errors in the later versions. This is a

great help in the study of the provenance and history of the

manuscripts of these works. Thus the manuscript of al-

Idrīsī's Nuzhah, in which he corrects Ibn Hauqal's erroneous

location of the Hasanī lands, is a later version. Similarly,

al-Bakrī's distinction between al-Naqī' and al-Baqī' cannot

have occurred in his earliest versions, on one of which 'Iyād

has relied, but in the later which al-Suhailī has utilized.[2]

Some authors borrow an entire statement which betrays

their reliance on certain sources, such as al-Bakrī's refer-

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1. Supra, p. 25   and see Krachkovskī, Tārīkh al-Adab,
   vol. 1, p. 229.

2. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 809; 'Iyād, Mashāriq,
   vol. 1, p. 99; and al-Suhailī, Raud, vol. I, p. 270.

ence to an ancient place at Medina being "identical with the
palace of B. Hudailah today", the mention of the descendants
of Sabrah b. Ma'bad as inhabiting Dhul Marwah" until the
present day"; several references to the year A.H. 332 (943-4),
altered once to A.H. 432, as "our present day".[1] These are
verbatim quotations from Ibn Ishāq of the 8th century, Ibn
Sa'd of the 9th century and al-Mas'ūdī of the 10th century
respectively. Al-Bakrī's comparison of the size of the
Thamūdite dwellings with "our own houses" is also traceable in
al-Mas'ūdī's murūj. The geographical references to the
Northern Hijaz provided by 'Iyād and al-Suhailī are mostly
traceable in al-Bakrī's Mu'jam, though the MSS. on which they
rely are definitely not identical.

There are many authors whose information has been
borrowed, in its entirety, by other writers who can be
classified merely as transmitters. Such connections are, on
some occasions, easy to verify, as, for instance, in the case
of al-Kindī who, though quoted on the Northern Hijaz by both
al-Bakrī and Yāqūt, is no more than a transmitter of 'Arrām.
It is also easy to establish that al-Ahwal is a transmitter
of Ibn al-Kalbī, since the quotations attributed by al-Bakrī
to al-Ahwal are, when mentioned by Yāqūt, attributed to Ibn
al-Kalbī. In other cases, the connection is not so easily
determined. It has already been mentioned that the infor-
mation on the Northern Hijaz which Yāqūt attributes to Abū

1. Al-Bakrī, Masālik, fol. 39.

Zaid is, in fact, taken from Ibn Ḥauqal's own draft. However, he attributes the quotation on al-Ḥijr, not to Abū Zaid, but to al-Iṣṭakhrī.[1] Several quotations are given without a source being named. It is most likely that Ibn Ḥauqal is the main author of that work. What is difficult is to ascertain how much was contributed to it by al-Iṣṭakhrī, since Ibn Ḥauqal had ascribed his own findings to al-Iṣṭakhrī before deciding to adopt the whole work.[2] The available MS. of Nasr's Jibāl is clearly the abridgement made by Abū Mūsā al-Iṣfahānī, because only the information that Yāqūt attributes to Nasr is to be found in this MS. Yāqūt states unequivocally that it is through this abridgement that his knowledge of Nasr's Jibāl has come to him.[3] There is a possibility that Nasr is not, in fact, responsible for this work at all, and that it was ascribed to him in order to throw doubt on al-Ḥāzimī's Ankinah which, apart from some alterations, might well have been the origin of this abridgement. Yāqūt accepts this claim with the same sincerity with which he accepts the authorship of Abū Zaid in reliance on al-Muqaddasī.

It may not be amiss to draw attention to the recent controversy over the identity of the author of Manāzil Ṭarīq Makkah (the halts on the route to mecca). Since the intro-

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 2, p. 208.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal, op.cit., p. 330.

