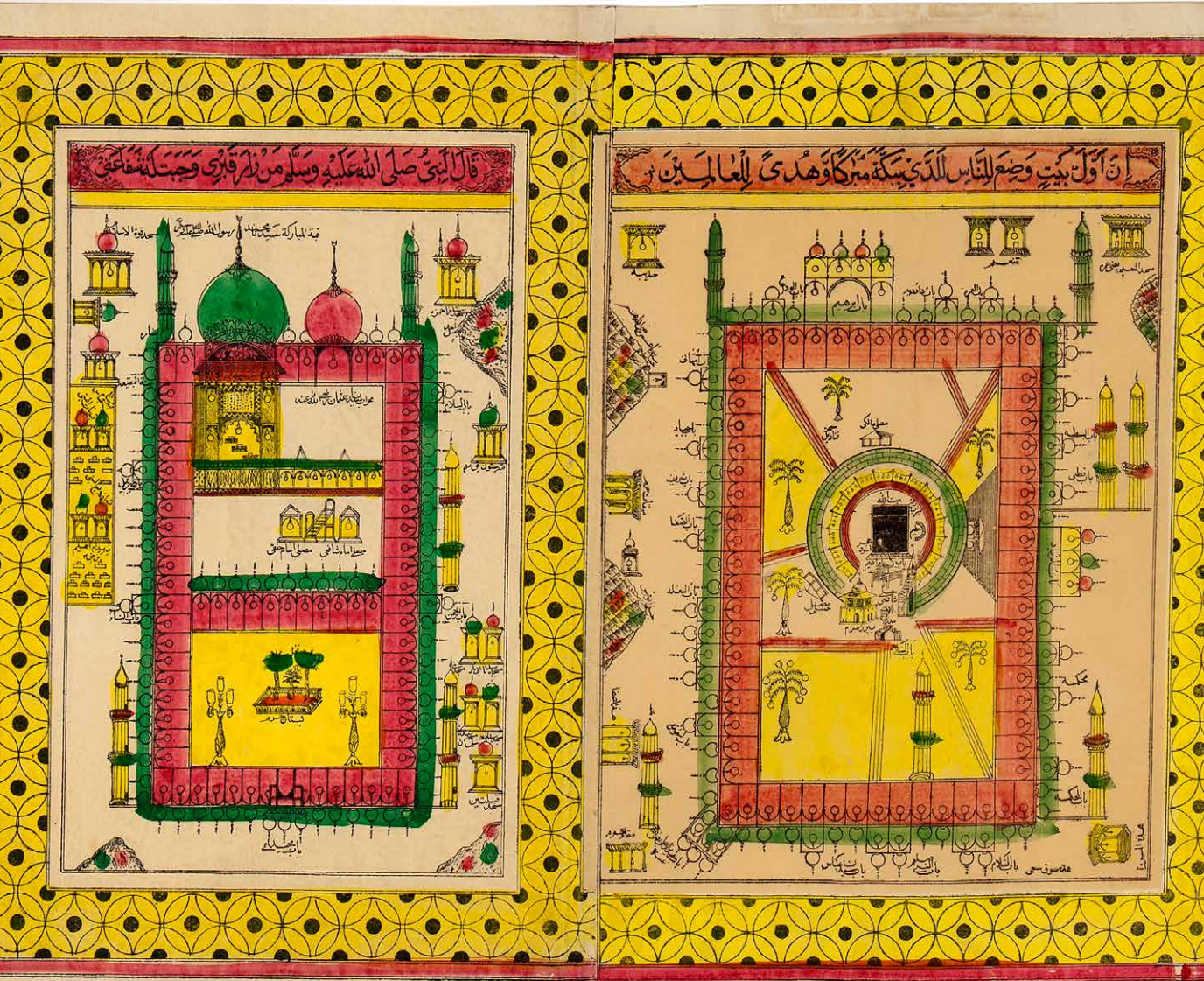


# Hajj

Global Interactions  
through Pilgrimage



edited by  
*Luitgard Mols & Marjo Buitelaar*



**H\_AJJ**



**Sidestone Press**





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Global Interactions through Pilgrimage

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Design: Martin Hense





## INTRODUCTION

*Marjo Buitelaar and Luitgard Mols*

The chapters in this volume are the outcome of the two-day symposium *Hajj: Global Interactions through Pilgrimage*, which was held at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden on 28 and 29 November 2013. It was organised by the National Museum of Ethnology, the Leiden University Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (LUCIS), the Netherlands Interuniversity Research School for Islamic Studies (NISIS), and the Foundation for Ethnology in Leiden (FEL). National and international speakers were invited to discuss theory and practice of the Hajj from religious, cultural, material, historical, and social angles. In addition, insights into personal beliefs and experiences of the pilgrimage to Mecca were given by Dutch *hajjis* in an on-stage interview.

The immediate cause for this symposium was the exhibition *Longing for Mecca. The Pilgrim's Journey* that was held at the National Museum of Ethnology between 10 September 2013 and 9 March 2014. The exhibition, which was prepared in close cooperation with the British Museum in London, was the first comprehensive display of Hajj-related artefacts from national and international collections in the Netherlands. The exhibition was developed as a journey, starting with the preparation and the actual travels to Mecca and followed by the rites in Mecca, the visit to Medina, and the homecoming of pilgrims. Interviews with *hajjis* and *hajjas*, which were played on several screens throughout the exhibition area, gave first-hand insights into the expectations, experiences, and transformation of pilgrims. The exhibition also focused on the interactions of pilgrims, in both the past and present, through their shared goal of reaching Mecca in order to perform the prescribed rituals.

Revised versions of most of the contributions to the symposium have found their way into this book.<sup>1</sup> The book is loosely organised into two main parts: the first five chapters investigate the Hajj from a social scientific point of view. These focus on the religious, social, and political meanings of the Hajj and

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1 Unfortunately, not all participants of the symposium were able to contribute to this volume, but their insightful papers offer new points of departure for further research. Mohammed Cheppih, who talked about his personal experiences of performing the Hajj both as a pilgrim himself and a tour leader gave a realistic portrait of what it is to do the Hajj and Umra today; Léon Buskens explored the Dutch tradition of Hajj research and policymaking and the role of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in particular. The Ka'ba cover, or *kiswa*, was the topic of Nahla Nassar's contribution, in which she discussed its prestige, piety, and the politics with which its manufacture is surrounded. The concluding lecture by Finbarr Barry Flood, professor at New York University and the 2013 Adrian Gerbrands lecture-laureate, titled 'Sanctified Sandals – Imaging the Prophet in an Era of Technological Reproduction' will be published by FEL.

address the relationship between the significance of pilgrimage to Mecca for the religious lives of individuals and groups and the wider life worlds that they are embedded in. The second part of the book comprises seven chapters and takes material expressions of the Hajj as its starting point. It explores what Hajj-related artefacts can tell us about the import of pilgrimage in the daily lives of Muslims in the past and present.

While the embeddedness of Hajj practices and meanings in local contexts comes to the fore most obviously in the first five chapters of the book, the subsequent chapters on material Hajj culture also provide insights into historical developments of the Hajj ritual; they all address the issue how representations of Mecca and the Hajj and the exchange of Hajj-related objects have changed over time. More specifically, a theme that runs through many of the contributions is the impact of changes brought about by modernisation processes since the mid-nineteenth century, when improved transport and new technologies brought the Hajj within reach of a quickly increasing number of Muslims. The chapters with a social scientific approach, in the first part of the book, discuss the effects on Hajj practices and meanings for present-day Muslims of current dimensions of globalisation processes. The contributions that focus on historical documents and artefacts in the second part of the volume teach us that globalisation should not be mistaken as a recent phenomenon. They all point to the fact that Mecca has always been a cosmopolitan city and the nodal point of global interactions far exceeding religious activities only.

Together, the chapters in this book depict the Hajj ritual as a living tradition. Each with its own focus, the various contributions testify to the fact that, while the rites that make up the Hajj were formulated and recorded in normative texts in early Islam, details in the actual performance and interpretations of these rites are by no means static, but rather have evolved over time in tandem with changing socio-political circumstances.

Before presenting an overview of the contents of each chapter, we will shortly describe the rites that make up the Hajj.

## **The Rites of Hajj**

Every year, in the last month of the Islamic calendar, millions of Muslims from around the world arrive in Saudi Arabia for the ritual of the Hajj. From the eighth to the thirteenth of the month of *Dhu al-Hijja*, pilgrims perform prescribed rites in Mecca and its vicinity, following in the footsteps of the prophets Abraham and Muhammad. Through the performance of the Hajj, pilgrims are connected with the region in which Islam came into being, with the religion's early days, and with other members of the Muslim community who preceded them in their endeavour to accomplish this obligation.



The Hajj ritual is the fifth pillar of Islam, a duty for all Muslims whose health and financial means allow them to perform it. The other four pillars or obligations are: reciting the testimony of faith (the *shahada*: 'There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the messenger of God'), praying five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and the giving of alms. In what stage of their lives Muslims perform the Hajj depends on individual circumstances and local customs. Some considerations might be practical, such as the ease or difficulty of obtaining a Hajj visa or having saved sufficient money for the journey. Others are cultural, such as views on when a person is ready in a spiritual sense to perform the Hajj, or spiritual, such as experiencing 'the call' to perform the Hajj by God or wishing for a spiritual closure of life as preparation for death in older age.

Performing the Hajj consists of a sequence of several rites. When pilgrims approach the surroundings of Mecca, they exchange their ordinary clothes for a pilgrimage or *ihram* dress, which symbolises the equality of all pilgrims before God and detachment from everyday life. Entering the state of *ihram*, or consecration, is done at one of the five official *miqat* locations that mark the boundary of the sacred area around Mecca. Men change into two seamless, white sheets that are draped around the waist and the left shoulder. For women there is no uniform dress code; they are free to dress as they find proper, as long as they cover their heads and wear clothes that hide the contours of their bodies. *Niqabs* or face veils are not allowed during the Hajj. It is at the *miqat* locations that pilgrims announce their arrival to God by reciting the *Labbayka* prayer: 'Here I am at Thy service O Lord, here I am'. As they will continue to do during all Hajj rites, pilgrims will say *du'a*, or supplication prayers, which stimulate a devotional mindset. Then, they head for the Ka'ba, the cubic building covered with a dark-blue (almost black) cover in the centre of the courtyard of the Great Mosque of Mecca. Here they perform the first *tawaf*, the sevenfold, anticlockwise circumambulation of the so-called 'House of God' on earth. Pilgrims then proceed to say prayers at the Place of Abraham (*Maqam Ibrahim*), where a stone is kept that is said to have the footprints of this prophet. Next is the rite of *sa'i* (running), which commemorates the search for water by Abraham's second wife Hagar for her baby son Ishmael. By running or walking seven times between the hillocks of Safa and Marwa, pilgrims commemorate Hagar's ordeal and her trust in God to save her and her baby. The first day's rites are concluded with drinking water from the Zamzam spring, which Hagar is said to have discovered at last where Ishmael kicked the sand. Zamzam water is the most coveted souvenir from Mecca, and many pilgrims carry home a jerrycan to share with their dear ones upon return or to use at special occasions such as weddings or in the case of illness. The maximum allowed amount of litres that is accepted depends upon the airline, and varies between ten and twenty litres. The first night of the Hajj is concluded by spending the night in the tent camps of Mina.

The second day of the Hajj journey marks the beginning of the Hajj proper. The most important rite of the Hajj takes place then: the standing (*wuquf*) on Mount Arafat and in its plain. Pilgrims pray from the afternoon until sunset, ask God for forgiveness of their sins, read from the Qur'an, and pray for family, friends, or the world at large. For most pilgrims, besides setting their eyes on the Ka'ba for the first time, the standing on Mount Arafat is the part of the Hajj with the greatest emotional impact. This is because it is conceived of as a kind of 'dress rehearsal' for Judgment Day, and therefore closely related to existential issues. During these long hours, the departure sermon delivered by the Prophet Muhammad on this mountain during his own Hajj in 632 CE, the year of his death, is also commemorated. If pilgrims fail to perform this rite, they must redo the Hajj in another year. In the evening, the pilgrims proceed to Muzdalifa, where they collect pebbles for the next day's stoning ritual. They spend the night praying in the open. On the third day, the pilgrims proceed to Mina, where the rite of stoning the devil takes place at the *jamarat*, the three pillars. This commemorates Abraham's chasing away of the devil when the latter tried to persuade him to disobey God and refrain from offering his son Ishmael. Pilgrims throw seven pebbles, one by one, at the largest of these pillars. This rite is followed by the Feast of the Sacrifice, or *Eid al-Adha*, during which sheep, goats, cattle, and camels are sacrificed in memory of the ram that God supplied as a replacement for the offer that Abraham was ready to bring at God's request: the sacrifice of his son Ishmael. It is then that men have their hair and beard shaved off and women cut off a lock of their hair. This rite concludes the Hajj proper. Pilgrims may take off their *ihram* clothing now if they wish to do so and return to Mecca for another *tawaf*, or seven anticlockwise circumambulations around the Ka'ba, to conclude the Hajj rites. Those who wish may return to Mina, where they may repeat the rite of stoning the three pillars during the following days. When this rite is completed, they return to Mecca to conclude the Hajj with a farewell *tawaf* around the Ka'ba.

Many pilgrims visit the Mosque of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina before or after the Hajj. Strictly speaking, this visit is not part of the Hajj ritual, but for many people it is a highly emotional opportunity to pray in the mosque where the Prophet, his daughter Fatima, and his successors Abu Bakr and Omar are buried.

## Overview of the Contributions

The book opens with a chapter on the anthropology of pilgrimage. Marjo Buitelaar applies the various stages of pilgrimage as a 'rite of passage' to the Hajj and discusses the key concepts of 'communitas' (comradeship and egalitarianism) and 'liminality' (being betwixt and between) that dominated pilgrimage studies until in the 1980s, when the focus shifted towards pilgrimage

shrines as sites of contestation between different groups in society. Buitelaar's contribution concludes with a proposal for an approach to the study of the Hajj that transcends the *communitas*–contestation controversy.

A discussion of the characteristics of the Hajj as a rite of passage is further elaborated in the chapter by Pnina Werbner. Werbner's focus is on the ways Pakistani Muslims in the United Kingdom interpret the Hajj as a ritual of purification and sacred exchange. After discussing the spiritual meanings for her study respondents of the ritual re-enacting of the stories of Abraham and Hagar, she moves on in the second part of her chapter to reflect on transnational dimensions of the Hajj. She does so by studying the interrelationship between pilgrimage to Mecca and pilgrimage to local saints' shrines in Pakistan, which some pilgrims refer to as performing a 'little Hajj', while others condemn the custom as un-Islamic.

Contestations of Hajj-related practices and meanings are also addressed in the chapter by Seán McLoughlin, who investigates personal stories about the Hajj of British Muslims. By analysing video testimonies that were produced in interviews with visitors to the 'Living Islam' Festival in the English East Midlands, McLoughlin demonstrates how Muslim identity is constituted performatively through the enactment of normative religious scripts such as the Hajj. He describes different patterns that can be discerned in personal stories about the expectations and experiences of the Hajj by (prospective) pilgrims of different ages, genders, and social classes. McLoughlin convincingly argues that, while the video-testimonies contain many references to liminal feelings of *communitas* associated with sacred transformation, the interviews also point to the 'fragile boundary' between the sacred and the profane and to the Hajj as 'an arena of competing discourses'.

The Hajj as an arena of competing discourses is the main focus of the chapter by Robert Bianchi. Taking Indonesia and Turkey as case studies for his analysis of the socio-political dimensions of the Hajj, Bianchi argues that the pilgrimage has become a pivotal and highly controversial feature of day-to-day political life in both countries. His analysis demonstrates that the tension between a growing demand for Hajj services on the one hand and the restrictive Saudi quota system on the other generates critical public debates about the role of secular governments in religious affairs and leads to scandals that spark countless battles in the media and legislatures.

Many of the modern Hajj practices and their contestations described by Werbner, McLoughlin, and Bianchi have historical roots in attitudes emerging from the 1850s onwards. Influenced by colonial expansion, intensifying globalisation, and religious reform debates, new lifestyles and forms of religiosity developed in which modern sciences, technologies, and worldviews were incorporated. In his chapter on the Hajj account written by the Muslim reformist thinker Muhammad Rida, Richard van Leeuwen asks what we can learn from Rida's text about the ways the context of modernity affected the

practice and meanings of the Hajj as a ritual obligation, a religious experience, and an act of travelling connected to lifestyle and self-identity.

The arts and material manifestations associated with the Ka'ba in Mecca and the Hajj rites at large are the focus of the next seven chapters. Mecca and the Hajj have always been an important source of inspiration for artists and artisans and a stimulus for the exchange of products and works of art among pilgrims. In her chapter 'Gifts, Souvenirs, and the Hajj', Venetia Porter gives an overview of the religious, political, and symbolic intent of the various gifts that were ordered by the elite and sent to (and kept in) the sanctuaries in Mecca and Medina. This is followed by a discussion of the meaning of much-valued keepsakes that were brought home by pilgrims. She concludes by exploring the local and simultaneously global artistic interaction in nineteenth-century Mecca, in which artists of different nationalities worked and resided side by side in the Holy City of Islam, a question that broadens our horizon on Mecca's importance in Islamic visual history.

In the next chapter, Oliver Moore explores both Islam in China and the visual manifestations of Chinese relations with Mecca and the Hajj. Through case studies, the social meanings of the Hajj in China are discussed, as are aspects of Islam's acculturation to Chinese conditions. The latter is exemplified by the hybrid nature of, for example, medieval tombstones in the south-eastern Chinese port of Quanzhou, known by medieval traders as Zayton, that display the names of *hajjis* in combination with invocations of Chinese mourning. Representations of the sanctuaries in Mecca and Medina also include the Chinese custom of showing mountains as successively receding objects. These and other examples are significant material expressions of the historical acculturation of Islam and the material manifestation of the Hajj in China.

Representations of the Ka'ba and the Great Mosque of Mecca are known from the twelfth century onwards, first on stone and paper and later also on other materials, like ceramics. Their styles are as diverse as the origin of the artists who produced the objects. Displayed in public religious places, such as the Ka'ba tiles embedded in the walls of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman mosques, they served to educate and remind Muslims of the fifth pillar of Islam. In his chapter, Mehmet Tütüncü studies a hitherto understudied early-eighteenth-century oil painting of Mecca from the collection of Uppsala University in Sweden. It is unique for its large number of identifying labels of a wide variety of buildings that give invaluable insights into the urban fabric of eighteenth-century Mecca, much of which is gone today.

Pilgrims did not return home only with souvenirs of the Hajj. In several societies, a pictorial or textual reminder of their accomplishment was added to the exterior and interior walls of their houses before their homecoming by those who had stayed behind. This custom of decorating the pilgrim's house with murals is most widely spread in Egypt, but also occurs in other places such as Libya, Syria, and the Israel-Palestine region. In Egypt, Remke Kruk and Frans Oort surveyed the murals in the Dakhla

Oasis. Their inventory of different sign units and comparison with the categories found in other studies leads to new insights concerning the meaning of these murals. During the period covered by their survey (1977–2005), Kruk and Oort observed notable changes: announcements are getting increasingly simpler and more uniform, and representations of human beings are mostly found in the older murals.

Besides wall paintings as testimony of the Hajj, pilgrim certificates also functioned as proof of the accomplishment of Islamic pilgrimage. Although they are already known from the twelfth century, the focus of Luitgard Mols' contribution is ten late-nineteenth-century specimens from Dutch collections. The figurative examples boast an extensive pictorial cycle that goes beyond the scope of the rites of the Hajj. This raises the question about their use: were they not solely testimonies of the Hajj, but also souvenirs, devices for instruction, and reminders of the faithful of their religious duties? The question about the purpose of the certificates also touches upon another issue, this time pertaining to the impact of Hajj performance on local social relations: what was their value as the material tokens of the symbolic capital gained by pilgrims upon return home?

Arnoud Vrolijk has approached the study of Hajj-related objects from quite a different angle. This already comes to the fore in the title of his chapter: 'Appearances Belie. A Mecca-Centred World Map and a Snouck Hurgronje Photograph from the Leiden University Collections'. Vrolijk meticulously studied and contextualised a seventeenth-century painted map with Mecca at its centre and a late-nineteenth-century group portrait with actors in oriental dress taken at the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, revealing different layers of meaning and intent.

In the final chapter, Neil van der Linden lists a selection of songs that were sung to celebrate and commemorate the ritual of the Hajj. Offering insights into intangible practices related to the Hajj, the developments that occur in this musical practice in the twentieth century and first decades of the twenty-first also serve to illustrate the evolution and adaptation of Hajj-related practices in general.

Finally, a note on the transliteration: We have chosen to keep the transliteration of Arabic and Urdu as simple as possible in the running text, avoiding diacritical marks and ayns and hamzahs, except in the case of bibliographical references. In the contribution of Mehmet Tütüncü, where Ottoman legends are discussed in an early-eighteenth-century painting of Mecca and its surroundings, Turkish spellings are also used. Dates are commonly given as CE dates. Where Hijri dates are used, they are followed by the Gregorian date in parentheses (and vice versa).



## Acknowledgements

First, our thanks go out to all the contributors of this volume and to those who presented a paper at the symposium and shared their ideas with us there. In particular, we would like to thank Famile Arslan and Ali Eddaoudi for sharing their own Hajj experiences with the participants of the symposium and larger audience of museum visitors during a most impressive double interview. We would like to thank Ninja Kleikamp for helping to organise the symposium on the Hajj at the National Museum of Ethnology and Venetia Porter of the British Museum for her stimulating advice and encouragement throughout the preparation of the Hajj exhibition and the symposium. We are most grateful to Léon Buskens, then-director of LUCIS, for his advice, encouragement, and insights. Thanks as well go to Peter Pels and Patricia Spyer of FEL for inviting Finbarr Flood of New York University to give the concluding lecture as the third laureate for the annual Gerbrands lecture.

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# THE HAJJ AND THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE<sup>1</sup>

*Marjo Buitelaar*

## Introduction

One of the exhibits of the ‘Longing for Mecca’ exhibition at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden concerned an installation of magnets and iron filings entitled *Magnetism* by the Saudi artist Ahmed Mater. The black cuboid magnets were surrounded by tens of thousands of iron particles that formed a swirling nimbus, evoking the image of pilgrims circumambulating the Ka’ba (cf. Mols 2013: 107; Porter 2012: 252–253). Either wittingly or unwittingly, Mater’s installation is a powerful visualisation of the concept of ‘spiritual magnetism’ introduced by the anthropologist James Preston to identify what he considered to be one of the most important characteristics of pilgrimage sites (Preston 1992).

Whether the ‘spiritual magnetism’ of pilgrimage sites is an intrinsic quality of such places or rests in the eyes of the beholder, or, more generally, whether it is valid to assume that particular features are inherent to the institution of pilgrimage at all, has been a key bone of contention in pilgrimage studies. In this chapter, I will first provide an overview of the anthropology of pilgrimage and then discuss some influential anthropological contributions to the study of Hajj in particular. I will conclude by suggesting an approach to Hajj studies that allows for the transcendence of unnecessary dichotomous approaches to the study of pilgrimage in terms of either intrinsic or constructed meanings.

## The Anthropology of Pilgrimage

An obvious point of departure for an overview of the anthropological study of pilgrimage is the place of ritual in Emile Durkheim’s theory on religion (Durkheim 1995). Central to Durkheim’s argument is the view that, through religious ritual, society celebrates itself. According to Durkheim, the gathering together and simultaneous participation of people in the same extraordinary ritual action causes what he called a sense of ‘collective effervescence’ in which participants experience a loss of individuality and a sense of merging with others. In this view, ritual thus serves to unify the group. Although very few Muslims

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1 I would like to thank the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) for its generous grant for the research project ‘Modern Articulations of Pilgrimage to Mecca’ on which this article is based.

would agree that the meaning of the Hajj can be reduced to ‘celebrating’ the community of Muslims, many present-day pilgrims to Mecca indeed report that the powerful sensation of moving as one body with fellow believers from all over the world creates a strong sense of unity within the *umma*, or Muslim community (cf. Malcolm X 1973).

Particularly relevant in relation to the theme of pilgrimage is Durkheim’s argument that the high energy level associated with such events gets directed onto physical objects or people that then become ‘sacred’. Therefore, according to Durkheim rituals help establish a domain of the sacred which is dichotomously opposed to the domain of the profane, *i.e.* the everyday routines and mundane activities carried out by individuals or groups to secure a living. This characterisation of the sacred as that which is ‘set apart’, rather than ascribing it any substantive content, has formed the basis for much subsequent anthropological theorising about pilgrimage.

It was Arnold van Gennep who took up the theme of that which is ‘set apart’ in ritual in his theory on rites of passage (Van Gennep 1960). He defined ‘rites of passage’ as rites that accompany any change of place, state, social position, or age. Although he focused mostly on ceremonies that accompany individual life crises, Van Gennep also applied his theory to the study of rites that mark seasonal transitions. A key feature of his theory is that rites of passage are concerned with ‘regeneration’ that is brought about by symbolic enactment of death and rebirth. Another key feature of rites of passage is that they are marked by three phases: separation, transition (or *limen*, meaning threshold in Latin), and incorporation.

The first stage, separation, comprises symbolic behaviour signifying the detachment of the individual or group from the position they hitherto occupied in the social structure. During the transitional or ‘liminal’ second stage of the rite of passage, the characteristics of the ritual subjects are ambiguous: they pass through a cultural realm that bears little to no resemblance to their past or forthcoming state. The third stage, incorporation, finalises the ritual passage to a new state. It consists of rites in which the ritual subjects are welcomed into their new position in society. The extent to which each of these ritual phases is elaborated depends on the nature of the transition that is marked by the rite of passage. In funeral rites, for instance, rites of separation tend to be the most elaborate. In pregnancy rites or initiation ceremonies the emphasis is usually on transition, while incorporation rites tend to be most fully developed in wedding ceremonies.

The three stages of separation, transition, and incorporation can easily be recognised in the activities that pilgrims undertake preceding, during, and after performing the pilgrimage to Mecca (cf. Roff 1995; Saghi 2010). Air travel has made today’s journey to Mecca a much shorter and more convenient trip than it used to be, thus reducing the previously long phases of separation and liminality. Nevertheless, most pilgrims tend to engage in preparatory activities well before the actual date of departure. Such activities in what could be called

the phase of separation of the Hajj ritual consist of settling debt accounts and disputes; begging forgiveness from family and friends for any pain or grief one may have caused; collecting presents, greetings, and requests for special prayers during farewell parties; and attending preparatory Hajj classes organised by local mosques or Hajj-tour travel agencies. While, in a broader sense, the liminal phase starts as soon as the pilgrims have bidden farewell to their loved ones and actually embark on their journey, performing ritual purification rites and changing into special Hajj garments mark the most important transition to the liminal phase of *ihram*, or ritual consecration. Leaving the state of *ihram* after having concluded the obligatory rites that comprise the Hajj proper marks the beginning of the incorporation phase. This phase often culminates in an elaborate homecoming party followed by many more visits from friends who come to congratulate the new *hajjis* and share in the sacredness brought home in the form of water from the Zamzam well in Mecca and dates from Medina.

Considering the ease with which the tripartite symbolic structure of rites of passage can be recognised in pilgrimages, it is surprising that Van Gennep hardly included pilgrimage in his discussion of rites of passage. Yet, he did mention the state of *ihram* within the Hajj ritual as an example of a transitional phase (Van Gennep 1960: 185). It was not until the late 1960s, however, that his theory was developed into a theoretical model of pilgrimage by the anthropologist Victor Turner. Turner focused particularly on the attributes of liminality or liminal *personae*, most specifically on the sense of communion or 'communitas' that pilgrims experience during the transitional phase (Turner 1969; 1974). On the basis of his theory on liminality and communitas, he became one of the leading scholars in pilgrimage studies.

A key feature of the Turnerian model is the necessarily ambiguous condition of pilgrims during the liminal phase: they have stepped outside society and entered a new type of space and time where they are freed from the strictures of social structure. As liminal *personae*, they are 'neither here nor there'; 'betwixt and between' the positions assigned to them in secular social structure (Turner 1969: 95). Building on Van Gennep's argument concerning the symbolic enactment of death and rebirth in rites of passage, Turner remarked that liminality is frequently likened to death or to being in the womb (Turner 1969: 95). Also, liminal persons tend to be represented as having no possessions, clothing, or other attributes of status that would distinguish them from fellow participants in the ritual. Turner furthermore noted that patterns of behaviour that regulate ordinary life and social relations are turned upside down in the liminal phase, for example through abstention from eating or having sexual relations. Sometimes rules are even completely absent.

Central to Turner's argument is his contention that liminality creates a setting for what he called communitas, which would emerge in the absence of normal social structure. It occurs where distinctions between people fall away and interrelatedness, often in the guise of anonymity of individual participants,

takes central stage. *Communitas* refers to intense forms of comradeship and egalitarianism among liminal persons. Turner noted that this sharing and the equality of all generates an energising power that opens up space to reflect upon the social structure that characterises daily life and to imagine other forms:

Liminality, the optimal setting of *communitas* relations, and *communitas*, a spontaneously generated relationship between leveled [*sic*] and equal total and individuated human beings, stripped of structural attributes, together constitute what one might call anti-structure. *Communitas*, however, is not structure with its signs reversed, minuses verses pluses, but rather the *fons et origo* of all structures and, at the same time, their critique. For its very existence puts all social structural rules in question and suggests new possibilities. (Turner 1974: 202)

Being ‘stripped of structural attributes’ would allow liminal personae to experience or at least come close to the realisation of what it essentially means to be a human being. Turner noted, however, that *communitas* soon develops a structure, in which ‘free relationships between individuals become converted into norm-governed relationships between social personae’ (Turner 1969: 132). He therefore distinguished *existential* or spontaneous *communitas* from *normative* *communitas*. Normative *communitas* develops over the course of time, when existential *communitas* is organised into an enduring social system wherein religious specialists gain control over the pilgrimage site and the activities of pilgrims. A third type of *communitas* he identified was *ideological* *communitas*, that is, utopian blueprints for the reform of society based on the experience of existential *communitas* (Turner 1969: 132).

Hajj rites, particularly those that comprise the Hajj proper, contain many elements that can be recognised as attributes of liminality: the bidding farewell of beloved ones and the tradition of making up one’s testament before departing on the Hajj have connotations of preparing oneself for death. Also, during the state of *ihram* pilgrims should abstain from sexual relations, discontinue use of make-up or perfumed substances, refrain from clipping nails or cutting hair. They must break away from routines and concerns of daily life as much as possible in order to dedicate themselves fully to worshipping God. Furthermore, the two pieces of seamless white cloth that constitute the *ihram* dress of male pilgrims are of the same kind as those used as Muslim burial shrouds, and male pilgrims often save their *ihram* cloths for their eventual burials. As Pnina Werbner notes in Chapter 2 in this volume, the sequence of Hajj rites that pilgrims perform—which take pilgrims on a reverse trip through Islamic historiography—can be interpreted as symbolising death and rebirth. Werbner convincingly argues that this reversal of the original time sequence of sacred Islamic narratives is part of the process through which pilgrims gradually shed their sins and move backwards from

symbolic death towards purification, eventually becoming as pure and innocent as a newborn baby (cf. pp. 30-31 in this volume).

Evocations of *communitas* can also be recognised in Hajj rites, such as in the aforementioned flow of pilgrims circumambulating the Ka'ba, photographs of which can be seen in many government and business offices as well as in shops and private homes of Muslims. As Gerasimos Makris has noted, this iconic image of white concentric circles of moving humanity represents the pre-existing and, at the same time, emergent *umma*, or global community of believers (Makris 2007: 137). To illustrate the nature of *communitas*, Turner himself quoted Malcolm X, who characterised his Hajj experience as involving 'love, humility, and true brotherhood that was almost a physical feeling wherever I turned... we were truly all the same [brothers]' (Turner 1974: 168). Since Mecca is the only city on earth where no non-Muslims are allowed, one can imagine that the notion of a 'purified' *umma* where only Islam reigns can function as a powerful symbol for ideological *communitas* in the discourses of extremist Muslim groups who strive to establish an Islamic caliphate.

Turner's explanatory model has had an enormous impact on the anthropological study of pilgrimage. His argument about *communitas* and his attempt to move beyond functionalist depictions of religion as a representation of society has inspired many researchers. Indeed, the Turnerian paradigm remained dominant throughout much of the 1970s and 1980s. In the late 1980s, however, more and more studies appeared that questioned its validity. Central to this critique were the model's universalist claims to intrinsic qualities of pilgrimage and its approach to pilgrimage as a static, bounded ritual that is performed in places and times that are isolated from the everyday world outside. Turner's argument about *communitas* was, for example, criticised by Michael Sallnow on the basis of his own study of pilgrimage activities among the Quechua Indians in the Andes (Sallnow 1981; 1987). Also, in his study on changing patterns and the organisation of flows of people, goods, services, and ideas at several sacred sites in West Africa and Papua New Guinea, Richard Werbner criticised the Turnerian fixation on ritual boundaries (Werbner 1989).

The most influential challenge to the Turnerian model was formulated in *Contesting the Sacred*, a volume of collected papers discussing case studies of Christian pilgrimage, edited by John Eade and Sallnow in 1991. In the introduction to the volume, the editors stated that pilgrimage as an institution cannot be understood as a universal or homogeneous phenomenon, but should always be studied as historically and culturally embedded instances. They argued that pilgrimage sites have no intrinsic qualities, but act as 'empty vessels' that reflect visitors' assumptions in sacralised form. As a result, rather than being erased, social boundaries can in fact be reinforced through pilgrimage.

A main point of criticism on the Turnerian paradigm concerned what Eade and Sallnow called the 'idealising discourse' of *communitas*, which fails to take into account the mundane conflicts that are played out in pilgrimage. Arguing for an

approach that investigates how everyday political, economic, and social concerns inform pilgrimages, Eade and Sallnow proposed to study pilgrimage as ‘an arena for competing religious and secular discourses’ (Eade & Sallnow 1991: 15).

The research model proposed in *Contesting the Sacred* was dominant throughout the 1990s, a decade that was marked by an enormous increase in the number of studies that focused on pilgrimage centres as sites of contestations. In most of these studies, a place-centred approach was replaced by a more person-centred approach that took the combination of place, (networks of) persons, and authoritative religious texts as its point of analysis. For example, in her study of pilgrimage to the Church of the Madonna of the Annunciation on the Greek island of Tinos, Jill Dubisch demonstrated that the actual pilgrimage shrine should not be seen as a bounded and well-defined space, as Turner would have it. Rather, it functioned as the centre of a wide network of relationships extending over a vast geographical area (Dubisch 1995). This and the numerous other publications on specific case studies of pilgrimage that appeared in the years following *Contesting the Sacred* generally confirmed the book’s main theme: pilgrimage is an unruly process, the regularities of which cannot be contained within a universalist structural analysis such as proposed by Turner.

In case studies of Muslim pilgrimage, research on pilgrim sites as arenas for competition among groups or persons who are differently embedded in social relations in the mundane sphere can mostly be found in studies of *Ziyaras*, *i.e.* pilgrimages to local saints’ shrines (cf. Mernissi 1977; Fox 1989; Tapper 1990; Flaskerud 2014). A rare example in Hajj studies is an exposé by Michael Fischer and Mehdi Abedi on what they called “The Hajj “Rodeo””. The authors analysed different meaning registers among pilgrims in Mecca, most notably Shi’a contestation of Saudi control over the *Haramain*, *i.e.* the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and the performance of Hajj rites (Fischer & Abedi 1990: 150–221). Another example is the excellent work of Robert Bianchi from 2004. Bianchi’s chapter in this volume is in line with his main focus on Hajj politics in different Muslim-majority states. Some of his other publications, however, also contain references to contestations between pilgrim groups from different countries over practices and meanings during the Hajj proceedings.

As the field of anthropological pilgrimage studies expanded and matured, researchers increasingly felt constricted by having to work on either side of the *communitas* versus contestation controversy. In two separate articles, John Eade and Simon Coleman each reflected on the development of pilgrimage studies in the 1990s and acknowledged that, in their efforts to deconstruct universalist narratives and instead study pilgrimage as an arena for competition, researchers ran the risk of throwing out the baby with the bathwater by bringing to the fore contestation and rejecting the *communitas* model altogether (Eade 2000; Coleman 2002). Coleman noted, for instance, that the importance of contestation might be overestimated (Coleman 2002: 359). Discrepant discourses may be juxtaposed, rather than leading to (overt) struggle. While rival constituencies

may sometimes contend for ideological hegemony at pilgrimage sites, at other times different pilgrim groups do not seek confrontation, choosing instead to ignore each other as they perform their own rites. Also, even within contestation there may be instances of *communitas*, as when differences between pilgrim groups are overruled when more serious external antagonism occurs.

More importantly, an approach of considering pilgrimage sites as 'empty vessels' that are devoid of intrinsic meaning tends to ignore that certain behavioural parallels between different pilgrimage traditions can be observed across time and culture (Eade 2000). Another objection to the 'empty vessel' metaphor is that it suggests that pilgrimage can be interpreted exclusively in terms of representation and the reinforcement of ideas and ignores the effects of the performative power of embodied pilgrimage practices (Coleman 2002: 359). In the introduction to the jointly edited volume *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*, Coleman and Eade argued for an approach that takes into account both the specific behavioural patterns that may be observed in pilgrimage and the embeddedness of pilgrimage in the everyday social world of pilgrims (Coleman & Eade 2004). As the subtitle of their book indicates, they proposed a new focus on the mobility implied by pilgrimage. More concretely, they suggested the study of the interrelations between physical, spiritual, mental, and social movements of pilgrims.

In sum, there has been a shift from studying the institution of pilgrimage as a bounded category of action to approaching pilgrimage as an entry or example to study different kinds of movement related to various aspects of the socio-cultural life worlds of travellers. This approach has opened up new avenues and research questions, particularly concerning the impact of globalisation on pilgrimage (cf. Hermkens, Jansen & Notermans 2009; Hyndman-Rizk 2012). In line with Turner's oft-quoted remark that 'a pilgrim is always half a tourist' (Turner & Turner 1968: 20), an increased interest in the crossroads between pilgrimage and leisure travel is particularly notable (cf. Badone & Roseman 2004; Stausberg 2011; Timothy & Olsen 2006).

## **Towards an Anthropology of Hajj**

Considering the increased academic interest in pilgrimage on the one hand, and the centrality of Mecca in the Islamic tradition and its growing popularity as a religious travel destination on the other, one would expect the Hajj to be widely represented in the expanding body of pilgrimage studies. This, however, is hardly the case. An obvious starting point for a summary overview of the anthropology of the Hajj is the book *Muslim Travellers*, published in 1990 by Dale Eickelman and James Piscatory. The main question addressed in the book was 'What does travel contribute to "being Muslim"?' As the title suggests, the authors studied the Hajj and the Umra in relation to other forms of religious and cultural travel, such as general migration and travel to local shrines. Moreover,



most contributions in the volume focus on the political and economic motives at play in religious journeys of Muslim travellers. This focus also characterises subsequent articles on the Hajj, most of which written by anthropologists who studied the Hajj as a component of ethnographic research about other subjects. Rather than analysing the activities the pilgrims engage in while in Mecca, such publications necessarily take the contextual approach suggested by Coleman and Eade and focus on the embeddedness of pilgrimage in the everyday social and cultural life worlds from which pilgrims depart and to which they return.

With a few exceptions, including the aforementioned studies of Pnina Werbner and Fischer and Abedi, in such publications the focus is not so much on the performance and religious meanings of the Hajj itself, but on the impact of Hajj performance on broader societal issues. Raymond Scupin—the only author whose article mentioned here preceded *Muslim Travellers*—published an article about the social significance of the Hajj for Thai Muslims (Scupin 1982). Juan Eduardo Campo focuses on contestations between different Muslim groups over the role of the Hajj in the formation of modern Islam in Egypt (Campo 1991). Furthermore, in an oft-cited article, Carol Delaney studies the Hajj journey as a template for the summertime return trips taken by Turkish migrants in Germany to their origin country (Delaney 1999).

A considerable number of articles focus on the impact of the Hajj on West African societies (cf. Thayer 1992; Yamba 1995; Cooper 1999; Kenny 2007). Others, such as Joan Henderson, include Hajj in their analysis of Muslim tourism, often addressing the issue of the ‘authenticity’ of the Mecca experience (cf. Timothy & Iverson 2006; Collins & Murphy 2010; Henderson 2011). A recent trend are Hajj publications by authors who study the meaning of the Hajj for Muslims living in the West. What characterises studies of Western Muslims is a strong interest in the religious meanings of the Hajj and the ways in which religious styles relate to the social identifications and daily lives of people who have performed the Hajj. Contrary to most other publications mentioned here, such works tend not to be ‘spin-offs’ from research on other issues, but the result of research that has Muslim pilgrimage as its central focus. The present volume contains contributions in this field by Pnina Werbner and by Seán McLoughlin, both of whom have published substantially on the meaning of pilgrimage and other transnational activities for Pakistani Muslims in Great Britain (cf. Werbner 2001, 2002, 2003; McLoughlin 2009a,b, 2010, 2013). So far, the only monograph based on ethnographic fieldwork among European pilgrims in Mecca is *Paris-Mecque. Sociologie du Pèlerinage* by Omar Saghi, who joined a group of pilgrims of North African descent on their Hajj journey (Saghi 2010). In addition to the more extensive studies by McLoughlin, Saghi, and Werbner there is a fine article by Farooq Haq and John Jackson based on a short-term research project in which the expectations and experiences of Pakistani and Pakistani-Australian pilgrims of their visits to Mecca and Medina are compared (Haq & Jackson 2009).

While the impact of identity politics and simultaneous embeddedness in multiple cultural contexts on religiosity is quite obviously an important issue for Muslims living in the West, I would argue that religiosity, social identifications, and self-identity should be studied as interrelated issues in all Hajj research if we wish to understand the meaning of the Hajj for present-day Muslims. As Samuli Schielke has convincingly argued, in the current era of intensified globalisation, people's experiences are informed by various cultural discourses simultaneously (Schielke 2008). Such discourses shape the 'sensibilities', *i.e.* the moral and aesthetic dimensions of the experiences and emotions, in people's lives. Also, worldwide trends of improved transportation and economic circumstances that began in the late nineteenth century and have increased in the last few decades have brought travel within reach of ever more Muslims (cf. Gelvin & Green 2014). This has resulted in the emergence of new categories of pilgrims, many of whom make repetitive journeys to Mecca rather than performing the Hajj just once. An acquaintance of mine in Sidi Slimane, Morocco, for example, was offered a Hajj package tour by his company as a bonus for outstanding performance. Also, according to Abdulkader Tayob, Mecca is a popular honeymoon destination for South African Muslim newlyweds (Tayob, Personal Communication, 2014). In short, a certain routinisation and commodification of pilgrimage can be observed.

Recent trends in Hajj performance point to the development of forms of religiosity in which implicit ideologies of individualism and self-realisation through modern consumerism are rerouted towards religious consumption patterns (cf. Aziz 2001; Buitelaar & Saad 2010; Haenni 2011). In this respect, contemporary pilgrimage to Mecca reflects a broader trend of increased religious and heritage tourism (cf. Stausberg 2011; Timothy & Olsen 2006). Such trends, however, do not go uncontested. Contestations often take the form of moral claims concerning 'pure religion' versus 'profanation' of the 'sacred'. During the 2013 symposium that was organised at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden in relation to the Hajj exhibition, for example, a discussion arose between Famile Arslan, one of the speakers who shared her own Hajj experiences, and a person in the audience. The latter questioned the increasing popularity among adolescent Dutch Muslims of Moroccan and Turkish descent to perform the Umra and Hajj for what she suspected were wrong motivations, *e.g.* status elevation rather than piety. Arslan defended the position that others are not in a position to judge the religious intentions of pilgrims. Also, even in cases where the desire to go to Mecca might not be based exclusively on wishing to 'complete one's religion' (as performing this religious duty is often described), Arslan actually encourages young Dutch Muslims not to postpone the Hajj until old age. She explained that she does so for two reasons: first of all, the Hajj is very demanding, so a good physical condition helps a lot. Secondly, Arslan emphasised that the overwhelming experience of the Hajj will help young

Muslims in the Netherlands relate to their religious heritage and will inspire them to develop a religious lifestyle.

The viewpoints of both Arslan and the woman in the audience touch upon the importance of Mecca and the Hajj in the construction of religious identity among Muslims in the West. Especially since 9/11, a supposed opposition between Islam and Western civilisation dominates popular discourses in which Muslims are pitted against Westerners. As a result, Muslim religiosity ties in ever more closely with identity issues. Again, while identity issues may be more pressing for members of Muslim minority groups, particularly for those living in the West, such issues are certainly not confined to these categories. Similarly, while current discussions about the meaning of the Hajj in the modern world are closely related to political developments that have occurred over recent decades, such discussions have their roots in debates on Islamic reform that occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Therefore, if the anthropology of the Hajj is to develop further, it should not be restricted to the kind of spin-off articles and the more-thorough research into the meaning of the Hajj for Muslims in the West that have been described here. In order to gain more comprehensive anthropological insights into the practice and meaning of the Hajj in the modern world, I would suggest developing systematic comparative research projects among both Muslims living in Muslim-majority countries and those living in minority contexts. To grasp the religious meanings of the Hajj for present-day Muslims, besides addressing the socio-economic and political issues involved, I propose studying the Hajj in the context of everyday 'lived religion' (cf. Bianchi 2013; McGuire 2008; Schielke & Debevec 2012). Concretely, this implies addressing the following questions:

- 1) How are aspirations and motivations of Muslims to embark upon pilgrimage or to postpone the sacred journey related to other needs and pursuits in their daily lives?
- 2) How do pilgrims co-produce and experience the 'sensational' power of the Hajj? More specifically: What Hajj-related practices do they perform, and how do the mental and sensory experiences and feelings thus invoked reflect conceptions of religiosity, social identifications, and self-identity?
- 3) How do people categorise their own Hajj experiences and the practices of others in terms of 'sacred/mundane' and 'Islamic/non-Islamic', and how do such qualifications relate to the multiple social and personal positions from which they tell their stories?

By integrating a focus on behavioural parallels that may be observed in pilgrimage with a focus on the embeddedness of pilgrimage in the everyday social world of pilgrims, the application of this set of three interrelated, analytical questions contributes to developing new avenues that transcend the *communitas-versus-contestation* controversy in the anthropology of pilgrimage. The first question renders insights into the ways in which the desires and ambitions of pilgrims

(and non-pilgrims) are shaped by various discourses that inform the everyday lives of Muslims. The second question focuses on the Hajj as a rite of passage and analyses its sensational power to invoke feelings of *communitas* and transformation. To return to the issue of the spiritual magnetism of pilgrimage sites, a focus on the Hajj as lived religion departs from the view that pilgrims themselves co-constitute the spiritual magnetism of the various sites where Hajj rites are performed by investing it with their own embodied memories and emotions. The third question addresses the ways in which they thus establish plurality and creativity via the reconstitution of normative conceptions of the 'sacred' and 'mundane' through Hajj performance.

To illustrate what an approach to the Hajj as 'lived religion' might look like, I will present a joint research project that Richard van Leeuwen of the University of Amsterdam and I (representing the University of Groningen) have recently embarked upon, thanks to a research grant provided by The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). In this project we study personal stories about modern pilgrimage to Mecca. By addressing the questions formulated above, the research team will analyse how references in these stories to religiosity, social identifications, and self-identity reflect the ways in which the *habitus*—that is, the embodied dispositions that form a matrix for perceptions, appreciations, and actions of narrators of Hajj stories—is informed by various cultural discourses simultaneously.

The project's focus is on Hajj accounts produced in two crucial phases of modern transformation. One sub-project studies Mecca travelogues written between 1850 and 1945, when new modern circumstances and Muslim reformist thought changed the practice and experience of the Hajj. Van Leeuwen's contribution to this volume about the Hajj account of Rashid Rida is a preliminary result of this sub-project. Insights into the impact of the changes that occurred during this early modern era will help to contextualise Hajj trends in today's phase of Islamic revivalism and polarisation of the debate about the compatibility of perceived Islamic and Western values. To study present-day Hajj stories, a second ethnographic sub-project investigates the socio-cultural embeddedness of the Hajj in contemporary Morocco, while a third examines how Hajj accounts of Moroccan-Dutch pilgrims reflect trans-local senses of belonging.

Simultaneously, the University of Groningen is preparing a Hajj project in Indonesia to study how Indonesian views on the Hajj are negotiated in everyday social relations and micro-practices. In addition to the general research questions this project shares with the NWO project, one sub-project will study how practices and stories about the pilgrimage to Mecca are related to local pilgrimage activities on Central Java, such as visiting the Semar Cave and the *wali sanga*, or 'nine saints', who brought Islam to the island. A second sub-project will compare the Hajj stories derived from interviews with ordinary pilgrims with Hajj travelogues written by well-known Indonesian politicians and

celebrities (*e.g.* former President Suharto). For the third sub-project, a researcher will join a group of pilgrims embarking on the Umra to study the activities in which they engage in preparation for, during, and after the pilgrimage. Inspired by McLoughlin's study on the Hajj business in the United Kingdom, a fourth sub-project will study the organisation and practices of (state-organised) Indonesian travel agencies that offer Hajj and Umra tour packages as well as the various types of consumers to whom they cater. A fifth subproject will study the historical role of Indonesia-based Hadhrami Arabs in the organisation of the Hajj.

## In Conclusion

In the first section of this chapter, I demonstrated that many of the characteristics of a rite of passage are evidenced in the Hajj, such as references to liminality, *communitas*, and the transformation through symbolic death and rebirth by means of which pilgrims acquire a new social and religious position. However, the overview of Hajj studies provided in the second section illustrated that the meanings and structural family resemblances that the Hajj shares with other kinds of religious travel cannot be interpreted exclusively in terms of intrinsic meanings of the institution of pilgrimage. Rather, these studies illustrate that specific instances of Hajj performances must be understood within their wider historical and cultural contexts, each of them testifying to the Hajj as a changing tradition.

Concretely, I have pointed to a growing trend of routinisation and commodification of the Hajj and the emergence of new categories of pilgrims as a result of improved transportation and economic circumstances. Particularly in the present era of intensified globalisation, the life worlds of Muslims are informed by various cultural discourses that affect the moral and aesthetic dimensions of their desires and experiences. Therefore, the 'spiritual magnetism' of Mecca can take on different meanings for different categories of Muslims and even for different individual Muslims during different stages of their lives. Also, a variety of conceptions of 'sacred' and 'mundane' aspects of the Hajj may be constituted, blurred, and contested in concrete pilgrimage practices.

In order to study the personal Hajj experiences of present-day Muslims, I proposed in the last part of this chapter an approach to Hajj research that integrates the study of religious styles, social identifications, and conceptions of self. The overall aim of this approach is to document modern articulations of pilgrimage to Mecca. Within the field of Islam studies, this approach will contribute to the production of anthropological insights into the dynamics of Islam as a living tradition. The contribution to the field of pilgrimage studies is equally important; because of the near-unique compulsory character of the Hajj, this approach will shed light on the family resemblances among different

instances of pilgrimage and on the particularities of the Hajj as a core ritual practice in the Islamic tradition.

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# **SACRIFICE, PURIFICATION AND GENDER IN THE HAJJ: PERSONHOOD, METONYMY, AND RITUAL TRANSFORMATION**

*Pnina Werbner*

For Muslims the Hajj, the global pilgrimage of Muslims to Mecca, is the ultimate pre-text for all other Islamic pilgrimages. As an ancient ritual, the Hajj is highly elaborate both symbolically and cosmologically, deriving its authority and transformative power from sacred Islamic texts and traditions that have been intricately in ritual practice. Other pilgrimages, such as those to Muslim saints' shrines in South Asia (known as *ziyara*), are often modelled on the Hajj and, like it, often create realms of anti/counter-structure through ritual movement. Some of the more ancient of these saints' shrines have become the sites of highly elaborate annual rituals. The present chapter first considers the Hajj as a ritual of purification, sacred exchange, and gender, before moving on to discuss pilgrimage to saints' shrines, known by some pilgrims to these shrines as a 'little hajj'.

Broadly speaking, pilgrimages generate movements of exorcism and purification, on the one hand, and connections between distant places through sacred exchanges, on the other (R. Werbner 1989; Werbner & Basu 1998). The waters of the Ganges (Gold 1988) or of the Zamzam (the spring in Mecca), the earth of Mwali in South-Central Africa or of Karbala in modern-day Iraq, gowns, amulets, and other accoutrements all crystallise embodied connections between a sacred centre and its extended peripheries, sometimes even leading to a trade in 'charismatic amulets' (Tambiah 1984: 195-207). The connection is metonymic as well as metaphoric. Indeed, the whole study of ritual embodiment, and of charisma as sacred embodiment, necessarily hinges on an understanding of symbolic movement as effecting both a metonymic and metaphoric transformation. Meaning is substantively inscribed by creating contiguities and connections, while inscription is rendered meaningful.

## **The Hajj as a Ritual that Reverses Time**

My research on the Hajj was conducted in Manchester, England during the late 1990s through discussions with returning Pakistani *hajjis* settled in the United Kingdom, who, in telling me of their journey in minute detail, relived the

experience of the Hajj while reflecting, at my request, on its significance. Part of the same ritual pilgrimage, performed outside the Hajj month, is known as Umra.

A key point I make in this chapter, usually ignored in discussions of the Hajj and of Islam more generally, is that the Hajj pilgrimage ritual, perhaps the most important communal ritual in Islam, is as much focused on a woman as on a man. This is surprising if we accept the usual stereotype that Islam is a patriarchal religion in which women have second-class status (that is, they are regarded as inferior to men). In the Hajj, men identify with a woman and her suffering, just as women identify with men. I will return to this theme later. First, however, I want to consider the transformations in subjectivity and personhood the Hajj effects.

The anthropologist Victor Turner introduced the notions of 'anti-structure' and 'communitas' to powerfully capture an important dimension of the pilgrimage ritual experience (1974: 166-230). At the same time, he glossed over the fact that pilgrimage is in itself a highly structured process of metonymic (*i.e.* substantive) and not just metaphoric transformation. The view I want to propose here is that pilgrimage in general, including the Hajj, is a ritual performance both of 'anti-structure' in the sense meant by Turner—that is, an overturning and reversal of everyday life and everyday divisions—and 'counter-structure'. The counter-structural features of pilgrimage refer to the fact that pilgrims expect to undergo not only a spiritual renewal, but a renewal of personhood through contact with the sacred and a renewal of community through the bearing of that which has been in contact with the sacred home, into the structured mundane world. These transformations of personhood and home often require a highly structured and elaborate series of symbolic acts. Some of these acts may be in the form of transactions with ritually designated persons; others consist of circumambulating, running, throwing stones, touching, sleeping in the open air, and so forth.

Seen as sacred journeys, the ritual counter-structure of the Hajj and Umra cycle of rites achieve the desired symbolic transformation in the person of the pilgrim through a series of significant alternations and reversals *in time*. The move is from the present to the past. Starting from Mina, the place of Abrahamic sacrifice, on the eighth day of the month of Hajj, the pilgrims are moved *back* in time on the ninth day at the valley of Arafat, which symbolises both the beginning and end of time. Thus I was told by a Sufi Qadiri vicegerent, or *khalifa*, in Manchester: 'We believe that when Adam and Hava [Eve] were sent down to earth they met together near the Ka'ba at the Mountain of Mercy at Arafat'. Another returning pilgrim thought that Adam and Eve weren't sent down together. Adam was sent to Arafat; Eve was sent to another place. So they met at Arafat. This was the place where Adam asked for forgiveness after he was tempted by the devil and ate from the forbidden fruit in Paradise.

But Arafat is also, as several pilgrims told me, the place of the day of judgement, or the end of time. The Qadiri *khalifa* continued: 'People go to Arafat because Muhammad went there [remembering] Arafat. On the day of judgement all the people will gather there. All the people will rise from their graves and run towards Arafat on the day of judgement'. She went on to explain the link between Adam and Eve and the holy Ka'ba, which was rebuilt, according to tradition, by Abraham and his son Ishmael after the binding of the son:

Before Ibrahim and Isma'il there was just desert there [at Mecca], no stones or bricks. Then we believe that after they met with each other and, being forgiven by almighty God, they needed a place of worship on earth. Almighty God had appointed the angel, Jibril, to build a place for Adam and Eve to worship. And he came down with his angels and built a place of worship for them and their descendants. There was a house there but the society was not as today—the people were still living in caves. The house was demolished during the storm of Noah [the flood] to the ground. But still its foundation was there. When the Prophet Ibrahim and Isma'il, his son, came there from Egypt, they received a revelation to build up this house again. The Prophet Ibrahim again prayed to almighty God to guide him to the place where he should build the house. God instructed Jibril to put a cloud upon that place and revealed to Ibrahim to dig around the shadow of the cloud. And when the Prophet Ibrahim and Isma'il were digging round the corner of the cloud they were amazed to find the foundation already laid down underneath. They stopped digging and raised the house there.

The *khalifa* continued:

We believe that the whole Hajj is Sufism—simplicity ...under the heaven—total submission. I went to practise Sufism there [at the valley of Arafat] even though the heat was quite intolerable. The sun burns the sins. The sun is like water: both bring purification. Over there you don't fast. People do eat, but very little. Why is the night so powerful? At night [in the valley of Muzdalifa where the pilgrims go in the evening after Arafat] it is quiet, there are no distractions. You do remember your children and family but no other love except the love of God and His Prophet. Naturally, on Hajj the attention is only on God and the Prophet, no one else.

When we arrive at Mina we still carry the burden of the city. We perform five prayers at Mina (over the whole day). During midday at Mina we first experience trouble, difficulties, and hardship, but we're still not very exhausted; we still have [physical] resistance.

Then we perform the next prayer and the next prayer. We wear only two sheets and roam almost barefoot (we wear rubber sandals). The next day we move to Arafat. This is the most important day and a test of one's faith because now you are living entirely without a roof over your head, food, or any facilities. This is again Sufism, because now a person's spirit is free from all the dirt of materialism. The soul is becoming more and more powerful because over there people pray. They cannot cut their nails or trim their hair or their beards. They cannot make any physical changes in themselves. Just as when they were born and their nurse put them into sheets, and when they go to their graves they will go in sheets. Sufis believe everyone is equal—even a king is equal to others. King, slaves, and servants all have the same dress.

The Hajj ritual is highly elaborate. From the valley of Arafat where the pilgrims spend a day under the baking sun, they move to the valley of Muzdalifa where they spend the night and collect 49 tiny pebbles. Returning to Mina for the second time on the tenth day of the Hajj, they cast one lot of seven pebbles onto a single devil-pillar, that of Aqaba. They then perform the *qurban* (animal sacrifice, Urdu) and eat the meat. Finally, they shave their head or clip their hair (in the case of women), though cutting a lock of hair is acceptable for both men and women. Once they have completed the sacrificial meal, they can put on their usual clothes and all taboos are lifted, except for prohibition on sexual intercourse.<sup>1</sup>

The sacrifice of the *Eid al-Adha*, which commemorates the binding of Ishmael by his father Abraham and takes place on the tenth day of the Hajj after the return from Muzdalifa to Mina, is thus framed by several encounters with manifestations of the devil, represented by three pillars in the valley of Mina. The first encounter takes place just before the sacrifice. Following the sacrifice and the pilgrims' performance of the Umra ritual, there is a further double encounter with each of the three devils.

This reversal of the original time sequence of the sacred Qur'anic (and biblical) narratives is not accidental, in my view, but part of the process through which the pilgrim gradually sheds her or his sins by moving backwards in time, becoming as pure and innocent (*ma'sum*) as a newborn infant. The pilgrim starts this symbolic journey dressed in two white sheets, likened to the shrouds of a corpse, but these are transmuted in the course of the ritual into the sheets wrapping a new

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1 Nowadays, the Saudi government—in order to avoid meat being wasted—encourages pilgrims to buy coupons instead of buying and sacrificing an animal themselves. The meat from sheep sacrificed through coupon sales is frozen and distributed among the needy in Muslim countries. For many pilgrims, however, the sacrifice is such a crucial element of the Hajj that they prefer to select the sacrificial animals themselves. While most of the animals sacrificed at Mina are subsequently given to charity, a small portion is given to the pilgrims to be cooked and eaten.

baby. After the sacrifice commemorating the binding of Ishmael, the pilgrims' heads are shaved or clipped and they are reborn as new persons.

