

Scholarship in Action

*Essays on the Life and Work of
Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936)*

Edited by

Léon Buskens and Jan Just Witkam

with Annemarie van Sandwijk



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Notes on Contributors

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is the Dunbar-Van Cleve Professor in Arts & Sciences at Washington University in St. Louis, and recurrent Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics. He has been studying Islam and society in Indonesia since the late 1970s, and since 2001 has worked in France, England, and North America on problems of pluralism, law, and religion, and in particular on contemporary efforts to rethink Islamic norms and civil law. His most recent book on Asia is *Islam, Law and Equality in Indonesia: An Anthropology of Public Reasoning* (Cambridge, 2003). His *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves* (Princeton, 2007) concerned current debates in France on Islam and laïcité. *Can Islam be French?* (Princeton, 2009) treated Muslim debates and institutions in France and appeared in French in 2011. *A New Anthropology of Islam* from Cambridge and *Blaming Islam* from MIT Press appeared in 2012, and *European States and their Muslim Citizens: The Impact of Institutions on Perceptions and Boundaries* appeared from Cambridge in late 2013. In 2016 he published *On British Islam: Religion, Law and Everyday Practice in Shari'a Councils* (Princeton). He also writes regularly for *The Boston Review*. His current work concerns ways to analytically span regions in studying law, religion (Islam), and the state.

Léon Buskens

studies and teaches law and culture in Muslim societies from an anthropological and historical perspective, for which he holds a chair at Leiden University. He tries to understand how people shape Islam in everyday life, in relation to other practices and to religious teachings. Since 1984 he has been studying Morocco, in 2005 he first visited Indonesia, another strong interest. He also publishes on the history of oriental studies and anthropology, especially on the European study of Islamic law. From 2016 he has been the director of the Netherlands Institute in Morocco (NIMAR), a branch of Leiden University in Rabat.

Kees van Dijk

is Emeritus Professor of the History of Modern Islam in Indonesia and a former senior researcher of the KITLV/Royal Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (Leiden). The title of his PhD thesis was *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam: the Darul Islam in Indonesia* (KITLV 1981). Among his publications are *A Country in Despair. Indonesia between 1997 and 2000* (KITLV 2001), *The Netherlands Indies and the Great War, 1914-1918* (KITLV 2007), together with Jean Gelman Taylor *Cleanliness and Culture. Indonesian Histories* (KITLV 2011), together with Jajat Burhanudin *Islam in Indonesia: Contrasting Images and Interpretations* (Amsterdam University Press 2013), and together with Nico J.G. Kaptein

Islam, Politics and Change. The Indonesian Experience after the Fall of Suharto (Leiden University Press 2016).

Wim van den Doel

(1962) received his PhD from Leiden University in 1994 with a dissertation on the colonial civil service on Java. He is Professor of History at Leiden University and Erasmus University Rotterdam and Professor of Humanities and Technology at the Technical University Delft. From 2007 to 2016 he was dean of the Faculty of Humanities of Leiden University and from 2017-2020 member of the Executive Board of the Dutch Research Council. Since 2020 he has been dean of the Leiden-Delft-Erasmus Universities Alliance. In 2021 he published a biography of Snouck Hurgronje: *Snouck. Het volkomen geleerdenleven van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje* (Amsterdam: Prometheus).

Cees Fasseur

(1938-2016), a lawyer and a historian, was Professor of the History of Southeast Asia, in particular of Indonesia and its connection with Dutch history, at Leiden University. He published several books on the Dutch colonial past in Indonesia, such as *De indologen* (The Indologists), *De weg naar het paradijs* (The Way to Paradise) en *Indischgasten*. For a number of years he held the post of senior adviser at the Ministry of Justice. He was awarded the triennial prize for biography from the city of Dordrecht for *Wilhelmina*. On 14 December 2001 he delivered his farewell address "Rechtsschool en raciale vooroordelen," (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2001). Thereafter he continued his career as a judge at the Court of Appeal in Amsterdam. He retired in 2006. His memoirs *Dubbelspoor* were published posthumously in 2016.

Ulrike Freitag

is a historian of the modern Middle East and director of the Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient in conjunction with a professorship at Freie Universität Berlin (since 2002). She studied history and Middle Eastern studies in Bonn, Damascus and Freiburg from where she obtained her PhD in 1990. After teaching at the Open University, Hagen, she became a lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in 1993. Freitag has published on modern Syrian historiography (*Geschichtsschreibung in Syrien 1920-1990*, Hamburg 1991) and on *Indian Ocean Migrants and State Formation in Hadhramaut* (Leiden 2003). Her main research interest is the history of the Arabian Peninsula in a translocal perspective, with a particular focus on urban and cultural history. Her latest book is *A History of Jeddah. The Gate to Mecca in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge, New York 2020).

Peter Hamburger

holds a master's degree in public administration from Harvard University. He retired from the Australian Public Service in 2007 as head of the Cabinet Division in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet and was awarded a Public Service Medal for work on building a relationship between the public services of Australia and Indonesia on cabinet and policy coordination process.

Nico J.G. Kaptein

(PhD, 1989) is Professor of Islam in Southeast Asia at Leiden University, the Netherlands. His research deals with the relations between the Middle East and Southeast Asia in the religious domain, both from a historic and a contemporary perspective. Currently, he is working on a biography of Ahmad Khatib of Minangkabau (1860-1916). He is also section and contributing editor for Southeast Asia of the authoritative *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, THREE Edition (Leiden: Brill, 2007-).

Jean Kommers

is a cultural anthropologist. His dissertation was about the civil service in the Dutch East Indies. Later he remained interested in colonial history and published about Snouck Hurgronje's *De Atjèhers* and *Mekka*. Another field of interest, closely related to colonial history, is the formation of images about (exotic) peoples. At the moment he participates in a research project about 'Gypsies' (University of Sevilla, Spain: *paradojas de la ciudadanía* – <https://paradojas.hypotheses.org/>) and is studying the development and literary presentation of images and stereotypes of 'gypsies' in nineteenth-century juvenile literature of four different national traditions: Dutch, English, French and German.

Gerard van Krieken

(1944) studied in Leiden and Tunis. He earned his doctorate with a dissertation entitled *Khayr al-Din et la Tunisie, 1850-1881* (Leiden 1976). He published, among other works, *Corsaires et marchands, les relations entre Alger et les Pays-Bas, 1604-1830* (Paris 2002), *Syb Talma (1864-1916), een biografie* (Hilversum 2013), and together with Paul Brood and Jan Spoelder, *De wijde wereld van Cornelis Pijnacker, 1570-1645* (Zwolle 2018). Furthermore, he took care of the publication of Cornelis Pijnacker's *Historysch verhael van de steden Thunes, Algiers ende andere steden in Barbarien gelegen* (Den Haag 1975), of which a French translation appeared in Algiers in 2015 entitled *Description historique des villes de Tunis, d'Alger et d'autres se trouvant en Barbarie* (1626).

Michael Laffan

is Professor of History and Paula Chow Professor of International and Regional Studies at Princeton University, where he has taught since 2005. His previous work has looked at Muslim nationalism and Dutch orientalism across the Indian Ocean. A forthcoming book addresses questions of Malay identity and loyalty during moments of regime change in the same arena.

Willem Otterspeer

(1950) studied history and philosophy in Utrecht. From 1979 he worked at Leiden University, first as curator at the Academic Historical Museum and later as Professor of University History. Between 1979 and 1990 he contributed as a cultural critic to daily newspaper *NRC Handelsblad*, and later he also wrote for *De Volkskrant*. In 1992 he earned his doctorate with a dissertation about Leiden University in the nineteenth century, entitled *De wiekslag van hun geest*. This book served as the foundation for a four-volume history of Leiden University which was completed in 2021. He also published biographies of philosopher G.J.P.J. Boland (1995), historian Johan Huizinga (2006) and writer W.F. Hermans (two volumes, 2013 and 2015).

Annemarie van Sandwijk

(1981) holds a double master's degree in History and in Theology and Religious Studies from Leiden University (both cum laude). For several years she worked as an editor at the Leiden University Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (LUCIS) and the Netherlands Interuniversity School for Islamic Studies (NISIS). In 2016 she co-edited, with Léon Buskens, *Islamic Studies in the Twenty-first Century. Transformations and Continuities* (Amsterdam University Press). Currently she works as a speechwriter at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Jan Schmidt

obtained his doctorate in 1992 at Leiden University, and retired as lecturer in Turkish Studies from the same university in 2016. He wrote numerous monographs and articles on Ottoman history and literature and is the author of a four-volume catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts kept in Dutch libraries. In 2018 he published *The Orientalist Karl Süssheim Meets the Young Turk Officer İsmail Hakkı Bey. Two Unexplored Sources from the Last Decade in the Reign of the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II* with Brill.

Jan Just Witkam

(Leiden, 1945) studied Arabic, Persian and Modern History of the Middle East in Leiden (MA in 1972). In 1989 he defended his Leiden PhD thesis on the life and work of the Mamluk physician Ibn al-Akfani. From 1974 to 2005 he was

keeper of Oriental manuscripts (and since 1980 also of Oriental printed books) in Leiden University Library. He wrote an inventory of the Leiden Oriental manuscripts, now published in 25 volumes (<http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/index.html>) with the 26th volume in preparation. From 2002 to 2010 he was Professor of Islamic Manuscript Culture at Leiden University. Presently he is editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, published since 2010 by Brill in Leiden. He has published abundantly about Islamic manuscripts and books, and since 1985 also regularly about the life and work of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.

Daniël van der Zande

(Amsterdam, 1949) is an independent scholar.

Wim van Zanten

was staff member of the University of Malawi from 1967-1971 and from 1971-2007 of the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology at Leiden University. He has done fieldwork on music in Malawi (1969-1971, 2008) and Indonesia (1976-present). From 1997-2001 he was programme director of the “Performing Arts in Asia: Tradition and Innovation” research programme of the International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden. He has published widely on music of West Java. His most recent publication is *Music of the Baduy People of Western Java* (Leiden: Brill, 2021) which is about music and dance of the indigenous group of the Baduy and includes audio-visual examples that are available online. For further information and publications see <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1406-3884>.

Notes on Transliteration, Names and Dates

For the transliteration of words, personal and place names in Middle Eastern languages – mainly Arabic – we have conformed to the guidelines of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (IJMES) as much as possible, while respecting the individual preferences of the contributing authors. This has resulted in an adequately uniform transliteration system throughout the book, which is accessible for both the interested layman who will hardly notice the minor inconsistencies that invariably come with our approach, and the specialist who will be able to navigate them with ease. Unless otherwise specified dates are given in terms of the Common Era (CE).

PART 1

Introduction and Biography



Chris, Christiaan, Snouck, Snouck Hurgronje, ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, the Master. Images of a Scholar in Action

Léon Buskens and Annemarie van Sandwijk

“Man la shaykha lahu, fa-l-shaytan shaykhuhu.”

POPULAR ISLAMIC TRADITION, quoted by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje¹

“Man virgilt einem Lehrer schlecht, wenn man immer nur der Schüler bleibt.”

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, *Also sprach Zarathustra*, quoted by Georges-Henri Bousquet and Joseph Schacht in their foreword to *Selected Works of C. Snouck Hurgronje* (1957)

“The East is a career.”

BENJAMIN DISRAELI, *Tancred*, quoted by Edward Said as a motto in *Orientalism* (1978)

1 A Life as an Orientalist²

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) was one of the most famous orientalist of the first decades of the twentieth century.³ He made his *début* in the world of international scholarship as a young doctor at the sixth International Orientalists’ Congress in Leiden in 1883. In the years to follow he became a

1 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 11: *Geschriften betreffende het Moham-medaansche recht* (Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1923), 390 (footnote 3).

2 This introduction has a considerable bibliographical dimension. Many of the references mentioned are incorporated in a bibliography of literature on Snouck Hurgronje and his times at the end of this introductory chapter. Léon Buskens is grateful to François Pouillon for his constant interest in his research on Snouck Hurgronje and for his critical reading of this contribution. The authors thank Jan Just Witkam for his comments and corrections.

3 For concise overviews of Snouck Hurgronje’s work and life, see the biographical sketch by Jan Just Witkam following this contribution, and the lavishly illustrated portrait in: Arnoud Vrolijk and Richard van Leeuwen (translated by Alastair Hamilton), *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands. A Short History in Portraits, 1580-1950* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2014), 117-150. Wim



FIGURE 1.1 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje as an honorary member of the Oriental Society in the Netherlands and former chairman at its eighth congress in Leiden from 6 until 8 January 1936, a few months before his death on 26 June 1936. Next to him the Sanskrit scholar, archaeologist and epigrapher Jean Philippe Vogel, Professor of Indology and his successor as a chairman of the Oriental Society; Professor Enno Littmann, eminent orientalist in Tübingen; and Professor Ernst Herzfeld, the main speaker of the congress, an archaeologist and Iranologist at that time based in London.

SOURCE: *THE LIBRARY OF ENNO LITTMANN*

fast-rising star, already acting as a secretary to the section on “Semitics A” at the next meeting of the Congress in Vienna in 1886. When the Congress returned to Leiden in 1931 for its eighteenth meeting, he was its president, and the absolute master of the event. In 1883 the young Snouck had just met, and befriended, his first Arab acquaintance at the first International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in Amsterdam.⁴ He brought Amin al-Madani to the Oriental-

van den Doel recently published the first scholarly biography: *Snouck. Het volkomen geleerdenleven van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2021).

4 On this encounter, see: Kathryn Anne Schwartz, “Experiencing Orientalism: Amin al-Madani and the Sixth Oriental Congress, Leiden, 1883,” in *The Muslim Reception of European Orientalism. Reversing the Gaze*, eds. Susannah Heschel and Umar Ryad (London: Routledge, 2019), 39-60.



FIGURE 1.2 Portrait of Amin b. Hasan al-Halawani al-Madani al-Hanafi (d. 1898), photograph taken during his visit to Leiden at the occasion of the sixth International Orientalists' Congress in September 1883 by Jan Goedeljee. ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPH: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

ists' Congress in Leiden and presumably played a part in the acquisition of al-Madani's library of manuscripts for Leiden University. He translated the impressions of the Leiden congress in 1883 that al-Madani published in an Egyptian newspaper into Dutch and had them published by Brill, a first case of cooperation with an oriental informant. In the decades to follow he would meet many more Arabs – scholars, princes, and street vendors. He would spend almost two decades in Indonesia, befriend a Zanzibari princess and her son, admire her daughters, explore possibilities for new research in Turkey which was on the brink of profound changes, and acquire numerous oriental manuscripts, printed books, photographs, sound recordings, and ethnographic objects. At his death he would leave these treasures to Leiden, while he had transmitted his knowledge to many students from all over Europe and Indonesia. Through his voluminous and forceful writings as well as his connections and social skills, he would influence profoundly the field of Islamic, Arabic, and Indonesian studies, also through collective enterprises such as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Snouck Hurgronje had access to politicians in the Netherlands, and also enjoyed a considerable international reputation. He was one of the most respected and powerful scholars of his time, and a public figure in the Netherlands. He left a stately mansion on the main canal of Leiden to his Dutch wife and their daughter. In many respects his life was full of adventure, intellectual accomplishments, and social and economic achievement. Towards the end of his life he became quite melancholic, as Wim van den Doel describes so well in his recent biography. In the depth of his heart he may have suffered from the fact that, thirty years earlier, he had had to leave his second Sundanese wife as well as the children from his first two marriages behind in Java, in the good care of his Muslim friends in Bandung. Equally, he might still have occasionally remembered the beautiful Abyssinian companion whom he had to leave in Mecca while she was pregnant when he was expelled in 1885.⁵

At the end of his life Snouck Hurgronje could look back on a highly fruitful career dedicated to scholarship. Between 1923 and 1927 his “minor” works had been collected in six volumes (one consisting of two parts), amounting to more than three thousand pages in print (without the indices). They show the wealth and depth of his scholarship in multiple fields: Islam, especially history, poli-

5 Jan Just Witkam reconstructed through serendipitous reasoning the amount of money paid (150 Maria Theresia Thalers), and that the name of this enslaved lady might have been Sa'ida, as he argues in the introduction to the annotated translation of the Meccan proverbs in this volume, referring to proverb no. 51, and also in his biographical sketch. A similar line of reasoning might suggest that one of the photographs of coloured enslaved ladies might in fact be a portrait of his companion. See figure 5,7 in this volume.

tics, and law; Arabia, Turkey, and Indonesia; (oral) literature and linguistics; and numerous, sometimes rather acerbic, book reviews, obituaries, and shorter essays on ethnography, politics, and colonial policy. To understand the development of his ideas the texts of his essays as he had revised them for his collected works should be carefully compared with the original publications. After his articles and essays had been collected, he continued to publish and to contribute to the public debate, both in national newspapers and in brochures.

Three monographs, combining history, ethnography, and philology, were the solid foundation of Snouck Hurgronje's scholarly reputation. He had written them on the basis of extensive fieldwork, interviews, reports by local informants, and the meticulous study of indigenous and Western texts. They dealt with two areas that were seminal for his study of Muslim societies: the Hijaz (Jeddah and Mecca), and Northern Sumatra (Aceh and Gayo). The two volumes on the history and ethnography of Mecca, together with two volumes of plates, mainly photographs, appeared in 1888 and 1889. A revised and illustrated English translation of the second volume was published in 1931 as a historical-ethnographic study. The two volumes on Aceh appeared in 1893 and 1894, the portfolio with photographs in 1895. An illustrated English translation was published in 1906. The volume on the Gayo with a separate map appeared in 1903. In 1891 and 1892 Snouck Hurgronje published his findings on daily life and Islam in Java, the fruits of his first extensive fieldwork after his arrival in Indonesia as an advisor to the colonial government. His research was published in the fictionalised form of letters by a retired Javanese colonial civil servant in a colonial newspaper *De Locomotief*.⁶ Michael Laffan discusses this work in his contribution to the present volume.

In 1880 Snouck Hurgronje had made a brilliant entry into the world of scholarship with a doctoral dissertation on the origins of the ritual of the pilgrimage to Mecca, written according to the principles of the historical-critical approach to religion current in Leiden at that time. In 1906 he returned from Indonesia to Leiden to succeed his teacher Michaël Jan de Goeje (1836-1909) who had held the chair of Arabic. He would again be involved, as he had been before his prolonged stay in Indonesia, in the training of scholars and civil servants for the colonies. In 1911 he transformed his lectures on Islam and colonial policy into a book, and in 1915 a revised and enlarged edition would appear. The colonial *Revue du Monde Musulman* immediately published a French translation in

6 For the ethnographic notes of Snouck Hurgronje on his first fieldwork in Java in 1889-1891, see: Ph.S. van Ronkel, "Aanteekeningen over Islam en folklore in West- en Midden-Java. Uit het reisjournaal van Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 101 (1942): 311-339.

1911. In his preface, Alfred Le Chatelier praised the views of Snouck Hurgronje, whose knowledge was firmly based on his experiences living in Mecca as a young man, advocating cooperation and association, and who should serve as an example for French colonial policy in North Africa. Snouck Hurgronje's plea for "la claire raison de la justice sociale et de la vérité scientifique,"⁷ would lead to a proper colonial policy.

In 1916 Snouck Hurgronje published the general lectures on Islam which he had given in 1914 at the invitation of the "American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions." In 1924 he would again contribute a substantial introduction to Islam to a general handbook of religion in German. In 1957, on the centenary of his birth, two of his internationally most renowned students, Joseph Schacht (1902-1969) and Georges-Henri Bousquet (1900-1978), published a selection of his writings in English and French, in order to honour their master and serve future generations of students. Nowadays Snouck Hurgronje is hardly read anymore as a guide to understand Islam. If he still enjoys some fame, it is mainly among Indonesians studying Islam in their country and some foreign specialists, and among scholars and collectors interested in Mecca and Jeddah in the nineteenth century.

2 Useful Knowledge

Apart from these public writings, Snouck Hurgronje was a prolific author of reports and advice to the colonial government in his various capacities as an advisor, both during his stay in Indonesia and later as a professor in Leiden. Two of his former students and diplomats in Jeddah, Emile Gobée (1881-1954) and Cornelis Adriaanse (1896-1964), posthumously published a selection of these confidential reports in three hefty volumes between 1957 and 1965, amounting to over 2,100 pages (without the indices).⁸ This publication, again on the occasion of the centenary of his birth, indicates how much his ideas and his memory were cherished by former students who occupied prominent positions in academia and in public administration.

The policy briefs and reports are part of Snouck Hurgronje's political commitment that was as important as his academic life. Already during his visit to Mecca he tried to combine scholarly and policy-oriented work. As Jan Just Wit-

7 Alfred Le Chatelier, preface to the French translation of Snouck Hurgronje, "Politique musulmane de la Hollande," *Revue du Monde Musulman* 14, no. 6 (1911) : 379.

8 The text is online available at: <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/snouck/#page=0&accessor=toc&view=homePane>

kam has documented, for a brief while he cherished the hope that he would be allowed to combine a position as consul in Jeddah with in-depth scholarly research in the Hijaz.⁹ He expressed bitter resentment over the lack of interest in The Hague for his insights and advice. In 1889, to his satisfaction, his life would take a new turn when he was appointed as advisor for Islamic affairs in Indonesia. There he again combined fieldwork with extensive studies of local writings, occasionally acquired as booty on the battlefield.¹⁰ He enjoyed being on horseback with the colonial army “pacifying” Aceh according to the ideas he developed on the basis of his fieldwork, collaborating with the local landholding elites who would pay so dearly for their colonial prominence when the country obtained independence.

After his return as a professor Snouck Hurgronje would again become deeply involved in the training of colonial civil servants in Leiden, just as he had been in his first job as a young doctor. He would teach them his ideas about an “ethical” approach in colonialism, entailing the association of the elites of both countries who would then work together towards modernity and social welfare. As an advisor to the Dutch government he influenced its policy towards the new government in Arabia, backing the Sa’ud family against his former protectors the sharifs of Mecca. For decades he would decide on who amongst his students would be appointed to the consulate in Jeddah. When the Dutch were reluctant to enter into the business of oil exploitation in Saudi-Arabia, an opportunity they were offered because of their excellent contacts through the Arabists at the Jeddah consulate, an American firm asked Snouck Hurgronje for legal advice on the contract under negotiation.

The combination of academic work of the highest quality with advice, whether solicited or not, on colonial policy and other social issues, was becoming more common in Snouck Hurgronje’s time. He was one of the “architects” of applied, or “modern” Islamic studies, which aimed to produce “useful knowledge,” as he himself liked to stress. He worked together with colleagues in other European countries, corresponding with them, having them as guests at his stately mansion, meeting them at orientalist congresses, and collaborating on scholarly projects such as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Prominent colleagues participating in this endeavour included, in Germany, Carl Heinrich Becker and Martin Hartmann, in France Louis Massignon, and in England Edward G.

9 Jan Just Witkam, “Snouck Hurgronje’s Consular Ambitions,” in *Scholarship between Europe and the Levant. Essays in Honour of Alastair Hamilton*, eds. Jan Loop and Jill Kraye (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020), 349-373.

10 Cf. Jan Just Witkam, “Teuku Panglima Polem’s Purse. Manuscripts as War Booty in Colonial Times,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 10, no. 1 (2019): 84-104.