3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 8.

duction as well as some folios are missing so that the name
of the author does not appear in the MS., different scholars
have tried to ascribe it to different authors. It was
thought to have been a copy of <u>Akhbār Makkah</u> of al-Azraqī,
but Dr H. Mahfūz, who familiarized the Arab scholars with
this MS., attributes it to Ibn al-Kūfī al-Asadī 254-348 A.H.
(868-959). Dr. Mahfūz seems to have relied on Shaikh Aghā
Buzurg who recalled having read such a work by Ibn al-Kūfī.
Other scholars, however, see in this MS. the work of al-
Asadī to whom al-Samhūdī attributes a number of statements
found in it. Shaikh Hamad al-Jāsir rightly disagrees with
either side, but insists on attributing it to al-Harbī
199-285 A.H. (813-898).[1] In so doing, he relies first on
the report attributed to 'Abd Allāh b. Shabīb by the author
of this MS.[2] and, according to al-Bakrī, by al-Harbī.[3]
Secondly, he is led by the lengthy chapter on the pilgrimage
rites to identify its author with al-Harbī who is said to
have compiled a book on these rites. Shaikh Hamad lists
the names of thirty scholars quoted in this MS. all of whom
are contemporaries of al-Harbī, to suggest that they were
his teachers.

The attribution of this work to al-Harbī cannot be
accepted for the following reasons:

1. See <u>al-'Arab</u>, vol. 3, part 3, pp. 193-198.

2. Fol. 72.

3. Al-Bakrī, <u>Mu'jam</u>, pp. 6, 7.

1. al-Ḥarbī himself is one of the scholars on whom the author relies, though his name does not figure in Shaikh Ḥamad's list;[1]

2. Ibn Shabīb's report as recorded by the author differs in places from Ibn Shabīb's report as transmitted by al-Ḥarbī;

3. the author states unequivocally that he does not intend to write more on the pilgrimage rites than necessary, and declares emphatically that these rites are not what his book is about;[2]

4. some reporters on whom the author relies are younger than al-Ḥarbī and some of them lived years after him,[3] facts which do not tally with the theory that he was their disciple; and

5. some of the scholars whom the author quotes are not regarded as trustworthy enough to have been quoted by an authority so highly respected as al-imām al-Ḥarbī. Indeed, one of them is so notorious for his untrustworthiness that he was deemed by a trustworthy scholar to deserve capital punishment.[4]

As to the identity of the real author, it is certain that he is no other than Muhammad b. Khalaf b. Ḥayyān (or Jiyyān), best known as al-Qāḍī Wakī', who died in 306 A.H.

1. Fol. 62.
2. Fol. 46.
3. Muhammad b. Nasr al-Ṣā'igh died 11 years after al-Ḥarbī, see al-Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, vol. 3, p. 318.
4. See al-Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, vol. 9, p. 475; Ibn Abū Ḥātim, al-Jarḥ, vol. 3, p. 412.

(918). Wakī' showed great interest in the routes and travels,
and compiled two works of this kind, one of which is Kitāb al-
Musāfir (the book of traveller), and the other Kitāb al-Tarīq
(the book of the route).[1] The latter is almost certainly the
one whose MS. is the subject of this controversy. That Wakī'
is the author of this work is borne out by a juxtaposition of
this MS. with Wakī''s other work Akhbār al-Qudāh. The
method of reporting used in both works is the same, and even
the introductory formulae of the author's reports are identi-
cal, e.g. حدثني haddathanī, حدثنا haddathanā,
اخبرني akhbaranī, اخبرنا akhbaranā and زعم
za'am. Moreover, most of the author's teachers quoted in
al-Manāzil MS. are quoted by Wakī' in Akhbār al-Qudāh, and in
reports attributed to him by Abū al-Faraj, al-Khatīb and Hamzah
al-Isfahānī.[2] The few names of authorities - 9 out of 76 -
which do not appear in Akhbār al-Qudāh are either detected
there with additives, or in shortened or corrupted forms, or
are entirely redundant as they are quoted in the MS. when in-
formation on localities or "geographical" poetry is provided,
information which differs, by the nature of its subject matter,
from the theme of Akhbār al-Qudāh. Wakī' is known to have
relied, beside highly respected authors such as al-Harbī, on
some transmitters whose standards fall below the requirements
of the strict 'Ulamā. As to al-Bakrī's assumption that al-Harbī

1. Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, p. 114.
2. See Hamzah al-Isfahānī, Tārīkh, pp. 95-96, and the chains
   of reporters in al-Aghānī and Tārikh Baghdād.

quotes 'Abd Allāh b. Shabīb on the account which Wakī' also
attributes to Ibn Shabīb, al-Bakrī might have been misled
by the chapter on the pilgrimage rites on which al-Harbī
compiled a book. It is possible, however, that al-Harbī
has recorded this report in his work Gharīb al-Hadīth which
al-Bakrī quotes on many occasions.[1] Wakī''s Manāzil appears
to have been enlarged by both al-Asadī and al-Sakūnī.

Al-Sakūnī has been the subject of three assumptions.
The first is based on al-Bakrī's remark that virtually all
the information he derived from al-Sakūnī was drawn by the
latter from the book of 'Arrām on the Hijaz and Tihāmah which
he dictated to al-Kindī.[2] Since a substantial part of this
information is not to be found in 'Arrām's work, some
scholars, notably Professor Hārūn,[3] believe that al-Sakūnī
enriched this work with information of his own. There is,
however, no doubt that the MS. of 'Arrām's work which al-
Bakrī utilized is identical with the available MS. Almost
all the information as well as all the mistakes and defective
passages in this MS. reappear in the quotations attributed
by al-Bakrī to al-Sakūnī, al-Kindī or 'Arrām. Moreover, the
majority of al-Sakūnī's statements describe localities out-
side the scope of 'Arrām's work, such as Taimā', Khaibar,
Faid, al-Yamāmah and Fadak and even localities in Syria and
Iraq. There are, in al-Mu'jam, some quotations concerning

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1. See al-'Arab, vol. 3, part 4, p. 290; and al-Bakrī,
   Mu'jam, pp. 558, 882, 1205.
2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, p. 5.
3. See 'Arrām, op.cit., p. 377.

localities covered by 'Arram's work, which al-Bakrī attributes to al-Sakūnī, but which do not figure in 'Arram's work. On many of these particular occasions, al-Bakrī plainly states that al-Sakūnī's information is derived from "his own sources", "from the Arabs", from Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Zurqī or Mūsā b. Isḥāq.[1] Because al-Bakrī regards both Faid and Khaibar as part of the Hijaz, he takes the precaution of mentioning al-Sakūnī's "book"[2] in connection with both localities, to prevent the information he attributes to al-Sakūnī from being ascribed to 'Arram. This book of al-Sakūnī is clearly an independent work, compiled by al-Sakūnī himself and different from that "dictated"[3] to him by al-Kindī, to quote the actual words of al-Bakrī, which is positive evidence that al-Sakūnī did not enlarge 'Arram's work.

Secondly, this book of al-Sakūnī is the one utilized by Yāqūt who does not seem to have seen al-Sakūnī's version of 'Arram's work which Yāqūt attributes only to 'Arram and al-Kindī. Yāqūt is so fervent in his admiration for al-Sakūnī[4] that he would hardly have neglected to ascribe some of these quotations to him had he been aware of his connection with 'Arram's work. Yāqūt, in fact, mentions al-Kindī and al-Sakūnī as authors of two separate works.[5] Thus al-Sakūnī's

1. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 811, 265, 155, 274, 398, 659.

2. Ibid., pp. 260, 523.

3. Ibid., p. 655.

4. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol. 4, p. 62.

5. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 7.

information on the Northern Hijaz is not part of his version of 'Arrām's work, but part of another work by al-Sakūnī himself. Recently, Dr Husain Nassar found in Yāqūt's Irshād an extremely important reference to a work on Arabia by a certain Sakūnī. He believes that this may be the Sakūnī on whom Yāqūt relied for his information, and who is not identical with the transmitter of 'Arrām's work on the grounds that al-Bakrī's Sakūnī is called 'Amr b. Bishr, whereas this Sakūnī is called Ahmad b. al-Hasan, and that al-Bakrī's Sakūnī lived many years before Yāqūt's Sakūnī who was a contemporary of al-Muqtadir, 295-320 A.H. (907-932).[1] The reasons for this assumption are by no means cogent. That al-Sakūnī's name differs from al-Bakrī to Yāqūt is true, but al-Bakrī and Yāqūt often give different names and cognomens to one and the same author. As to the period in which al-Bakrī's Sakūnī and Yāqūt's Sakūnī lived, it is almost the same, since al-Zurqī, quoted by al-Bakrī's Sakūnī, was still alive in 309 A.H. (921),[2] which suggests that his disciple, al-Bakrī's Sakūnī, could be identical with Yāqūt's Sakūnī.