On the tenth day of the Hajj, following the sacrifice, the pilgrims move to Mecca to perform the Meccan ritual.<sup>2</sup> This ritual, also performed on its own throughout the year when it is known as Umra, highlights the time reversal of the narrative even more clearly. The movement during Umra begins with *tawaf*, the circumambulation of the house of God, which is believed to have been rebuilt by Abraham and Ishmael *after* their re-unification. In the second phase, the pilgrim moves to the sacred spring, the Zamzam, which Hagar discovered had sprung from the heel of Ishmael as he lay wailing in the sand when mother and son were banished into the desert by Abraham. Here the pilgrims wash and drink the water. The final stage of the Umra is *sa'i*, the running back and forth between the two hills of Safa and Marwa, which recalls Hagar's agonised running in search of water for her baby boy after the banishment. The movement is thus backwards, from death towards purification like a baby.

Having completed the Meccan episode, many of the pilgrims return once more to Mina on day ten for a final stoning—this time of all three devils on days eleven and twelve (and sometimes even on the thirteenth day) of the Hajj-month. Altogether in the post-Meccan stoning, the pilgrims cast 42 pebbles, fourteen on each of the pillars over two days. The pilgrims start from the pillar farthest from Mecca and end with the Aqaba pillar, which is the nearest. In the original narrative, Abraham (some say Ishmael) encountered these three devils *before* the binding of Ishmael. During Hajj and Umra, the multiple stonings of the devils (except for the first stoning) occur *after* the sacrifice, reversing the original narrative. Finally, the pilgrims return to Mecca for another re-enactment of the Meccan ritual. The Hajj thus lasts three plus three days and is built on an alternation between the Umra ritual at Mecca and the Hajj sacrifice at Mina, each of which is repeated twice (Hajj/Umra/Hajj/Umra = Mina/Mecca/Mina/Mecca). Arafat is the place of exposure to the sun and intense heat. Muzdalifa, which follows, is exposure to complete darkness and night. Arafat is said to be the holiest site, and people believe that whatever prayer is said there will be accepted; any sin will be forgiven. They cry to ask for forgiveness—to purify themselves.

The Hajj is thus a moral allegory that must be understood in relation to its sacred pre-texts, which are the binding of Ishmael and the banishment of Hagar. The sequence of acts, moreover, brings about a series of identifications with exemplary persons. The key identifications elicited are with Abraham and the ordeal he faced in having to sacrifice his son, and with his wife Hagar and the ordeal she faced in wandering with her son in the desert with no water to quench his thirst. The mythic narratives of these two exemplary persons are structurally identical. In both, a parent is asked to sacrifice his or her child for the sake of God

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2 For a step-by-step presentation of the rites of Hajj and Umra discussed in this chapter, see [http://www.hajjumrahguide.com/hajj\\_stepbystep.html](http://www.hajjumrahguide.com/hajj_stepbystep.html).



without losing faith in God. In both, God intervenes miraculously at the final moment to save the child from certain death. The pilgrims re-enact this dual ordeal during the Hajj and Umra.

Islamic traditions stress the voluntary nature of these ordeals: Ishmael knew in advance, pilgrims told me, that God had ordered Abraham to sacrifice him and obey His will. Hagar, too, accepted the edict of God. Hence one pilgrim explained:

Mina is where Ibrahim sacrificed Isma'il. The pillars are the places where the devil tried to stop him. The first devil was small, the second medium, and the third large. Isma'il said to Ibrahim: "Tie my legs and put my face away [from you] so that the affection [you feel for me] won't stop you [from fulfilling God's will]".

She explained about Abraham's ordeals: 'Whomever Allah likes most, he tests more than others'. Hence Hagar was sent into the desert in order that water could be found and the Ka'ba rebuilt.

The identification with a woman is significant. A woman pilgrim who had just returned from Hajj explained to me that the story of Ishmael and Hagar was very important to her as a woman. When she was there and performing *sa'i*, she said, she reflected on what an effort Hagar as a mother had made for her son. Just as all the pilgrims, both male and female, identify with Abraham, a male, so too they all identify with Hagar, a female.

The Hajj pilgrimage creates another key identification. Pilgrims invariably explain that they perform the Hajj in this particular order because this is the way the Prophet performed it—they are merely retracing his footsteps. When they visit Arafat, one pilgrim told me, they stand where Adam stood on the Mount of Mercy (*Jabal Rahma*) to ask God for forgiveness.

In Arafat Adam asked in the name of the *kalima* [There is no god but God...] for forgiveness, so we go there to ask God's forgiveness for our sins. The Hajj belongs to the Prophet Ibrahim, as does the *Eid al-Adha*. There are two *sunna* [rules of behaviour based on the example of the Prophet's life as given in the *Hadith*], Ibrahim's and Muhammad's. It moves from Adam to Ibrahim. The Prophet did the same [when he performed the first Hajj].

Although the transformation effected in pilgrims is fundamentally a spiritual one, pilgrims return from Hajj bearing with them sacred tokens—bottles of water from the holy Zamzam spring as well as dates, rosaries, and shawls. They sprinkle the water on people back home, spreading the blessings they received.<sup>3</sup> One woman pilgrim told me:

When Hazrat Mariam [the mother of Jesus] had labour pains she closed the palm of her hand, and the patterns were imprinted on the ground. There is a plant called Hand of Mary which I brought

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3 For a discussion of similar metonymic transfer in Turkey, see Delaney 1990: 520.

back from Mecca. You put it into water at delivery [of a child] and it opens up, and you give the water to women to drink. It helps with labour pains. At Umra you cut the hair, it's a *sunna*, like when you shave the hair of a newborn baby. We give the weight away in silver or gold as *sadaqa* [alms given to avert misfortune].

The making of *qurban* sacrifice during the Hajj is thus a moment in a sequence of structural transformations that propels the movement of pilgrims on Hajj towards blessed innocence, a state embodied in the sacred water and dates they carry home with them.

Sacrifice is a key moment of transition in this process. In saints' lodges and shrines in South Asia, this moment is expanded and magnified to become the central trope of the lodge, binding together the moral ideas of mystical Sufism with the organisational agendas of the lodges as centres of far-flung regional cults. Sacrifice in Islam as performed during the Hajj is a moment of ordeal and release, in which a person's faith in God is tested. One of the key features of the *Eid al-Adha* sacrifice on the Hajj is that both the sacrificial slaughter and the prayers accompanying it are believed to be multiplied a thousand times. In explaining the Hajj, Sharif Ahmad, a distinguished British *alim* (man learned in Islamic law and sciences) in the Deobandi, reformist tradition told his congregation:

When one person asks blessings alone from his God, he shall get the blessing. But if many people ask for blessing all together, they will get manifold blessings. The bigger the congregation is when they ask for blessings, the more blessings Allah will give them, and in the whole world there is no gathering of human beings asking for Allah's blessings as large as that of the Hajj. And this gathering only takes place on the Mount of Rahmat and in Arafat, nowhere else. And on the day of Hajj, millions and millions of people, on the same day and with the same intention, call out to their God. So the blessings of God come running towards them. This state, this atmosphere, and this situation cannot be found on any other day, any other time, or any other situation. The time of Hajj is the time of blessing. On that day, if a person asks for blessing with a true heart, he will get a river of blessings and will be purified. Such a person will feel so pure, as though he was just born from his mother's belly.

What is stressed here is mediation with God not by a single man, but by the community of believers united in their intentionality and focused on Allah. While for Sufis the mediation of the Prophet and of saints on the day of judgement is a cornerstone of their belief, this mediation is itself mediated by the ability of these saints to mobilise the multitude in a shared ordeal. Like the sacrifice, and like Hagar's ordeal in the desert, the day in the valley of Arafat—exposed to the heat of the sun—is regarded as a test of faith.

### The 'Little Hajj': Ritual Pilgrimage to Saints' Tombs

There is a popular belief among Muslims in South Asia that 'seven pilgrimages to Ajmer (the shrine of Moinuddin Chishti in India) are equal to performing the Hajj' (Moini 1989: 24). As Indian researcher A.A. Saheb tells us of the shrine of Saint Sahul Hameed Nagore in Tamil Nadu:

Among devotees the prevalent, strongly held belief is that a pilgrimage to a sacred centre brings religious merit on the Day of Judgement. ...The pilgrimage to Mecca is obligatory for those Muslims who can afford the journey. It is believed that every step taken in the direction of pilgrimage to Mecca washes out a mortal sin (Hughes 1975: 136). The Muslim poor who cannot afford the trip to Mecca perform pilgrimage instead to local saints' tombs, believing that their visits convey the same merit as that of the Hajj (1998: 60).

This implies, Saheb points out, that 'Sufi saints possess the power to bring about not only material blessings, but also the same religious merit endowed by the pilgrimage to Mecca' (ibid.).

But the connection between the Hajj and *ziyara* (visit) goes beyond merit. It is also metaphoric, embedded in a cosmic understanding of global connectedness, and metonymic, physically and materially connected. Thus Frembgen tells us of one of the founders of the Chishti order in India, the great saint Nizamuddin Auliya, who was 'said to have been carried every morning to the Ka'ba by a flying camel and brought back to Delhi in time for breakfast' (2011: 127). In the case of the shrine of Lal Shabaz Qalandar at Sehwan Sharif in Sindh, Frembgen was told that 'Qalandar Lal Shahbaz went on the Hajj every year. He flew through the air in the form of a royal falcon. Everyone knows that' (2011: 149). Indeed, during the Sehwan Sharif annual *urs* festival commemorating the death and rebirth of a Sufi saint, pilgrims re-enact the Hajj ritually and cosmologically:

A few steps downwards, in the direction of the city, stands a rock painted white, on which pious pilgrims believe they discern the footprint of the horse of the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, Mawla Ali's. Next to it are three stone piles, at which pilgrims—like the three stone pillars in Mecca during the Hajj—symbolically throw stones at Satan. They use seven pebbles. They also beat the stones with sticks and shoes and recall how Satan appeared three times to Abraham, his wife Hagar, and their son Ishmael. (Frembgen 2011: 127-128)

More generally, Ernst reports that 'like the hajj, ziyarat calls for circumambulation... in this case of the tomb rather than the Ka'ba. Some enthusiastic pilgrims actually found ziyarat to be superior to the Hajj' (1993: 50). Similarly, Valdinoci (2008: 215) first notes that *tawaf* is a key ritual of the

pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca, performed by making seven rounds around the Ka'ba, and then adds that 'in the *dargāh* (shrines) of the Subcontinent, *tawaf* came to be a widespread practice among pilgrims, promoting the view according to which the saint identified metaphorically with the Ka'ba, as symbolic centre of the universe (2008: 215). However, he adds in a footnote that, while in the Arab world the *tawaf* is performed anticlockwise, in South Asia it is made clockwise (ibid.: 215-216).

Even beyond South Asia, in Tunisia and Bosnia for example, where for many Muslims the Hajj is 'an impossible dream', local pilgrimage to a saint's tomb serves as a 'substitute' (Brockman 2011: 267). Of the Kari'ci shrine in the Central Bosnian highlands: Henig reports that he was told 'in the past people said, "Kari'ci, this is our little hajj"' (2012: 758).

Ritual elaboration at saints' shrines during the annual *urs* festival that commemorates the saint's death and unification with God varies. Shrines of great antiquity often have highly elaborate rituals. For example, at Nagore-e-Sharif, the *urs* lasts several weeks. The devout, converging in processions from different neighbourhoods, move back and forth to the lodge over an extended period. They carry with them illuminated chariots, flags, and sacred models of ships and boats, flower-bedecked palanquins, and model fish, communally and individually owned, to be revitalised at the lodge (Saheb 1998: 65). Some pilgrims come from as far away as Singapore and Sri Lanka. The procession includes Hindus and Muslims, as well as many different castes and organised associations. At the shrine itself, cannons are fired, flags are hoisted on the minarets, and there is a display of fireworks followed on successive days by the installation of a 'ritual saint' that is anointed with sandalwood paste. Rituals include the offering of *chaddars* (large shawls); a play of lemons, said to bring blessings and fertility; and finally, a move towards the seashore, where the ceremonial saint breaks his fast and pays tribute to the ocean saint *Khizr* before returning to the *dargah* (for a full description, see Saheb 1998).

But even recent shrines have elements of ritual transformation, as I found in my study of Ghamkol Sharif, a lodge in the north-west frontier of Pakistan (P. Werbner 2003). A key unlocking the symbolic structure of the *urs* ritual at Ghamkol Sharif is the fact that no one leaves before the final *du'a* (supplicatory prayer) of the Shaikh. Once the *du'a* supplication is made, devotees rush to their buses and trucks. In less than an hour, no trace is left of the city of tents that had covered the valley, except the billowing dust raised by the departing vehicles' wheels.

The progression of the *urs* at Ghamkol Sharif may be traced from its first moment, the *julus* (procession) or *qafila*, the movement through space, which inscribes the earth with the name of Allah. The second stage is that of *karama*: once they reach their destination pilgrims retrace the mythology of the lodge by visiting its sacred sites. In the third phase, *langar*, pilgrims share in the communal food through which the saint nurtures the congregation. In the fourth phase,

*mulaqat*, delegations of pilgrims from a particular place meet with the Shaikh to take *bai'a* (vow of allegiance), receive *ta'wiz* (an amulet) or simply bask in his light. This is when he gives his special disciples or *khalifas* gifts of caps, scarves, or gowns, the latter worn by him over the year and imbued with his charisma. Like a thread running through the whole *urs*, from the moment pilgrims leave their home, is the fifth key ritual act: *dhikr* (remembrance of Allah), recited throughout the three nights of the *urs*. Along with *dhikr* are *na'ats*, which are praise poems to the Prophet. Sixth is *shajara*, the reciting of the sacred genealogy of the order. This is read out in the final session of *urs* after all the *khalifas*, dressed in black on white, approach the stage along with the *pir* himself. Seventh is *taqrir*, the exegetic speech by a learned scholar. Finally, we reach the *du'a*.

In different senses all these ritual acts are ways of reaching out materially to the saint's grace. I use the word 'grace' here deliberately because too much weight has been put by scholars of Sufism, including anthropologists, on *barkat* (Urdu for *baraka* in Arabic), or 'blessing', as though this one term could sum up the complex ideas about charisma and blessing held by Sufi followers. In reality, there is a whole lexicon of terms referring to subtle differences in modes of saintly blessing. These terms together form a *symbolic complex of blessing*. The subtle variations between the terms are important, because they provide insight into the way Sufi cosmology is embodied and embedded in more usual ways of Islamic ritual blessing.

Perhaps the most central Sufi term for saintly blessing, at least in South Asia, is not *barkat* but *faiz* (Persian, *fa'ida* in Arabic), a word which I have translated as 'divine grace' and that followers use to refer to the divine light flowing through the saint and from him to his disciples. It is a light that both illuminates and feeds or nurtures. It reaches into the hearts of men and women even over great distances, whenever they pray a prescribed liturgy or evoke the image of the saint in front of their inner eye. The saint literally glows with *faiz*. He can project it at will, transferring it at a glance to a trusted *khalifa*. It shines with his munificence and beneficence, an inner quality that his appearance and facial expression reveal.

In ethical terms, then, *faiz* is the light of generosity, kindness, and concern emanating from the saint and communicated to his followers. Through *faiz*, a *pir* creates the tie, *rabta*, binding him to his followers. *Faiz* is the embodiment of his spiritual power, *ruhaniyat*, another key term that is used to express the *pir's* spirituality as a powerful force. *Barkat* is the third term in this symbolic complex. In Islam, *barkat* may come directly from God without the intercession of a *pir*. It may be mediated by the community or the poor. When people hold a sacrifice or give part of an offering to the poor, they regard the commensal food following their prayers as imbued with *barkat*. In this sense, it is a general Islamic term for divine blessing. *Barkat* imbues objects, such as the salt given out by the *pir*, or the *langar*, with the power of procreation, proliferation, fecundity, expansion, life, fertility, and growth (of children, crops, wealth, job prospects, health, and

so forth). *Barkat* is magical and contagious. The very touch of a *pir* can imbue an object with *barkat*. This means that the *pir* himself is charged physically with *barkat*, which explains why he is constantly mobbed by devout followers, his life endangered in their attempts to touch him. Linked to all these terms is another term, *ruhani khorakh*, or spiritual food. The *pir* is said to nurture his followers spiritually.

Finally, there is *du'a*, the supplication, and *fazl*, the blessings, received through the *du'a* in accordance with God's own judgement of what is best for His followers. *Du'a* means both supplication and benediction. It also means blessing. Any person can say *du'a* on behalf of a congregation. In this sense *du'a*, like *baraka*, is a general Islamic term. But the *du'a* of a *pir*, said on the final day of the *urs* after all the *dhikr* recitations and *langar* feedings of the masses, is enormously powerful. It is believed that at that moment, the soul of the dead saint whom the *urs* commemorates and the souls of all the *awliya* and the prophets, gather over the congregation. Their combined spirituality is directed towards the saint's appeal to God for blessing and healing. That is why no one goes home before the final *du'a*. It is the whole point of the *urs* ritual.

The *urs*, of course, is also a wedding; a marriage of the departed Sufi saint with God, as the word in Arabic implies. That is why the women dye the palms of their hands with *mehndi* (henna). While Zindapir was alive, this wedding motif was not expressed in the ritual itself. It merely existed at the conceptual level. Since his death, however, the wedding theme has come to be enacted in practice very clearly through the placing of *chaddars* on the grave. The men approach the grave carrying the *chaddar* by its four corners so that it is raised horizontally above the ground, much as the *chaddar* is carried to be placed over the bride's head during the *mehndi* ritual (P. Werbner 1990/2002: 259-303). As they proceed through the *darbar*, people throw rupee bank notes intended as *nazrana* (tribute) or *sadqat* (alms, in Urdu) onto the horizontally held cloth, just as they do at *mehndis*. The procession arrives singing at the grave before the men jointly cover the raised mound, much as a bride would be covered. Rose petals and other garlands of flowers or bank notes are also thrown on the grave, just as they are thrown during weddings.

Like the Hajj, then, pilgrimages to saints' tombs during *urs* celebrations are anti-structural moments in which mundane hierarchies are erased and pilgrims experience a sense of egalitarian participation as they reach out to receive God's blessings. As in the Hajj, the ritual performance at Sufi pilgrimage shrines may also be conceived of as counter-structural, in that it is a series of often elaborate ritual acts through which pilgrims come into contact with the sacred and achieve closeness to God. In both the Hajj and *urs* (or *mawlid*), pilgrims share in a sacrificial meal and engage in sacred exchange, carrying with them gifts and donations to the sacred centre and departing from it with water, earth, and other sacred objects associated with the centre. Of equal importance, pilgrims who cannot afford to perform the Hajj value the pilgrimages to saints' shrines

in South Asia as a substitute; they explicitly refer to the Hajj in ritual acts of mimesis at Sufi shrines or in mythical narratives of miraculous travel to Mecca. Where the Hajj differs from the 'lesser' pilgrimage to Sufi saints' shrines is in its unique aim to achieve individual, subjective purification from sin as pilgrims are moved ritually backwards in mythic time to a moment of innocent purity.

## Conclusion

We return then to the Hajj. For Muslims the Hajj, more than any other Islamic ritual, is the ultimate archetype for all sacred exchanges during pilgrimage. In telling me of their journey in minute detail, returnees from the Hajj relived the experience of the pilgrimage while reflecting, at my request, on its significance. The Hajj, I have argued, ritually re-enacts a moral allegory that must be understood in relation to its sacred pretexts, which are the binding of Ishmael and the banishment of Hagar. The key identifications elicited are gendered and equivalent: that of Abraham and the ordeal he faced in having to sacrifice his son, and that of his wife Hagara and the ordeal she faced in wandering with her son in the desert with no water to quench his thirst. The mythic narratives of these two exemplary persons, woman and man, are structurally identical. In both, a parent is asked to sacrifice his or her child for the sake of God without losing faith in God. In both, God miraculously intervenes at the final moment to save the child from certain death. The pilgrims re-enact this dual ordeal during the Hajj and Umra. Seen as a sacred journey, the counter-structure of the Hajj ritual achieves, I have argued here, the desired symbolic transformation in the person of the pilgrim through a series of significant alternations and reversals in time. This reversal of the original time sequence of the sacred Qur'anic (and biblical) narratives is part of the process through which the pilgrim gradually sheds her or his sins by moving backwards in time and becomes as pure and innocent (*ma'sum*) as a newborn infant.

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# PILGRIMAGE, PERFORMATIVITY, AND BRITISH MUSLIMS: SCRIPTED AND UNSCRIPTED ACCOUNTS OF THE HAJJ AND UMRA<sup>1</sup>

*Seán McLoughlin*

## Introduction

I don't think the person who you're describing it to can really appreciate what you're telling them ... if you are eating something ... and it's very tasty or it's very sweet, and you try to explain that to somebody ... they will never experience how that food tastes, how nice it is, until they've actually experienced that for themselves. (Danyal, 40s, engineer, Scotland, Hajj 1999)

Western scholarship on the Hajj has mainly been the focus of generalised comment rather than specific, in-depth studies (Roff 1985). In Islamic studies especially, the pilgrimage has most often been studied with reference to Muslim history from the prophetic era until early modern times (Von Grunebaum 1950; Peters 1994). More often than not the focus has been upon more or less authoritative texts associated with different literary traditions, as well as the material artefacts of high and sometimes more popular culture (cf. Porter & Saif 2013). However, since the 1990s, in edited collections and journal articles, anthropologists working on Muslim societies have also begun to include the Hajj among their interests. Topics of study have included travel and the religious imagination, social change, the idea of sacred homelands, and ritual transformations (Eickelman & Piscatori 1990; Fischer & Abedi 1990; Delaney 1990; Werbner 1998). However, while contributing to the still relatively new sub-field of the anthropology of Islam (Geertz 1968; Eickelman 1981; Asad 1986; cf. Lindholm 2002; Varisco 2005; McLoughlin 2007), perhaps surprisingly such work has not provided a systematic account of lived experiences of performing the Hajj. While fascinating memoirs do begin to illuminate the pilgrimage thus (Hammoudi

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1 I completed this chapter, and the November 2013 conference presentation at the National Museum of Ethnology on which it is based, during a one-year British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship. I wish to thank the British Academy for their very generous support of my research and writing on British Muslims and the Hajj during 2013–2014. I also wish to thank the British Museum, and especially Dr. Venetia Porter, for inviting me to contribute to the Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded research that supported the *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam* exhibition during 2012. As noted in the body of my text, the interviews on which this chapter is based were collected by the British Museum during the 'Living Islam' festival in 2011. Dr. Porter kindly gave me permission to have the interviews transcribed and to write about the data herein.

2006; cf. Malcolm X 1964; Wolfe 1997), it is this gap in the literature that my research addresses. Working across the fields of the anthropology of Islam, pilgrimage studies, sociology of religion, and diaspora studies to present a case study of late-modern lived 'religioning' (Nye 2000) on the move (cf. Coleman & Eade 2004), as in my previous work on British Pakistanis, in this chapter I put the meaning of pilgrims' 'Hajj Stories' centre stage (McLoughlin 2009a,b; cf. Haq & Jackson 2009; DeHanas 2013).

To date studies of pilgrimage have not been very much concerned with the Hajj or Islam per se. Early relevant work across anthropology and the study of religions focused upon the inherent devotional magnetism of sacred place (Eliade 1958), as well as the transitions in status associated with powerful rites of separation from the structures of everyday life (Van Gennep 1909), and the temporary anti-structural feelings of collective effervescence and *communitas* emergent from performing rituals (Durkheim 1912; Turner 1969; 1974a,b). While still incredibly valuable, subsequent postmodern critiques maintained that the boundary between the sacred and the profane was more 'fragile' and 'contested' than this work suggested, proposing instead the deconstruction of pilgrimage into 'an arena of competing discourses' (Eade & Sallnow 1991: 5, 26; cf. Fischer & Abedi 1990 on the 'contested' Shi'i Hajj). However, as I have argued elsewhere in relation to the anthropology of Islam, anti-essentialist approaches can be limiting, too, if in tackling the problem of essence scholars simply dissolve the significance of religion for social actors (McLoughlin 2007). Thus, following an important reassessment of pilgrimage studies by Coleman & Eade (2004; cf. Coleman 2002), my study of the Hajj exhibits two main approaches.

Firstly, with Saba Mahmood's (2005) discussion of Judith Butler (1997) in mind, I explore how, in recounting their own deeply material and embodied performances of rites and rituals, British Muslims actively shape their own religious subjectivities, while also 're-producing' and re-making orthodox and orthoprax Islamic scripts. Still, I do not ignore the fact that, while all ideologies aspire to coherence (cf. Asad 1986), the inherent instability associated with their repeated, contextual performance creates the space for their destabilisation and contestation. Not least in a late modern age of glocalisation, all social actors are positioned by multiple and sometimes paradoxical 'lived structures' from religious revivalism to consumer capitalism (cf. Turner 1994: 202; Appadurai 1996; Featherstone 2002; Boubekour & Roy 2012). Thus I also explore the realities of performing the Hajj and Umra, reflections that include reference to various uncertainties, challenges, disappointments, and ambivalences.

Secondly, in light of the comments above, and like the study of contemporary culture per se (Clifford 1997), it is clear that the study of the Hajj cannot be confined to Mecca as a circumscribed, time-space location set apart from wider social, economic, and political circulations, flows, and inferences (Coleman & Eade 2004; cf. Fischer & Abedi 1990). In this regard, I necessarily encompass my

discussion of what pilgrims 'do' in the Holy Places within a wider ethnographic view of their whole journey, including both religiously inspired and everyday experiences before departure from, and following return to, the 'sending' society of the UK. Ultimately, I suggest that Muslim religioning must be charted across cartographies of belief, practice, and identity that are local, multi-local, and supra-local (Tweed 1997; 2006; cf. McLoughlin 2010; 2013a). That is, they map an embodied and performed consciousness of, and attachment to, places, people and beings at scales that are both horizontal and territorial *and* vertical and transcendent.

The set of data I explore here was collected by British Museum staff as a contribution to its wider public engagement surrounding the very successful 2012 exhibition *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam*.<sup>2</sup> To capture British Muslims' video testimonies concerning their experiences of the Hajj, assistant curator Qaisra Khan and other members of the team set off from London during a long summer weekend in 2011 for the 'Living Islam' festival. Held at Lincolnshire Showground in the English East Midlands, 'Living Islam' is a huge undertaking for the Islamic Society of Britain,<sup>3</sup> and so the event is organised only once every few years. With around 5,000 British Muslims attending over four days in a relaxed, holiday atmosphere following the fast of Ramadan, the event represented an excellent opportunity to invite interested visitors to record their 'Hajj Stories'.<sup>4</sup> In a dedicated marquee, a professional film maker asked this self-selecting sample open-ended questions such as: 'How come you went for Hajj?'; 'Who did you go with?'; 'How did you feel when you got there?'; 'What's your most vivid memory?'; 'What did you bring back?'; and 'Would you go again?'.<sup>5</sup>

While I was not directly involved in the collection of this data myself, I did spend time with the British Museum team at the festival, having previously discussed my own research on UK Hajj-going with them at the planning stage (McLoughlin 2009a,b). I had also been invited to collect more in-depth interviews with British Muslims as part of an exhibition-related award to the museum by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). Moreover, the video recordings collected at 'Living Islam' were later shared with me as part of my collaboration with the British Museum team and, with the permission of the exhibition's curator Dr. Venetia Porter, I arranged for them to be professionally

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2 A website recording key elements of the British Museum's 2012 exhibition can be found at: [www.britishmuseum.org/explore/themes/hajj.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/themes/hajj.aspx).

3 The 'Living Islam' festival and the Islamic Society of Britain per se are very much targeted at families and young people, having emerged when, during the 1980s and early 1990s, the 'second generation' activists associated with Young Muslims UK began to marry and have their own families (Lewis 1994).

4 Contributors were asked to sign a release form with children's contributions signed off by parents.

5 See video clips at [http://www.britishmuseum.org/whats\\_on/paast\\_exhibitions/2012/hajj/hajj\\_stories.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/whats_on/paast_exhibitions/2012/hajj/hajj_stories.aspx).

transcribed.<sup>6</sup> In total, 33 Hajj Stories<sup>7</sup> produced 250 minutes of testimonies, with the longest contribution amounting to more than 3000 words and the shortest to less than 500 words. Most were between 500 and 1500 words in length. Contributors were not asked by the interviewer to self-identify in any particular way beyond stating their name, their occupation, and where they lived. Nevertheless, using the video recordings and transcripts, I was able to map other aspects of participants' bio-data. Although I do not seek to compare the experiences of distinctive groups of British Muslim pilgrims by gender, age group, ethnicity, or year of Hajj or Umra participation, I do sometimes use this data to better contextualise individual accounts examined here. Of course, the names of all participants and, as necessary, other information that might identify them, have been anonymised.

Among this random sample, twenty participants had been for the Hajj, nine had been for the Umra, one did not record which pilgrimage had been performed, and three had not travelled for either but were still moved to record how the accounts of friends and family had impacted upon their own desire to journey to the Holy Places.<sup>8</sup> Of those that had travelled for the Hajj or Umra, only three older men had made the pilgrimage during the 1970s, 1980s, or early 1990s, while roughly equal numbers had travelled either between 1995 and 1999 or since 2000.<sup>9</sup> Nineteen of the participants were male and fourteen were female. Twenty-five were aged between sixteen and 49, five contributors were children of school age, and three were over 50 years old. Notably, only one-third of participants mentioned an ethnic identity at any point during their account—Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian, English, Egyptian, and Kenyan—and then usually only in passing.<sup>10</sup> All but a couple of the adult contributors were professionals working in sectors such as education, business, health, the media,

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6 Funded by my British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship, I took 'Hajj Stories' video clips and a related exhibition of 14 A1 posters back to 'Living Islam' in 2014 (July 31–August 3).

7 Three transcripts were excluded from my analysis: those of one American and two South African Muslim contributors/visitors to 'Living Islam'.

8 A few accounts did not record the year of travel. One account did not record whether the pilgrim went for Hajj or Umra. Umra is focused only upon the performance of rituals associated with the Meccan sanctuary and takes place outside of the Hajj season.

9 Thus contributors' Hajj-going generally reflects the period during which the Hajj has come to greater public attention in the United Kingdom, that is, the late 1990s. Following various human disasters in the Holy Places, the United Kingdom's first pilgrim welfare organisation, the Association of British Hujjaj (1998), was established, as well as the British Hajj Delegation (2000). See McLoughlin (2013a).

10 Apart from the case of a convert to Islam, this tended to be children aged fifteen and under, and older or retired people. While contributors were not asked directly about such matters, the relative insignificance of ethnic identities aligns with the ethos of the Islamic Society of Britain. From its inception, it has sought to affirm Muslims' rootedness in Britain, as well as to normalise its multi-ethnic character in a way that has rarely been the case amongst most grassroots organisations (McLoughlin 2005).

law, design, the arts, and science.<sup>11</sup> One-third of participants were from London and the South of England, and nearly one-quarter were from Manchester, both areas where there is a significant British-Muslim middle class. There were just a few participants from the more typically working-class communities in West Yorkshire and Birmingham, although Glasgow in Scotland was somewhat better represented.

The exposition that follows, then, is not based on direct observation of, or immersion in, the settings in the Holy Places where the Hajj and the Umra are performed.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, like *hajji* Danyal cited at the beginning of this chapter, a number of participants insisted that access to the authenticity of the experience of pilgrimage comes only with ‘being there’. At the same time, the limited number, and open-ended nature, of the interview questions asked, as well as pilgrims’ own discretion, undoubtedly meant that some aspects of their embodied performances and material practices were not addressed in detail or at all. Thus I inevitably provide only a partial account of the complex religious, social, cultural, political, and economic realities of Hajj-going among the 22,000–25,000 British Muslims who travel annually (McLoughlin 2013b; cf. Bianchi 2004 on the organisation of the Hajj worldwide). My text represents one of a number of possible readings and interpretations, which cannot necessarily be generalised to British *hajjis*. Nevertheless, with twenty years’ experience studying British Muslim contexts, I am relatively well placed to assess and interpret the richly textured oral testimonies in question here.<sup>13</sup>

### **The New *Hajjis*: Social Change, ‘Being Called’, and Constrained Choices**

As the title of the National Museum of Ethnology’s exhibition *Longing for Mecca* (2013–2014) captured so aptly, the Hajj and the Umra have long since sustained the Islamicate imagination through time and across space (cf. Eickelman & Piscatori 1990). Formal and popular cultural vehicles for this have included pious texts and poetry, artefacts and images, ritual practices, and oral and musical traditions, as well as returning pilgrims’ tales. For example, Riyadh (40s, designer, London, Hajj 1997), who travelled with his mother, reflected on growing up with photographs of his very differently located grandparents’

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11 Like the Pakistani Jama’at-i Islami-related movements to which the Islamic Society of Britain can trace its roots, the organisation has a Muslim middle-class base (once dubbed ‘YUMMies’ or Young Upwardly Mobile Muslims) (McLoughlin 2005).

12 I am not a Muslim myself and non-Muslims are prohibited from visiting the Holy Places. However, I have immersed myself in in-depth accounts recording Muslims’ experiences, watched satellite TV coverage of the Hajj, and consumed related cultural production.

13 The diversity of the data was retained with each transcript, first read carefully before coding inductively using Nvivo 10 software. This iterative process of data analysis produced a matrix of key nodes and sub-nodes suggestive initially of simple themes and then broader categories, which in turn provided the platform for developing observations about more substantive patterns, theories, and explanations.

early modern Hajj experience. The sharp contrast between their lengthy and challenging journey by ship from the Indo-Pak subcontinent framed his own late-modern preparations to fly from the United Kingdom to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia with comparative ease.

In those days people used to travel by sea. They used to take their own rations. And when people used to say goodbye to them, they might not see them again. There was so much difficulty in the travelling. While they were there they used to do their own cooking. There were no hotels, just the campsites ... So those pictures were very vivid images in my journey.

Increasingly intensive and extensive glocalisation has therefore transformed the very possibilities of Muslims travelling for the Hajj. The number of overseas pilgrims has mushroomed since the mid-1950s from around 100,000 to more than 3,000,000 Muslims in total performing the Hajj in 2012 (McLoughlin 2013b). Moreover, since the early- to mid-2000s, interventions by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia have reshaped the structures framing the pilgrim experience. For instance, in the late 1990s, then-student Majid (40s, media/marketing, Scotland, Hajj organiser) paid £950 for a flight and a mattress on the floor of a very basic apartment some distance from the *Masjid al-Haram* in Mecca as part of a university Islamic society Hajj trip. However, in an effort to drive up standards and increase capacity, as well as to boost the country's religious tourism economy (cf. Henderson 2011), the Ministry of Hajj began to insist that pilgrims not travelling as part of a Muslim state delegation (*e.g.* all Muslims in the West) must organise their visa and accommodation through 'approved' travel agents, of which there are around 80 in the United Kingdom (McLoughlin 2013b). With heightened global consciousness of Islamic identity among diasporas, a rising new middle class, and generous quotas, some United Kingdom tour operators now offer '5-star', 'VIP', and 'luxury' Hajj packages costing £5,000 or more. One British Muslim pilgrim who went for the Hajj in 2008 (Asma, 40s, diversity officer, West Midlands) spoke of the experience of travelling with a reputable London-based company whose marketing strap-line is, 'We will worry about your Hajj more than you do'. However, with millions of pilgrims now gathering in a single place, over a certain number of days, just once a year, and the Hajj industry worldwide being at once lucrative and risky, fraud has become a problem. In the UK this is not least because of a complex industry structure that includes sub-agents and touts as well as Ministry of Hajj approved tour operators. Thus, Mobeen (40s, General Practitioner, West Yorkshire, Hajj 2008) related how, in 2007, he and nine members of his family 'were told ... by the tour operator that, not only had they not secured our Hajj visa ... more than 50 pilgrims lost out on more than £250,000'.

Despite rising prices and pilgrim quotas that have reduced by 20 per cent since 2013 to accommodate further expansion of the Great Mosque of Mecca, British Muslims have increasingly been able to ‘consume’ travel to the Holy Places at a time of their need, desire, and choosing (McLoughlin 2009a). Thus they represent a new, late-modern sort of ‘pilgrim-tourist’ (Coleman & Eade 2004: 9; cf. Baumann 1996; Badone & Roseman 2004; Stausberg 2011). Certainly, now that this is the case, an earnestness to fulfil the duty of the Hajj was foremost in the accounts of two male participants. As Latif (20s, accountant, South of England, Hajj 2003) explained, ‘I knew it’s a duty ... a lot of people perhaps leave it later on but ... after I graduated I started work full-time ... and that’s one of the first things I did after I’d saved up some money’. Similarly, Danyal (40s, engineer, Scotland) accompanied his wife soon after their wedding in 1999.

We decided that rather than go to other places we should first and foremost complete our Hajj which is ... one of our major responsibilities. Where you have your health and you have your faculties and you have enough money ... then you should complete the Hajj.

Often nurtured by a spirit of religious revivalism, such a view is gathering support across the generations among contemporary British Muslims. Nevertheless, the majority of participants at ‘Living Islam’ did not speak about Hajj-going in such clear-cut terms. For Halima (30s, editor, London, Umra date unknown), her sense of duty and desire was balanced with caution. She was anxious about being spiritually prepared enough to embrace the traditionally ascribed ‘pious’ status of a *hajja* relatively early in life.

It is something that is a yearning. I’m nervous though because I feel like maybe I’m not prepared yet ... I probably have to overcome those fears and really just make the intention that “This should become part of my life and I should become a *hajji*”.

Moreover, even now that most Muslims have more realistic expectations of journeying for the Hajj than in the past, given the demands of family and working life, it is a duty that is often deferred for practical as well as religious reasons. New opportunities and ways of being *hajjis* bring new dilemmas. For instance, given religio-cultural expectations in terms of family responsibilities, Muslim women have perhaps been most affected in this regard. Having made her arrangements to travel, Asma (40s, diversity officer, West Midlands, Hajj 2008) was very concerned as a mother about the well-documented dangers of performing some of the rituals, including the *tawaf* (circumambulation of the Ka’ba) and stoning of the *jamarat* (pillars).



I'd been very reluctant about going on the Hajj once it had been booked ... I was having a lot of fears and worries and I was convinced ... that something was going to happen out there and that was one of the things that was upsetting me the most about leaving my children behind.

Although some tour operators will find ways around the regulations, women are also less free to travel independently for Hajj because, according to gendered Islamic norms, they require a male relative or *mahram* to escort them. Some male respondents specifically mentioned accompanying a mother or wife or both on pilgrimage.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, roughly equal numbers of contributors had travelled with their immediate family, their extended family, or in couples. However, in contrast to women, several men were able to travel for the Hajj as individuals on pilgrimage tours organised independently, as part of a student group, as expert or activist guests of the Saudi Arabian authorities, or while working in the Kingdom.

Among around half of the contributors who went into more detail about the diverse personal circumstances surrounding their journey, one Islamic script stood out as overwhelmingly significant. As Dilshad (40s, businessman, West Midlands, Hajj date unknown) put it, 'We have this notion, this belief that you can go only when God calls you'. Underlying the way in which many Muslims tend to speak (publicly at least) about Hajj-going is the Sunni belief in *qadar*, or predestination, which is a matter of *aqida* (creed). As even Liaqat (school boy, North-West, Umra 2011) ably explained 'It's down to God because it's God's choice. He's wrote everything, every movement that we do in our life'. Therefore Ayesha (40s, IT, North-East), whose desires to go for the Hajj were as yet unfulfilled—perhaps because she is a single mother and has no male relative to escort her—still asserted her faith in God even as she struggled with a certain 'Hajj envy'.

It is a dream ... every time I see friends or family going for Hajj I sort of feel envious. I know I'm not supposed to. I'm happy for them ... but ... I pray for that invitation ... so that I can feel at peace with myself. I think He knows when it is best for me to go on that journey.

Initially, for Robina (40s, artist, South of England, Hajj 2007), this notion of 'being called' 'was something I'd never really understood. I thought it was just something they [people] say'. Eventually, however, after some 30 years of waiting and having 'almost given up hope', the opportunity arose when she was

<sup>14</sup> The *mahram* question may be especially complicated for single mothers, recent migrants, and some unmarried converts. N.B. 'Women over the age of forty-five (45) may travel without a *mahram* with an organized group. They must, however submit a no objection letter from her husband, son or brother authorizing her to travel for Hajj with the named group. This letter should be notarized'. [http://www.saudiembassy.net/services/hajj\\_requirements.aspx](http://www.saudiembassy.net/services/hajj_requirements.aspx)

in most personal need: 'It did happen in a very bizarre way, at a time when I was pretty desperate'. Testimonies of 'being called' for Hajj thus narrate a trust in God's plans but also create the performative and discursive space to negotiate complex personal circumstances at a time when opportunities to travel are readily available. Indeed, inspired moments often become the legitimate means for finally announcing one's plans. For Tanweer (30s, chemist, West Yorkshire, Hajj 2005), the account of his final 'decision' to travel therefore narrates being decisively affected by pious songs set against the broader context of gossip in the community.

It was very sudden and a lot of people talk about it like that ... One of the people we know ... she met my wife in the market ... and she says, "Oh, I hear you're going to Hajj". And my wife says, "Well, may Allah make your words blessed, because we have no plans" ... And then ... she mentioned it to me a couple of days later. We were on our way to a *nashid* [pious singing] concert ... One of the artists was singing about being at the Ka'ba, drinking from the wells of Zamzam ... After that I thought, "Yes, we're going".

### **Performing Islamic Scripts: Sacred Place, Liminality, and Communitas**

I find it quite difficult to compartmentalise each experience as a ritual, I see it as a very holistic experience and I think mainly it was the fact that I was walking in the footsteps of these great personalities that I had always heard about and spoken about and read about and thought about and imagined. (Aminah, 20s, trainee solicitor, London, Hajj 1997)

Like the imaginary homeland for many ancient diasporas, 'a place displaced beyond the horizon, creating a desire to bridge the distance ... a presence that is absent', for Muslims the mythic power of Mecca and Medina is 'simultaneously physical and spiritual', a 'geography of the soul ... predisposing their footsteps in its direction' (Delaney 1990: 516, 517). Travel to the Holy Places thus ritually and symbolically connects Muslims to a powerful chain of (placed) memory (cf. Hervieu Leger 2000), as well as a sacralised 'homing desire' (McLoughlin 2010). Thus for Danyal (40s, engineer, Scotland, Hajj 1999), the Hajj was a journey to 'the birthplace of Islam', while for Bilal (30s, Hajj 1999), his arrival in Mecca 'felt like coming home ... It was a magical feeling to be part of this history ... like all my faith had been concentrated into a few moments'. Like Aminah who was quoted above, for Latif (20s, accountant, South of England, Hajj 2003) and Rashid (30s, lecturer, North-West, Hajj 2004), the authority of this sacred history lay in emulating the most perfect models of monotheism.

We were rehearsing and re-enacting the rituals which were done by people thousands of years ago, people who we regard as the greatest people on earth ... We do this because this is what Prophet Ibrahim (peace be upon him) has done, and Prophet Ismail, and our Prophet Muhammad (*salla Allahu alayhi wasallam*).

In their testimonies, participants tended to dwell on the most iconic moments of the Hajj and the Umra, with seeing the Ka'ba for the first time an experience that typically overshadowed all others. As God's House (*Bayt Allah*), it is of course the focal point of a Muslim psycho-geography based in the everyday bodily knowledge of religioning (cf. Delaney 1990). As one respondent (Halima, 30s, editor, London, Umra date unknown) put it, 'you're going somewhere which you focused towards five times a day as a Muslim, it's the direction [*qibla*] of prayer'. Greater prior exposure to real-time images of the Holy Places in the digital age—the pictures of the Ka'ba on TV or in photographs, which many people love to have adorn their walls at home' (Danyal, 40s, engineer, Scotland, Hajj 1999)—as well as abbreviated journeys by air, have not staled the significance of physically 'being there' in person. Danyal continued 'I could not believe that ... a few hours ago I was in Glasgow ... and here I am now ... at the House of Allah ... you're physically there'. A small number of pilgrims did frame their remarks by explicitly addressing the theological significance of the Ka'ba. Tanweer (30s, chemist, West Yorkshire, Hajj 2005) noted 'It's not the building, it's just our relationship with our Creator which makes this thing special'. Daud (50s, academic, London, Hajj 1984) also alluded to 'the unseen dimension', but only Rashid (30s, lecturer, North-West, Hajj 2004) elaborated on the Ka'ba's supra-local, transcendent significance:

Muslims believe that up in the seventh heaven there is a similar but much bigger cube which is called *al-Bayt al-Ma'mur* [the Frequented House; Qur'anic verse 52:4]. Each day, as narrated in the authentic *hadith* [reported narrations and customs of the Prophet], there are 70,000 angels that also do the *tawaf* [circumambulation] up in the heavens ... The Black Stone, we believe that it is from paradise ... and that it was touched by God.

First and foremost, however, most participants typically reflected on their bodily performances and their subsequent outpouring of emotions. The Ka'ba is sometimes glimpsed first from a distance. Therefore Latif (20s, accountant, South of England, Hajj 2003) related 'We saw glimpses of it so my heart started beating a bit more faster'. However, following a well-practiced script in pilgrim narratives, many others try to approach it with head bowed and eyes lowered, partly out of respect but also in a deliberate attempt to heighten the experience for themselves. Thus Halima (30s, editor, London, Umra date unknown) recounted the following 'My husband took me and he said, "Focus on the floor as you walk. So don't see the Ka'ba until you're very close" ... So I walked head bowed until

he said, “Now look up”. That first glance of the Ka’ba is variously described by pilgrims as ‘amazing’, ‘breathtaking’, ‘beautiful’, ‘magical’, ‘fabulous’, ‘surreal’, ‘ethereal’, ‘simple’, ‘magnificent’, and ‘awe-inspiring’. They also describe being ‘overcome’, ‘tearful’, ‘joyful’, ‘humble’, ‘moved’, ‘overwhelmed’, ‘inspired’, ‘privileged’, and ‘refreshed’. The Ka’ba is touched, kissed, and smelled, as well as seen. Both Noreen (20s, accountant, London, Hajj 1998) and Aminah (20s, trainee solicitor, London, Hajj 1997) respectively spoke of a deeply embodied experience that held them transfixed.

You get this sort of rush through your body ... it just fills you up ... you just want to stand there forever, just not move from that one spot ... a lot of what you experience happens on such a spiritual level, almost like a molecular level, when you’re vibrating with that anticipation ... it’s surreal because it’s something you’ve seen so often, never in front of you.

At this moment, when they glimpse the Ka’ba for the first time, pilgrims are taught to make their acts of supplication. Rauf (30s, management consultant, North-West, Hajj 1999) related how, during the spiritual journey of a life-time, he was able to share news of another potentially life-changing event: ‘We [he and his wife] actually announced to the grandparents that they were expecting their first grandchild in front of the Ka’ba and the fact that that they were able to turn to the Ka’ba straight away, hold their hands up [in prayer] and thank God was wonderful’.

More than half of the ‘Living Islam’ contributors also took the opportunity to speak about the *ihram* and what it symbolises. In the normative Islamic tradition it typically connotes an altered state of liminal separation from everyday time and space that highlights a radical crossing into the cosmic, supra-local realm of Allah (cf. Tweed 1997; 2006). Ayesha (40s, IT, North-East) suggested that ‘It’s like you leave your whole physical world behind ... and you just have one ambition, to please God’. Munaza (20s, student, London, Hajj 2009) opined ‘What was strange for me was the timelessness of it all because everybody is there just to worship God ... it’s like being in another world where it’s really tranquil, it’s really, really peaceful’. And according to Nasreen (30s, mother, North-West, Umra 2010), ‘You forgot all the problems that you had’. Indeed, with this turn inwards to God and the self, some pilgrims spoke about temporarily forgetting even close family. Robina (40s, artist, South of England, Hajj 2007) insisted ‘It is literally between you and God. I’d forgotten all about my children, and the only thing that you can remember is yourself and that one day, as a Muslim, you believe that you’re going to go and stand there again with all of humanity’.

Robina’s comments underline again that the Hajj not only points backwards in time to the origins of monotheism, but also forwards to the end of time when humankind will gather again at Arafat. As Dilshad (40s, businessman, West Midlands, Hajj date unknown) explained, ‘What we believe is that on the

Day of Judgment I won't recognise my son and my mother won't recognise me because it will just be between me and God and I will only be concerned with my own fate, whether I go to heaven or hell'.

Resembling a shroud, male pilgrims' ritual wearing of two pieces of unstitched white cloth is also a material reminder that, in a context set apart from the patterns, norms, and preoccupations of mundane time and space, the rituals of the Hajj structure in reverse order the re-enactment of a sacralised journey from sin and death to purity and rebirth (Werbner 1998: 97; cf. Werbner this volume; Van Gennep 1909; Turner 1969). As Zubair (60s, retired businessman, London, Hajj 1993) explained, 'When you are buried you are going with these two *kurtas* [cloths]. You're born naked and you're nearly naked'. According to Junayd (30s, consultant, North-West, Hajj 2001), 'When they [human beings] will be raised on the Day of Judgement they'll probably be in that attire ... that's your destiny'. Danyal (40s, engineer, Scotland, Hajj 1999) added 'One day you will also have to remove your worldly clothing ... that's a reminder of the shortness of life here and the greatness of the life hereafter'. Indeed, as Nuh (60s, retired engineer, London, Hajj 1980s) noted, with millions of pilgrims gathered in a single place, mortality is all around. 'They also bring out the dead people ... and so when you think of that and ... with the way you are dressed ... it made me very humble'.

In Hajj narratives, feelings of liminal separation and anonymity also celebrate Islam's universality and notions of unity in diversity (cf. Malcolm X 1964). As Turner's theory of pilgrimage as anti-structure asserts, feelings of *communitas* are said to emerge from the liminal power of performing rituals in unison (Turner 1969; 1974a,b; cf. Durkheim 1912; Cohen 1985). Thus, once again, respondents identified their physical performance of key rituals, from their opening *tawaf* around the Ka'ba to the *qurbani* sacrifice that seals the Hajj (cf. Werbner 1998), as having a profound effect on them emotionally. The scale of human beings gathered in one place seemingly with one purpose gave rise to a 'sacred' collective energy that they associated with *tawhid* (God's oneness) and the *umma*.

What affected me the most was the *tawaf* ... the people beside me, in front of me, next to me were all here for the same reason ... it was all about the oneness of everything, the oneness of Allah, the oneness of humanity. (Munaza, 20s, student, London, Hajj 2009)

You should shave your hair and, again, it's the unity because everyone, all the male pilgrims, when you're standing there, you're looking so similar, it's, like, just as God sees you, it's all the same. (Latif, 20s, accountant, South of England, Hajj 2003)

As Nigel (30s, teacher, North-West, Hajj 1998) also related, 'The whole point is to symbolise equality, so everybody is the same regardless of background, race, wealth, status ... that's powerful'. Atif (20s, student, West Midlands, Umra 1998) remarked 'It just makes you realise that it doesn't matter what colour skin

you are, what you wear, where you're from, what language you speak'. For Nuh (60s, retired engineer, London, Hajj 1980s), such experiences were extremely affecting.

To share those moments with people which are so different from you. People they come from very, very remote parts of the world, they can barely manage the trip, old people, rich, educated, not educated ... you don't know if the person next to you may be the king or the cook of the restaurant nearby ... It makes you humble.

Pilgrims also described small acts of harmonious fellowship and co-operation with other *hajjis*. According to Riyadh (40s, designer, London, Hajj 1997), 'There's so many different types of people you meet ... obviously, you see them, you feel them, but at the same time you converse with them, you shake hands with them'. As Tanweer (30s, chemist, West Yorkshire, Hajj 2005) related 'I could speak a little bit of Arabic ... We found out that he was a Malaysian studying in Mecca, and that he was a Man U fan. My friend was a Liverpool fan so they got talking and I found another universal language: football!'—. While the key tropes in such accounts are transcending wealth, race, and ethnicity, for Robina (40s, artist, South of England, Hajj 2007), and despite women being able to 'wear whatever they want' during the Hajj (Rashid, 30s, lecturer, North-West, Hajj 2004),<sup>15</sup> gender differences were also suspended in a way that remained significant. 'Being used to mosques in England where women and men are separate, this [*Masjid al-Haram*] was a place where everybody was together [i.e. not gender segregated] and that was quite different for me'.

### Unscripted Performances: Uncertainty, Anxiety, and Other 'Real' Hajj Stories

Instead of the Ka'ba I was focussed—I know it sounds quite bizarre—... [on] all the skin tones, the patterns in their clothes, textures ... And he [her husband] just looked at me [and said], "What are you doing? What are you thinking about?" But it was just something I couldn't help. (Robina, 40s, artist, South of England, Hajj 2007)

Pilgrims' utopian experiences in sacralised time and space must be seen as emerging out of their temporary, contingent, and embodied time-space locations and lived material practices (Vásquez 2011). Unsurprisingly in this view, 'Living Islam' participants' accounts of 'being there' also reflect many unscripted performances that qualify, destabilise, and sometimes contest dominant Islamic

15 Mobeen (40s, General Practitioner, West Yorkshire, Hajj 2008) suggested that 'the face must be exposed, as must the hands and feet ... the head is covered' although in practice some women may wear, and in discussions of the relevant *fiqh* may be encouraged to wear, a face covering that is not a *niqab*.

scripts. They highlight pilgrims' multiple time-space and lived-structural locations (cf. McLoughlin 2009a: 311; 2009b: 144) in terms of age, health, ethnicity, education, responsibilities, and character on the one hand, and issues such as modernisation-versus-heritage on the other. For instance, this is evident in pilgrims' reflections on uncertain ritual performance and (body) knowledge. There is very significant textual commentary on the *fiqh* (jurisprudence) of the Hajj and there are ritually sanctioned means of compensating for 'failing' to re-enact ideal religious norms. However, such matters were not a priority for most respondents. Dilshad (40s, businessman, West Midlands, Hajj date unknown) acknowledged frankly his lack of expertise: 'I'm not a scholar, I don't know the absolute nitty-gritty of it'. Nuh (60s, retired engineer, London, Hajj 1980s) was much less concerned about ritual correctness and theological significance as compared to 'feelings': 'you do it seven times, it's called *tawaf*. Why it is done, to be honest, I do not know ... Neither I am interested. I know I do it, I feel good while I do it'. Others were equally honest that, at key moments, they simply had not felt what the model habitus of a *hajji* or *hajja* suggested, even if such lack of feeling tended to be only temporary (and sometimes miraculously resolved). So, despite being in the House of God and in a holy state of *ihram*, initially Asma (40s, diversity officer, West Midlands, Hajj 2008) simply could not leave the mundane world behind. 'You're thousands of miles away, your thoughts are with your children and I became very, very upset and saying to my husband, "I want to go home"'. Similarly, Tanweer could not follow the script and emote in the way that others seemed so readily to do. 'I'd heard a lot of stories about ... how the sight of the Ka'ba can affect you emotionally and I have to admit, as I was going around I didn't feel any emotion. It was just going around a building'.

Many pilgrims would probably maintain, like Aminah (20s, trainee solicitor, London, Hajj 1997), that, especially whilst in a state of *ihram*, 'complaining just wasn't on my mind'. However, tellingly she does acknowledge that 'maybe I'm remembering things in a more rose-tinted way'. Indeed, whether in terms of the heat and potential for dehydration, simply walking and waiting in such circumstances, or a lack of manners (*adab*) on behalf of other pilgrims, at key moments performing the Hajj can be extremely physically testing and present many practical challenges. This is especially the case for the young, sick, and elderly. Munaza (20s, student, London, Hajj 2009) recalled circumambulating the Ka'ba as a teenager: 'I could feel the sun just like beating down on me, so much so that I actually started to cry ... I wanted to get it over and done with'. Amongst millions of others, getting lost is also an occupational hazard for pilgrims of all ages. Dilwar (schoolboy, South of England, Umra 2011) remarked 'I got pushed a lot because there was so many people behind me and then I ended up letting go of my mum'. For Nasreen (30s, mother, North-West, Umra 2010), her fear and anxiety about such things was enough to abbreviate her participation in an environment that, despite being 'sacred', she still perceived as alien.

Just going to a new country is quite a bit scary, like a different experience ... They [members of her family] got the chance to kiss the Black Stone but I didn't do that. I was a bit scared for my life to be honest with you. There were lots of people crowded around it.

Suffering from a serious medical condition, Hafiz (60s, retired businessman, London, Hajj 1993) also struggled to stone the *jamarat* (pillars) without assistance from others. 'I was a heart patient, it was suffocating me. So people helped me to hit the Shaytan [Devil] and take me out of there. So really it's not easy if you are not in good health'. It was also during the rigours of stoning the devils that Dilshad (40s, businessman, West Midlands, Hajj date unknown) almost came to grief. Like a few other male pilgrims, he revealed the challenge of protecting his modesty while wearing the *ihram*: 'I actually lost my top part when you go to throw the stones ... I checked and thank God I hadn't lost my bottom one ... it wasn't so organised [then], so there was instances when many people died ...'. The pressure and stress on the *hajjis*, who often have to be in a certain place to perform the requisite rites at a particular time, is made worse by the sheer volume of traffic on the roads. This makes for very long and slow bus journeys in a fleet of vehicles in need of upgrading.

We had to arrive back in Mina by sunrise and we had an hour to get back and there was a total jam of traffic. You just cannot imagine it and everybody was panicking ... So we basically just abandoned the van. There was about 25 of us, got off and started walking. It was just mad ... this guy ... he was hitchhiking on a motorbike. You'll see things, amazing things, and you think, "Oh my God, this is just not happening!" And you just kind of join in and do it yourself. (Maryam, 30s, company director, North-West, Hajj 2007)

Many of the testimonies also reflect upon the discrepancies between pilgrims' often-idealised expectations concerning the Holy Places and the realities confronted there. Despite widespread negative comments in UK media circles,<sup>16</sup> respondents' remarks about questions of heritage and modernisation are somewhat ambivalent overall. Liaqat (school boy, North-West, Umra 2011) was very direct: 'I thought it would be like nice and peaceful and very beautiful with all the Muslim architecture and stuff but it was not like that when I got there, actually'. However, more reflexive about her own rather unrealistic expectations, Robina (40s, artist, South of England, Hajj 2007) acknowledged the pressure upon the authorities to upgrade services and facilities.

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16 See, for example, <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/why-dont-more-muslims-speak-out-against-the-wanton-destruction-of-meccas-holy-sites-8229682.html>.



It was nothing like I expected. I think I spent a lot of time trying to imagine what it was like in the old days ... everything now is built up and, for me, I did want to see the old way, the journey that Hajar would have taken, exactly the way it was when she took it ... [But] I know it's very difficult to keep things the way that they were because of comfort and the number of people that have been coming through the years.

Munaza (20s, student, London, Hajj 2009) was discomforted by the very obvious juxtaposition of commercialism and pilgrimage (cf. Baumann 1996; Badone & Roseman 2004; Stausberg 2011). 'A lot of the time you can get warped into this whole tourism aspect of it when you come here and say, "Oh this is [the] Ka'ba, this is a Holy Place." Then you go shopping et cetera and you do all these touristy kind of things'. However, in terms of the range of global brands now available very close to the *Masjid al-Haram* following massive re-development (McLoughlin 2013b), many British-born Muslim pilgrims, who are already deeply integrated into cultures of consumer capitalism, actually enjoy the 'marketised' Islamic environment (cf. Turner 1994; Featherstone 2002; Boubekur & Roy 2012). Noreen (20s, accountant, London, Hajj 1998) recalled 'We found halal McDonalds, Burger King and ... because you didn't used to get that stuff here [in the UK] ... it was pretty cool'. Dilshad (40s, businessman, West Midlands, Hajj date unknown) related 'Coming from Britain ... to have Pizza Hut and Kentucky Fried Chicken and everything halal is a wonderful thing'. As Halima (30s, editor, London, Umra date unknown) insightfully observed, in late modern Mecca especially, the boundary between the sacred and the profane, religion and the secular, utopian and lived space, is rather 'fragile' and typically is negotiated step-by-step (cf. Eade & Sallnow 1991: 26; McLoughlin 2009a: 311; 2009b: 144).