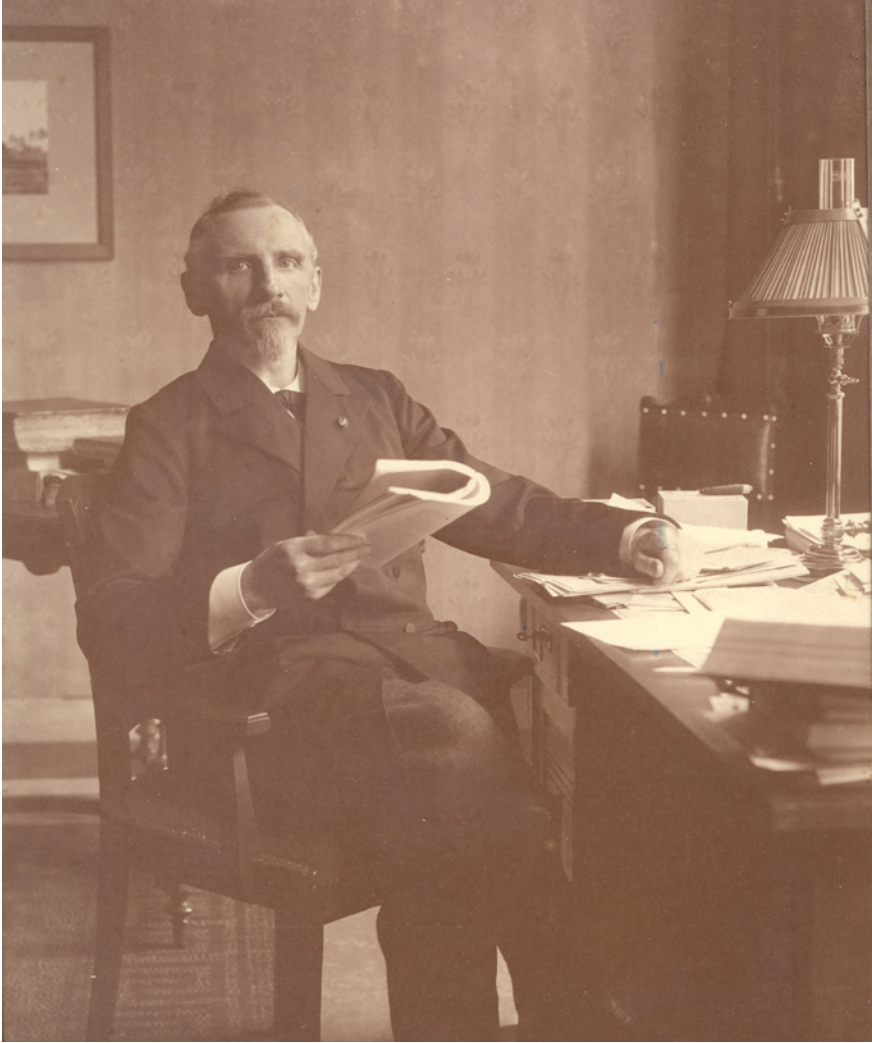


FIGURE 1.3 Snouck Hurgronje at home in his study on Witte Singel 84a in Leiden in circa 1910, photograph taken by Jan Goedeljee Jr.

ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPH: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Browne.

In 1910 the journal *Revue du Monde Musulman*, which promoted French colonisation of Morocco by publishing “useful knowledge” about the Muslim world, presented portraits of three “masters” of Islamic studies, among them Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.¹¹ In a separate article Caboton praised Snouck

¹¹ LB owes this reference, and the original off-print, to his dear colleague the late Claude

Hurgronje's involvement with the education of the local elite as part of his vision of a colonial policy of modernisation and association, which would take shape through collaboration. In 1911 the same journal, as we saw, promptly published a French translation of his lectures for Dutch colonial civil servants. He would later be appointed "honorary advisor" to the French protectorate government in Morocco. In the domain of Islamic law, Georges-Henri Bousquet, together with Joseph Schacht, would be among his foremost students. Bousquet was professor at the Faculty of Law in Algiers and combined ethnography and sociology with textual studies. From his mother he had learned Dutch, and this facilitated his access to Snouck Hurgronje's work and other colonial literature about Indonesia. In 1938 he would publish two voluminous pleas to the French to follow the example of the Dutch colonial policy towards Islam as shaped by Snouck Hurgronje and Cornelis van Vollenhoven.

In the meantime, Snouck Hurgronje's project for the production of useful knowledge had been seriously menaced by the Great War. In 1914 the Ottoman authorities proclaimed a *jihad* to free all colonised peoples. According to Snouck Hurgronje his German comrades at arms for the creation of an applied *Islamwissenschaft*, such as Becker and Hartmann, had been involved in instilling the idea among the Ottoman allies of Germany, and he expressed this opinion in no uncertain terms in his essay "Holy War made in Germany." He considered with disgust the general enthusiasm for the war. The German involvement in the proclamation of a holy war against the colonial powers was an attack on civilisation and modernity, which put at risk law and order in the colonies, and the lives of the white men residing there. His colleague and friend Becker was furious about what he regarded as false accusations, and a harsh polemic ensued.¹² The polemic was revealing about Snouck Hurgronje's cultural ideals, even if he played down his own defence of national colonialist interests. The clash was also an obstacle to the common project of an *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, which had both an academic and a colonialist dimension. After a few years Snouck Hurgronje and his German friends made peace again. In the Nether-

Lefébure: Lucien Bouvat, "Trois Maîtres des Etudes musulmanes," *Revue du Monde Musulman* 12, no. 12 (1910). On the French colonial project in Morocco and the role of academia, see Edmund Burke III, *The Ethnographic State. France and the Invention of Moroccan Islam* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2014).

12 A detailed analysis of the controversy, with further references, can be found in: Léon Buskens, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, "Holy War" and Colonial Concerns," in *Jihad and Islam in World War I. Studies on the Ottoman Jihad on the Centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's "Holy War Made in Germany,"* ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2016), 29-51. See also: Christiaan Engberts, "Orientalists at War. Personae and Partiality at the Outbreak of the First World War," in *Scholarly Personae in the History of Orientalism, 1870-1930*, eds. Christiaan Engberts and Herman Paul (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2019), 172-192.

lands national interests still had a colonial dimension, while Germany had lost its Muslim subjects. Knowledge about them remained useful, however, since Germany's imperial ambitions had not yet come to an end.

With decolonisation after the Second World War, knowledge of Islam was no longer considered as useful as it had once been, and many orientalists turned from Islamic law to literature or history. Some students of Snouck Hurgronje remained faithful to the master, continuing the tradition in journals such as *Studia Islamica*, co-founded by Joseph Schacht. His student and successor in Leiden, G.W.J. Drewes (1899-1992), also carried on the message, reading to his students the notes he had made while sitting with his teacher. The 1903 handbook on Islamic law by Th.W. Juynboll (1866-1948), which could be considered a distillation of Snouck Hurgronje's once useful knowledge of Islamic law, also remained a textbook to be learned by heart by Arabists and other orientalists in the making. The particular approach to Islam that Snouck Hurgronje, together with his students and foreign colleagues, had developed for half a century thus continued to structure the study of Islam and the Muslim world. In the Netherlands this tradition persisted until well into the eighties. It is striking to see that the *person* of Snouck Hurgronje would become the object of fierce confrontations, mainly of an *ad hominem* character, but that his legacy, as it still existed in the very structures of the study of Islam, drew less attention.¹³

The use of knowledge of Islam regained recognition from the late 1970s onwards, when Muslim families settled in Western Europe, and in later debates about cultural diversity and superiority. At the beginning of the new millennium these debates were often linked to concerns about security and terrorism. In 2016 the conservative-liberal weekly *Elsevier* published a third edition of Snouck Hurgronje's *Nederland en de Islam*, originally published in 1911, praising the book as still "extremely timely" because the authorities in the Dutch East Indies were struggling then with the same problems as the government in The Hague nowadays. According to the publisher the clear answers of 1911 still deserved a wide audience.¹⁴ The formulation of the problems shows that the

13 For example: Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, "Koloniale restanten in het hedendaagse Nederlandse islambeleid," in *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam. Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk*, ed. Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1987), 215-239.

14 From the text on the blurb: "Deze bundel verscheen voor het eerst in 1911 en is nog steeds uiterst actueel. Snouck beschrijft de islam gedegen en glashelder. De autoriteiten in het toenmalige Nederlands-Indië zaten met hetzelfde probleem als Den Haag tegenwoordig in eigen land. Wat te doen met radicale elementen? Moeten we eigen imams opleiden? Hoe groot is de invloed van het Arabisch schiereiland op de islamitische bevolking? Waar

public debate about the “Islam question” in the Netherlands, and maybe elsewhere as well, could still benefit from more critical reflection on the colonial roots of Islamic studies, as initiated by Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld.

3 A Case Study in the History of Scholarship

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje was an exceptional man with many talents. He was good at learning languages, reading and speaking them fluently. He enjoyed social skills that enabled him to frequent both the high and mighty and the humblest, and to create a network that connected him to scholars in the East and the West, ministers and monarchs, as well as street sellers and soldiers. His many talents, interests and ambitions gave his life multiple dimensions, which resulted in admiration, friendship, love, enmity, and reproof. It also led to many images, partly affected by the images that he endeavoured to convey himself to others through what Erving Goffman would have called impression management and self-presentation. His archives are in some respects overwhelmingly rich in material, and in other respects alarmingly poor. To a certain degree the lacunae seem to be of his own conscious making, suggesting a strategy behind the archive.

Snouck Hurgronje was a scholar and a prolific writer, an impressive and, for some, a fearsome teacher, a public intellectual who eagerly expressed himself about political and social issues, a power broker in academic¹⁵ and administrative circles, an adventurous traveller and a voracious collector of manuscripts, printed books, ethnographical objects, images, and sounds. He was also a son, brother, husband, father, friend, and student. By birth he belonged to a patrician lineage, albeit with a chip on his shoulder caused by his parents' elopement. As a family man he succeeded in recreating some of the wealth that should go with the peerage his father had lost, ending his life in a mansion that in Leiden terms would be considered a palace. In this volume the authors try to make some sense of these multiple aspects of a rich life, which in its turn has become the subject of so many, often contrary and controversial images. We shall take into account the images and self-images with a critical spirit.

As its title indicates, this volume focuses on Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje as

ligt de grens van de gewetensvrijheid? De heldere antwoorden van Snouck uit 1911 verdienen nog steeds een breed publiek.”

15 On the scholarly projects at Leiden in which Snouck Hurgronje actively participated, see: J.T.P. Bruijn, “Collective Studies of the Muslim World: Institutions, Projects and Collections,” in *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850-1940*. ed. Willem Otterspeer (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 94-114.



FIGURE 1.4
Indonesian cartoon of Snouck Hurgronje as a Godfather puppeteer popping up in internet searches.

SOURCE: INTERNET

a scholar, and in the role that he actively pursued in society and politics. He presented himself as an “orientalist,” practising a particular branch of the humanities that took texts in the original oriental languages as a point of departure. He combined a solid understanding of these texts, especially on Islamic law, with a fluency in many spoken variants, and research in the actual societies of which these texts are part by what we nowadays call “fieldwork.” His work is rooted in a sharp ear for spoken languages, an eye for observing human behaviour, an outstanding gift for analysis, and a lively, engaging style full of wit creating authority. The English translation of a collection of Meccan proverbs that Jan Just Witkam contributes to this volume offers an early example of these many talents. Although in disciplinary terms he might be called a philologist, a historian, or an ethnographer, he himself proudly assumed the term “orientalist.”

Our focus on scholarship is a choice among many possible approaches. It is related to new turns in intellectual history. One example is the interest in the *scholarly persona*, strongly advocated for the study of orientalism by our Leiden colleague Herman Paul.¹⁶ The contributors to this volume pay special attention to the social and political context in which Snouck Hurgronje operated, which was the apex of European colonialism. The history of orientalist scholarship cannot be understood without taking this context into account. On the centenary of Snouck Hurgronje’s birth a critical approach to this social and political nexus was still uncommon. Indeed, his students had made their own career as scholars, and as members of the elite, thanks to the colonial dimension of Arabic, Indonesian and Islamic studies, as the example of his student and successor to the Leiden chair G.W.J. Drewes demonstrates. Critical reflection on colonialism and its links to scholarship was only barely budding, for example in the critical writings of Harry Benda, Jacques Berque, or Willem Wertheim. Orientalists were still having their international meetings, although with less political support and splendour.

¹⁶ For example, in: Christiaan Engberts and Herman Paul (eds.), *Scholarly Personae in the History of Orientalism, 1870-1930* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2019).



FIGURE 1.5 A portrait of Snouck Hurgronje next to Johan Rudolph Thorbecke (Leiden professor and prime minister) and Cornelis van Vollenhoven (Leiden professor and close friend of Snouck Hurgonje), underneath founding father Prince William of Orange, in the stained-glass window in the main hall ("Groot Auditorium") of the Leiden Academy building, designed by Louis Boormeester, installed in 1950 to commemorate the victims of the Second World War related to the university.

PHOTO: ROY BERNABELA 2021

From Snouck Hurgronje's time to well into the 1970s orientalism was not yet a charged label, but rather an honourable profession. All this would change with the work of Maxime Rodinson, and even more so through the bomb dropped by Edward Said with *Orientalism* in 1978. As we will see later, it took a while to detonate in Leiden. Although the mixture of scholarship, politics, ambition, and adventure would have been an ideal case for a Saidian analysis, we have preferred to go beyond this approach, which we consider no longer to be particularly productive. It leaves little space for the ambiguity and ambivalence that we consider to be so characteristic of real life, to which academia is by no means an exception. In fact, Snouck Hurgronje is hardly a familiar figure any more in Dutch academic or public culture. Nowadays, he is much more (in)famous in Saudi Arabia and in Indonesia. These new reputations and images show that Snouck Hurgronje, and orientalism in general, including its artistic aspects, are as much part of European culture and history as of the Asian and African societies concerned. Maybe the Indonesian cartoon of Snouck Hurgronje as a Godfather puppeteer delivered by Shaykh Google is more readily understandable than his image as a venerable ancestor in the stained-glass window in the Leiden Academy building installed shortly after the Second World War.

We understand these histories and the later images as products of exchange, dialogue and subtly shifting power balances through processes of hybridization, recycling, and re-creation. Scholars such as Nicholas Thomas and James Clifford have honed lenses and concepts to understand these colonial and post-colonial products. An important source of inspiration has been the work of our dear colleagues in Paris, notably François Pouillon, Jean-Claude Vatin and Mercedes Volait, who strongly advocate the perspective of post-orientalism.¹⁷ Ulrike Freitag's study of the meetings between Snouck Hurgronje and Ahmad Zayni Dahlan, the Shafi'i mufti and head of the Meccan scholars provides a relatively early example of the approach we advocate. She reconstructs in an exemplary way the exchanges between the young researcher and the old scholar, their mutual interests, world views, conceptual frameworks, and understandings of each other and of their knowledge.¹⁸ Freitag has ample atten-

17 For example: François Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française* (Paris: Karthala, 2012, nouvelle édition revue et augmentée); François Pouillon and Jean-Claude Vatin (eds.), *After Orientalism. Critical Perspectives on Western Agency and Eastern Re-appropriations* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2015); Guy Barthèlemy, Dominique Casajus, Sylvette Larzul, and Mercedes Volait (eds.), *L'orientalisme après la Querelle. Dans les pas de François Pouillon* (Paris: Karthala, 2016); François Pouillon, *Exotisme et intelligibilité. Itinéraires d'Orient* (Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2017).

18 Ulrike Freitag, "Der Orientalist und der Mufti: Kulturkontakt im Mekka des 19. Jahrhun-



FIGURE 1.6

Portrait of Hoesein Djajadiningrat, with his two “paranymphs,” at the occasion of his doctorate at Leiden University, 3 May 1913, conferred on him by his promotor Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.

SOURCE: INTERNET

tion for the agency of the mufti Dahlan. She demonstrates that the mufti was not only an informant for Snouck Hurgronje, who was in his turn a student and an informant for Dahlan. Both scholars used in their respective ways the information provided by the other in their own writings. For Freitag orientalism is not a one-way street, but a form of scholarly cooperation. Snouck Hurgronje’s private and scholarly life was full of these, often veiled or outright hidden exchanges and collaborations, as we see from the stories about his domestic life in Mecca and Java and his work with ‘Abd al-Ghaffar al-Tabib and Aboe Bakar in Mecca, or, later, his tutoring of the first Indonesian doctor at Leiden University, Hoesein Djajadiningrat. Michael Laffan, who also contributed to the present volume, has done extensive research on these collaborations and exchanges, resulting in a shared colonial culture of hybridity. The work of Hoesein Djajadiningrat, especially in the field of Islamic law and customs, deserves further study as an example of the extent in which the Orient was also a creation of “Orientals,” or of what Edward Said used to call “orientalism from within.”¹⁹

derts,” *Die Welt des Islams* 43, no. 1 (2003): 37-60.

19 For example, his lecture to celebrate the first anniversary of the Batavia Law School: Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *De Mohammedaansche Wet en het geestesleven der Indonesische Mohammedanen* (Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co., 1925); Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Verslag van de Commissie van advies nopens de voorgenomen herziening van de priesterraad-rechtspraak* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1926). His elder brother Achmad Djajadiningrat was also a pupil of Snouck Hurgronje, but, unlike his younger brother, could not pursue a doctorate in the Netherlands, since he had to take up family and administrative responsibilities after the early demise of his father. His mentor plays an important role in his memoirs: Achmad Djajadiningrat, *Herinneringen van Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat* (Amsterdam & Batavia: Kolff, 1936). He wrote the introduction to the special issue that the journal *Djawa* published to honour Snouck Hurgronje on his seventieth birthday, the occasion of his official retirement from Leiden University. His younger brother Hoesein Djajadiningrat contributed a study on Islamic and customary law. Other former students and colleagues also offered studies and a laudatory survey of his work: *Djawa* 7, no. 2 (1927).

4 Two Birthday Parties, Two Stock-takings

In 1957 Snouck Hurgronje's former students celebrated the centenary birthday of their master in Leiden. Fifty years later Jan Just Witkam, who is part of the *silsila* through his teacher G.W.J. Drewes, invited Léon Buskens to join him in a new commemoration. Afterwards we considered publishing the texts of the speakers and inviting a number of others to contribute as well. For many years, the project came to a standstill, seemingly as ill-fated as several other projects dealing with the legacy of Snouck Hurgronje. Thanks to the good services of Annemarie van Sandwijk the enterprise slowly started moving again.

The editors realise that since 2007 scholarly and societal debate has once more taken important new turns, giving rise to new questions and new sensitivities. In the years that followed we tried to persuade colleagues from Indonesia and Arabia to contribute their points of view, and maybe to present unknown sources, in vain. Since then, important work has been done by several colleagues, for example by Jajang A. Rohmana on the friendship between Snouck Hurgronje and Hasan Moestapa, one of his famous Sundanese collaborators, as we will see later on. Hamad al-Jasir published about Snouck Hurgronje in Arabia.²⁰ We would have preferred to incorporate some of these valuable studies which offer alternative understandings, but we have refrained from doing so since we thought there had already been too much delay in publishing the contributions of our colleagues, who have shown great patience and forbearance. References to some of the work done have been gathered in a bibliography at the end of this introduction.

The present volume represents yet another moment in the understanding of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, and of the field of orientalism that he helped to build. Our questions and approaches differ from those celebrating the centenary in 1957. For historical purposes, and to position our own work, we have included some documents which are quite difficult to find. With the *Orientalism* debate of the 1980s all scholars in the field of Middle Eastern and Islamic studies have lost their innocence, or was it *naïveté*? Our selection of contributors inevitably results in yet another selective image. Other selections would have been possible, even desirable. At least we hope to encourage colleagues to come up with alternative views. Our point of departure has been a serious study of the sources, and an attempt to avoid the moralising that obscured

20 Hamad al-Jasir, *Rahhala Gharbiyyun fi Biladina. 'Ard Mujaz li-Rihalat ba'd al-Gharbiyyin fi Qalb al-Jazira wa-Shimaliha, ma'a Damima laha Sila bil-Rihalat* (Al-Riyad: Dar al-Yamama lil-Bahth wal-Tarjama wal-Nashr, 1417), 101-192 (on Mekka at the time of Snouck Hurgronje). In the following contribution Jan Just Witkam discusses this work in greater detail.

Snouck Hurgronje in the 1980s.

This volume is by no means comprehensive, nor was it intended to be. It is, rather, a collection of fragments, which readers may rearrange to compose their own views as in a kaleidoscope. These rearrangements will lead to changing constellations, to shifting images and patterns, which allow for ambiguities and ambivalences. The studies make material and understandings available to an international audience in English. The authors all had access in various ways and to various degrees to primary sources, in Dutch, German, and other European languages, as well as in Arabic, Malay, Sundanese, Javanese and Acehnese.

We intend to offer to an international audience a steppingstone, a building block for further research. It might lead to a fresh, and maybe better understanding of a fascinating individual life, and a moment in the history of orientalism which formed part of a now vanished world of scholarship and politics. In several ways this past remains present in the tradition in which scholars of the Middle East and the Muslim world are working. In many respects we are standing on the shoulders of Snouck Hurgronje, his teachers, colleagues, and students, whether we like it, or them, or not. The collection is thus also an invitation to a critical reflection on this tradition, or “genealogy,” to be supplemented and criticised by others.

5 Hagiography and the Dawn of Critique

The Orientalism debate has made it clear that our understanding of the tradition that we work in is constantly changing, and that this understanding consists of images and representations. The availability of new, private sources from 1997 onwards profoundly changed our representations of Snouck Hurgronje. Previous generations had created their images from reading the master’s works. The older generation also benefited from direct contact which, according to their memoirs, could be quite overpowering, and from an oral tradition to which Jan Just Witkam is a witness through his extensive exchanges with former students such as G.W.J. Drewes, P. Voorhoeve, Th. Pigeaud, L.I. Graf, and Daniël van der Meulen. These men had not only been students of Snouck Hurgronje but had, in their turn, also worked in the colonial administration themselves, some as advisors or linguistic experts. Having considerable responsibility and wielding a certain authority as young men shaped their views, and practices, significantly.

In 1957 and the years that followed, Snouck Hurgronje’s widow Ida Oort (1873-1958) and their daughter Christien gradually transferred the private pa-

pers to Leiden University Library. In 1980, for example, Jan Just Witkam received Snouck Hurgronje's correspondence with Van der Chijs, the vice-consul in Jeddah during his stay there in 1884-1885, which would fundamentally change our understanding of the fieldwork in the Hijaz. The family established an embargo on free access and publication of these papers until 1 January 1997. Jan Just Witkam spoke at length with the daughter about her father and tried to gather as much material as possible for posterity. He made these collections accessible through inventories and publications. He also brought to the library the collections of Leiden foundations, such as the "Stichting Het Oosters Instituut," created on Snouck Hurgronje's retirement.

While the archival materials allow a different approach to Snouck Hurgronje, the original context of the documents is gradually vanishing. The reordering of the papers and objects by successive keepers is an expression of the changing context and changing uses of the archive: from scholarly and private mementos they become sources for distanced historical research. None of the people who had personally known Snouck Hurgronje is still alive, and this inevitably changes the meaning of the archive. Léon Buskens briefly met Christien Snouck Hurgronje, and students such as Voorhoeve, Graf, and Van der Meulen. A dear friend of his, the anthropologist, art historian and psychoanalyst Werner Muensterberger (1913-2011) shared his memories of a conversation with Snouck Hurgronje, whom he encountered in Leiden after he had had to flee Nazi Berlin. Snouck asked whether Werner needed to sleep a lot and assured him that he himself could also manage with just a few hours. Annemarie van Sandwijk, as a member of the younger generation, is no longer just one handshake away. However, Leiden still offers various traces of the colonial past, ranging from the holdings of the University Library and the museums to Snouck Hurgronje's house at Rapenburg 61, proudly inscribed to his memory after his death and its transfer to the Leiden University Foundation and since sold to a private investor. Then there is the house of his friend Cornelis van Vollenhoven on the other side of the canal, and the tea and coffee store *Het Klaverblad* on the Hogewoerd, in business since the last days of the VOC. Rather critical views of orientalism have replaced the former colonial context, which tended towards hero-worship. The collections have become the subject of new debates about the ethics of collecting and restitutions, to which Jan Just Witkam has recently contributed with a study of the war booty that Snouck Hurgronje acquired in Aceh.²¹

21 Cf. Jan Just Witkam, "Teuku Panglima Polem's Purse. Manuscripts as War Booty in Colonial Times," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 10, no. 1 (2019): 84-104.