The third assumption is the charge raised against al-Sakūnī, that he borrowed the work of al-Hajarī, to whom al-Samhūdī ascribes most of the information on the Himas (preserves) which al-Bakrī attributes to al-Sakūnī. Consequently, Shaikh Hamad al-Jāsir concludes that al-Hajarī is

1. Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī, vol. 14, p. 208.

2. See al-Sam'ānī, Ansāb, fol. 274 and al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, vol. 4, p. 16.

the original author because he is more famous and more closely connected with the Hijaz than al-Sakūnī "of whom we know nothing in this respect", and because al-Samhūdī names, not al-Sakūnī, but al-Hajarī as his source.[1] It is certain that al-Samhūdī attributes these quotations to al-Hajarī alone. What is not above suspicion, however, is the reliability of this attribution. Al-Hajarī was highly respected in al-Andalus, since he was the teacher of two famous Andalusian scholars, Thābit b. Hazm and his son Qāsim. Al-Bakrī quotes al-Hajarī on some geographical references on the Northern Hijaz which are in line with al-Hajarī's Nawādir.[2] The geographical references in al-Nawādir prove that al-Hajarī is, in fact, well informed on the region. Nevertheless, the information attributed by al-Bakrī to al-Sakūnī, and by al-Samhūdī to al-Hajarī, definitely differs from data found in al-Nawādir where there are some attempts at mapping routes in the Northern Hijaz or references to the Himas which cannot have been written by the same author whom al-Bakrī quotes on the routes in the Northern Hijaz, and whom both al-Bakrī and al-Samhūdī quote on the Himas. Since al-Hajarī himself is an original source, it cannot be assumed that the discrepancies between his own work, al-Nawādir, and the alleged information attributed to him by al-Samhūdī, or to al-Sakūnī by al-Bakrī, are the result of variations in al-Hajarī's sources. There

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1. Hamad al-Jāsir, Abū 'Alī al-Hajarī, p. 94.
2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 558, 1017.

are some occasions on which the information provided by al-
Hajarī in al-Nawādir conflicts with data attributed by al-
Bakrī to al-Sukānī and by al-Samhūdī to al-Hajarī. This
happens in the cases of Baidān which is described as a moun-
tain by al-Hajarī, and as a well by al-Sukānī; of al-Munyah,
which is described as a hill by al-Hajarī, but figures, in
al-Sakūnī, as Minā with a very detailed demarcation; of al-
'Aqīq which is briefly described by al-Hajarī, but in full
detail by al-Sakūnī; and of the Basra-Mecca route, of which
al-Hajarī merely enumerates the halts,[1] but on which al-Sakūnī
offers ample information.[2] It suffices to read al-Hajarī's
Nawādir to establish that the geographical references there,
original and valuable though they are, cannot have been
written by the same author whose information about the Northern
Hijaz is attributed to al-Sakūnī by al-Bakrī, and to al-
Hajarī by al-Samhūdī.