It's quite a hustling, bustling place, so to some extent when you're expecting to go for a spiritual journey and ... you've got trading and shops and that was surprising in the beginning. But then you realise—and I think to some extent [it] is a little of the essence of Islam in a way—it's spiritual and of this world. Your spiritual journey cannot be separated from your existence ... the physical and the spiritual which are connected to each other.

Being more clearly for public consumption than a conventional interview, the narratives draw attention to social divisions much less than in my previous research and to intra-Muslim (e.g. Wahhabi-Sufi-Shi'i) religious conflict not at all (cf. McLoughlin 2009a,b; Fischer and Abedi 1990). Therefore reference to discrepancies in social status and consciousness of differences vis-à-vis other Muslims tended to be opaque in most cases. While ultimately rescripting her experience as a pious lesson about the need for patience (*sabr*), Abida (30s, optometrist, North-West, Hajj 1998) bluntly remarked of fellow pilgrims' *adab*:

'It's hot, there's pushing going on, people's manners are different, customs are different ... just keep your mouth closed'. Liaqat (schoolboy, North-West, Umra 2011) identified the reliance of the Holy Places on migrant workers without being able to raise questions about their status and rights: 'The cleaners around the building of the Ka'ba, they were mostly Pakistani ... and most of the shopkeepers were Pakistani'. Thus while the dominant Islamic script of the Hajj is one of *communitas* and unity in diversity, competing ethno-national scripts are also performed every single day (cf. Eickelman & Piscatori 1990: xvi):

I remember sitting outside the hotel drinking tea with them [groups from other countries] and they said, "Where have you come from?" And I said, "From England." And they say, "No, you haven't come from England. Where have you *really* come from?" And you realise that they mean because you don't look English, and I think that's what made me think about our group that had come from England was actually the only multicultural group. (Robina (40s, artist, South of England, Hajj 2007)

Such issues were perhaps addressed most directly by Nigel (30s, teacher, North-West, Hajj 1998), an English convert to Islam, who complained about the scrutiny he received from the authorities on arrival in Saudi Arabia (cf. Malcolm X 1964). This was an unscripted experience that gave him some insight into the trials faced by his more 'profiled' Muslim brothers and sisters since the events of 9/11 and the London bombings of '7/7':

One of the more negative sides I suppose was looking very English, arriving in the airport ... actually being pulled to one side by the security guards asking me what I was doing there. I'm there in Jeddah, with all the *hajjis*, in my Hajj clothes and I'm being asked a question like that. It beggars belief. So obviously they wanted to test whether I really was a Muslim ... I [now] feel I understand what some Muslims go through in airport security in the West. They get pulled up ... Ironically I had that experience when I went to Saudi Arabia.

### **'Better than Any Holiday': Sacred Souvenirs, Making the Moral Self, and Still Longing for Mecca**

Just short of half of the 'Living Islam' participants' testimonies mention returning from the Holy Places with various souvenirs, from Medina dates to prayer mats, beads, and caps, as well as headscarves, incense, perfume, and novelty 'Islam' branded jewellery, clocks, and laptops. However, it was concerning the most iconic of souvenirs, Zamzam water, that pilgrims consistently reflected upon the capacity of material objects to carry the sacred back home with them (cf.

Werbner 1988).<sup>17</sup> Highlighting trans-local flows of sacralised material objects (cf. Appadurai 1996), Rashid (30s, lecturer, North-West, Hajj 2004) explained a *hadith* of the Prophet: “Zamzam, it is for what it has been drunk for” ... So whatever your intention ... it will happen’. As well as reputedly being extremely pure and sweet, the faithful such as Aliya (40s, careers advisor, East Midlands, Umra date unknown) believe that ‘it can help you, your health and sickness’. Thus, concerning Zamzam’s reputed miraculous and curative properties, and moreover its sacralising material contagiousness in everyday Muslim religioning far beyond the Holy Places, Moeen (schoolboy, London) related:

On the day they [his grandparents] came back [from the Hajj] and we went to see them, I had a really bad stomach ache ... When they brought [out] the Zamzam water I drank some of it ... and about an hour later I was completely fine. So it’s almost like the water just went inside and washed everything away.

According to Van Gennep (1909) rites of passage are sealed finally by the reincorporation of social actors back into society. However, rather than the status and respect traditionally shown to *hajjis* by the ‘sending’ community, as typically late modern, post-traditional ‘pilgrim-tourists’ (cf. Coleman & Eade 2004: 9), the ‘Living Islam’ contributors were more focused on turning inwards to questions of identity and the self. Thus, the most significant ‘thing’ that they returned home with was a unique and potentially ‘life-changing’ experience. Having completed his Hajj, Latif (20s, accountant, South of England, Hajj 2003) reflected upon the ‘spiritual uplift’ it gave him by invoking another *hadith*: ‘You come back as a newborn in terms of your previous things that you’ve done’. Back in *al-dunya* (the mundane world), Munaza (20s, student, London, Hajj 2009) wanted to recreate what she had discovered in the Holy Places or, as she put it, ‘having the time to reflect on what I’ve done so far, and the things that I need to start to do ... making time to be in that harmony with my Creator’. However, time and again, it is the relationship between embodied performance, emotion, and the ‘formation of moral selves’ that pilgrims refer to in their recollections (Asad 1986: 7; cf. Mahmood 2005). Daud (50s, academic, London, Hajj 1984) evocatively described a process of spiritual nourishment and (re)development: ‘I feel the entire experience of such a journey as if it is growing in me ... That’s what makes it a journey not like any journey ... it’s a new beginning ... to reassert you on the righteous path’. Nilofa (20s, London, teacher, Umra 1998), too, explained how the journey had been extremely positive for her self-discipline, both mentally and emotionally: ‘It made me feel so good ... It helped me to regulate my thoughts. I was quite peaceful for quite a long time afterwards’. Alluding again to the interiorised impact of physical action, Atiqa (Scotland, schoolgirl, Umra date unknown) explained that: ‘It kind of

17 Supplies are currently restricted to about 8–10 litres for each airline passenger. See [http://article.wn.com/view/2014/01/26/Saudias\\_new\\_Zamzam\\_water\\_service\\_Saudi\\_Arabian\\_Airlines/](http://article.wn.com/view/2014/01/26/Saudias_new_Zamzam_water_service_Saudi_Arabian_Airlines/)

shook me and put me in my place, and it told me where I was and made my *iman* [faith] stronger'. Finally, for Robina (40s, artist, South of England, Hajj 2007), it was an 'epiphany' even more valuable and memorable than becoming a mother, 'because it allowed me to be myself'.

Yet, as some of the remarks here also intimate, the spiritual efficacy of such performances may or may not be so easily maintained amidst the complex and multiple lived structures and subjectivities of everyday life. Riyadh (40s, designer, London, Hajj 1997) explained 'it's very, very uplifting, especially the first few days after the Hajj coming back home, but the prayer we normally do to God is to keep that spiritual uplift for longer, for the rest of our life if possible'. Of course, utopian experiences in the Holy Places can be revisited temporarily by crossings over into the transcendent imagination, memory, and dreams that expand out of mundane time-space locations (Tweed 2006; Vásquez 2011). This is sometimes sparked by particular sacralised material objects and the senses. According to Nilofa (20s, London, teacher, Umra 1998), 'The Ka'ba *Sharif* is actually drenched in a particular perfume which is still with me today. I think I can still smell it'. However, even in a context where religioning is more evidently mobile and performed across different glocal scales than ever before, it seems that sacralised and sacralising experiences can be most intense as part of physical journeying to particular places and the embodied experience of 'being there'.

Some British Muslim *hajjis* articulate a genuine sense of loss on leaving the Holy Places and being reincorporated into everyday rhythms. This only reinforces a desire to return. As Latif (20s, accountant, South of England, Hajj 2003) described, 'Once you're leaving you get that sadness that whether I'll ever be able to come back here again. Because once you've got it in your heart, you have a big yearning and longing to go back there'. Abida (30s, optometrist, North-West, Hajj 1998) expressed the same deeply felt sentiments, underlining again the contingency and contextuality of experiencing the sacred.

I wanted to hold on to that spiritual experience and my outlook on life ... but it was surprising how few months it took for everything to get back to normal. One of my husband's colleagues asked me, "How was it for you?". I said, "To come back to this life now in the UK it's very, very difficult." He thought I sounded quite depressed. It wasn't depression; it was a real yearning to get back to that spiritual state that I'd been in.

Here, the easier and more frequent mass pilgrimages of the global Muslim middle classes draws attention to the hitherto often-idealised spiritual efficacy of Hajj-going. But for Nuh (60s, retired engineer, London, Hajj 1980s), at the scale of individual experience, there were still genuine spiritual benefits in being able to return to the Holy Places at a later stage of life.

I think with the passing of time, with age, probably you see it in a different way. The first time I went for Hajj it was, for me, mostly a discovery. So I was not so much spiritual, I was worried, “Am I doing the right thing? Am I doing the wrong thing?” The second time you go you are a bit more experienced, so you are more spiritual.

Two-thirds of respondents who spoke about the question of return to the Holy Places were unanimous in their desire to go back. Following the Prophetic example, Zubair (60s, retired businessman, London, Hajj 1993) suggested that one should perform the Hajj only once, not least because so many Muslims worldwide still have to wait decades for the privilege.<sup>18</sup> As an alternative, Tanweer (30s, chemist, West Yorkshire, Hajj 2005) and Riyadh (40s, designer, London, Hajj 1997) spoke of taking their children for the Umra, which even more so than the Hajj is a religious-tourism boom industry. Many were undoubtedly intoxicated by their ‘connection [to Mecca and Medina]’ (Danyal, 40s, engineer, Scotland, Hajj 1999), ‘its ‘magnetic pull ... you just feel as if you just want to, you *need* to go back’ (Nasreen, 30s, mother, North-West, Umra 2010). Similarly, Arif (20s, student, West Midlands, Umra 1998) ‘just craved to go back ... not because my religion says so, not just because of that ... because *within* I have to do it’. In yet another comparison to other forms of travel, Maryam (30s, company director, North-West, Hajj 2007) reflected ‘sometimes you go on holiday and you think, “Oh, I’ve done it and that’s it now.” But Hajj is an experience which you want to do over and over again’.

For British Muslims, then, shaped by late-modern secular and consumer-capitalist lived structures, the Hajj and Umra inevitably correspond to the idea of ‘holidays’ at least as much as the idea of ‘pilgrimage’ (cf. Baumann 1996; Badone & Roseman 2004; Stausberg 2011). Yet, in their discursive utterances just as much as in their embodied performances, the Hajj especially does still remain ‘set apart’, still too profound to be discussed in quite the same breath. Mobeen (40s, General Practitioner, West Yorkshire, Hajj 2008) identified the Holy Cities as the ideal dwelling place, somewhere he truly belongs. ‘I feel like it’s my spiritual home, I feel safe there. And on any holiday that I would go on in the future really there’s no other place better than to go to Mecca and to go to Medina’.

## Conclusion

This chapter contributes one of the few systematic accounts of late modern Muslims’ lived experiences of performing the Hajj. Analysing British Muslims’ recollections gathered by the British Museum in 2011, I have signalled the utility

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18 At present (2013–14), the Saudi authorities are enforcing a ruling that pilgrims cannot return for the Hajj within five years.

of pilgrimage studies for Hajj research. This is equally true of older paradigms associated with sacred place, liminality and *communitas*, as postmodern approaches emphasising contestations of the sacred. However, working across a wider range of disciplines from the anthropology of Islam to sociology of religion and diaspora studies, I view the Hajj principally as an example of Muslim religionising across local, multi-local and supra-local spatial scales. Therefore I dwell not only on the Hajj in Mecca but also religiously inspired and everyday experiences in various time-space locations before, during and after pilgrimage. I argue that through embodied actions associated with the Hajj, its preparation and remembrance, British Muslims actively shape their own self-identities, spirituality and emotional lives, while at the same time reproducing authoritative Islamic scripts. However, the fragility of such performances by British Muslim actors positioned by multiple, complex and sometimes paradoxical lived structures including consumer capitalism and secularity, means that 'real' Hajj stories also include unscripted uncertainties and ambivalences.

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## THE HAJJ AND POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY TURKEY AND INDONESIA

*Robert R. Bianchi*

The explosive growth of the modern Hajj is one of the most dramatic events in world religion and human migration. The Hajj is a distinctively Islamic contribution to globalisation with far-reaching political ramifications throughout the Muslim world and the wider international system. The annual congress in Mecca renews Muslims' awareness of a common destiny and strengthens their desire to refashion global politics into a more inclusive and multipolar order with a greater voice not only for Islam, but for all non-Western civilisations (Bianchi 2004).

Turkey and Indonesia are vivid examples of powerful Muslim societies that have helped to transform the Hajj and that, in turn, have been deeply affected by political disputes over pilgrimage policy. Turkey and Indonesia have been among the most prominent and innovative nations helping to make today's Hajj a potent fusion of faith and power. Their leadership extends far beyond pioneering techniques in pilgrimage management to include new forms of Islamic capitalism, multiparty democracy, and independent diplomacy toward the great powers, particularly in bargaining with the United States, China, and the European Union (Bianchi 2013). The Hajj has become a pivotal and highly controversial feature of day-to-day political life in both Turkey and Indonesia, where lingering divisions between the secular and the religious and vigorous press freedoms encourage constant criticism of all efforts to expand the role of Islam in public life, including pilgrimage affairs. State sponsorship of the Hajj generates a steady stream of scandals, subsidies, services, contracts, investments, and patronage that spark countless battles in the media and the legislatures. In every aspect of pilgrimage affairs, the business and political stakes are astronomical, and the emotional effects on believers are incalculable.

Much of the pressure on politicians and state officials stems from a fundamental mismatch between the soaring demand for Hajj travel and the rigid cap that Saudi Arabia places on pilgrimage quotas worldwide. Over the last two decades, per capita rates of Hajj participation in Turkey and Indonesia have actually declined because minor adjustments in the quotas have lagged behind population growth (Direktorat Jenderal 2008, 2010; Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu 2012). Some of the excess demand can be relieved by encouraging people to perform an Umra (a short visit to Mecca at any time of the year) instead of a Hajj, but everyone understands that there are no substitutes for the Hajj—not in God's eyes, and certainly not in terms of community respect and social status.

Hence, the competition for Hajj visas intensifies year after year, stoking endless requests for special treatment and bending the rules.

In this environment, the incentives for cronyism, favouritism, and discrimination become irresistible. All too often, the sanctity of the Hajj is overpowered by the lure of profit as politicians and entrepreneurs try to exploit the passions of ordinary people who must wait for years to obtain a pilgrimage spot and who fear that a lifetime of savings and dreams will go for naught. Hajj-related problems are putting alarming pressures on Turkish and Indonesian democracies at a time when they are already struggling to overcome militaristic legacies, partisan factionalism, and profound social inequalities. How do political and governmental leaders in Turkey and Indonesia cope with—and succumb to—these pressures? Can we identify particular strengths and weaknesses in their democratic institutions that help to explain why their efforts succeed or fail?

### **The Hajj and Multiparty Democracy**

Democratic politics are more rigid in Turkey and more fluid in Indonesia. Turkish parties are well established and tightly ordered around a dominant majority party and a handful of weaker rivals. In Indonesia, all of the parties are weak and still searching for reliable constituencies. Competition for votes and resources is fierce at the national, provincial, and local levels.

Moreover, Muslim voters in Turkey have a clear-cut choice between religious and secular parties, whereas Indonesians must make uncertain trade-offs between so-called secular parties that endorse state-supported religious activities and at least a half-dozen self-declared Islamic groups with overlapping programmes and candidates. In Turkey, the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi; AKP) is the unrivalled successor to a long series of popular right-of-centre parties that have captured the lion's share of support from religious voters for nearly 70 years. Like its predecessors, the AKP can claim full credit for the steady expansion of state-subsidised religious services into every corner of the country.

In contrast, most Indonesian parties espouse a vague blend of secular and Islamic slogans that endorse state funding for the Hajj and religious schools while deliberately blurring their positions on more controversial issues, such as the scope of Islamic law and the treatment of non-Muslims. Because the ruling parties—first Golkar (the former government party established by Suharto) and then the Democratic Party—have sponsored the Hajj in grand style, it is difficult for any of the Islamic factions to portray Indonesia's pilgrimage boom as their achievement or to argue that they could deliver better religious services if they were in power.

These fundamental differences in political party systems—Turkey's single dominant Islamic party versus Indonesia's shifting collection of weak factions with ambiguous religious views—help to explain why the Turkish and Indonesian

Hajj patterns have developed so differently over the last 50 years. For example, the regional distribution of Hajj participation has moved in opposite directions in the two countries. The geographic picture in Turkey has remained remarkably stable. The pattern under Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's rule is nearly identical to the trends that emerged under his elected predecessors. Meanwhile, democratic reform in Indonesia has turned the alignments of the Suharto era upside down (figures 1 and 2).

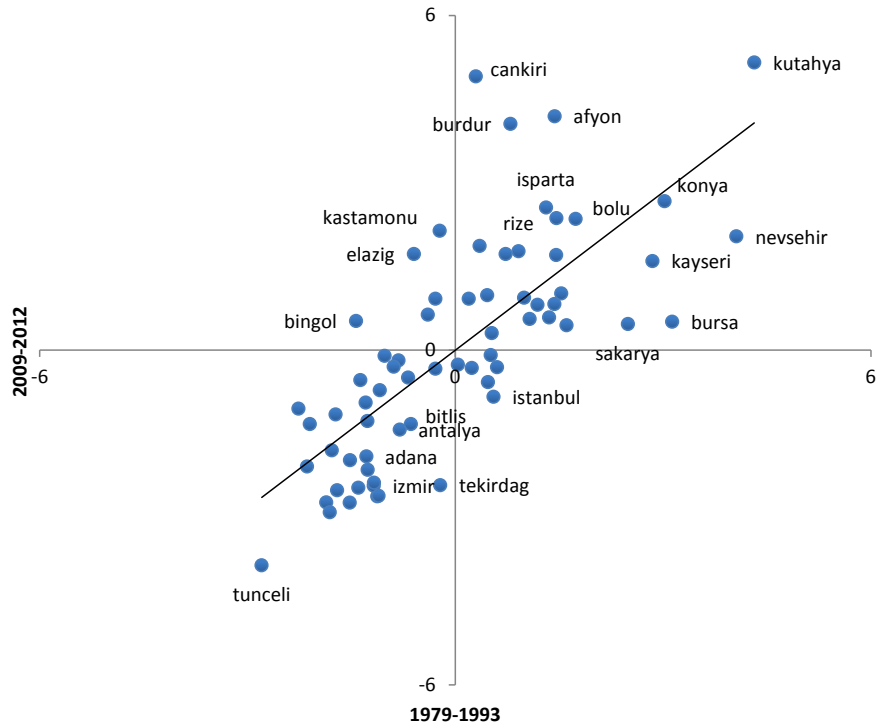


Figure 1: Turkey Hajj rates, 2009–2012 & 1979–1993. Standard scores\* for 67 provinces.

Source: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute) (2012), *Kültür İstatistikleri* (Cultural Statistics). Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu: 187; R. Bianchi (2004), *Guests of God: Pilgrimage and Politics in the Islamic World*. New York Oxford University Press: 287-289.

Notes: \*Standard scores facilitate comparison across data sets that have different averages and statistical distributions. They allow us to gauge the relative degree to which Hajj rates in each province stand out from the rest of the population at different time points. For example, Kütahya had the highest Hajj rate in 1979–1993 and in 2009–2012, whereas Tunceli had the lowest Hajj rate in both periods. In contrast, Hajj rates in Istanbul and Bingöl changed markedly during the same years. Istanbul's rate moved from below average to above average, while Bingöl's rate moved in the opposite direction. In Turkey as a whole, the strong correspondence between the relative rankings of provincial Hajj rates in the two periods indicates considerable stability in the regional distribution of pilgrimage participation.

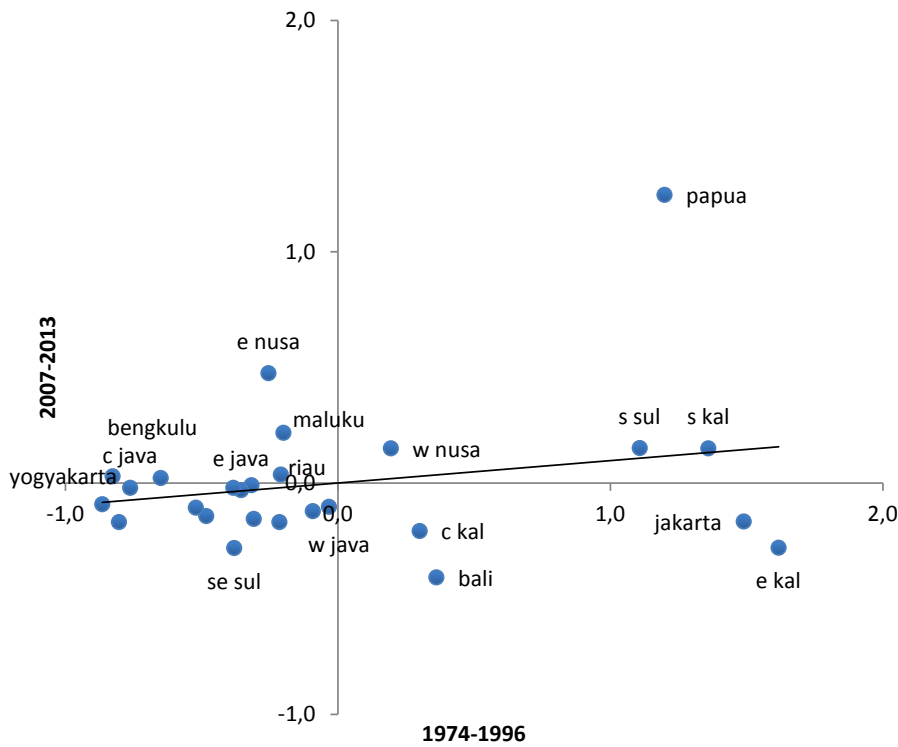


Figure 2: Indonesia Hajj rates, 2007–2013 & 1974–1996. Standard scores for 26 provinces.

Source: Direktorat Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umrah (2010), *Haji dalam angka (The Hajj in numbers)*. Jakarta: Kementerian Agama RI: 24-32; R. Bianchi (2004), *Guests of God: Pilgrimage and Politics in the Islamic World*. New York: Oxford University Press: 292-293.

Notes: In contrast to the stable distribution of provincial Hajj rates in Turkey, the relative positions of Indonesia's provinces shifted dramatically between the periods of 1974–1996 and 2007–2013. Jakarta and East Kalimantan suffered the most precipitous declines, whereas Maluku and East Nusa Tenggara experienced the strongest improvements. Most of rural Java and Sumatra moved from very low positions to above-average positions.

Turkey's Hajj belt remains firmly anchored in the Central Anatolian heartland. The main axis runs between Konya and Ankara, extending broadly into adjacent provinces in Western Anatolia and all along the Black Sea coast to the north. The areas of weakest Hajj participation—the border provinces of European Turkey, the long southern coastline of the Aegean and Mediterranean from Izmir to İskenderun, and the Kurdish districts in the far southeast—also remain unchanged (table 1).

Moreover, the social and political bases of Turkish Hajj participation are also extremely stable. Hajj participation rates are highest in provincial capitals and towns with intermediate levels of urbanisation and economic development and lower in wealthier metropolises and poorer villages. Rates are lowest in nearly

Region	High Hajj regions			Average Hajj regions		Low Hajj regions		
	Central	West	Black Sea	East Mixed	Istanbul-Kocaeli	East Kurdish	Europe-Coasts	Turkey
<b>No. of provinces</b>	15	14	14	12	2	13	11	81
<b>Hajj rates 2009–2012</b>	1,580	1,532	1,292	1,166	1,051	915	712	1,156
<b>Population (thousands)</b>	12,756	10,416	6,535	6,163	15,489	8,931	15,333	75,627
<b>Population density (per sq. km.) 2010</b>	63	77	85	54	1,732	69	138	97
<b>Income per capita 2010 (\$US)</b>	10,590	13,112	10,361	9,873	18,294	7,492	12,427	12,443
<b>AKP votes per cent 2011</b>	57.66	50.37	59.12	61.98	49.74	44.18	36.74	49.83
<b>Kurdish population per cent 1965</b>	2.15	0.06	0.08	10.51	0.11	53.94	0.32	7.70
<b>Qur'an course students per capita 2011</b>	6,124	4,032	6,915	4,206	3,063	2,444	2,710	3,995
<b>Qur'an course graduates per capita 2011</b>	4,157	2,842	4,437	2,578	2,157	1,614	1,923	2,705
<b>Religious employees per capita 2011</b>	1,252	1,295	2,385	1,315	272	1,246	744	1,093
<b>Mosques per capita 2011</b>	1,787	1,662	1,451	1,212	1,272	897	1,274	1,286

Table 1: Turkey national and regional averages of Hajj rates and other variables.

Source: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute) (2012), *Kültür İstatistikleri* (Cultural Statistics). Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu: 180-197; Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (2012), *Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı* (Turkey's Statistical Yearbook). Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu.

all of the border districts where non-Turkish languages and ethnicities are most prevalent. Hajj participation also tracks the distribution of state-sponsored religious services, such as Qur'an courses, mosque building, and Islamic schools (table 2).

Today, as in the days of Süleyman Demirel and Turgut Özal, the strongest predictor of pilgrimage is the degree of voter support for the dominant religious party. In other words, it is not economics or culture that best predicts Hajj participation, but politics (figure 3).

Erdoğan has preserved and expanded the solid network of interlocking alliances—ties between the dominant party, the religious bureaucracy, the provincial middle class, and a vast array of local voluntary associations—that he inherited from previous politicians. Despite Turkey's turbulent history of military coups and unstable coalition governments, the pious middle classes of the provincial towns have steadily strengthened their organisational and electoral power. The growth and stability of the Hajj is a stunning example and by-product of their success.

	<b>Total hajjis N=81/80 with/without Istanbul</b>	<b>Female per cent N=81/80 with/without Istanbul</b>
<b>Socioeconomic characteristics</b>		
Income per capita (\$US)	.1869	.2808
Population density	-.0950/-.1957	.1479/.2988
Urbanisation scale	.0282	.4490
<b>Linguistic-cultural factors</b>		
Turkish	.3939	.5888
Kurdish	-.3832	-.6389
Arabic	-.2862	-.0739
Pomak, Bosnian, and Albanian	-.2015	.1833
<b>Religious services</b>		
Qur'an course completion	.5913	.3011
Qur'an course enrolment	.5485	.2188
Religious Affairs** employees	.4552	-.0891
Mosques	.3163	-.2084
<b>Political party support</b>		
Justice & Development Party	.6722	.2863
Others	.4571	.0588
Independent (Kurdish)	-.4302	-.6190
National Action Party	.3026	.4270
Republican People's Party	-.2739	.3339

Table 2: Correlates of Hajj participation in Turkey, 2009–2012. Pearson's  $r^*$

Source: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (various years), Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı (Turkey's Statistical Yearbook). Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu.

Notes: \* The correlation coefficient is a measure of the degree to which two variables' movements are associated statistically, but not necessarily causally. The Pearson product-moment coefficient ranges in value from a minimum of -1.000 (signifying a perfect negative relationship) to a maximum of 1.000 (signifying a perfect positive relationship). A coefficient of 0.000 indicates no statistical relationship. N signifies the number of cases in the calculation. For more complete descriptions and illustrations, see R. M. Sirkin (2005), *Statistics for the Social Sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

\*\* The Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs is the government agency that supervises the Hajj as well as religious education, mosques, and Qur'an courses.

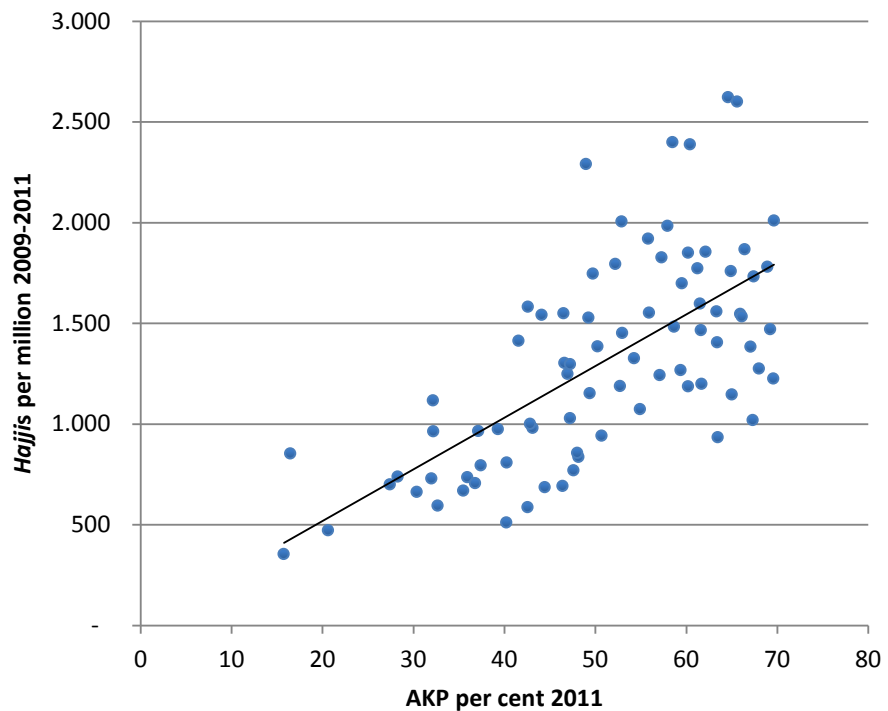


Figure 3: Turkey Hajj rates, 2009–2011, & AKP vote, 2011 ( $r = .6604$ )

Source: T.C. Yüksek Seçim Kurulu (Turkey Supreme Electoral Commission) (2011), XXIV. Dönem Milletvekili Genel Seçimi Sandık Sonuçları (Results of the 24th Parliamentary Election). <https://sonuc.ysk.gov.tr/module/sonuc.jsf>

In Indonesia, on the other hand, Hajj participation has fluctuated dramatically because of the rise of democracy, the spread of decentralisation, and the uneven impact of global economic crises. Many areas that had thriving Hajj participation under Suharto have suffered in the reform era. This is particularly the case in the financial and industrial centres of Jakarta and West Java, but also in the timber and mining regions of Sulawesi and Kalimantan. Conversely, many provinces that were underrepresented in previous Hajj activity have surged ahead of the national averages. The most striking examples are in the populous Javanese heartlands of Central Java, Yogyakarta, and East Java, where Hajj rates in rural districts and smaller towns have surpassed those in big cities. In addition to these traditionally rice-growing areas, the plantation and cash-crop communities of Sumatra have enjoyed sharp upturns in pilgrimage. Decentralisation has boosted Hajj participation also in Eastern Indonesia, where districts in North Maluku, Maluku, Papua, and West Papua now boast some of the highest rates in the country.

The correlates of Indonesia's Hajj have shifted profoundly since the advent of democracy (tables 3 and 4).



## HAJJ

	Sumatra	Java	Jakarta	Kalimantan	Sulawesi	Nusa-Bali	Papua-Maluku	Indonesia
<b>Hajj variables</b>								
Hajj rate 2007–2013	881	889	833	871	928	986	1,216	893
Hajj rate 2013	918	923	864	912	975	1,094	1,551	934
Application rate 2013	10,564	10,687	9,545	12,685	13,688	13,391	12,537	11,017
<b>Social economic variables</b>								
Income per capita 2011 (\$US)	2,247	1,564	8,186	4,280	1,173	963	1,790	3,223
Population density	105	929	14,470	23	92	179	12	120
Muslim per cent	87.12	96.41	85.36	78.54	80.88	40.42	37.13	87.18
<b>Presidential election 2009</b>								
Yudhoyono	68.83	60.40	70.36	55.24	41.32	57.66	64.27	60.78
Kala	7.83	8.85	9.22	13.14	49.58	9.68	23.20	12.40
Megawati	23.34	30.75	20.42	31.62	9.10	32.66	12.54	26.82
<b>Legislative election 2009</b>								
Democratic Party	22.31	21.25	34.70	14.20	16.34	16.83	16.51	20.85
Golkar	15.61	12.58	7.12	15.78	22.83	17.15	20.41	14.45
PDI-P	9.36	16.80	11.32	16.47	7.19	17.67	5.50	14.03
8 Islamic parties*	28.60	31.40	30.38	27.25	25.23	16.55	22.27	28.79
Islamic parties' votes/Muslims**	12.58	14.30	15.16	13.79	14.70	17.89	33.01	14.26

Table 3: Indonesia Hajj rates and other variables by region

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (Central Bureau of Statistics), Sensus Penduduk 2010 (2010 Population Census) Penduduk Menurut Wilayah dan Agama yang Dianut (Population by Region and Religion Embraced) <http://sp2010.bps.go.id>; Media Center Komisi Pemilihan (Election Commission Media Center) (2009), Hasil Rekapitulasi Perolehan Suara Pasangan Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden Dalam Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2009 (Results of Votes Received by Candidates for President and Vice-President in the 2009 General Elections) <http://mediacenter.kpu.go.id/hasil-pemilu-2009/810-rekapitulasi-nasional-perolehan-suara-pilpres-2009.html>; Media Center Komisi Pemilihan (Election Commission Media Center) (2009), Hasil Penghitungan Suara Sah Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu Tahun 2009 (Results of Valid Votes for Political Parties Participating in the 2009 Legislative Elections) <http://mediacenter.kpu.go.id/hasil-pemilu-2009.html?start=110>.

Notes: \* The total votes cast for the eight largest Islamic parties.

\*\* The total votes cast for the eight largest Islamic parties as a per cent of the Muslim population.

Under Suharto, economic development was the strongest predictor of pilgrimage, but today Hajj rates in richer and poorer provinces are far more-evenly balanced. Before democracy, the relative proportions of Muslim and

	Indonesia N=33	Without Jakarta- Papua N=30	Without eastern provinces N=26
<b>Social economic characteristics</b>			
Population density	-.1254	-.1499	-.1226
Income per capita	-.1591	-.2653	-.3291
Muslim per cent	-.3974	-.0653	.0776
<b>Presidential vote 2009</b>			
Yudhoyono	.1392	-.1099	-.0174
Kala	.2107	.3002	.1598
Megawati	-.3819	-.2601	-.1697
<b>Legislative elections 2009</b>			
Democratic Party	-.2473	-.2188	-.0841
Golkar	.3858	.1590	.1779
PDI-P	-.3420	-.2682	-.2011
Eight Islamic parties	-.1731	.0286	.3367
Eight Islamic parties/Muslims	.6229	.3217	.4388

Table 4: Indonesia correlates of Hajj participation, 2007–2013. Pearson's *r*.

Source: *Ibid*.

non-Muslim populations were unrelated to provincial Hajj participation levels. Today, pilgrimage rates are negatively related to Muslim dominance on both the provincial and district levels—additional evidence that opportunities to perform the Hajj have diffused to previously marginalised districts in the countryside and in the islands outside of Java.

The political bases of Indonesia's Hajj are changing rapidly and often vary widely from province to province. In contrast to Turkey, Indonesian pilgrimage is tied to support for several parties at the same time. The ruling Democrats, the leading Islamic parties, and Golkar all enjoy solid support in districts where Hajj participation is high. On the other hand, pilgrimage has strong and consistently negative correlations with support for Megawati Sukarnoputri's PDI-P (Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle). Nonetheless, because party loyalties are weak, personalities often count for more than partisan labels. In presidential races, for example, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono outperforms his party in high-Hajj-participating districts; Jusuf Kalla runs slightly behind his local party colleagues; Megawati fares even worse than most other PDI-P candidates.

In several pivotal provinces, the manipulation of Hajj and other religious services has been a key issue in hotly contested races for governor. Yudhoyono's Democratic Party has tried to split religious voters by playing off rival factions within Golkar and the Islamic parties in East Java, North Sumatra, and South

Sulawesi (beritajatim.com 2013; Buehler 2007; Gunawan 2012; Hadi 2008; Hajramurni 2012). The ruling party knows that sponsoring the world's largest Hajj is rarely enough to pull Muslim voters away from their partisan habits. Hence, Democratic Party candidates regularly recruit running mates from disgruntled religious factions and openly offer state subsidies to local leaders for religious and other services as integral parts of their campaigns. Whether the strategy succeeds (as in East Java) or fails (as in North Sumatra and South Sulawesi), it illustrates the inherent insecurity that Indonesian politicians feel about their religious credentials as well as their need to compensate for that insecurity with ad hoc alliances and cash inducements (Simandjuntak 2006; Tans 2012).

### **Reversing Gender Gaps and Eroding Rural-Urban Cleavages**

Despite the many inequalities that continue to pervade Turkish and Indonesian societies, both countries have made striking progress in using the Hajj to improve the position of women and rural citizens. For decades, Indonesia has been in the vanguard of the Muslim world in terms of female participation in the Hajj. This reality is indicative of women's prominence in commerce and land owning as well as the continuing influence of customary law in many rural areas. As early as the 1970s, Indonesia was one of the few countries where women routinely comprised the majority of the pilgrimage delegation. In recent years, that trend has spread to most provinces and districts in Indonesia (Bianchi 2004).

In Turkey, the growth of female pilgrimage has been even more dramatic. During the 1970s, only about 27 per cent of Turkey's *hajjis* were women. By 1995, the ratio rose to 45 per cent. Since 2002, Turkish women have been the majority of pilgrims, year in and year out. Today, the vast majority of provinces send more women than men on the Hajj. The few exceptions are concentrated in the disadvantaged Kurdish region and in some of the more isolated districts along the Black Sea (Bianchi 2004; Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu 2012).

Interestingly, women's role in the pilgrimage is often most prominent where overall Hajj rates are relatively low. Female *hajjis* are particularly common in the European provinces and southern coastal regions along the Aegean and Mediterranean seas. These are some of the most westernised parts of the country, where female education and employment are well above the national average. Thirty years ago, these provinces stood apart from the rest of the country in sending more women than men to Mecca. By now, however, nearly every other region has followed their example (Bianchi 2013).

Women's rising role in the pilgrimage is not merely an offshoot of general advances in gender equality; it is also the conscious goal of public policy in the Erdoğan-AKP era. As part of the effort to cope with the soaring number of Hajj applicants, the government has launched the 'Family Hajj' campaign, encouraging married couples to go on pilgrimage together and even to take

their children—both daughters and sons—whenever possible. Turkish Hajj managers reason that Muslims will be more willing to forego serial pilgrimages and illegal travel if they can satisfy the religious duties of the entire family at once. Erdoğan pushed the campaign vigorously—even dragooning his cabinet officers into bringing their families along on official family-style pilgrimages (Albayrak 2006). Aside from its obvious partisan intentions, the campaign has helped to boost women’s Hajj participation to an all-time high.

Although the gender balance of Indonesia’s pilgrimage has long included more women than men, there are still great disparities between male and female Hajj rates in the cities and the countryside. The majority of Indonesian *hajjis* live in the countryside, but their per capita participation lags far behind that of city dwellers. Nevertheless, since the fall of Suharto, gaps in pilgrimage participation rates between rural and urban Indonesians have narrowed substantially throughout the country. East Java and Riau exemplify the wider trend quite clearly (figures 4 and 5).

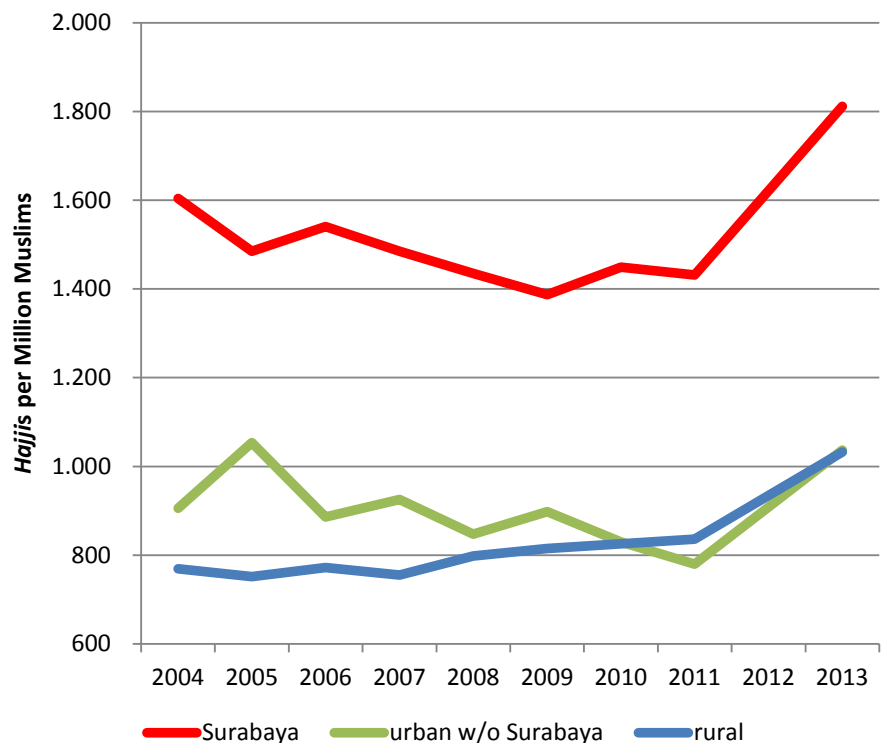


Figure 4: East Java rural and urban Hajj rates, 2004–2013.

Source: Kantor Wilayah Kementerian Agama Provinsi Jawa Timur (Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion East Java Province), *Data Keagamaan 2012 (Religious Data 2012) Tabel Alokasi Porsi Jamaah Haji Tahun 2004-2010 (Allocation of Hajj Quotas 2004-2010)*.

<http://jatim1.kemenag.go.id/file/dokumen/alokasihaji.pdf>

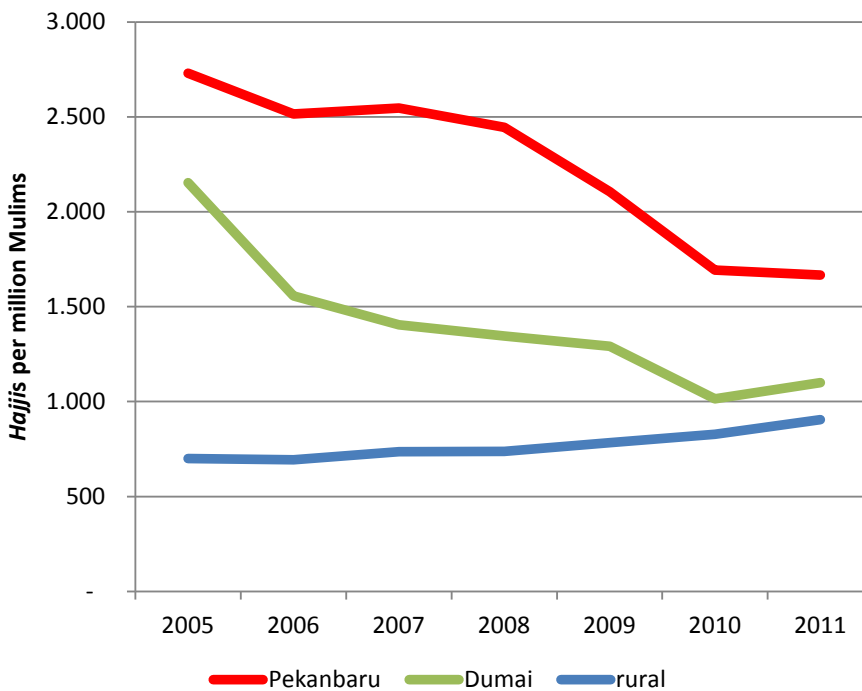


Figure 5: Riau rural and urban Hajj rates, 2005–2011.

Source: Kantor Wilayah Kementerian Agama Provinsi Riau (Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion Riau Province), *Data Keagamaan 2012 (Religious Data 2012)*.

<http://riau.kemenag.go.id/file/file/datamenu/mafv1384133405.pdf?t=1228>

After 2004, Hajj rates in the previously dominant cities declined relative to the villages and small towns. Surabaya has made a comeback in the last few years, but, elsewhere in East Java, rural rates now equal or surpass the levels of urban districts. In Riau, the trend toward rural-urban convergence is similar. In the two largest cities, Pekanbaru and Dumai, the Hajj has slumped relative to the hinterlands, and inter-district disparities are diminishing steadily. One of the sharpest turnarounds occurred in South Sulawesi, where pilgrimage rates of the rural districts rose above those in the three major cities (Makassar, Pare-Pare, and Palopo) in less than five years (figure 6).

Greater opportunities for rural and small-town pilgrims are the combined result of economic windfalls and political design. The global financial crises hit the big cities and coastal towns hardest because they are the most dependent on foreign trade and investment. In key export centres such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Balikpapan, and Samarinda, thousands of intending pilgrims had to postpone their travels. The agricultural economies of the interior typically suffered less and recovered faster, helping to offset some of their inherent disadvantages in disposable income and purchasing power. The democratic logic of majority rule gave an even stronger boost to rural fortunes as marginalised regions everywhere

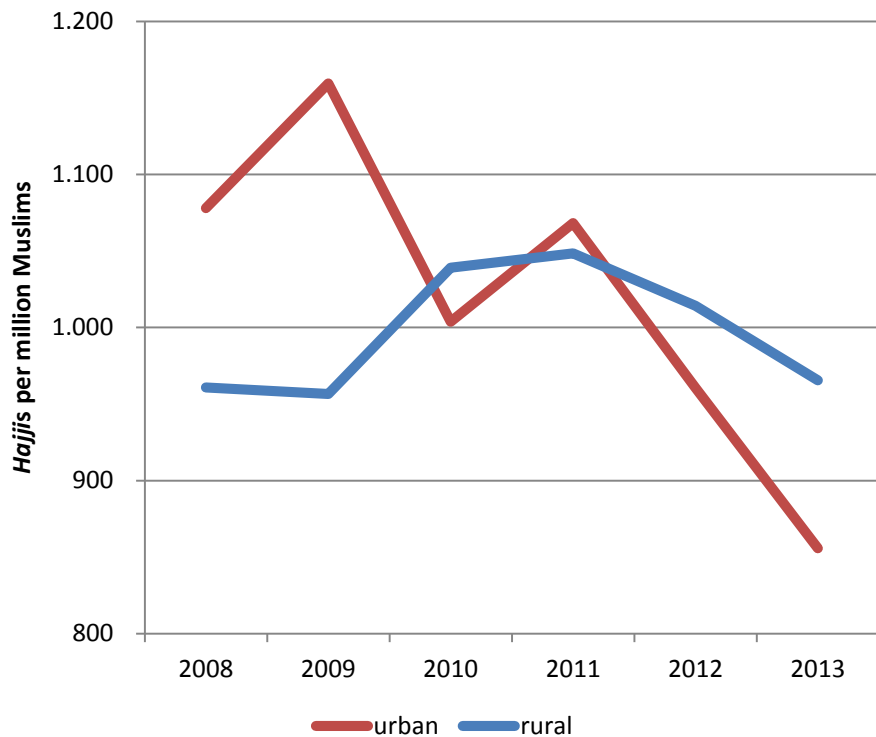


Figure 6: South Sulawesi Hajj rates 2008–2013.

Source: Kementerian Agama Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan (Ministry of Religion South Sulawesi Province) (2012), *Data Keagamaan Kemenag Se-Sulsel* (Religious Data Ministry of Religion South Sulawesi). <http://sulsel.kemenag.go.id/index.php?a=artikel&id=22279&t=1344>.

clamoured for local autonomy and larger shares of public spending. In one province after another, the distribution of Hajj quotas followed the cascading demands for the greater dispersion of power and resources. As Hajj managers announced that Indonesia's waiting lists were booked ten to fifteen years in advance, pilgrimage opportunities became a prized public good and patronage reward. Candidates used the promise of Hajj and Umra travel not only to lure voters, but also to bribe election officials in charge of overseeing the balloting (Onishi 2010; Tans 2012).

### **Turkish and Indonesian Contributions to Global Hajj Reform**

Turkey and Indonesia have led the effort to modernise and globalise the Hajj; they will also be indispensable in any plan to reform it in the future. Their most important contribution will be counterbalancing the influence of Saudi Arabia in pilgrimage affairs as well as in international diplomacy, both in the Islamic world and the wider global system. Reforming Hajj management requires

greater internationalisation, or broader participation and power sharing among the major countries that send the largest Hajj delegations every year. And further internationalisation requires the tempering of Saudi Arabia's exaggerated claims to sovereignty over the Holy Cities and the pilgrimage.

Saudi Arabia is increasingly incapable of building the broad consensus among Muslim nations that must undergird any global network of Hajj administration. Despite its much-touted oil wealth and its passion for Islamic respectability, the Saudi ruling elite remains remarkably out of touch with the outside world. This is particularly true with respect to the highly cosmopolitan non-Arab countries of Asia and Africa that are more integrated into global capitalism, more advanced in democratic politics, more pluralistic in culture, and more open-minded in religion.

More and more Muslims in countries such as Turkey and Indonesia—as well as in Iran, Pakistan, Malaysia, Nigeria, and Senegal—regard Saudi control over the Hajj as an anachronism. In recent years, they have led a cascade of criticism in official, private, and social media against the Saudis for demolishing historic sites in the Holy Cities and systematically mistreating Shi'ite, female, and non-white pilgrims from every corner of the Islamic world. It is increasingly apparent that Saudi Arabia's idiosyncratic religious views and deeply rooted prejudices are ill suited to its responsibilities toward the pluralistic and rapidly changing community of global Islam (Bianchi 2014b).

As Saudi Arabia's standing erodes, Turkey and Indonesia have stronger incentives and support for adopting a more assertive role in several diplomatic venues including the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, the G-20, and the United Nations, particularly after Saudi rulers turned down a golden opportunity to join the UN Security Council. In these forums and others, Turkish and Indonesian leaders have expressed mounting criticisms of Saudi Arabia's pilgrimage policies and have called for sweeping reforms in global Hajj management.

The international regime governing Hajj affairs is based on a delicate balance between three conflicting interests: Saudi Arabia's claims to sovereign control over all territories within its national jurisdiction, the customary rights of all Muslims to enjoy unfettered access to the Holy Cities so that they can fulfil their religious obligations, and the need to preserve Mecca's fragile environment as part of the common heritage of Islam and all mankind. For several years after the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Saudi leaders attempted to convince the rest of the Muslim world that they were committed to balancing all of these interests. Ayatollah Khomeini led a vigorous anti-Saudi campaign to place the Hajj under international control, and Riyadh was desperate for support from the largest and most powerful Sunni nations to weather the storm. But after Khomeini passed away, Iranian pressures subsided and Saudi Arabia gradually turned away from its earlier promises to share power in making pilgrimage policy.

In the last decade, Saudi officials have alienated Muslims in many countries with unilateral decisions to demolish scores of historic sites in Mecca and replace them with expensive commercial properties that most pilgrims cannot afford. Saudi Hajj managers have also adopted several discriminatory practices against Shi'ite pilgrims who want to visit historic cemeteries, women whom they (often wrongly) suspect of prostitution, black- and yellow-skinned Muslims they profile as illegal migrants and carriers of infectious diseases, and poor pilgrims who try to sleep in mosques and public areas. Saudi Arabia often raises and lowers national Hajj quotas with sudden decisions that seem politically motivated. And in 2013, the Saudis angered every Hajj board in the world by imposing a last-minute quota reduction of 20 per cent despite the fact that most of the excluded pilgrims had already paid for their trips.

The growing backlog of grievances over Hajj (mis)management is fuelling a worldwide debate about overhauling the entire system. This time, the greatest pressures are coming not from Iran, but from the powerful Sunni countries that supported Saudi requests for quotas when they wanted to stop Khomeini from flooding Mecca with Iranian protestors. Because Turkey and Indonesia are thriving democracies with booming economies, they are particularly alarmed by the breakdown in Hajj administration and are leading the way in advancing reform proposals. Turkish officials recently decided to give priority to elderly applicants who might not live long enough to perform the Hajj if they are forced to wait in line under the current system. Turkey will suspend its normal Hajj lottery for at least one year in order to send a delegation that is mainly composed of senior citizens. Thereafter, Turkish officials have pledged that candidates who have been waiting since 2007 will be allowed to move to the front of the queue (*Hürriyet-Daily News* 2013).

Indonesian politicians have gone much further. They are demanding that the quotas be abolished altogether or that each country be given a quota that matches its number of applicants and the amount of cash they will spend in the Holy Cities (Abdussalam 2013). Indonesia's plan would effectively replace population size with economic power as the key to allocating pilgrimage opportunity. It is a formula that could garner wide support, particularly as South Asian and African countries grow their economies and middle classes.

## **Concluding Remarks**

Increasing pressures for Hajj services have elicited paradoxical responses from politicians in Turkey and Indonesia. Backlogs in pilgrim waiting lists have encouraged corruption, favouritism, and partisan bickering. At the same time, however, democratic competition has opened up greater Hajj opportunities for traditionally disadvantaged and underserved citizens, particularly female and rural voters. In Turkey, a stable and hegemonic party system has promoted continuous pilgrimage growth benefiting more-prosperous middle-class groups



in the provinces. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the passage from dictatorship to extreme pluralism has turned regional Hajj patterns upside down as village- and small-town voters in Java and Sumatra demand greater pilgrimage services to redress decades of neglect and deprivation.

Facing mounting criticism from their own citizens because of overburdened pilgrimage systems, political and religious leaders in Turkey and Indonesia have become energetic advocates of global Hajj reform. Each year, their indictments of Saudi practices become more barbed; their proposals for international Hajj management more incompatible with Riyadh's claims of sovereignty. Foreign grievances about the Hajj undermine the Saudi royal family's already waning legitimacy and pave the way for still greater opposition to its authority both at home and abroad. When Turkish and Indonesian leaders challenge Saudi Arabia's Hajj management, they encourage other ambitious Muslim nations—including Iran, Pakistan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Bangladesh, and Senegal—to join in ending the Arab oil-rich monarchies' efforts to dominate Islamic affairs around the globe. Their challenge includes not just control of the pilgrimage but also control of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (the so-called United Nations of the Muslim world) as well as the burgeoning transnational investment networks of Islamic finance.

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# ISLAMIC REFORMISM AND PILGRIMAGE: THE HAJJ OF RASHID RIDA IN 1916<sup>1</sup>

*Richard van Leeuwen*

## Introduction

Since the Hajj is one of the five religious duties for every Muslim, its practice and concept are firmly anchored in religious law and the theological tradition. Its regulations and rituals are carefully described in legal handbooks; its significance and religious meaning are pondered upon by all important scholars within the Islamic tradition. Although the institution of the Hajj is thus made resistant to change and innovation, it cannot be confined to the domain of theology and legal rules alone. Like every pilgrimage, the Hajj, however objectified, contains an experiential component, too, which makes it part of the subjective perceptions of the pilgrim. Besides, the Hajj is a journey that is performed within a certain social, political, and geographical context. It is not an abstract phenomenon, but a practice set in various 'material' contexts, which makes it inevitably part of processes of change.

The impact of historical circumstances on Hajj practices can most clearly be perceived in periods of political turmoil and religious controversy. It is especially visible in the period of emerging modernity in the second half of the nineteenth century. In this period technological inventions radically changed the practice of travel, establishing new and rapid transnational connections and affecting one of the main aspects of the experience of pilgrimage. Additionally, Muslim societies in the Middle East and elsewhere, and the connections between them, increasingly fell under the domination of European nations, shaping not only the political and territorial frameworks of the Hajj, but its organisational and infrastructural frameworks as well. At the same time, Muslim intellectuals were intensifying debates about the necessity of reform and reconstructing the faith according to both the changing visions of the world and human society and a re-evaluation of religious concepts.

The tension between the conventions structuring the pilgrimage, such as religious prescriptions and traditions, and historical influences can be found in the accounts of pilgrims in various periods. On the one hand these accounts conform to religious and generic conventions, while on the other hand they reflect changes in the circumstances and practice of the Hajj and, possibly, reveal

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1 The research for this article was made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) for the project 'Modern articulations of pilgrimage to Mecca'.

at least a glimpse of the personal experience of the pilgrim. In this chapter we will examine the new elements in the practice and experience of the Hajj as they come to the fore in the pilgrimage account of Rashid Rida, one of the main religious reformers of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Rida travelled to Mecca in 1916, when British control of Egypt was at its height and the weakening of the Ottoman central government destabilised the political situation in the Arabian Peninsula. In his account, the religious dimension of the journey prevails. The political intrigues of the time, in which Rida was himself involved, also claimed a significant share in the journey, but they will only be briefly discussed here since they have been treated by others (Tauber 1989; 1995).

Before we discuss Rida's travelogue, we will first briefly outline his background as a religious thinker and activist.

### **Muhammad Rashid Rida: Reformist and Activist**

Muhammad Rashid Rida (1865-1935), usually called Rashid Rida, was born in Thenyria, a village near Tripoli, and became an advocate of Islamic reform after being introduced in his youth to the ideas of the famous Egyptian scholar Muhammad Abduh. In 1897 he migrated to Egypt because he wanted to edit a reformist journal outside the reach of Ottoman censorship and because he wanted to profit from the proximity of Abduh, whom he considered his teacher. In Egypt he successfully founded the journal *al-Manar*, which acquired readers all over the Muslim world and spread the message of Islamic reform. His religious and political views were directed at a revitalisation of the faith and the regeneration of Muslim communities within the modern context. His views concerned three domains in particular: the adoption of a modern worldview by embracing the significance of science; the purification of the faith from influences of popular religion; and the founding of a new Arabic caliphate, set against the threats of European colonial expansion.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout his life, Rida was fascinated by the progress of science and technology and their effects on modern society. He realised that the advance of knowledge radically transformed traditional worldviews and social structures and that Islam and Muslim societies could not survive in a meaningful way if they refused to accommodate this development. For Rida, a vision of modern life and modern religion necessitated not only the acceptance of scientific knowledge as the basis of thought and behaviour, but also the willingness to systematically embrace rational methods in theological and religious thinking. Only by scrutinising religious texts in a rational, scientific way could a religious worldview be constructed in harmony with modern knowledge. The concept

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2 For introductions to Rida's thought, see Hourani (1983), Kerr (1967), and Adams (1933).

of science (*ilm*) thus referred to both secular science and technology and the religious sciences.

According to Rida, the application of rational reasoning within religious thought should result in a form of religion based on the foundational texts and freed from the influences of popular beliefs and practices that had come to dominate religious life over the course of time. Although Rida had mystical experiences in his youth and did not reject the notion of religious experience, he fulminated against excessively ecstatic rituals, the cult of saints, and the 'superstitions' that were fostered, all of which he thought kept believers ignorant and submissive. A rational re-examination of religious texts should result in a normative view of religion, rejecting mere ritualistic practices and supporting a rational attitude in life, openness toward scientific innovation, and resistance against foreign domination. Education was a major means to achieve this, and all his life Rida advocated the foundation of societies and schools to endorse the modern, reformist form of religion. The journal *al-Manar*, the educational society Ayn Shams, and a short-lived religious school, all founded by Rida, show how crucial education was to his reformism.

Although Rida sought refuge from Ottoman authorities in British-occupied Egypt, he fiercely abhorred Muslims' subservience to Western colonial rule. Islamic reform was always connected with the political aim of shedding foreign domination and the political emancipation of Muslim societies. After Muhammad Abduh's death in 1905, Rida became especially politically active, pursuing his idea of a revivification of an Arab caliphate in Mecca. He entered into secret talks with the British authorities and the sharif in Mecca and his son Abdullah in order to promote his ideas and, perhaps, to secure a role for himself in possible future developments. The British considered him an intransigent religious agitator, however, and the sharif of Mecca refused to be associated with him. After World War I and the collapse of Ottoman power, Rida's idea of reinstating the caliphate became more relevant, but, although he had established contacts with the new Wahhabi rulers in Mecca, it never even came close to being realised (Tauber 1989; 1995).

These three aims were the backbone of Rida's reformist thought and political activism, which itself was ultimately aimed at a purification and modernisation of the faith that would, in turn, reinvigorate Muslim societies and enable them to confront the challenges of the new, modern era. They were also the framework of the many texts that he wrote—including the account of his pilgrimage—to propagate his views.