This volume is, of course, not “just” presenting “raw material.” Already the archive itself is highly selective, or rather “selected.” First of all, Snouck Hurgronje himself made decisions of what he wanted to record, what papers he would keep, and what he would destroy. He was actively striving to create a certain image of himself, to leave certain traces and hide others. His wife and daughter in the Netherlands, in their turn, took decisions on what to hand over. For example, his wife Ida Oort destroyed a considerable part of the correspondence because she considered it to be too personal, or to contain elements that might have been dangerous during the German occupation in the Second World War.²² The material still in possession of the family and friends in Indonesia seems to be fairly limited.²³ New questions also give rise to new interests in sources that were not considered relevant in the past. For example, Jean Kommers and Léon Buskens would have liked to study Snouck Hurgronje’s literary taste by inspecting the actual copies of novels and poetry that he read, to understand possible influences on his style of ethnographic writing.

This volume is partly structured by the contrast between the image that Snouck Hurgronje wanted to convey of himself and the questions that researchers ask almost a century later. History shows the importance of frames of interpretation, of “theory,” which implicitly or explicitly guide the construction of “facts.” In this volume we tried to show the drastic changes in the images of Snouck Hurgronje since his death in 1936, and since the centenary of his birth in 1957. His burial took place early in the morning of Monday 29 June 1936, with only the physician Van Calcar present, in accordance with Snouck Hurgronje’s own will. He was buried in the grave of his mother and two sisters. Van Calcar wrote a series of articles in a national newspaper to lament the memory of this great Dutchman, which were afterwards separately published in a limited edition entitled *De Meester*, “The Master.”

Former students such as Van Ronkel and Van der Meulen also published obituaries and memoirs, which added to the mythical status of Snouck Hurgronje as a scholar and an extraordinary human being.²⁴ The commemorative texts by Drewes and Pedersen (1883-1977) from 1957, reprinted in this volume, continue this hagiographic tradition. It appears to have served some purpose at that time: great scholars have great teachers. It also marked the end of a tradition of scholarship that led to intellectually gratifying, adventurous, and

22 Cf. Arnoud Vrolijk, Peter Verhaar, and Saskia van Bergen, *Collection Guide Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2020), see https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1887407?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=a2dff0739ca8303c0d6&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=6&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=4

23 Cf. Van Koningsveld (ed.), *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, 1987; Van den Doel, *Snouck*, 2021.

24 For an overview of the further making of this myth, see: Van den Doel, *Snouck*, 2021.

sometimes also profitable careers in the colonies and in Leiden. Critical reflection on the relations between scholarship and colonialism were not yet a subject of serious study, at least in Leiden.²⁵ The coming instalments in the transmission of the Master's legacy were not yet known, although some were already well in the making. Within two years Drewes's execrable behaviour and undiluted animosity would prompt the arguably most gifted student of Snouck Hurgronje, Joseph Schacht, who in 1957 edited together with Georges-Henri Bousquet a selection of their late teacher's studies, to trade his professorship in Leiden for Columbia University. *Sic transit gloria*.

The first scholarly critique of Snouck Hurgronje would come from the United States. In 1958 Harry Benda (1919-1971) published his doctoral dissertation on Islam in Indonesia during the Japanese occupation, and a critical article on the role of Snouck Hurgronje in the making of Dutch colonial policy towards Islam.²⁶ Benda had come to know Dutch colonial society in Java as a refugee from the horrors of the Nazi regime in Czechoslovakia. He soon became fluent in Dutch and Malay, and socialised with many intellectuals, such as his neighbour Willem F. Wertheim (1907-1998). After surviving the Japanese camps, he finally installed himself in the United States, where his expertise fitted nicely into the burgeoning field of area studies, closely linked to the cold war efforts, which he would also submit to his critical analysis.

In the Netherlands Jacques Waardenburg (1930-2015) developed a critical view of the understanding of Islam in classical Islamic studies from the perspective of religious studies and phenomenology in his 1961 dissertation *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident*. He compared the work and life of Goldziher, Snouck Hurgronje, Becker, Macdonald and Massignon to understand how they had each formed their own image of Islam. Waardenburg was not too critical. His published dissertation had a preface by Pedersen, who also presented the *Selected Works* of Snouck Hurgronje at the 1957 centenary celebration in Leiden. In his presentation of Snouck Hurgronje's life Waardenburg stressed

25 It would be interesting to search for echoes of the critique that French scholars were formulating at the same time. Michel Leiris published his seminal essay "L'Ethnologue devant le colonialisme" in 1950, and a new edition of *LAfrique fantôme* in 1951. Georges Balandier published in 1951 his famous article "La situation coloniale: approche théorique." At about the same time a respectable orientalist such as Jacques Berque also started to critically review his own involvement in the colonial administration in Morocco, cf. François Pouillon, "Jacques Berque: les miroirs brisés de la colonisation," in *Ethnologues en situations coloniales*, eds. Christine Laurière and André Mary (Paris: Béroser - Encyclopédie internationale des histoires de l'anthropologie, Les Carnets de Béroser n° 11, 2019), 80-108.

26 Harry J. Benda, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia," *The Journal of Modern History* 30, no. 4 (1958): 338-347.

the political dimension of his work, which he regarded as something rare among other scholars, and of which a direct example was lacking in the Netherlands. In retrospect one could disagree with Waardenburg's restrictive view of politics. Waardenburg summarised Benda's critical analysis of Snouck Hurgronje's role in the making of a colonial Islam policy, to which he added no new elements himself.²⁷ With a different conceptual focus, the recent monograph by Lisa Medrow (2018) continues the comparison between the works and ideas of the founding fathers of modern Islamic studies.²⁸

Benda's former neighbour in Batavia, Willem Wertheim, would launch a critical attack on Snouck Hurgronje from his professorial chair in non-Western sociology at the University of Amsterdam in 1972. Wertheim came from a patriotic background not unlike Snouck Hurgronje's, and had studied law in Leiden with, among others, Cornelis van Vollenhoven, but not with Snouck Hurgronje. In 1936 he took up a chair at the Batavia Law School to train future civil servants for the colony, some of them with a "mixed" background. At the same school Hoesein Djajadiningrat explained the relationship between Islamic law and local customs according to the colonial vulgate developed by Snouck Hurgronje and Van Vollenhoven. After his sojourn in the Japanese camp in Cimahi (Java), again in the company of Harry Benda, Wertheim returned to the Netherlands to become a professor of non-Western sociology and a committed public intellectual. Non-Western sociology was a typical Dutch specialty, a continuation of the applied colonial study of "indigenous societies" at the service of modernity and development. Apparently these societies were so different that they could not be studied through "ordinary" sociology. Wertheim combined his analyses of third world politics and revolutionary movements with a strong sympathy for communist China, which made him one of the best-known Dutch fellow travellers. He criticised Snouck Hurgronje's elitist orientation, which had led him to support the Acehnese landed gentry who would continue to exploit the poor peasants until their bloody demise at the end of colonial rule.²⁹

27 Jacques Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident. Comment quelques orientalistes occidentaux se sont penchés sur l'Islam et se sont formés une image de cette religion* (Paris & La Haye: Mouton, 1963, second edition; origin. 1961, third edition 1970), 25-27.

28 Lisa Medrow, *Moderne Tradition und religiöse Wissenschaft. Islam, Wissenschaft und Moderne bei I. Goldziher, C. Snouck Hurgronje und C.H. Becker* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2018).

29 W.F. Wertheim, "Counter-Insurgency Research at the Turn of the Century. Snouck Hurgronje and the Aceh War," *Sociologische Gids* 19, no. 5-6 (1972): 320-328. In 1981 Wertheim would reiterate his views in response to the polemics in Leiden, clearly taking sides with Van Koningsveld because of Snouck Hurgronje's lack of honesty: W.F. Wertheim, "Snouck Hurgronje en de ethiek van sociaalwetenschappelijk onderzoek," *De Gids* 144 (1981): 323-



FIGURE 1.7 Opening of the Law School in Batavia, 1924. Professor Hoesein Djajadiningrat is sitting to the left.

SOURCE: TROPENMUSEUM

Wertheim carried on the critique that the journalist Paul van 't Veer had formulated three years earlier in his monograph on the Aceh war, where he argued that Snouck Hurgronje's advocacy of an "ethical policy" in fact supported the imperial interests of the Dutch in Indonesia, rather than criticising them. This critique did not keep Van 't Veer from expressing his agreement with the generally accepted image of Snouck Hurgronje as a genius.³⁰ The interest in the Aceh war, and the role of scholars in it, fitted in with the counter-culture of the late 1960s, in which protests against the imperialist war in Vietnam played a large role. The use by intelligence services of anthropological

327. Recently an anthropologist at a U.S. Naval War College also published a study on Snouck Hurgronje's role as a "military anthropologist" in the Aceh war: Montgomery McFate, "Useful Knowledge: Snouck Hurgronje and Islamic Insurgency in Aceh," *Orbis* 63, no. 3 (2019): 416-439. See also the lessons the contemporary Dutch army might learn from the Aceh war according to Martijn Kitzen, references included in the bibliography.

30 Paul van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1980, third edition; orig. 1969), 186.

knowledge, often without their authors' consent, produced by scholars such as Georges Condominas in Vietnam, or Eric Wolf in Latin America, provided a new framework in which to consider the colonial past and the tradition of orientalism. For Wertheim, as later for Van Koningsveld, the matter was crystal clear: Snouck Hurgronje was dishonest to his "friends" and informants and acted as a spy in the service of colonial dominance. In this volume Peter Hamburger offers a critical sequel to the two reverential 1957 eulogies by Drewes and Pedersen, again asking the famous question of whether Snouck Hurgronje could be considered a spy in the service of the colonial government.

The 1970s burgeoning criticism was part of a critical approach to the tradition of anthropology and orientalism, voiced, for example, in the volume *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* edited by Talal Asad (1973), the posthumous publication in 1967 of Bronislaw Malinowski's Trobriand fieldwork diary, which was received as a revelation, and by some also as a profanation, of the memory of another master, the inventor of anthropological fieldwork, and in Maxime Rodinson and Edward Said's essays on orientalism. While Rodinson was an accomplished philologist with a great standing in the field, Said, as a literary scholar, was a complete outsider, despite the rhetorical claim to authority with which he began *Orientalism* in 1978. In this, he was helped as much by his understanding of how to compose the opening of a text, the subject of an earlier book (1974), as he was by his reading of Foucault and Gramsci. For Edward Said, Snouck Hurgronje would have been an ideal case with which to study the multiple linkages between power and knowledge. Unfortunately, he did not read German or Dutch, and relied mainly on the comparative study of Jacques Waardenburg for his scant remarks about a person whom he could have turned into a telling demonstration of his argument. The social and economic bases of the widespread critical mood rooted in the protests of the 1960s were visible in the arrival of students from the lower middle classes at universities, who transformed an academic culture that until then had been dominated by the sons, and occasional daughters, of "gentlemen." The rise of a counterculture went together with an opposition against the Vietnam war and other forms of imperialism, as well as protests against capitalism expressed in a fashionable Marxist analysis. Socially and politically the world, and academia with it, was changing.

6 High Noon in Leiden and Amsterdam³¹

The critical spirit entered oriental studies in the Netherlands through a new association for Middle Eastern studies informally established in 1974, in which young scholars from outside Leiden, especially from the critical hotspots Amsterdam and Nijmegen, took a leading role.³² On 16 June 1976 the third formal “study day” took place in Leiden. Maxime Rodinson had been invited to give a lecture entitled “Arabic Studies and the Study of Islam in Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries,” which he would turn into a well-informed and critical book in 1981, but which received far less attention than Said’s work.³³ On the same occasion C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze (1920–2011) surveyed the trends in Middle East studies in the Netherlands. He had been educated in the classical tradition of Islamic studies and graduated in 1945 with a dissertation on a mystical author from Aceh, thereby inscribing himself in the genealogy begun by Snouck Hurgronje. With decolonisation he turned from Islam in Indonesia towards a sociological study of the Middle East at a macro level. The main question in his lecture was: “after Snouck Hurgronje, what?” He mentioned some moral and ethical problems connected to Snouck Hurgronje’s work but focused on how to move beyond the “Goldziher-Snouck paradigm” that had become obsolete. He saw a new future for the study of Islam, at least as bright as for the study of Arabic.³⁴

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- 31 Christina Carvalho incorporated a detailed reconstruction of the polemics in her unpublished MA thesis: Christina Carvalho, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: Biography and Perception* (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, MA thesis, 2010).
- 32 Echos of the critical interest of the younger generation of Arabists in the history of orientalism and its future, as well as the reaction of their teachers in power as university professors, can be reconstructed through exchanges in one of the leading newspapers, *NRC Handelsblad*: Rudolf Peters, “Oriëntalistiek en de Nederlandse koloniale politiek. Niet alleen loopjongen voor het bedrijfsleven,” *NRC Handelsblad*, 10 May 1975, Z 4; Jan Brugman, “Oriëntalistiek en de Nederlandse koloniale politiek. Meer filologie dan politiek,” *NRC Handelsblad*, 10 May 1975, Z 4; Rudolf Peters, G. van Schravendijk-Berlage and E.M. Uhlenbeck, “Oriëntalistiek,” three letters to the editor, *NRC Handelsblad*, 7 June 1975, Z 4 and Z 8. Peters and Brugman contrasted the academic philological approach of scholars such as Dozy and De Goeje with the applied islamological perspective of Snouck Hurgronje, who aimed at serving colonial interests.
- 33 Maxime Rodinson, *La fascination de l’islam. Etapes du regard occidental sur le monde musulman* (Nijmegen: Midden-Oosten Instituut, 1978); a revised version of this lecture and of an earlier text in English from 1968 was published in: Maxime Rodinson, *La fascination de l’islam. Les étapes du regard occidental sur le monde musulman. Les études arabes et islamiques en Europe* (Paris: François Maspero, 1981).
- 34 C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, “The Trend in Middle East Studies – as Illustrated by the Dutch Case,” in *Wij en het Midden-Oosten. Midden-Oosten- en islamstudies in ander perspectief / Middle East Studies. Whence & Wither*, ed. C.M. de Moor (Nijmegen: M.O.I., 1978), 11–37.

Only three years later, on 16 November 1979, the Orientalism bomb finally detonated in Leiden when Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld (1943-2021) gave a public lecture for the venerable Oriental Society (“Oosters Genootschap in Nederland”) which desecrated the hitherto dear memory of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. Van Koningsveld was gratified by the ensuing polemical exchanges which would last until well into the following decade. Former students of Snouck Hurgronje such as Louis Ignace Graf (1908-1992) and Daniël van der Meulen (1894-1989) were by no means impressed by the “revelations” about their master’s marital life in Indonesia. For decades these had been common knowledge among them, and some had their own memories to cherish as well. But these things were not supposed to be divulged. They retaliated with indignation, and found allies among some contemporary students of Arabic, such as Jan Just Witkam (b. 1945) and Frank Schröder (1945-2013).³⁵ The latter had embarked on an ill-fated project to compose a biography of Snouck Hurgronje, which years later got bogged down in astrological and numerological speculations. Together with the then occupant of the chair of Arabic, the jurist and former diplomat Jan Brugman (1923-2004), who had also acted as the doctoral advisor of Van Koningsveld, Schröder published in 1979 a summary overview of the Leiden tradition of Arabic studies. It ended with the statement: “That Dutch Arabic studies became almost identified with Islamic studies is part of the heritage of Snouck Hurgronje, whose influence loomed large up to the 1960s.”³⁶

Subsequently, in 1985 and 1987 Van Koningsveld edited three volumes of letters by Snouck Hurgronje to his mentor Nöldeke, his friend Goldziher, and some more limited correspondence with Euting, Bezold and others. He also continued to publish articles and brochures, partly as rejoinders to his new-found enemies, which focused on three issues: Snouck Hurgronje’s scholarship at the service of colonialism; his unethical research methods, especially his feigned conversion to Islam; and his immoral behaviour towards his Muslim family in Indonesia. Van Koningsveld collected most of these polemical pieces in a self-published volume in 1987, which was later also translated into Indone-

35 Some traces of the initial confrontations, texts written by Van Koningsveld, Graf and Schröder, were published in a special issue of a Dutch cultural periodical: Jan Just Witkam (ed.), *De Arabische wereld. De geschiedenis en betekenis van de Islam. Arabische taal, poëzie en politieke herrijzenis. Nederlands koloniaal verleden*, *De Gids* 143, no. 9-10 (1980). Many exchanges in newspapers and periodicals would follow. Van Koningsveld would collect his contributions in a volume in 1987.

36 Jan Brugman and Frank Schröder, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979), 47.



FIGURE 1.8 Photograph of Snouck Hurgronje's second spouse Siti Sadijah and their son Raden Yusuf, circa 1907, from the legacy of Snouck Hurgronje.
ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPH: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

sian.³⁷ Unfortunately he never published the annotations to the three massive volumes of edited letters which he had promised – something which may also have been due to the curse of the Master. In 2015 Van Koningsveld once again returned to the issue of Snouck Hurgronje's conversion, which had been central to his understanding of the man whose work he had so much admired as a student at the Free University in Amsterdam.³⁸ The first sentence of his conclusion summarizes his view: "Snouck's conversion of convenience was perhaps the most successful case in colonial history of the instrumentalisation of Islam for the benefit of the Islamic policies of the rulers and for the development of ethnological field studies." Van Koningsveld defined a conversion of convenience as: "... an insincere form of conversion performed only to obtain certain interests, ...". He placed Snouck Hurgronje in a long line of well-known traveller-explorer-scholars such as Lane, Burckhardt, Burton, and Roches.

As a rising scholar with left wing leanings Van Koningsveld was clearly part of the critical movement in society and academia of the 1970s. He was inspired by the critique of anthropology and the colonial encounter, and by Said's deconstruction of orientalism as bad and immoral scholarship. But maybe more than any of the participants in the polemical encounters would be willing to admit, the confrontations were at least as much about internal Leiden politics and the social dynamics of relations between the established and the outsiders. When Léon Buskens arrived in Leiden as a doctoral candidate in early 1987, he was a rather bewildered witness of the later stages of this shoot-out, and he could not escape the impression that the memory of Snouck Hurgronje occasionally functioned as a pawn, or rather a king, in a game of chess, or the totem of one of the two moieties violently opposing each other, a fairly common phenomenon in academia.

In another configuration the confrontation would be repeated in 1989 at the official opening of the Centre of Non-Western Studies in Leiden, which was intended as a renewal by bringing philologists, historians, anthropologists, and legal scholars together in a new institution. The somewhat infelicitous name, completely out of date and clearly a compromise for lack of anything better,

37 Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam. Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk* (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1987); an Indonesian translation was published as: *Snouck Hurgronje dan Islam. Delapan karangan tentang hidup dan karya seorang orientalis zaman kolonial* (Jakarta: Girmukti Pasaka Publishers, 1989).

38 Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, "Conversion of European Intellectuals to Islam: The Case of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje alias 'Abd al-Ghaffār," in *Muslims in Interwar Europe. A Transcultural Historical Perspective*, eds. Bekim Agai, Umar Ryad, and Mehdi Sajid (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 88-104; quotations on 101-102 and 89.

already announced the fraught future of the initiative that could have been so fruitful and happy. The official opening would be lavishly celebrated with an international conference on “Islam and the State.” Violent clashes ensued about whether Bernard Lewis should be the guest of honour, opening the ball with a keynote speech, or whether Edward Said would be invited.³⁹ The established won, and I remember Bernard Lewis being annoyed, to say the least, that he could not pay his book purchases with a credit card. He had been away from the old continent for too long by then. In his autobiography there is no trace of this temporary victory over Said in Leiden. Slightly later Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld invited Edward Said for a lecture. Since there was such a small audience to listen to this scholar who was famous everywhere other than in Leiden, Léon Buskens had the honour to have a pleasant chat with him afterwards.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s Snouck Hurgronje even proved to be useful to intellectuals in the capital Amsterdam. The philosopher and indologist Frits Staal (1930-2012), who had traded Amsterdam for Berkeley in the 1960s, turned up again in the public debate in the Netherlands. In 1989, at the Dutch Royal Academy of Sciences in Amsterdam, he gave a lecture as a corresponding member in a series entitled “Testators of the Netherlands.” In the lecture he addressed the Dutch orientalist tradition, in which he singled out three scholars for praise. One of them was Snouck Hurgronje.⁴⁰

Staal was an eloquent and well-connected gentleman, who would soon be appointed as chair of a committee for the renewal and reinforcement of the study of “minor languages,” in fact encompassing most of the world’s languages and cultures outside Europe. In 1991 the committee published its report *Baby Krishna*, which resulted in considerable funding for Asia studies in the Netherlands, to which one of the editors of this volume owes his position. Together with some kindred spirits Staal determined for a while the course of Asia studies in the Netherlands. The then “angry young man in a hurry” Peter van der Veer (b. 1953) had a chair in the anthropology of religion at the University of Amsterdam and was also a specialist on India. He had already, articulately and provocatively, taken issue with Staal’s theory of ritual in 1988, which he condemned to the dustbin. He was working on a clear, and rather competitive vision of Asia studies in the Netherlands and seemed to be increasingly annoyed by Staal’s ideas and power.

39 C. van Dijk and Alexander H. de Groot (eds.), *State and Islam* (Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1995).

40 Frits Staal, “Moeder vindt beter dat ik geen Sanskriet doe,” in *De Gids* 152, no. 10 (1989): 771-792.

Snouck Hurgronje again proved to be a suitable pawn in their game of chess. Among their various critical exchanges, the gentlemen also clashed over Snouck Hurgronje. For Staal he was a solid scholar, for Van der Veer yet another orientalist to be debunked.⁴¹ Again, it was a very Dutch affair, with exchanges in Dutch, in local journals or books, and Van der Veer pointing out repeatedly that Staal was “world-famous in the Netherlands.” Only this time the shoot-out took place in the capital, not in the distant provincial town of Leiden.

Looking back at these exchanges and events more than thirty years later, they might no longer seem to be that important anymore, at least for our understanding of Snouck Hurgronje. The internal competition made participants work hard to find new sources and present conclusive evidence for their views, which resulted in valuable editions and articles, on which we build in this volume. The confrontations were quite revealing of the transformation of the Leiden tradition of orientalism, epitomised by conflicting images of its patron saint. The debate has passed, orientalism has vanished, and the tradition has been radically transformed, being housed in an institute that has as awkward a name as its predecessor, the Leiden Institute for Area Studies.⁴²

7 The Revelation of a Private Life

In the meantime, on 12 March 1984, the historian of the Dutch relations with the Central and Eastern Maghrib provinces of the Ottoman Empire, G.S. van Krieken, was invited by the aforesaid “Oosters Genootschap in Nederland” to discuss Snouck Hurgronje’s ideas and reports about the political movement of pan-islamism in the framework of the relations between the Netherlands and the Ottoman Empire. Since this valuable study is difficult to find, we have included an English translation in the present volume. Michael Laffan’s 2002 study of the Meccan plot may in some ways be considered as related to this issue of colonial politics.⁴³ Shortly after his appointment to the chair of Arabic at Leiden University Snouck Hurgronje went to Istanbul on a study tour to wit-

41 Peter van der Veer, *Modern oriëntalisme. Essays over de westerse beschavingsdrang* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1995), chapter 6: “De oriëntalist en de dominee,” 167-202.

42 On the falling apart of the traditional infrastructure of orientalism as embodied by the antiquarian book trade in Leiden, see for example: Léon Buskens, “Vanishing Orientalism in Leiden,” *ISIM Review* no. 18 (2006): 44-45.

