the Ṣa‘baniye, especially during the leadership of the Ṣa‘bani shaykh, Fu‘adi. Based on previously little-used sources, this book is a worthy contribution to the study of the Ottoman Empire. However, the title may be slightly misleading. After setting the scene in Part I, Part II focuses on Ṣa‘ban-ı Veli using Fu‘adi’s work, and Part III looks at Fu‘adi himself. The book concentrates on the political and social context of the life and writings of Fu‘adi, rather than the changes of Sufi thought in the Ottoman context through an exploration of the Halvetiye over the period of three centuries suggested by the title. Curry’s focus on the reaction of the Ṣa‘bani order to state intervention may give the reader the impression that its development was merely a political response rather than the internal, doctrinal development initiated from within the order. In addition to the external impact and social and defence skills of the leadership, the spiritual teachings of the order must have also been an important factor in the growth of membership. The enduring appeal of Halveti doctrines has far-reaching influence until the present but the originality of the Ṣa‘bani traditions in the context of the Ottoman mystical movements still awaits its own scholarly treatment. This book will be useful for advanced undergraduate students, graduate students and scholars in the fields of the politics and sociology of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the history of Sufism.

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B: Reviews: Society, Culture and Religion

The Meaning of Mecca: The Politics of Pilgrimage in Early Islam
M.E. McMillan

This monograph presents one of the first detailed analyses of the significance of the hajj, the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, in the politics of the early Islamic empire. The monograph examines who led the pilgrimage, why caliphs selected particular people to lead it, and how the caliphs used the leadership of the hajj as a political tool. To explore the politics of the hajj, McMillan uses a number of primary sources for establishing who led the pilgrimage in the Rashidun and Umayyad caliphates, but focuses on authors from the third and fourth/ninth and tenth centuries: Ibn Khayyat (d. 240/854), al-Ya‘qībī (d. 284/897), al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956). McMillan provides reasons for focusing on these four sources in Appendix A (pp. 168–169), but throughout the monograph these four principal sources are supplemented with other primary texts. After a short introduction, the monograph includes nine chapters, each looking at the role of the hajj during successive periods, from the Prophet’s institution of the hajj to the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II. There is a short conclusion (Chapter 10), two appendices, a bibliography and an index.

The introduction (pp. 15–17) is extremely brief, followed by a short chapter outlining the basic rituals of hajj (‘The Prophet’s Precedent: The Farewell Hajj of 10/632’, pp. 19–27). These two chapters are a little weak, as there is much
secondary literature on the *hajj* in ritual theory which has been ignored. This is not a huge problem as the work aims to explore the role the *hajj* played in political life, rather than the *hajj* as a religious phenomenon. This is not an examination of the significance and history of the various rituals performed during the pilgrimage.

The following chapter focuses on the *rāshidūn* caliphs (‘Following in the Prophet’s Footsteps: The Era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs’, pp. 29–44). This, and every chapter that follows, includes a table at the start of the chapter giving details about who led the *hajj* each year, their relationship to the caliph, and whether they were a governor of either Mecca or Medina. In this chapter, the main point of interest is the fourth caliph ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib’s inability to lead the *hajj* as ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān had done, because of his weaker political situation. Chapter 3 (‘Mu’āwiya b. Abī Sufyān: A New Regime and a New *Hajj* Policy’, pp. 45–61) explores the changes in *hajj* leadership, with a mixture of delegation to the local governor, to the caliph’s sons, and Mu’āwiya leading the *hajj* himself (as ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān had done). McMillan emphasises the fact that Mu’āwiya denies the *ansār* (those that invited Muhammad to Medina) and members of the Prophet’s family from leading the pilgrimage, essentially passing over some of the most prominent figures in the early Muslim community that may have had a claim to religious authority. Mu’āwiya, as well as many later Umayyads, also promote their relationship to the murdered Caliph ‘Uthmān.