### **Rida's Pilgrimage**

Rida went on pilgrimage in 1916 during a period of great turmoil, warfare, and political instability. World War I was raging in Europe, Egypt was occupied by British troops, and the administrative crisis of the Ottoman Empire had

destabilised not only the Syrian provinces, but also the Arabian Peninsula and the Holy Places, where Sharif Hussein bin Ali had become increasingly recalcitrant. These circumstances make up the historical framework of Rida's travelogue, but they also shine through in the text and, perhaps as importantly, are part of what is left out—a hidden layer of intentions and events that shaped the journey in an invisible way. What is left out is significant because Rida's texts are never neutral; they are always intended to contain a didactic example, a wise admonition, or a polemic against assumed misperceptions. Thus, the travelogue is as much an account of a pilgrimage as it is a religious and political statement, designed to convey a specific message.<sup>3</sup>

In the following analysis of Rida's account, we will concentrate on four themes that, together, reveal Rida's interests and pursuits and which give an impression of the circumstances of the Hajj in the beginning of the twentieth century: infrastructure, the interpretation of pilgrimage, the pilgrimage experience, and political issues. It should be noted that in his account Rida conformed to the conventions of the genre, interspersing his text with the elaboration of specific themes, pieces of poetry or *Hadith*, references to the religious tradition, etc., turning his report into a combination of personal observations and references to the broader religious framework. This form is especially relevant for the potential tensions within the text between conventions and modernity, between experience and orthodoxy, and between tradition and reformism.

### *Infrastructure*

On the 23 september 1916, the *mahmal* or palanquin leaves Cairo on a special train to Suez, from where it will be shipped to Jeddah. Responding to the call of the Egyptian government to the Egyptians to perform the Hajj, Rida also leaves Cairo by train on this date and travels to Ismailiyya from where he continues to Suez (Riḍā 2000: 77). There the *mahmal* is put on an English man-of-war while two other ships are waiting for the pilgrims: the Mansura, which is fast but has no places in first class because they are occupied by a delegation of Egyptian religious scholars sent by the government; and the Najila, the 'slowest boat on earth', with a maximum speed of six to eight miles per hour. The Najila is old and dirty and has no electric light or comfortable chairs. The poor, whose fees are paid by the government from gifts from the rich, sleep on deck. In Suez, Rida spends the night in a lodging for pilgrims that is expensive and not as clean as a hotel (Riḍā 2000: 82).

In Jeddah, Rida is met by a representative of the sharif, who has been notified of Rida's arrival by telegraph and telephone (Riḍā 2000: 86). They talk about the intended administrative reforms in the Hijaz including plans for the Hijaz railway, which are praised by Rida as an example of modern technology supporting the practice of the faith (Riḍā 2000: 87). From Jeddah the *mahmal* is taken to Mecca

3 The text of the account was published in *al-Manar* and in Riḍā (2000: 73-160).

by a caravan guarded by two Bedouin soldiers. Rida's companions, on camels, join the caravan, while Rida himself remains behind to write. The next day he sets out for Mecca in the company of two soldiers and a servant. On the way, he sees black pilgrims travelling on foot or sleeping beside the road (Riḍā 2000: 95). Although Rida repeatedly states that the escort of soldiers is only meant as a token of honour and that the area is safe, the group is attacked by robbers and they have to flee to a nearby coffeehouse (Riḍā 2000: 96). At midnight they reach Bahra, where the *mahmal* has also halted, a village of cane houses with shops and coffeehouses—'not very clean'—and simple lodgings with bathrooms (Riḍā 2000: 96). The next day, Rida enters Mecca and is lodged in a house that the sharif has prepared for him after a telephone call (Riḍā 2000: 99).

On his journey, Rida repeatedly comments on hygienic conditions. He mentions the health control in Suez (Riḍā 2000: 82) and is concerned about the condition of the drinking water. Clean water is difficult to obtain, and travellers face health risks due to germs in the water and unclean containers (Riḍā 2000: 94). Rida advises travellers to take lemon juice with them to add to the water (Riḍā 2000: 161). He also mentions being afraid that he will become ill from washing himself before entering Mecca (Riḍā 2000: 99). He praises the qualities of his thermos bottle, made in France, which was a present from the Sultan of Muscat and which he uses on his many travels to be assured of clean, cool water (Riḍā 2000: 94). Food, too, is commented upon. Rida complains about the high prices during the pilgrimage season and carefully registers the varieties and hygienic conditions of the food. He mentions a cook who prepares 'Meccan' and 'Turkish' food and Indians who sell ice (Riḍā 2000: 112).

Rida's account gives some insight into the networks of which he was a part, consisting of travelling scholars and friends visited on previous journeys. In Suez he joins two friends who accompany him on his pilgrimage. On the boat, they talk about poetry and literature, religious reform, science, and social issues. In Jeddah he meets a Syrian friend whom he originally met on his journey to Syria in 1908 and who was apparently invited to the Hijaz to become a secretary of the sharif. They speak about legal reforms, the return of safety to the Hijaz, the improvement of the situation of the Bedouin tribes, and the spread of science. He meets a Tunisian shaikh whom he has previously visited in Istanbul (Riḍā (2000: 90) and the Shafi'ite mufti of Mecca (Riḍā 2000: 99) who had invited Rida to his house in Muscat when the latter travelled to India. In Mecca Rida visits a number of acquaintances, scholars from Syria and Egypt (one of whom he had met while attending Muhammad Abduh's lectures), local dignitaries, and the editor of the religious journal *al-Qibla* (Riḍā 2000: 110). He especially praises a shaikh of the Shayba tribe, who is friendly, witty, and well versed in literature and the religious and modern sciences (Riḍā 2000: 112). These encounters show how networks of scholars were built and maintained in this period and the significance of the Hajj for their preservation, but they also show, of course, how well connected Rida himself was as an intellectual and as a religious scholar.



### *Interpretation of the pilgrimage*

All these observations on practical matters shape the account as a ‘modern’ travelogue, but since Rida’s travel concerns the fulfilment of a religious obligation, it is obvious that religion provides the main framework for structuring the text. Throughout the text, Rida refers to traditions of the Prophet, religious scholars, and forms of religiosity. The entire text is permeated with a moralizing tone, reprehending religious laxity and commending signs of piety. Significantly, Rida distributes his booklet *Abkam al-Nask (Rules of Piety)* among the passengers on the boat to Jeddah. His admonitions are directed both at the rules of the Hajj and the underlying tradition – and individual conduct – as evaluations of religious correctness.

Rida begins his account with an elaborate justification of his journey, which is solely intended to fulfil his religious duty. He expands on the pain of departing because he has to leave behind his small children. But this pain is soothed by the conviction that it is the first gain (*fa’ida*) of the journey (Riḍā 2000: 73, 80), because it is a means to obtain God’s forgiveness and mercy. Rida is worried about the hardships of the journey, but he is looking forward to freeing his mind when he eventually takes on the sacred status (*ihram*) and performs the prescribed rituals, because the *ihram* is like entering a different world. He clearly sees the importance of *ihram* as a state of sacredness; when one of his friends in Jeddah suggests that he could obtain special permission (*rukhsa*) to be in Jeddah without *ihram* garb, he reprimands him and says that he would even wear the garb if it was only juridically recommendable (Riḍā 2000: 88).

More generally, Rida denounces laxity in religiosity, both with regard to modern mentalities and traditional forms of popular religion. On the boat to Jeddah, he reprimands the pilgrims of the lower classes, who spend the night on deck with games, entertainment, and music. Some pretend these to be a Sufi ritual (*dhikr*), dancing and shouting ‘Ah, ah, hu, hu, hay, hay’. Rida criticises their behaviour by stating that they take their religion as a form of amusement and consider themselves superior to others who remain silent to seek comfort from their separation from their beloved ones. This behaviour is a sign of *al-ilm al-batila* (‘futile knowledge’ or ‘false science’), which will provoke God’s wrath. Rida also fulminates against young pilgrims whose faith has been spoiled by Turkish and French schools, who perform the Hajj without *ihram* and the obligatory rituals, and who ‘agitate’ against the rightly guided caliphs and the Qur’an (Riḍā 2000: 84–85, 91). Rida, who mentions a friend praising him for his piety, depicts himself as praying and adhering to the rules as much as possible.

The main elaborations about the religious rules and their inner meaning are to be found—not surprisingly—in the sections about Mecca and the Hajj itself. Rida enters the Great Mosque through the Bab Nabi Shayba, where the Prophet also entered. When he sees the Ka’ba, he utters a prayer of Umar al-Khattab and prays loudly during the *tawaf al-quḍum* (the circumambulation of arrival). After drinking water from the Zamzam well, he rides on a donkey between

Safa and Marwa (since he is too exhausted to walk), and upon arriving in Safa he repeats the words of the Prophet and some prayers. Later he describes his stay, including the buildings and the landscapes, near Arafat, referring to the geography of Yaqut, the poetry of Labid and several *Hadiths*, and the work of scholars such as Ibn Taymiyya, al-Ghazali, al-Nawawi and al-Shafi'i (Riḍā 2000: 114–119). He also describes the place where the Prophet has stood and where he prays and praises God (Riḍā 2000: 120–123, 126–127). He performs the *wuquf* ('standing') and throws stones at Mina, after which he quickly leaves since it is the place of God's wrath (Riḍā 2000: 128–129). Back in Mecca he completes his Hajj with the supplemental *tawaf* and the second walk between Safa and Marwa (Riḍā 2000: 131).

Throughout his description of the various components of the Hajj, Rida gives supplementary information about the meaning of the different rituals and sites and their embedment in the religious tradition. He emphasises that all the rites of the Hajj are prescribed by Abraham and Ishmael, except those instated by the Prophet, and are meant to show the might of the Muslims to the polytheists (Riḍā 2000: 101). Moreover, the rites are based on sacred history. Take, for instance, the predicament of Hagar, who suffered hunger, thirst, and loneliness in the desert but kept her trust in God and found the Zamzam well (Riḍā 2000: 104–106). Furthermore, the rites are described in the works of the legal scholars of the different legal schools, who refer to the example of the Prophet and the traditions (Riḍā 2000: 128). By these means, the constituting parts of the religious tradition that together shape the form and meaning of the various rites and places are mobilised to establish a framework of interpretation. However, Rida is aware that this legal-historical framework is not the only significance of the Hajj; he explicitly acknowledges the importance of the element of experience.

### *Pilgrimage experience*

Travelling is not only a matter of spatial displacement and movement; it is also an emotional and physical experience. In general, a trustworthy travelogue will be partly structured by referential and experiential elements in order to enhance the realistic appearance of the narrative. For Rida this experiential element is of primary importance. As mentioned above, he begins his account with a long elaboration on the 'pain of separation' (*alam al-firaq*). He expounds on the grief caused by travelling, especially when the journey is dangerous, and he wonders if this grief can be measured like heat, weight, and humidity. He observes that the departure of a beloved one also gives a kind of happiness, because it stimulates feelings of love and desire, as when the brain is activated by the effort of solving a scientific problem, or when the body is strained by sports and exercises (Riḍā 2000: 78). The discussion is supplemented with textual references and poetry.

The physical experiences of travelling are repeatedly brought to the attention of the reader by references to food and drink, hygiene and health, and fatigue and relief.

The stress of travelling is, of course, related to the pious aim of the journey, which turns hardships into merit (*fa'ida*). Hardships are the embedding of the real experience, which is the experience of the Hajj itself and its rites. In his discussion of the traditional significance of the pilgrimage, Rida does not neglect the experiential component. The Hajj, he says, is a spiritual, physical, and social form of reverence (*ibada*), because it is a sublime exercise for man, both individually and socially. It is a total exercise because man consists of a soul and a body and has been created to live in a social environment. All these elements are amplified by the Hajj as a result of the discipline and physical exercise of the *ihram* and the rituals and experiences of the journey. Apart from this, the Hajj reinforces mutual acquaintance and familiarity between people at the most holy place on earth (Riḍā 2000: 101–102). Rida goes on to say that the ritual acts of the Hajj mould the soul and strengthen the faith, making the believer aware of the specific time and place he is in. Through his clothing, the Hajji is reminded of Abraham, Ishmael, and Muhammad. The result is a deepening of religiosity and a pure emotion, which together bring an experience of bliss. The awe caused by the encounter with the magnificent Ka'ba and the *Maqam Ibrahim* (the place where Abraham stood in prayer) fills the heart with faith and the affirmation of God's unity, in this location where God's faith originated and where angels, prophets, martyrs, and pious companions have walked (Riḍā 2000: 101–103).

These general observations are supplemented with Rida's own emotions when he enters the Great Mosque, humble, crying, confused, and filled with piety. His tongue overflows with praise of God and prayers, and, at the sight of the Ka'ba, all human preoccupations become trivial. He tries to touch and kiss the black stone, but he emphasises that this will give neither profit nor harm and that it is not related to any sacred essence of the stone or potential sacred power, but rather an act of imitation of the Prophet. He stresses, too, that the *tawaf* is not a pagan custom or a form of idolatry, but is meant as a submission of oneself to the will of God in order to enhance the love for God and to confirm His unity, because it belongs to Him (Riḍā 2000: 103–104). Similar emotions overwhelm Rida during the *wuquf*; he feels humble and full of reverence among the multitude of believers from all corners of the world, who are crying, praying, and praising God in all languages. The scene reminds him of the last judgment; the believer has the feeling that he stands alone before God, in spite of the mass surrounding him (Riḍā 2000: 120, 124, 126–127). This association is a well-known topos in Hajj literature.

A remarkable passage is a kind of *déjà vu* that Rida experiences when he sees the stream of the Zubayda well. He relates that some years earlier he saw himself in a dream in Mecca with a friend. In the Great Mosque he saw Sharif Hussein bin Ali, who said to him 'We were expecting you, but you are late'. He invited

him to his home as a guest, and they passed a canal with fast streaming water. Then they visited the home of Emir Abdallah, and it was said to him that he would become caliph or chief imam. Rida interprets this dream as a prediction, since most of his visions have come true during his stay in Mecca. The rapidly streaming water could refer to the recent reforms in Mecca, but he concludes dismally that the water in the canal flows less rapidly than in his dream (Riḍā 2000: 125–126). Clearly, Rida has no difficulty incorporating his belief in the forecasting powers of dreams into his reformist religiosity.

When Rida says farewell to the Ka'ba to complete his pilgrimage, he is filled with a sense of happiness and tranquillity. He is allowed to enter the Ka'ba and again feels awe and humility and, thinking of the Prophet, he cries so profusely that he is unable to pronounce the *takbir* or glorification of God (Riḍā 2000: 153–154). During his pilgrimage, Rida has twice lamented that 'only he who has experienced it, knows how it is' (Riḍā 2000: 103, 127), and that there is a great difference between the person at the beginning of the Hajj and the same person who has experienced all the intense emotions (Riḍā 2000: 127).

### *Political issues*

As previously noted, Rida's Hajj took place in a period of great political turmoil. Rida himself does not remain aloof, but intervenes in the political scene by developing ideas for the place of religion in future society and political structures and by secretly negotiating with the British authorities. The British, however, considered him an intractable extremist. His meeting with Emir Abdullah in Cairo in 1914 was meant to align himself with the cause of the Meccan sharif, but the response was cool and even hostile. It was perhaps his religious intransigency that made other parties reluctant to associate with him, as they may have feared his ambition and strict ideas. According to some, his main aim was to occupy a strong position within potential new religious institutions, perhaps in Mecca. Whatever the case may have been, his ambitions were thwarted, but he became politically active again with his Decentralisation Party during the deliberations about Syrian independence in the 1920s (Tauber 1993).

In the beginning of his travelogue, Rida emphasises that he undertakes the pilgrimage only to fulfil his religious duty, and not to negotiate with the authorities in Mecca about the establishment of a caliphate or to obtain a position as a shaikh or a chief judge. He is also not a member of the delegation of religious scholars sent to the sharif by the Egyptian government and states that he opposes the sharif because he has subjected himself to the British and the French. In spite of these statements, Rida's account is not deprived of political observations and comments. Rida mentions the conquest of Ta'if by Emir Abdullah, who defeated the Turkish governor, and his festive entry into the town. Especially after the completion of the Hajj ritual, Rida dedicates the remainder of his account to the political situation of the Hijaz, starting with the reception of the emir by

the tribal leaders and the appointment of a new chief judge through a decree from Hussein and the council of shaikhs. Rida is consulted by the emir and the 'people' (in Rida's words) expect him to be appointed to a major position, but this does not materialise. The sharif is reinstated as caretaker of the pilgrimage and the Hijaz by a firman from the sultan (Riḍā 2000: 133–135).

The next day a meeting is held at the pavilion of the amir, where Rida gives a political address. Apparently, Rida's speech was well received by the audience, and some hoped that Rida would be a candidate for the caliphate. The response of the sharifian family is reserved, to say the least, but nevertheless Rida concludes his account with praise for Hussein, who has promised to impose reforms and has asked Rida for his support. However, according to Hussein, Rida can be more helpful in Egypt than in the Hijaz. Other sources say that Rida negotiated with Hussein about a future political cooperation between his political organisation, the Society of the Arab Association, and a potential Arab state with Hussein as president, but that he was 'extremely unpopular' in Mecca (Tauber 1995: 114). Whatever the case may have been, the speech shows how Rida took the opportunity of his pilgrimage to spread his ideas of fostering a union of Arabia, Syria, and Iraq as an independent political entity (in cooperation with Istanbul). It also seems clear that he entered into political deliberations with the sharifian family, in spite of his reservations about their cooperation with the British and their previous reluctance to work with him.

## Conclusion

If we take Rida's pilgrimage account as a whole, it is easy to see that, on the one hand, it contains references to the tradition of the Hajj in terms of both its regulations and its underlying meaning. On the other hand, it also has clear traces of the modern context and meditations on the modern practice of the Hajj. In the four fields that we discussed, the relationship between these two frameworks is shown by Rida's elaborate descriptions of modern means of transport and communication, which contrast with his riding a mule to Mecca; his references to authoritative texts on Hajj regulations and historical backgrounds combined with criticism of modern practices; his emphasis on the experiential side of the Hajj, combining emotional and physical hardships and dreams and an exploration of the boundary between legitimate and illegitimate forms of experience; and, finally, his critical evaluation of the political context in which the Hajj takes place, contrasting the holy status of Mecca with the threat of foreign interference and envisaging a political structure to safeguard the integrity of the faith.

It is evident that Rida considered his journey as taking place in a period of transition—one in which reforms were required to change old, obsolete habits and political action was needed to avoid the subjugation of Islam to foreign powers or its corruption by 'enemies within'. The circumstances harboured

possibilities as well as threats; a critique of the situation of the Muslims should lead to a reawakening, and the threat from outside should result in a restructuring of the political framework and new concepts of Islamic leadership. As a true Salafist reformer, Rida used a purified image of the traditions connected to the Hajj with modern forms and interpretations. Of course, the Hajj is particularly suited for this aim since, as explained above, it is both a religious obligation and a ritual practice shaped by external circumstances.

In his account, Rida made full use of the possibilities offered by the conventions of the travelogue, utilising a traditional generic framework to combine conventions with personal observations and experiences. By putting himself consistently in the centre of events, he reinforced the experiential component of the text. We can follow emotions—his sadness at his departure, his anger at religious laxity, and his rapture and awe at the sight of the Holy Places—as well as his piety, humility, and discipline. We sympathise with his physical discomfort, are impressed by his meetings with notables, and can directly ‘hear’ his political speech. These narrative devices enhance the sense of authenticity, draw the reader into the text, and strengthen the authority of the author, who has personally experienced all of this. It solidifies Rida’s arguments in what is, after all, an ideological text within which he hopes to convince his readers of his reformist ideas. Conversely, the religious meaning of the text may have served well to hide the real intention of the journey, which was perhaps as much a political as a religious undertaking.

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# GIFTS, SOUVENIRS, AND THE HAJJ <sup>1</sup>

*Venetia Porter*

The giving and receiving of gifts has been an intrinsic element of the Hajj since the beginning of Islam. As Islam spread out of Arabia and people began going on the Hajj from increasingly far afield, so the nature of the gifts began to reflect the global nature of the Hajj. The principal gift to the *Haram* (sanctuary) at Mecca traditionally associated with the Hajj is the *kiswa*, the textile that clothes the Ka'ba. Returning pilgrims, in a tradition that continues to this day, would take back different kinds of mementoes from their Hajj, ranging from objects made in Mecca itself to those that were purchased there but which might have originated elsewhere. A clear example of this is a nineteenth-century textile made from a wild silk known as *tussar*, of a type made in Bengal, taken by pilgrims to be traded in Mecca and a popular souvenir for Indonesian pilgrims who returned home with them (Porter 2012a: 166; Mols 2013: 224; Khan 2013).

This chapter will explore the range of these gifts and souvenirs, beginning with the gifts of textiles and other objects offered to the *Haram* and the Ka'ba itself. It will then consider some of the different kinds of mementoes that were acquired and what significance they held, from the textiles that had touched the sacred places themselves to the representations of the sacred sites in the form of paintings. Finally it will discuss what can be surmised about the work of artists in Mecca.

## Gifts to the Holy Sanctuaries

Giving to the sanctuaries of Mecca and Medina was not restricted to the time of the Hajj, and gifts could come from individuals, such as the Mosul candlestick dated 717 AH (1317/1318 CE) and later offered by a Murjan al-Sultani to the sanctuary at Medina (Ballian 2009: 128–135), or associated with the refurbishment of the holy sanctuaries. There are candlesticks dedicated by the Mamluk Sultan Qaytbay (r. 1468–1496), for example, who built sections of the *Haram* at Medina in the fifteenth century and undertook restoration work in Mecca, including improving the supply of water in the Zamzam well (Newhall

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1 I would like to thank Luitgard Mols and the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden for the invitation to participate in the conference *Hajj. Global Interactions through Pilgrimage*. The paper given there has formed the basis for the present chapter.



1987: 233ff; Behrens-Abouseif 1998; Porter 2012a: 163).<sup>2</sup> Other important and symbolic gifts were the keys and locks for the door of the Ka'ba. There had been a key to the door of the Ka'ba from the Prophet's lifetime that was made of wood, and later ones were made of inlaid metal. Locks and keys were among the gifts offered by the Mamluk and Ottoman sultans. They were often inscribed with the names of the sultans and verses of the Qur'an referring to the central role of the Ka'ba in Islam; some have the phrase 'key of the house of God'. The Mamluk keys were sent to Istanbul following the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517, and the Ottomans would sometimes take them on military operations to render them victorious, as they did on Murad IV's Baghdad campaign in 1638 (Aydin 2004: 152). There are 21 keys and locks in the collections of Topkapı Palace Museum, the earliest of which is inscribed with the name of the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah (r. 1180–1225), as well as a few examples in other collections (Sourdél-Thomine 1971; Shalem 2007: 277).

The offering of gifts to the Ka'ba itself has a long tradition going back to the pre-Islamic era, when the Ka'ba was the focus of an ancient cult (Peters 1994: 3–48). Aside from textiles, which will be considered in more detail below, there was a practice of offering to the Ka'ba and storing within it and other places in the sanctuary different types of objects. Before Islam, these consisted mostly of votive offerings and, in the early Islamic era, they included objects looted during conquests, a subject extensively discussed by Avinoam Shalem and further by Barry Flood (Shalem 2007; Flood 2009: 32ff). Some of these objects would be displayed during the time of the Hajj. The extent and range of the objects described in the sources is staggering, and there was clear symbolism attached to the act of display. Looted objects, such as crowns and thrones, were tokens of victory and submission, while captured Hindu or Buddhist icons and statues proclaimed the supremacy of Islam over the religions of the conquered peoples (Flood 2009: 32–33). The Persian scholar al-Biruni (973–1048) recounts how 'the Holy Prophet...had the *Golden Book* of the Zoroastrians sent to him by Badhan the Persian after having embraced Islam in Yemen, suspended in the Ka'ba' (Shalem 2007: 275). The Hajj was clearly a moment for making political statements, as it has continued to be throughout Islamic history. Flood notes that the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833) chose the time of the Hajj to highlight his victory over the king of Kabul in about 813 CE by making a display from the spoils he had acquired (Flood 2009: 29–30). Similarly, during the reign of Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861), a golden parasol studded with pearls, rubies, and chrysolite was suspended each year during the Hajj (Flood 2009: 30). Many of these objects are said to have been lost to the Carmathians after they raided Mecca and stole the Black Stone in the middle of the tenth century.

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2 There are three surviving candlesticks whose inscriptions state they were offered to the sanctuary at Medina in 887 AH (1482/1483 CE), one in the Benaki Museum, Athens, and the other two in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.

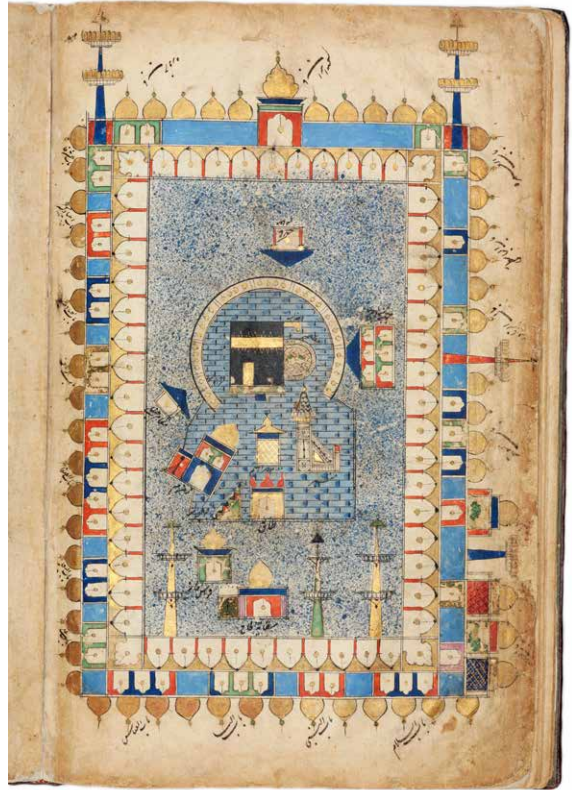


Figure 1: The sanctuary at Mecca in *Futuh al-Haramayn*, Mecca 990 AH (1582/1583 CE), fol. 19b, copied by Ghulam Ali. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, inv. nr. MSS 1038. © Nour Foundation. Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust.

Gift giving to the Ka'ba continued into the medieval period, but, no longer spoils of war, these objects were, as the Spanish Muslim traveller Ibn Jubayr who was in Mecca in 1183 describes them, 'pious endowments made for the blessed House, such as Korans, books, candlesticks and the like'. He tells us that these objects were stored in two domed structures within the sanctuary, the *Qubbat al-Sharab*, which was built by Abbas, the Prophet's uncle and eponymous founder of the Abbasid line, and 'the dome named after the Jews' (Ibn Jubayr 1952: 84). These two structures which were also used to store the jars of Zamzam water, are depicted in the drawings of the sanctuary found in Hajj certificates and manuscripts of the *Futuh al-Haramayn* (figure 1).

The tradition of bringing 'pious' objects such as Qur'ans along with the Hajj caravan was one that continued well into the Ottoman period. The Ottoman *Surra* would travel laden with such gifts for the sanctuaries of Mecca and Medina as well as considerable amounts of gold coin to pay for refurbishments to the sanctuaries or to pay individuals. This was carried in a purse called a *surra* or *surre*, which gave its name to the Ottoman Hajj caravan (Faroghi 1994)(figure 2).<sup>3</sup>

3 Illustrated in Bayhan 2008: 204–205 is a remarkable scroll that represents the thanks of the people of Mecca to the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566).

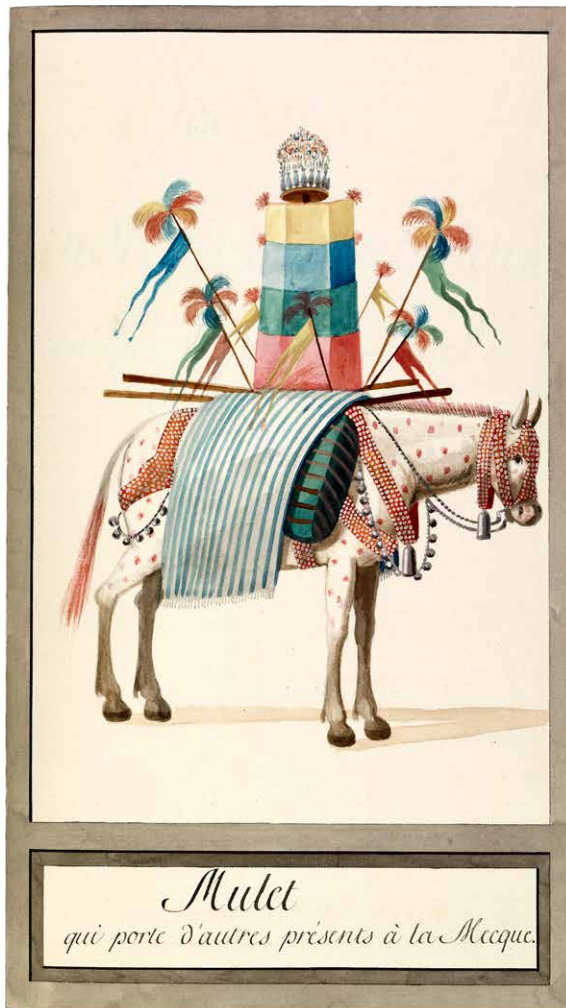


Figure 2: Mule carrying presents to Mecca in *Costumes Turcs*, vol. 1, fol.125, c. 1790. © The Trustees of the British Museum, inv. nr. 1974,0617, 0.12.2.125.

The range and quality of these objects—Qur'ans in jewelled cases, rock crystal lamps, candlesticks, coral and amber rosaries, and other precious items—demonstrate how seriously these rulers took their role as guardians of the holy sanctuaries and, equally, how visible they wanted this role to be. Many of these objects are now in the collections of Topkapı Palace in Istanbul (Bayhan 2008: 143–165), having been brought back to the capital by train by the Ottoman general responsible for the Hijaz, Fahreddin Pasha, during the First World War and just prior to the Ottoman withdrawal from the Hijaz in 1916 (Aydin 2004: 252–253).

## Textiles

The most celebrated of the gifts to the Ka'ba are textiles, continuing a tradition that existed in ancient Arabia and the Near East before Islam of covering sacred structures with textiles out of respect (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1954: 6). The earliest recorded examples from the pre-Islamic era came from Yemen, well known for its production of textiles, and cloth from the celebrated weaving centre of Ma'athir was, it is said, brought by the ruler Tubba As'ad Kamil in 400 CE along with sacrificial offerings to the shrine (Serjeant 1948: 76ff). The giving of textiles to the Ka'ba was one of the many pre-Islamic traditions relating to Mecca and the Hajj that were reframed to adapt to the Islamic context. Before Islam it is likely that the textiles were offered during the festival of Umra that occurred in the month of *Rajab* (the seventh month of the Islamic calendar), the rituals of which were absorbed into the Muslim Hajj that took place in the month of *Dhu'l-Hijja* (the twelfth month of the Islamic calendar). In the Islamic era, the new textiles were the responsibility of the Muslim rulers from the Umayyads to the Ottomans (Porter 2012a: 257ff)<sup>4</sup> and were predominantly made in Egypt in a tradition continuing into the twentieth century, although there are occasional references to textiles made elsewhere by rulers attempting to rival Mamluk or Ottoman suzerainty over the Holy Places (Nassar 2013: 175; Sardi 2013: 169). The giving of textiles was not generally the prerogative of individuals. An exception to this, however, was the lavish gift of Chinese textiles given by the wealthy twelfth-century Persian merchant Abu'l-Qasim Ramisht, who traded across the Indian Ocean as far as China and was buried at Mecca. Unfortunately no details exist about what these sumptuous textiles actually looked like (Guy 2005: 10).

The cost of production of the Ka'ba textiles was vast, and great pomp and ritual surrounded their departure from Cairo, along with that of the ceremonial *mahmal* or palanquin (Buhl 1991; Porter 2013), and their arrival in Mecca, from the reign of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars (r. 1260–1277) onwards. There was also great ritual in dressing the Ka'ba with the lavish covering. Those who witnessed its unfolding marvelled at its beauty: 'a cloth (*kiswa*) of bright green' wrote Ibn Jubayr in 1183, 'and held the eyes in spell for its beauty' (Ibn Jubayr 1952: 185). By the time the English explorer Richard Burton saw the *kiswa* in 1853, it was black and there were other associated textiles, which had been introduced in the preceding centuries, including a door curtain (*sitara*), a belt (*hizam*), square pieces known as *samadiyya*, panels made for the inside doors of the Ka'ba, and red silk textiles with zigzag designs covering the interior walls. In addition, there was a textile covering for the standing place of Abraham (Ibrahim), one of the structures in the *Haram*, known as *Maqam Ibrahim* (Nassar 2013: 178). Traditionally the new *kiswa* was replaced on the day of the *Eid al-Adha* (the Feast

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<sup>4</sup> The term *kiswa*, meaning 'veil' originally, denoted the overall covering of the Ka'ba although it is sometimes used to describe all the textiles placed upon the Ka'ba.

of Sacrifice) in such a way that the structure was never left uncovered, a practice that continues today. Of all of these textiles, it was only the *kiswa* and the *sitara* that were always annually replaced. It is these, as well as the zigzag patterned textiles of the interior, that were cut up and offered to dignitaries or acquired by pilgrims to take home as gifts.

This cutting up and dispersal of the textiles was the responsibility of the Sharifs of Mecca and the Banu Shayba, who were the traditional guardians of the *Haram* and who had been confirmed in that role during the time of the Prophet Muhammad himself. The Dutch scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who was in Mecca in 1885, wrote that ‘they [the Banu Shayba] do a trade in the used *kiswah*...of each year, selling small scraps of it as amulets’ (Snouck Hurgronje 2006: 27). This custom began during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Mu’awiya (r. 661–680) when special permission was sought from the Prophet’s widow Aisha, who consented on condition that the proceeds went to pious causes (Peters 1994: 128). In a continuing tradition, the textiles were cut up in particular ways, with certain sections being reserved for persons of higher status or given as diplomatic gifts. An exceptional gift of an entire *kiswa* was given as thanks to Ridwan Bey, an Egyptian notable during the reign of



Figure 3: Fragment of *kiswa* with additional embroidered panel. Cairo, late nineteenth / early twentieth century. © National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, inv. nr. B118-1.



the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623–1640), for his involvement in the restoration of the Ka'ba (Faroqhi 1994: 199; İpek 2006: 307). So special were the textiles that pieces of the old ones were often incorporated into the newly made curtains (inner and outer) of the Ka'ba or the curtains for the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina (İpek 2006: 293; Mojan 2013: 193). Some were also put together to make up souvenir gifts. An example of the latter is the piece given to Emile Gobée (1881–1954), the Dutch Envoy to Jeddah between 1917 and 1921, which was made from the centre of a *samadiyya* stitched onto a piece of the black *kiswa* (Mols 2013: 215) (figure 3).

His Dutch contemporary Snouck Hurgronje acquired two fragments of the black *kiswa* during his stay in Jeddah and Mecca in 1884 and 1885, along with a bottle of Zamzam water. Unlike the pilgrims who brought back the sacred Zamzam water as pious souvenirs, Snouck Hurgronje's interest was more scientific; he intended to test its chemical properties (Mols 2013: 92).

It was not only the *kiswa* and *sitara* that were cut up and given a new function, but also the inner textiles of the Ka'ba and those that covered the curtains and tomb of the Prophet in Medina. These silk textiles with their characteristic zigzag designs and inscriptions were generally, but not exclusively, red for the Ka'ba and green for Medina and made in Istanbul or Bursa. They were only renewed when



Figure 4: Pieces of Mecca textiles from the tomb of the sixteenth-century mystic Yahya Efendi, Beşiktaş, Istanbul.

they wore out (İpek 2006: 290). Ottoman officials in Mecca would collect the finest pieces to send to Istanbul where, on arrival at Üsküdar, they would be taken to Eyyup and 'from there, a cortege led by *ulema*, *shaykhs*, *sayyids*, and high officials accompanied by repetitive choral pronouncements affirming the greatness and uniqueness of Allah brought the religious textiles to the palace' (İpek 2006: 307).

Individuals would also acquire these pieces, and the new owners would then travel to many different parts of the world where they might turn the cloth into jackets, shirts, belts, or turbans. Their most popular use, however, was in the Ottoman Empire where they were used to cover coffins in the tomb chambers mostly of members of the Ottoman royal family. Many of these tomb covers are in the collections of Topkapı Palace and the Türbeler Museum in Istanbul (İpek 2005; İpek 2006: 310; İpek 2011) (figure 4).

So popular was this tradition that the stone tomb covers themselves were sometimes carved with designs echoing those of the textiles (İpek 2005: 330). The tradition of cutting up the textiles of the inside of the Ka'ba (now green, and made in the *kiswa* factory in Mecca) to give as gifts continues today.



Figure 5: Nineteenth-century water flask made in China and filled with Zamzam water in Mecca. ©Trustees of the British Museum, inv. nr. Af,+1756.

## Sacred Souvenirs

Other than the textiles that were precious on account of having been in contact with the sacred shrines, there was a range of other gifts and memorabilia that were brought back by returning pilgrims over time. These can be categorised broadly into objects that have specific connection to the holy sites, some of which can be considered relics; objects that depict the Holy Places; and objects that, by virtue of having been purchased in Mecca or Medina, acquire special significance (Khan 2013).

The most obvious gift in the first category is the water from the spring of Zamzam, which Muslims believe appeared to Hagar and Ishmael (Isma'il) after they were abandoned by Abraham in the desert. It was the Prophet's grandfather Abd al-Mutallib who rediscovered it and, during this process, also found ancient objects buried in the well long ago (Shalem 2007: 270ff; Porter 2012a: 72). All who visited the sanctuary would drink Zamzam water, a practice that continues today. The water was traditionally kept in special one-handled jars, called *dawariq*, and its singular property 'is that on issuing forth from the bottom of the well you find it, to the sense of taste like milk coming from the udders of a camel' (Ibn Jubayr 1952: 84, 120–121). Although pilgrims would often fill their own water containers with Zamzam water, there were also special containers that could be purchased in Mecca, which included sealed bottles made of Chinese porcelain (figure 5).

Once home, the water would be put to many different uses including being sprinkled on a shroud. A particular category of objects from the medieval period became known as pilgrims' flasks, made mostly of ceramic or glass, some highly elaborate, but whether these were all meant to contain Zamzam water is debatable (Fehérvári 2000: 200–202; Mols 2013: 69). Such containers are now largely made of plastic or metal (Khan 2013: 235).

Amongst the other gifts connected directly to the holy land itself were amulets made from clay and dust, echoing a tradition associated with Shi'a Islam whereby clay from the areas around Najaf and Kerbela is traditionally turned into prayer stones (Milwright 2013: 29). Similarly, pilgrims would bring back fans made from the palm groves around Medina, which were believed to have been planted by the Prophet himself. Even parts of the building of the *Haram* at Mecca were precious—wooden boxes filled with stucco fragments fallen from the walls of the Ka'ba are in the collections of Topkapı Palace (Bayhan 2008: 229, 233). It was not uncommon to bring back such pieces associated with the sacred building; several small fragments of the Black Stone are inserted above the door and in the *mihrab* of the mosque of Sokullu Mehmet Pasha in Istanbul, which was completed in 979 AH (1571/1572 CE). These fragments were given to Sokullu Mehmet Pasha as a gift for having ordered extensions to the *Haram* at Mecca (Goodwin 1971: 274).



## Visualising the Hajj

A second category of objects that can be considered souvenir items are those that consist of or include depictions of the Holy Cities or refer specifically to the Hajj. This is a large collection of items comprising manuscripts, drawings, photographs, postcards, posters, and tiles, only some of which will be considered here.<sup>5</sup> There are manuscripts that act as both guidebook and memento, the most popular of which is *Futuh al-Haramayn*, or *Revelations of the Two Holy Sanctuaries* by Muhyi al-Din Lari (d. 1526). Lari originally came from Persia, but he dedicated his work to Muzaffar al-Din ibn Mahmud Shah, ruler of Gujarat (r. 1511–1526) in western India. In mystical and emotional Persian verse, Lari describes the different rites of the Hajj and their meaning. On performing the first *tawaf* (circumambulation) he writes:

Crying out I made for the place of *tawaf*; dancing, I came forward  
for my circumambulation. His infinite generosity became manifest  
as I planted a kiss upon the Black Stone – revolving, circling,  
and full of presence I became a moth, and He a luminous candle.  
(Porter 2012b: 55)<sup>6</sup>

Many manuscript examples survive, at least twelve of which have colophon inscriptions indicating that they were produced in Mecca (Millstein 2006). All the manuscripts contain colourful illustrations of the different stations of the Hajj drawn in the two-dimensional form typical for such illustrations, which appear also on Hajj certificates and Ottoman tiles, with individual locations often clearly labelled (Sourdél & Sourdél-Thomine 2006; Porter 2012a: 38–39; Maury 2013). Similarly, poetry in Urdu accompanies a collection of photographs taken by the Indian photographer Husayn Mirza of Delhi in 1907 of the stations of the Hajj and other religious sites in the Hijaz that illustrate a guide for South Asian pilgrims. The photographs were intended to help the pilgrim in advance of his visit to ‘memorize them [the stations] and when he reaches that place, it does not appear foreign to him’, but for the person ‘who is not granted the good fortune of visiting the House of God, by seeing a vague reflection of it...can arouse freshness in the soul...that the viewer feels that he is actually standing at that place’ (Asani & Gavan 1998: 181).

Certificates, in the form of scrolls, that attest the performance of a named person on the Hajj or Umra (and which can also be done in proxy) are another important category of object that acts as a souvenir of pilgrimage. Many certificates are illustrated in the same two-dimensional, flat style of representation as mentioned in connection with the *Futuh al-Haramayn*. The earliest examples date to the twelfth century and specify within the accompanying text the precise

5 For tiles, see Maury 2013; for postcards, see Kargili 2014; for photography, see, for example, Hage 2005 and Kioumji & Graham 2009. See also examples in Porter 2012 and Mols 2013.

6 Parts of the *Futuh al-Haramayn* were translated for *Art of Hajj* (Porter 2012b) by Muhammad Isa Waley.



Figure 6: Panoramic view of Mecca by Muhammad Abdallah, c. 1845. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, inv. nr. MSS 1077. © Nour Foundation. Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust.

actions that the pilgrim took at each of the stations of the Hajj (Aksoy & Milstein 2000; Sourdel & Sourdel-Thomine 2006). Some of them also include other holy sanctuaries, such as those in Jerusalem or, for the Shi'a, Najaf and Kerbela (Chekhab-Abudaya & Bresc 2013: 131) as discussed in the contribution by Luitgard Mols in this volume.

### Artists in the Holy Cities

An interesting question to consider is where many of these types of objects were made and by whom. For it is becoming increasingly clear that many of these 'souvenir' manuscripts and Hajj certificates are likely to have been made in Mecca itself. This was mentioned above in the context of the *Futuh al-Haramayn* manuscripts, where a number of these state in their colophons that they were copied in Mecca (including figure 1, copied by a Ghulam Ali). Richard Burton, who was in Mecca in 1853, mentions the presence of Indian artists who 'support themselves by depicting the holy shrines'; 'their work', he adds somewhat disparagingly, 'are a truly Oriental mixture of ground plan and elevation, drawn with pen and ink, and brightened with the most vivid colours – grotesque enough, but less unintelligible than the more ambitious imitations of European art' (Burton 1853, 1: 342). A number of paintings

dating to nineteenth-century Mecca are indeed signed by painters from India and elsewhere: a painting displaying a panoramic, bird's-eye view of Mecca (c. 1845) was signed by Muhammad Abdallah—described as ‘cartographer of Mecca’ and whose grandfather was court painter to the Mughal ruler Bahadur Shah II (r. 1837–1858)—who must have spent some considerable time in Mecca (Rogers 2007: 260) (figure 6).

Very close in style is a painting commissioned by Qajar Prince Farhad Mirza (who went on the Hajj in 1293 AH (1876/1877 CE), signed by a painter called Mahmoud.<sup>7</sup> A full depiction of Mecca and Medina and the stations of the Hajj in the traditional two-dimensional style of the *Futuh al-Haramayn* illustrations mentioned above is signed by a painter called Ibrahim Efendi Daghestani (Chekhab-Abudaya & Bresc 2013: 132).<sup>8</sup> Can we, on the basis of the above, consider other unsigned manuscripts and Hajj certificates to have been made by artists residing in Mecca, and was the production of such objects much greater than has hitherto been assumed? The tradition of the *mujawirun*, people who went on the Hajj and ended up staying in the Hijaz for long periods of time and even dying there, is well attested, and artists are likely to have been among them. A clear case of this is the Ottoman calligrapher Muhammad Shakir, who resided in the Hijaz, perhaps after making his Hajj journey, and who died there in 1250 AH (1834/1835 CE). He copied and illuminated a single-volume Qur'an, possibly during his stay in the Hijaz. An accomplished calligrapher, he is known to have copied nine other Qur'ans, and, as Tim Stanley has argued, he created Ottoman-style manuscripts in Mecca (Stanley 2013). This leads one to pose the question about another important category of manuscripts that seems to have proliferated as a result of the Hajj—the *Dala'il al-Khayrat*, or the *Guides to Goodness*, by Muhammad ibn Sulayman al-Jazuli (d. 1465), a Moroccan scholar and member of the Sufi order of the Shadhiliyya whose book enumerates the virtues of the Prophet Muhammad, invoking divine blessings upon him in Arabic verse. Large numbers of these manuscripts survive, and so disparate are the illustrations that they can be associated with styles from as far afield as North Africa, the Deccan, and the Patani region of Thailand. It is possible, however, that while some of them were copied in the artist's homeland, others were copied and illustrated in Mughal or Ottoman style in Mecca itself. A particularly interesting example is a nineteenth-century *Dala'il al-Khayrat* studied by Farouk Yahya (Yahya 2006) (figure 7).

7 The painting is in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha. The authors (Chekhab-Abudaya & Bresc 2013: 32–33) have suggested that this artist named Mahmoud is Mahmoud Malik, who was at the court of the Qajar ruler Fath Ali Shah (r. 1797–1834). If this is indeed the artist, then he might either have seen the work of Muhammad Abdallah or worked in Mecca in his studio.

8 The work was commissioned by al-Hajj al-Sayyid Yahya Agha Jamji Bashi in the year 1223 AH (1808 CE). The latter part of both these readings is proposed by this author.



Figure 7: *Dala'il al-Khayrat*. National Library of Malaysia, inv. nr. MSS1273. © Art Gallery of South Australia.

The illumination of the double-page representation of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, dominated by brilliant red and gold, is remarkable. Elaborate floral designs, flags, and flaming lamps exhibit an eclectic style that has drawn its influences from Ottoman art as well as from regional styles of South East Asian Islamic art. Although this manuscript may have been produced in the Malay world, it could also have been the work of a Patani scribe and artist in Mecca, where there was a large resident community of *mujawirun* from that region. Scribes, copyists, and illuminators from the Malay world are also known to have been active in Mecca, part of the large community of the *Jawa* discussed in the history of Mecca by Snouck Hurgronje (Teh Gallop 2005: 164, 272; Snouck Hurgronje 2006: 229–312).

### Concluding Remarks

The subject of art made in Mecca deserves much further investigation. Mecca is regarded by many as the first university and a centre for the study of Islam, with scholars gravitating towards it from all over the Islamic world. It is becoming increasingly clear that Mecca was a beacon for artists as well, who brought with them the styles of their native countries, the primary market for whose work were

the pilgrims who came on the Hajj. These artists were undoubtedly inspired by others and have created works at whose heart is an extraordinary eclecticism: one aspect only of the effect of the global nature of the Hajj, which was the subject of the conference and the chapters in this book.

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# HAJJ FROM CHINA: SOCIAL MEANINGS AND MATERIAL CULTURE

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## **Abstract**

*This chapter discusses how the meanings of the Hajj in China can be interpreted through Chinese Muslims' historical experiences of participation in a multicultural society and their engagement with some of its leading institutions. It explores this through a broad theme of acculturation. A number of cases—ranging from late medieval funeral arrangements to imperial civil-service examinations to the establishment of a multi-ethnic modern state—demonstrate the diverse theatres in which the Hajj's social meanings can be reconstructed from texts and images within methodological approaches as diverse as archaeology, biography, and social journalism. Not only do these cases uncover particular histories of material and visual expression, they indicate the importance of both the material and visual dimensions in research on historical and contemporary Islam in China. This chapter argues, then, that the question of acculturation is a means both to grasp the qualities of Muslim material culture in China and to refine current definitions of material culture. The point is to interpret the Hajj as an institution and experience transcending material culture's common preoccupation with materiality yet also dependent on materiality's various reflections.*

This chapter originated in a visit to the Niujie (Ox Street) district of Beijing to acquire items of material culture representative of Islam in China for the Hajj exhibition *Longing for Mecca. The Pilgrim's Journey*, which opened in September 2013 at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. Although not a direct result of that visit, the following discussion looks at the Hajj in its Chinese contexts from the perspective of a researcher whose longest familiarity is with issues of society, culture, and language in both the modern-day People's Republic of China and historical China under successive eras of imperial rule.

William Roff has observed that 'no adequate methodology has been devised for analysis of [the Hajj's] import and meaning for historical Islam' (Roff 1985: 79). This is certainly true of the Hajj performed and interpreted by Muslim communities in China, and the study of Muslim pilgrimage practices inside China (to saints' tombs) has yet to begin. The editors of the most important recent study of historical pilgrimage in China admit that, compared to the general familiarity with Buddhist and Daoist pilgrim traditions, knowledge

concerning the motives and patterns of Muslim pilgrimage both within and beyond China's borders hardly exists (Naquin & Yü 1992: 28).

Even less has been said concerning Islam's acculturation to Chinese conditions through social performances, material productions, and visual expressions. This chapter turns to these questions via their relevance to the Hajj, proposing a range of approaches in which the Hajj features significantly. These approaches borrow from archaeology, epigraphy, biography, intellectual history, and social journalism. No doubt, other approaches are available. The present selection is determined by the ready availability of relevant sources, a convenience that suggests that, in each approach, the subject of the Hajj from China has been neglected in the various settings of its local knowledge. The selection is also bounded by available time and energy and, above all, by limited competence beyond the author's usual preoccupations with art and society in China. This last limitation promises at least the impartiality of an agnostic newcomer in an uncharted field.

This chapter has six sections. The first five consider the Hajj's social meanings in the following representations: 1) biographical commemorations in early Muslim burials; 2) metaphors of rebirth; 3) Muslim doctrine in China's intellectual heritage; 4) travel experiences; and 5) transnational symbols of a new communist state's relationship to the Islamic world. The final section considers definitions of Muslim material culture and isolates some of the material and visual expressions most relevant to the Hajj. Not each of the previous five representations is equally relevant to a consideration of material culture, but their examples demonstrate an encompassing theme of Islam's acculturation to Chinese surroundings. The same theme is also relevant to material culture's modern conditions of acculturation in which old and new forms of content converge. What this says about social meanings and the approaches that reveal them is ordered as far as possible chronologically. In fact, research and writing progressed in another order, effectively placing naive visual observations of material culture in the recently experienced present ahead of historical and hermeneutical sources of Islam and Muslim life in China's past. The new sequence enforces a clearer organisation and offers—though not absolutely—a history of the Hajj from varying positions within China. It also shows the Hajj as a metaphor developed for various consensual acculturations to social conditions in China. First, however, a few remarks are in order to describe Muslim society in China and one of its commonest terms of designation.

## **The Hui**

The term 'Muslim society' in China is not necessarily more justifiable than 'Muslim societies'. In neither case do modern descriptions help, since the commonest Chinese name for the Muslim population in China is ambiguous. The name 'Hui'—historically 'Huihui'—designates two groups who are not

absolutely interdependent: firstly, the Hui people, who profess Islam, and secondly, all adherents to Islam, regardless of their ethnic membership. The Hui people have an obvious cultural identity that is remarkably homogenous in the many locations that they inhabit, but their ethnic descent is mixed with many other groups, not least with the Chinese population in different areas of China. Some observers contend convincingly that the Hui are not a single ethnic group (Lipman 1984). Others have pointed out that the use of the name 'Hui' gained lasting momentum from an imposed definition of otherness, thanks especially to Chinese revolutionary leaders' new advocacy of a Chinese national identity in the early twentieth century. Religious belief, which might have been supposed to determine only ideological sorting, was too positively co-opted in the inventive processes of constructing a nationality. The remarkable contrast of Taiwan's government policy, which constructs 'Hui' as a religious affiliation and not a nationality, shows how contested the definition of the term still remains within the larger sinophone world (Gladney 1991: 15–12, 65–115).

Muslims in the People's Republic of China number more than twenty million. No other country in East Asia boasts such a large Muslim proportion within its population. Several ethnic groups comprise predominantly Muslim believers, located largely in China's north-west. Groups, such as the Uighurs and Kazakhs, share a common ethnicity and culture with societies living outside China's north-west border. Hui society, like other groups that profess Islam, is also concentrated mainly in north-west China—in Gansu and Ningxia provinces—but the distribution of its population is by far the most diasporic. Large groups of Hui live in the southwest—in Yunnan province—and in all of China's major cities. Unlike other ethnic groups of Muslim believers, the Hui speak Chinese. Muslims in China have long been in Jonathan Lipman's (1997) striking motto 'familiar strangers', or in Susan Naquin's description 'both exotic and local' (2000: 212). Hui identity is by no means a trans-regional monolith. Dru Gladney points out 'for the Hui, there is no "We"' (1991: 103).

The history of Islam in China is often related as a continuum starting from the earliest arrival of Arab and Persian Muslims at the Tang imperial court in the seventh century, a diplomatic founding moment chronicled soon after Muhammad's death in 632 CE. Seamless narratives covering the subsequent fourteen centuries possess a certain truth, fuelling a 'great tradition' of ideological transmission from the Arab heartland, and also sustaining psychological and rhetorical resources in the Chinese Muslim community's imagination of itself. But the same narratives—eventually preserved by China's court historians—say rather little about the social realities of Muslim settlement, not to mention episodes of internal migration, re-engagement, and outward reach from within China's borders. The following sections show how records created in less-elevated circumstances often reveal this information more effectively.

## Biographical Commemorations in Early Muslim Burials

A group of tomb inscriptions from the twelfth century reveals the significance of the Hajj in the Muslim social life of a Chinese region. These inscriptions adorned Muslim burial sites in Quanzhou, a city in coastal southeast China.

In the seventh century, Muslim merchants operated in Chinese harbours and along the land routes through Central Asia. Mosques allegedly founded in the Tang capital Changan (later Xian) and in renowned Tang termini of international trade endure as powerful historical symbols of Islam's earliest integration within the political and economic spheres of a golden age of state administration and cultural achievement. However, the famous inscription commemorating the foundation of a mosque in Changan in 742 CE, despite its long transmission over many centuries, is now discounted as a later text and perhaps even a deliberate forgery. Similarly, the common belief that an early visitor to Tang China, Wahb Abu Kabcha, who is buried in the cemetery at the Huaisheng mosque in Guangzhou, was a cousin of Muhammad is vital to modern Chinese Muslim social memory, but not a straightforward given.

The small number of surviving inscriptions from Quanzhou give a fascinating glance into the life of a later medieval community of Muslim inhabitants. Quanzhou, the port city in China's south-eastern Fujian province, was known to Gulf and Mediterranean traders as Zayton, the name used by al-Idrisi, the Prophet's famous descendant and the geographer who mapped the known world for King Roger II of Sicily in 1154. The Quanzhou tombstones, which had been displaced through various re-uses all over Quanzhou, form the largest body of early epigraphic evidence available from a single location in China. Ninety-eight tombstones, most of which are located today in Quanzhou's Maritime Museum, were published in 1984 (Chen 1984) to reveal a cross section of Quanzhou's Muslim inhabitants, ranging from community leaders whose names can be traced to ancient Iranian lineages to the single case of a slave girl. The earliest inscription dates to 1171. Six more inscriptions in Arabic are for *hajjis* and for individuals whose fathers or grandfathers are recorded as *hajjis*, as well as for one woman who apparently made a pilgrimage to an unspecified destination: son of a *hajji* (d. 1277); both a *hajji* and son of a *hajji* (d. 1290); son of a *hajji* (d. 1304); grandson of a *hajji* (d. 1322); a female pilgrim to a holy site (probably not Mecca or Medina) (d. 1336); and a *hajji* (d. 1363) (Chen 1984: figs. 31; 32; 41; 47; 51; 56). These six named individuals, journeyed to Mecca between the beginning of the thirteenth century and 1363. Khadija Khatun's pilgrimage could have been to a site in China.

Inscribed within funeral practices, these claims confirm the fulfilment of Hajj aspirations as a transcendence of Islamic culture in Chinese conditions. They also confirm the Hajj as a ritual act integrated at the highest level of personal identity and memory. Perhaps the affirmation of the Hajj inscribed on a small number of gravestones even multiplied its status and meaning throughout the

entire community of a graveyard, but this is hard to judge, since the original arrangement of all the retrieved Quanzhou stones eludes us.

Also noteworthy, however, is that the same body of inscriptions contains instances of an acculturation to the institution of Chinese funerals. A few of these Arabic epitaphs are matched with Chinese paratexts—not exactly translations—and comparison of both sets of statements is sometimes revealing. The Chinese text for Naina (*sic*) Muhammad (1268–1303), for instance, provides a date of death in conflict with the Arabic record of a date corresponding to January, 1305: the given Hijri year 704 equates to the twelve-month period straddling 1304–1305, not to the period two years earlier when the given Chinese date corresponds to 23 February 1303 (Chen 1984: fig. 38). Another remarkable feature of this Chinese text is its invocation of Chinese mourning with the dramatic phrase ‘weeping blood’ (*qi xue*). Normally pronounced by a pious son—indeed the case here—this ritualised expression of emotional excess is a borrowing from the *Yijing* (*Book of Changes*) commonly inscribed in various Chinese funeral practices. Significantly, this oscillation between Chinese and Islamic norms happens in a text whose commissioner has also lost track of harmonising the respective dating systems. But the larger point is that, while the Quanzhou gravestones provide a strong example of the Hajj (and other symbolic facts) sustaining Muslim identity and memory far away from the centre stage of Islamic ritual, the creators of these objects and the significant site in which they were once condensed could not resist the trend to adopt the ritual forms and expressions of a different world view.

Plastic arts associated with burial also reveal the integration of Muslim life in its Chinese surroundings. Another acculturation at the level of visual expression emerges at Quanzhou and other ancient Muslim sites in their stonemasons’ repeated deployment of a well-established repertoire of Chinese auspicious symbols. This was a conservative iconography in which, aside from geometrical ornaments, lotus flowers, peony blooms, plum blossoms, swastikas, rhombuses, clouds, and double rings recur in all sorts of stonework done for patrons who

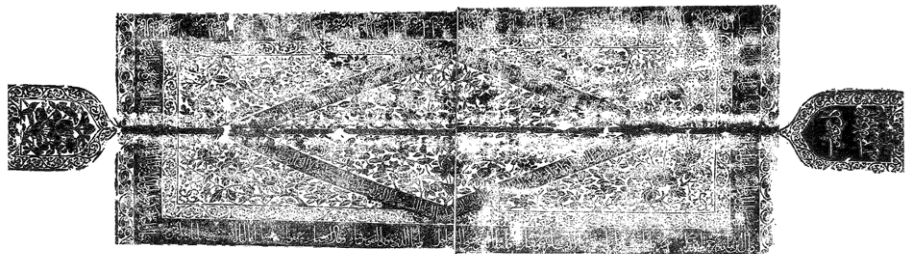


Figure 1: Ink rubbing showing the vertical ends, central ridge and sloped sides of a fifteenth-century tomb cover, excavated Yangzhou, 1927 or 1929. L (stone) 150 cm. Reported location (of stone): Puhaddin (Puhading) Tomb Park, Yangzhou. After Geng 1978: pl. 4.

were not Muslims. Only one object (a carved tomb cover), made probably in the fourteenth century, features a crescent moon (Chen 1984: fig. 122). Eventually, all of the other uses, which defy categorisation under any one religious observance, became trans-regional. A tomb cover from Yangzhou (figure 1), dating probably to the fifteenth century, uses rectangular and orthogonal banding to display Qur'anic citations and verses by the Egyptian poet Ibn Nubata (1288–1366), but these are set amid a common visual lexicon consisting of a dense and exquisite infill of peony blooms and foliage.