43 On the fear for pan-islamism see also: C. van Dijk, “Colonial Fears, 1890-1918. Pan-Islamism and the Germano-Indian Plot,” in *Transcending Borders. Arabs, Politics, Trade and Islam in Southeast Asia*, eds. Huub de Jonge and Nico Kaptein (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002), 53-89.

ness what would be the last days of the Ottoman Empire, about which Jan Schmidt publishes an article in this book on the basis of a diary and letters.⁴⁴ Although Snouck Hurgronje considered taking up a new field, he never pursued these studies any further. The days of extensive field research were over. From then on, he would be a family man and a teacher in his Rapenburg palazzo.

In 1985 Jan Just Witkam celebrated the centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Mecca with an exhibition in the Leiden University Library of manuscripts, photographs, ethnographical objects, and other memorabilia.⁴⁵ In the introduction Witkam referred to the controversy about Snouck Hurgronje since 1979 but considered an exhibition not to be a proper instrument with which to contribute to this debate. He aimed to present the work of the ethnographer, philologist, and photographer. It would be the first in a long series of publications intended to make the work of Snouck Hurgronje accessible. It was also the first occasion on which Léon Buskens contacted Witkam to learn more about the scholar who had intrigued him ever since he had first read about him in August 1980 in *Antropologische perspectieven* by his master Anton Blok. In 1994, again with considerable encouragement by Jan Just Witkam, the Acehnese manuscripts from the Snouck Hurgronje collection were catalogued by his former student P. Voorhoeve and the Acehnese scholar and nobleman Teuku Iskandar, assisted by Mark Durie.⁴⁶ The treatment of the material was structured according to the analysis of the Acehnese literary tradition provided by Snouck Hurgronje almost a century earlier in his monograph *De Atjèhers*.

The lifting on 1 January 1997 of the embargo on the private papers collected by Witkam and his predecessors at the library of Leiden University was an important landmark in the study of the legacy of Snouck Hurgronje and changed the images and understanding of his work and life. Jan Just Witkam began to publish a series of inventories, editions, and studies which continues until this day. His successor as *Interpres legati warneriani* Arnoud Vrolijk would, in turn,

44 See also: Jan Schmidt, "Een onbekend dagboekfragment en brieven uit Istanbul van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," *Sharqīyyāt* 11, no. 2 (1999): 77-100; and Jan Schmidt, *Through the Legation Window 1876-1926. Four Essays on Dutch, Dutch-Indian and Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1992).

45 Jan Just Witkam, *Honderd jaar Mekka in Leiden 1885-1985. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling gehouden ter gelegenheid van de honderdste verjaardag van de Mekka-reis van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1885)*. *Archivalia, handschriften, gedrukte boeken, wetenschappelijke notities, brieven, foto's en ethnografica* (Leiden: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1985).

46 Petrus Voorhoeve and Teuku Iskandar, *Catalogue of Acehnese manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other collections outside Aceh*, translated and edited by Mark Durie (Leiden: University Library / ILDEP, 1994).

reorganize the archive in connection with a large digitisation project, which would make many of the primary sources available online.⁴⁷ To mark Snouck Hurgonje's one hundred and fiftieth birthday Vrolijk, together with the keeper of the reading room Hans van de Velde, organised an exhibition at the University Library in 2007. This was the first occasion on which Annemarie van Sandwijk came into direct contact with the relics of Snouck Hurgonje, thanks to her father who invited her to visit the exhibition.⁴⁸ In 2016 Vrolijk together with the fellow Arabist and art historian Luitgard Mols, published an overview of the Hijaz collections in Leiden, which had mainly been brought together by Snouck Hurgonje and his students. This last book was also prompted by the growing interest for these collections in Arabia and by their status as "heritage." Together with Richard van Leeuwen he wrote a lavishly illustrated history of Dutch Arabists which, of course, also provided a portrait of Snouck Hurgonje. Vrolijk's interest in popular literature resulted in a critical study of the collection of Egyptian proverbs that Snouck Hurgonje never published but is still preserved in his archive.⁴⁹

The lifting of the embargo gave much wider access to Snouck Hurgonje's extensive collection of letters. As Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld had already demonstrated with the three volumes of letters edited between 1985 and 1987, these add an important dimension to our understanding of his life and the development of his ideas. In 1999 De Bruijn and Harinck published the correspondence between Christiaan Snouck Hurgonje and Herman Bavinck, his close friend ever since their first days as students of theology, spanning the period between 1875 and 1921. Jan Just Witkam extensively studied the correspondence related to the research in Jeddah and Mekka, which resulted in an entirely new understanding especially of the second volume of *Mekka*, as he showed in his introduction to the Dutch translation published in 2007.⁵⁰ Michael Laffan further explored the epistolary exchanges between Aboe Bakar and Snouck Hurgonje. Their findings inform the textual analysis that Jean Kommers and Léon Buskens contribute to the present volume.

47 Cf. Arnoud Vrolijk, Peter Verhaar, and Saskia van Bergen, *Collection Guide Christiaan Snouck Hurgonje* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2020), see https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1887407?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=a2dff0739caa8303cod6&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=6&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=4

48 Arnoud Vrolijk and Hans van de Velde, with an introductory essay by Jan Just Witkam, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgonje (1857-1936), Orientalist. Catalogue of an Exhibition on the Sesquicentenary of his Birth, 8 February 2007* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2007).

49 For references to these publications, see the bibliography at the end of this introduction.
50 Christiaan Snouck Hurgonje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw. Schetsen uit het dagelijks leven, vertaald en ingeleid door Jan Just Witkam* (Amsterdam and Antwerpen: Atlas, 2007).

More recently, Jajang A. Rohmana revealed important findings on Snouck Hurgronje's Indonesian family life through a study of the letters in Arabic exchanged with his collaborator and friend Hasan Moestapa. In 1999 Daniël van der Zande defended a voluminous doctoral dissertation about Martin Theodor Houtsma (1851-1943), a contemporary of Snouck Hurgronje, who followed a rather similar trajectory of studies in theology and oriental languages and Islam in Leiden with De Goeje as their common master. While Snouck Hurgronje went to Arabia and Indonesia for the sake of scholarship and adventure, Houtsma became a professor of Hebrew in Utrecht. He played a fundamental role in the making of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, a prestigious project with which Snouck Hurgronje would also be involved after his return to Leiden in 1906.⁵¹ In this volume Van der Zande sheds new light on Snouck Hurgronje through a study of the letters that his two most important teachers, Michaël Jan de Goeje and Theodor Nöldeke, exchanged between Leiden and Strasbourg. As Herman Paul demonstrates in his work on the notion of the scholarly persona, letters are important sources for understanding ideas about scholarship, knowledge, deontology, ethics, and methods which constituted the field of orientalism. They also demonstrate the social and sociable aspects of scholars as they share family news and gossip about colleagues, and they reveal the formation (and the loss) of friendships and the creation of networks, showing once again that scholarship is a social activity.

Jean Kommers's long interest in Snouck Hurgronje as a representative of colonial ethnography gained a new impetus when Jan Just Witkam made the Jeddah Diary available. It enabled Kommers to arrive at a new reading of the second, ethnographic volume of the *Mekka* monograph. In 1996 he already had applied a similar textual analysis to the Aceh monograph, which can be understood as a pendant to the earlier Mecca ethnography.⁵² A revised and considerably enlarged English version of the textual analysis of *Mekka* is included in this volume.

51 On the history of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, see Peri Bearman, *A History of the Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2018).

52 Jean Kommers, "Snouck Hurgronje als etnograaf van Mekka," *Sharqīyyât* 10, no. 2 (1998): 151-176; Jean Kommers, "Snouck Hurgronje als koloniaal etnograaf: *De Atjèhers* (1893-1894)," *Sharqīyyât* 8, no. 2 (1996): 87-115. The wider context is analysed in Jean Kommers, "Ethnography in the Netherlands East Indies 1850-1900. Social Change and Representations of Indonesian Cultures," in *Tales from Academia. History of Anthropology in The Netherlands. Part 2*, eds. Han Vermeulen and Jean Kommers (Saarbrücken: Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik Saarbrücken, 2002), 757-789.

8 Material Remains of Profitable Exchanges as Heritage

With the increasing interest from Arabia in the Snouck Hurgronje collections as part of the national “heritage” the photographs and sound recordings began to receive considerable attention. Father Carney Gavin (1939–2014) from Harvard University was one of the first foreign scholars who understood their importance and had the recordings on the wax cylinders transferred to more modern media in Vienna. Jan Just Witkam drove there in his car to bring the originals home again when he felt that they had remained in Austria for far too long.⁵³ Other scholars and collectors showed a strong interest in the photographs, among the first ever taken of the holy city of Islam. It resulted in a re-edition of the photographs by Angelo Pesce, an important analysis by Claude Sui, and above all the hard task of cataloguing and identifying the pictures by Dirry Oostdam.⁵⁴ Other scholars would remain fascinated by the photographs and their history, which led to various interpretations such as those by Arnoud Vrolijk and by Durkje van der Wal.⁵⁵ The growing interest for the photographs in Arabia meant that the two portfolios increased steeply in price and were no longer affordable for ordinary scholars. In an essay in this volume Ulrike Freitag demonstrates their importance as sources for the history of Jeddah, an issue further developed in her recent monograph.⁵⁶ The editors are extremely grateful to Wim van Zanten for his meticulous study of some of the

53 On the sound recordings, see also: Jan Just Witkam, “Written in Wax: Quranic Recitation-al Phonography,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138, no. 4 (2018): 807–820.

54 Angelo Pesce, *Jiddah. Portrait of an Arabian city* (London: Falcon Press, 1974); Claude W. Sui, “Die Pilgerfahrt zu den heiligen Stätten des Islam und die frühe Photographie,” in *Ins heilige Land. Pilgerstätten von Jerusalem bis Mekka und Medina. Photographien aus dem 19. Jahrhundert aus der Sammlung des Forum Internationale Photographie der Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim*, eds. Alfried Wiczorek and Claude W. Sui (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 2006), 40–63; Dirry Oostdam, with contributions by Jan Just Witkam, *West-Arabian Encounters. Fifty Years of Dutch-Arabian Relations in Images (1885–1935)*, (Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum / Leiden University Library, 2004). Cf. F.C. van Leeuwen, Dirry Oostdam, and S.A. Vink, *Dutch Envoys in Arabia. 1880–1950. Photographic Impressions* (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1999).

55 Arnoud Vrolijk, “An Early Photograph of the Egyptian Mahmal in Mecca. Reflections on Intellectual Property and Modernity in the Work of C. Snouck Hurgronje,” in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, eds. Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (London: The British Museum, 2013), 206–213; Arnoud Vrolijk, “Appearances Belie. A Mecca-Centred World Map and a Snouck Hurgronje Photograph from the Leiden University Collections,” in *Hajj. Global Interactions through Pilgrimage*, eds. Luitgard Mols and Marjo Buitelaar (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015), 213–227; Durkje van der Wal, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: The First Western Photographer in Mecca, 1884–1885* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2011).

56 Ulrike Freitag, *A History of Jeddah. The Gate to Mecca in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Indonesian sound recordings. We hope that someday Anne van Oostrum will also publish her findings on the Arabian recordings.⁵⁷ Recently Gabriel Lavin came to Leiden with a Juynboll-Scaliger fellowship to work on the Indonesian collections.⁵⁸

In 2012 Venetia Porter organised the exhibition *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam* at the British Museum. The exhibition attracted considerable attention, not only in London but also in the other venues which took it over, such as Paris and Leiden. The National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden and Leiden University Library provided important loans from the collections gathered by Snouck Hurgronje in 1884 and 1885, and by some of his students and other diplomats later on. The accompanying catalogue and the volume of studies devoted ample attention to these material remains, especially the photographs taken by Snouck Hurgronje and his eponymous friend 'Abd al-Ghaffar al-Tabib.⁵⁹ On the occasion of the Leiden exhibition Luitgard Mols and Marjo Buitelaar also organised a symposium, again with papers about the activities of Snouck Hurgronje and his collaborators as collectors.⁶⁰ In the following years the Leiden and Amsterdam museums repeated the success formula on a smaller scale by again organising exhibitions about the pilgrimage past and present.

At least two factors seem to be relevant to this particular upsurge of interest in Snouck Hurgronje's legacy on the part of the curators of museums and libraries, resulting in lavish exhibitions and publications. Market-oriented museum policies and debates about "cultural differences" and "social inclusion" encouraged managers to attract more "diverse" visitors to European museums. Exhibitions specifically targeting Muslims, for example about the veil, about

57 Anne van Oostrum, "Arabic Music in Western Ears. An Account of the Hejaz at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* N.S. 7 (2012): 127-144; Anne van Oostrum, "Music and Musicians in the Hejaz. An Account of the Dutch Arabist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936)," in *Maqâm Traditions between Theory and Contemporary Music Making*, eds. J. Elsner, G. Jähnichen, and C. Güray (Istanbul: Pan Publishing, 2016), 195-214. Cf. Jan Just Witkam, "Written in Wax: Quranic Recitational Phonography," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138, no. 4 (2018): 807-820.

58 Gabriel Lavin, "The Longue Durée in Colonial Modernity? Arabian Musical and Poetic Passings in the Indian Ocean from the Early Modern Period to the Era of Early Sound Recording," in *Sounding the Indian Ocean: Musical Circulations in the Afro-Asiatic Soundscape*, eds. Julia Byl and Jim Sykes (forthcoming).

59 Venetia Porter (ed.), *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2012); Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (eds.), *The Hajj: Collected Essays* (London: The British Museum, 2013), especially the contribution by Arnoud Vrolijk, "An Early Photograph of the Egyptian Mahmal in Mecca. Reflections on Intellectual Property and Modernity in the Work of C. Snouck Hurgronje," 206-213.

60 Luitgard Mols and Marjo Buitelaar (eds.), *Hajj. Global Interactions through Pilgrimage* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015).

countries such as Morocco and Turkey, and about the pilgrimage to Mecca, catered to these new audiences. Museums reinvented themselves as the keepers of the “heritage” of Muslims living in Europe. Curators and the organisers of exhibitions reconstructed a past, a tradition of these Muslim citizens, with materials assembled in an imperial past. Colonial scholars, administrators, merchants, and missionaries had collected these objects and images with quite different objectives in mind. But all of a sudden, after decades of dust gathering or even neglect, post-colonial curators, endeavouring to decolonize their collections, reinterpreted these old objects as useful to tell new stories. From a scholarly perspective these narratives often seemed rather anachronistic, out of tune with the colonial objects.

A second development, also related to the neo-liberal turn in museum management, was the rising interest in the Arabian Peninsula for European historical ethnographic collections with an eye to reconstructing their own past.⁶¹ In the 1970s and 1980s countries such as Saudi Arabia and Malaysia spent considerable sums of money on countering “orientalist” discourses about the Arab world and Islam and to replace these with what they considered to be Islam-compliant versions. At the beginning of the new millennium, however, the European collections became of interest not only as objects to be contested and refuted, but also as sources for constructing their own past. The most telling examples are the massive efforts to collect orientalist paintings and photographs sold at staggering prices, which no longer serve as illustrations of Said’s thesis, but rather as the truthful images of a vanished world become dear.⁶²

In a similar vein, interest in Snouck Hurgronje’s collections rose sharply, expressed through requests for loans and the organisation of joint exhibitions. The volume edited by Mols and Vrolijk on the Leiden collections, funded by Aramco, may be understood as a response to this interest.⁶³ Another example is the sumptuous volume of photographs *Dutch Envoys in Arabia. 1880-1950. Photographic Impressions* published on the centenary of Saudi Arabia to cele-

61 For a study of recent Saudi museum policies, see: Virginia Cassola-Cochin, *L’Arabie saoudite: musées, territoires, identités. Collectes et expositions de l’objet archéologique* (Nancy: Université de Lorraine, doctoral dissertation, 2016); for a general framework see: Rosie Bsbeer, *Archive Wars. The Politics of History in Saudi Arabia* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020).

62 François Pouillon has studied this phenomenon extensively. One telling example of this “recycling” is offered by his study of the painter Etienne Dinet, *Les deux vies d’Étienne Dinet, peintre en Islam. L’Algérie et l’héritage colonial* (Paris: Editions Balland, 1997), about to be republished by Editions Frantz Fanon (Boumerdès, Algeria) in 2021.

63 Luitgard Mols and Arnoud Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections. Traces of a Colourful Past* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2016).

brate early recognition of the kingdom by the Netherlands, at least partly due to the advice of Snouck Hurgronje who soon identified ‘Abd al-‘Aziz as a winner. The publisher was the Royal Tropical Institute, the successor of the old colonial institute that had itself reinvented as a progressive institution to promote development. The book was sponsored by The Shell Companies in Saudi Arabia, KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, The King Abdulaziz Foundation for Research and Archives, and the Royal Dutch Embassy in Riyadh.⁶⁴

Several of these recyclings of the Snouck Hurgronje legacy offer an uneasy mixture of shame and pride about the Leiden orientalist tradition. On the one hand, curators and researchers are eager to put on a show with objects and images that have become fairly rare and attract considerable attention leading to recognition, media coverage and financial support. On the other, the tone of the contributions is often rather critical where original collectors are concerned, and apologetic about “still” owning these objects. Notions such as “booty” and “plunder” are never far off in contemporary discussions about historical-ethnographic collections in European museums and libraries. The ambivalence smacks of a combination between the Arabian refutation of orientalism and post-colonial remorse. These new frames of understanding are not only unpleasant and insincere when directed against collectors who went to great lengths and expense, and sometimes took considerable risks, but they are also academically ill-founded. They distort the making of these collections instead of elucidating them.

In our perspective these collections are the result of a joint-venture, or a co-production. The slippers, brooms, flywhisks, jars and trousers from Jeddah and Mecca are preserved in Leiden because Snouck Hurgronje took an interest in them, rooted in a view of knowledge, which he saw as useful for scholarship, administration, and trade. He collected these objects with the help of his local friends and acquaintances, Arabs, Indonesians, Europeans and others. With a genuine interest, with a combination of friendship, flattery, the prospect of profitable jobs, money or otherwise, he managed to make them cooperate. As in any fieldwork, some of the people involved might have sincerely liked him or were amused by his astonishing interests and tastes, while others complied for some kind of calculated profit.

A similar story could be told about the photographs, which have been discussed by several authors as yet another example of Snouck Hurgronje's dishonesty towards his collaborators. Instead of focusing on the moral or ethical dimensions, we could again look at them as a meeting of interests and a con-

64 F.C van Leeuwen, Dirry Oostdam, and S.A. Vink, *Dutch Envoys in Arabia. 1880-1950. Photographic Impressions* (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1999).



FIGURE 1.9 “The mountain of ‘Arafat during the yearly gathering of the pilgrims (seen from the South).” Photograph taken by Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar b. ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi al-Tabib, circa 1888.

SOURCE: CHRISTIAAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE, *BILDER AUS MEKKA* (1889)

certation of efforts. In the second portfolio *Bilder aus Mekka* (1889) Snouck Hurgronje gratefully acknowledged that the photographs had been taken by a Meccan physician, his former student in photography. We may speculate about his reasons for not insisting more on the joint authorship in the first portfolio, or for not mentioning explicitly the name of his friend, Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar b. ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi al-Tabib, commonly known as ‘Abd al-Ghaffar al-Tabib, ‘Abd al-Ghaffar “the physician.” For both men photography in Mecca was a profitable activity, albeit for different reasons. The benefits may have included the pleasure of working together and discussing many shared interests. Judging from what we know about his travels to Egypt and other activities, the *Tabib* seemed to be something of an entrepreneur, and full of curiosity. Also due to Snouck Hurgronje’s unexpected expulsion from Mecca, his friend ended up with a free camera and the accompanying equipment. For Snouck Hurgronje this resulted in further photographs, also of the ritual of the pilgrimage which he could not perform himself and which made him world famous. We do not know what benefits the physician reaped from his photo

studio in the Holy City.

It is clear that these exchanges took place in a particular political context, with unequal power and economic relations, on both a local and a global level. These kinds of consideration even make the use of the term “friend” problematic in the colonial context of ethnographic fieldwork.⁶⁵ Viewing these exchanges solely through the power-knowledge nexus lens of Edward Said and his followers is not only reductive, but outright distorting. Much of the current debate about the history of colonial collecting is structured by the assumption of bad faith. We would like to replace this approach with a view focusing on shared interests and hybridity. This means that we are looking at “culture” produced jointly, at a shared heritage, in a particular imperial context which requires careful analysis. It leads us to study shifting and unequal power relations, so characteristic of ethnographic fieldwork in the past and today. Our post-orientalism perspective also prompts a critical review of the present-day recyclings of these past co-productions, both in European and in Arabian museums. These new readings are by no means final, but just another stage in the process of image making of Snouck Hurgronje, intimately part of the contemporary post-colonial predicament.

9 Return to Indonesia

The writings of Snouck Hurgronje have also been the source of historical information, and sometimes even inspiration, for a new generation of researchers on contemporary Indonesian societies. John Bowen used to visit Leiden in order to study material from the Snouck Hurgronje collections for his studies on the highland Gayo societies, which led him to develop a historically informed anthropology of Islam. This volume offers his reflections on the influence of Snouck Hurgronje on his work. Michael Feener stayed in the Acehnesse plains to study recent changes in the introduction of Shari’a legislation, for which Snouck Hurgronje offered an important historical background.⁶⁶ They form

65 Rohmana insists on calling Snouck Hurgronje a “friend” of Hasan Moestapa and others in West Java, and grounds his understanding in quotations from the letters that Hasan Moestapa sent to his “brother,” see Jajang A. Rohmana, *Informan Sunda masa kolonial: Surat-Surat Haji Hasan Mustapa untuk C. Snouck Hurgronje dalam kurun 1894-1923* (Yogyakarta: Octopus, 2018). For a critical review of the notion of friendship and fieldwork, see: Henk Driessen, “Romancing Rapport: The Ideology of ‘Friendship’ in the Field,” *Folk* 40 (1998): 123-136.

66 R. Michael Feener, *Shari’a and Social Engineering: The Implementation of Islamic Law in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

part of a much larger group of Indonesian and international scholars, such as the senior scholars James Siegel and Anthony Reid, studying Acehnese and Gayo society, increasingly in the wider context of Indian Ocean studies.

Michael Laffan spent several years in Leiden exploiting the freshly available archives to the full. He wrote a series of important articles and two monographs on his findings, which greatly improved our understanding of Snouck Hurgronje's role in colonial policy making and administration.⁶⁷ Laffan also tackled the complex question of Snouck Hurgronje's collaboration with local scholars and informants. As a relative outsider to Leiden politics and quarrels, at least at the beginning, and again after his move to Princeton, Laffan was unaffected by the ideological controversies and internal rivalries. He generously contributed a study on Snouck Hurgronje's interest in the mystical orders to this book.

Nico Kaptein worked for many years on a biography of one of Snouck Hurgronje's close collaborators in Indonesia: Sayyid 'Uthman (1822-1914). In 2014 he published this important study which tells the story from the other side, as it were. Of course, Snouck Hurgronje is present in his monograph, but not as the main character. We are grateful to Kaptein for contributing a study on the correspondence between the two scholars to this volume. During the last decades his predecessor in the chair for the study of Islam in Indonesia in Leiden, Kees van Dijk, has concentrated increasingly on colonial history, resulting in a series of hefty volumes. For this book he agreed to write a contribution which situates Snouck Hurgronje in the colonial context in Aceh, which, to a certain extent, explains why he finally decided to return to Leiden. Cees Fasseur also published several studies of late colonial rule in Indonesia.⁶⁸ He retired as a professor from Leiden University with a lecture on the Law Faculty of Batavia for which the work of Snouck Hurgronje and his students was very important. This book contains an English translation.