The above-quoted instances represent cases of direct
borrowing, or accusations of borrowing, by transmitters from
authors, or even by authors from other authors. Apart from
those, there are numerous quotations on the Northern Hijaz
recorded by al-Bakrī, Nasr and Yāqūt which are definitely
traceable to certain sources, though none of them names these
sources. One example will be cited here. There is first
al-Sakūnī himself. Both al-Bakrī and Yāqūt quote from him

1. Hamad al-Jāsir, Abū 'Alī al-Hajarī, pp. 332, 309, 341, 334.
2. See al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, pp. 291, 877, 1324-1333, 496, 868.

in a vast number of entries, though his name is omitted from
many of these entries. Fortunately, it has been possible to
detect many of these quotations not only by juxtaposing the
two Mu'jams, but also by comparing the entries within each
Mu'jam. Al-Bakrī sometimes records a statement without
references to its source, but refers to it, on another
occasion, as having been derived from al-Sakūnī. Yāqūt, on
the other hand, records parts of statements attributing them
to al-Sakūnī, but records the identical parts in other
entries, without naming al-Sakūnī.[1] Sometimes al-Bakrī or
Yāqūt attributes to al-Sakūnī information ascribed to other
authors in other entries of the Mu'jam. This means that
the information in question has reached al-Bakrī or Yāqūt
from al-Sakūnī.

1. Compare in Yāqūt's Mu'jam, vol. 1, p. 158 with vol. 4,
   p. 374, and vol. 5, pp. 531, 805 with vol. 2, p. 464,
   vol. 4, p. 935.

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MAP OF THE NORTHEN HIJAZ, 800-1150

A.WOHAIBI, CANDIDATE FOR Ph.D.