### Metaphors of Rebirth

Records of the Hajj from later centuries and other regions outline the acculturation of Islam to one of China's most enduring social institutions, the triennial state examinations for civil service and military recruitment. Examinations provide an historical example of the deliberate political participation of not only Hui individuals, but also families and communities. The entire examination system stretched from the palace precincts—where the highest achievers wrote their papers—down to massive assembly halls in the provinces, catering to a combined intake of millions. Despite periodic riots and acts of arson, the system, which was designed to fail most who entered it, granted an all-consuming imagination of social mobility, and it commanded loyalty. Examinations were abolished in 1904.

The Hui scholar Yang Daye has surveyed Hui examination achievements in their provincial distribution throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368–1644 / 1644–1911), assembling data on men who gained the 'presented scholar' degree (*jinshi*), the highest degree title that only some hundred men gained nationwide every three years. Unsurprisingly, given the historical pattern of Hui settlement, the small yet significant numbers of successful Hui graduates appear foremost in provincial quotas from Yunnan and several northern provinces. Between 1368 and 1904, for example, Hui candidates from Yunnan gained 41 degrees. Thus, fortune favoured only a few, but the symbolic rewards of returning from the capital with a *jinshi* degree were enormous. This was no less true for successful Hui candidates than for Chinese (Yang 2011: 586–587).

More interesting than retrospective statistics is how historical actors within the examinations system described their success. The metaphor, if not the reality, of the Hajj figures largely. Gaining a *jinshi* degree was not the same as journeying safely to Mecca and back, but the achievement was an equally prestigious outcome. The Hajj appealed to the social imagination as a momentous rite of passage, and so too did the conferral of a state degree. Degree winners commonly recollect their triumph in terms of rebirth. The classic metaphor of performing the Hajj is the same. One example of epigraphic evidence collected by Yang Daye shows a near perfect acculturation of the Hajj to examination success and its acclaim in a local community.

Liu Xu (1486-1533), a Hui inhabitant of Xian (formerly Changan), won his *jinsshi* degree at the Ming capital Beijing in 1521. Two years later, back in Xian, he assented to his community's request to write a record in Chinese to commemorate the renovation of his city district's mosque. His text reviews the history of Islam in China since Tang times and the fortunes of the mosque since its foundation during the Mongol Yuan dynasty. Liu Xu also describes an episode that he cannot have ignored for its biographical relevance to his own recent success: during the early fifteenth century, the famous admiral and Muslim eunuch Zheng He (1371-1433) set off on the Ming government's great naval mission to explore the limits of the Indian Ocean. Since Zheng He needed an Arabic interpreter, he summoned Hassan, the Xian mosque's chief instructor, to join his official staff. It is not stated, but it is possible that Hassan accepted his commission after securing confirmation that he could visit Mecca. In fact, in his mosque record, Liu Xu describes the whole Indian Ocean mission as an expedition to the 'country of the Ka'ba'. Clearly stated, moreover, is that Hassan hated the dangers of seafaring and prayed fervently during the worst storms, promising to repair the mosque in Xian in return for deliverance (Yang 2011: 2-4).

When Liu Xu aligns his own rebirth in the stratosphere of Ming officialdom with Hassan's brave repudiation of the horrors of ocean travel and—we will assume—a safe return from Mecca, he exercises a paradigm of cultural fusion that Muslim thinkers in China one century later re-describe even more coherently.

### **Muslim Doctrine in China's Intellectual Heritage**

Muslim canonical scholarship written in Chinese eventually coalesced into a specific branch of learning whose hybrid name *Han kitab* (*Han*: Chinese; *kitab*: book) reveals the hermeneutical centrality of Arabic Qur'anic sources aligned almost counter-intuitively with the daunting social obligation to interpret these sources to a congregation unable to read Arabic. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the greatest upsurge in Islamic scholarship, based for the most part in Nanjing. Here, the leading Islamicist of his age, Liu Zhi (c. 1660–c. 1739), researched and wrote a series of works that represents the most encompassing projection of Islamic philosophy and doctrine ever attempted in Chinese. In a synthesis that borrows many explanatory terms from Confucianism, Liu Zhi argues that Muslim faith does not conflict with obedience to the Chinese imperial state, since Allah was not opposed to the orthodox Confucian entrustment of the political and cosmic orders to the mandate of heaven (Chittick, Murata & Tu 2009).

A thorough reading of Liu Zhi's prolific output is beyond the scope of this chapter, but one of his most extraordinary contributions deserves some comment, not least because it is distinctly a popular text. *The Three Character Canon of the Ka'ba* (*Tianfang Sanzi Jing*), which is available in modern reprint (figure 2), is



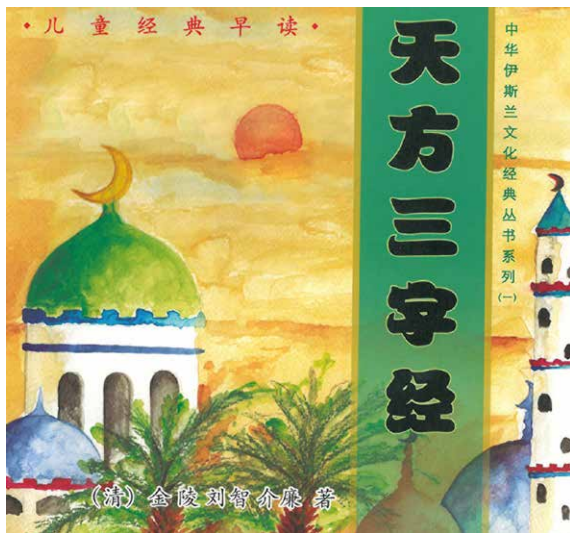


Figure 2: Tianfang Sanzi Jing, children's edition published by Ummahway (M) Sdn. Bhd (n.p.) in 2012. Purchased by the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden 2012.

a simple exposition of Islamic doctrine, not dissimilar to a catechism (whose Greek root bears the sense of making audible). It is formed out of statements of three-word (character) clauses. The text opens '*Tian di chu, wan wu shi, you zhi zun, yue zhen zhu* (天地初 万物始 有至尊 曰真主)', which translates: 'At the birth of heaven and earth; where all things start; there is one eminent above all; His name: the true Lord.'

This opening line breaks the rule, but generally the sixth and twelfth words (characters) of every twelve-word unit throughout the rest of the text are rhymed to better facilitate both recital and memorisation. Liu Zhi's text, which makes aural reception the object of oral recitation, is an outstanding functional example of Islam's acculturation to Chinese performance at levels relevant to both elite learning and basic literacy. Its prototype is the famous *Sanzijing* (*Three Character Canon*), a Confucian text probably composed in the thirteenth century and long the most common primer text for a literate education. In his *Three Character Canon* Liu Zhi even addresses his readers as if they were Confucius' youngest disciples: 'you young gentlemen' (*er xiao zi*, 爾小子). Aside from rhythmic convergence, Liu's opening also matches that of his model: *ren zhi chu, xing ben shan* ('at the birth of men, their nature is inherently good'). Although he then turns the focus to Allah as the original creator, he offers assurance that Islam is not a radical divergence from Chinese philosophical ideals, and, crucially, he offers an assimilation technique inherited from the longstanding pedagogical practices of his own class.

Liu's three-character canon offers many points of cultural comparison, not the least of which is his frequent reference to the number five, since this allowed him to ally Chinese conceptual groupings of that number, e.g. the Confucian five cardinal relationships (father to son, elder to younger brother, etc.) with the five pillars of Islamic faith. This is the closest his text approaches to any mention

of the Hajj. However, his repeated injunctions to observe hours of prayer and to perform daily rituals stress religious submission as accumulated acts, none of which conflicts with the Hajj as the supreme paradigm of religious orthopraxis. 'Ka'ba' (*Tianfang*) in the title of the work speaks directly to a performative aim of interiorising the ultimate goal of the Hajj, indeed sublimating the entirety of Islamic doctrine to an ecstatic vision of its most sacred site. We know too little concerning Muslim visual culture in China around the turn of the eighteenth century, but it is no derisory leap to suggest that Liu's title matched a pictorial presence of the Ka'ba that was as vivid, if perhaps not so ubiquitous, as it is among Muslims in China today. The final section returns to such images.

### Travel Experiences

Liu Zhi probably did not travel extensively; we know only that he made a pilgrimage to Qufu, the birthplace of Confucius (Lipman 1997: 81). However, later generations of Muslims in China often describe their lives as repeated stages of movement and relocation. Not only feats of travel, these exploits were also acts of translation. Ma Dexin, for instance, began his Hajj pilgrimage in the south-western province of Yunnan in 1841. Unable to sail from Guangzhou during the Opium War (1839–1842), he followed an overland path through Burma and joined a ship on its coast. Eventually, aside from performing the Hajj, Ma also spent several years studying at al-Azhar University in Cairo. Following his return to China in 1848, he dictated the Arabic accounts of his travel experiences and his doctrinal commentaries to disciples who could turn them into Chinese texts (Ma 1988). To describe Ma's literary output as writing would obscure (without minimising) the conditions of quite a different intellectual endeavour, which was a process of dictation, translating from Arabic literary culture into Chinese. The Chinese term for this production, 'narrate' (*shu*), indicates precisely a team category of record in which an "author", only partially if at all fluent in written Chinese, translated and dictated from Arabic sources or directly from experience, so that a cooperator could produce a Chinese text. Only Hui scholars with the appropriate training could acquire competency in Arabic, and many of them, like Ma, capitalised on the opportunity of the Hajj journey to pursue long literary studies abroad, leading to what must have been many cases of Muslim literacy's remarkable status dissonance in China. Historians of modern China have so far ignored this trans-lingual flow with its more obscure landfalls in the Bay of Bengal, instead emphasising almost exactly the same processes of dictation-translation-inscription in an English (Protestant) mediation of new knowledge through ports on China's eastern coast.

By the end of the nineteenth century, regular steamship sailings from East Asian ports to the Middle East and Europe had, for many, completely reorganised the economy of pilgrimage. A traveller in 1937 aboard a steamer in Shanghai estimated that over 170 pilgrims joined the ship for the journey to Jeddah and

onwards. But old Hajj patterns were resistant, and not every pilgrim made the passage by sea. Also in 1937, Owen Lattimore, crossing the Mediterranean on a ship from Greece to Egypt, met and photographed Hui and Uighur pilgrims on their way to Mecca after a journey through Central Asia (Gladney 1991: 53, 311).

To read the biography of the imam Jin Zichang (1902–1961) is to grasp a unique diaspora experience of constant movement and settlement over vast distances, one that was by no means untypical of the highly cosmopolitan involvements that characterised nineteenth- and twentieth-century Hui experiences. Born in Jinan, the provincial capital of Shandong, Jin lost his father early and, in 1911, moved with his mother and siblings nearly 3,000 kilometres west to reside with his grandfather in Urumqi (the seat of government in Xinjiang). Here he farmed and began his Qur'an studies as well as a literary education in Chinese. He moved east again, as far as Xindianzi in Gansu province, and settled with his maternal uncle, who financed his further studies. By 1925 he had gained the status of imam and won consent to marry his cousin. The couple returned to Jinan in 1925, but soon departed again for Shanghai where Jin enrolled at the Shanghai Normal College of Islam. Here he began to edit Shanghai's *Islamic Students' Magazine* (*Yisilan Xuesheng Zazhi*), the first of many influential editorial involvements that he pursued throughout the rest of his life. In 1933, supported by the Shanghai Society for Qur'anic Research, he departed for Egypt and enrolled the following year at al-Azhar. The portrait that he commissioned at a Cairo photography studio two years later documents the status of a Chinese Muslim far outside the borders of China but still enmeshed in the global metropolitan circuits of his day (figure 3).

The following year, acting as secretary and interpreter, he accompanied an official Chinese Islamic delegation on the pilgrimage to Mecca. He returned to Jinan in 1937, after which he was successively imam at mosques in Lanzhou, Urumqi, and Beijing. From this period onwards he wrote prolifically and translated key religious texts and commentaries from Arabic. One of his publications was a record of his Hajj journey in 1936. He circulated this and other texts privately, but it seems that all were eventually destroyed during the period of the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath (1966–1976). Only the photographs that he took of the Ka'ba and other holy sites have survived (apparently) in one of Jinan's mosques. After 1949 he assumed roles in the various official engagements that Islamic scholars and imams undertook in successive attempts to reach religious and political compromise with the new communist government. In 1958, following his denunciation as a counter-revolutionary, he was remanded in custody. He died in Jinan a few weeks after his release in 1960 (Jin 2011: 174–176).

Even in summary, Jin Zichang's life is instructive in characterising the extremely confident period of Muslim organisation and activities during the years of the Chinese Republic (1912–1949). Jin was by no means the first or



*Figure 3: Portrait of Jin Zichang, Cairo, 16 February, 1935. The autograph includes his Chinese name and a red seal impression that must have been added later, for it records his Arabic name Muhammad Nasir al-Din above the Hijri year 1355 (1936-1937). (After Jin 2011: frontispiece).*

last student to attend al-Azhar, nor singular in extracting maximum prestige from his years of study by associating them with the Hajj. His achievements are emblematic of a new international consciousness that swept through the Chinese Muslim world. Chinese Muslim organisations now financed members to study at famous centres of learning in the ancient cities of Islam's earliest expansion, and Muslim clerics and community leaders achieved local, regional, and international involvement through the sustained engagement of modern publishing and journalism.

### **Transnational Symbols of a New Communist State's Relationship to the Islamic World**

The same strategies of education, communication, and representation that had contributed so much to a more international Muslim status were also influential in defining—or perhaps only continuing—forms of Muslim organisation after the Chinese revolution of 1949. In collaboration with the newly founded China Islam Association, the propagandists of China's communist policies soon discovered that Hui and other Muslim communities contained highly photogenic subjects, and they used the usual techniques of photojournalism to fabricate a

magnificent visual archive of Muslim social life and work in the early 1950s. In order to project the excitement of revolutionary *égalité*, photography and its various methods of post-production directed the viewer's gaze to the outward marks of Muslim community membership aligned with the new symbols of national salvation and proletarian culture (figure 4).

Even if the subjects in this category of photo-reportage adopted positions of imposture that attract scorn today, the images coherently projected an ideal of inclusiveness, and the agents of their production still command attention in one respect: they were fully sensitive to the symbolic power of the Hajj.

Two volumes from this period, *Muslim Life in China* (China Islamic Association 1953), and *Muslim Religious Life in China* (China Islamic Association 1956), demonstrate optimistic top-down efforts to make the presence and content of Muslim social life accessible to Chinese, English, and Arabic readerships. The topical sequence in both volumes is pictorialised through the same political hierarchy of Muslim life in China: mosques and ceremonial events in the capital Beijing precede those of other cities and towns; mosque exteriors precede their interiors; urban dwellers precede herdsmen; and scenes of men's worship precede women's. The position of the Hajj, however, changes. The volume of 1953 presents it among the front pages with two photographs, one of the pilgrims selected by the China Islam Association and posed in Beijing before departure in 1952 (figure 5), and another showing the same group during a stop in Lahore. The 1956 volume shows more records of the Hajj, but they are demoted to near the end of this longer compilation of images and preceded by images of Muslim festivals celebrated in China. The departure of pilgrims in 1955 is recorded as they board a plane with the formalities of state travel (figure 6).

Other images show them in Saudi Arabia wearing *ihram* clothing (figure 7) and making stops in Cairo, Karachi, and New Delhi. Even if priorities for the official recognition of the Hajj shifted during these years, the journey to Mecca



Figure 4: Muslim steelworkers at the Shijingshan plant near Beijing. After China Islamic Association 1953: no pp nrs.



*Figure 5: Group chosen to perform the Hajj by the China Islamic Association, Beijing 1952. After China Islamic Association 1953: no pp nrs.*

*Figure 6: Pilgrims departing from Beijing, July 1955. After China Islamic Association 1956: 39.*



and some of its ritual forms moved closer to the centre of an international Islamicised projection of China.

### Islam's Material Culture in China

In order to increase its holdings of Chinese Islamic material culture, the National Museum of Ethnology purchased a number of objects on 9 December 2012 at shops in Niujie (Ox Street), the main thoroughfare in the most well-known and perhaps oldest Muslim district in Beijing. The various contents and forms in this admittedly selective representation are material responses to the needs and aspirations of a particular Muslim community in China, even of a larger imagined Muslim community that exists throughout the People's Republic.

The museum acquired *ihram* clothing; men's caps; women's headscarves; images of the Ka'ba on woven textiles; cross-stitch kits to create variously yet more images of the Ka'ba, the texts of famous *Hadiths* (figure 12), and the sword of Ali; incense burners; teapots; teacups; beads; personal adornments; key rings; bars of soap; scents; calendars; printed invitations to festive occasions; illustrated guides to ritual orthopraxis; sacred verses inscribed in Arabic and Chinese on card or metal plaques; reprints of ancient educational texts; recent Chinese publications of historical studies of Islam in China; and green, red, and



Figure 7: Hajjis in Saudi Arabia, 22 July 1955. After China Islamic Association 1956: 40–41.

white envelopes for presenting alms (*zakat*), inscribed with the Chinese ‘*nietie*’ (乜帖)—a term not found in standard Chinese dictionaries. Whether art with little use value or implements for daily use, all this material internalises Islam’s meanings in China at levels that a few paragraphs cannot fully encapsulate. The following discussion attempts first to say what the strongest articulations of Islam may be in material culture within their Chinese habitus. Secondly, it approaches what material expressions are relevant to the Hajj.

A recent theorisation of material culture proposes that objects also exert dominion over subjects. That is, objects range in their scale and dimensions from those that enclose their users in surrounding spaces—homes and temples—to articles over which their owners can exert lower levels of spatial enclosure and control (Keane 2006: 200). This insightful description helps in any grasp of Islamic material culture in China, especially in thinking about how the dimensions of large and small things enables the recognition of highly varied meanings.

The physical facts of buildings are such that probably all subjects surrender dominion to the architectural space around them, but it is difficult to argue that the experience translates into any unity of meanings when worshippers enter a mosque in China. The intense variety of building forms in China’s Islamic architecture is a disharmonious reality defying the notion that, were they even present, consistent building forms and styles communicate a common set of meanings to each subject that their materiality encloses. This breadth of architectural aesthetics—its richness and originality—begs the question whether unities of practice and doctrine instead contribute to a deeper symbolism than the spatial sense of enclosure that temporarily accompanies them. I cannot answer this confidently, except to say that the experience and imagination of ritual acts—including the Hajj—may also exceed embodied presence in a mosque, and perhaps even offer levels of dominion beyond that of material things. I was struck during my visit to China in December 2012 that one of the few permanent signifiers of Muslim faith—on view to Muslims and non-Muslims alike—were the lengthy accounts of Hajj experiences displayed on noticeboards in the precincts of several mosques in Beijing and Jinan, the provincial capital of Shandong. The account posted in the Niuji mosque related (in Chinese translation) a Hajj pilgrimage beginning in North London.

The authorities of these mosques did not display these accounts for entertainment or news value, and it would have been surprising to learn that publicising Hajj experiences was at that moment a deliberate policy at mosques in different places. Rather, the most significant aim of this repeated arrangement is to uphold the Hajj as a supreme experience worth sharing—indeed worth translating—even from coordinates as provincialised as Kilburn. Moreover, these witnesses’ remoteness, which translation only accentuates, also enhances their common appeal to the intimacy of shared historical memory. Like a landscape that is inherited, the signs of all forebears’ work do not declare themselves



as if the land were a map with explanatory legends, but the inheritors know that others before them have shaped it. They see an historical landscape. In terms somewhat analogous to looking at local surroundings, those performing the Hajj commit—or perhaps submit—to acts and risks already performed by predecessors. Performance, then, is historical acting, and this suggests a dimension of meanings that exceeds those immediately apparent in the physicality of larger objects (even landscapes).

Another theorisation, which is now engaged with the impact of sound as a material presence, is useful in grasping the scope of material culture beyond its most familiar qualities of tactile and visible physicality. Scholars have argued convincingly that sound, as well, is textured as part of the material culture upon which it constantly rebounds (Editorial 1996: 9; Tacchi 1998: 26), and an elaborate case now exists on behalf of sonic materialism (Cox 2011). Attention to sound also extends the possibilities for defining Islamic material culture on a scale that is large, pervasive, and almost impossible to resist. Oleg Grabar—an architectural historian who might perhaps have a vested interest to make bolder claims for the visual in Islamic culture—was one of the first to point out how sound is paramount in the interwoven strands of Islamic culture (Grabar 1983: 29). Ubiquitous rituals like the call to prayer support this with an emotional intensity that few of us anywhere can have missed. The importance of sound can be linked also to what William Graham (1985) noted some time ago as the little studied function of the Qur'an as spoken word. He could have added, of course, the oral/aural character of Islamic commentaries and instruction guides more generally. Cultural anthropologists would add radio, dinner talk, and street noise.

In China, not only these same rituals and habits, but also situations at lower levels could sensitise us to sound as a material presence textured towards affects of Islamic culture, if not its direct meanings. Examples from this potentially huge subject include aural acculturations of Arabic pronouncements to the purely phonetic values of Chinese. One of the National Museum of Ethnology's Beijing acquisitions is a basic guide to daily ritual acts entitled *The Muslim Encyclopedia* (*Muslimin daquan*). This will seem at first glance an incongruous title, since the work contains nothing on the Hajj and other major observances, but it explains and illustrates quotidian ritual acts that are the basic fabric of Muslim orthopraxis and a subject's personal engagement with Islam at almost any level. This popular work's truly evocative quality, however, is that, beneath every line of information given in Arabic, it provides a phonetic transliteration in Chinese characters as well as a Chinese translation of the sense.

Transliterations are crucial reflections of sound's materiality in both cultural and religious senses. Only Hui scholars with the required training can read Arabic, but for the majority on the other of this sacred literacy divide, to read aloud Chinese approximations of the sounds is still an act of faith. Also, ubiquitous plaques inscribed with the *shahada*, the Islamic creed, in Arabic and

Chinese, which bear at first glance merely the functional presence of a Chinese translation, possess in Chinese a reiterative cadence that captures some of the sonic force of Arabic rhetorical style. These signs appear almost infallibly in eating establishments, which Gladney has suggested form the most important theatre of the Hui public sphere (Gladney 1991: 192). It is only anecdotal, but, when I arrived at Niujie on a public bus, the overhead tannoy blared a pre-recorded announcement of the stop in Arabic.

Islamic material culture, then, is surely perceptible on a large scale, but the methods through which this is enabled are not exactly what they used to be. The Hajj also fits into this large framework, and the previous discussion has suggested an example in which the Hajj's meaning equals or exceeds the daily enclosures of Muslim life and worship. But what of Islamic culture as an entity whose members operate at the other end of the scale where subjects command objects? Here the stronger possibility exists that meanings can be stabilised in less heterogeneous forms and styles of objects, whose regeneration is also demonstrably conservative.

Early examples, such as the funerary stonework previously discussed, show their strong reliance on forms and designs pre-existent in other categories of art in China. The hybrid qualities of these objects are significant material expressions of the historical acculturation of Islam to Chinese visual and material contexts. Their design histories also show remarkable cohesion over long periods of time.



*Figure 8: Reading the Qur'an at a home in Beijing. After China Islamic Association 1956: 45.*

In addition, they represent an economy of usage whereby objects' functional associations of context—funerals, marriages, alms-giving, worship, and so on—authenticates Muslim practices through tactile and visual references to similar practices even in other cultural conditions. Authentication is not only a receptive process, but also an overt expression of control.

Such control is demonstrated by tripod censers that feature prominently in public and private spheres (figure 8). The conservatism of their unvarying form, expressed in various materials over many centuries, is a habit of manufacture, an ongoing control of functional relevance, and finally an efficient reiteration that tripod containers deployed for burning incense in elite and popular Chinese worship can be redeployed for the same purpose in Muslim daily life and worship. That incense burners must be bowls slung low on three legs is no apodictic example of common sense, but it is irrefutable to the sensorium of sight and smell within which such objects are instituted.

Small objects like this are a fractional sample from hundreds more that demonstrate the broader flow of Muslim acculturation to Chinese conditions. Previous sections have demonstrated approaches to show how performers of the Hajj acculturated this ritual to various aspects of Chinese society, but they have revealed less of their efforts to create a Hajj material culture. The point now is not to translate a ritual act somewhat artificially into only the material items that reflect it, nor is it to extract a Hajj subset of concrete items from a gross mass that stands for the entirety of Islam in China. Rather it is to identify certain objects and images that have long been central to real and aspiring representations of the Hajj. One image that occupies centre stage in countless private and public domains is the Ka'ba.

Imprints, painting, and textiles show various tendencies of acculturation to Chinese visual habits. Hanging scrolls, usually made of paper, show holy sites set in variously shaped cartouches. One of these, the open fan, is a convention of representation used across the entire range of Chinese painting and print media. The example shown in figure 9, which was brought back to China on return from the Hajj perhaps in the nineteenth century, may have also borrowed contemporary conventions from European maps and book illustrations. In addition, its rectilinear enclosures adopt a feature used commonly in Tibetan designs. Another example of this sort of visual commemoration of the Hajj, which features in the Museum's exhibition (figure 10), is a painting of the Ka'ba surmounted by another fan framing a spray of plum blossoms, the classic symbol of elegance, endurance, and ethereal beauty, all long keyed to several registers of Chinese literary and popular expression.

Even the arrangement of a central scroll with two side banners—whether for a set of images or Arabic calligraphy—is borrowed from Chinese forms and practices; so too are the architectural space and orientation necessary to hang these objects in temple or domestic interiors (figure 8).

Figure 9: Central scroll and side scrolls showing Ka'ba and other holy sites, paper, H 205 cm. Location: Museum of Northwestern Peoples' University, Lanzhou. After Chen & Tang 2008: 396.

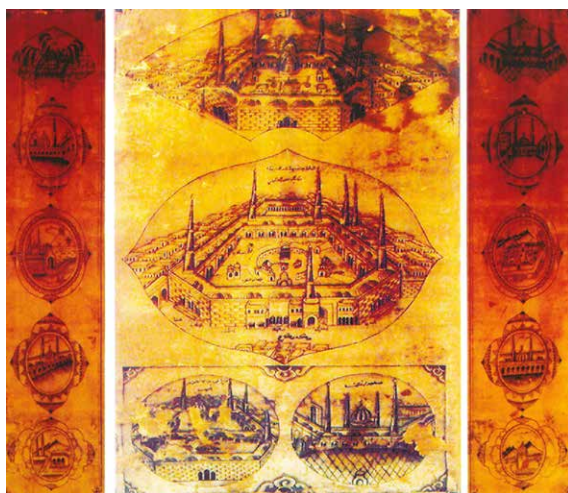


Figure 10: Scroll showing the Ka'ba, surmounted by a branch of winter plum painted by Ma Chao, paper, H 132 cm. Location: Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, MSS 1126. © Nour Foundation. Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust.



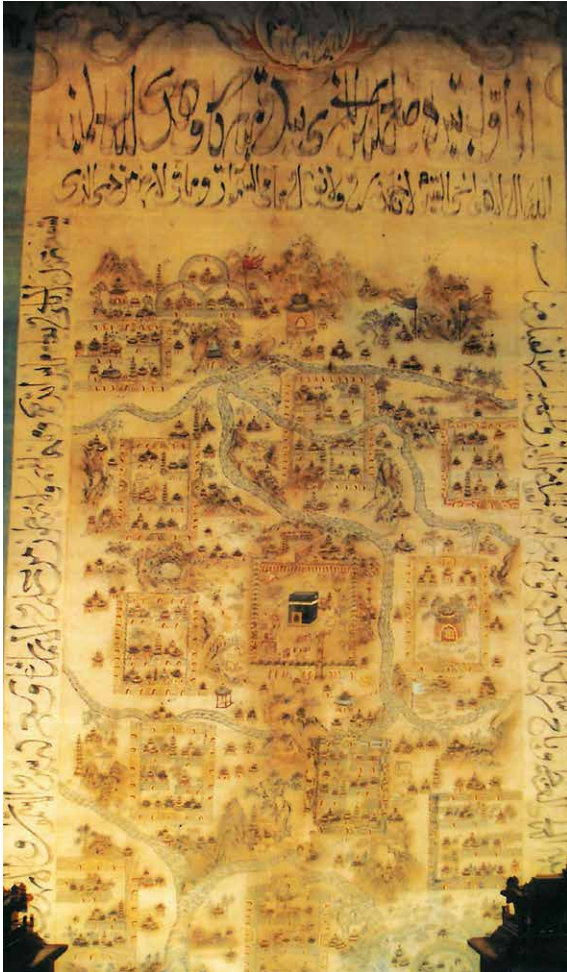


Figure 11: Scroll showing Mecca and surroundings, paper, dimensions unknown. Location: Huajuexiang Mosque, Xian. After Chen & Tang 2008: 397.

Many images are three-dimensional views adjusted to a map plane, yet they include Chinese habits of showing mountains as successively receding objects (figure 11). Aside from expressing faith, these images spread knowledge of the holy sites, making them familiar among communities to which the pilgrims returned with the new status and prestige of a ritual passage. Isaac Mason converted one of these images into a diagram to illustrate his book *The Arabian Prophet*, based on the writings of Liu Zhi (Mason 1921: 240). He does not cite the source, but his reproduction includes the originator's explanatory colophon, which concludes: 'in the sixth year of Guangxu, the *gengchen* year [1880], worshipfully narrated (*shu*)'. Although not a logical description of visual testimony, the word 'narrated' is crucial. We met this term in the context of translating Hajj experiences into Chinese texts. In this instance, it foregrounds again the authenticity of a report from someone who visited Mecca and returned, and it enhances the authenticity of its report ironically enough through the implicit admission that its author is not literate in Chinese.



Figure 12: Cross-stitch kit to create the Hadith: 'Seek for knowledge even though it be as far away as China'. Purchased by the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 2012.

It is probable that commissioning these images was part of a wider set of informally approved actions of faith, but research on these objects needs new deepening. Acquired in Beijing on behalf of the National Museum of Ethnology, the chablons and coloured wools for making cross-stitched images of the Ka'ba, the sword of Ali (*Dhu al-fiqar*), and the famous (and weakly attributed) *Hadith* 'Seek for knowledge even though it be as far away as China' (figure 12) may belong in a similar category of faith and education, this time made even more effective by the maker's responsibility to generate the image following a prescribed pattern. Familiar Chinese floral symbols (peony and bamboo) once again characterise this production with the hybridity that we have seen in so many others.

The historical circulation of these symbolic images is only slightly understood. The cross-stitch kit for the sword of Ali, for example, reiterates the same image shown on a printed paper amulet that one of Samuel Zwemer's (1939) correspondents collected for him from Niujie during the 1930s or earlier. The object fitted into Zwemer's discussion of Islam's 'heavy undertow of superstition' and his transnational research into what would now be described as Islam's popular culture.

## Conclusions

The Hajj has no direct material expression. It is a journey, and equally an experience, too varied in all its meanings to be condensed into one single object. But, the experience (real or imagined) can be invoked through visual and material configurations. Some of the images of the Ka'ba presented above are prime examples. These visual devices do not make full sense without the



authentication of acts—actual journeys—and the accumulation of those acts as the Hajj's historical memory (and the premonition of future performances). Nor does the Hajj enfold meanings for any Chinese Muslim community if it is dislodged from its configuration within the entire range of Muslim acculturations to Chinese conditions. As this chapter has tried to show, those conditions have an emphatic presence in both established and recently renewed terms of material culture. However, while material things are worth emphasising because they are among the best visible signs of Islam's history and present, their presence can be profiled all the more sharply when it is reflected against the conceptions of several other approaches. Their combination in the previous discussion does not demonstrate an exact fit along every edge, but, in foregrounding some of their interdependent aspects, the social, intellectual, and cultural strengths of Islam in China emerge in their fullest regenerative tenacity and portent.

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## THE UPPSALA MECCA PAINTING: A NEW SOURCE FOR THE CULTURAL TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY FOR MECCA

*Mehmet Tütüncü*

Images of Islam's holiest place, the Ka'ba and the city of Mecca, have been very popular throughout the centuries. These images have been put on different materials, such as stone, ceramics, paper, and cloth (Blair 2013: 160–168). The Hajj exhibition *Longing for Mecca, the Pilgrim's Journey* held at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden exhibited many samples of representations of the holy city of Mecca and the Ka'ba.<sup>1</sup> A key piece was a particularly important and special eighteenth-century painting from the Uppsala University collection in Sweden, of which no other comparable contemporary drawings exist (Mols 2013: 120–121).

The painting by an unknown artist appears to be a realistic and astonishingly exact drawing of Mecca and the Ka'ba in the years 1710–1712 (figure 1). It contains unique and very important information about the cultural topography of Mecca and its urban fabric at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The painting shows a topographical view of Mecca with the Great Mosque in the centre, the houses immediately surrounding it, the different neighbourhoods of the city, and the surrounding hills and mountains. The street patterns of Mecca can easily be recognised, as can many buildings that are marked by a red brush to identify their names. In the middle of the large open court of the Great Mosque stands the Ka'ba, the holiest sanctuary of Islam.

The painting (oil on canvas, H 85 x W 111 cm without frame, H 93 x W 119 cm with frame, inv. nr. UU2372) was purchased by Uppsala University in 1717 from the estate of the Swedish theologian and orientalist Michael Eneman (1676–1714). Eneman, an envoy of the Swedish King Charles XII (1682–1718) in Istanbul, probably acquired the painting in Cairo in 1712.<sup>2</sup> He travelled in

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1 This chapter is based on preliminary research on the Uppsala painting, the first results of which I presented at the *Hajj: Global Interactions through Pilgrimage* symposium in November 2013 at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden and at a symposium organised by Karin Ådahl on 5 May 2014 at Uppsala University entitled *The Image of Mecca. The Pilgrimage, the Topography and the Iconography*. I would like to thank Luitgard Mols, one of the organisers of the Leiden symposium and curator of the exhibition, as well as Karin Ådahl, the organiser of the Uppsala symposium, for allowing me to study the painting and for their generous support during my research.

2 On the basis of Silfwercrantz's unpublished diary, Johan Heldt from Uppsala University has discovered that the painting was acquired by Michael Eneman's companion Johan Silfwercrantz in Cairo in March 1712. (Johan Heldt, Oral Presentation at the *Image of Mecca* symposium, Uppsala University, 5 May 2014).

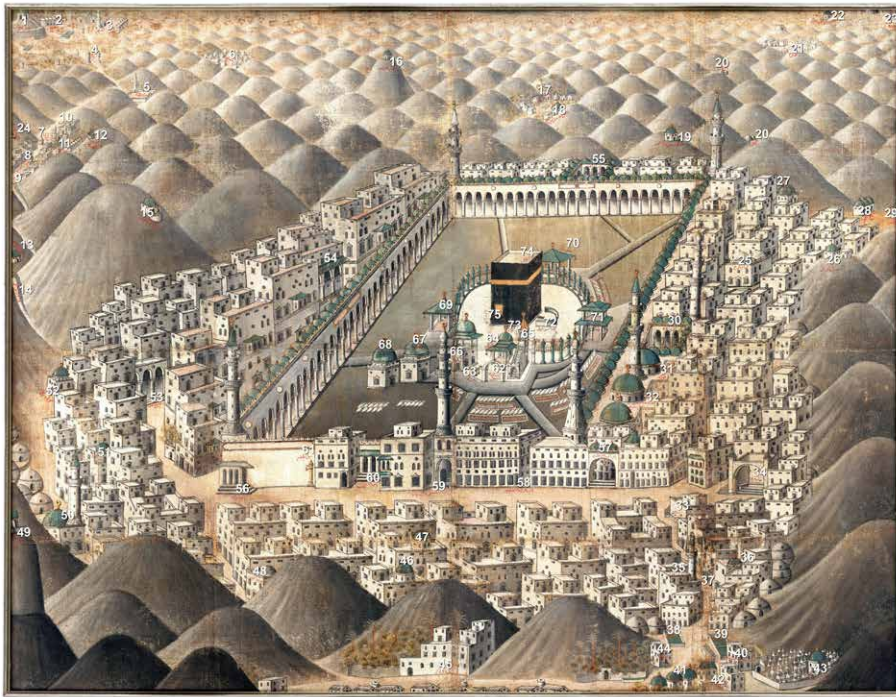


Figure 1: *The Uppsala Mecca painting with numerals given by M. Tütüncü. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.*

Egypt and Syria between 1711 and 1713 to collect oriental manuscripts and to explore commercial prospects. When he returned to Istanbul in 1713, he was informed that he had been appointed professor of oriental languages at Uppsala University, after which he returned to his home country. On 5 August 1714, Eneman arrived on Swedish soil and immediately went to Uppsala. His travelling, however, had seriously injured his physical condition, and, shortly after his installation as professor on 26 September, he caught a cold and died on 7 October 1714. The painting was purchased from his estate in 1717 by Uppsala University. The Uppsala representation of Mecca is unique because it is painted with oil on canvas, a technique that was rarely used in the Islamic world in this period. It might be the first oil-painting created by a Muslim artist. Its unusually detailed and correct depiction of Mecca in the beginning of the eighteenth century is of a unique quality. Equally revolutionary is the use of the so-called 'bird's eye view', which was first developed in Europe during the Renaissance, which allowed the immediate visual comprehension of a large space. It was the first time that a Muslim artist introduced this perspective for depicting Mecca. The painting probably also served as a model for later European images of the Ka'ba (e.g. Reland 1717, discussed below). Despite its tremendous importance for our historical knowledge of Mecca and the Hajj, research on the painting has



Figure 2: The early thirteenth-century slab from Mosul (after Strika 1976: fig. 73).

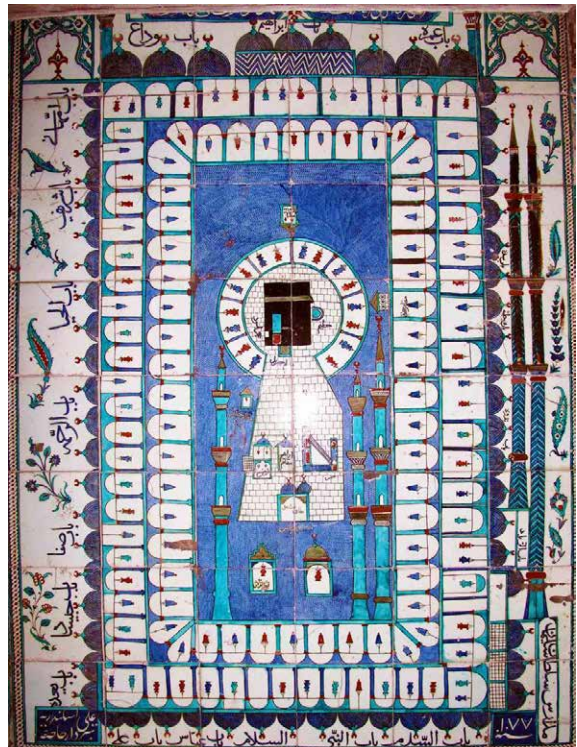


Figure 3: Ka'ba representation on a tile panel, dated 1077 AH (1666–1667 CE) from Topkapı Saray in Istanbul. Photo M. Tütüncü.

only just begun.<sup>3</sup> The Swedish scholar Erik Gren wrote in 1945: ‘This, without any doubt, is the greatest treasure that Eneman brought back, and it is quite remarkable that it should still not have been published, even though its great value always has been appreciated’.<sup>4</sup> Also, Karin Ådahl has lamented ‘Today fifty years later, the painting has still not been made the subject of any scholarly study’ (Ådahl 2001: 256).

In this study of the painting, I will first briefly discuss Mecca representations that preceded the Uppsala painting. Then in the main body of my text, I will describe the contents of the painting and relate these to details from other sources that can provide information about what the painting reveals. Finally, I will reflect on the influence of this painting on the development of later Mecca representations.

### Representations of the Ka’ba before 1712

The earliest surviving illustration of the Ka’ba appears on a Hajj certificate, now in the collection of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul. It is dated 589 AH (1084 CE) (Aksoy & Milstein 2000: 104). Pilgrims who had fulfilled their Hajj duty could buy such Hajj certificates, which, from the twelfth century onwards, were illustrated with the Ka’ba and Holy places surrounding it. These certificates served as proof for pilgrims of their Hajj travels, as Luitgard Mols demonstrates in her chapter on printed Hajj-certificates in this volume. Other representations on paper of Mecca and the Ka’ba can be found in illustrations for the guides used by pilgrims for orientation during the Hajj.

Images of the Ka’ba and the *Masjid al-Haram* (Great Mosque) also appeared in other media. A very famous Ka’ba representation was found on an early-thirteenth-century stone slab from Mosul, now in the Iraq Museum in Bagdad (figure 2). In the centre of this much studied slab the *Masjid al-Haram*, the Ka’ba, and several buildings surrounding the mosque are schematically carved (Strika 1976: fig. 73; Blair 2013: 163; Juvin 2010: 499). From the second half of the seventeenth century to the first half of the eighteenth century, depictions of the holy sites appeared on tiles and tile panels (figure 3). These tile panels often portrayed the minarets, doors, and domed galleries of the Great Mosque, as well as the multiple small buildings that surrounded the Ka’ba (Maury 2013: 143–159). Common to all these Ka’ba illustrations is that they are simple schematic drawings that combine ground plan and elevation but lack any real perspective or depth. They all sketch the basic lines of the Great Mosque but nearly nothing of the city around it. For the topography of the city of Mecca, they are therefore

3 Hans Nordesjö, one of the contributors of the Uppsala University *Image of Mecca* symposium, studied the red captions of the painting and submitted his findings on 2 April 2014 to the Uppsala University repertory. My readings presented during the Hajj symposium in Leiden in November 2013 differ in some respects from those of Hans Nordesjö.

4 Translation by Ådahl (2001: 256).





Figure 4: The orientation of the Uppsala painting. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.

of little importance. This traditional style of painting Mecca and the Ka'ba would change dramatically with the Uppsala painting (figure 4).

### The Uppsala Painting and Its Captions

The Uppsala painting is orientated from the perspective of Mount Sha'b Ali, northwest of the Ka'ba. This mountain provides an excellent view of the Ka'ba and Mecca, and it looks to the *sa'i* area, where the rite of running between the hillocks of Safa and Marwa takes place, and the northern facade of the *Masjid al-Haram*. In the drawing, south is in the upper right of the canvas, and north in the lower left. Mount Arafat is correctly drawn to the southeast of Mecca, as is Jeddah, which is painted to the west. Also the road to Arafat is realistically rendered, as it goes to the north first and then bends sharply to the east.

Nowadays except for the Ka'ba, all buildings and places from historical Mecca have vanished. This makes the painting particularly important because it provides information about the buildings that were destroyed during the uprisings in the nineteenth century and modernisations of the twentieth century

(Krieger 2013; Nasrawi 2007).<sup>5</sup> The painting depicts a view of the Holy City after the Ottoman rebuilding period of the sixteenth century. The painter has tried to show the town planning and street patterns. The old Meccan districts were densely inhabited and the houses reached the exterior walls of the Great Mosque.

What is further striking is the complete absence of any human being in the painting. This indicates that the painting was probably intended for a *qibla* wall (the wall in the direction of Mecca) in a mosque. Depicting human beings in a religious context is prohibited in Islam, so that people who pray are not distracted.

In the painting, important buildings and places are identified by small labels in red ink (legends), which give information about their name and function. There are 75 of these captions in the painting, which are marked with numerals, in figures 1, and 5 to 14 for easy reference. Prayer places and important holy buildings in the city are painted with green domes. The domes of profane buildings like public baths (*hammams*) are coloured grey. This indicates that the painter was well informed about the nature of the buildings that he drew. The houses have flat roofs and are painted in white or grey colours. The houses mostly consist of two floors, while some have an additional third floor. Official and governmental buildings are four or five stories high.

Below I will survey the whole painting with caption numbers in brackets. A description of the object or building, with references and observations from older sources, is added and is followed by an appendix with a list of legends. The survey starts in Arafat, the first location of Hajj, and follows the stations and rites of Hajj. It ends with an analysis of the Ka'ba and its captions.

### *Arafat, Muzdalifa, and Mina (figure 5)*

At the top left corner of the frame (topographically south-east of Mecca), it is written (1) Cebel-i Arafat (Mount Arafat).

Arafat is a large plain surrounded by mountains, some 25 kilometres from the Ka'ba. It is said that the Hajj *is* Arafat, because the most important rite of the Hajj takes place there. Pilgrims must reach Arafat by midday prayer on the ninth day, or *yawm al-wuquf* (the 'day of waiting' or 'standing') of the month of Hajj (*Dhu al-Hijja*). From noon till sunset pilgrims are required to remain and

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5 The destruction of the old cities of Mecca and Medina was done after the 1973 oil crisis, when the Saudis had become financially independent. With the oil money they started great building activities under the pretext of needing to host large numbers of pilgrims. To accommodate the pilgrims and to extend the holy mosque, all the buildings of the old city were completely wiped out despite all cultural, historical, or archaeological arguments. Many people suspect that this was done by the Saudi authorities for religious reasons, to prevent the preservation of historical buildings that might lead to polytheism. They destroyed also all tombs and tombstones and flattened the cemeteries. From historical Mecca and Medina nothing remains except the Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque.

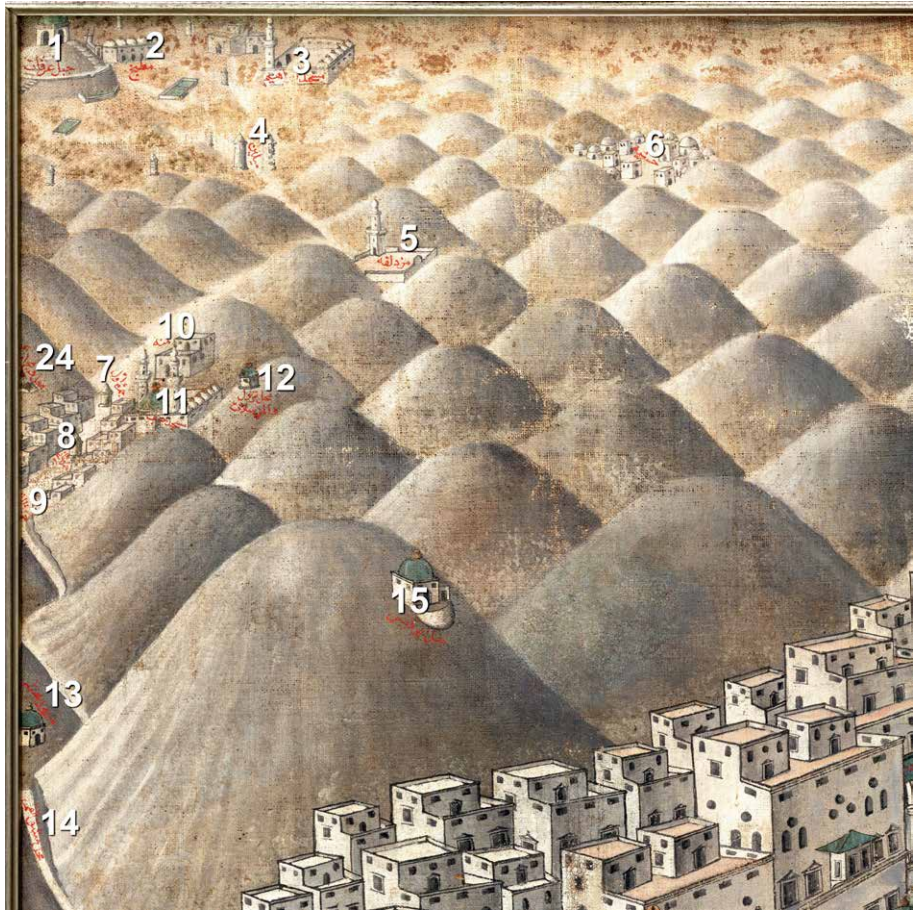


Figure 5. Arafat, Muzdalifa, and Mina, detail of the Mecca painting. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.

pray in Arafat. According to tradition, it was here that the Prophet Muhammad delivered his farewell speech.

Two pools that receive their water from the source Ayn Zubayda have been included in the painting. Also, next to mountain Arafat, a building with four or five domes can be observed. This is the (2) *Matbah*, the 'kitchen', which no longer exists. The *matbah* in the drawing is surely the one mentioned by



the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi as *Mescid-i Matbah-ı Hazret-i Adem*, that is, *The Mosque of the Kitchen of Adam*.<sup>6</sup>

Adam and Eve were reunited here after a long period of separation following their expulsion from Paradise. It is here where they are said to have been taught how to prepare soup. So it is tradition that rich people make fire and cook here, and distribute their food to the poor people. The later rulers built a mosque which has no minaret, and which can accommodate 200 (praying) people. (Evliya Çelebi 2005: 356)

Leaving Arafat the pilgrim passes two pillars, the (4) *Mileyn* ('two milestones'), which mark the boundaries of the sacred territory of Arafat. In total six such milestones can be seen in the painting. On the tenth day of *Dhu al-Hijja* all pilgrims must make sure to be inside the territory marked by these milestones. If they stay outside, then the Hajj is not valid. Further to the right is the (3) *Mescid-i İbrahim* (the 'Mosque of Abraham'), also called *Masjid al-Namira*. Pilgrims pray here after they stand and pray at Arafat. This mosque is situated just outside the border of Arafat and, in the painting, is rightly portrayed beyond the milestones.

The next stop is (5) the open plain of Muzdalifa (Turkish: Müzdelife), where a large mosque with a minaret is located. Muzdalifa is situated between Mina to the east and Arafat to the west and is surrounded to the north and south by mountains. After sunset on the day of the rite at Arafat, pilgrims proceed to Muzdalifa. Here they spend the night praying or sleeping after having collected pebbles for the next day's rite of stoning the *Jamarat*, the pillars at the site where Shaytan ('Satan') is believed to have tempted the Prophet Abraham into leaving his faith.

Downwards from Muzdalifa is (10) Mina. In the painting we can see a mosque with two minarets, the (11) *Mescid-i Hayf* (the al-Khayf Mosque), where, according to tradition, the Prophet prayed. To the right of the mosque is a smaller domed building (12). This is the *Mahall-i Nüzul-i 'Ve'l-Mürselât*, or 'the place where [the sura] *Wa-l-Mursalat* was revealed' (i.e. Qur'anic verse 77:1, which reads 'By those sent forth in swift succession').

To the right of Muzdalifa, (6) a village called Hüseyniye (Husayniyya) is depicted in an oasis about twenty kilometres south-east of Mecca. The painter has placed this village halfway between Mecca and the pilgrimage sites. To the

6 Evliya Çelebi was born in 1611 in Istanbul and died in Egypt in 1685. He travelled far and wide across the Ottoman Empire and neighbouring areas and wrote extensively about his travels in his *Seyahatname* (*The Book of Travels*). It is the longest and most detailed travel account in Islamic (if not world) literature. It is a vast panoramic description of the Ottoman world and is a unique source for reconstructing the Ottoman Empire's social and cultural life in the mid-seventeenth century. Volume 9 of *Seyahatname* is dedicated to Evliya's Hajj voyage. He starts his journey in May 1671 in Istanbul and reaches Damascus in January 1672. From there, he joins the pilgrimage caravan of Damascus. The pilgrimage month that year—*Dhu al-Hijja* 1082 AH—corresponds to April 1672. After performing his duty, Evliya joins the caravan of the Egyptian pilgrims, who leave immediately after the Hajj ritual to travel across the Red Sea to Cairo.

left of the mosque, one can see (7) *Cemre-i Evvel*, the first of three pillars where the ritual throwing of pebbles to symbolise the stoning of Satan takes place. Then follows the second pillar, (8) *Cemre-i Sani*, and, at the border of the painting, the third, (9) *Cemre-i Salis*. According to tradition, Satan is stoned because he wanted to prevent the sacrifice of Ishmael. The place where the sacrifice was to take place is indicated at the edge of the painting, (24) *Mahall-i Zebh-i İsmail* (place of the sacrifice of Ishmael).

Down from Mina on the way to Mecca is a mosque, (13) *Mescid-i Aşere*, which nowadays is also called Masjid Aqaba, after the largest of the three stoning-pillars, or *Masjid al-Bay'a*, where the Prophet Muhammad received the oath of allegiance from the people of Medina. This mosque still stands before the entrance to the pillars.

Number (14) is the *Mahall-i Şakk ul-Kamer* (or *Mahall Shaqq al-Qamar* in Arabic, the 'Place of the Splitting of the Moon'), a reference to Qur'anic verse 54:1, a miracle ascribed by some commentators to the Prophet Muhammed. To the left of the sanctuary, on a prominent mountain with a domed mosque or memorial, is (15) *Cebel-i Ebu Kubeys* (the 'Mountain of Abu Qubays'), where the Black Stone may have been kept for some time, originally or during a flood.

#### *Cidde (Jeddah) (figure 6)*

Above the central part of the sanctuary (fig. 6) there are two captions: (18) refers to the birthplace of Abu Bakr (*Mahall-i Mevlud-ı Ebu Bekir*), the successor to the Prophet Muhammad and first caliph of Islam. The other caption, (17), is located above the first one and indicates the place of *Burke-i Yemeniye*. This



Figure 6: Jeddah. Detail of the Mecca painting. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.

is the Yemeni water reservoir, where the Yemeni pilgrims gathered and stayed during the Hajj period. Some tents are also depicted. Two other reservoirs for the Hajj caravans, the (38) Damascus one and the (39) Egyptian one, together with their pools and camping places, have also been included in the painting.

The city of Jeddah is painted to the upper right-hand corner of the painting (topographically to the west). The road to Jeddah starts in a small village (28) named after Şeyh Mahmud (Shaykh Mahmud), a holy person. Şeyh Mahmud's shrine is depicted with three domes. According to Evliya Çelebi, Şeyh Mahmud's resting place is under a low dome. It is on the south direction from Mecca. There are 200 poor houses and palm trees, and a few *masjids* (mosques) (Evliya Çelebi 2005: 407).

A (29) fountain or *Sebil* under a domed building is shown near the frame of the painting, slightly below the village of Şeyh Mahmud. This *Sebil-i Mahmud* could be the *Sebil-i Kızlarağası* near the Market of Lahza that is described by Evliya Çelebi (2005: 397).

From here to Jeddah, it is some 70 kilometres. While the scale is clearly distorted towards the left and right corners of the painting, the locations and directions are correct. Evliya Çelebi writes in his *Seyahatname* (*The Book of Travels*) about the road to Jeddah 'In the south there are a few coffeehouses' (Evliya Çelebi 2005: 407). The coffeehouses, referred to as (20) *Kahve*, are also present in the painting. The (21) small fort and village Hudde is also shown, about which Evliya Çelebi writes 'It is six hours travels to *Wady Hudde*. In former times it was a grand city but nowadays it only consists of a few coffee houses' (Evliya Çelebi 2005: 407). Outside the fort in Hudde, some dwellings and also some tents are drawn, which may indicate the camping site of pilgrims who arrive to Jeddah by sea and travel to Mecca by land.

In the upper-right-hand corner of the painting, one can see the (22) *Sebil-i Ahmed Bey* (the 'Fountain of Ahmad Bey'), which the pilgrims would pass by before arriving in Jeddah. The (23) port of Cidde (Jeddah) is also shown near this corner of the painting. Jeddah is painted with outer fortifications but without any details. But an observer of the painting will at least learn how the road to Jeddah runs and what one can expect upon arriving in Jeddah.

### *The mountains around Mecca (figures 6, 8 and 10)*

The mountains that surround Mecca are painted in an unrealistic and inaccurate way, looking more like a sea of sand dunes. They all have the same shape and lack distinctive characteristics. Only some mountains are identified by name. On the right side of the painting, the uppermost mountain is (26) the *Cebel-i Güzel* ('The Beautiful Mountain', fig. 8), which is also known under different names: *al-Ahmar* ('the Red'), *al-A'raf* (in pre-Islamic times), and *Jabal Hindi*. Even further to the right is (16) *Cebel-i Sevir* ('the Bull Mountain'). This mountain

risers from a desert of small mountains depicted in the upper part of the painting. It is known for the cave in which the Prophet took refuge with Abu Bakr at the beginning of his *Hijra*, or emigration from Mecca.

Near the frame on the left, under a domed building on a very steep mountain, there is caption (49) that ends with the word *nur* ('light') (fig. 10). The beginning of the caption may read *Makam* or *Maqam*, that is, 'place' or 'station'. The caption may refer to the *Cebel-i Nur* ('the Mountain of Light'), which is the place where the first revelation of the Qur'an, sura 94, is believed to have occurred. This mountain is situated to the north of Mecca. To the left of the uppermost minaret at the right side of the painting is the mountain of Umar with a (19) domed building called *Mevlud-ı Seyyidina Ömer* ('the birthplace of our lord Umar') (fig. 6). This refers to Umar ibn al-Khattab, the second caliph. According to Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, this building was destroyed by the Wahhabis (Burckhardt 1829: 207).

#### *Zawiyes and Sufi tarikats: dervish lodges (figure 7)*

The right lower corner (north) of the painting is filled with a variety of buildings, pools, cemeteries, cupolas, and mosques. A street from the gate Bab üs-Selam-ı Cedid of the Great Mosque leads out of Mecca. In reality this street is the road

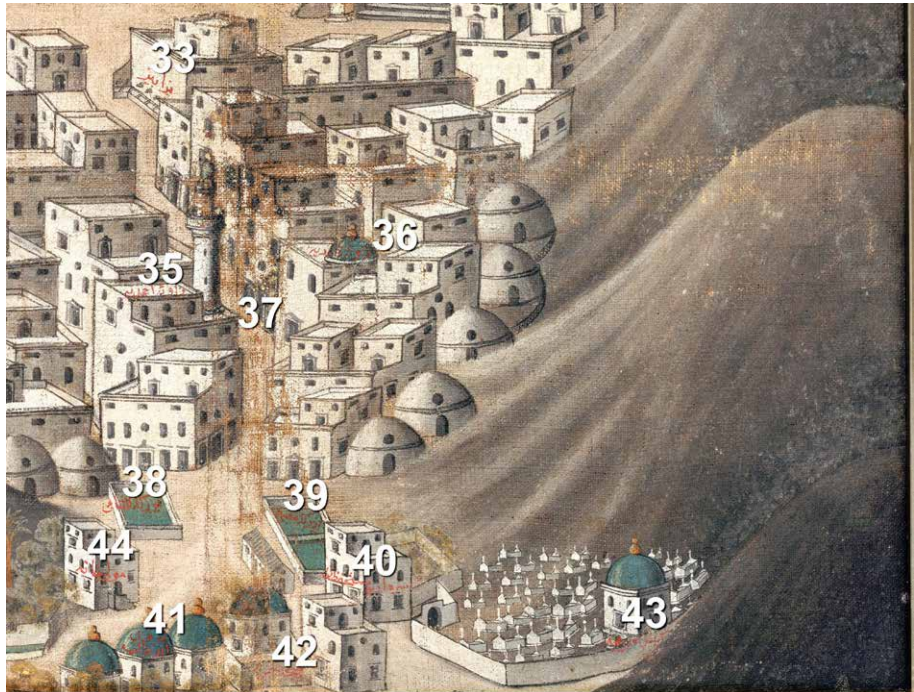


Figure 7: Mu`alla and Sufi neighbourhood. Detail of the Mecca painting. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.

that runs to Mina and Arafat. Just outside Mecca, there are the two water pools that I mentioned earlier in the text. The one on the left (38) is named *Burket el-Şami*, ‘the Syrian reservoir’, and the one on the right (39) is *Burket-i Misri*, ‘the Egyptian reservoir’. On the map of Mouradgea D’Ohsson<sup>7</sup> they are named *Scham-Burkessy nr. 20* and *Missir-Burkessy nr. 31*.<sup>8</sup> But D’Ohsson has located the pools on the lower-left corner (east of Mecca), which is actually wrong. Near the pools, the tents where the contingents of pilgrims from Damascus and Egypt would have stayed are also painted. The road here turns to the left, makes a U-turn, and continues to Arafat to the south-east of Mecca.