Huub de Jonge has for several decades been involved in the study of the Arab communities in Indonesia from a historical anthropological perspective. This has resulted in a number of papers in which he discusses the role of Snouck Hurgronje in the colonial governance of the Arab communities.⁶⁹ Al-

67 Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia. The Umma below the Winds* (Oxon & New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003); Michael Francis Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam. Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

68 For an understanding of Snouck Hurgronje's contribution to the education of colonial civil servants and to colonial administration his monograph is essential reading: Cees Fasseur, *De Indologen. Ambtenaren voor de Oost (1825-1950)* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1994).

69 For example: Huub de Jonge, "Contradictory and against the Grain. Snouck Hurgronje on

ready in 1984 the Indonesian scholar of Arab descent Hamid Algadri published a book about Snouck Hurgronje's involvement in the colonial policy towards the Hadrami community.⁷⁰ The American historian Eric Tagliacozzo also discussed Snouck Hurgronje in several of his studies on colonial policy in Indonesia, for example in his volume on the relations between Southeast Asia and the Middle East, the classical domain of Snouck Hurgronje's expertise.⁷¹

Since 1863 old soldiers from the colonies could retire to Bronbeek. In 1993 the pensionaries' home hosted an exhibition on Snouck Hurgronje's monograph about Aceh, an area where a century ago many soldiers from the colonial army had seen action. The exhibition and the catalogue were prepared by Albert Trouwborst (1928-2007), who had been among the last students in Leiden to be trained for the colonial administration in Indonesia and had then transformed himself into an anthropologist specializing in Africa, to return as a professor of anthropology in Nijmegen to the ethnography of his native country.⁷²

Karel Steenbrink (1942-2021) belonged to the generation of scholars educated after independence who contributed to the revival of the study of Islam in Indonesia in cooperation with the Republic. Steenbrink was trained as a Catholic missionary and did his doctoral research on Islamic education. He later became involved in the education of Indonesian Islam scholars, whom he introduced to the Dutch tradition from colonial times. From his own missiological and ecumenical perspective he reflected on this tradition in which Snouck Hurgronje had his place. For a volume on the Aceh war he wrote an essay in which he discussed the then current Indonesian perception of Snouck Hur-

the Hadramis in the Dutch East Indies (1889-1936)," in *Transcending Borders. Arabs, Politics, Trade and Islam in Southeast Asia*, eds. Huub de Jonge and Nico Kaptein (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002), 219-234. A collection of his essays on the Hadrami communities has been translated into Indonesian as: Huub de Jonge, *Mencari Identitas. Orang Hadhrami di Indonesia (1900-1950)* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia [KPG], 2019), to be published by Brill in an English version in 2022 as *In Search of Identity: The Hadhrami Arabs in Indonesia (1900-1950)*.

70 Hamid Algadri, *C. Snouck Hurgronje. Politik Belanda terhadap Islam dan keturunan Arab* (Jakarta: Penerbit Sinar Harapan [SH], 1984), translated as: Hamid Algadri, *Dutch Policy against Islam and Indonesians of Arab Descent in Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994).

71 Eric Tagliacozzo, "The Skeptic's Eye: Snouck Hurgronje and the Politics of Pilgrimage from the Indies," in *Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Islam, Movement and the Longue Durée*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009), 135-155.

72 Albert A. Trouwborst, *De Atjehers van Snouck Hurgronje* (Arnhem: Stichting Vrienden van Bronbeek, 1993). For the colonial context of the training of civil servants, see: Albert A. Trouwborst, "Anthropology, the Study of Islam, and Adat Law in The Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies, 1920-1950," in *Tales from Academia. History of Anthropology in The Netherlands. Part 2*, eds. Han Vermeulen and Jean Kommers (Saarbrücken: Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik Saarbrücken, 2002), 673-694.

gronje and the role of the cooperation with the Netherlands.⁷³

For more than twenty-five years the government of the Republic of Indonesia cooperated with Leiden University in the training of new generations of scholars in Islamic studies, who would go on to teach in their turn at institutions for Islamic higher learning in Indonesia. The project made Indonesian translations of several of Snouck Hurgronje's works widely available to libraries and individual scholars. Both Witkam and Buskens have had the pleasure and the honour to participate in these programmes. Many of the Leiden alumni now occupy important positions in education and administration. Some of them have taken an interest in areas where Snouck Hurgronje had worked a century before. Eka Srimulyani did extensive fieldwork on female leaders in Aceh and published important studies.⁷⁴ Reza Idria and Arfiansyah guided Léon Buskens in Banda Aceh and the surrounding countryside. Hopefully, they will soon publish their doctoral theses on Aceh and the Gayo. Arskal Salim was for several years involved in fieldwork in Aceh on the islamisation of the legal system, about which he wrote a monograph.⁷⁵ Euis Nurlaelawati published an important study on Islamic family law in Sundanese society, with which Snouck Hurgronje was so intimately familiar.⁷⁶ Yasrul Huda from the Islamic University in Padang also derived critical inspiration from Snouck Hurgronje's work in his analysis of the recent formalisation of Islamic rules in the Minangkabau area.⁷⁷

To our great satisfaction some of these younger Indonesian scholars have started to work seriously on the connections and exchanges between Snouck Hurgronje and local scholars and leaders which offer important new insights from a local perspective. Both Muhamad Hisyam (2001) and Jajat Burhanudin (2007) defended doctoral theses at Leiden University about Islamic leaders in colonial Indonesia in which Snouck Hurgronje played a considerable part.⁷⁸

73 Karel A. Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam. Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950* (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2006 (second, revised edition; orig. 1993); Karel A. Steenbrink, "Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) en Atjeh," in *Atjeh. De verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, ed. Liesbeth Dolk (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2001), 77-97.

74 Eka Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia. Negotiating Public Spaces* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).

75 Arskal Salim, *Contemporary Islamic Law in Indonesia. Sharia and Legal Pluralism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

76 Euis Nurlaelawati, *Modernization, Tradition and Identity: The Kompilasi Hukum Islam and Legal Practice in the Indonesian Religious Courts* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010).

77 Yasrul Huda, *Contesting Sharia: State Law, Decentralization and Minangkabau Custom* (Leiden: Leiden University, doctoral dissertation, 2013).

78 Muhamad Hisyam, *Caught between Three Fires. The Javanese Pangulu under the Dutch Co-*

Jajang A. Rohmana has published a series of books and articles on Snouck Hurgronje, especially on Snouck's relations with Hasan Moestapa.⁷⁹ Since the knowledge of reading Sundanese in Arabic script has been lost in the Netherlands, Dutch scholars rely entirely on him and his colleagues to make this part of the archive accessible. Unfortunately, Eduard Roesdi, the grandson of one of Snouck Hurgronje's closest learned friends in Bandung, did not have the time to interview his family in Indonesia and to contribute an overview of their memories.

10 Biographies, Romantic and Academic

In 2017 the journalist Philip Dröge (b. 1967) published his book *Pelgrim. Leven en reizen van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, wetenschapper, spion, avonturier* ("Pilgrim. Life and Travels of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, scholar, spy, adventurer").⁸⁰ It is a brief and somewhat sensation-seeking account of Snouck Hurgronje's life based on the available publications, supplemented by the author's online searches in digitised colonial newspaper archives. The book does not offer any new material or fresh interpretations, but, rather, a juicy story about a person called "Christiaan," whose thoughts the author is able to voice due to his lively imagination. At best it could be considered a *vie romancée* with two main merits. First, it rekindled some public interest in a former great Dutch-

lonial Administration 1882-1942 (Leiden: Leiden University, doctoral dissertation, 2001); Jajat Burhanudin, *Islamic Knowledge, Authority and Political Power: The Ulama in Colonial Indonesia* (Leiden: Leiden University, doctoral dissertation, 2007); cf. Jajat Burhanudin, "The Dutch Colonial Policy on Islam. Reading the Intellectual Journey of Snouck Hurgronje," *Al-Jâmi'ah. Journal of Islamic Studies* 52, no.1 (2014): 25-58.

79 For example: Jajang A. Rohmana, "Rereading Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: His Islam, Marriage and Indo-European Descents in the Early Twentieth-Century Priangan," *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 26, no. 1 (2018): 35-66; Jajang A. Rohmana, "Colonial Informants and the Acehnese-Dutch War. Haji Hasan Mustapa's Response to Teuku Umar's Collaboration with the Dutch Authorities in the East Indies," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 49, no. 143 (2021): 63-81. Jajang A. Rohmana, *Informan Sunda masa colonial. Surat-surat Haji Hasan Mustapa untuk C. Snouck Hurgronje dalam kurun 1894-1923* (Yogyakarta: Octopus, 2018). Cf. Julian Millie (ed.), *Hasan Mustapa: Ethnicity and Islam in Indonesia* (Clayton: Monash University Press, 2017), especially the contribution by Mufti Ali: "It is Incumbent upon Indonesian Muslims to be Loyal to the Dutch East Indies Government": A Study of a Fatwa by Hasan Mustapa," 141-160; Jajang Jahroni, *The Life and Mystical Thought of Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930)* (Leiden: Indonesian-Netherlands Co-operation in Islamic Studies [INIS], unpublished MA thesis, 1999).

80 Philip Dröge, *Pelgrim. Leven en reizen van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, wetenschapper, spion, avonturier* (Houten: Unieboek / Het Spectrum, 2017).

man who had been turned into a scoundrel before being almost entirely forgotten by the general public. Secondly, and more importantly, it prompted the Leiden historian Wim van den Doel (b. 1962) to write the first complete scholarly biography, and to publish it within less than three years.

With *Snouck. Het volkomen geleerdenleven van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje* (“Snouck. The Perfect Scholarly Life of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje”) Wim van den Doel at last managed to complete a biography of Snouck Hurgronje, in contrast to many of the scholars before him who could never brave the curse of the Master and bring their projects to completion.⁸¹ Van den Doel is a specialist in the late colonial history of Indonesia, with an impressive output. Rooted in a solid knowledge of colonial administration,⁸² he offers an overview of Snouck Hurgronje’s eventful life. His understanding of Snouck Hurgronje as a major player in the power games of Leiden University might also have been nourished by Van den Doel’s own extensive experiences as an academic administrator. He ably combines the detailed findings of predecessors such as Van Koningsveld, Witkam and Laffan with his own research in the colonial archives in The Hague, the colonial press, Snouck Hurgronje’s extensive correspondence, and the consultation of numerous detailed studies. At the beginning of his book he calls his protagonist “Chris.” Soon quotations from letters prove that this is not discourteous familiarity, but the name by which his mother called her son who was so dear to her. Later, Van den Doel refers to him as “Snouck,” in the endearing way of the old Leiden boys, who nevertheless always remained slightly, or even more than a bit, afraid of their Master who was so extremely demanding and could express himself in such a caustic manner.

Van den Doel succeeds in presenting Snouck Hurgronje in the context of colonial Indonesia and national and Leiden University politics. He does so without passing any moral judgment on the object of his study. In this he is true to his own masters, the Leiden historians Cees Fasseur and Henk Wesseling, who preferred to describe rather than to tell their readers what they should see and think. Nor does he, as a faithful student of these illustrious teachers, show much interest in conceptual or theoretical debates to which his subject might give rise. However, at the end of the book Wim van den Doel takes stock of the polemics about Snouck Hurgronje in the past and allows himself to conclude that Snouck could look back with satisfaction at his

81 Wim van den Doel, *Snouck. Het volkomen geleerdenleven van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2021).

82 H.W. van den Doel, *De stille macht. Het Europese binnenlands bestuur op Java en Madoera, 1808-1942* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 1994).

accomplishments as an academic. It sounds as if he wants to console the man who seemed to become increasingly melancholic and disappointed towards the end of his life. Although the title suggests otherwise, Van den Doel does not so much address Snouck Hurgronje's role as an architect of modern Islamic studies, but rather as a scholar-cum-advisor to the Dutch colonial authorities in Indonesia and in The Hague. We are glad that Wim van den Doel has agreed to contribute to this volume a preliminary study, written many years earlier, on Snouck and colonial administration.

On 8 February 2021, Snouck Hurgronje's one hundred and sixty-fourth birthday, which coincided, as it has every year since 1857, with the *Dies natalis* of Leiden University, Willem Otterspeer, the official historian of Leiden University, presented the fourth and final volume of his history of Leiden University, covering the years from 1876 until 1975.⁸³ Otterspeer also published detailed studies of Leiden University in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, as well as monographs on prominent scholars such as Bolland and Huizinga. He also edited a collection on the history of orientalism in Leiden between 1850 and 1940.⁸⁴ His latest work enables us to understand Snouck Hurgronje even better in the context of the academy. For this volume he wrote a study on Snouck Hurgronje and his relations with Indonesian students. He shows how Snouck gradually lost touch with the younger generation, who preferred independence to paternalism and association.

In more than a century, from the first biographical sketch by Th.W. Juynboll in 1901 to the complete biography by Wim van den Doel, we have learned far more about Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. We know things about his personal and professional life that many of his contemporaries might not even have dared to imagine. We have moved from external images by people who knew him personally to understandings based on a wealth of primary sources. Our overview demonstrates that all these understandings are representations, guided by the questions we ask, by preoccupations embedded in a certain social and cultural context, linked to a specific time, and to personal *partis pris*. Over the years Snouck Hurgronje has become an increasingly controversial figure, who still manages to provoke strong emotions. With this volume of studies, we add yet another new set of images to the already complex and fraught story. This collection inevitably has its own limitations, also due to the peculiarities of the editors. Now that we have finally managed to complete this

83 Willem Otterspeer, *De strategie van de aanpassing. De Leidse universiteit, 1876-1975*. Volume IV of *Groepsportret met dame* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2021).

84 Willem Otterspeer (ed.), *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850-1940* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989).

volume we are even more aware of its inherent incompleteness. In light of the present debates an essay on Snouck Hurgronje's views on slavery, so directly and indirectly present in his work, would have been an obvious choice, which could have shed yet more light on the master.

11 Scholarship in Action

The title that we have chosen for this volume indicates our perspective and the questions that we would like to raise on Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.

First of all, we refer to the energy and dynamism that Snouck Hurgronje seemed to radiate. He was eager to master the new techniques of his time: he learned how to take pictures and took a camera with him to Mecca, upon his return he had the water of the Zamzam well chemically analysed. Later on he acquired equipment to record spoken and sung language and music, and he encouraged his students to avail themselves of technological innovations to produce scholarly documents, which resulted in collections for which Leiden has once again become world-famous. For Snouck Hurgronje modernity was a cultural ideology and an ideal, structuring his scholarly work and his social engagement. The notion played an important role in his understandings of cultural differences and social evolution. Modernity and science came together in the historical-critical method to study religion as a socio-historical phenomenon, and to relegate religious beliefs and practices to their proper place in a secular society.

Snouck Hurgronje's life was full of action, of actually going East: to Mecca, to Indonesia, to Turkey. He broke with the tradition of armchair anthropology and philology. He was part of a new era in which the scholars themselves went into the field to gather their own material, and to witness foreign cultures with their own eyes, ears, and senses. His close friend Ignaz Goldziher also travelled from Budapest to Cairo to study Islam at the Azhar university. But unlike other colleagues, Snouck Hurgronje went much farther. He was prepared to convert to Islam in order to enter Mecca; he joined the Dutch colonial army on the battlefield in Aceh; and he shared the family life of his Sundanese friends to the full by becoming their relative and brother in Islam. In contrast to Karel Holle he did not seem to be content with this life in the colony either, but returned to Leiden to play his part in academic and colonial politics. He actively sought a role as an intermediary between the Netherlands and Indonesia, between academia and colonial administration, and actively encouraged his students to act likewise.

Snouck Hurgronje was a prolific scholar, a committed intellectual, and an



FIGURE 1.10 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and his successor Arent Jan Wensinck accompanying crown prince Sa'ud b. 'Abd al-'Aziz and his retinue on their visit to the Leiden University Library on 13 June 1935.

ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPH: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

homme d'action. To a certain extent his was a cultural model which fitted the times, as we can see from the career of a scholar such as Louis Massignon, who also combined scholarship with administration and brought cultures together, even if he held quite different ideas and ideals. The particular moment in history is perhaps best epitomised in a photograph taken in front of the Leiden University library with Snouck striding ahead as he accompanied crown prince Sa'ud in 1935 (figure 1.10). It shows us the Snouck who, even late in his life, actively sought political influence and who knew what was best for the Netherlands and for the world. This image of an elderly Snouck in action might remind us of an earlier scene in his life, also captured by a photographer, which shows him in the bloom of life on the battlefield in Aceh (figure 1.11). In June 1898 he joined the Dutch colonial army on an expedition to conquer the mountainous area of Pidië as an expert advising on how to deal with the insurgents led by ideas about jihad. In a letter to his former teacher and friend Theodor Nöldeke he described how much he benefitted from the physical exercise of being on horseback in the field, comparing it to “a successful cure” that increased his appetite, digestion, and spirits. He also enjoyed the company of the



FIGURE 1.11 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (standing at the extreme left) during the expedition to Pidië, a mountainous area in Northeastern Greater Aceh, commanded by Governor J.B. van Heutsz (sitting to the left) in June 1898. ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPH: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

officers, above all of the commander his old friend Van Heutsz, “a man with an iron will and a golden heart.”⁸⁵ Soon Van Heutsz would become famous as the conqueror and “pacifier” of Aceh, a victory which he owed to a large extent to the insights and advice of Snouck Hurgronje.

On the other hand, our title also points to the critical treatment of Snouck Hurgronje’s memory. His ideas, ideals and actions have prompted other scholars into action in their turn, resulting in strong denunciations, loyal defences, and violent polemics. Critical questioning, changing perceptions and evaluations are all part of the action of scholarship. We have tried, as we said, to avoid moral judgments, while preferring to present material, ideas, and questions. This has resulted in a collection of fragments, presenting fragmented views in changing configurations, allowing for ambiguities and ambivalence.

In his time, and still today, Snouck Hurgronje has always evoked mixed feelings, ranging from uncritical admiration to utter disgust. This volume offers a history of images, and of image making, by Snouck Hurgronje himself and by

85 P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke from the Tübingen University Library*. Published by P.Sj. van Koningsveld (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985), 64.

others. We, in our turn, are also involved in this image making, while trying to remain aware of the tradition and its conventions. Has this resulted in knowing Snouck Hurgronje “as he was”? Will we ever know him “as he was”?⁸⁶ We produce our own images as answers to our questions. Our images will only be as good as the questions that we ask. Surveying the tradition, we conclude that Snouck Hurgronje has become a person “good to think with,” to borrow an expression from Lévi-Strauss. Snouck Hurgronje changed from a *maître à penser*, a scholar who created a new field of expertise, a teacher who pulled the strings, an intellectual who dominated public debate, and a man who was admired and feared, into a totem,⁸⁷ with whom one indicates allegiances and positioning. We have tried to be good students by critically following the master in action.

86 With this question we not only refer to the polemic of Van Koningsveld versus Graf and Schröder, but of course also to the underlying philosophy of history and Ranke’s ideal of “Wie es eigentlich gewesen.”

87 Here we obviously refer to the famous, and at that time provocative, collection of studies on the history of anthropology in America: Sydel Silverman (ed.), *Totems and Teachers: Key Figures in the History of Anthropology* (Walnut Creek, Cal: AltaMira Press, 2004, second edition, orig. 1981).

Bibliography of Works by and on Snouck Hurgronje

This select bibliography consists of two parts. The first part offers an overview of publications of Snouck Hurgronje, mainly in book form. It has been compiled by Jan Just Witkam, with some minor additions by Léon Buskens. Volume VI of the collected writings of Snouck Hurgronje (1927) contains a bibliography up until 1926. Until his death in 1936 Snouck Hurgronje continued to publish, including contributions to Dutch newspapers. A full overview of these publications remains a desideratum.

The second part offers references about Snouck Hurgronje and his times, both by contemporaries and later scholars, and some works of a more general nature. It is not meant to be comprehensive, but rather presents materials which we found helpful for further research. It has been compiled by Léon Buskens, with additions by Jan Just Witkam.

1 A select bibliography of works by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, mainly in book form (in chronological order)

1880

Het Mekkaansche feest. Leiden: E.J. Brill. New edition in *Verspreide geschriften*, 1923-1927, below; Italian translation in 1989, below; Indonesian translation in 1989, below; English translation in 2012, below.

1883

De beteekenis van den Islam voor zijne belijders in Oost-Indië. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

1886

Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

1887

Dr. C. Landberg's "Studien" geprüft. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

1888-1889

Mekka. The Hague: M. Nijhoff. Two volumes and *Bilder-Atlas*. English translation of vol. 2, 1931, below and 2007, below; partial Arabic translation of vol. 2, 1990, below; partial Arabic translation of the entire work, 1999, below; Dutch translation of vol. 2, 2007, below.

1889

Bilder aus Mekka. Leiden: E.J. Brill. New edition 1986, below.

1893-1895

De Atjèhers. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij / Leiden: E.J. Brill. Two volumes and a portfolio with photographs. English translation 1906, below; Indonesian translation 1996-1997, below.

1902

Nota van wenken die bij de aanrakingen met hoofden en bevolking van het Gajoland te behartigen zullen zijn. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.

1903

Het Gajoland en zijne bewoners. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij. With map (Indonesian translation 1996, below).

1906

The Achehese. Translated by A.W.S. O'Sullivan. With an index by R.J. Wilkinson. Leiden: E.J. Brill. Two volumes.

1907

Arabië en Oost-Indië. Leiden: E.J. Brill. Indonesian translation 1984, below; English translation 1994, below.

1911

Michaël Jan de Goeje. Traduction française par Madeleine Chauvin. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Nederland en de Islâm. Vier voordrachten, gehouden in de Nederlandsch-Indische Bestuursacademie. Leiden: E.J. Brill. French translation 1911, below; second enlarged edition 1915; third edition 2016, Elsevier.

Politique musulmane de la Hollande. Quatre conférences. Avec introd. par A. Le Chatelier. Paris: Ernest Leroux.

1912

De Islam. Baarn: Hollandia-drukkerij.

1913

De Islam in Nederlandsch-Indië. Baarn: Hollandia-drukkerij. Indonesian translation 1973, below.

1915

The Holy War "made in Germany." New York: Putnam. Translated by Joseph E. Gillet. With a word of introduction by Richard J.H. Gottheil.

1916

Mohammedanism. Lectures on its origin, its religious and political growth, and its present state. New York: Putnam. New edition 1995, below.

1917

The Revolt in Arabia. New York: Putnam.

1918

Beschouwingen over bestuursbeleid, naar aanleiding van den Djambi-opstand in 1916. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.

1922

De Islâm en het rassenprobleem. Rede, uitgesproken op den 347sten verjaardag der Leidsche hoogeschool, 8 Februari 1922. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

1923-1927

Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje. Voorzien van een bibliografie en registers door A.J. Wensinck. Bonn/Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder (1923-1925); Leiden: E.J. Brill (1927). Six parts in seven volumes. Online available at <http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/ssg/content/structure/987837>. Indonesian translation 1994-2000, below.

1928

Colijn over Indië. Amsterdam: Becht.

1931

Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century. Daily life, customs and learning of the Moslims of the East-Indian-archipelago. Translated by J.H. Monahan. Leiden: E.J. Brill. Partial Arabic translation 1990, below; new edition 2007, below.

1941

"Some of My Experiences with the Muftis of Mecca." In *Jaarverslag Oostersch Instituut - Leiden* 4 (1934-1940): 2-16.

1950

Katalog der malaiischen Handschriften der Königlichen Hofbibliothek in Berlin.

Cod.Or. 8015 der Leidener Universitätsbibliothek. Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum. New edition 1989, below.

1957

Selected works of C. Snouck Hurgronje. Œuvres choisies de C. Snouck Hurgronje. Edited in English and in French by G.-H. Bousquet and J. Schacht. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

1957-1965

Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936. Published by E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse. 's-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff. Three volumes. Online available at <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/snouck/#page=0&-accessor=toc&source=1&view=imagePane>. Indonesian translation 1990-1995, below.