Scale 1:2,000,000

Source: Miscellaneous Geologic Investigations

Map 1-270 B-1

N

RED SEA

LAVA FLOW ON VOLCANIC DEBRIS

SANDS

SILT, CLAY AND SAND FLAT -
OFTEN WITH SALINE INCRUSTATIONS

CORAL REEF

VALLEY

MOUNTAINS WITH ELEVATION OF 8,000 TO 3,000 FEET

TOWN

PILGRIM ROUTE
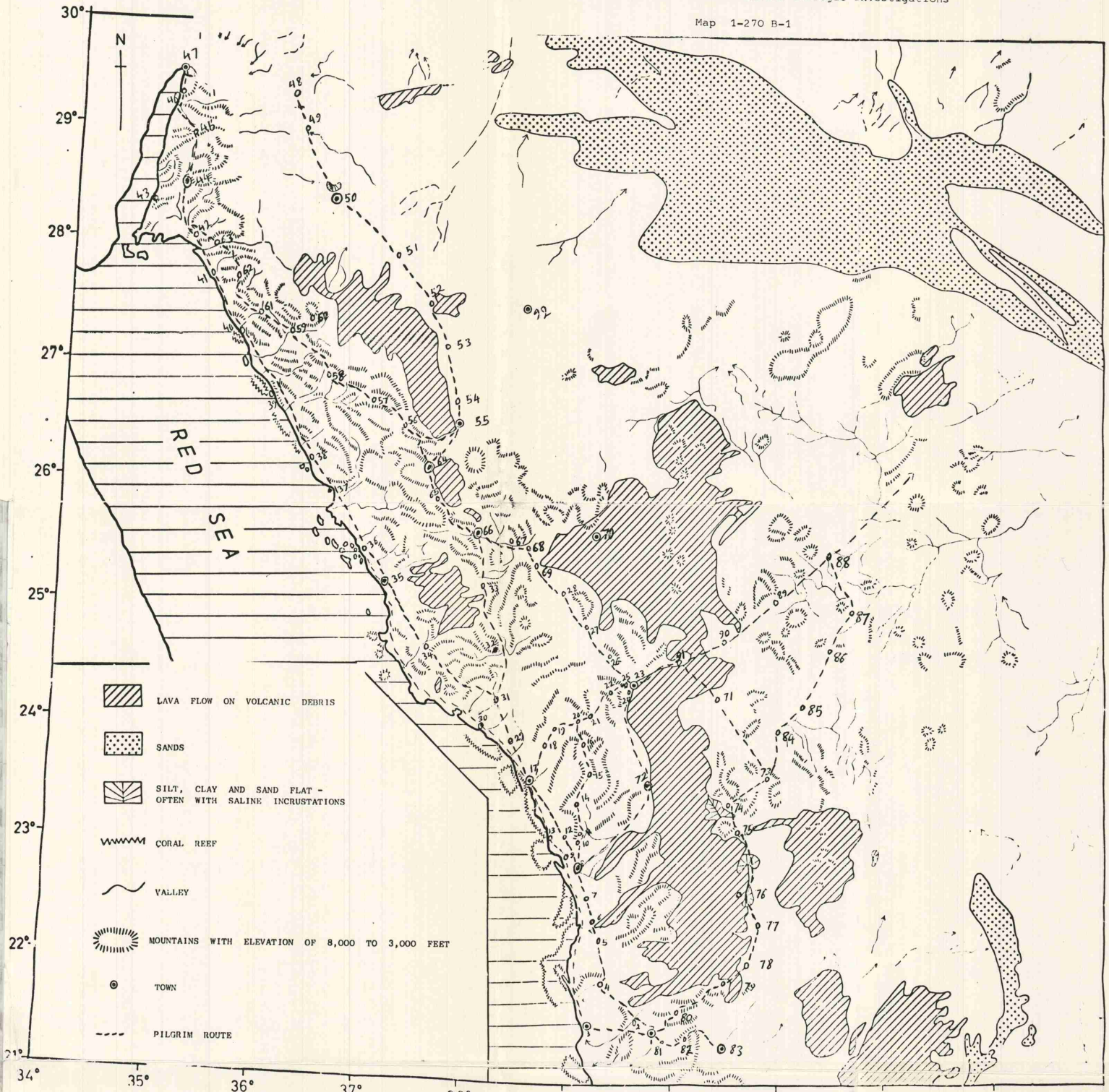
1 Mecca	17 Al-Jār	34 Al-Aḥsā'		65 Al-'Anāb	81 Minā
2 Marr al-Zahrān	18 Badr	35 Al-Ḥaurā'	49 Dimnah	66 Al-Marwah	82 'Arafah
3 Jiddah	19 Al-Safrā'	36 Ḥanak (Munkhus)	50 Tabuk	67 Balākith	83 Taif
4 'Usfan	20 Al-Rauḥā'	37 Ḥabbān (bay of B.)	51 Al-Akhdar (al-	68 Birmah	84 Al-'Umaq
5 Khulais (and amaj)	21 Al-Sayālah	38 Al-Wajh	Muhdathah)	69 Al-Marr	85 Al-Salilah
6 Qudaid	22 Malal	39 Al-'Aunid (al-	52 Al-Aqra'	70 Khaibar	86 Al-Rabadhah
7 Kulayyah	23 Medina	'Uwainid)	53 Al-Juneinah	71 Al-Arhadiyyah	87 Al-Māwān
8 Al-Juhfah	24 Qubā	40 Duba	54 Al-Ḥijr	72 Al-Fur' (region)	88 Al-Naqirah
9 Rābigh	25 Al-Shajarah	41 Al-Nabk and al-	55 Al-Qurh	73 Al-Ma'dan (of B.	89 Al-'Usailah
10 Hirshā (pass of)	26 Dhū Khushub	Silā	56 Al-Baidā'	Sulaim)	90 Al-Taraf
11 Al-Abwā' (and Mts.	27 Iwal	42 'Ainūnah	57 Al-Sarhatain	74 Al-Suwāriqiyyah	91 Al-Taraf
Hashā and 'Azwar)	28 Al-Suwaidā'	43 Maqnā	58 Badā	75 Sufainah	92 Taimā'
12 Waddān)	29 Masūlan	44 Madyan	59 Shaghb	76 Ḥadhah	
13 Al-Turaifah	30 Yanbu' (the port)	45 Sharaf al-Ba'l	60 Shuwāq	77 Al-Mislaḥ	
14 Al-Suqyā	31 Yanbu' (the valley)	46 Ḥaql	61 Al-Kilābah	78 Al-Ghamrah	
15 Al-'Arj (and Mt.	32 Radwā (Mt.)	47 Ailah	62 Qālis	79 Dhāt 'Irq	
Quds)	33 Al-'Iṣ	48 Suragh	63 Al-Agharr	80 Nakhlah	
16 Al-Ruwaithah (and			64 Al-Suqyā (and		
Mt. Variqān)			al-Ruhbah)		