Above the two water reservoirs indicating the camping sites of Damascus and the Egyptian contingents of pilgrims, one building with a minaret and another adorned by a cupola are depicted. The captions on these buildings are also difficult to read. The one on the left (35) ends in *Ahmediye*, and the one on the right (36) may end in *Kadiriye*. My conjecture would be that these buildings were centres for the Sufi orders of the Ahhmediye (perhaps a branch of the Khalwatiyya or Halvetiye) and Kadiriye.

Below and to the left of the reservoirs of the Damascus and Egyptian camping sites is the *Mevlevihane* (44) (‘the house of the Mevlevi dervishes’). This Mevlevihane is described by Evliya Çelebi as follows:

Inside the city of the Ka’ba there are 78 convents of dervishes. They welcome as guests poor persons. But the best place is the convent of Mevlana near the Mu`alla, which is a paradise-like place with a great garden, it has a *sema* and *safahane* (places where music and dances of the whirling dervishes were executed) as well as many rooms where people could stay, it has water fountain pools, and a *sebil*. It is a place where you can have a pleasant stay. All the notables from Mecca and learned persons from Bekke come to watch the Mevlevi rituals here. This convent was established by Dervish Muhammad from Hind and Lahore with the permission of Mevlanazade Çelebi Efendi from Konya. (Evliya Çelebi 2005: 399)

### *Ma`la and its surroundings*

Right below the pools on the foot of a mountain is the great cemetery of Ma`la or Mu`alla, where many family-members of the Prophet and important figures in early Islamic history were buried. In the lower corner on the right-hand side

7 Ignatius Mouradgea D’Ohsson (31 July 1740–27 August 1807) was an Ottoman-Armenian orientalist, historian, and diplomat in Swedish service. In 1768 he was supreme interpreter and elevated to the Swedish nobility. He is the author of the famous 1788 *Tableau Général de L’Empire Othoman* and has published very famous Mecca engravings that were drawn by French engraver l’Espinasse.

8 D’Ohsson 1788: pl. 45, Vue de La Mecque, nr. 30 Sham-Burkessy (pool of the Syrians) and nr. 31 Missir Burkessy (pool of the Egyptians).



of the painting in the cemetery is (43) a building with an inscription that is difficult to read, but which refers to the grave (*kabr*) or mausoleum (*makam*) of Hatice (Khadija), the first wife of Muhammad.

Outside the cemetery there are four buildings with cupolas. The second from the left (41) is the *Merkad-ı Ebu Talib* ('the Tomb of Abu Talib'), the uncle of Muhammad and father of Ali. The building to the right (42) is *Mescid-i Cinn* (the 'Mosque of the Jinn').

Further to the right we find two buildings in front of the right-hand reservoir. The inscription on the upper one is easier to read: (40) *Serdar-ı Müstahfızan* (the 'Place of the Head of the Guards'). At the time of Ali Bey, these were the barracks of the 'Negro and Mogrebin' guards (Ali Bey 1816: 119).

### *Hammams (figures 8 and 10)*

On the north-western side of the sanctuary, a caption on a cupola (27) reads *Makam-ı Aydarus*, 'the Station of Aydarus', probably a holy man. A few houses down (north) of this *station* is (25) *Hammam-ı Umre* ('the Umra Bath'). It is so named because it is located near the Umra Gate of the Great Mosque. The

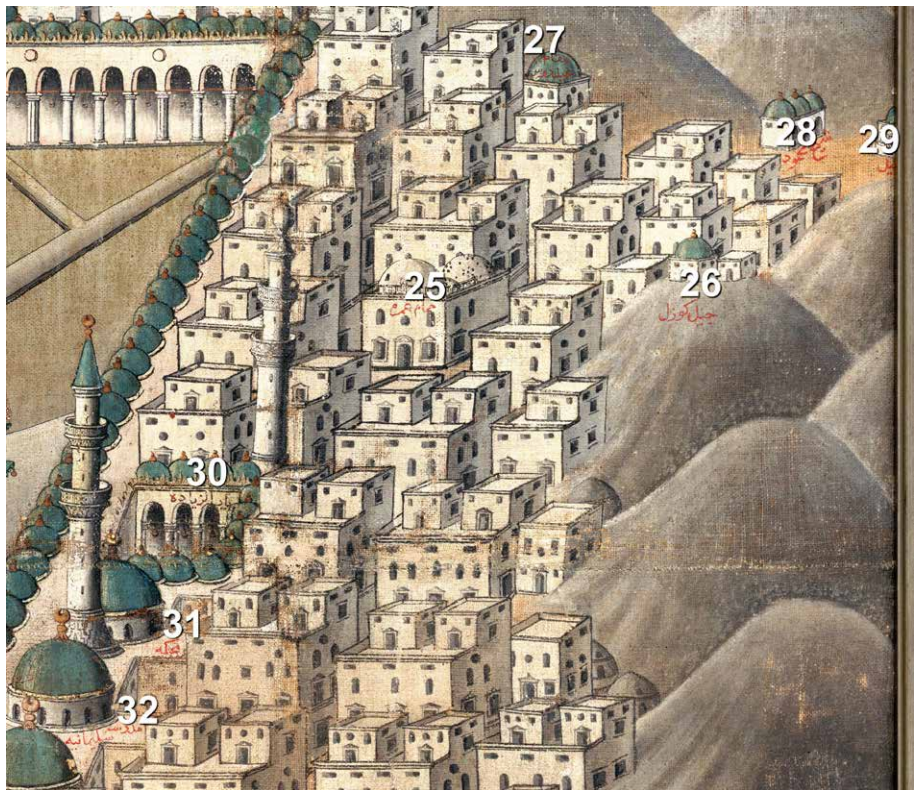


Figure 8: Hammam-ı Umre (the 'Umra hammam') and West quarters. Detail of the Mecca painting. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.



Figure 9: The Sharif's palace and north-east neighbourhoods. Detail of the Mecca painting. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.

name Umra refers to the so-called 'lesser pilgrimage' to Mecca, which may be undertaken at any time of the year. The Umra bath is mentioned by Burckhardt, but it was destroyed during the expansion of the *Haram* in 1970 (Burckhardt 1829: 250–251).

The other bath, which was located in the north-east quarters of Mecca, is the (48) *Hamman ün-Nebi* ('the bath of the Prophet') (fig. 10). It derived its name from its location near the (50) Birthplace of the Prophet (fig. 10). This was the Ottoman *hammam* of Sultan Süleyman. According to Evliya Çelebi, who refers to it as *Hamman-ı Kuşaşiye* ('The Bath of the Qushashiyya [Quarter]'), the bath was designed by the famous architect Sinan (c. 1490-1588) (Burckhardt 1829: 110). The bath had an inscription from the year 970 AH (1562 CE) (Uluengin 1988: 347).

### *The road to Arafat (figure 9) and the birthplaces of the Prophet and his family (figure 10)*

After passing two pools and the *Mevlevihane* on the road to Arafat, we come to a garden with a palace (45) that is separated from the Holy City by a hill. This palace is the biggest building of the painting. The inscription on it ends in *Vezir* ('minister'). This is probably *Qasr al-Wazir*, palace of the vizier or *Sharif* of Mecca; it is a big palace garden and has palm trees. In old maps a palace of the *Sharif* was located to the north-east. In his plan of Mecca, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje mentions under nr. 42 the *Sommergarten der Scherife* ('summer garden of the *Sharifs*') on the road to Mina and Arafat. (Snouck Hurgronje 1888: Map 1). In his plan, under nr. 59, Burckhardt lists 'a garden and a pleasure house of the *sharif*'. The garden is enclosed by high walls and towers' (Burckhardt 1829: 185).



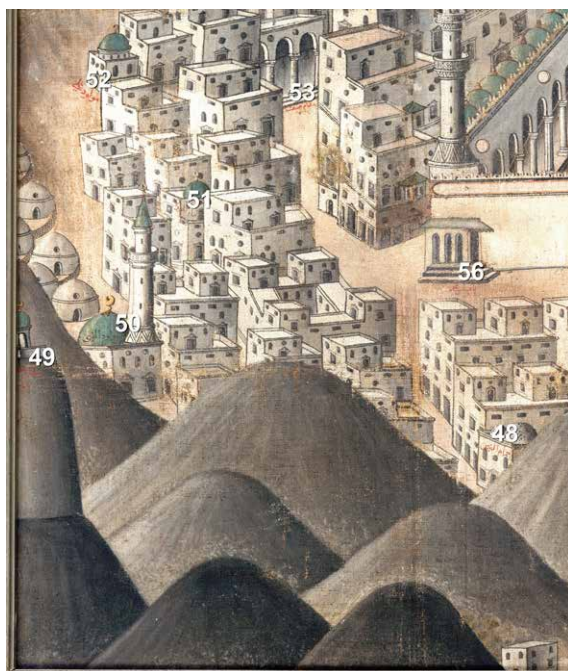


Figure 10: the North-eastern quarters. Detail of the Mecca painting. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.

In the quarters to the north-east of the sanctuary there are two buildings with

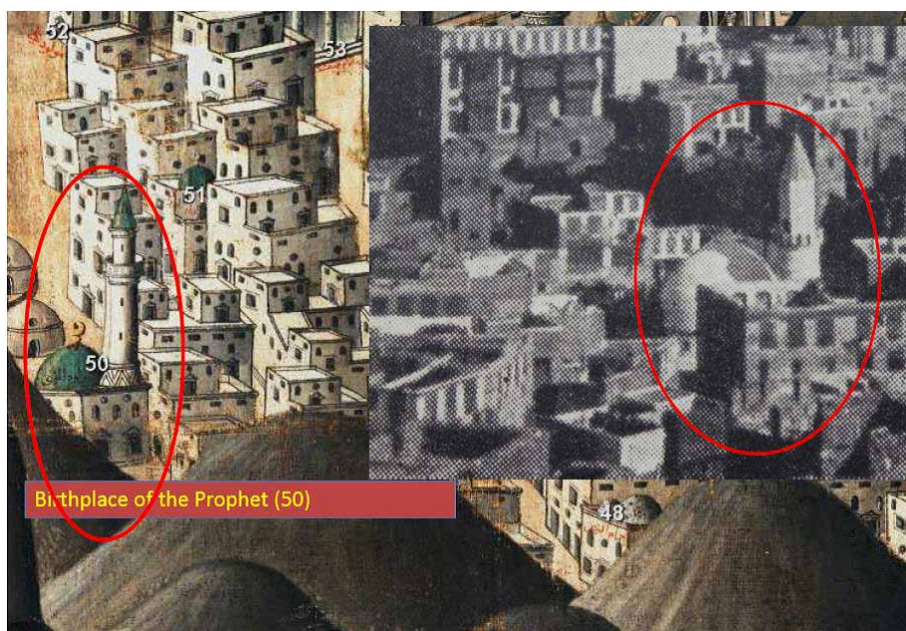


Figure 11: The Birthplace of the Prophet: to the left a detail from the Uppsala painting; to the right a detail of a photograph from the beginning of the twentieth century. Detail of the Mecca painting. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.



cupolas (figure 10). One (47) is the birthplace of Fatma (Fatima), the daughter of Muhammad and wife of Ali, the fourth caliph. Only the word 'Fatma' can be clearly recognised in the caption. This building was also known as *Dar Khadija* ('House of Khadija'), the first wife of the Prophet. After his wedding the Prophet moved to this house. Under the birthplace of Fatma or Khadija's House is (46) *Menzil-i Ebu Bekir* (the 'House of Abu Bakr'), the first caliph.

The birthplace of the Prophet Muhammed, which is marked as a mosque with a cupola and a minaret, is (50) *Mevlud ün-Nebi*, the Birthplace of the Prophet. This house where the Prophet Muhammad was born has since been knocked down; nowadays, the library of Mecca is situated on this site. A photograph (figure 11) of this building from the beginning of twentieth century shows similarities with the domed structure in the painting.<sup>9</sup>

Beyond the three houses that are depicted above the birthplace of the Prophet, there is another domed building (52) called *Mevlud-ı Ali* (the 'Birthplace of Ali'). Burckhardt refers to it as the *Mouled Imam Aly* in the quarter called Shab Aly (Burckhardt 1829: 312–313). This is a small shrine, the floor of which has a hole that marks the spot where Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammed, is said to have been born.

Slightly to the right of the minaret of the *Prophet's House* (50) is the inscription (51) *Dar el-Hayzuran*, the 'house of Khayzuran', mother of the Caliph Harun al-Rashid, who bought the house where the Prophet Muhammad had his first secret meetings with his followers and which he turned into a place for praying.

### *Safa and Marwa (figures 12 and 13)*

One of the Hajj rites is the *sa'i*, the walking back and forth seven times between the former hillocks of Marwa and Safa in imitation of Hagar's walking through the desert in search for water for her baby Ishmael.

The *sa'i* course has been included in the painting as follows: the triple-arched building to the left or south is the (53) *Makam-ı Safa* (the 'Station of Safa'), and the arched, roofless building to the right or north (34) is *Makam-ı Merve* (the 'Station of Marwa'). The building with iron grills between (59) and (60) is the *Sabil* or water-dispensary of the Mamluk sultan Qaytbay (r. 887–901 AH (1468–1496 CE)). From here water was distributed to the pilgrims. The building near the (59) *Bab-ı Sebil-i Qaytbay* (the 'Gate of the *Sabil* of Qaytbay') (between (58) and (59)) is the *Medrese (Madrasa)*, the school of Sultan Qaytbay that was erected by him in 992 AH (1477 CE) (figure 13). He also furnished it with a valuable library. The school was built in the Mamluk style and had four *iwans*, but was demolished in 1956. There were 72 cloisters and large windows looking onto the *Masjid al-Haram* and the street al-Mas'a.

9 This photo was provided by Dr. Meraj Nawab Mirza from The Center of Makkah History at Umm al Qura University in Mecca. According to him, this photo was taken at the beginning of the twentieth century.



Figure 12: Safa. Detail of the Mecca painting. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.

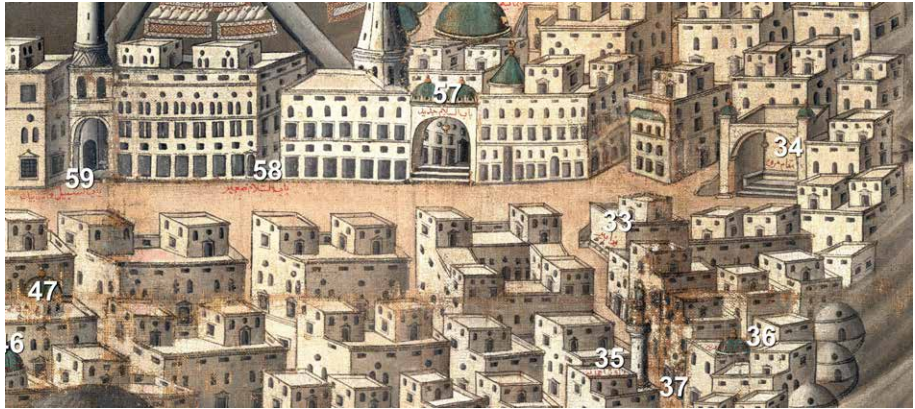


Figure 13: Marwa. Detail of the Mecca painting. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.

Between the (56) *Bab-ı Ali* ('Gate of Ali') and that (60) *Bab ün-Nebi* ('Gate of the Prophet') is (61) *Mil-i Ahdar* (the 'Green Signpost') on a pillar. This is one of the pillars along the *Mas'a*, where pilgrims run seven times between the hillocks of Marwa and Safa.

The signpost marks the spot where pilgrims have to change from walking to running. A few of these marker stones have survived in the Al-Haramayn Museum in Mecca. Near the second minaret on the right (counting from the bottom), the (31) *Mahkeme* or 'court of justice' is shown (figure 14). Further down one can identify the (32) *Medrese-i Süleymaniye* or 'School of Süleyman', which was built by Sultan Süleyman I and Selim II and housed the four Sunni law schools. This school used to have a minaret, but it was demolished in 1956.

Immediately below the *Mas'a* is an inscription (33) that is difficult to read (figure 13). It could be read as *Mazabiz* ('taps' or 'public fountains'). This would correspond to the map of D'Ohsson: 1788 (nr. 29), which mentions in the same



Figure 14: The Masjid al-Haram. Detail of the Mecca painting. Uppsala University. Inv. nr. UU2372. © Uppsala University Library.

place a 'fontaine publique' (D'Ohsson 1788: nr. 29). Also, Burckhardt states 'near this place, too, is a public fountain, the work of the Othman Emperor Soleyman Ibn Selym: it is supplied from the Mekka aqueduct, and is crowded the whole day by hadjys [pilgrims], who come to fill their water-skins' (Burckhardt 1829: 215).

#### *The Sanctuary (Haram) area (figure 14)*

The view of Mecca is dominated by the sanctuary area, the *Haram*. In the centre is the Ka'ba. The (75) *Hacer ül-Esved* (or *al-Hajar al-Aswad*, the 'Black Stone') written vertically immediately to the left is inserted into the eastern corner of the Ka'ba. On the roof of the building, the text (74) *Altun Oluk* or 'Gold Spout' is written at the place of the waterspout. In Arabic this would be called *Mizab al-Rahma* (the 'Spout of Mercy'). The Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I replaced the traditionally silver or wooden spout with a gold specimen. The use of the Ottoman term *Altun Oluk*, instead of the Arabic or Persian phrase, demonstrates that the painter was a Turkish person.

On the south-east side of the sanctuary, there is a palace with an inscription on the roof (54) that reads *Dar us-Sa'ada*, one of the names of Istanbul. This could be the palace of the *aghas* of the *Dar us-Sa'ada*, who were sent from

the palace in Istanbul to Mecca to supervise the sultan's *waqfs*, or religious endowment funds.

Only a few of the numerous gates of the Great Mosque are depicted and labelled on the painting. In the back, forming a special square outside the south-west wall, is the (55) *Bab-ı İbrahim* (the 'Gate of Ibrahim'), named not after the Prophet Abraham, but after a tailor who lived nearby this gate. To the right, in a similar square outside the north-west wall between two minarets, is the (30) *Bab üz-Ziyade* (the 'Gate of the Increase'). At the front or north-east side the inscriptions read, from right to left, (57) *Bab üs-Selam-ı Cedid* (the 'New Gate of Peace'), (58) *Bab üs-Selam-ı Sağır* (the 'Small Gate of Peace'), (59) *Bab-ı Sebil-Qaytbay* (the 'Gate of the Fountain of Qaytbay'), (60) *Bâb-el-Nebî* (the 'Gate of the Prophet'), and (56) *Bab-ı Ali* (the 'Gate of Ali'). Opposite the right side or north-west face of the Ka'ba is a low semi-circular wall. It encloses an area of special sanctity, the (72) *Hicir* (or *Hijr*, meaning the 'inviolable'). According to the tradition, this is where Ishmael and Hagar are buried. The inscription below the wall reads *Hicr-i İsmail*. Immediately below the front or north-east face of the Ka'ba is a square hollow in the ground, identified by the text (73) *Micene* (Ar. *Mi'jana*, 'trough'). This is the place where Abraham and Ishmael are believed to have mixed their mortar when they built the Ka'ba. This was also the place where presents sent from all over the world to the Ka'ba used to be preserved.

The four law schools (*madhabs*) of Sunni Islam each are located around the Ka'ba. The (69) *Makam-ı Hanbelî* ('Hanbali Place') on the left-hand or south-east side, the (70) *Makam-ı Maliki* ('Maliki Place') at the back on the south-west side, and the (71) *Makam-ı Haneî* ('Hanafi Place') on the right-hand or north-west side behind the *Hijr* wall. The fourth law school of Imam Shafi'i, is not marked in the painting, but the shafi'i is always prayed in the (64) *Makam-ı İbrahim* (the 'standing place of Abraham'). This place is marked by a stone with Abraham's footprint. Abraham is believed to have stood on it when building the Ka'ba. To the left is the pavilion with the (66) *Zemzem-i Şerif* ('Noble Zamzam'). The painting has a vertical fold here. Thirsty pilgrims could drink the holy water of the Zamzam well easily without waiting as it was stored in the numerous water-jugs that were lying in the courtyard.

Between the two domed pavilions there is a small, movable staircase with the text (63) *Medrec* ('staircase'). These stairs are used to enter the Ka'ba, since the entrance is placed slightly higher than the ground. On the painting the entrance is marked right of the (75) *Hacer ül-Esved* (the Black Stone) on the face of the building.

To the right of the *Makam-ı İbrahim* is the (65) *Minber-i-Şerif* (the 'Noble Pulpit'), used for preaching. The text is written along one of the pillars at the top of the square. In front of the *Makam-ı İbrahim* there is a gate, (62) *Bab üs-Selâm-ı Arik* (the 'Old Gate of Peace'). This gate is perhaps the only remaining part of an older enclosure of the sanctuary.



In the lower corner to the left of the sanctuary stand two buildings known as (67-68) *al-Qubbatayn* ('the Two Domes'). They were used as storehouses before being demolished in the late nineteenth century. The inscriptions on the painting are difficult to read. The left one perhaps reads as (67) *Makam ül-Ferraşin* (the 'Dome of the Caretakers of the *Haram*'), and the one to the right may read (68) *Makam-ı Kadem in-Nebi* ('Dome of the Footprint of the Prophet').

### *Other details*

Some very interesting details that are not marked with captions but do provide interesting information when studied in combination with other sources can be observed in the painting. On the road to Arafat, three wells are painted. Inside the *Haram* there are numerous water jugs for storing Zamzam water. One can also see tents in the city suburbs. Also, there are seven unmarked quadrangular or round steeples, which can be identified as the minarets of *Bab al-Umra*; *Bab al-Salam*; *Bab Ali*; *Bab al-Wida*; *Bab Madrasat Qaytbay*; *Bab al-Ziyada*; and *Bab Madrasat al-Sultan Sulayman*.

## Later Developments in Representations of Mecca and the Ka'ba

Despite the already mentioned lack of scholarly interest over the last 300 years, the Eneman painting has had quite an impact on European representations of the Ka'ba and Mecca. In 1717 for example, Adriaan Reland, a Dutch professor of

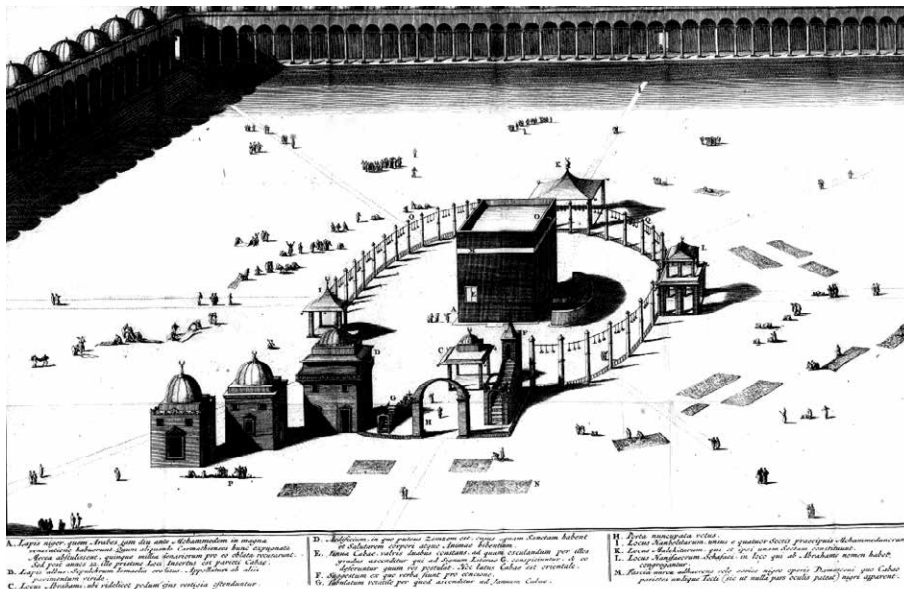


Figure 15: The Ka'ba map in Reland's publication of 1717 CE.

oriental languages at Utrecht University, published the second edition of his book *De Religione Mohammedica Libri Duo* on Islam. It contains two illustrations; one of the Ka'ba and one of Muzdalifa (Reland 1717: 114, 118). Reland is known as the first European scholar to publish a realistic representation of the Ka'ba.

On his way back to Sweden in 1714, Michael Eneman visited the Netherlands and had a meeting with Reland in Utrecht. Reland mentioned that Eneman showed the painting of Mecca to him and that he gave him the permission to make a copy (Reland 1717: 119; Witkam 2002: 235–237). Reland drew the *Masjid al-Haram* and Ka'ba and added people around the courtyard, some of them performing the prayer. In this drawing, only the Holy Mosque is depicted; the city itself is not shown. Reland probably wanted to concentrate on the holiest place and not on the city of Mecca.

Another famous Mecca illustration is the already mentioned engraving of D'Ohsson (1740-1807) (D'Ohsson 1788: pl. 45 ). D'Ohsson's representation is taken from the same perspective as the Uppsala painting, but his drawing is less sophisticated and less exact. We do not know whether he had seen the Uppsala painting. But in his engraving, especially the city and its surroundings are less sophisticated than Eneman's.

An image that resembles the Uppsala painting can presently be found in the Khalili Collection (Rogers 2010: 260–261). This drawing in ink and opaque watercolour on paper was produced in the year 1845 by Muhammed Abdullah, who was a cartographer from Delhi. The drawing is comparable to the Uppsala Painting in its choice of vantage point. It is also very accurate, but does not include captions on the buildings and other points of interest.



Figure 16: Shawkat, *Panoramic View of the City of Mecca*, 1922-1923, oil on canvas, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art. Inv. nr. MSS 1163. © Nour Foundation. Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust.

In the Khalili Collection, there is a copy of the Uppsala painting (figure 16).<sup>10</sup> In fact, the shape of the mountains and the streets are a one-to-one copy. The painting is signed by the hitherto unknown painter Shawkat and is dated 1341 AH (1922–1923 CE). How he gained access to the painting at Uppsala University in order to make a copy is a mystery.

## Photography

Since the 1880s, the city of Mecca has been photographed and filmed. Even these images, however, are of less value than the Uppsala painting. Paradoxically, though these photos are panoramic, they do not show as many details as the earlier representations did. Therefore, one can conclude that the Uppsala painting remains an absolute summit in Hajj representations and has never been surpassed, even by later techniques of coloured pictures or photographs.

## Conclusion

The Uppsala painting is a unique and extraordinary representation of Mecca and the Ka'ba. It was probably made by a Muslim artist in Cairo and, after its purchase by Michael Eneman, arrived in Uppsala in 1714. The painting is the first known three-dimensional representation of Mecca and demonstrates what was at the time a revolutionary bird's eye view. It provides a very detailed description of the buildings of the city. The relevance of this painting has only recently been recognised by scholars. An important reason for this is that old Mamluk and Ottoman Mecca was destroyed completely by the Saudi guardians of the Holy City; this picture is indispensable to reconstructing and describing the Ottoman City. No other illustrations of Mecca contain more or richer details about the urban network and city pattern than the Uppsala painting. There is still much more analysis to be done on this painting, which has only started to reveal its secrets.

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10 This Ka'ba painting (inv. nr. MSS 1163, Panoramic View of the City of Mecca, oil on canvas, 98 x 193cm) is not published. I would like to thank Nahla Nassar, curator of the Khalili Collections, for giving me permission to study this object.

## Appendix: Legends in the Uppsala Painting

I have used the Turkish transcription for the legends that are written in the painting. The most important difference between Ottoman and Arabic place-names are the characters c, v, ş and ç (Ottoman) for j, w, sh and ch (Arabic).

1. Cebel-i Arafat (Mountain Arafat)
2. Matbah (Kitchen)
3. Mescid-i İbrahim (Mosque of Abraham)
4. Mileyn (Markers of the border of Arafat)
5. Müzdelife (Muzdalifa)
6. Hüseyniye (al-Husayniyya village)
7. Cemre-i Evvel (the First Pillar)
8. Cemre-i Sani (the Second Pillar)
9. Cemre-i Salis (the Third Pillar)
10. Mina
11. Mescid-i Hayf (Mosque of al-Khayf)
12. Mahall-i Nüzul-i ‘Ve’l-Mürselat’ (Place of Revelation of Sura wa-al-Mürselat)
13. Mescid-i Aşere (Mosque of Aqaba)
14. Mahall-i Şakk ul-Kamer (Place where the Moon was Split)
15. Cebel-i Ebu Kubeys (Mountain of Abu Qubays)
16. Cebel-i Sevir (Thawr Mountain)
17. Burket-i Yemeniye (the Yemeni Pool)
18. Mahall-i Mevlud-i Ebu Bekir (Birthplace of Abu Bakr)
19. Mevlud-ı Seyyidina Ömer (Birthplace of our Lord Umar)
20. Kahve (Coffee and Rest House)
21. Hudde (Hudde Village)
22. Sebil-i Ahmed Bey (Fountain of Ahmad Bey)
23. Cidde (Jeddah)
24. Mahall-i Zebh-i İsmail (Place of the Sacrifice of Ishmael)
25. Hammam-ı Umre (the Umra Bath)
26. Cebel-i Güzel (Jabal Hindi)
27. Makam-ı Aydarus (Station of Aydarus)
28. Şeyh Mahmud (Shaykh Mahmud)
29. Sebil[-i Mahmud] (Fountain [of Mahmud])
30. Bab üz-Ziyade (Gate of Increase)
31. Mahkeme (Court)



32. Medrese-i Süleymaniye (Suleymaniye School)
33. Mazabiz (Ablution Fountain)
34. Makam-ı Merve (Marwa Hill)
35. Zaviye-i Ahmediye (Convent of the Ahmadiyya Order)
36. Zaviye Kadiriye (Convent of the Qadiriya Order)
37. Suk (Market)
38. Burket el-Şami (Damascus Pool)
39. Burket-i Mısri (Egyptian Pool)
40. Serdar-ı Müstahfızan (Head of the Security)
41. Merkad-ı Ebu Talib (Tomb of Abu Talib)
42. Mescid-i Cinn (Mosque of the Jinn)
43. (Merkad-ı ) Hatice ([Tomb of] Khadija)
44. Mevlevihane (Convent of Mevlevi Dervishes)
45. [Kasr-ı] Vezir ([Palace of the] Governor)
46. Menzil-i Ebu Bekir (House of Abu Bakr)
47. [Mevlud-ı] Fatma ([Birthplace of] Fatima )
48. Hammam ün-Nebi (Bath of the Prophet)
49. Makam-ı Cebel-i [Nur] (Standing-place of [Nur] Mountain)
50. Mevlud ün-Nebi (Birthplace of the Prophet)
51. Dar el Hayzuran (House of Hayzuran, mother of Harun al-Rashid)
52. Mevlud-ı Ali (Birthplace of Ali)
53. Makam-ı Safa (Standing-place of Safa)
54. Dar us-Sa`ade (House of Felicity, the house of the Ottoman governor)
55. Bab-ı İbrahim (Gate of Abraham)
56. Bab-ı Ali (Gate of Ali)
57. Bab üs-Selam-ı Cedid (New Gate of Peace)
58. Bab üs-Selam-ı Sağır (Small Gate of Peace)
59. Bab-ı Sebil-i Qaytbay (Gate of the Fountain of Qaytbay)
60. Bab ün-Nebi (Gate of the Prophet)
61. Mil-i Ahdar (the Green Signpost)
62. Bab üs-Selam-ı Atik (the Old Gate of Peace)
63. Medrec (Staircase)
64. Makam-ı İbrahim (the Standing place of Abraham)
65. Minber-i Şerif (the Noble Pulpit)
66. Zemzem-i Şerif (the Noble Zamzam [well])
67. Makam-ı Kadem in-Nebi (the Location of the Foot of the Prophet)

68. Makam ül-Ferraşin (the Location of the Caretakers)
69. Makam-ı Hanbeli (the Location of the Hanbali school of jurisprudence)
70. Makam-ı Maliki (the Location of the Maliki school of jurisprudence)
71. Makamı Hanefi (the Location of the Hanafi school of jurisprudence)
72. Hicr-i İsmail (the Burial place of Ishmael)
73. Micene ('Trough')
74. Altun Oluk (Golden Spout)
75. Hacer ül-Esved (the Black Stone)

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## HAJJ MURALS IN DAKHLA OASIS (EGYPT)<sup>1</sup>

*Remke Kruk and Frans Oort*

In *Morgen bloeien de abrikozen* (*Tomorrow the apricots will be in bloom*), the Dutch poet Bertus Aafjes gives a fascinating account of the murals devoted to the pilgrimage to Mecca that he saw in a popular quarter of Cairo:

The white, front wall of the house usually showed, in a primitive fashion, the route that the traveller to Mecca had followed. The starting point were the three pyramids of Giza. Then the voyage by ship through the blue Red Sea. Next, the trip by camel (a camel with the head of a shrew) through the yellow desert, which was usually inhabited by two or three primitive lions (so primitive that they looked like a cross between a monstrous dog and a monstrous cat). And finally, the joyous arrival at the Ka'ba in Mecca. (Aafjes 1954: 132-133)<sup>2</sup>

What Aafjes describes here is the Egyptian custom to celebrate a Hajj pilgrim's homecoming by decorating his house, marking the successful completion of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Aafjes' view is that of a tourist, not a scholar, and consequently it is somewhat naïve. To the more sophisticated eye, it would be obvious that most of the pictures—*i.e.* lions, camel trips, and the pyramids—do not refer to the actual reality experienced by the pilgrim, but rather are emblematic of certain aspects of the pilgrimage: danger, travel in Arabia, and place of departure.

The custom of decorating the pilgrim's house with murals is most widely spread in Egypt, but also occurs in other countries such as Libya, Syria, and the Israel-Palestine region. Aafjes makes no mention of Arabic writings, but written text is an essential part of the murals. The core part usually consists of an inscription proclaiming that God has granted the pilgrim, mentioned by name, the favour of completing the Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca that every able Muslim has to perform at least once in his or her life. This inscription is usually, but not always, placed above the entrance of the house. To this inscription may be added various other elements: drawings of the Ka'ba, images of the forms of transport that might be used on the pilgrimage, the mosque where the Prophet is buried, or pious inscriptions with decorative borders. These decorations may be found on the façade of the house or on the adjacent walls. Inside the house,

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1 Our research in Dakhla was made possible through the help of our colleagues participating in the Dakhla Oasis Project (DOP), especially Dr. Tony Mills, Director of DOP, who offered us generous hospitality at the DOP Research Centre in Ayn al-Jindi.

2 Ine Jellema drew Remke Kruk's attention to this passage.



Figure 1: Bands of Qur'anic texts relating to the Hajj inside the house of Muhammad Salim, the director of the antiquities department in Dakhla (al-Jadida, 1426 AH (2005 CE)). Photo: F. Leemhuis.

the walls of the areas visited by guests are also often decorated with long bands of text, usually verses from the Qur'an referring to the pilgrimage (figure 1). Spectacular murals can be seen in the Nile Valley, for instance in the Luxor region, and coffee-table-type books that include pictures as well as useful factual information, such as those of Parker (1995) and Chèvre (2000), have regularly been devoted to the murals.

## History

How old the custom is, we do not know. In the past, it was not the sort of thing many people paid attention to, and descriptions of such unsophisticated manifestations of popular art were usually not included in travel accounts. They generally were not noticed at all. There are, however, a few exceptions. The Ottoman author Mustafa Ali, in his description of Cairo dating from 1599, makes the following remark:

The nice custom is also highly praised by wise people that one of the relatives of the person that undertakes the pilgrimage, one who is known to be sincerely devoted to him, has the Koran verse on the pilgrimage [sura 3: 97, al-Imran] inscribed with large letters on the wall of his door. Some even decorate it with various embellishments and colors. Those who pass through that street will know for sure that the owner of that house has gone on the pilgrimage that year. (Mustafâ `Alî 1975: 33)

More about the history of pilgrimage murals and their interpretation can be found in Campo (1991: 143-146). Here we may just mention E.W. Lane's description, based on his observations in Cairo between 1825 and 1835, because it refers to pictorial elements still encountered in today's murals:

It is a common custom to ornament the entrance of a pilgrim's house, a day, or two or three days, before his arrival; painting the door, and colouring the alternate courses of stone on each side and above with red ochre, and whitewash; or, if it be of brick, ornamenting it in a similar manner, with broad horizontal stripes of red and white: often, also trees, camels, etc., are painted in a very rude manner, in green, black, red, and other colours. The pilgrim sometimes writes to order this to be done. (2003: 438)

### Earlier Studies and Approaches

It has long been clear that, contrary to what more naïve observers have sometimes thought, the murals are not made by the pilgrims themselves and do not contain memories of things seen on the pilgrimage. Rather, the decorations are made by friends and relatives of the pilgrims to prepare for their homecoming, and the images are intended to highlight symbolically the major elements of the pilgrimage.

Several studies over the years have been devoted to murals in various parts of Egypt, both in Cairo (Michot, in 1978) and Upper Egypt (Canova in 1975 and Campo, who also included Cairo, Fayum, and Suez, in 1991). These studies were made several decades ago, but the mural custom is still widespread in Egypt. Though the impression one gets these days is that the higher social classes in Egypt now tend to see it as an old-fashioned, rural (*baladi*) custom. The fact that Hajj murals in Cairo are mostly found in the poorer popular quarters confirms this. We saw many beautiful murals, recently executed, in the Qarafa, the historical (but still used) cemetery covering many square miles and that is inhabited by poor families. Sentiments about the *baladi* nature of the murals are on the rise not only in Cairo, but also in the rural areas themselves. When Muhammad Salim, the director of the antiquities department in Dakhla Oasis, performed the pilgrimage in 2005, he did not at first want his house to be

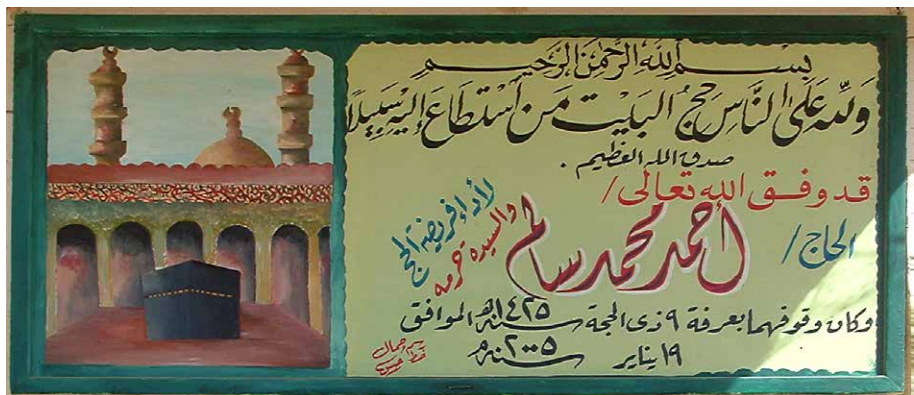


Figure 2: Announcement of completion of the Hajj on the house Muhammad Salim, director of the antiquities department in Dakhla (*al-Jadida*, 1426 AH (2005 CE)). Photo: F. Leemhuis.

decorated, considering the custom old-fashioned and *baladi*. In the end, he agreed on an inscription above the entrance of his house but stipulated that the accompanying Qur'anic texts could only appear on the inside walls of his house (figure 2).

Of the studies made in the past, three deserve special attention because they offer elucidative views on the nature and function of the murals. The first is that of Giovanni Canova, who studied 57 murals in Upper Egypt made between 1938 and 1975, predominantly in the Luxor area (Canova 1975). Besides describing the murals and their elements, pictorial as well as epigraphic, he explains the decorating of pilgrims' houses in the wider context of the importance of the Hajj for pilgrims and those around them, which is brought into focus by farewell and welcoming ceremonies. He briefly discusses such matters as who executes the decorations (sons or pupils, preferably, but also sometimes professional painters) and the difference of opinion about whether it is permitted to include representations of human beings and animals. He also speaks about the semiotic aspect of the murals, pointing out how the meaning and wider implication of each particular element can immediately be grasped by all who see it, being part of a sign language understood by the whole community. 'The presence of a single element, for instance the Ka'ba, suffices to let the "signified" emerge in its globality' (Canova 1975: 91).

Jean Michot described 50 Cairene murals that he studied in the early 1970s. He gives a lucid and well-documented analysis of the motifs and epigraphs he found and includes all the relevant details. He also gives a clear picture of the social and religious contexts in which these decorations are produced, arguing that the process of decorating the house offers the friends and relatives of pilgrims the opportunity to share the religious experience. To this, they offer up their own emblematic representations of what they see as the meaningful aspects of the Hajj (Michot 1978).

Juan Eduardo Campo, who analysed the murals of 36 houses in the Qena governorate, Greater Cairo, Suez, and Fayum between 1976 and 1985, deserves special attention. He characterises them as sets of simple drawings with a limited set of motifs, accompanied by texts that are of a strikingly formulaic character: the pious formulas known as *basmala* ('In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate'), *talbiya* ('At your service, o God'), *tasliya* ('God bless him and give him peace'), and *takbir* ('God is most great') are much in evidence, as are Qur'anic verses, often in abbreviated form. In his opinion, this all points to people working from memory. He presents a full classification of iconic motifs arranged according to theme, as well as an overview and classification of the texts in the epigraphs (Campo 1991: 139-191).

Arguing that one cannot treat the murals as a haphazard conglomerate of figurative elements and inscriptions, Campo states that one should look for 'the regularities governing the relations between the elements'. To this purpose, like Canova before him, he approaches the murals from a semiotic point of view, seeing them as a set of elements that has a message to convey or, we might say, a story to tell:

Seen semiotically, Hajj murals are three-dimensional, highly metaphoric forms of discourse. Although they are not as fragmentary, bizarre, or offensive as many have claimed, neither

are they as precise or abstract as theological, legal, or philosophical discourses. The murals are paratactic in structure; that is, they are built up of limited sets of motifs, formulaic phrases, and principles of composition. In fact, they are remarkably similar to, but not identical with, oral genres of poetry, song, myth, and epic. (1991: 149)

Campo also presents the interesting view that the murals affect the meaning of domestic space in the sense that they serve to sacralise domestic space. The pilgrim's Hajj has transformed him into someone with a higher religious status who should return to a house that is in accordance with this new status. Decoration with the appropriate symbols gives the house, in a way, the aspect of a shrine. In Campo's view, the fact that the decorative elements are often the same as the ones used to decorate shrines, including Christian shrines, supports this idea.

Campo, like Michot before him, further observes that the murals include many elements that also occur in the context of apotropaic magic, for instance on amulets. Examples mentioned include mermaids, camels, birds, fish, snakes, flowers, palms, stars, crescents, hands, and eyes (Campo 1991: 156). Both Michot and Campo consider such elements to have an apotropaic function, warding off the evil caused by other people's envy (*hasad*) about the pilgrim's new status. *Hasad* is much feared because it may activate destructive powers. They may have a point, especially in the case of the hands and the eye, but one may also take into account that, in the culture from which these murals stem, figurative representations were traditionally scarce. For simple lack of examples, such representations as there were tended to be used over and over again in a variety of contexts. In the same way, the images familiar from magic books and amulets, such as fishes, mermaids, snakes, and scorpions, may have been used simply for their decorative value, just like pharaonic representations are incorporated in the regions where examples are abundant. This tradition, once established, may simply have been continued, even when pictorial representations of all kinds became available on a large scale.

Research on this material so far has mainly concentrated on Greater Cairo and the Nile Valley, although the books of Parker (1995) and especially Chèvre (2000) also include other locations (Alexandria, al-Arish, Port Said, Suez, some of the Western oases). The mural custom is widespread in the Western oases, and it seemed worthwhile to have a closer look in order to see whether the murals there presented any new views. As a start, we decided to survey the murals found in the oasis of Dakhla (ad-Dakhila), some 350 kilometres west of Luxor.

## Observations in Dakhla Oasis

The Dakhla Oasis covers an area of roughly 80 kilometres by 25 kilometres. It has been inhabited since prehistoric times, and all the successive cultures of Egypt have left their traces there. As to its Islamic past, recent archaeological



work by Fred Leemhuis in Qasr, one of the two towns of Dakhla, has shown that it is beyond a doubt that the town dates back to the days of the Fatimid dynasty (909-1171 CE). According to an estimate from 2003, the oasis houses some 75,000 inhabitants spread over two towns and a number of villages and hamlets. Hajj murals are found in all these locations, with the exception of the Bedouin settlement just outside Mut.

The first impression one gets from a casual observance of the Dakhla Hajj murals is that they are, on the whole, simple and schematic. The predominance of simple textual announcements, frequently (but not always) accompanied by a small and highly stylised icon of the Ka'ba, also is conspicuous. Closer observation of each village yielded a more varied picture but did not basically change the impression that the murals in Dakhla are much less exuberant than those in the Nile Valley.

Our survey was done during visits between 2004 and 2006. We included all the major locations, fourteen in total, namely Qasr, Mushiya, al-Jadida, Qalamun, Izab al-Qasr (which is in fact a cluster of small villages), Badkhulu, ar-Rashda (ar-Rashida), Mut, Shaykh al-Wali, Asmant (Smint), Ma'sara, Balat, Bashindi, and Tineda (Tanida). In the towns of Qasr and Mut, we simply collected a number of what we hope are representative samples. In the villages our coverage of the material was much wider, although we cannot lay a claim to completeness; in the mazes of small alleys and courtyards, specimens may easily have been missed despite the helpful assistance of the villagers. The total number of Hajj announcements that we studied, counted by pictures of the Ka'ba that we collected, was about 110. Add to that some announcements that did not include a representation of the Ka'ba, and the number roughly amounts to 120, many of which we photographed.

Our interest in these specifically Muslim and rather unsophisticated drawings sometimes astonished the villagers. They found our interest in the accompanying calligraphic texts easier to understand. Occasionally someone asked us whether we intended to use the material for picture postcards. Such postcards, usually with murals from the Luxor area, are indeed sold in tourist shops elsewhere in Egypt.

Our survey was largely restricted to the exteriors of houses. In some cases we were given the opportunity to look inside, but on the whole people did not appreciate this. The inside decorations that we observed consisted exclusively of pious texts, usually Qur'anic verses. We did not include these in the survey.

Hajj murals were much in evidence in all the locations. They were found on traditional mud-brick houses and on more modern types of buildings, usually on the façades but often on the adjacent walls as well. Most of them were not nearly as spectacular as in Luxor and the adjacent villages in the Nile Valley; nevertheless, they were fascinating in their variety and contents. The oldest sample we collected was dated 1397 AH (1977 CE), part of which is reproduced in Figure 5. The latest specimen included in our survey dated from 1425 AH (2005 CE) and can be seen in Figure 1 and Figure 2.



*Figure 3: Announcement of completion of the Hajj by a woman, Fatima Muhammad Zayn ad-Din (Mut, 1413 AH (1993 CE)). Photo: F. Oort.*

One of our purposes was to find out whether there were noteworthy differences between the Hajj murals of Dakhla and those studied earlier and to see whether observations in Dakhla could throw additional light on the views of earlier scholars (notably, Michot and Campo). We also took notice of the changes that could be observed during the period that the murals in our survey were made (1977–2005). A further question was whether there were substantial differences between the various locations of Dakhla itself. We took into account the iconic representations as well as the texts, although our inventory of the latter was less systematic and extensive than Campo's; we mainly noted down texts that significantly diverged from what was included in his inventory.

In Dakhla, like elsewhere, the murals demonstrate the importance of performing the Hajj. A remarkable illustration of this were the empty, whitewashed spaces that we sometimes noticed above the entrances of houses. These were spaces already prepared to receive the announcement of a successfully completed pilgrimage, perhaps not even this year but 'hopefully next year', as people told us. As such, the spaces served not only to strengthen people in their intentions, but also to make these intentions public.

Another remarkable case was a mural on a half-finished house of limestone and redbrick announcing the pilgrimage of a woman. Most likely she was the mother of the inhabitant, and the implication might be that sending the mother on pilgrimage had taken financial priority over finishing the house (figure 3).

The elements of the Dakhla murals are not, in a general sense, different from what has so far been observed: they consist of pictures, pious texts, and other decorative elements, such as ornamental borders. These elements usually, but by no means always,

appear in combination. Studied in more detail, the iconic representations used in Dakhla roughly correspond to what has been described in earlier publications, but the set of representations is considerably more limited.

Like elsewhere, the central element is the *i'lan*, the announcement that God has granted the resident of the house or one of his family members the favour of completing the Hajj pilgrimage. Often the people involved were a couple, in which case the wife was referred to as *as-sayyida haramuhu* (madam, his wife). If the pilgrims were a son and his mother, the mother was referred to as *as-sayyida walidatuhu* (madam, his mother). If a woman had performed the pilgrimage on her own, her full name was mentioned.

The month and year of the pilgrimage were given, the latter often according to the Islamic as well as the Gregorian calendar. Frequently the date given was that of the *wuquf* ceremony at Mount or Jabal Arafat. Sometimes the performance of the Umra, the 'lesser pilgrimage', was also mentioned, either in addition to mention of the Hajj or on its own. In the latter case the person involved was always referred to as a *hajji*, implying that the obligatory greater pilgrimage, the Hajj, had already been performed. The Umra usually had been performed during Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic calendar, but occasionally also in the seventh month, *Rajab*. The word *ziyara* (visit) was regularly used to refer to the Hajj (e.g. *ziyarat bayt Allah*, 'visit of the house of God'; or *ziyarat bayt Allah al-haram*, 'visit of the holy house of God'). In addition, there was the occasional mention of the visit to the Prophet's grave (*sunnat az-ziyara*, 'the advisable custom of the visit').

The announcement was usually, but not always, placed above the central entrance of the house. It was often surrounded by a frame consisting of simple lines or a decorative border. Sometimes this frame had the shape of a mosque's cupola with the new moon on top, and it was occasionally flanked by minarets. Such frames were particularly popular in the villages of Asmant and Badkhulu (figure 4). A picture of the Ka'ba, either schematically or more elaborately drawn, was sometimes included in the frame, as were other other basic elements of Hajj iconography such as an aeroplane, a ship, a bus, or the cupola of the Prophet's grave. Iconic elements, however, were more commonly placed outside the *i'lan* frame.

In its most basic form, the announcement of having performed the pilgrimage is all there is. Keeping announcements as sober as possible was indeed the trend in some villages, notably in Tineda. In most cases, however, the announcement was surrounded by an amalgam of iconic elements, texts, and decorations that together tell the story of the pilgrimage and the importance attached to it. Here, too, distinct trends in style can be observed from locality to locality: a motif, once introduced, is imitated, so that walking through the village one can follow trends, motifs, themes, and even specific pots of paint.



Figure 4: Announcement in the shape of a mosque's cupola with new moon on top (Badkhulu 1415 AH (1994 CE)). Photo: F. Oort.

When we asked villagers about who executed the murals, we got different answers: sometimes it was 'just anyone' who could draw a bit, but often the work was done by professionals. The calligraphic quality and stereotyped nature of the more recent announcements clearly indicated that professional craftsmen had been at work, as was indeed the case. Often, the professionals were local schoolmasters who sometimes had also set up shops where they worked in the afternoons (when school was finished) as photographers and calligraphers. These professionals had taken to signing their work, especially in villages where more than one of them was active. All in all, we identified the names of thirteen *khattats* (calligraphers) who had signed their names on the murals.

As earlier scholars have noted, the decorations are rarely kept up after they have been applied. Occasionally announcements may be re-used if another member of the family goes on pilgrimage (Hajj or Umra), in which case the colours are refreshed or the whole announcement is rewritten to include the new information. This can be seen by the inclusion of different dates in the announcement. Otherwise the murals,

having served their purpose to celebrate the pilgrim's homecoming, are left to fade or fall into decay. Passing in 2007 by the same roads where we collected our material two or three years earlier, we noted that murals which had looked fresh and colourful when we photographed them two years earlier had already faded or crumbled with the walls. Given the sand storms that regularly sweep the area, this is hardly surprising.

### **An Inventory of Specific Elements of the Dakhla Murals**

What follows is an inventory and discussion of the various elements—or sign units, to use the semiotic term—that we found in the Dakhla murals. The two main categories of sign units are epigraphic formulae and figural elements. Campo deals extensively with the epigraphic formulae, dividing them into five thematic groupings in descending order of frequency: God, the Prophet Muhammad, pilgrimage and holy places, divine blessing, and victory over adversity. Findings in Dakhla largely agree with this, and we do not treat the epigraphic formulae in detail. Notable, however, was a case not included in Campo's inventory, namely a mural in Mut featuring sura 112 (*al-Ikhlās*), a text widely used for pious purposes, including warding off evil.

Our focus in this chapter is on the figural elements. To facilitate comparison with earlier research, we roughly follow the classification used by Campo in Appendix B of his 'The metamorphosis of domestic space in the pilgrimage murals of Egypt', which notes the frequency with which the elements occurred in his own survey as well as those of Michot and Canova (Campo 1991: 181-182).

Campo's categories include a) Pilgrimage and holy places (subdivided into eight categories, six of which were found in Dakhla); b) General Islamic religious motifs (subdivided into six categories, two of which appeared in our Dakhla survey); c) Egyptian culture (with six sub-categories, none of which turned up in the Dakhla murals); d) Plants, trees, and animals (with ten sub-categories, only four of which were found in Dakhla); and e) Designs and talismanic figures (with four sub-categories, only one of which was present in Dakhla).

#### *A. Pilgrimage and holy places*

##### **1. Transport**

As was pointed out by earlier scholars, the iconic images referring to travel in the murals should not be taken as a literal reference to the transport that was actually used: they just convey the general idea of transport to Mecca. A mural may contain both a ship and an aeroplane, but it is hardly likely that both were used. Yet there is some connection to actual local reality, as trains and carriages will occasionally turn up in the murals of the Nile Valley but not in Dakhla. Buses, on the other hand, which, apart from private cars, form Dakhla's sole connection with other urban areas, appear from time to time in the murals of Dakhla. Buses, of course, also play a major role in transporting pilgrims from the airport in Jeddah to Mecca as well as during the Hajj itself. Ships resembling



cruise ships appear in murals everywhere, as do schematically drawn sailing vessels, recalling Nile feluccas. Camels, the major form of transportation in the past, occasionally appear in older murals. The following inventory demonstrates the actual occurrence of transport images.

**Camels:** Six images of camels were found, some showing just a camel or a frieze of camels, others a camel being led or people riding a camel. Example: a man leading two camels with saddles, part of the oldest mural that we collected, dated 1977 CE (figure 5).

**Aeroplanes:** We found 27 images of aeroplanes, fairly equally distributed over the different locations. We recorded none in Mushiya, al-Jadida, Balat, and Tineda. The planes were often rather primitively drawn, although sometimes with attention to detail, such as a plane bearing the letters UNAR (figure 6). The oldest plane we saw dated from 1404 AH (1984 CE), and the most recent was from 1420 AH (2001 CE).

**Buses:** Only two buses were found, both in Mut (figure 7).

**Ships (powered by steam or motors):** We recorded eighteen ships, divided over seven locations and executed between 1993 and 2002. Ships were drawn even more primitively than aeroplanes, with some resembling a whistling tea kettle (figure 8).



Figure 5: A man leading two camels with saddles (Badkhulu, 1397 AH (1977 CE)). Photo: F. Oort.



Figure 6: Airplane (Mut, 1410 AH (1990 CE)). Photo: F. Oort.



Figure 7: Bus (Mut, 1419 AH (1999 CE)). Photo: F. Oort.



Figure 8: Steamship (Izab al-Qasr, 1423 AH (2002 CE)). Photo: F. Oort.

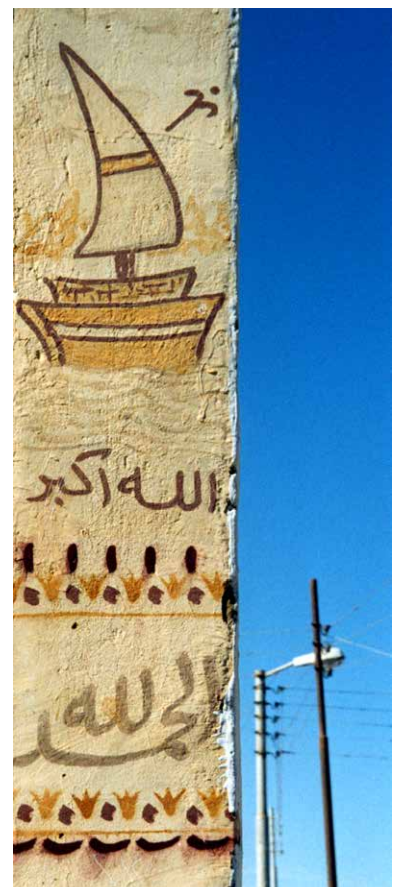


Figure 9: Sailboat (Ma'sara, mural bearing two dates: 1404 AH (1984 CE) and 1409 AH (1989 CE)). Photo: F. Oort.





Figure 10: A highly stylized image of the Ka'ba (Qalamun 1419 AH (1999 CE)). Photo: F. Oort.

Sailboats: We found seven images of sailboats. They were not always easily recognizable: sometimes they looked like a new moon lying on its back with an umbrella in the middle. Figure 9 provides an example of an image that is unmistakably a sailboat.

## 2. The Ka'ba

We found some 110 images of the Ka'ba. Such images are a central element of the murals, and it is rare to find an announcement of a completed pilgrimage without it. Ka'ba images appear in many varieties. They can be drawn as a simple black and white cube (figure 10); with inscriptions; with a curtain hanging over it; flanked by lamp posts; encircled by a suggestion of people performing the circumambulation (*tawaf*); with the colonnades and minarets of the *haram* in the background; and even flanked by cypresses. Combinations of all these elements occur.

Ka'bas, with or without *tawaf*, were sometimes placed within the frame containing the Hajj announcement. The more elaborate images of the Ka'ba including colonnades and minarets were usually, but not always, placed outside the text frames (figure 11).

Occasionally the Ka'ba was placed in a separate frame together with other iconic Hajj depictions such as means of transport.

## 3. Medina

Mosque: We found some sixteen images of the mosque in which the Prophet is buried, an image that serves as an icon for Medina in general. It was not always possible to establish beyond a doubt that it was actually this mosque that was intended to be depicted. A mosque cupola (sometimes coloured



Figure 11: Ka'ba with people performing the tawaf, colonnades, and minarets in the background (Ma'sara mural bearing two dates: 1404 AH (1984 CE) and 1409 AH (1989 CE)). Photo: F. Oort.



Figure 12: Palm tree, symbolizing Medina, as alternative for an image of the Prophet's burial mosque. Part of a series of drawings, each representing an iconic element of the Hajj (Ma'sara, mural bearing two dates: 1404 AH (1984 CE) and 1409 AH (1989 CE)). Photo: F. Oort

green) with at least one minaret and usually a new moon on top was the most basic form in which this icon appeared. In one case, there was just a greenish cupola. Otherwise all sorts of varieties occur, including mosques with gates; with more minarets; and with birds on the roof or in the air. No *minbars* (Prophet's pulpit) were recorded in the murals. The mosques were regularly accompanied by the *Hadith* saying that the Prophet will give his intercession to those who visit his grave.

Date palms: Palm trees, usually bearing date bunches, often appear in the murals, but they should not simply be classified as ‘nature elements’ along with the flowers, trees, and floral scrolls that also appear occasionally. Palm trees are strongly connected to Medina<sup>3</sup> and indeed symbolise Medina in many cases, such as in a mural presenting just two images, a Ka’ba and a palm tree, to indicate visits to Mecca as well as Medina. Another mural shows a palm tree with dates, an image that is part of an amalgam in which the portion of the walls between windows each bear a significant element of Hajj iconography: the Ka’ba, a sailboat, a man praying at Arafat, an aeroplane, a second sailboat, a second Ka’ba, and a palm tree (figure 12).

#### 4. *Mahmal*

No examples of this were found in the Dakhla murals.

#### 5. Pilgrims

Representations of pilgrims and of human beings in general are relatively rare in the Dakhla murals, but we found three murals with obvious representations of individual pilgrims. One of them was in Ma’sara and showed a man praying at Arafat and another standing man in *ihram* clothing. The mural bears two



Figure 13: Standing (probably praying) woman (Bashindi, 1405 AH (1985 CE)). It is one of the two representations of a woman that we found in the murals. Photo: F. Oort.