1973

Islam di Hindia Belanda. Diterjemahkan oleh S. Gunawan. Kata pengantar oleh Taufik Abdullah. Jakarta: Bhratara.

1984

Politik Belanda terhadap Islam dan keturunan Arab di Indonesia oleh Hamid Algadri. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan. Second edition 1988.

1985

Orientalism and islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke from the Tübingen University library. Published by P.Sj. van Koningsveld. Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden.

Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest. Published by P.Sj. van Koningsveld. Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden.

1986

Makkah a hundred years ago, or C. Snouck Hurgronje's remarkable albums. Edited with a new introduction by Angelo Pesce. London: Immel.

1987

Minor German correspondences of C. Snouck Hurgronje from libraries in France, Germany, Sweden and The Netherlands. Published by P.Sj. van Koningsveld. Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden.

1989

Katalog der malaiischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin. Edited with an introduction by E.U. Kratz. Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag.
Il pellegrinaggio alla Mecca. Traduzione dall'olandese di Giuseppe Scattone. Torino: Einaudi.

1989

Perayaan Mekah. Penerjemah Supardi. Jakarta: INIS.

1990

Safahat min Tarikh Makka al-Mukarrama fi Nihayat al-Qarn al-Thalith 'Ashar al-Hijri. Al-juz' al-thani. Ta'lif al-Mustashriq K. Snuk Hurghrunya. Naqalahu ila al-'Arabiyya wa-'allaqa 'alayhi Muḥammad b. Maḥmud al-Suryani, Mi'raj b. Nawwab Mirza. Raja'ahu Dr. Muḥammad Ibrahim Aḥmad 'Ali. Makka (Maṭbu'at Nadi Makka al-Thaqafi al-Adabi). Arabic translation of *Mekka* 2, first edition; a translation of *Mekka* 1 was possibly not published (but see 1999, below).

1990-1995

Nasihat-nasihat C. Snouck Hurgronje semasa kepegawaiannya kepada pemerintah Hindia Belanda 1889-1936 oleh E. Gobée dan C. Adriaanse. Jakarta: INIS. Eleven volumes.

1992

Amicissime. Brieven van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje aan Herman Bavinck, 1878-1921. Edited by J. de Bruijn. Amsterdam: Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme (1800-heden). New edition 1999, below.

1994

Dutch policy against Islam and Indonesians of Arab descent in Indonesia. Translated by Hamid Algadri. Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES Indonesia.

1994-2000

Kumpulan karangan Snouck Hurgronje. Dilengkapi dengan catatan isi buku dan daftar-daftar oleh A.J. Wensinck. Jakarta: INIS. Fourteen volumes.

1995

Islam. Origin, religious and political growth and its present state. New Delhi: Mittal.

1996

Tanah Gayo dan penduduknya. Diterjemahkan dari Bahasa Belanda oleh Budi-man S. Redaksi ilmiah Murni Djamal [...] Redaksi P.A. Iskandar Soerawidja-ja-Roring. Redaksi yang bertanggung jawab untuk buku ini W.A.L. Stokhof. Jakarta: INIS.

1996-1997

Aceh, rakyat dan adat istiadatnya. Penerjemah Sutan Maimoen, penerjemahan dari bahasa Belanda. Jakarta: INIS. Two volumes.

1999

Safahat min Tarikh Makka al-Mukarrama. Ta'lif al-mustashriq K. Snuk Hurghrunya. al-Juz' al-awwal. Dirasa li-l-awda' al-siyasiyya wa-iqtisadiyya wa-l-ijtima'iyya min al-ba'tha al-nabawiyya al-sharifa wa-hatta nihayat al-qarn al-thalith 'ashar al-hijri. Naqalahu ila al-'Arabiyya Dr. 'Ali 'Awda al-Shuyukh. A'ada siyaghatahu wa-'allaqa 'alayhi Dr. Muhammad Mahmud al-Suryani, Dr. Mi'raj Nawwab Mirza. Raja'ahu Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim 'Ali (...). Al-Riyad: Darat al-Malik 'Abd al-'Aziz. Arabic translation of *Mekka 1*.

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2007

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2012

The Mecca Festival. Translated and edited by Wolfgang H. Behn. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

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Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. Lives and afterlives

Jan Just Witkam

1 Introduction

‘A complete scholarly life’ is how Snouck Hurgronje’s life has been characterized in a recent biography.¹ It deals with the great man’s eventful life and his almost equally fascinating afterlife, and it does so with scholarly distance and with an eye for the interesting detail. Snouck Hurgronje’s was a special life indeed. In his travels from Europe to Mecca, to Java, to Aceh, and back to Europe again, with a short return trip to North America, he wrote profusely about what he had seen and experienced, and about his ideals in the world at large, all the time developing his linguistic skills and ethnographic talents, and not only giving expression to his political impulses, but also leading a private life in pursuit of happiness. It was a life lived by an artist of *chiaroscuro*, by someone who wanted to be in the limelight but who at the same time sought darkness as a refuge; someone who wished to speak out, but often did so in an encoded way. He would reveal himself to his readers, both in his publications and in his unpublished correspondence, but would simultaneously hide his deepest feelings behind encrypted reminders. Some of these clues can still be read between the lines of his literary and scholarly legacy, though most of them must now be considered lost for ever. Was it a game that Snouck Hurgronje was playing with his readership, or did these things exist only in his innermost thoughts, a few of which are accessible to us now as accidental spectators? We shall never know precisely, as we have no idea how many of these details are beyond retrieval.

1 Acknowledgment. I am grateful to William Facey, London, for giving me numerous suggestions for English usage in this text. Wim van den Doel, *Snouck. Het volkomen geleerdenleven van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2021. The Dutch word ‘volkomen’ can mean ‘complete’ and also ‘perfect’. Only on p. 551, at the very end of his story of Snouck Hurgronje’s life, does van den Doel tell his readers what such a complete or perfect life entails.

2 Lives

The basic events of Snouck Hurgronje's life are far from unknown. I summarize: Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (* Oosterhout, 8 February 1857 – † Leiden, 26 June 1936) was a Dutch Arabist, islamologist, colonial adviser and scholar.² He was a son of Jacob Julianus Snouck Hurgronje (1812–1870), a minister in the Dutch Protestant Church, and Anna Maria de Visser (1819–1892). While living in Mecca he owned an Ethiopian slave woman as a concubine, but he did not take her with him when he left Arabia.³ In Batavia (Jakarta) in 1890 he married a woman named Sangkana (d. 1895), and then again in Batavia in 1898 another named Sitti Sadijah ('Buah', d. 1974). He married for a third time in Zutphen (Netherlands) on July 8, 1910, his new wife being Ida Maria Oort (d. 1958). All these marriages produced offspring.⁴ His secondary education took place in Breda (Netherlands).

In 1874, he had enrolled as a student of theology and humanities in the University of Leiden (Netherlands). He graduated in theology and continued his studies in Semitic languages, specializing in Arabic with Michael Jan de Goeje (1836–1909). In 1880 he defended his PhD thesis on the origins of the Islamic pilgrimage. In 1881 he studied for some time with Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) in Strasbourg (then part of Germany), and on 1 October 1881 he was appointed teacher in the Municipal Institute for the education of colonial civil servants in Leiden. He also taught at the Higher War School in The Hague, Netherlands. In 1887 he was nominated senior lecturer in Leiden University for 'Institutions of Islam'. In 1884–1885 he spent a year in Jeddah and Mecca.⁵ From 1889 to 1906 he lived in Batavia as an adviser to the Dutch colonial government for Arab, Islam-

2 The first half of this essay is mostly based on my summary biography 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in: Coeli Fitzpatrick & Dwayne A. Tunstall (eds), *Orientalist Writers (= Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 366), Detroit, MI, etc.: Gale, 2012, pp. 148–154.

3 We do not know her name, although there are indications that she was called, at least by Snouck Hurgronje, Sa'ida. She probably ended her pregnancy on Snouck Hurgronje's departure from Mecca in August 1885 or shortly after. Her existence was unknown until I wrote about her in my translation of *Mekka* of 2007. See my guess at her name in my 'Meccan voices. Proverbs and Sayings from Mecca Collected and Explained by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje' in the present volume, under Proverb No. 51 (pp. 762, 833).

4 C.E.G. ten Houte de Lange, *Familiefonds Hurgronje 1767–1992. De nakomelingen van Isaac Hurgronje (1652–1706) en Josina Phoenix (1663–1711) en de geschiedenis van 225 jaren Familiefonds Hurgronje*. Middelburg: Familiefonds Hurgronje, 1992, pp. 328–329.

5 My annotated translations of the 'diary' that he kept in Jeddah, and of the proverbs that he collected in Mecca, are both published in the present volume. I have tried my hand at a reconstruction of Snouck Hurgronje's life in Mecca in my 'Inleiding' to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw. Schetsen uit het dagelijks leven*. Amsterdam/Antwerp: Atlas, 2007, pp. 7–184.



FIGURE 2.1
Portrait of Christiaan Snouck
Hurgronje, made between 1889 and
1902 in the studio of Charls & van Es
& Co, Batavia. Reproduced from the
frontispiece of Th.W. Juynboll's
biographical essay (Haarlem 1901).
SOURCE: DELPHER

ic and indigenous affairs. For that period, he is best known for his advisory role which led to the end of the Aceh war. From 1906 to 1927 he held the chair of 'Islamology and the Arabic and Acehnese languages' at Leiden University, and until 1933 he remained adviser to the Dutch Minister of Colonial Affairs.

During his long, varied and productive life, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje left behind an extensive trail of documents and publications: learned studies, political advice, reports, literary essays, poetry, newspaper articles, personal documents, letters, diaries, and travel accounts, many of them published but many also unpublished. Much of what has been preserved is now kept in the collections of Leiden University Library. However, reading the letters and other unpublished documents makes one realize immediately that much of what was once available must be regarded as lost.

Although the general outline of Snouck Hurgronje's life can be fairly well reconstructed, the search for specific details may cause the historian considerable difficulties. On starting to read his multi-faceted works one is rapidly impressed by the inevitable logic of his argument and by the often sharp and always very personal tone that characterizes his discourse. He had a mesmerizing effect on some of his contemporaries, and he inspired such awe that he had already become a legendary figure halfway through his life. Much later, a younger contemporary described C. van Arendonk (1881–1946) as a Snouck Hurgronje epigone:

In Leiden, van Arendonk turned into a serious scholar, who completely adapted himself to the achievements of 19th-century Semitic studies. Here he enjoyed, or rather submitted to, the friendship of Snouck Hurgronje, as did several other younger Orientalists. Snouck Hurgronje had a great respect for the personality of his students, but this did not prevent some of them from falling under the spell of the compelling personal character of his social relations. They started to copy the master's expressions in word and gesture as they remembered them. In this respect too, van Arendonk had become a disciple of Snouck Hurgronje.⁶

The choice of Mecca as a subject for his PhD dissertation seems to have been due to his teacher, Michael Jan de Goeje, who may have hoped that his favourite student would produce a good edition with learned commentaries of Arabic texts on the history of Mecca. The Leiden library possessed enough important manuscripts on the subject. De Goeje ran a sort of text edition production line and he and his pupils were constantly engaged in preparing manuscripts for publication, usually in co-operation with the publishing house of Brill in Leiden.

Snouck Hurgronje must soon have realized that this line of work was not what he wanted in the long run. His thesis, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, 'the Mecca festival', which he defended on 24 November 1880, earned him his doctoral degree with honours. Its primary sources were still mainly the venerable codexes of classical texts on Meccan history preserved in the Leiden library. But in addition to the scholarly digestion of these sources, Snouck Hurgronje came up with various provocative ideas and compelling interpretations about the origin of the Islamic pilgrimage and the role assigned to the Prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham).

These revolutionary ideas can be summarized as follows: the pagan pilgrimage ritual of pre-Islamic Mecca was incorporated by the Prophet Muhammad into the new religion for reasons of expediency alone, not as a result of revelation from on high, and the Prophet Ibrāhīm was chosen by him as the founding patriarch of Islam since, in the Old Testament, there is no text attributable to

6 My translation from the Dutch of J.H. Kramers, 'Levensbericht C. van Arendonk', in *Jaarboek* [of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences], Amsterdam 1946–1947, pp. 145–149, especially p. 146. See also Van den Doel, *Snouck*, p. 397. In this connection, Van den Doel constructs an elaborate case against G.W.J. Drewes (1899–1992) as one such epigone (*Snouck*, pp. 447–448, 456, 463, 529, 533–534). On Snouck Hurgronje's harsh method of teaching, see van den Doel, *Snouck*, pp. 459–460. Louis Graf (1908–1992) once confirmed this to me, and from that I understood that, in his own courses (which I attended between 1964 and 1970), Drewes imitated the revered master in this respect too.

Abraham which could contradict the Prophet Muhammad's claims to be the final recipient of the divine word. From this it follows that the Abrahamic legend was invented for reasons of pragmatism. This dates from the period in the Prophet's mission when he was still having to assert himself against the criticism and hostility of the followers of the two other, and earlier, monotheistic faiths, especially the Jews of western Arabia. Snouck Hurgronje's propositions stripped the sanctity from important episodes in the sacred history of Islam, reducing them to instances of strategy and power politics. There is no place for a divine revelation in this line of reasoning, and Snouck Hurgronje would maintain this thesis for the rest of his life.⁷ He would never suffer for it himself, but his successor A.J. Wensinck (1882–1939) inadvertently repeated it in a publication, and in 1933 became the target of a hate campaign in Egypt which cost him his proposed membership of the Royal Academy of the Arabic Language.⁸

Having stepped well beyond the boundaries of philology proper with the ideas propounded in his thesis, Snouck Hurgronje would soon formulate ambitions far higher than his professor de Goeje, whose intimate knowledge of the Orient was derived from the armchair in his study and his mediaeval sources, could ever have envisaged. Snouck Hurgronje intimated to him that he had in mind a visit to Arabia, possibly even to Mecca itself. The quiet philologist must have been horrified by the plans of his impetuous pupil. Snouck Hurgronje's subsequent visit to Mecca, and more especially the book on Meccan history and society that he published in 1888 and 1889, after his safe return to Leiden, brought him instant celebrity. He became a legend before he had even reached middle age.⁹

Snouck Hurgronje was familiar with the intimate description of Cairene society that Edward William Lane (1801–1876) had published on the basis of his notes made during a sojourn in Cairo between 1833 and 1835. He may have felt more inspired by that very genre of ethnographic description, than by meticulous textual criticism and assiduous manuscript collation. Lane's illustrated

7 Much later Snouck Hurgronje summarized this idea in his *Mohammedanism. Lectures on Its Origin, Its Religious and Political Growth, and Its Present State*. New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1916, p. 41. For a better understanding of this matter I owe much to discussions with my late friend Frank Schröder (1945–2013).

8 Snouck Hurgronje's thesis of 1880 is now also available in English: Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *The Mecca Festival*. Translated and edited by Wolfgang H. Behn. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2012; see my review of this translation in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 73/1–2 (January–April 2016), col. 268–272, which has a few details on Wensinck's misadventure.

9 A romanticized and largely fantastical biography was published by Philip Dröge, *Pelgrim. Leven en reizen van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje*. Houten/Antwerpen: Unieboek/Spectrum, 2017. The dust jacket of this book adds an extra sub-title: 'wetenschapper, spion, avonturier', scholar, spy, adventurer. See on this 'biography' my 'Before Mecca' (pp. 594–597, below).

Description of Egypt remained unpublished for a long time - the first edition appeared in Cairo in 2000. His classic, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, appeared in 1836 and has remained in print to this day. Apart from being a gifted ethnographer and a sound philologist, Lane was also an accomplished artist, and the engraved images accompanying his description of the Egyptians added an impressive visual dimension to his text. Snouck Hurgronje may have felt inspired by that combination of words and images in Lane's description of the manners and customs of the Egyptians of his time, and he went to Mecca with the intention of exploiting the then still novel invention of photography.

There are also differences between the journeys of Snouck Hurgronje and Lane. Snouck Hurgronje stayed in Arabia just over a full year (and less than half of that in Mecca proper), whereas, during his two journeys of about three years each, Lane had had ample opportunity to organize his research and complete his work. There were not too many complications for Lane while he was living as a Muslim under the adopted name of Manṣūr, in the traditional Muslim part of Cairo. To make life easier and to avoid too many questions, he had fully integrated himself. He purchased and later married a young slave girl, Nafeesah, who would accompany him to England and remain his lifelong companion.

Mecca was a different cup of tea. Precisely because the sacred territory was forbidden to non-Muslims it had, in the course of time, attracted numerous adventurers. The authorities, and the population in general, were keen on unmasking such intruders – who might pay with their lives if detected. Snouck Hurgronje was not one of these adventurers since he did not come in disguise, but he always had to be wary in a town where the hatred of unbelievers was the prevailing state of mind. He was not too afraid of this, and he had taken various precautions. After five and a half months, his life was suddenly endangered by the indiscretions concerning his presence in Mecca and his alleged activities as an archaeologist or antiquities dealer put about by the French vice-consul in Jeddah, Félix Jacques de Lostalot de Bachoué (1842–1894). At that point his time was up, and he had to leave Mecca immediately, and, shortly after, Arabia too. Like Lane in Cairo, he had lived in Mecca as a Muslim among the Muslims, under his adopted name 'Abd al-Ghaffār, the 'Servant of the All-Forgiving One', but unlike Lane he did not return home with the female companion whom he had purchased in Mecca and who had become pregnant by him, but whose name we do not know for sure.

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje was not a religious man. From almost every page of his monumental study on Mecca it is evident that he had but few personal religious feelings, if any. However, religion as a social phenomenon fascinated him. His interest lay in finding answers to the question of how and to

what extent people were willing to shape their private lives and social organization according to their perception of God's ordinances. In such a context, the existence of God was an absolute reality.

Ever since Snouck Hurgronje published his illustrated monograph on Mecca,¹⁰ the book has amazed its readers. Mecca was, and is, the Holy City to some, the Forbidden City to others. How had a young Western scholar succeeded, and in such a short time, in being accepted by the Meccans as one of them and in writing such a detailed and intimate description of Meccan society? On that aspect Snouck Hurgronje has largely kept his silence, and for this very reason stories were bound to circulate and take on legendary proportions. For the present-day reader Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka* is a classic, but in many ways it is also a modern book. The second volume describes Meccan society in the 1880s, and as such it is an important historical and anthropological source. Amazingly enough, it has remained the only comprehensive monograph on the subject, for modern Muslim sociologists or historians have never dared to describe life in the holy city of Mecca in secular terms.¹¹ The lively and at times humorous style in which Snouck Hurgronje describes the motives and feelings of some of the inhabitants of Mecca keeps his narrative fresh and compelling. The modernity of it lies in his ideas of how to have dealings with people of different cultures and religions, and how to describe them.

The first volume of the original German edition (1888) is a historical study of the city of Mecca and its rulers. It reads as an account of more than a millennium of ruthless power play and unrestrained greed in the city which is the heart of Islam. Snouck Hurgronje's realistic approach to Mecca's history can hardly be regarded as disturbingly anti-Islamic, although a healthy scepticism towards Islam, and any other religion for that matter, is also part of his discourse. Muslim historians themselves are quite open-minded on the subject, very much in the same way as Roman Catholics think and speak about the secrets of the Vatican: the most sacred and the most profane often go hand in hand.

The final chapter of the first volume, and the entire second volume of *Mekka*, contain Snouck Hurgronje's account of the public and private life of the Meccans, of the traditional educational system in the Great Mosque, and, last but not least, of the life of the Djawa colony in Mecca, the South-East Asians who had chosen to live for a while in the Holy City as God's neighbours. The

10 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. 1. *Die Stadt und ihre Herren* (1888); vol. 2. *Aus dem heutigen Leben* (1889); *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka* (1888). Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888–1889.

11 May Yamani, in her *Cradle of Islam. The Hijaz and the Quest for Identity in Saudi Arabia* (London: I.B. Taurus 2009) is possibly one of the rare insiders who have dared to venture into that domain.

second volume is written for a wider public and its reception was at once enthusiastic and awestruck. It was given a visual dimension by the publication of a portfolio of photographic images, a number of which were made by Snouck Hurgronje himself. He thereby became Mecca's first European photographer, and its second photographer ever, after the Egyptian officer and engineer Muhammad Šādiq Bey (1822–1902). He was also the teacher of Mecca's third photographer, his namesake by coincidence, the Meccan doctor, technician and naturalist 'Abd al-Ghaffār b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Baghdādī, *Ṭabīb Makka*.¹² The latter thus became the first Meccan photographer of his home town. Photography contributed the visual dimension to Snouck Hurgronje's description of Mecca and its inhabitants in the same way as Lane's drawings had done for the Egyptians among whom he had lived fifty years earlier.

Snouck Hurgronje had come to Jeddah and Mecca for more than one reason. The most important one was, of course, to study every aspect of Islam at its very core, in an environment where it was least influenced by non-Islamic elements and where it was not under foreign rule. The pilgrimage, the re-enactment of various dramatic episodes in the Prophet Ibrāhīm's life and the circumstances of his divine mission (*e.g.* Hagar's despair, the sacrifice of Ismā'īl/Ishmael), being what it was, irrespective of whether it was true or false, needed to be studied as a social, and therefore political, phenomenon. But Snouck Hurgronje had not come to Mecca in order to study the pilgrimage alone. In the end he did not even participate in the pilgrimage, since he was forced to leave Mecca just before the season. Yet he had wished to be a pilgrim, since he had rented a house in Mecca until the end of that lunar year.¹³ In his book he mentions the pilgrimage, albeit rather summarily, while going through the ritual year, and he downplayed its importance by characterizing it as a ceremony of local relevance only, especially in comparison to that other main event in the ritual calendar of Islam, the fast of the month of Ramaḍān, which is experienced by the entire community of Islam. The Feast of Sacrifice is celebrated in the entire Muslim world, but for Mecca the pilgrimage, with its massive attendance by the believers, is the main annual event. Many Meccans had, and still have, to earn most of their yearly income in the short period of a few weeks

12 I have been in correspondence with his great-grandson, Dr. Hashim Abdulghafar in Mecca, who has been the Saudi vice-minister of Public Health, in the hope that documents of or about Snouck Hurgronje could be found in his family papers. That proved not to be the case.

13 His contract of tenancy was edited and translated into Dutch in my 'Van huurcontract tot boekenlegger. Mekkaanse documenten van Snouck Hurgronje', in: Wim van Anrooij *e.a.* (eds.), *Om het boek. Cultuurhistorische bespiegelingen over boeken en mensen*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2020, pp. 311–315.

during it, and in that season, they obviously cannot devote their attention to anything else. For the rest of the year, it was as if they had different personalities. Meccan society outside the hectic and profitable season was Snouck Hurgronje's main field of study. In this respect his viewpoint differed from that of most Western explorers of Mecca. In Europe Mecca was, and remains, synonymous with pilgrimage. Even if many of the European travellers focused on the pilgrimage, Snouck Hurgronje believed that if one really wanted to know something about that ritual, one would be better off studying pilgrimage manuals rather than mixing with the chaotic and confusing gatherings of the pilgrimage itself. His dismissive attitude toward the actual pilgrimage must have been a matter of sour grapes.