The most interesting period for the *hajj* is that of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr’s rival caliphate. This is explored in Chapters 4 (‘The Caliphate in Transition: The *Hajj* as a Barometer of Political Change’, pp. 63–76) and 5 (‘The Return of the Ummayds and the Reintroduction of Sufyānid *Hajj* Policy’, pp. 77–93). The *hajj*, McMillan argues, provided an opportunity for caliphs to cement their power, but also a moment where rivals could garner support. During the reign of Yazīd b. Mu’āwiya, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr takes control of the *haram* and denies Yazīd the ability to exert his authority throughout the empire. Losing control of the *hajj* was a serious blow to Yazīd’s authority. Similarly, when ‘Abd al-Mālik came to power, he found it essential to install his own man, al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, as leader of the *hajj* in 72/692, and to lead it himself in 75/695. The role of *hajj*-leader after the reign of ‘Abd al-Mālik became the vehicle for caliphs to promote their nominee for the succession. The following chapters (6–9, pp. 95–160) outline the various attempts by caliphs to use the *hajj* to promote their particular policies. These chapters will provide a welcome resource for the *hajj* in this period.

The final short summary (‘The Meaning of Mecca’, pp. 161–166) provides a good and succinct overview of McMillan’s argument. The main conclusions are: (i) the *hajj* was used to help communicate the caliph’s plans and intent for his reign; (ii) the *hajj* was an opportunity to bestow patronage; (iii) the *hajj* posed a danger for weak caliphs. McMillan also shows how caliphs implemented different policies for the leadership of the *hajj* and utilised it as a political tool. The monograph includes a full bibliography and a useful index.

This is an interesting read, but throughout the book the author has a tendency to relegate the primary evidence to the footnotes, and only includes a few direct quotations. There are only eight substantial citations in the whole monograph (pp. 67, 75–76, 83, and one on each of pp. 133–137). This is not necessarily a problem in itself, but it does make it difficult for the primary sources to shine through the text, and denies the reader a chance of seeing how Muslim historians viewed the leadership of the pilgrimage and its importance. The author makes much of the reaction of the Medinans and Meccans to the appointment of certain

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individuals to the governorship of Mecca and Medina, along with the leading of the pilgrimage, but the reader is not able to see this first hand.

The author has a tendency to over-emphasise the importance of leading the *hajj*, and it becomes clear, even when reading McMillan’s monograph, that the leading of the pilgrimage was *one of a number* of elements that aided strengthening caliphal authority or the succession.⁴ Leading the *hajj* on its own would not, in any way, suffice, as proved by the failed attempts by many Umayyad caliphs to promote their sons through leadership of the *hajj* (e.g. Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik). Similarly, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr managed to lead the *hajj*, and was able to gain control of the Hijaz, but failed to gain the caliphate. In the early period of Islamic history, authority was gained through a combination of actions and roles: the *bay’a*, leading the *sā’ifa* campaigns, holding prestigious governorships, family relationships, patronage, and building programmes. McMillan is right to highlight the importance of leading the *hajj* in the establishment of authority in early Islam, but it is necessary to place this in the wider context of these other means of articulating power.

Some may find the structure and organisation of the book a little irritating. The author tends to use extremely short paragraphs (often a single sentence). This is not a major criticism, but it does make it harder for the reader to follow McMillan’s arguments. It is also not entirely clear why the author chose to place the discussion of the sources and the literature review in the two appendices—‘The Sources and Their Challenges’ (pp. 167–176) and ‘Further Reading on the *Hajj* and the Umayyads’ (pp. 177–181). These two appendices provide the reader with some background material, as well as the author’s own reaction to sources and the literature on the subject, and it would have been helpful to be able to read this *before* the substance of the monograph itself.

Nevertheless, M.E. McMillan’s monograph provides a useful study of the history of the leadership of the annual pilgrimage, which expands our knowledge of the ways in which early caliphs, particularly the Umayyads, utilised the leadership of the *hajj* for political gain, and the risks that caliphs faced when they did not handle the *hajj* with care. The principal achievement of this monograph is its clear argument that the leadership of the pilgrimage was an important element in the articulation of caliphal authority, and one that is worthy of consideration in the examination of the history of the early Islamic world.

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**The Lightning-Scene in Ancient Arabic Poetry: Function, Narration, and Idiosyncrasy in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry**
Ali Ahmad Hussein

The object of this effort, according to the author, is to shed light on the ‘function’ and the ‘narrative’ of the lightning-scene and how the two operate differently