3 The Prophet's daughter Fatima is reported to have planted two palm trees in her garden, and images of her grave frequently include these palm trees. (See for instance, Porter, Abdel Haleem, Armstrong, Irwin, Kennedy & Sardar 2012: 82 [fig. 50], 105 [fig. 69]).



different dates, 1404 AH (1984 CE) and 1409 AH (1989 CE). The other mural showing representations of pilgrims was at Bashindi. It showed a standing (probably praying) woman and a standing man in *ihram* clothing (figure 13). The third showed a woman kneeling in prayer.

In addition to the representation of a pilgrim praying at Arafat, we also found a roundel suggesting a gathering of people at Arafat, the mountain itself in the background. The words *al-Hajj Arafat* ('the pilgrimage is Arafat') are inscribed in the picture. The mural was dated 1405 AH (1985 CE).

There were other representations of people connected to the pilgrimage, but these bore no connection to specific Hajj rituals. There were people leading or riding camels (see above, Camels) and people engaged in various pious activities, such as a man reading a book, probably the Qur'an; a standing man with prayer beads; and a man in traditional attire with a white cap, his hands raised in prayer.

#### 6. Prophet's *minbar*

No examples of this were found in the Dakhla murals.

#### 7. Water sellers

No examples of this were found in the Dakhla murals.



Figure 14: Abraham about to sacrifice his son and an angel bringing a ram as replacement (Bashindi, no date, probably 1980s). Photo: F. Oort



Figure 15: Mosques and minarets (Bashindi, no date). Photo: F. Oort.

## 8. Abraham's sacrifice

We recorded one representation of Abraham's sacrifice, namely in Bashindi (figure 14). No date could be found, but the mural looked fairly old, perhaps from the 1980s.

### *B. General Islamic religious motifs*

Of Campo's six sub-categories, two were found in Dakhla:

#### 1. New moon

This image was widely found, usually as an ornament on top of mosques.

#### 2. Mosques and minarets

Mosques and minarets were a ubiquitous motif, often used as a frame for the Hajj announcement, as was explained above. A spectacular case of mosques and minarets on their own was found in Bashindi (figure 15).

### *C. Egyptian culture*

The only instance in Dakhla that might possibly fit under this category was that of the coffee pot and cup found on a mural in Ma'sara (figure 16).



Figure 16: Coffee pot and cup as an invitation to enjoy the returned pilgrim's hospitality. Text: 'Drink the drinks of Hajj Abdallah Umar Abd al-Hayy.' (Ma'sara, 1403 AH (1983 CE)). Photo: F. Oort



Figure 17: Nature elements: a flower in a vase and a pigeon in a tree (Ma'sara, no date). Photo: F. Oort.

#### *D. Plants, trees, and animals.*

Only three of Campo's ten categories (category one, two and four) were found in Dakhla. As to his category three, camels, this was already discussed earlier under the Transport section. The categories found in Dakhla were:

## 1. Flowers

In Dakhla, flowers were only occasionally included in the murals. We recorded three instances, two of these showing flowers in vases (figure 17).

## 2. Trees

Palm trees: Palm trees symbolizing Medina have already been discussed above (Medina). Apart from that, palm trees, sometimes in clumps of three, were regularly used in the murals. We found seven instances. An example was a series of palm trees on top of a textual frieze.

Other trees: Three cases were recorded, one with a bird on its branches (see above; Figure 17).

## 4. Birds

Birds, usually pigeons, regularly appeared in the Dakhla murals. We found six instances. Pigeons are linked in many ways to the pious tradition in Islam, including the Meccan and Medinan sanctuaries visited during the pilgrimage.

### *E. Designs and talismanic figures*

This category of Campo's was only represented in Dakhla by decorative borders along or around written passages and iconic images. Leaf scrolls were also found occasionally. Talismanic figures were completely absent.

## **Concluding Remarks**

The inventory given above demonstrates that a number of elements present in murals elsewhere in Egypt were not found in Dakhla. We did not see any pharaonic elements. Elements connected to the dangers involved in the pilgrimage (*e.g.* soldiers and lions) were also absent. Most noteworthy was the overall absence of magic symbols such as snakes, scorpions, fishes, mermaids, hands, and eyes. Earlier researchers such as Michot and Canova have pointed out the possible function of such symbols in warding off evil, and Campo sees them as further proof that decorating the house has the function of not only sacralising the domestic space of the returning pilgrim, but also warding off harmful influences. The pilgrim's new status is likely to incite *hasad*, a widely feared source of evil, and protective measures have to be taken against it.

Yet one may argue that if warding off evil is such a prominent aspect of decorating the house, the choice of texts (Qur'anic and otherwise), would reflect this. Campo's survey of texts found on the murals, however, does not include any of the standard Qur'anic texts used for this purpose, such as the Throne verse (sura 2: 255), the last three suras of the Qur'an (*al-Ikhlās*, *al-Falaq*, and *an-Nas*), or any other text used as protection. As was said above, in Dakhla we found one instance of sura 112 (*al-Ikhlās*).

Unlike suras 113 and 114 (the *mu'awwidhatan*), however, which explicitly refer to protection from evil, *al-Ikhlās* functions widely as a pious text in general and need not be connected exclusively to warding off the evil of *hasad*. Thus, findings in Dakhla do not support the idea expressed by earlier researchers that an important aspect of the murals is their apotropaic function.

On the basis of the inventory, the following can be said about the Hajj murals of Dakhla. As was already stated, the murals are, on the whole, simple and executed at a minimum cost. During the period covered by our survey (1977–2005), notable changes could be observed, the most important of which was that announcements are getting increasingly simpler and more uniform, restricted to the announcement that the pilgrimage has been fulfilled and an image of the Ka'ba. Other figurative elements, in particular representations of human beings, were mostly found in the older murals. The most recent representation of a human being that we found dated from 1998, but most of them were some years older.

The frequency with which elements occur demonstrates that the central purpose of the murals is to announce that the religious duty of the pilgrimage has been fulfilled. All other elements, such as figural references to transport and even to visiting the Prophet's grave, are decorative extras. On about 110 images of the Ka'ba, we found less than twenty images referring to Medina. We have no way of knowing whether this reflects the actual percentage of visits to Medina, but it does not seem likely. A more probable reason might be that no extra religious prestige was gained from including it in the mural.

As to differences between locations, each village offered its own characteristic images because trends tend to be followed and probably also because the same artist is active. Noteworthy, though, was the almost complete absence of figurative images in Tineda, also in older murals. To a lesser extent, this was also the case in Qasr. In recent years, the tendency to put only sober texts with, at best, a usually highly stylised Ka'ba as illustration is clearly on the rise in most locations. It is unclear whether this is due to the increasing influence of stern orthodox Islamic views in Dakhla or if other factors play a role. The influence of orthodox Islam, indeed, manifests itself in a number of ways: new mosques, stern preachers, and the disapproval or suppression of the veneration of local saints, to name a few. Emphasis on Islamic objections to the representation of living beings, especially in connection to Hajj murals, might be part of this. Discussions about such representations, however, have been going on for many years without notable consequences for actual practice (Campo 1991: 163). One may well argue that the new trend is more likely due to modern, more urban views on the execution of announcements than to orthodox Islamic norms regarding images of people and animals. Announcements should be stylish and not contain childish drawings, which are considered *baladi*—simple and rural.

As to craftsmanship, there, too, professionalism is on the increase. Many announcements nowadays are executed by professional calligraphers, and any drawings present also look professional. A prime example of this is the case of Muhammad Salim's mural from 2005, mentioned above: the Ka'ba painting on his announcement



is, if not high art, definitely a professional piece of painting (Figure 2). Of note here is that this painting was not made on the spot, straight onto the wall of the house, but rather on a wooden board in the painter's shop and then hung above the entrance of the house. This might be taken as a new development, a step on the road to mass production of such announcements, but in fact the custom to paint on loose boards has existed in Dakhla for some time. It is mentioned by Chèvre (2000: 55), and we also saw an example in Badkhulu, dated 1424 AH (2003 CE), of a loose board put against a wall announcing an Umra performed in *Rajab* (August-September).

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## SOUVENIR, TESTIMONY, AND DEVICE FOR INSTRUCTION: LATE NINETEENTH- AND EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY PRINTED HAJJ CERTIFICATES<sup>1</sup>

*Luitgard Mols*

While preparing for the exhibition *Longing for Mecca, the Pilgrim's Journey* in 2013, the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden asked Dutch Muslims to lend Hajj souvenirs as temporary loans for display. When this selection was compared with older Mecca-related mementos from museums and private collections, both a continuation and a change in taste became visible. Cakes pressed from dust of the Prophet's tomb are clearly keepsakes of the past (Lane 1860: 262). Also absent today are the once much-cherished *kiswa* fragments, which in nineteenth-century sources were still considered presents fit for princes (Burton 1874 (3): 56) and regarded to be as powerful as written charms (Lane 1860: 261–262), but which are not sold in the Meccan markets anymore. Flasks with Zamzam water, however, are still as popular as they were in the past.<sup>2</sup> Depictions of the Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina also enjoy continued popularity.<sup>3</sup> Nowadays, the sanctuaries are frequently represented on prayer rugs and executed in miniature three-dimensional models, but in the past their images were regularly featured on Hajj certificates (figure 1).

Such pilgrim certificates were one of few types of mementos of Mecca that were personalised by adding the name of the *hajji* to them.<sup>4</sup> This type of souvenir was more than a reminder of the ritual: it acted as testimony of the accomplishment of the Hajj. Among the late nineteenth-century certificates were colourful prints with exuberant iconographic cycles that also attracted the attention of envoys working at the Dutch consulate in Jeddah. In 1886 Envoy J.A. de Vicq donated two colourful proofs of pilgrimage to the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. In 1892 his successor Henri Spakler (1861–after 1925)

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1 I would like to thank Arnoud Vrolijk and Ulrich Marzolph for their useful comments regarding the certificates.

2 For insights in contemporary Hajj and Umra souvenirs, see Khan 2013.

3 The disguised French pilgrim Léon Roches, who visited Mecca in 1841, observed: 'At the exit of the mosque there are a great many shops where are sold the remnants of the hangings of the Ka'ba, which are much in demand by the pilgrims. Also on sale are representations of the mosques and holy places of Mecca and Medina. There is no pilgrim, however poor, who does not bring his family and friends a pious souvenir of his pilgrimage.' (Roches 1904: 307)

4 During his stay in Mecca in 1885, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje observed that Zamzamis, those responsible for the distribution of Zamzam water in the Great Mosque of Mecca, also personalised the earthenware jugs (*dorags*) by inscribing them with the name of the customer. See Witkam 2007: 214.



Figure 1: A colourful late nineteenth-century pilgrim certificate. Collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden. Inv. nr. 870-24.

gave four specimens to the museum, two of which contain text only. Another certificate was added to the same museum collection in 1894 by Henricus Oort (1836-1927), a professor of theology at Leiden University. One certificate that represents Medina (inv. nr. plano 53 F 1, no. 58) exclusively came into the oriental collections of Leiden University in the first half of the twentieth century and had been part of the collection of professor of ethnology B.J.O. Schrieke (1890-1945) (Witkam 2002: 233). Another, more damaged, specimen without an inventory number was part of the collection of the Oosters Instituut, which was founded in 1927 by professor Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) and transferred to the Leiden University collections in 1995 or 1996. It probably once belonged to Snouck Hurgronje's private collection.<sup>5</sup>

The tradition of Hajj certificates goes back to the eleventh century and continued at least through the first half of the twentieth century. This chapter studies ten mostly late-nineteenth-century printed certificates from the collections of the National Museum of Ethnology, the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, and the collections of Leiden University. Three of these are simple text-only specimens that were issued by a Meccan imam. The other seven boast an extensive illustrated cycle that exceeds the limits of Hajj rites. This raises the question of whether these documents were intended solely as a testimony of Islamic pilgrimage. After a discussion of these two separate text-only and pictorial categories, attention will be focused on possible models and their legacy.

<sup>5</sup> I would like to thank Arnoud Vrolijk, Curator of Oriental Manuscripts and Rare Books at Leiden University, for sharing the information about the provenance of the certificate with me.

## Text-Only Hajj Certificates

The two simple text-only Hajj documents in the National Museum of Ethnology collection are block printed in black on white paper and mention the accomplishment of the pilgrimage to the 'Revered House of God' (*Bayt Allah al-Sharif*) and the visit to the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. On the oldest two (inv. nr. 870-23, H 21 x W 12.2 cm), a preprinted text mentions the name of the official issuer, Ahmad Abd Allah ibn Mustafa, the Shafi'ite *faqih* and imam of the sacred precinct in Mecca (figure 2).

His personal seal in the centre authenticates the document. The open blanks were filled in by hand: the date 26 Dhu al-Hijja 1308 (2 August 1891 CE) was added, as were the names of the pilgrims Muhammad Tayyib Kadu and Maryam Kadu (respectively), who were most probably a husband and wife from Indonesia. The date of issue, approximately two weeks after the pilgrimage of 1891 had finished, suggests that the *hajjis* had either stayed on in Mecca or that they paid a visit to the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina before obtaining their certificate in Mecca.

The Tropenmuseum specimen (inv. nr. A-6481, H 28,6 x W 20 cm), which was issued in 1331 AH (1913 CE), contains more text in addition to some floral decoration at the top (figure 3). Besides religious text, such as the *basmala* and references to God, the Prophet Muhammad, and *Hadith*, it features a preprinted medallion with the name of the issuer, Muhammad Yassin, the imam of the Shafi'ite legal school and a teacher in the *Haram al-Sharif* in Mecca, and son of the deceased Shaykh Muhammad al-Basyuni. To the preprinted testimony in the lower half, the year 1331 has been added in handwriting, followed by the name of the *hajji*, Abd al-Ghani, who was probably from Jambi (nowadays called Jambi, a city and province of Sumatra). As no other text-only Hajj certificates from between 1891 and 1913 are (yet) known to me from other collections, it is unclear at what point the layout of this category of text-only certificates changed, or whether consecutive *faqihs* ordered new designs when they accepted the office of imam in the *Haram al-Sharif* in Mecca. And, it would be interesting to know whether the imams of the three other schools of Islamic law (the Hanbali, the Hanafi, and the Maliki) also issued certificates to their followers who had performed the Hajj.

Assuming that such formal documentary proof of Hajj completion would have been of great importance to the holder, it is remarkable that the two certificates that are dated August 1891 were offered to the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology only eight months after their issue. They were donated on 29 March 1892 by the Dutch Envoy to Jeddah Henri Spakler as part of a larger gift of 26 mostly ethnographic objects. In a letter to the museum dated 27 March 1892 Spakler explains that the named pilgrims had died in Jeddah. He added that these documents contained the new names given to the pilgrims after their accomplishment of the Hajj rites. These pilgrim certificates

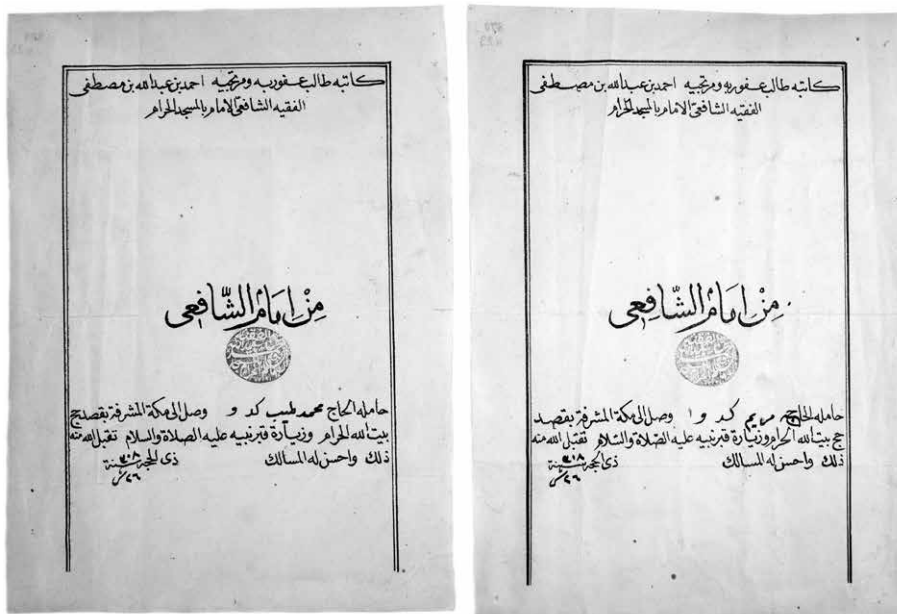
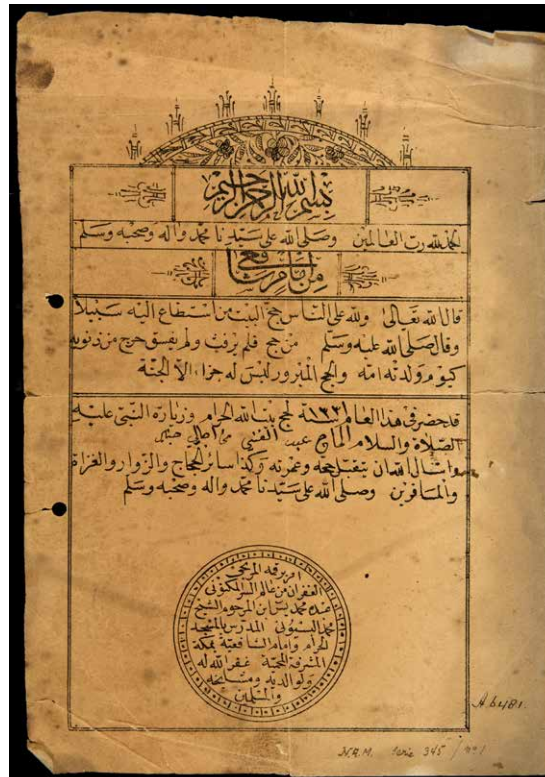


Figure 2: Two black-and-white, text-only pilgrim certificates issued by the Shafi'ite imam in 1891. Collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden. Inv. nr. 870-23.

Figure 3: A black-and-white, text-only pilgrim certificate issued by the Shafi'ite imam in 1913. Collection of Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. Inv. nr. A-6481.



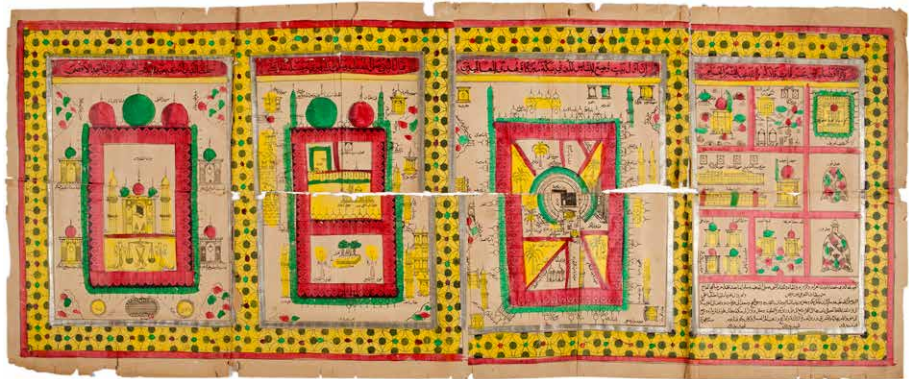


Figure 4: Overview of the four scenes of pilgrim certificate inv. nr. 543-12.

may have reached Spakler because contact between Indonesian pilgrims and the Dutch consulate was mandatory at that time. In order to regulate, facilitate, and supervise the Hajj of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, Indonesian Muslims had to acquire a travel pass in Indonesia from the colonial authorities. A complete travel pass issued in 1928, with text in Dutch and Malay, stipulates that pilgrims had to report to the Dutch consulate in Jeddah within 24 hours of arrival in Jeddah port (on penalty of a maximum 25-guilder fine or detention for a maximum of six days) and after completing the Hajj, when ready for departure.<sup>6</sup>

### Pictorial Hajj Certificates

The second category of late nineteenth-century Hajj certificates consists of seven colourful figurative prints. The two specimens in the oriental collection of Leiden University focus only on Medina. One (inv. nr. plano 53 F 1, no. 58) was probably brought from Indonesia and was part of a collection of lithographs of professor of Ethnology B.J.O Schrieke (1890-1945). It was published by Jan Just Witkam (Witkam 2002: 230-233). The other was part of the Oosters Instituut collection and transferred to the Leiden University collections in 1995 or 1996. Five other certificates show an ensemble of multiple holy sites of Islamic pilgrimage (collection of the National Museum of Ethnology). The latter were donated to the museum in 1886 (inv. nrs. 543-11 and 543-12), 1892 (inv. nr. 870-24), 1894 (inv. nr. 1019-2), and 2013 (inv. nr. Q2014-3). So far two other comparable pictorial, composite specimens have been published, the earliest in 1900 by Samuel Zwemer who remarked that it 'is looked upon by Moslems as practically a passport to heaven' (Zwemer 1900: 40, Pls. I-IV). Almost a century

<sup>6</sup> Intern Inge van Ruiten is studying the travel-pass booklet, in A5 format and consisting of eleven pages, in detail. This is part of her research on an archive, housed in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, that contains more than 10,000 loose pages with personal details of Indonesian pilgrims that were torn from travel passes in the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah and kept there.

later, Jan Hjärpe published a second certificate that Erling Eidem, a professor of the New Testament, had donated to the University of Lund, Sweden, in 1931 (Hjärpe 1998). These composite certificates all use the same layout and iconography, but they differ from one another in style, identifying labels, and details of design.

### *Layout and iconography*

When complete, the composite certificates consist of two horizontal sheets that were glued together on a vertical axis.<sup>7</sup> Each sheet contains two separate scenes that should be read and looked at from right to left (figure 4). The right side starts with a composite scene of, among others, Arafat, Mina, and Muzdalifa, followed by three separate scenes of the *Haram al-Sharif* in Mecca, the mosque-mausoleum of the Prophet in Medina, and the sanctuary in Jerusalem (for a full description of the scenes and identifying labels of certificate with inv. nr. 543-12, see Appendix). The composite certificates are all framed with a yellow border of three centimetres which is decorated with intersecting circles with dots at their cores.<sup>8</sup> The different sizes of all composite certificates (inv. nr. 543-11: H 41.5 x W 53.2 cm; inv. nr. 543-12: H 45.3 x W 109 cm; inv. nr. 870-24: H 44 x W 110.2 cm; inv. nr. 1019-2: H 28.2 x W 85.5 cm; inv. nr. Q 2014-3: H 53.8 x W 118.9 cm) indicate that different printing stones were used. On the largest certificate, inv. nr. Q 2014-3, only the first three scenes are present. Had this document been complete, the total width would amount to approximately 154 cm. Even within a single certificate, the width of the different printing blocks used was not standardised. In all five specimens, the Mecca scene was given prime visibility, being most spacious with a width varying between 21.8 cm (inv. nr. 1019-2) and 41.4 cm (inv. nr. Q2014-3). Most narrow is the composite scene of Arafat, Mina and Muzdalifa, the width of which varies between 16.5 cm (inv. nr. 1019-2) and 36 cm (inv. nr. Q 2014-3). This seemingly contradicts the importance implied by it being the first scene represented on these Hajj documents.

Although the certificates vary in some detail, mostly with respect to their identifying labels, they share the same layout of scenes. The first composite scene, which is crowned with Qur'anic verse 2: 198 that refers to the rite at Arafat, illustrates the prime Hajj locations. These relate to the rites of standing (*wuquf*) at Mount Arafat, the collecting of pebbles at Muzdalifa, and the stoning of the pillars at Mina. The illustration of the place where Abraham nearly sacrificed his son Ishmael refers to and symbolises the *Eid al-Adha*. These Hajj-

7 Although certificate inv. nr. Q2014-3 consists of two sheets, the left half of the left sheet is missing. Certificate inv. nr. 543-11 is also incomplete, consisting of a single sheet only.

8 All certificates have a similar border, except for document inv. nr. Q2014-3, in which the painter has used different colours to distinguish quatrefoils within these intersecting lines of the circles. In the Medina certificate, inv. nr. Plano 53 F 1, no. 58 of the oriental collections of Leiden University, rosettes replace the dots at the core of the circles.



related scenes are combined with locations or landscapes that refer to events that relate to the beginnings of Islam, such as Nur Mountain (where, according to Islamic tradition, Muhammad received his first revelations in the cave of Hira) and Thawr Mountain (where Muhammad and Abu Bakr took refuge from the Quraish on their way from Mecca to Medina), as well as places associated with the first Muslims, such as the Mosque of Taif (with the tomb of Muhammad's cousin Abdullah ibn Abbas) and the birthplaces of Muhammad, his daughter Fatima, his nephew and son-in-law Ali, and the first caliph Abu Bakr. These places were not strictly part of the Hajj rites, but were often visited by pilgrims voluntarily. In addition, more-mundane topics, such as trading as an inseparable part of pilgrimage (symbolised by the markets of Mina) and the living conditions of pilgrims (represented by tents of various shapes) are represented.

In the oblong band below this first scene, a preprinted testimony lists the different rites of the Hajj. Blanks to be filled in by hand were left open for the name of the pilgrim, the name of one of five locations where the pilgrim was required to change into *ihram* dress (*miqat*), and the date at which the rite of *wuquf* took place. The latter refers to the standing and praying from midday to sunset on or near Mount Arafat, which is considered the most important rite of the Hajj. This is followed by blanks for the names of witnesses. The number of witnesses does not seem to have been prescribed, as it varies from three to six. On none of the certificates were the blanks filled in, leaving room for speculation as to the purpose for which they were bought. Were they specifically ordered by Dutch envoys and therefore not used as testimony, or did some pilgrims also buy them solely for their attractive overview of the rites of the Hajj and Islamic history? The latter is suggested by the occurrence of a fragment of a comparable figurative Hajj-certificate without the names of the *hajji* or witnesses, which was folded between the binding and the codex in a late-nineteenth-century Qur'an from Indonesia in the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology (inv. nr. 03-240).<sup>9</sup>

The second scene contains a combined plan and elevation of the Great Mosque of Mecca with the Ka'ba in its centre. Some of the buildings that immediately surround the Ka'ba, such as the standing place of Abraham and the Zamzam well, reflect the rites of the Hajj and the Umra, in this case the praying at the place commemorating Abraham as founder and builder of the Ka'ba and the drinking of water from the source that God allowed to spring up to quench the thirst of Ishmael. The rite of *sa'i*, or 'hurrying', that marks Hagar's search for water for her son Ishmael between the hillocks of Safa and Marwa is indicated outside the mosque proper with the labels 'This is Safa', 'This is Marwa', and 'This is the market where *sa'i* is performed'. The drawing also gives clear information about the composite elements of the mosque, which are, in

9 The collection history of this Qur'an with inv. nr. 03-240 is unfortunately unknown for the manuscript was found in the museum's storeroom in the 1990's without an accession number.



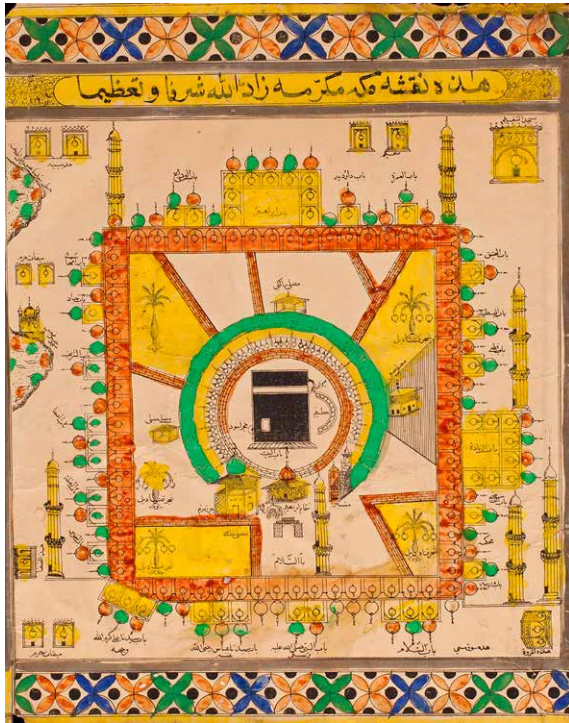


Figure 5: Depiction of the Ka'ba and the Haram al-Sharif on certificate inv. nr. Q2014-3.

most cases, labelled. Names of twenty doors, eight pathways in the courtyard, and additional buildings surrounding the Ka'ba, such as the pulpit (*minbar*), the staircase used to enter the interior of the Ka'ba, and the buildings for the imams of the four Islamic rites, facilitate identification. The Ka'ba, in some certificates marked 'the House of God', is depicted with the rain spout, the Black Stone, and the *kiswa*, its curtain. Only the latter has no identifying label, but it is recognizable by the white oblong band above and the white door or door curtain below (figure 5).

Outside the mosque two landmarks indicate *miqat*, a place of boundary, which cannot be entered without *ihram* clothing. One is the mosque of Tan'im, seven-and-a-half kilometres from Mecca, where pilgrims change into *ihram* dress when they intend to perform the Umra, the lesser pilgrimage, at any time of the year (Wensinck 1971: 1052-1053). The other, which is labelled *Miqat Haram*, indicates the location where people who live in Mecca and want to perform the Hajj should enter into pilgrim's dress.

The third scene portrays the Mosque of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina, with labels identifying specific minarets, exterior doors, and domes. The mosque is divided into three parts: an upper zone which contains a drawing of the mausoleum room with its three cenotaphs, none of which labelled; a central zone with a *minbar* and a *mihrab*, identified as that of caliph Uthman, and two praying places for the Shafi'ite and the Hanafite imam; and a lower part with candelabras labelled as 'trees of lamps' and a drawing of the garden (figure 6).

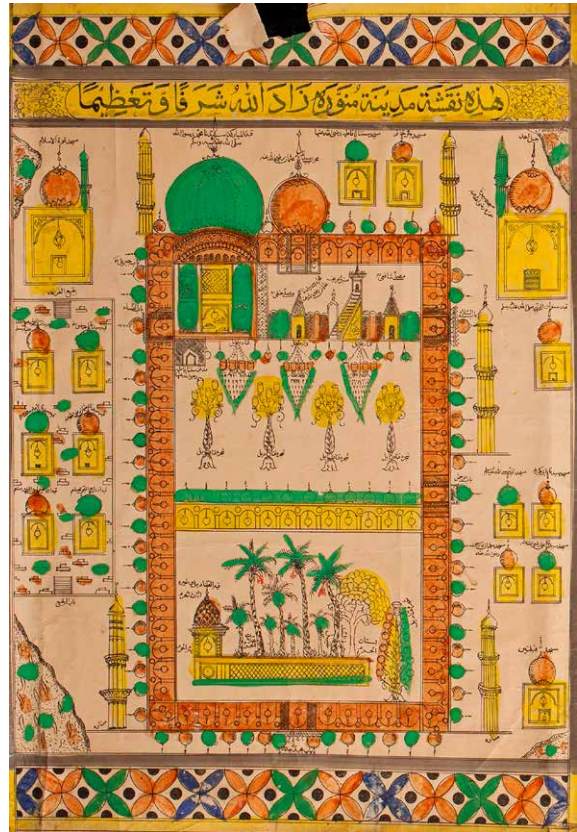


Figure 6: The Prophet's Mosque on certificate inv. nr. Q2014-3.

Outside the mosque on the left, the Baqi'a cemetery is depicted, with labelled shrines for the daughters and wives of the Prophet, which were popular visiting places for pilgrims. Also represented are a variety of mosques associated with early male Muslims, such as Hamza (an uncle of the Prophet Muhammad), Abu Bakr, and Ali. Also included are locations that refer to important events in early Islam, such as the mosque of the two directions of prayers (*al-Qiblatayn*), which commemorates the change of the direction of prayer from Jerusalem to Mecca (Qur'an 2: 144), and the mountain Uhud, where the Prophet Muhammad found refuge against the Meccans in 625 during the battle of Uhud. The two certificates from the oriental collections of Leiden University, which represent Medina only (i.e. they do not display composite images), follow this layout but include, at the base, a preprinted testimony of the visit to the mosque. This refers to the visit of the grave of the Prophet, his daughter Fatima, and the deceased at the Baqi'a cemetery close by. Interestingly, those certificates are intended as proof that the rites were performed by a pilgrim as a replacement for somebody else, as the text refers to a visit by proxy. This specific use is not mentioned in the testimony of the composite certificates.

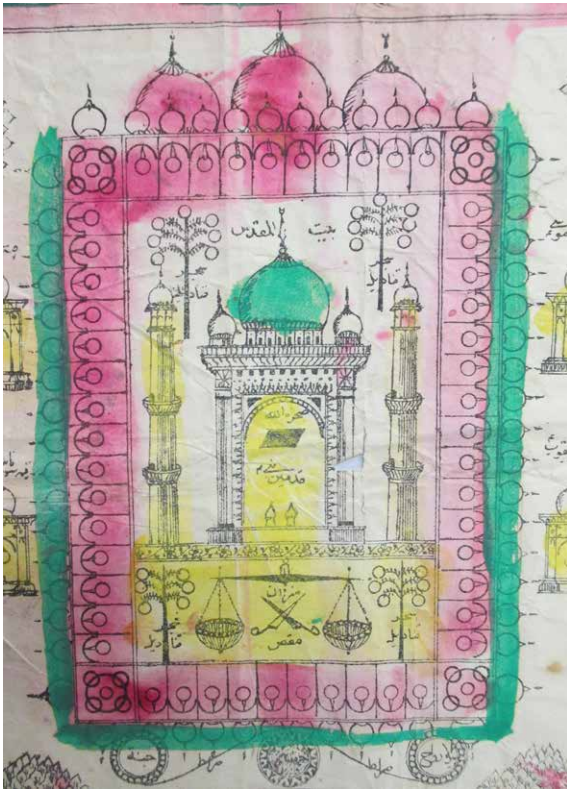


Figure 7: The Day of Judgement is symbolised by references to the balance, the well of souls (where the Prophet Muhammad will gather his community), hell, and heaven in the lower part of certificate inv. nr. 1019-2.

The fourth scene of the composite certificates shows the *Haram al-Sharif* in Jerusalem as an enclosure with domed arcades, inside of which is a domed mosque with two minarets. It represents the Temple Mount that houses both the al-Aqsa mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Under the domed area, the suspended rock and two imprints of the feet of the Prophet are drawn and labelled. They refer to the location from where Muhammad ascended during his miraculous visit to heaven. The Day of Judgement is symbolised by a balance for weighing the deeds of man, scissors, and three roundels (figure 7).

The roundels are labelled from right to left as the well of souls, hell, and heaven and are connected by a thin line called the path (*al-sirat*). In Islamic belief, the *haram* area of Jerusalem is believed to be the site of the resurrection and the Day of Judgement. And finally, as a reference to the chain of prophets that came before Muhammad, the labelled shrines of Moses, David, Solomon, and Jacob are pictured to the sides of the enclosure.

All in all, the function of these certificates goes beyond the simple representation of Hajj-related sites and testimony of having performed the Hajj. Not only are Medina and Jerusalem pictorially included as two other major sites of Muslim pilgrimage, but the numerous labelled mosques, shrines, and landscapes that refer to family members of the Prophet and early Muslims evoke important and even pivotal events in early Islam. They provide a visual landscape for instruction



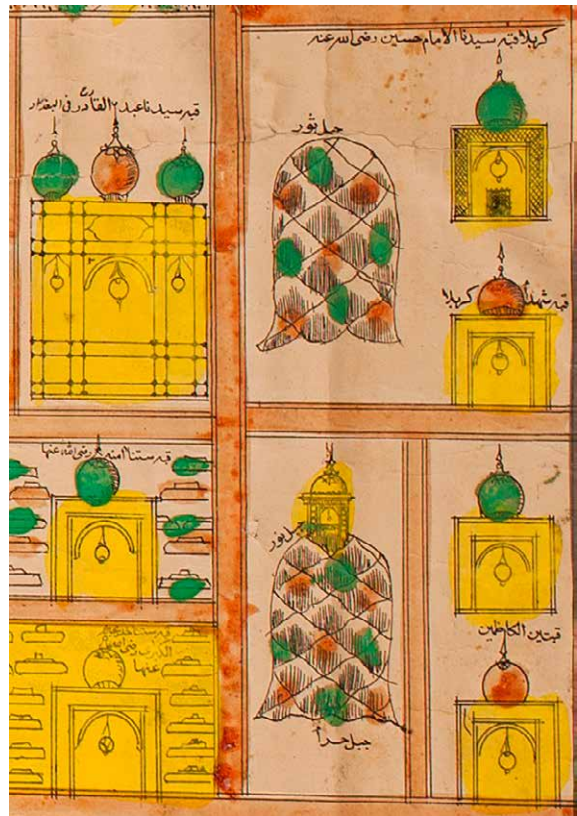


Figure 8: Shi'ite shrines  
in Kerbala, Baghdad, and  
Kazimain on certificate inv. nr.  
Q2014-3.

on Islamic religion and early history. Simultaneously, these certificates represent Islam in its early beginning and rise up to the Day of Judgement. These two ends of the spectrum are also part of the Hajj. For individual Muslim pilgrims, the end is symbolised by the shedding of sins accumulated during life during the *wuquf* ritual at Arafat, while the new beginning is symbolised by being born again as innocent as a newborn baby, a theme that is discussed in detail in Pnina Werbner's chapter in this volume. The extensive pictorial panorama represented on these certificates and their size could have made them suitable resources for instruction to small groups.

### *Stylistic features*

In general, the certificates have an identical composition and feature similar scenes. Minor variations in the choice of identifying labels, however, imply diverse audiences. In certificate inv. nr. Q2014-3, five Shi'ite shrines in current-day Iraq are added in the first scene, suggesting that the artist had a Shi'ite clientele in mind (figure 8). Labelled are shrines in Kerbala (that of Husayn, the grandson of Muhammad, and the [unspecified] martyrs of Kerbala) and in Baghdad (the mausoleum of Hanbali jurist and Sufi Abd al-Qadir al-Baghdadi).

Besides this, two shrines in Kazimain are included that refer, in all probability, to the tombs of the seventh and ninth Shi'ite imams, Musa al-Kazim and Muhammad al-Taqi.<sup>10</sup> Drawings of identical buildings are also included in the same location on certificate inv. nr. 1019-2, but, with the exception of the shrine of Abd al-Qadir al-Baghdadi, they have no identifying labels. The absence of labels could suggest that the Shi'ite subtext was omitted deliberately to make it better suited again for Sunni pilgrims, were it not for the fact that this certificate also lacks identifying labels for the birthplaces of the Prophet, Ali, Fatima, and Abu Bakr, as well as a reference to the place that commemorates Abraham's near-sacrifice of Ishmael. Was the artist simply inaccurate, or did he have problems deciphering the identifying legends of the model certificate that he might have used? Whatever may be the case, the pictorial cycle of document inv. nr. Q2014-3 shows that, by small interventions, certificates could be adjusted to the needs and wishes of different branches of Islam. However, a tradition of overtly Shi'ite pilgrimage scrolls also existed, as Ulrich Marzolph has shown in his comprehensive analysis of a nineteenth-century Qajar specimen (Marzolph 2013; 2014).<sup>11</sup> His example included text and images referring to a multitude of Shi'ite places of pilgrimage in Iraq and Iran, in addition to locations associated with the Hajj.

The style of the detailed drawings is linear and blends two-dimensional and three-dimensional perspectives. The exterior of smaller buildings, depicted as elevations with three-dimensional features such as steps, gabled roofs, and minarets, is combined with interior views suggested by the presence of lamps. For the Great Mosques in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, ground plans are combined with elevations. To these some three-dimensional features were added, such as the *minbar* and Zamzam building in Mecca, the *minbar* and garden in Medina, and the balance and minarets in Jerusalem. Some specimens, such as document inv. nr. Q2014-3 and the Medina certificates of the oriental collections of Leiden University, show a more realistic rendering of space through the application of double lines for the columns that support the arches and surround the courtyard in the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina. The detailed drawings contrast, however, with the coarse and unsystematic way in which watercolours in yellow, reddish-pink, green, and sometimes blue were applied.

Where labels are absent, it is difficult to identify types of buildings, let alone recognise specific places of commemoration, as artists chose a single form for a variety of buildings. Domed rectangles are labelled either as mosques, shrines, or as buildings commemorating the birthplace of an important figure. A simple rectangle with a hanging lamp is identified as a house, mosque, or building that commemorates a sacrifice. This need not simply be explained as a lack of experience on the part of the painter, but could well have approached reality.

10 These additions are also found on a certificate published in Zwemer 1900: pl. I.

11 For another overtly, eighteenth-century Shi'ite pilgrim scroll painting from the collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, inv. nr. EEa.1, see Mols & Shatanawi 2014: 130-131.

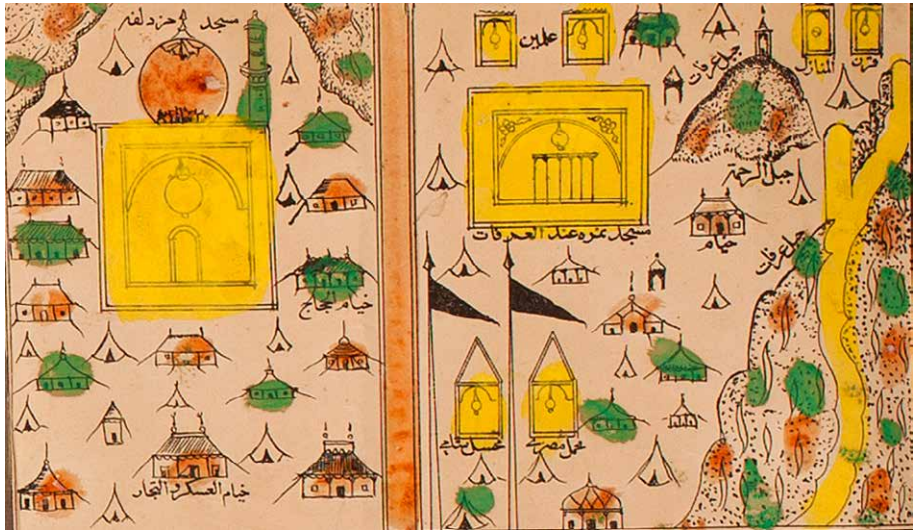


Figure 9: Various shapes and sizes of tents on certificate inv. nr. Q2014-3.

The opposite can also be observed: different shapes define mosques. They are represented as simple rectangles with a hanging lamp, domed rectangular buildings with a minaret topped with a finial, or as a square plan with domed arcades. That this variety of shapes might have been meaningful to pilgrims at the end of the nineteenth century and possibly pointed to a different function or status of these buildings should not be dismissed.

In the case of the rendered tents, the identifying labels serve as evidence that the diversity in shapes and sizes points to different functions (figure 9). The labels of tents adjacent to the plain and mountain of Arafat and near the mosque of Muzdalifa on certificate Q2014-3 distinguish between tents of the pilgrims (*khiyam al-hujjaj*) and those of the troops and the traders (*khiyam al-askar wal-tujjar*). On certificates inv. nrs. 543-11 and 543-12, tents of pilgrims (*hujjaj*) and of people of the lowest means (*abwash*) were identified. All these different groups formed part of the annual Hajj caravans, a variety that was observed in 1905 by eyewitness and pilgrim Hadji Khan when he gazed down on the plain of Arafat:

Under the ruddy glare of the torches and the yellow light of the lanterns, the tents of the faithful stood out against the darkness beyond. The only regularly pitched camps were those of the soldiery, the Sherif and the other dignitaries of the Hajj; all of these occupied the space on the left-hand side of the observer; while in the foreground, to the right, as well as to the left, the tents of the Syrian and the Egyptian caravans were conspicuous; and most of these were either circular or elliptical in shape and of considerable

size, sometimes as many as twenty pilgrims, and never less than ten, sleeping in a single tent. (Hadji Khan & W. Sparroy 1905: 220).

People are absent in all scenes, but their presence is symbolised on the one hand by the multitude of tents, houses, and market buildings and, on the other hand, by the ceremonial pyramidal palanquins, called *mahmals*. The latter symbolise both the authority of the sultan, who had the suzerainty over the Holy Cities, and the Egyptian and Syrian Hajj caravans, which consisted of thousands of pilgrims. The absence of rendered people mirrors the tradition of images of the holy sites in pilgrim manuals like the *Futuh al-Haramain*, prayer books like the *Dala'il al-Khayrat*, and Ka'ba tiles that depict the sanctuaries and landscapes only.<sup>12</sup> They may share among each other the purpose of pious instruction. These certificates may have been intended for a religious space where representations of human beings were generally prohibited, as were the Ka'ba tiles set in walls of mosques. Pilgrims circumambulating the Ka'ba in miniatures in Persian and Ottoman histories, prose, and poetry signify, however, the existence of a tradition that was open to depicting human beings in the sanctuary of Mecca.<sup>13</sup> This is also true for murals that adorn the exterior and interior walls of the homes of returning pilgrims in Egypt, although human representations are scarce on murals in the oasis of Dakhla, as Remke Kruk and Frans Oort observed in their chapter in this volume.

## Models

The printed Hajj testimonies discussed in the previous section are part of a long-standing tradition in drawn and (block-)printed Hajj certificates that goes back as far as the eleventh century. The largest corpus of early specimens studied so far consists of more than 150 near-complete and fragmentary certificates that were found in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus after the devastating fire of 1893 (Sourdel & Sourdel-Thomine 2006; Aksoy & Milstein 2000). These consist mostly of thirteenth-century certificates. The finding place corresponds with the observation of Frenchman Jean Chardin (1643–1713), travelling in Persia in the 1660s and 1670s, that certificates were either kept at home as objects of

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12 An exception are the miniatures with integrated people from the *Futuh al-Haramain* by Muhyi al-Din Lari, in the oriental collections of Leiden University, inv. nr. Or 11.079, dated 1603 CE.

13 Bouffard 2014: 107, 133.

piety of those registered, or deposited in mosques or hung on mosque walls.<sup>14</sup> Visibility in a religious space perhaps explains the dimensions of the documents, the length of which could exceed two metres.

Already in this early tradition, both text-only and pictorial certificates existed side by side. Although both were at first calligraphed and painted by hand, already in the early thirteenth century the craftsmen increasingly made use of block printing to apply scenes and text more quickly. The text-only testimonies often included calligraphy in different sizes and styles and oblong floral or geometric illuminations that are identical to chapter headings in Qur'ans (Sourdel & Sourdel-Thomine 2006: pls. XXX, XXXI). The iconographic cycle of the medieval pictorial documents starts with depictions of Mount Arafat, the Mosque of Muzdalifa, the pillars of Mina, and the Khayf Mosque. Then follows the Ka'ba in Mecca with adjacent buildings like the Zamzam building, the Standing Place of Abraham, and Safa and Marwa. The final two drawings consist of the tomb chamber in Medina and Jerusalem, symbolised by, among others, a dome, minarets, and Muhammad's footprints on the rock in Jerusalem.

A comparison between the medieval and the late-nineteenth-century documents shows both a continuation of tradition and several departures from it. The use of printing-techniques in both suggests they were in great demand in both periods. The discrepancy between the minute rendering of the detailed drawings and the coarse way in which colour was applied on specimens from both groups implies that, in both periods, specialists and non-specialists were responsible for the end result. Both used glue for pasting the sheets together, but the medieval ones were assembled vertically, while the nineteenth-century ones were connected horizontally. Although witnesses were required in both traditions, the medieval certificates put more emphasis on their legitimacy. For example, there was a precondition that the witness know the pilgrim in name and person. However, the medieval text-only specimens did not require authentication of the document by an official imam, as was the case with the nineteenth-century text-only examples.

The practice of starting the iconographic cycle with Arafat and ending it with Jerusalem was already well established in medieval certificates. But the elements that symbolise Jerusalem in the medieval repertoire did not yet contain motifs that refer to the Day of Judgement.<sup>15</sup> Although certificates from both periods use identifying labels, the labelling of the late-nineteenth-century certificates is

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14 Chardin mentions the certificates twice: 'Quelque fois les pèlerins musulmans rapportent avec eux une attestation des lieux qu'ils ont visités: cette attestation s'appelle livre du pèlerinage (ziyarat name). Ils la regardent comme un monument précieux de leur piété, et à leur retour ils la déposent chez eux ou la suspendent au murs des mosquées' (Reinaud 1828 (2): 224); and 'Ces attestations se déposent dans les mosquées, ou sont conservées dans la famille, devenant un monument précieux de la piété des personnes qui y sont nommées'. (Reinaud 1828 (2): 310-311).

15 The symbol of the balance does, however, surface on a hand-painted certificate of the sanctuary at Jerusalem in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic art, inv. nr. MSS 745.7 and illustrated in Porter (2012: 68).



far more extensive. Also the scope of topics is broader in the later period, ranging from buildings associated with the Prophet's family, his first companions, and specific events in early Islam to mundane matters such as tents. Irrespective of the commonalities between the two detailed pictorial practices, so far no extant certificates have surfaced from the sixteenth to early nineteenth century that give testimony of a direct continuation of the tradition. Although large, hand-painted Hajj certificates with representations of the sanctuaries in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem drawn by Indian painters are known from this intervening period, their divergent composition and style provides no evidence that they served as the intermediary stage and continuation of the custom.<sup>16</sup> But the craftsmen of the certificates may have been inspired by other seventeenth-century sources, such as pilgrim manuals like the *Futuh al-Haramain* by Muhyi-i Din Lari, with its description of the Holy Cities and the rites of the Hajj. Especially the rendering of Mount Arafat, tents, and *mahmals* in these miniatures show a remarkable overlap with the certificates (Porter 2012: 47; 2013: 200, pl. 6).

## Legacy

The late-nineteenth-century pictorial tradition took on a different shape in the first half of the twentieth century. The popularity of colourful certificates of smaller size with a more limited iconography and style increased, as shown by a body of extant certificates in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art in London (inv. nrs. ARC. ct 0004 to ARC. ct 0044). Craftsmen still combined the three sanctuaries in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in one certificate, but if they included references to Hajj-related locations such as Arafat and Mina or to shrines and birthplaces of family-members of the Prophet Muhammad, these were reduced to the margin and set in small vignettes. Simultaneously, the taste for certificates with a single sanctuary grew. Some of these contain small inserts with depictions of the mountain at Arafat, the pillars at Mina, the Zamzam well, Safa and Marwa, and tents. New was the inclusion of steamships, which symbolise the then-modern mode of transport that brought thousands of Indonesian and Indian pilgrims to Mecca annually (Khalili Collection, inv. nrs. ARC. ct 0005, ARC. ct 0013, ARC. ct 0014, and ARC. ct 0034, among others) (figure 10).

This new style boasts three-dimensionality and the inclusion of the city landscape behind the sanctuaries. For this, the craftsmen used photographs of the sanctuaries as models. These photographs even acted themselves as certificates (Khalili Collection, inv. nrs. ARC. ct 0027, ARC. ct 0032). Various publishing

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<sup>16</sup> For hand-painted Hajj certificates by proxy from the eighteenth century with single representations of the Great Mosque of Mecca, the Prophet's Mosque at Medina, and the sanctuary at Jerusalem, see Porter 2012: 33, 38, 68, 105. For collections, see the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic art, London, inv. nrs. MSS 745.1, MSS 745.2 and MSS 745.7 and the Aga Khan Collection, Geneva, inv. nr. HIL 335/1-204.

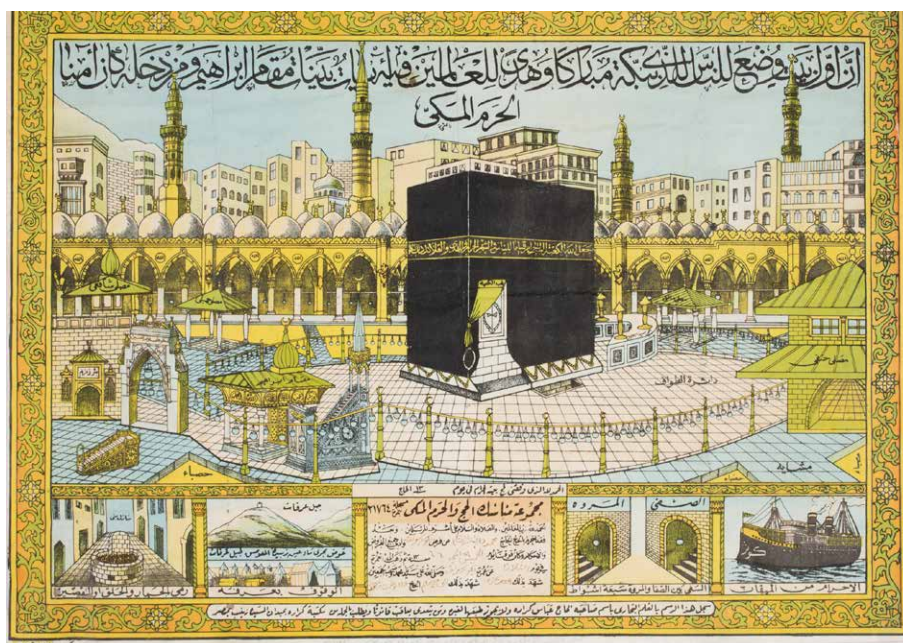


Figure 10. The addition of a steamship in the lower right-hand corner on a twentieth-century certificate in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art in London, inv. nr. ARC. ct 0014. © Nour Foundation. Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust.

and distribution houses active in Cairo, Mecca, and Medina added their names and addresses, as did a craftsman, the Egyptian al-Hajj Abbas Karara. The plethora of different designs and publishing houses testifies to the increasing importance of certificates as a commercial commodity in this period. As only some of the certificates from the Khalili collection include the hand-written addition of the pilgrim's name, one must assume that they were used both as testimony and simply as souvenir.

Hajj-certificates were part of a larger body of religious images that were reprinted in the second half of the twentieth century. These were sold not only in Mecca and Medina, but also in the Islamic world at large (Puin 2008 (3): 925–940). Those images probably lost their function as certificates. Instead, these reprints were hung on the walls of houses, mosques, and *madrasas* as a visual reminder of the holy sites of Islam.

## Conclusion

The late-nineteenth-century pilgrim certificates are part of a long tradition of printed testimonies of the Hajj and individualised physical mementos of Muslim pilgrimage. The technique of using lithography as a printing technique ensured easy reproduction and decreased production costs. Both text-only and pictorial

categories would have had their own clientele: text-only certificates might have been favoured by poorer pilgrims or by those who sought the authentication of an official issuer, i.e. the (Shafi'ite) imam of the Great Mosque. Also, their austerity might have appealed to Muslims who were against depicting the holy sites of Islam. For those who chose a pictorial certificate, a testimony was combined with a visual reminder of the holy places of Islam. The images could stimulate the reliving of Hajj experiences and engagement with the Islamic faith. For those that had not yet performed the Hajj, they could instigate a longing to do so. As with the Hajj murals on the houses of returning pilgrims in Egypt, the certificates advertised the accomplishment of the Hajj to family, friends, and neighbours. The wide scope of depicted buildings of commemoration, extending far beyond the rites of the Hajj, made these certificates suitable for instruction about the Hajj and Islam at home. The first half of the twentieth century witnessed the commercialisation of the production and distribution of Hajj certificates, in which local and international publishing houses were involved. And, though the need for a printed pictorial testimony of the Hajj is reduced to almost zero in this age of tablets and smartphones, Hajj certificates can still be purchased—even via the Internet. In September 2014 the American Publishing company Famaco offered a framed *Hajj Mabruur Commemorative Certificate*, personalized with the name of the pilgrim and his or her guide or imam, and date of pilgrimage.<sup>17</sup>

### **Appendix 1: Description of Hajj Certificate inv. nr. 543-12<sup>18</sup>**

Hajj certificate inv. nr. 543-12 is dateable between 1882 and 1886, the latter being the year of its registration in the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology. The year 1882 CE is derived from the incomplete preprinted *hijriyya* date 130 that contains the century and the decade only. To this, the final cipher should be added by hand. This corresponds with years 1882 and 1892 in the Gregorian calendar. The certificate's measurements are: H 45.3 x W 109 cm. The horizontal certificate is composed of two sheets that are pasted on top of each other on a vertical axis. The black-and-white print is randomly painted with green, pink, and yellow colours. Four different composite scenes are represented that have to be read from right to left. The scenes are surrounded by a border of intersecting circles with dots at their centres. This border is painted yellow with red and pink dots. What follows is a description of these scenes with the exact rendering of the Arabic identifying labels as used on the certificate in parentheses.

17 See at <http://www.famacopublishers.com/index1.html?11.html&1>.

18 Hjärpe (1998) also described a comparable pilgrim certificate, now part of the collection of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Lund. The Lund certificate differs in details from the Leiden certificates, as do some of my readings of the identifying labels.



Figure 11: Arafat, Mina, and Muzdalifa and locations associated with early Islam.

### Scene 1: Arafat, Mina, and Muzdalifa (figure 11)

The field of the first scene, to the upmost right, is divided into five horizontal zones. The upper and lower zones are filled with text only. The upper oblong zone contains an inscription bordered by a cartouche, which refers to the rite at Arafat and consists of Qur'anic verse 2: 198: 'When you surge down from Arafat, remember God at the sacred place'. The horizontal register below this is divided into three squares, the right of which contains a plan of a mosque with domed arcades with identifying labels that refer, in printed Arabic, to the Mosque of Taif (*Masjid Ta'if*) and that contain the handwritten addition in Latin characters 'Masjid Taif' and 'Taif'. The domed building in its centre is the Dome (or Shrine) of Abdullah ibn Abbas (*Qubba Sayyidna Abdullah ibn Abbas*). Below the drawing is a reference to noble Taif (*Tayif sharif*) in Arabic and the handwritten addition in Latin characters 'Taif'. The central square contains drawings of a mountain, labelled Mountain Arafat (*Jabal Arafat*); some unidentified dispersed tents; two *mahmals* labelled as Egyptian and Syrian (*Mahmal Shami* and *Mahmal Misri*) with adjacent flags, below; and buildings, identified as the Mosque of Nimra

(*Masjid Nimra*), above left, and a drawing of two rectangles with hanging lamps identified as Qarn al-Manazil, the *miqat* or place for the assumption of *ihram*-dress for people coming from Nejd, above right. In the left corner is a reference to the country or village of Arafat (*balad al-Arafat*). In the left, framed square the central building, identified as the Mosque of Muzdalifa (*Masjid Muzdalifa*), is surrounded by pitched tents of different shapes and sizes, labelled as the tents of the pilgrims and people of the lowest means (*khiyam al-hujjaj wa-l-abwash*).

The third and central horizontal zone is divided into two sections, the right of which contains a rendering of a mountain labelled Thawr Mountain (*Jabal Thawr*). The left shows four types of buildings. The large domed building with a minaret on the right is identified as the Mosque of Khayf (*Masjid Khayf*). The row of four small rectangles with hanging lamps are identified from right to left as the Place of Sacrifice of our lord Ishmael (*Madhbah sayyidna Isma'il*), the Mosque of Ana'itina (*Masjid Ana Atina*), the Mosque of the Sura of the [Winds] Set Forth (*Masjid Surat al-Mursalat*), and a building simply referred to as a mosque (*masjid*). The elongated, three-storied building below is identified as the houses of the market of Mina (*buyut suq Mina*). Below them, a three-storied building is rendered with three domed pillars, which are identified as the First Pillar (*Jamrat Ula*), the Central Pillar (*Jamrat Wasta*) and the Uqba pillar (*Jamrat al-Uqba*).

The fourth horizontal zone is composed of three parts: in the right part, a hill crowned with a domed edifice is labelled Nur Mountain (*Jabal Nur*). The central frame has two domed, rectangular buildings labelled as the Dome of our lady Khadija (*Qubba sittna Khadija*) and the Dome of Amina (*Qubbat Amina*). In the foreground, piles of two or three rectangular stones that constitute simple graves are rendered. The left frame contains four domed edifices, which upper two labelled the Birthplace of the Prophet (*Mawlid al-Nabi*) and the Birthplace of Ali (*Mawlid Ali*), and the lower two labelled the Birthplace of Fatima (*Mawlid Sittna Fatima*) and the Birthplace of Abu Bakr (*Mawlid Sayyidna Abi Bakr*).