The episode immediately preceding Snouck Hurgronje's journey to Mecca must be treated here in some detail. He had landed in Jeddah on 29 August 1884, and soon proved to be a keen, sometimes cynical, observer of human nature. He had little belief in human idealism, and was prone to detecting ulterior, usually materialistic, motives behind religious acts. The study of living Islam in an undiluted environment was his prime objective, but he had also come to Jeddah, and Mecca, with a mission of a more practical nature. In the eyes of European colonial powers with Muslim subjects, Mecca had become a safe haven for fundamentalist activities, 'Muslim fanatics' as they were called in late-19th-century discourse. The city was seen as a hub from which pan-Islamic ideas could radiate unhindered all over the Muslim world, a large part of which was by then governed by European nations, the much-hated unbelievers. These nations felt threatened by pan-Islamism, an ideology that promoted the Turkish Sultan and Caliph as not only the master of his own subjects, but also as the ruler of the hearts and minds of all other Muslims in the world, as if he were a sort of Islamic pope. The whole idea was a clever ploy by the Ottomans, and they eagerly exploited this wholly un-Islamic concept. To gain up-to-date and accurate information about the pan-Islamic ideas within the South-East Asian community in Mecca was therefore deemed of prime importance by the Dutch government, and Snouck Hurgronje had taken upon himself the task of acquiring more intimate knowledge of the Djawa, as the people of the Malayan world are called in western Arabia. In this connection there was yet another, more practical, reason for political fact-finding in Mecca. From 1873 onwards, the Netherlands had found itself in what would prove to be a war of attrition against the Sultanate of Aceh, a semi-independent state on the northern part of the island of Sumatra, and it was a war with strong Islamic overtones. Snouck Hurgronje's funds for his Meccan expedition had been partly allotted for the specific purpose of finding out to what extent the Aceh war was ideologically supported by segments of the Djawa community in Mecca.

Being a pupil of de Goeje, that grandmaster of the Leiden school of Oriental philology, Snouck Hurgronje had also come to Mecca imbued with his academic background and his scholarly interests. It is therefore hardly surprising that he should have devoted a long chapter of his book on Mecca to intellectual life, to what he called 'the University of Mecca', the rather loosely organized educational system operating within the precincts of Mecca's Great Mosque. Here too, he had a keen eye for human behaviour, and he gave his readers their full share of his observations, not only on the curriculum but also on academic competition and university intrigue, and on the profitable symbiosis of scholars and rulers.

Once in Arabia, Snouck Hurgronje made his preparations for his visit to Mecca in several stages. First, he acquired as much local information about Mecca as possible, and created a circle of Muslim friends for himself. He spoke with many pilgrims on their way back from Mecca (the feast had been on 30 September 1884), he got acquainted with people involved in the pilgrimage business, and he met with many inhabitants of Mecca and Jeddah. To them he must have seemed a Christian scholar with a remarkable knowledge of Arabic literature and Islamic law. He spoke the Arabic vernacular more fluently with each passing day, and he was soon able to converse in Malay with the East Indian Muslims. The fact that he had brought with him some photographic equipment gave him added appeal as a potential creator of portraits. Especially at a time when photography was still a rare and miraculous art, photographic portraits were much sought after. Snouck Hurgronje exploited the advantages of the new technique, and his photography may have proved to be a catalyst for establishing relationships and breaking down social barriers, although its impact should, perhaps, not be exaggerated. He was not in need of photography as his sole means of gaining entry to the houses of rulers, notables and officials, since his compelling personality was capable enough of achieving that on its own. Already on his first day in Mecca, invitations came flooding in. Photography was to become a valuable adjunct to his presence there.

His next step in Jeddah was the selection of a travelling companion to Mecca, whose social network would provide him sufficient safety. He had the choice of several individuals, but in the end he choose Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadinginrat (1859–c. 1914), the son of a noble family from Banten, a staunchly Islamic region in the far west of Java. Raden Aboe Bakar had been living and studying in Mecca for years, and he had many acquaintances among the Jawa. All that made him highly valuable. At the time when Snouck Hurgronje and he met he had already succeeded in ingratiating himself with the Dutch consul in Jeddah by providing the Dutch with 'useful knowledge' from Mecca, to which they as non-Muslims had no physical access. It was he who would,

eventually, accompany Snouck Hurgronje on his momentous journey from Jeddah to Mecca, where he was also Snouck Hurgronje's first host. A few years later, this and other services earned him his reward from the Dutch government, a permanent post at the Dutch consulate in Jeddah. After Snouck Hurgronje's departure from the Ḥiǧāz he would remain his confidential informant on Meccan and Ḥiǧāzi affairs.

In that second phase of his stay in Jeddah, Snouck Hurgronje must have made it known to a select group of Muslim friends – and probably to a few of his Dutch *intimi* in Jeddah as well – that he intended to convert to Islam and to study the sacred sciences in Mecca. In order to do so, he first had to change his living quarters in Jeddah. On 1 January 1885, he moved to a house of his own where he would live together with Raden Aboe Bakar, independently of the Dutch consulate where he had been staying up until then. The move was also a symbolic one: it marked the moment of his transition from his Christian religion to Islam. Snouck Hurgronje took on the Islamic name of 'Abd al-Ghaffār, 'Servant of the All-Forgiving One'. During January 1885, he gradually started to make his conversion public – that is, among Muslims. On 5 January 1885, he wrote in his 'diary':

Important visit of Sayyid Muḥammad Muzayyin. In the evening the mail arrived with letters from Mother, Romburgh, Goedeljee, Bavinck, a postcard from Nöldeke, a piece about *qāt* and the Students Almanac.

For circumcision, which is performed at very diverse ages (between about forty days and ten years) they use, as I learned from the *muzayyin* [barber, surgeon], a little iron pincer in the shape of \supset called '*udda* [utensil] in order to squeeze the prepuce, and a razor blade. For the treatment of the wound, a *marham* [salve, ointment] is used (here they say: '*al-darāhim kal-marāhim taǧburu alam al-kasīr*' [= 'dirhams are like ointment, they heal the pain of the fractured bone.']), which is a substance that staunches the loss of blood and heals the wound. Our friend even told us that he used *ṭalyun*, which in European pharmacies is called cantarion (or something like that). It is applied to a piece of textile and that is used for covering the wounded area. After that a *dharūr* [application] is used for drying the wound. There are several different varieties of mixtures for this, pounded into powder. Varieties of *ḥārra* [hot] and *bārīda* [cold] are distinguished.¹⁴

14 Translated from the Dutch text of the Jeddah 'diary', MS Leiden Or. 7112, pp. 44–45 (below, p. 596). My annotated translation of the entire 'diary', 'Before Mecca', is in the present volume. See also Proverb no. 68 in my 'Meccan Voices' in the present volume (below, pp.

It is a crucial passage, and at the same time a hermetic one.¹⁵ The superficial reader of Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah diary can see it merely as one of his many anthropological observations, in this case on details of the custom of circumcision and the art of wound healing. However, why would this visit of the barber be so significant unless the circumcision was to be performed on Snouck Hurgronje himself? The passage on wound healing, which immediately follows the passage on circumcision, makes clear to anyone able to read between the lines that the *muzayyin*, the barber, had not come just to give him a haircut. Undergoing circumcision was a vital part of Snouck Hurgronje's preparations to go to Mecca. He simply could not risk a careless detail such as his foreskin causing him difficulties, and it was indeed checked when he entered the sacred territory a few weeks later. His true motive for undergoing the operation was that, while he was in Mecca, he intended to live with a Muslim woman. Being uncircumcised would immediately have provoked a dangerous situation.

On 16 January 1885, Snouck Hurgronje records a visit to Ismā'īl Efendi, the *qāḍī* of Jeddah, and others, apparently in preparation for his imminent meeting with 'Uthmān Nūrī Pasha, the Ottoman governor of the Ḥiğāz, who was in Jeddah at the time. One may assume that this visit to the *qāḍī* was also done in order to confirm his conversion to Islam before the necessary witnesses. The governor was, of course, also aware of the visit to Mecca on which this young Westerner was about to embark, and there was no secrecy about it. He even ordered two askaris, soldiers, to escort Snouck Hurgronje on the road from Jeddah to Mecca, which was not always safe. In such social gatherings, photography and portraiture were also discussed.

It has been argued that Snouck Hurgronje's conversion to Islam may not have been genuine and that, by pretending to have become a Muslim, he had acted in an insincere way towards all those in Jeddah and Mecca, and later in Indonesia as well, who had given him their unreserved trust and their brotherly love. Snouck Hurgronje always avoided speaking out publicly about this. In his letters to his mother, to his teacher de Goeje in Leiden, to his academic friends Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) in Strasbourg and Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) in Budapest, to his friend Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs (1855–1889) in Jeddah, and a few others besides, he was more straightforward on this point, but never beyond a certain point. For the agnostic expert in Islamic Law that Snouck Hurgronje was, Islam consisted of a series of outward acts, to be per-

853).

15 Dröge has squeezed out of this a horrid anecdote full of bloody details, that he used as the appetizing prologue of his 'biography'. In my annotation to the Jeddah diary, 'Before Mecca' in the present volume, I come back to this (below, pp. 594–597).

formed without rational questioning, under certain conditions by which they became legally valid. In this sense he had certainly become a Muslim, someone who practises submission. Snouck Hurgronje thought that whether he was also a believer, a *mu'min*, someone with the inner conviction that Islam was the true and only possible religion, was of no relevance to outsiders, since that was something between man and his Creator. God alone looked into the hearts of man and judged accordingly. For our appreciation of Snouck Hurgronje's study of daily life in Jeddah and Mecca as he participated in it in 1884–1885, the question of the truth of his conversion is irrelevant, but for Muslims it is still a serious matter.

Having made these careful preparations, he took the decision to leave Jeddah. In the evening of Sunday 22 February 1885, after a full day's journey, he entered Mecca and performed the greeting ritual by circumambulating the Ka'ba. He kissed the black stone and he drank the holy water of Zemzem. These were moments heavily freighted with emotion, moments that he would never forget for the whole of the rest of his life.¹⁶

I have treated Snouck Hurgronje's preparations to come to Mecca in some detail, but a comparable discussion about his actual stay in Mecca cannot be given here and now, if only for brevity's sake. His description of daily life in Mecca is not a day-to-day account of the period of slightly more than five months that he spent in the Holy City. In his scholarly notes no such account of Mecca is preserved. Yet the surviving sources and the second volume of *Mekka* itself give us the impression that this volume can to a great extent be read as a sort of autobiographical report written in the third person. He perfected his knowledge of the sacred sciences and learnt how these were taught in Mecca's Great Mosque from an impressive number of teachers. On several occasions he mentions Mecca's most important scholar, Sayyid Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān (1817–1886), who had already come to visit him on the day of his arrival in Mecca, like so many others who had heard of the presence of the foreign scholar. Daḥlān was the grand-mufti of the Shāfi'ite school of law in Mecca and the dean of the other Meccan grand-muftis. Snouck Hurgronje styled him the 'rector of Mecca's University'.¹⁷

Evidently Snouck Hurgronje participated in many private functions and public festivities, and mixed extensively with the Djawa. He set up house with

16 C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Über eine Reise nach Mekka', *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 14/3 (Berlin 1887), pp. 138–153; also in *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 3 (1923), pp. 45–64.

17 Snouck Hurgronje wrote a long account of his life and work: 'Een rector der Mekkaansche Universiteit' in: *BKI* 1887, pp. 344–404, esp. pp. 381–389 = *Verspreide Geschriften* III, pp. 65–122.

his concubine and started to collect information from all sides. After a while, when he had made the acquaintance of the versatile doctor al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffār b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Baghdādī, who since 1300/1883 had been attached to the Sharī‘a Court in Mecca as its chief medical officer, he spotted the possibilities for photography and only then ordered his equipment and chemicals to be brought from Jeddah to Mecca. Together with his namesake he started to practise photography in a studio which he set up in the doctor’s house. Opportunities for this were few, however, especially for outdoor photography, which was problematic both for technical reasons and because of religious considerations. In 1885 photography was still an art about which few people in Mecca had heard, and for this alone made it suspect. A few photographs were taken, however, if only to earn some money.¹⁸

When, early in August 1885, ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Efendi, as Snouck Hurgronje was called by his Muslim friends, received the order from the Turkish governor to leave Mecca and Arabia, all his expectations of a prolonged stay were abruptly curtailed, and he had to devise multiple strategies of damage control. How bitterly he felt the truth of the words of the Prophet Muhammad! ‘Oh, Mecca, you are to me the most beloved city in the world. If I had not been driven out of you, I would never have departed from you.’¹⁹ It was the great catastrophe and he would never see Mecca again. Although he must have constantly realized that his stay in Mecca was on borrowed time, not a single letter had yet been written of his book on Mecca, the outline of which he may already have had in his head. First, he had to save his notes and collections, and to see to it that his photographic equipment was preserved. The Zawāwī family, Raden Aboe Bakar, the Meccan doctor ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, and other friends, all did their best to help him. In Jeddah he received the best assistance he could expect from the Dutch honorary vice-consul and shipping agent Van der Chijs, a wise man with whom he had already formed a close friendship before his move from Jeddah to Mecca, and who would become Snouck Hurgronje’s closest confidant in the few years to come. Between 1885 and 1889, Vice-Consul Van der Chijs arranged for a steady flow of all sorts of information, photographs and objects of an ethnographic nature from Mecca, via Jeddah, to Leiden. It was also Van der Chijs who made sure that the many questions that arose during the writing of the two volumes of *Mekka* received appropriate answers. A

18 See on photography my ‘Meccan Voices’ in the present volume, under proverb No. 27, where it is mentioned in connection with sorcery (below, pp. 801-803).

19 Letter from C. Snouck Hurgronje to P.N. van der Chijs in Jeddah, dated Leiden, Monday 10 January 1887, quoted after the Dutch original in the Snouck Hurgronje archive, in MS Leiden Or. 8952 L 26-30.

series of learned articles on Meccan and Arabian subjects issued from Snouck Hurgronje's pen immediately after his return to Leiden, written no doubt on the basis of his field notes and fresh memories. The liveliest of these were contained in his annotated collection of seventy-seven Meccan proverbs and sayings.²⁰ To the reader of the proverbs, it is at once evident that the collection contains numerous elements of autobiographical relevance. The two volumes on *Mekka*, which would make him one of the most famous explorers of the Holy City, were written in Leiden, not in Mecca.

The Jeddah and Mecca episodes are highly significant moments, if not the most important ones, in Snouck Hurgronje's life. In these months of intense living and experience, he struck up enduring friendships. I have given a detailed account of his life in Arabia and the years immediately following in the introduction to my Dutch translation of volume 2 of *Mekka* published in 2007.²¹ The final pages of the last chapter of *Mekka* were rightly interpreted by the Dutch Minister of Colonial Affairs, L.W.C. Keuchenius (1822–1893), as an open job application. In 1889 Snouck Hurgronje was appointed to the Dutch East Indies as a governmental advisor. He did not visit Jeddah on the way, nor did the coast of western Arabia even come into sight. But lying in his cabin on the *Massilia* of the P&O line, he must have mused with some nostalgia about his eventful days in Jeddah and Mecca and about the friends he had left behind. In no other of his later works were the personal and the factual so closely interwoven as in his Meccan writings – the collection of proverbs and volume 2 of *Mekka*.

During his seventeen years of intensive and continuous work in the Dutch East Indies, mostly in Batavia, Snouck Hurgronje would play an important role as governmental advisor on indigenous, Arab and Islamic affairs. His Meccan connections had given him an insight into Muslim life and continued to do so. Both his colonial masters and many of his indigenous and Arab friends were to profit from this. In 1906, however, he may have sensed that he had overstayed his welcome in the colony or that his colonial career had reached a *cul-de-sac*. He grasped the opportunity to repatriate, again without his (now Sundanese) family. He succeeded his teacher M.J. de Goeje in the chair of Arabic at Leiden University, and from 1906 till 1927 he revelled in the professorship with great *gusto*.

On 29 March 1906, he had embarked on the *Koningin Regentes* for the voy-

20 My annotated translation of that collection of Meccan proverbs is in the present volume.

21 An English version of large parts of my introduction to my Dutch translation of the second volume of *Mekka*, as published in 2007, is in preparation, but that will not grace the pages of the present volume.



FIGURE 2.2

Snouck Hurgronje's wax cylinders in their original boxes, after their return from the Phonogrammarchiv in Vienna in 1996. They are now registered in Leiden University Library as Or. MS Leiden Or. 27.131.

© 1997. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM

age back to Holland.²² Once again, as on his way to the East Indies in 1889, he did not disembark in Jeddah, and the ship may not even have stopped there. Already before his return journey he had formulated ambitious ideas for an anthropological and ethnomusicological study of the Ḥiǧāz. Mecca had evidently never been far from his mind or his heart. In 1909 he had sound recordings made with his phonograph, which at the time was as much of a novelty as photography had been in the 1880s.²³

He had informants write down all sorts of texts, from geographical surveys to *fatwas* on early sound recording of the *Qurʾān*, from texts of popular songs to lists of manuscripts in Ḥiǧāzī libraries, etc.²⁴ In the end, however, nothing much came of all this. University life (later combined with old age) made demands of its own, and he may have underestimated these just as he had underestimated the hardship of Ramaḍān in Mecca in 1885. His assistance to J.H. Monahan that led to the appearance of the English translation in 1931 of his second volume of *Mekka* was a last and final expression of interest in that period which had meant so much to him in his late twenties.²⁵

22 Earlier I had assumed this to be the Dutch marine armoured frigate of that name, not being aware of the fact that there was also a civilian steamer called *Koningin Regentes* belonging to the *Stoomvaart Maatschappij Nederland*, as van den Doel has it (p. 300). On 29 March 1906 she departed homebound from Batavia, on one of the three complete journeys that she would make that year.

23 See on Snouck Hurgronje's sound recordings my 'Written in Wax: Quranic Recitational Phonography', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138/4 (2018), pp. 807–820; Wim van Zanten, 'Recordings of Indonesian Music and Speech in the Snouck Hurgronje Collection (1905–1909) in Leiden. Preliminary Remarks', in the present volume. The phonograph is now registered in the Leiden library as MS Leiden Or. 27.130, the collection of wax cylinders as MS Leiden Or. 27.131.

24 See my 'Lists of books in Arabic manuscripts', in *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990–1991), pp. 123–136, esp. pp. 130–133.

25 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century. Daily Life, Customs and*

With all the plans for future work in his head, Snouck Hurgronje had reason to be proud of what he had achieved in his seventeen years of uninterrupted service in the East Indies. His arrival there in 1889 and his work as a governmental adviser on indigenous, Islamic and Arab affairs had contributed to a concerted and better-informed colonial policy towards Islam. This was, of course, far from being an academic affair. Snouck Hurgronje's mission was to support and perpetuate the colonial project of the Dutch in South-East Asia. His stay in Mecca had conferred on him an almost mythical stature, and his successful collaboration with General J.B. van Heutsz (1851–1924) in the subjugation of Aceh, to name but the most conspicuous example, may have further contributed to this.²⁶ Anyone who nowadays browses through the still very readable edition of Snouck Hurgronje's official advices, many of which were written during his stay in Batavia, and who, in addition to that, reads the scholarly spin-off of his official work in his many articles on a wide range of subjects, cannot fail to be impressed by the author's energy and genius, his enormous knowledge, his practical insight and his great common sense. His official advices were often (though not always) heeded by the colonial rulers in the East Indies and, later on, by the politicians in The Hague. Parts of the thematically arranged scholarly edition of Snouck Hurgronje's official advices can be read as a history of Indonesian Islam around the turn of the century, seen, of course, from the point of view of the colonial ruler. Nevertheless, for the historian of the development of modern Islam they remain an important source.

A special place in the official advice is occupied by the pilgrimage and the pilgrims' affairs, and the vicissitudes of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah.²⁷ These had never been far from his mind, and Jeddah and the annual pilgrimage connected the Dutch East Indies and Arabia. Most of the space in the official advices was taken up by Aceh, however. The ending of the costly Aceh war, which had lasted for two decades, had become a matter of the highest priority and it is clear that Snouck Hurgronje's advice was as harsh as it was effective. A drastic change of war tactics was imperative. The defensive confinement within the concentrated line, which had been the rather impotent strategy of the Dutch, should be brought to an end. Active counterinsurgency warfare should

Learning. The Moslems of the East-Indian Archipelago. Translated by J.H. Monahan. Leyden: E.J. Brill / London: Luzac & Co., 1931, now reprinted by Brill in 2007.

26 Vilan van de Loo, *Uit naam van de Majesteit. Het leven van J.B. van Heutsz 1851–1924.* Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2020, pp. 137–168.

27 *Ambtelijke Adviezen*, vol. 2 (1959), pp. 1307–1465 and 1466–1509, respectively. See now also my 'Snouck Hurgronje's Consular Ambitions', in Jan Loop & Jill Kraye (eds.), *Scholarship between Europe and the Levant. Essays in Honour of Alastair Hamilton.* Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020, pp. 349–373.

be waged against the enemy. The real enemy should be singled out first, and that was neither the powerless Sultan nor the Acehnese aristocracy.²⁸ The real adversaries of the Dutch proved to be the *'ulamā'*, the Islamic scholars. An attempt should be made to appease those who wished to co-operate with the Dutch (the Sultan and the elite), but those who were not open to appeasement should be hit hard, because only thus could their respect be gained. Atrocities should be avoided, since they did more harm than good. Finally, policies had to be set in place for the economic and social reconstruction of Aceh. In addition, the Dutch military establishment in the knil, the Dutch East Indian army, had a vested interest in the current military strategy, and so proved to be another adversary that could not be ignored.

With the wisdom of hindsight, however, one can also detect a certain naïveté in these ideas of Snouck Hurgronje. The second volume of *De Atjèhers* was published in 1894 and its final chapter was entitled 'The future of Islam',²⁹ a title he had borrowed from *The Future of Islam* by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt,³⁰ which, incidentally, was also one of the books which he had brought with him to Mecca in 1885. His argument runs more or less as follows: The most important element of Acehnese Islam is *jihad*, Holy War. In the past, *jihad* had brought Islam a great realm and an impressive empire. Now, however, the forces of *jihad* have become counter-productive. Islam can no longer impose its law on other peoples. Europe now rules the world. Progressive secularization of the Islamic world makes *jihad* no longer a viable option. To elucidate his argument, Snouck Hurgronje compared Islam with Judaism, which had gone through a similar development. The rules of Jewish Law are now also impossible to follow, he wrote.

The role of the *Qur'ān* provides another example. Originally three genres could be distinguished in the *Qur'an*: texts on lawgiving, answering burning questions in the early Muslim community; narrative parts providing the new religion with a sacred history; exhortations and reflections providing a source

28 The Dutch counter insurgency effort in Aceh generated the capture of cultural material as well, including manuscripts. See on this my 'Teuku Panglima Polem's Purse. Manuscripts as War Booty in Colonial Times', in *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 10 (2019), pp. 84–104, especially pp. 96–97. See now also for a comparison between the Dutch handling of the Aceh war and the Dutch involvement in Uruzgan, Afghanistan, a century later, Martijn Kitzen, *The Course of Co-option. Co-option of local power-holders as a tool for obtaining control over the population in counterinsurgency campaigns in weblike societies. With case studies on Dutch experiences during the Aceh War (1873-c. 1912) and the Uruzgan campaign (2006-2010)*. Amsterdam (?), 2016.

29 'De toekomst van den Islam'. The English version in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acehnese*. Translated by A.W.S. O'Sullivan. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1906, vol. 2, pp. 338–351.

30 Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, *The Future of Islam*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1882.

of theology and a code of morals. From a powerful inspirational textbook, writes Snouck Hurgronje, the *Qur'ān* has evolved into a sacred songbook. Its content is no longer followed, but only recited and studied. The other laws and institutions of Islam will share this fate; their *study* will gradually take the place of their *practice*. At the same time, *jihad* cannot be abolished either. It can never be declared obsolete (even if it is not one of the five pillars of Islam). It will therefore remain a powerful instrument for any Islamic government. Snouck Hurgronje could not foresee that *jihad* would turn from a public, governmental attitude into a private duty of the believer.³¹ He saw *jihad* as the impediment to the secularization of public and international law and order. According to the same line of reasoning, one can maintain that the *Qur'ān*, with its status as the literal and unchangeable word of God, has become an impediment to progress. A long time ago, during the Muslim conquests, this status gave it a head start, but now it renders Islam in the eyes of both non-Muslims and many modern Muslims, a primitive and even barbaric religion.