In the fifth register at the base is the following preprinted text, with blank spaces for handwritten names, dates, and other details (noted below between brackets):

Praise be to God who allotted to us the Sacred House and al-Zamzam and the Place and the Place of the Prophet may God bless him and give him peace. And thus has taken on the status of *ihram* the *hajji* [name] from the legally designated locations of *Miqat* [name of the specific *Miqat*-location] and remaining in a state of *ihram*, saying the *labbaika*-prayer and blessing the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, until he entered Mecca and entered through the Gate of Peace and performed the circumambulation of arrival (*tafa bi-l-qudum*) and performed the rite of running (*sa'i*) and ascended to Arafat and stood there until sunset and hastened to Muzdalifa and collected the pebbles and spent the night there until



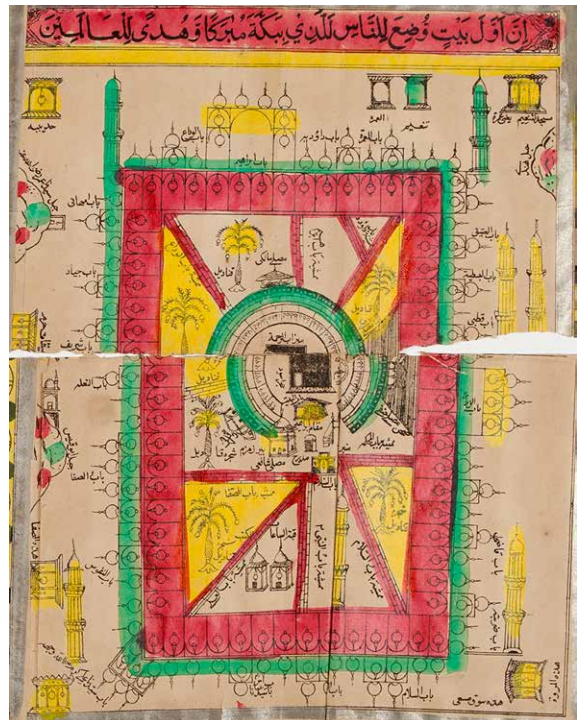


Figure 12: The Haram al-Sharif in Mecca.

dawn and went to Mina to stone the Uqba pillar and descended and went down to Mecca and performed the circumambulation of the visit (*tawaf al-ziyara*) and returned to Mina and stayed there for the days of *Tashriq* and stoned the three pillars and thus ended the Hajj and then performed Umra. And our standing was day [day/month] of the year 130[..] Hijri. Has witnessed this [name of witness] Has witnessed this [name of witness] Has witnessed this [name of witness].

### *Scene 2: The Haram al-Sharif in Mecca (figure 12)*

The second scene consists of a drawing of the Great Mosque of Mecca with the Ka'ba in its centre. A cartouche and oblong band above it contains Qur'anic verse 3: 96: 'The first House [of worship] to be established for people was the one at Mecca. It is a blessed place; a source of guidance for all people.' The Ka'ba is almost entirely encircled by poles with hanging lamps; inside this enclosure are labelled the semicircular border built by Abraham (*Hatim*), the Drainpipe of Mercy (*Mizab al-Rahma*), the Black Stone (*Hajar Aswad*), the Door of the House (*Bab al-Bayt*), and the Place of Abraham (*Maqam Ibrahim*). In between the arcades of the mosque and the Ka'ba, small structures are identified: the minbar (*minbar*), the staircase (*mudarraaj*), the Spring of Zamzam (*Bi'r Zamzam*), the Al-Salam Gate (*Bab al-Salam*), and two domes labelled as the Dome of the

Hours (*Qubbat al-Sa'at*) and the Books (al-Kutub), as well as the prayer areas of the three Sunni schools of law (*musalla Maliki*, *musalla Shafi'i*, *musalla Hanbali*) and the courtyard of the prayer area of the Hanafi rite (*sahn musalla Hanafi*). Besides this, eight pathways (*mamshi'at*) towards the Ka'ba are indicated, seven of which have identifying labels: the pathway of the Da'uda Gate (*Mamshi'a Bab Da'uda*), the pathway of the Gate of Abraham (*Mamshi'a Bab Ibrahim*), the pathway of the Gate of Farewell (*Mamshi'a Bab al-Wada'*), the pathway of the Gate of Ali (*Mamshi'a Bab Ali*), the pathway of the Gate of the Prophet (*Mamshi'a Bab al-Nabi*), the pathway of the Gate of Peace (*Mamshi'a Bab al-Salam*), and the pathway of the gate of the court (*Mamshi'a Bab al-Mahkama*). Depicted also are six palm trees, all identified as trees of lamps (*Shajara Qanadil*). Outside the mosque proper, twenty gates are labelled. The upper four are the Gate of Umra (*Bab al-Umra*), the Gate of Da'udiya (*Bab Da'udiya*), the Gate of Abraham (*Bab Ibrahim*), and the Gate of Farewell (*Bab al-Wada'*). The seven along the left walled enclosure are the Gate of Umm Hani (*Bab Umm Hani*), the Gate of the Noble Men (*Bab Jiyad*), the Noble Gate (*Bab Sharif*), the al-Baghla Gate (*Bab al-Baghla*), the Gate of Safa (*Bab al-Safa*), the Gate of the Souls (*Bab al-Nufus*), and the Gate of Ali (*Bab Sayyidna Ali radi Allah anhu*) (literally, the gate of our Lord Ali may God be pleased with him). The three gates below are labelled the Gate of Our lord Abbas (*Bab Sayyidna Abbas*), the gate of the Prophet (*Bab al-Nabi*), and the Gate of Peace (*Bab al-Salam*). Along the right walled enclosure are the following six identified gates: The Durayba gate (*Bab Durayba*), the Gate of the Judge (*Bab Qadi*), the Gate of the Increase (*Bab al-Ziyada*), the Qutbi Gate (*Bab Qutbi*), the al-Bastiya Gate (*Bab al-Bastiya*), and the Old Gate (*Bab al-Atiq*). The mosque is drawn with seven minarets, none of which have identifying labels. Surrounding the mosque, seven buildings and three mountains are depicted and labelled. Starting from the upper right hand corner and going anticlockwise, one finds the Mosque of Tan'im (*Masjid Tan'im yani umra*), two rectangular buildings labelled Tan'im (*Tan'im*) and al-Umra (*al-Umra*), and a small building labelled Hodaybiyya (*Hodaybiyya*). Alongside the left walled enclosure there is the Mountain of our Lord Umar, may God be pleased with him (*Jabal Sayyidna Umar radi Allah anhu*), the Place of boundary for the Haram (*Miqat Haram*),<sup>19</sup> the Mountain of Abu Qays (*Jabal Abu Qays*), and a building labelled 'this is Safa' (*hadha al-Safa*). In the lower right-hand corner is a label 'this is the market of Mas'a' (*hadha suq Mas'a*) and a building labelled 'this is Marwa' (*hadhihi al-Marwa*); in the upper right-hand corner one finds Hindi mountain (*Jabal Hindi*).

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19 A *miqat* is a place of boundary where *ihram* clothing should be assumed. There are 5 *miqats* for pilgrims who live outside of Mecca. This *miqat* is for those who live in Mecca and want to perform the Hajj.

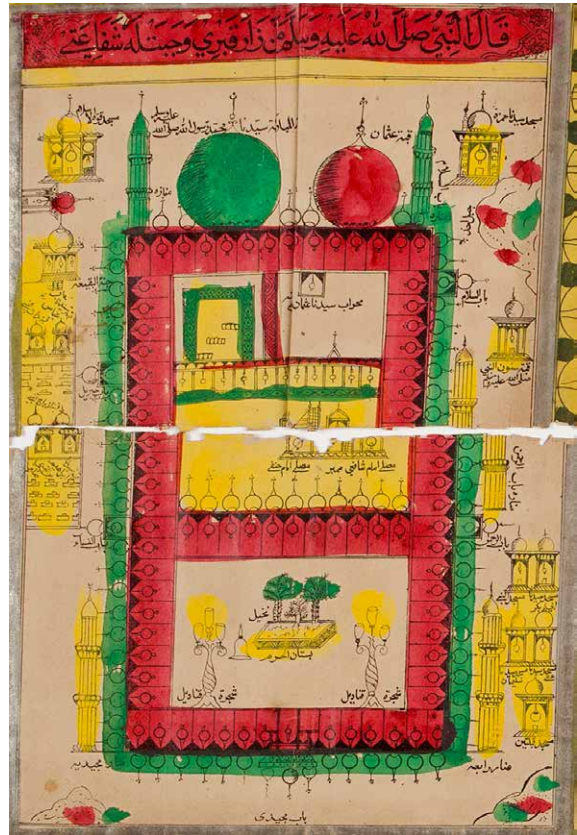


Figure 13: The Mosque and mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina.

*Scene 3: The Mosque and mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina (figure 13)*

The third scene consists of a rendering of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina surrounded by small buildings. A cartouche and oblong band above it contains a *hadith* of the Prophet Muhammad: 'The Prophet, God bless him and grant him salvation, said: "Whoever visits my grave, my intercession is imposed upon him"'. The largest part of the rectangular field is taken up by the Mosque of the Prophet, which is depicted with two large domes. The large one on the left is labelled 'the blessed Dome of our Lord Muhammad, the messenger of God, God bless him and grant him salvation' (*Qubbat al-mubarak Sayyidna Muhammad rasul Allah salla Allah alayhi wasallam*), and the smaller one on the right is the Dome of Uthman (*Qubbat Uthman*). There are five minarets: the upper right Minaret of the Gate of Peace (*Manara Bab al-Salam*), the upper left Minaret (*Manara*), the central Minaret on the right side of the mosque is that of the Gate of the Merciful (*Manara Bab al-Rahman*), the lower-right Fourth Minaret (*Manara Rabi'a*), and the lower-left Minaret of Majidiya (*Manara Majidiyya*). The mosque proper is divided into three zones and is surrounded by domed arcades with hanging lamps. The upper zone has a rectangular enclosure with



three unidentified horizontal rectangles that symbolise three graves. To the right is a hanging lamp in a niche labelled as the Mihrab of our Lord Uthman may He be pleased with him (*Mihrab Sayyidna Uthman radi Allah anhu*) and a stylised pole. In the mosque's central part are two niches with lamps and a *minbar* that are labelled as the Prayer place of the Shafi'ite Imam (*Musalla Imam al-Shafi'i*), *Minbar* (*Minbar*), and the Prayer place of the Hanafi Imam (*Musalla Imam Hanafi*). In the centre of the rectangular zone below are a rectangular garden depicted with three trees, identified by the labels date palm (*nakhil*) and Garden of the Holy Precinct (*Bustan al-Haram*), and two large candelabra labelled Tree of lamps (*Shajarat Qanadil*). The mosque has five labelled doors. The two along the left walled enclosure are labelled as the Gate of Gabriel (*Bab Jibril*) and the Gate of the Women (*Bab al-Nisa*), the one in the centre of the wall below is the Gate of Majidi (*Bab Majidi*), and along the right walled enclosure are the Gate of the Merciful (*Bab al-Rahman*) and the Gate of Peace (*Bab al-Salam*). The mosque is surrounded by labelled buildings and mountains. In the upper right corner is a domed building labelled the Mosque of Our Lord Hamza (*Masjid Sayyidna Hamza*), and in the upper left corner is the Mosque of Quwwat al-Islam (*Masjid Quwwat al-Islam*). On the left-hand side one finds a reference to the burial place of Baqi'a (*al-Baqi'a*) and drawings of domed buildings labelled as the Dome of Our Lord Abbas (*Qubba Sayyidna Abbas*), the Dome of the Daughters of the Prophet (*Qubba Banat al-Nabi*), the Dome of the Wives of the Prophet (*Qubbat Azwaj al-Nabi*), the Dome of our Lord Ibrahim, Son of the Prophet, followed by, in abbreviated form God bless him and grant him salvation (*Qubba Sayyidna Ibrahim ibn al-Nabi, salla Allah alayhi wa-sallam*). In the two lower corners are drawings of unlabelled mountains. Along the left walled enclosure is a cluster of five small mosques, the upper two of which labelled the Mosque of Our Lord Abu Bakr (*Masjid Sayyidna Abi Bakr*) and the Mosque of the Prophet (*Masjid al-Nabi*), the central two labelled the Mosque of Our Lord Ali (*Masjid Sayyidna Ali*) and the Mosque of Our Lord Solomon (*Masjid Sayyidna Sulayman*), and the one below labelled as the Mosque of the Two Qiblas (*Masjid al-Qiblatayn*). Above this cluster of five mosques is another drawing of a mosque, identified as the Dome of the Sunna of the Prophet, God bless him and grant him salvation (*Qubba Sunan al-Nabi salla Allah alayhi wasallam*) and a drawing of a mountain labelled Uhud Mountain (*Jabal Uhud*).

#### *Scene 4: The Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem (figure 14)*

The fourth scene is a rendering of the holy precinct in Jerusalem surrounded by small buildings. A cartouche and oblong band above it contains the first part of Qur'anic verse 17:1 that refers to the night journey of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem: 'Glory to Him who made His servant travel by night from the sacred place of worship to the furthest place of worship.' Below this is a rectangular building with domed arcades with hanging lamps and three

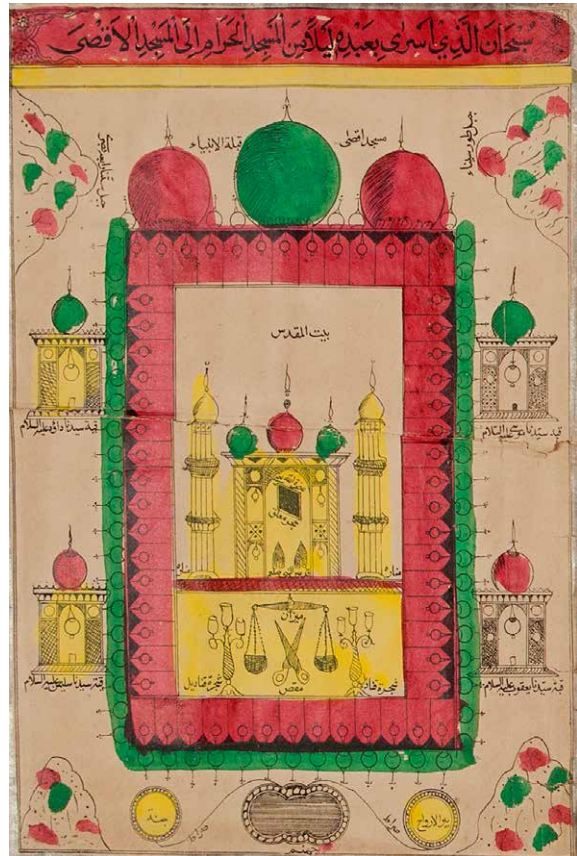


Figure 14: The Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem.

large domes, all without labels. In between the three large domes are two labels: the al-Aqsa Mosque (*Masjid al-Aqsa*) and Direction of prayer of the Prophets (*Qiblat al-anbiya*). Inside the domed arcades is an upper field with a domed mosque labelled the Holy House (*Bait al-Maqdis* or *Muqaddas*), which is flanked by two minarets that are simply referred to as Minaret (*Manara*). The mosque has a tripartite division, with pairs of hanging lamps to each side and a drawing of a black rectangle labelled as the Stone of God (*Sakhrat Allah*) above and the Suspended Stone (*Hajar Mu'allaq*) below it. Below this is a drawing of a pair of pointed objects, identified as the Two Feet of the Prophet, May God bless him and grant him salvation [in abbreviated form] (*Qadamayn al-Nabi salla Allah alayhi wasallam*). In the field below is a rendering of a balance (*mizan*) and scissors (*miqass*) flanked by two candlesticks labelled as Tree of lamps (*Shajarat Qanadil*). The mosque is surrounded by four mountains, the lower of which are not labelled. In the upper right corner is the Tur Sinai Mountain (*Jabal Tur Sina*), and in the upper left is the Mountain of our lady Rabi'a al-Basri (*Jabal sittna Rabi'a al-Basri*). Outside the walled enclosure on the left are two shrines labelled the Dome of our Lord David peace be upon him (*Qubba Sayyidna Dawud alayhi al-salam*) and the Dome of our Lord Solomon peace be upon

him (*Qubba Sayyidna Sulayman alayhi al-salam*). The shrines adjacent to the right side of the mosque are read as Dome of our Lord Moses peace be upon him (*Qubba Sayyidna Musa alayhi al-salam*) and Dome of our Lord Jacob peace be upon him (*Qubba Sayyidna Ya'qub alayhi al-salam*). Below is a schematic drawing of three medallions. From right to left, these are labelled the Well of Souls (*Bi'r al-Arwah*), hell (*jahannam*) and heaven (*janna*). They are connected by a thin line labelled as path (*sirat*).

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## APPEARANCES BELIE. A MECCA-CENTRED WORLD MAP AND A SNOUCK HURGRONJE PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE LEIDEN UNIVERSITY COLLECTIONS

*Arnoud Vrolijk*

‘Now, what I want is, Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them.’

—Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*: 47

These are the words of Thomas Gradgrind, a schoolmaster in a mid-nineteenth-century mill town in Lancashire. The fact is, however, that the man does not exist. He is a fictitious character in Charles Dickens’s 1854 novel *Hard Times*, written to demonstrate the very opposite of Gradgrind’s words: that human lives should not be governed by mere facts, but rather by far more elusive things such as love, charity and the power of imagination. In very much the same manner, exhibitions belong to the realm of the imagination rather than the factual world. Who would deny that an exhibition is a stage, where objects appear as characters in a play? The parallel is most striking during the preparations for an exhibition: the smell of sawdust and fresh paint, the whizz and screech of power tools, the white-gloved giants from the art packer’s holding objects as if they were newborn babies, and nervous curators practising the fine art of bilocation.

But before drifting away into the vague notion that all the world’s a stage, I would like to begin by saying that Leiden University has generously lent objects from its oriental collections to three consecutive Hajj exhibitions: in London (British Museum, 2012–2013), Leiden (National Museum of Ethnology, 2013–2014), and Paris (Institut du monde arabe, 2014). On three occasions I have had the honour of cooperating with the (guest) curators Venetia Porter, Qaisra Khan, Luitgard Mols and Élodie Bouffard. Each time, the curators made a careful selection of exhibits that would be apposite for their purposes. Every time, the selection was different, since each exhibition had its own focus. Extra care was needed, for the theme of the exhibitions was far from trivial. The Hajj is, of course, one of the holiest rituals of Islam, and a source of eager anticipation, hope and divine inspiration for every believer. I am convinced that every single object that was chosen from the Leiden University collections served its purpose well, whether it was put on display in one or more of the exhibitions or used as

illustrative material in the accompanying catalogues or other publications. No decision was taken lightly or irreverently.

But this does not mean that the exhibits from Leiden University wholly coincide with the purpose for which they were chosen, however sincere and unequivocal that purpose may have been. In this contribution I will argue that an object may have different — and sometimes paradoxical — layers of meaning. After discussing two different objects, I will raise the question if this internal inconsistency is in any way prejudicial to the very purpose for which they were selected. The first object is an Islamic *mappa mundi*, or world map in the mediaeval style, appearing in a mid-seventeenth-century Ottoman manuscript. The second is a group photograph from the collections of the Dutch Islam scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, made during his stay in the Arabian Peninsula (1884–1885).

### The Centre of the World in an Islamic Map

An exhibit featuring in all three Hajj exhibitions was the anonymous *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi* (*History of the New World*), an exquisitely illustrated Ottoman Turkish manuscript acquired by Leiden University in 1970 (codex Or. 12.365). The last private owner was the German orientalist Franz Gustav Taeschner (d. 1967), who took an avid interest in Ottoman geography (Schmidt 2000–2012: III, 26–28, 115–121). On folio 90b of this manuscript from 1060 AH (1650 CE), there is a beautifully executed circular *mappa mundi*, based on the Greek or Hellenistic models which were commonly used in traditional Arabic-Islamic cartography (figure 1).

The map was made separately and then pasted onto the manuscript. At the visual (but not the mathematical) centre of this map, there is a minute image of the Ka'ba which is detailed enough for the reader to recognise the *kiswa*, or textile covering of the Ka'ba, with its decorative belt (*hizam*) and door panel (*sitara*). A little to the north of the Ka'ba (south is topmost in this projection), there is a red square with what appears to be a coffin with a pointed lid, representing the Prophet's tomb and Haram mosque in Medina. The exhibition catalogues stress the importance of the Ka'ba as the centre of the world, which is expressed so aptly in this map. The British Museum even printed a postcard of it, an unmistakable sign of appreciation (Porter 2012a: 64; 2012b: 12; Mols 2013: 20, 36–37; Bouffard 2014: 50–51). Reference is made to the well-known *Kitab al-mawa'iz wa'l-i'tibar fi dhikr al-khitat wa'l-athar* (*The Book of Exhortations and Admonition. An Account of Maps and Monuments*), a work on the topography and prominent buildings of Mamluk Cairo by the Egyptian author Ahmad b. Ali al-Maqrizi (1364–1442) (Brockelmann 1943–1949: G II 39). In his work, al-Maqrizi expresses himself in the following terms about the focal position of this remarkable building: 'The Ka'ba with respect to the inhabited parts of the world is like the centre of a circle with respect to the circle itself. All regions face



Figure 1: Mecca-centred map of the world with the Ka'ba, from an anonymous Ottoman Turkish history of the New World, *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*. Manuscript dated 1060 AH (1650 CE). Leiden University Libraries, inv. nr. Or. 12.365, fol. 90b.

the Ka'ba, surrounding it as a circle surrounds its centre, and each region faces a particular part of the Ka'ba.' (Porter 2012a: 64).<sup>1</sup>

Among the specimens of traditional Arabic-Islamic cartography in the literature available to me, however, Mecca is not at the visual or mathematical centre of world maps. The Arabian Peninsula as a whole hovers around the centre, usually to the west of the central axis (Harley & Woodward 1992: pl. 7–10; Sezgin 2000: fig. 1a, 2, 10–11). Only in the world maps of al-Sharif Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Idrisi (c. 1100–c. 1165), and later Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), who based himself on al-Idrisi, the Arabian Peninsula gravitates towards the east. In various Idrisi-style maps, the central axis does indeed appear to run through the region of the Hijaz on the western side of the Peninsula, but without actually putting Mecca at the exact centre (Brockelmann 1943–1949: G I 477, S I 876, G II 242, S II 342; Harley & Woodward 1992: pl. 11; Maqbul Ahmad 1992: 161, 171;

1 Porter refers to King 1991: 181, where the reference to al-Maqrizi should be read as 'Khitat, ii, 257'.



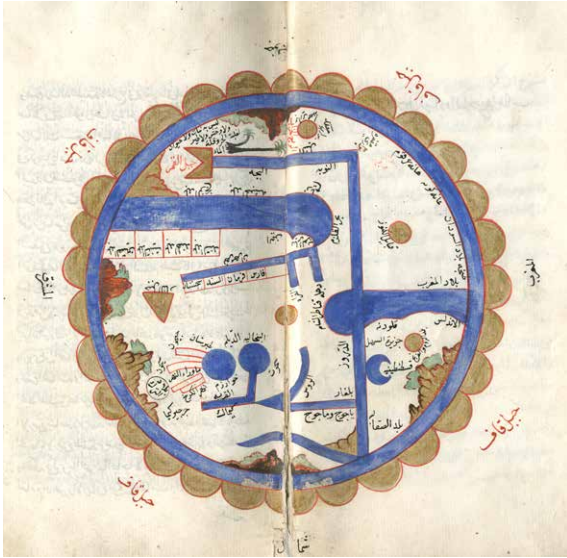


Figure 2: Typical map of the world in the classical Arabic-Islamic tradition, without the Ka'ba or Mecca at the centre. Ibn al-Wardi, *Kharidat al-aja'ib* (The Unbored Pearl of Wonders). Manuscript dated 984 AH (1573 CE). Leiden University Libraries, inv. nr. Or. 158, fol. 3b–4a.

Sezgin 2000: fig. 5–6, 9). The closest hit I have come across so far is yet another Idrisi-style map in the recently discovered *Book of Curiosities*, an Egyptian manuscript hailing from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. In this map, Mecca appears almost at the exact centre, but the name of the city itself is not mentioned (Savage-Smith & Rapoport 2007: fol. 27b–28a).<sup>2</sup> Since 1989, however, two mathematically correct, Mecca-centred world maps dating from c. 1675 have come to light, both of them engraved on a circular brass plate in the manner of an astrolabe. With the help of a coordinate grid, a fixed scale and a moving rule one can read the direction and the distance to Mecca (King 1996: 150–153; 1999: 197–364). But these two closely related maps belong to the domain of mathematical geography rather than traditional Arabic-Islamic cartography. David A. King, one of the very few specialists in the field, thinks it likely that earlier mathematically correct, Mecca-centred world maps once existed (or perhaps still exist), but were never discovered (1999: 342–349, 362–364).

According to the American scholar Karen Pinto, the depiction of the Ka'ba in Islamic world maps is a relatively late phenomenon, dating from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.<sup>3</sup> An attractive example is a manuscript held by the Library of Congress of a late work by Siraj al-Din Umar b. Muzaffar Ibn al-Wardi

2 Savage-Smith & Rapoport 2007 is an edition of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arab. c. 90, an acquisition from 2002.

3 Dr Karen Pinto (Boise State University, Idaho, USA) is currently preparing an article on the subject. According to Dr Pinto, the earliest image of the Ka'ba in an Islamic world map occurs in a mid-fifteenth-century Aq Qoyunlu manuscript preserved in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Ahmed III collection, MS A2830. The innovation may have been introduced by Timurid artists at the Aq Qoyunlu court in Diyarbakır, whence it was subsequently adopted and popularised by the Ottomans (personal communication from Dr Pinto, August 2014).



Figure 3: Sacred geography: an image of the Ka'ba, surrounded by a diagram of place names indicating the direction of prayer. Ibn al-Wardi, *Kharidat al-aja'ib*. Manuscript dated 984 AH (1573 CE). Leiden University Libraries, inv. nr. Or. 158, fol. 47b.

(d. 1457), entitled *Kharidat al-aja'ib wa-faridat al-ghara'ib* (*The Unbored Pearl of Wonders and the Precious Gem of Marvels*), a popular account of geography and natural history. It contains a circular world map with an image of the Ka'ba which is, however, decidedly off-centre (Brockelmann 1943–1949: G II 131, S II 163).<sup>4</sup> It should be noted, however, that not all the world maps in the Ibn al-Wardi manuscripts contain this picture of the Ka'ba. Leiden University, for instance, holds a manuscript of the text, the oldest part of which is dated 984 AH (1573 CE) (codex Or. 158). There is an attractive world map on folio 3b–4a, but there is no Ka'ba, and the Arabian Peninsula is not at the centre of the world either (figure 2).

Another example is the Ottoman *Zübdet üt-tevarih* (*Cream of Histories*) or *Silsilename* (*Book of Genealogy*), a work by the sixteenth-century Ottoman court historiographer Seyyid Lokman ibn Hüseyin ibn el-Aşuri el-Ürmevi. The oldest

<sup>4</sup> See Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Arabic MS SM–3 DLC, fol. 6b–7a. Permalink <http://lcnn.loc.gov/2013415532>, visited August 2014 (with special thanks to Muhannad Salhi). For an image of the map in question, see the Library of Congress online exhibition *World Treasures: Beginnings*, link <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/world/earth.html#obj104.1>, visited August 2014.



Figure 4: Floor plan of the Ka'ba, surrounded by place names and their relative position with regard to Mecca. Qabs al-anwar wa-bahjat al-asrar (The Capture of Lights and Resplendence of Secrets), ascribed to Muhyi 'l-Din Ibn Arabi. Manuscript dated 960 AH (1553 CE). Leiden University Libraries, inv. nr. Or. 5, fol. 37a.

manuscript of this text dates from 1583 CE. There is an image of the Ka'ba in this manuscript, but at the risk of becoming repetitive, it is not located at the exact centre of the world (Karamustafa 1992: 220–221).

The image of the Ka'ba as the focal point of the world, as so elegantly expressed by al-Maqrizi, belongs instead to the tradition of the 'sacred geography' of Islam, which is quite distinct from the secular scientific tradition (King 1991: 181). In Islamic manuscripts there are countless diagrams with a depiction of the Ka'ba, often in some detail, surrounded by a circle which is divided into sectors. These sectors, varying in number from four to 72, display the names of cities or countries and their approximate geographical position with regard to Mecca. These often clumsily-devised diagrams, made for decorative purposes only, served to illustrate the *qibla*, or direction to which Muslims turn in prayer (King & Lorch 1992; King 1996: 135–141; 1999: 51–54). Sacred geography coexisted harmoniously with the secular tradition, as is shown by the Leiden manuscript of Ibn al-Wardi's *Kharidat al-aja'ib* already mentioned above (codex Or. 158). It contains not only a secular-style world map, but also a *qibla* chart with an image of the Ka'ba, surrounded by a circle divided into 36 sectors (folio 47b)(figure 3).

Another more beautiful example of such a chart with an image, or rather a floor plan, of the Ka'ba is a manuscript from 960 AH (1553 CE) with astronomical and divinatory tables and diagrams (Leiden codex Or. 5). It is

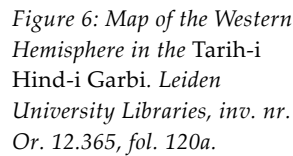


Figure 5: Western-style, seventeenth-century map of the Eastern Hemisphere in the Ottoman Turkish history of the New World, *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*. Leiden University Libraries, inv. nr. Or. 12.365, fol. 116a.

the unique copy of the *Qabs al-anwar wa-bahjat al-asrar* (*The Capture of Lights and Resplendence of Secrets*), commonly — but almost certainly erroneously — attributed to the well-known mystic Muhyi 'l-Din Ibn Arabi (1165–1240) (Brockelmann 1943–1949: G I 446 no. 92; Gherstetti 1994). Surrounded by a circle consisting of eleven sectors, the floor plan of the Ka'ba is so well drawn that one can actually see that it is not an exact cube (fol. 37a)(figure 4). The same manuscript also has a secular-style *mappa mundi*, where Mecca is definitely not at the centre (fol. 1b–2a).

Thus it would appear that the illustrator of the Leiden University manuscript of the *History of the New World* (codex Or. 12.365), who lived in the Ottoman Empire in a period when the classical tradition of Arabic-Islamic cartography was practically extinct, looked back on an imagined past and contaminated the two traditions of traditional secular cartography and *qibla* charts by creating this exquisite, and probably unique, hybrid map. In any case, it does not provide a realistic picture of Arabic-Islamic cartography in the mid-seventeenth century.





They reveal a state of geographical knowledge in the Ottoman Empire which is reminiscent of Mercator's *Atlas Minor* in the recension of Jodocus Hondius and Johannes Janssonius, several editions of which appeared between 1607 and 1640. The influence of the *Atlas Minor* can only be illustrated by the fact that in 1654, part of the 1628 edition was translated into Turkish by the Ottoman intellectual Kâtib Çelebi (or Hadji Khalifa, d. 1657) with the help of a French renegade (Schmidt 2000–2012: I, 423–428 s.v. Or. 1109). Towards the end of the manuscript, on folio 215b–216a, there is a double-page world map with legends in Latin, which reflects an earlier stage of European mapmaking.

Surprisingly enough, the traditional circular map with the Ka'ba at the visual centre of the *Old* World appears in the Ottoman history of the *New* World. Originally written in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, it is based on Italian translations of Spanish works from the first half of the century on the *Conquista* and the natural history of Central and South America. The book has been studied in detail and translated by Thomas D. Goodrich, who identified nineteen manuscripts and two printed editions (1990: 21–28). Unfortunately, the Leiden manuscript does not figure among them. All extant manuscripts and the two printed editions abound with fanciful illustrations of American plants and animals such as a jaguar, an armadillo, an anteater and a sloth — the latter walking briskly on all fours and looking rather like an alpaca (ibid.: 55–64). Circular maps of the Old World occur regularly in the manuscripts, but none of them have the Ka'ba as their focal point like the Leiden manuscript. (ibid.: 38–55).

In order to explain the occurrence of such a traditional map in a book on the New World, one must take a closer look at the contents. The first chapter is wholly devoted to classical Arabic-Islamic geography at a time when the New World was still unknown (Goodrich 1990: 70–142). The author continues to explain in a very brief second chapter that the ancients did not believe that one could cross the 'Dark Ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules' (*i.e.*, the Atlantic), but at the end of the fifteenth century, 'a fearless group from the people of Andalusia' reached the other side of the Atlantic and thereby discovered the New World (ibid.: 145). In this manner, the author created a *trait-d'union* between traditional Islamic and modern Western-style geography. The above-mentioned Ibn al-Wardi and his *Kharidat al-aja'ib* is among the most frequently cited sources in the first chapter, and it is therefore likely that his world map with the off-centred image of the Ka'ba served as an example for the Leiden codex Or. 12.365. However, the illustrator of this Leiden manuscript probably remains unique in that he put the holy Ka'ba at the centre of the world.

### **A Group Photograph of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in an Oriental Décor**

Having come to the preliminary conclusion that the first example under discussion, a Mecca-centred map of the world, is not quite what it appears to be, we shall now turn our attention towards the second, more recent example. It is a late-nineteenth-century photograph from the Leiden University collections (codex Or. 26.404: 2). It appeared not only in the British Museum exhibition catalogue, but also in the Leiden Hajj exhibition as an example of the involvement of the Dutch in organising the Hajj from the Dutch East Indies (Irwin 2012: 192). The photograph is part of the collection of the Dutch Islam scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), who in August 1884 landed in Jeddah with a camera, a set of glass plates and a whole array of chemicals. Staying

as a guest of the Dutch consul J.A. Kruyt, Snouck Hurgronje took many pictures of pilgrims arriving for the Hajj of the year 1301 AH (September–October 1884 CE). At the end of the year he converted to Islam, and in February 1885 he travelled to Mecca to observe local life. There can be little doubt that he also intended to participate in the Hajj of 1302 AH (September 1885 CE). When his camera was sent on to him in April 1885, he took up photography again. For his outdoor exposures he relied on the help of a local Meccan physician and pioneer of science, Abd al-Ghaffar b. Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi, who kept the camera and continued taking pictures after Snouck Hurgronje had been forced to leave the Arabian Peninsula, only weeks before the Hajj season began. Snouck Hurgronje never visited Arabia again (Witkam 2007: 103–175). He always remained vague about the identity of his Meccan associate, but in his turn the doctor was not averse to supplying Snouck Hurgronje with pictures taken by at least one other photographer without telling him so (Vrolijk 2013). Only a few dozen photographs were ever published during Snouck Hurgronje's lifetime, first in *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka*, an album of plates appearing in 1888 as a supplement to his two-volume work *Mekka*, and a little later as a separate album, *Bilder aus Mekka* (1889).



Figure 7: The Dutch colony in Jeddah with servants in an oriental setting. Photograph by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), taken in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate before mid-January 1885. Leiden University Libraries, inv. nr. Or. 26.404: 2.

The present photograph is part of a set that was transferred in 1996 from Het Oosters Instituut (The Oriental Institute), which was founded by Snouck Hurgronje in 1927. It is a group portrait of six Europeans and three non-Europeans, all of whom are wearing their Sunday best — if such a term is applicable to a Muslim country (figure 7).

The scene can be recognised as the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, for the windows and potted plants appear in many photographs taken by Snouck Hurgronje in this location. In 2004, this particular photograph was first published and exhibited to the public by Dirry Oostdam and Jan Just Witkam (2004: [2], 63–65). It is easy to recognise the figure of Snouck Hurgronje, who is standing in the third row on the right. He is wearing a fez and a so-called *jas tutup*, the white, high-collared colonial uniform jacket commonly worn in the Dutch East Indies. The other eight people in the photograph have been identified by Oostdam and Witkam with varying degrees of certainty. Five Dutchmen sit in the second row: the men on the far left and right are possibly Stijnis and Vermeulen, both employees of the vice-consul and shipping agent Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs. The second person from the left could very well be the Malay and Javanese philologist J.L. Brandes, who was on his way to the Dutch East Indies. Next to him are Consul J.A. Kruyt, wearing a fez, and Van der Chijs, who is smoking an enormous hookah. In the foreground, two servants named Jawhar (on the left) and Muhammad (on the right) are seated on a striped *kilim*. In the back, Husayn, the *kavass* or guard of the Dutch consulate, is standing in full regalia with his ceremonial staff. The most prominent and central figure in the picture is Consul Kruyt, who facilitated Snouck Hurgronje's arrival in Jeddah. Vice-Consul Van der Chijs did everything within his power to assist Snouck Hurgronje in his quest for research materials, especially after the latter's return to Europe. The fez donned by Snouck Hurgronje has previously attracted the attention of scholars: is the presence of this typically Muslim headgear proof of his conversion to Islam? If so, then what about the fez worn by Consul Kruyt, who was definitely not a Muslim? (Van Koningsveld 1987: 109–110, 142; Witkam 2007: fig. 2 facing 64, 76–80).

The scene in question has been described as a portrait of the little Dutch colony in Jeddah with servants, gathered at the home of Consul Kruyt for their weekly traditional Indonesian dinner (Witkam 2007: 35). In this respect, it is interesting to compare this photograph with a very similar one in the same set (Leiden codex Or. 26.404: 1). It shows the same group of Dutchmen sitting at the same table, although the two men on the left have changed places (figure 8).

The setting is a corner of the same courtyard of the Dutch consulate, taken from a slightly different angle. Instead of their formal attire, the men are now wearing their everyday working clothes; their overall appearance is drab, if not a little scruffy. But that is not all. It is as if a genie has come and swept away all things oriental from this photograph. The three native servants in their traditional costume have vanished into thin air. The kilim has disappeared and



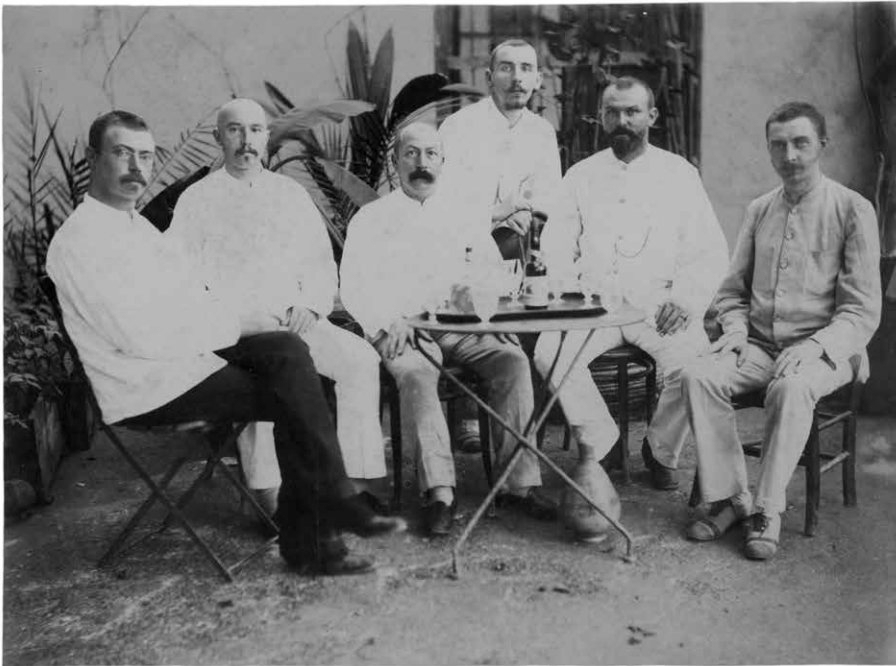


Figure 8: The same group portrait as in Fig. 7, but without servants and in a more everyday setting. Photograph by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, taken before mid-January 1885. Leiden University Libraries, inv. nr. Or. 26.404: 1.

the hookah has been replaced by what seems to be a bottle of port and glasses on the table. Above all, the fezzes have gone.

In truth, we should be looking at these two photographs from the opposite direction. The second, more quotidian picture is a far more reliable testimony as to how the Dutch colony in Jeddah actually spent their leisure time together. Most likely, Snouck Hurgronje, or perhaps the whole group, at some point conceived of the idea of creating the extraordinary, oriental *tableau vivant* by bringing in exotic servants and theatrical props such as the kilim, the hookah and the fezzes. For a festive touch they put on their best clothes, which must have been terribly uncomfortable in the hot and humid climate of Jeddah. The oriental photograph must have been taken before mid-January 1885, when Kruyt left Jeddah to take up a new consular position in the Straits Settlements. Perhaps it was intended as a memento of his stay in Arabia. Whatever the occasion, it is nothing but a pastiche, a carefully staged representation of Western orientalism.

## Conclusion

As far as the two selected objects from Leiden University are concerned, it would certainly seem that appearances belie. The map of the world with a picture of the Ka'ba at its centre is most likely a one-off. For all practical purposes, there

has never been such a tradition in Arabic-Islamic cartography. The illustrator of the Leiden manuscript added a hybrid, old-fashioned map of the world, all the while knowing perfectly well how modern maps looked in his own day. In very much the same manner, the Snouck Hurgronje photograph taken in Jeddah is not a faithful capture of daily life at the Dutch consulate, but an artificial view with strong orientalist overtones. These are only two examples, but there is ample reason to assume that, upon scrutiny, many of the other exhibits will show cracks as well. But does that make them inappropriate for the purpose of an exhibition? Not necessarily. The symbolic value of the Ka'ba as the spiritual focus of the Islamic world still stands, and the image of the holy edifice is far more meaningful in a recognisable map than in a diagram surrounded by names of places in a script that few museum visitors in the Western world can decipher. The Snouck Hurgronje photograph may be something of a charade, but what kind of meaning would the other, more realistic photo offer with its little group of nondescript Dutchmen in an unrecognisable place? The Middle-Eastern paraphernalia give the Western viewer just the visual stimuli needed to pinpoint the photograph in time and place, and the whole *mise-en-scène* perfectly symbolises the support that Snouck Hurgronje received from his fellow countrymen in Jeddah. In other words, these museum exhibits can indeed be regarded as actors on a stage with a dab of paint on their faces, playing the parts of heroes without being heroes themselves.

But is this acceptable in the sacred context of the Hajj? I don't see why not, since the Hajj rites themselves contain an element of drama. The pilgrims pray towards the Ka'ba, but in doing so worship a Supreme Being who is far elevated above a square building of stone and mortar. Likewise, they throw pebbles at stone pillars which symbolise the devil, but the pillars are not the devil. During the *sa'y*, or hurried walk between the ancient hillocks of Safa and Marwa, the believers emulate Hagar's desperate search for water for herself and her infant son, but they are not Hagar. The intention remains sincere, and that holds true for the Hajj itself as well as for the exhibitions that so successfully explained it to a Western audience.

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## HAJJ MUSIC FROM EGYPT, SYRIA AND LEBANON: SOME REFLECTIONS ON SONGS FOR THE PILGRIMAGE<sup>1</sup>

*Neil van der Linden*

This chapter highlights music that was and is being used to celebrate and commemorate the Hajj in past and present times. It concentrates on recordings of Hajj songs from Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon. There are well-documented examples from these countries, as these countries play a central role in the Arabic media and take a central cultural role in general in the Arabic world. The chapter will provide the reader with examples of such songs and links to websites with recordings of music performed on the occasion of the Hajj or to commemorate the Hajj. The examples show that the genre was performed by artists from different religious backgrounds and that in recent decades the nature of the music celebrating the Hajj has changed.

The term ‘Hajj music’ does not refer to a formally acknowledged genre, but for centuries all over the Muslim world music has been created to celebrate the festive character of the departure and the return of the pilgrims. Simultaneously, such music always had a comforting function, as pilgrims and their relatives knew that travel could bring hardship. Also, the musical practices involved those who had not yet undertaken the journey or those who might never go. The practice of Hajj music has not disappeared, although under the influence of Salafism and other ultraorthodox teachings, as well as the ‘bourgeoisification’ of societies in the Islamic world, the variety of expression has been reduced considerably.

### **Recordings and Movie-Songs**

As is the case with any category of intangible cultural heritage, we must assume from ear- and eye-witness descriptions what the practices exactly sounded and looked like in the time before they were documented on record and film. But it is safe to assume that some of the traditions that still were present at the beginning of the twentieth century go back far in time. From the beginning of the twentieth century on, we have various recordings of folkloric practices, musicologists’ and amateurs’ field-recordings, commercial recordings of popular religious chants, and a special category of songs made by major singing stars, in some cases made for films, all related to the Hajj. A recent example of a recording

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of folkloric practices is a traditional Hajj song from the governorate of Qena, UpperEgypt, sung by women and men who perform while seated on the floor of a simple house (Music clip 1). Another Egyptian recording on audiocassette, a medium that for decades was a cheap and accessible medium to distribute music and religious sermons, is a lengthy praise of the Hajj by the Egyptian Sufi singer Shaykh al-Arabi Farhan al-Bilbisi (Music clip 2). He performs *Zaffat al-Hujjaj* (*Procession of the Hajjis*), a song that refers to the procession to the Zamzam well. The lyrics include *du'a* prayers and the words of the *Labbayka*-prayer that is recited during the rites at Mecca. A phrase in the text refers to the magnitude of the Hajj: 'Hawalayna al-Ka'ba, malayin wa malayin' ('all around the Ka'ba, millions and millions').

In Egyptian movies, the departure for and journey to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina were regular topics that incorporated Hajj music. A scene from the film *Bint al-Akabir* (*Daughter of Notables*) (1953) by the Egyptian director Anwar Wagdy gives a vivid impression of the occasion on which Hajj songs were performed (Music clip 3). The song in this scene, called *Ya Rayheen lil-Nabi al-Ghali* (*We are Heading to the Beloved Prophet*), is performed by Layla Murad (1918–1995). A procession of popular musicians playing the flute, tambourine, and other instruments walks up to a luxurious villa to waive farewell to some rich protagonists who are preparing to go on the Hajj. The character played by Murad is not allowed to leave the house, and instead starts singing to the music that the band outside the mansion is playing. The creators of the movie have aimed at emulating the simple, popular atmosphere of the musical band and contrasting it with the otherwise urban, mundane atmosphere in the movie, which corresponds with the luxurious villa in which the scene starts.

The Syrian singer and movie star Asmahan (1917–1944) had a hit success in 1937 with the title song of the film *al-Mahmal al-Sharif* (*The Holy Carrier*), adapted from a traditional melody by her brother, the composer, singer, and actor Farid al-Atrash (Music clip 4). The words of the title *al-Mahmal al-Sharif* refer to the ceremonial pyramid-shaped palanquin, often more than four metres high, that was carried around on the back of a camel as the centrepiece of the annual Hajj caravan that departed from Cairo or Damascus to Mecca. The song is also known by the words of the first line, *Alayk salat Allah wa salamuh* (May the recognition and blessings of God be upon you). The lyrics, which refer to the Prophet Muhammad, are translated as follows:

May the generosity of God be upon you, His salutation, and His  
intercession, oh you grandfather of the two Hassans.  
These are the days of love returning. What an opportunity to see you.  
Be generous toward him, oh you who face Mecca and intend to  
circle the Ka'ba.  
You kiss the ground of the path for me as the pledge for an  
inspired faith.

Sherifa Zuhur, author of the biography *Asmahan's Secrets*, has the following comment on this song:

The melody rises very simply, but the use of *maqam bayyati* [an oriental tonal mode often used in Qur'anic recitation], the sense of religious processional, and the short, easy phrases of the refrain invite repetition. The soloist continues with the line above, and then returns to the refrain. [...] Asmahan's phrasing is calm, and one has the sense that she is not only expecting the chorus to sing with her, but the public as well. [...] This song has the power to cast the worldly Asmahan as a *muqri'a* (a Qur'anic singer/reciter) leading a chanting community into the spiritual centre of the Islamic world' (Zuhur 2000: 175–176).

Meanwhile, the music and film industry of the twentieth century stimulated the development of new performing styles in the Arabic world, such as that of the single-theme solo song accompanied by a larger orchestra. A striking example is a clip of Umm Kulthum (d. 1975), the most popular singer in Arabic culture (and arguably one of the most popular icons in music in world history) and one of the main architects of this new style, singing the song *Ila Arafat Allah* (*To Arafat God*) with lyrics by the renowned Egyptian poet Ahmad Shawqi (1868–1932) (Music clip 5). The song was used for a video clip for Egyptian television in 1961 to promote the Hajj. It was composed by Riyad al-Sunbati, who wrote the music for a considerable part of Umm Kulthum's repertoire. She also performed the song live in a concert in 1965, in her typical way of extending it into a piece of about an hour (Music clip 6).

Another example from the golden era of the Egyptian film and music industry is *Labbayk*, a Hajj song composed and performed by Muhammad Fawzy (1918–1966) (Music clip 7). Its lyrics are far older than the song itself; they were written by the Abbasid poet Abu Nuwas (756–814), who was known for his elaborate verses and - perhaps remarkably - for his sometimes libertine, if not raunchy, topics. The title refers to the *talbiya*, the phrase that is chanted repeatedly by pilgrims during their pilgrimage.

### Multi-Religious Performers

The famous Lebanese singer Fairuz (b. 1935) also performed a song about the Hajj – *Ghannaytu Makka* (*I Sang for Mecca*) – with lyrics by Said Aql and music by the famous Rahbani brothers (the husband and brother-in-law of the singer) (Music clip 8, a version produced for a Lebanese TV station; Music clip 9<sup>2</sup>, a live registration from 1966). The combination of this laudatory song for Mecca performed by the Christian Fairuz might seem remarkable at first, but such cross-

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2 Note the excitement from the audience when the lyrics mention the Qur'an, at 2:00.



religious approaches are not uncommon to find. The aforementioned Asmahan and Farid al-Atrash were Druze (a branch of Islam originating from Ismailism), while Layla Murad was born Jewish. Thus celebrating the Hajj obviously was part of a broad regional cultural consciousness. This might be compared to Western classical musicians who, regardless of religious background, perform Bach's Good Friday Passions or Verdi's Requiem. In a personal communication scholar Sherifa Zuhur, however, points out that it was not widely known that Asmahan and Farid al-Atrash were Druze, particularly not in Egypt. And although Layla Murad is now thought of as Jewish, she had converted to Islam when she married a Muslim. Zuhur adds that singers of different religious backgrounds (who made up the musical community in the multi-religious Middle East of the past) might sing the music celebrating the Hajj, Ramadan and the Eids as part of the mosaic of Islamic culture of the region. Traditionally, members from different religious backgrounds would congratulate Muslims on the Eid, as would Muslims congratulate Christians on Christmas and the Feast of the Assumption.<sup>3</sup>

Another example of the cross-religious approach in devotional music is the Jewish Iraqi born singer Filfel Gurgi (c.1930–1983) who later migrated to Israel but who, as a young man in Bagdad, was famed for his capabilities in Qur'anic recitation and participated in radio broadcasts of Qur'anic verses (Linden 2006: 534). In the past, it was not uncommon for Jews and Christians with distinguished voices to learn and recite the Qur'an, while they remained aligned with their own religion. Outside the scope of this chapter, there is also an interesting comparison possible between music related to the Hajj and musical traditions surrounding the pilgrimage to Christian and Jewish sites.

### Contemporary Hajj Music

Although the genre of Hajj music has not disappeared, the variety of expression clearly has diminished. *Hagg Hageeg* (2011) is a song by Wael Yassar, a Lebanese pop singer popular among teenagers. It is featured in a (Tunisian-made) clip consisting of a slideshow of pictures of the return of the first flight of pilgrims at Sfax-Thyna International Airport in Tunisia (Music clip 10).

An artistic low point is the use of Hajj songs for children in cartoon format. Although it is suggested that we hear children singing, the result rather sounds like adult's voices pitched up by electronic means (Music clip 11).

During the period of the Hajj, some pilgrims sing songs near the Holy sites. An example of this are *anashid* (spiritual songs) performed by Syrian *munshids*, by means of the most basic form of expression, the human voice. They are devoid of rhythm and anything that could divert the mind from the essence of the words (Music clip 12).

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3 A personal communication from Sherifa Zuhur, August 2014.

Also in traditional communities from West-Africa to Indonesia the musical practice connected to pilgrimage continues. In India, for instance, Hajj music is also part of mainstream popular culture. For example, the movie *Adaminte Makan Abu* (*Abu, Son of Adam*) from the state of Kerala tells the story of a poor perfume seller whose only remaining wish in life is the Hajj pilgrimage. In full compliance with the Indian tradition the movie is packed with songs. Meanwhile the composer of the score, the renowned Isaac Thomas Kottukapally, is a Christian and the songs are performed by a popular singer of Hindu background, Ramesh Narayan (Music clip 13).

Perhaps somewhat unexpected, the Hajj appears in a rap song. In his *Majnun Layla* from 2010, named after the protagonists in the famous romantic Persian poem, the American-Syrian rapper Omar Offendum (b. 1981) refers to going on the Hajj to compensate for being denied the hand of his beloved Layla, refused to him by her father. The act of pilgrimage is perceived as a source of consolation (Music clip 14). In a project aimed at cultural diplomacy among youngsters in Muslim communities in the United States, Omar Effendum performed the song in a classroom in a very moving way, with reference to the Hajj at 1:48 (Music clip 15).

Back in school was when we'd first got acquainted  
 Crossed paths - nearly fainted  
 When you told me that your name was  
 Layla  
 Hair darker than the night's sky  
 Waylak!  
 Majnoon what a crazy tale  
 I too often poeticized your eyes  
 To every passer by  
 Till it came back to haunt me  
 As your dad denied  
 Your hand in mine, but marriage I was sad to find  
 Wasn't written for us in the grand design  
 Set out for Mecca on Hajj  
 As I was really on edge  
 (Offendum 2010)

786 was the name of a devotional rap- and R&B-group with a good-looking boy-band-like aura coming from Detroit, USA, that operated during the first decade of this century.<sup>4</sup> The group consisted of members with Asian backgrounds. Their song *Makkah* consists of mellow close harmony, accompanied by – electronic - percussion only, so without melodic instruments that are frowned upon by very

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4 Some Muslims on the Indian Subcontinent especially use the number 786 as an abbreviation for the basmala (the opening phrase of the Qur'an 'In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful') in accordance with the writing-system of Abjad numerals.

strict Muslims. Since the band does use melodic instruments in most of their other songs, restricting themselves to percussion may well have been related to the sacredness of the topic in this specific song. The clip to the song *Makkah* shows the members of the group roaming a desert landscape, as if indeed on a journey (Music clip 16).

In his track *Mountains of Makkah* the South-African singer Zain Bhikha omitted not only percussion, but all instruments whatsoever (Music clip 17). ‘Voice only’ and ‘No music!’ are labels through which the clip is promoted on Youtube, the word ‘music’ in the Arabic vernacular often referring to instrumental music. Yet what is left out on instrumental ornamentation and abundant rhythm is made up by the typical sound of a South-African background chorus that became famous in the West through Paul Simon’s album *Graceland*.

## Concluding Remarks

The recorded songs related to the Hajj and discussed in this chapter are part of a long-standing tradition that continues to develop. Local folk singers, well known recording artists, and film stars from different religious backgrounds have embraced the genre. The topics addressed in the songs range from laudatory praises of Mecca and the Prophet Muhammad to the joy of preparing for the journey, from the yearning of pilgrims for the Holy City to the emotions connected with leaving loved ones behind, and even, as in Omar Offendum’s recent song, wanting to forget someone left behind.

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Music clip 1. Women from Qena, Egypt

<http://m.youtube.com/watch?v=ywW1vlnGf0Y;>

10 November 2013

Music clip 2. Shaykh al-Arabi Farhan al-Bilbisi, *Zaffat al-Hujjaj*

[http://m.youtube.com/watch?v=N72CIE\\_QpzY;](http://m.youtube.com/watch?v=N72CIE_QpzY;)

ElWadyMusicRecords, 24 December 2012

Music clip 3. Layla Murad, *Ya Rayheen lil-Nabi al-Ghali*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uRN1c2H2dBg;>

hellokab01, 12 August 2011

Music clip 4. Asmahan, *al-Mahmal al-Sharif*

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SbCmzB\\_KA5Y;](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SbCmzB_KA5Y;)

Farid Hamidi, 21 December 2011

Music clip 5 Umm Kulthum, *Ila Arafat Allah*

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YZAbc7IWcTQ;>

Aloush21, 16 December 2008

Music clip 6 Umm Kulthum, *Ila Arafat Allah* concert version

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k\\_M5k3V18IE;](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k_M5k3V18IE;)

PalestineOnlineNetwork PalestineOnline, 10 January 2011

Music clip 7. Muhammad Fawzi, *Labbayk*

<http://m.youtube.com/watch?v=9OdjBf8eVVM>

Music clip 8. Fairuz, *Ghannaytu Makka* TV version

part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WWp5hB2n1so;>

7 January 2009

part 2: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w\\_E87qipauE;](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w_E87qipauE;)

8 January 2009

Music clip 9. Fairuz, *Ghannaytu Makka*, live in Kuwait

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jUfoAazFdig>

hummer15al; 14 July 2007

Music clip 10. Wael Yassar, *Hagg Hageeg*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TtQT-FB7gyU&app=desktop;>

*BacTak*, 14 November 2011

Music clip 11. Children's *Nashid* about Hajj

<http://m.youtube.com/watch?v=ioWAeblFJKY;>

9 October 2012

Music clip 12. *Anashid* by Syrian *munshids* during Hajj  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PI10G1Tc-O0;>  
6 November 2013

Music clip 13. *Adamintemakan Abu Malayalam* Full Movie  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l8i6DsrxaMo;>  
Boysfreaks, 14 June 2013

Music clip 14. Omar Effendum *Majnun Layla*  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bBwFhDF5H4o;>  
Wissam Ad, 8 September 2012

Music clip 15. Omar Effendum *Majnun Layla* live at Groton School  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uzq266cbwJQ;>  
Groton School, 27 April 2011

Music clip 16. 786 *Makkah*  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rtsm2mV8cpQ#t=105;>  
25 December 2007

Music clip 17. Zain Bhikha, *Mountains of Makkah*  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6NkN8nsM2as;>  
hafi muslim, 27 January 2011

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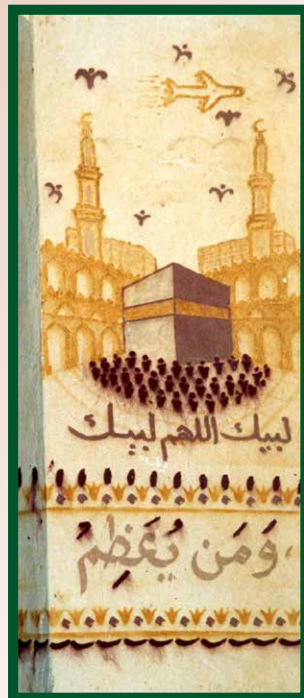
# Hajj

## Global Interactions through Pilgrimage

Every year, in the last month of the Islamic calendar, millions of Muslims from around the world come together in Mecca to perform the Hajj, the pilgrimage that all capable Muslims should perform at least once in their lives. In 2013, the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden organised the exhibition *Longing for Mecca. The Pilgrim's Journey*. The chapters in this volume are the outcome of the two-day symposium on the Hajj, which was held at the museum in connection to the exhibition.

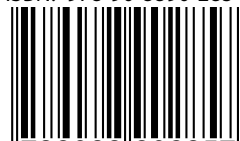
The central theme that runs through the book is how Hajj practices, representations of Mecca and the exchange of Hajj-related objects have changed over time. The chapters in the first part of the book discuss religious, social, and political meanings of the Hajj. Here the relationship is addressed between the significance of pilgrimage to Mecca for the religious lives of individuals and groups and the wider contexts that they are embedded in. Together, these anthropological contributions provide insights into the effects on Hajj practices and meanings for present-day Muslims caused by current dimensions of globalisation processes. The second part of the book takes material expressions of the Hajj as its starting point. It explores what Hajj-related artefacts can tell us about the import of pilgrimage in the daily lives of Muslims in the past and present. The contributions in this part of the volume point out that Mecca has always been a cosmopolitan city and the nodal point of global interactions far exceeding religious activities.

Together, the chapters in this book depict the Hajj ritual as a living tradition. Each with its own focus, the various contributions testify to the fact that, while the rites that make up the Hajj were formulated and recorded in normative texts in early Islam, details in the actual performance and interpretations of these rites are by no means static, but rather have evolved over time in tandem with changing socio-political circumstances.



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