Yet, in modern times, Muslims will never be persuaded that Islamic Law should be allowed to sink into obsolescence. Rather they will view the Law as an unattainable ideal, accepted in principle, but neglected in practice. If they wish to study it in depth, they will be admired for their effort, but their example will not be widely followed. The Law will be less and less applicable and, with a few exceptions, will not remain in force.

These final words in the book about the Acehnese, dating from 1894, already prefigured Snouck Hurgronje's ideas about how that future of Islam should take shape in Dutch South-East Asia, namely by gradually granting the indigenous population of the colony the possibility of self-rule within a Dutch Commonwealth. This was called 'association'. It is not the same as autonomy, and certainly not the same as independence. That may never have crossed Snouck Hurgronje's mind as a serious option for the foreseeable future, even if his opinion on the sustainability of colonial rule had shifted.

Snouck Hurgronje's belief in progress, in secularism, in Westernization, is expressed here for the first time in full. He would repeat these ideas time and again and he saw Western education as the essential condition for Westernization. Yet this Westernization was far from implying a negation of Islam. Change in Islam would have to be effectuated from within. His ideas about colonial policies towards Islam can be summarized in a few main themes: Do not interfere with Islamic doctrines. Do not impose restrictions on the practice of Islam

31 And he was not the only one. Many years later, Rudolph Peters, in his *Islam and Colonialism. The Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History*. The Hague: Mouton, 1979, had not foreseen this shift either.

(including the pilgrimage). Be constantly aware of ideas circulating within the Islamic community. Do not give Islam the opportunity to expand into areas that we consider secular. Oppose Pan-Islamism and work towards association and emancipation. This is what Snouck Hurgronje told his students at the Academy for Civil Governance in the East Indies in The Hague in 1911. Now, more than a century later, the advice is as sound as when it was given, albeit under entirely different circumstances, and then as now it had its opponents, both among Muslims and non-Muslims.³² The belief in the inevitability of secularism was beautiful, but was it realistic? Islamic and nationalistic movements were closely monitored and often dissolved by the colonial authorities. Their leaders were imprisoned and exiled. In the Dutch ideas about association there was little room for Indonesians who refused to associate.

'*Divide et impera*' had for long been the policy of the Dutch, in order to transform the colony first into a unity and an economically viable project, and later, with the progress of ethical awareness, into a territory that, by way of the moral education of the indigenous peoples, could become an equal and associated part of a Dutch Commonwealth. However, nobody before 1942, the year of the Japanese conquest of the Dutch East Indies, could tell what exactly such a commonwealth meant, and from that year onwards the question was no longer relevant. Indonesia's independence, achieved according to many Indonesians and a few of the Dutch on 17 August 1945, but according to other Dutchmen on 27 December 1949, was then still beyond the wildest dreams of practically all the Dutch, and, for that matter, of many Indonesians too.

Snouck Hurgronje's homecoming from the Indies in 1906 was not the end of his career. A chair of Islamology, Arabic and Acehnese at Leiden University awaited him. It had been prepared for him by his teacher M.J. de Goeje who had preferred him to M.Th. Houtsma (1851–1943), who like de Goeje was a historian and philologist of the old school. The differences between the two men could hardly be greater. This already emerges clearly from Houtsma's letter from Leiden to Snouck Hurgronje in Mecca, dated 24 March 1885,³³ which illustrates the difference between the rarefied air of a Leiden scholar's study and the colourful exuberance of life in Mecca. In 1890 Houtsma had become a professor of Hebrew and Israelite Antiquities in Utrecht, a post which he also used for conducting his historical studies on Islam. He is most renowned as one of the founders of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, but even in that

32 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islâm. Vier voordrachten gehouden in de Nederlandsch-Indische bestuursacademie*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1911, especially chapters 3 and 4.

33 Letter M.Th. Houtsma to C. Snouck Hurgronje, in MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 457 (1).

project the worlds of Snouck Hurgronje and Houtsma would collide.³⁴ Becoming de Goeje's successor would have made perfect sense for Houtsma, but it was not to be, and in a long letter de Goeje explained to Houtsma why he endorsed Snouck Hurgronje and not him. I quote a large part of it:³⁵

I had always hoped to retain Snouck for my sort of research, and that after he had completed his programme for the Indies in such a splendid way, he would return to his old love. I have long understood that my professorial post would be the only thing that might make that expectation come true.

On the other hand, I considered that this professorship has changed over the years. When I accepted it, most of my pupils were students of theology. Since 1878 their number has decreased, whereas the number of those who were in the East Indian service, or aspired to it, has continually increased. That is how I became more and more involved in the education of civil servants for the Indies. In this respect too, Snouck can be considered to have special talents for this post.

Already a long time ago I informally asked Snouck by letter whether he might wish to consider accepting such an appointment. He answered that he certainly would do so, and with that the subject rested for a while. Now, however, the moment has come when something has to be done. I wrote to him once more about it in a serious way and he answered that he first had to be back in the Netherlands for a while before he could take a decision. His return should already have taken place last year [1905], but, as you know, he only came back at the end of April of this year. On 'Ascension Day' [24 May 1906] I had a long visit from him and I insisted that he take a decision very soon, especially so that a possible appointment of yourself should not lose its freshness. That is why he was told that *hora ruit*, that time was running out, but he wrote to me that he needed a few more weeks in order to come to a decision. In view of this morning's meeting of the Council of Directors of the University, the Faculty has submitted its proposal for the nomination. The question was asked whether,

34 Peri Bearman, *A History of the Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Atlanta, Georgia: Lockwood Press, 2018, pp. 37–50.

35 My translation of the draft version of the letter in Dutch from M.J. de Goeje to M.Th. Houtsma, Leiden, 7 June 1906. The original, of course, went to Houtsma. When, some twenty years ago, I first found the document, it was kept in ms Leiden Or. 8952 under Van Romburgh. After the reorganization of the Snouck Hurgronje archive Or. 8952 in Leiden University Library it must have been placed elsewhere, but its present-day reference is unknown to me.

in case Snouck were to refuse, you might also refuse because you had not been initially chosen as the first candidate. I answered that you were above such a consideration. This is my absolute conviction, but in view of this I have requested from the Secretary of the Board of Directors that the nomination not be sent out before Snouck has taken a decision.

These are the facts stated as clearly as possible. Personal motives have not played a role in this. For both of you I have warm feelings of friendship, and I would be equally delighted by your being appointed as by an appointment of Snouck. However, I believed that by bringing him back into my field of study, the interests of the Dutch School of Oriental Studies would be particularly well served by his deservedly high reputation. When I started my correspondence with him about this, your special motive for coming here, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, did not yet exist. Snouck has taken his deliberations very seriously. For that reason, he has even rejected the office of Director of Education, etc.,³⁶ that was offered to him, but I nevertheless suspect that he will finally go back to the Indies, and then you will, I hope, accept the task.

My present adjutor Juynboll³⁷ has developed into a thorough scholar who might be considered for the professorship as well, but with the two of you available he cannot be granted a nomination. (...)

The rest is history. Snouck Hurgronje was appointed to Leiden and his academic life lasted for over twenty years, until his statutory retirement in 1927 at the age of seventy. Once back in the Netherlands, he may have wished to pursue his Arabian studies, as de Goeje had hoped, but in the end nothing much came of it. One of the Arabian projects that he may have intended to pursue was the exploration of the fifteen hours or so of sound recordings from the Ḥiġāz which he had ordered to be made in 1909. In the past half-century several attempts have been made to study the recorded texts and music, but all in vain. Only recently has it emerged that some of the Yemenite songs recorded with Snouck Hurgronje's phonograph had in fact been transcribed during his lifetime. The work on this recently discovered material is now in an initial phase.³⁸

36 In the Dutch East Indies the function of 'Directeur van Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid' was the equivalent of a ministerial post.

37 Th.W. Juynboll (1866–1948).

38 The original cylinders were recently registered in the Leiden Library as Or. 27.131, after having been deposited there on 6 November 1996. I was present at that informal ceremony. There is no official deed of transfer of ownership between the Foundation Oosters Instituut, the present owner, and Leiden University Library, the depositary of the material. The transcripts by an Arab scholar have been preserved as MS Leiden Or. 6980: 21 pages of text, *Mağass* or *Mağass*. Voorhoeve mentions the texts (*Handlist*, 1957, p. 426) with-

DE DJAWA TE MEKKA.

Bewerkt voor de *Loc.* naar Dr.

SNOUCK HURGRONJE'S

»Mekka.»

door een

Ambt. b/h Binn. Bestuur.

Het verleden jaar verschenen werk »Mekka» van Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje valt door zijn vrij hoogen prijs niet binnen het bereik van al degenen, die toch gaarne kennis maken met een groot gedeelte van den inhoud van dat boek. Moge al de gedetailleerde geschiedenis der heilige stad, die het eerste deel bevat, velen onzer minder belang inboezomen, het tweede deel geeft doorlopend allerlei, waarvan de kennis voor ons van belang is. Het geeft dit in zijne eerste drie hoofdstukken, die achtereenvolgens het Openbare Leven, het Huiselijke Leven der Mekkanen en de geschiedenis en den tegenwoordigen toestand der Heilige Wetenschappen behandelen; immers daarin wordt herhaaldelijk gewezen op de wijze, waarop de Mohammedanen uit deze gewesten aan dat leven deelnamen, terwijl bovendien volgens den schrijver de *Djawa* (zoo worden onze Mohammedanen daarginds genoemd) hoe langer hoe meer een hoofdbestanddeel der bevolking gaan uitmaken en dus min of meer behooren tot het in die eerste hoofdstukken beschreven geheel. Meer bijzonder gaat ons evenwel het vierde hoofdstuk aan, zooals reeds de titel »*Die Djawah*» (de Mohammedanen van den Oost-Indischen Archipel) aanduidt.

Herhaaldelijk werd reeds de wensch geuit, dat, zoo al niet van het geheele werk, dan toch van dat laatste hoofdstuk een gemakkelijk bereikbare Nederlandse bewerking het licht mocht zien. Laatstelijk hoopte Mr. Quarles van Ufford

in »*de Economist*», dat de auteur zelf zulk eene bewerking met eene inleiding zou uitgeven, maar voegde daaraan toe, dat die hoop voorloopig wel onvervuld zou blijven.

Wij vreezen dit evenzeer, maar des te meer verheugt het ons dat wij, met toestemming van den schrijver, den lezers van de *Loc.* het eerst deze belangrijke vertaling kunnen geven. Een bekwaam ambtenaar van Binn. Bestuur heeft n. l. de bewerking daarvan voor ons willen op zich nemen. Hij heeft het vierde hoofdstuk van »Mekka», vertaald en zich daarbij getrouw gehouden aan den Duitschen tekst, maar niettemin hier en daar iets opgehelderd door mededeeling van bijzonderheden uit vorige hoofdstukken, die door den schrijver voor den lezer van het geheele boek natuurlijk bekend werden ondersteld. Ook heeft de vertaler op sommige plaatsen eigen opmerkingen of mededeelingen aan den tekst toegevoegd, maar dan wordt de lezer steeds van te voren gewaarschuwd.

Wij geven nu het woord aan Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, of liever aan zijnen bewerker.

* * *
Een bekwaam Egyptisch genieofficier, die sedert eenige jaren de Egyptische pelgrimskaravaan en het Egyptische Mahmal als ambtenaar begeleidt, heeft tweemaal in het Arabisch een verslag van zijne reis laten drukken; in de beschrijving, die hij in 1886 in het licht gaf, somt hij de niet-oorspronkelijke bestanddeelen van de bevolking van Mekka aldus op: »Zij zijn een mengelmoes van *Djawa*, Egyptenaren, Indiers, Turken, Tekroeri-negers, Jemenieten en Bedoewien; hunne eenige koopwaren zijn Zemzemwater, Hinna (een teletartikel) en het arak-bout, waarvan men tandehoutjes (door de Mohammedanen in plaats van borstels gebruikt) maakt. De meeste kooplieden zijn vreemdelingen; sommigen zetten hun geld op interest uit, zoodat zij 10 geven en 12 of meer

FIGURE 2.3 Beginning of the anonymous Dutch translation of chapter 4 of the second volume of Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka*, as it appeared in *De Locomotief* (Semarang) in 1889 or 1890. Original in Ter Lugt Collection, Leiden.

But Arabia was far away and Snouck Hurgronje's attention gradually turned to academic life in Europe and North America, the organization of conferences, and the pacification between academics of the warring parties in the First World War, to name but three conspicuous focal points in his intellectual life. He befriended the American philanthropist Charles Richard Crane (1858–1939), who was spending large funds in search of world peace. In the course of time, Snouck Hurgronje's functions became honorific as well, and in 1922 he took on the post of Leiden University's *rector magnificus*, and was probably the only rector in that venerable university's history ever to have owned a black slave woman in his younger years. From 1923 to 1927 his *Verspreide Geschriften*, 'Collected Works', appeared in seven volumes. The greatest surprise that it contained was his implicit acknowledgment of the authorship of 'Brieven van een wedono-pensioen'.³⁹

Shortly after his arrival in the Indies, the fourth chapter of the second volume of *Mekka* had been published in a rather free anonymous Dutch translation in *De Locomotief*; and it was also issued in book form with the same typographical material but in a different layout.⁴⁰ It dealt with the South-East Asian colony in Mecca, and the publication of that chapter in *De Locomotief* was apparently such a success that the publisher of the newspaper, Mr. Hieronymus van Alphen (1851–1935), asked Snouck Hurgronje for more of the same. That inspired him to write the 'Brieven van een wedono-pensioen', the fictional autobiographical notes of a Javanese gentleman retired from the Dutch colonial service. It claimed to describe indigenous life as seen from the inside. It was another of his literary anthropological masterpieces, but it never became as famous as *Mekka*.

In his later years, Snouck Hurgronje would write extensively in the Dutch press on Arabian affairs and Islamic matters, under both his own name and

out realizing that they were in fact the transcripts of the sound recordings. The transcripts must have already been made during Snouck Hurgronje's lifetime. See on these transcripts now also Anne Regourd, 'Le manuscrit Leyde Or. 6980. 1re partie. Premiers éléments de datation et de localisation du manuscrit : apport d'un papier Andrea Galvani inédit', in *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen | Hawliyyāt Makhṭūṭāt al-Yaman (CmY)* 20 (July 2015), pp. 65–87, and more in particular Anne Regourd & Jean Lambert, 'Le manuscrit Leyde Or. 6980. 2e partie. Poésies chantées dans le Ḥiḡāz au début du xxe siècle: la transcription par un lettré de documents sonores. Édition du texte', in *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen | Hawliyyāt Makhṭūṭāt al-Yaman (CmY)* 24 (July 2017), pp. 112–216.

39 *Verspreide geschriften* 4/1 (1924), pp. 111–248, after the anonymous publication in the Semarang-based newspaper *De Locomotief* between 7 January 1891 and 22 December 1892.

40 *De Djawa te Mekka*. Bewerkt voor de *Locomotief* naar Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's "Mekka" door een Ambt. b/h Binn. Bestuur. Overgedrukt uit *De Locomotief*. Semarang n.d. [1890?], 126 cols.

pseudonyms, but it also became his sad duty to write obituaries of fellow-Orientalists whom he had befriended during his long and eventful life. Since his demise in 1936, the stream of his publications has not yet run dry, nor have articles on his life and ideas ceased to appear, but the fully-fledged biography had to wait until Wim van den Doel published the first real one in 2021.

3 Afterlives

Much could be said about the varied afterlives of Snouck Hurgronje, but I shall not attempt a comprehensive survey here. Suffice it to say that he has managed to claim the attention of a variety of scholars. He suffered little from the shift in perspectives resulting from Edward Said's *Orientalism* of 1978. Said had hardly scrutinized Dutch Orientalism, if only because Dutch writings were not directly accessible to him, and also because Dutch colonialism never really touched upon the Arab world.⁴¹ Three decades later, Robert Irwin forced the almost universal worship of Said and his *Orientalism* back into proper proportions.⁴² In the early 1980s there arose in the Netherlands a bitter controversy about Snouck Hurgronje's life and work. The positions pro and contra have now been summarized by Van den Doel in the last chapter of his biography.⁴³ Snouck Hurgronje's role in the ruthless subjugation of the Acehnese was inflated into accusations of complicity. He had 'blood on his hands'. Another source of criticism was Snouck Hurgronje's family life. His female companion in Mecca was not yet known to have existed at the time, but the fact that his second Indonesian wife was very young when he married her, and that in 1906 he had left his Indonesian family behind when he repatriated himself, became the focus of a number of moralistic innuendoes. Even the extra-marital affair of Snouck Hurgronje's father was amply discussed. The most clamorous criticism came from the Dutch Islamologist P.Sj. van Koningsveld (1943-2021), which primarily concerned Snouck Hurgronje's conversion to Islam. Was his a true or a false conversion? it was asked.⁴⁴

41 Edward Said, *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon books, 1978.

42 Robert Irwin, 'An Enquiry into the Nature of a Certain Twentieth-Century Polemic', in his *For Lust of Knowing. The Orientalists and their Enemies*. London: Allan Lane, 2006, pp. 277-309. On pp. 199-201 of the same book, he treated Snouck Hurgronje in a short essay 'An Imperialist Orientalist', which is not free of factual inaccuracies.

43 Van den Doel, *Snouck*, pp. 534-540.

44 Van Koningsveld has for some thirty years persisted in his opinion that this was a *conversion of convenience*, see Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, 'Conversion of European Intellectuals to Islam. The Case of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje alias 'Abd al-Ghaffār', in: Bekim

صلى المؤلف الى المحقق المدقق
العلو والنور الدكتور سونوك هورغرونج
بمصر
السنة ١٣٢٩

الرحلة الحجازية

لولى التعم الحاج عباس سليم باشا الثاني خديوم مصر

بقلم

محمد البدي البتوني

قررت نظارة المعارف هذا الكتاب للمطالعة بمدارسها

﴿ الطبعة الثانية ﴾

(بدد تنقيحها وتهذيبها وزيادة أشياء كثيرة مهمة عليها)

(سنة ١٣٢٩ هجرية)

حقوق الطبع والترجمة محفوظة للمؤلف

طبع بمطبعة الجايزة - بمصر

(الكاتبة بحارة الروم بمطبعة التري)

(لاصحابها محمد أمين الخانجي وشركاه — وأحمد عارف)

FIGURE 2.4 Handwritten dedication by al-Batanūnī to Snouck Hurgronje on the title-page of his Ḥiğāz travelogue (Cairo 1329/1911). Original in Leiden University Library [832 B 3].

Already during his lifetime Snouck Hurgronje's work on Mecca had not passed unnoticed in the Arab world, even though it was written in German, a language not widely known in the Middle East. He received from Muḥammad al-Batanūnī a copy of his own book, *Al-Riḥla al-Ḥiḡāziyya*, a description of the Ḥiḡāz and the Ḥaramayn, the two Holy Cities, written when he accompanied the Egyptian Khedive Abbas II on his pilgrimage in 1910. Al-Batanūnī wrote on the title-page: هدية المؤلف الى المحقق المدقق العلامة الفهامة الدكتور سنوك هرجرنجيه محمد، لبيب البتونى، 'A gift from the author to the most learned scholar Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, (signature:) Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī'.⁴⁵

A more recent appreciation of Snouck Hurgronje's work on Mecca was given by the Saudi scholar Ḥamad al-Ġāsir (1910–2000), whom I have known personally from 1991. In a travelogue of his own he mentions his visit to Leiden on 7 October 1960.⁴⁶ He went there because 'Leiden is one of the most important centres of Oriental studies in Europe, and also because of the publishing firm of Brill that is established in Leiden'. The first place he visited was the house of Snouck Hurgronje, 'the well-known Dutch Orientalist, who 76 years ago visited Mecca in the disguise of a pilgrim under the name of 'Abd al-Ghaffār, who stayed there five months and a half, and who wrote a book on the history, geography and inhabitants of Mecca that is famous among Orientalists.' In Snouck Hurgronje's house on Leiden's main canal, the Rapenburg, Ḥamad al-Ġāsir was welcomed by a small group of Dutch Orientalists, which included the professor of Arabic, Jan Brugman (1923–2004), who was able to converse in Arabic with the Saudi guest. A subject of conversation was the collection of Meccan proverbs by Snouck Hurgronje. Later, Ḥamad al-Ġāsir would publish it in Arabic in the journal *Al-Yamāma*.⁴⁷ Then the visit shifted to the bookshop of Brill. It gave him the chance to complain about, and to poke fun at, the firm's loose financial morality.

Years later, in his book about travellers in the Arabian Peninsula, Ḥamad al-Ġāsir dedicated a long chapter to Snouck Hurgronje's work on Mecca.⁴⁸ In 1990, the Arabic translation of the second volume of Snouck Hurgronje's *Mek-*

Agai, Umar Ryad, Mehdi Sajid (eds), *Muslims in Interwar Europe. A Transcultural Historical Perspective*. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2016, pp. 88–104, especially pp. 95–96.

45 Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī, *Al-Riḥla al-Ḥiḡāziyya li-Walī al-Nī'am al-Ḥāḡġ 'Abbās Ḥilmī Bāshā al-Thānī Khedīw Miṣr* (second enlarged edition) Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ġamāliyya, 1329 (1911). Snouck Hurgronje's copy with the author's dedication is now in Leiden University Library, class-mark 832 B 3.

46 Ḥamad al-Ġāsir, *Riḡalāt*. Al-Riyāḡ: Dār al-Yamāma, 1400 (1980), pp. 211–216.

47 Not seen by me.

48 Ḥamad al-Ġāsir, *Raḡḡāla Gharbiyyūn fi Bilādīnā. 'Arḡ Mūġaz li-Riḡalāt Ba'ḡ al-Gharbiyyīn fi Qalb al-Ġazīra wa-Shimāliḡā*. Al-Riyāḡ: Dār al-Yamāma 1417 (1996–1997), pp. 101–192.

ka had been published in Riyadh and al-Ġāsir now, for the first time, had the opportunity to read the book in Arabic from cover to cover. The Arabic translation is not complete, as several parts of Snouck Hurgronje's text must have been deemed offensive for a Muslim reading public. It was thus given the title *Ṣafahāt min Tārīkh Makka al-Mukarrama*, 'Pages from the History of Mecca the Venerable'. A few years later, volume 1 of the *Ṣafahāt* was also published.⁴⁹

Ḥamad al-Ġāsir was convinced that Snouck Hurgronje's conversion to Islam was not genuine. He was also of the opinion that Snouck Hurgronje's work in the Dutch East Indies was based on a similar deceit. Nevertheless, he writes that the book is a most enjoyable work.⁵⁰ Al-Ġāsir's essay is not conceptual, but scholastic. He treats Snouck Hurgronje's text on Mecca as a traditional commentator would do. He gives a quotation, which he sets between brackets, followed by his commentary. These quotations are given in their order of occurrence in *Mekka*, and so he works his way through the book, from beginning to end. His remarks are often to the effect that what Snouck Hurgronje writes about is not typically Meccan, but that it applies to the entire Muslim world. Sometimes he closes his argument with a Qur'anic quotation, or a sentence from the *Ḥadīth*. It is his preferred way of having the last word and it absolves him from constructing a logical argument. When he comments on Snouck Hurgronje's mention of polygamy in Mecca and the ease of divorce there, he just quotes the somewhat paradoxical, yet authentic, *Ḥadīth*: 'With God, the most hateful of the permitted things is the repudiation of the wife.'⁵¹

Another topic on which al-Ġāsir takes issue with Snouck Hurgronje is illustrative of the inherent misunderstandings that can only be expected to result from such exchanges. It concerns the visiting of graves, which is a controversial

49 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Ṣafahāt min Tārīkh Makka al-Mukarrama fi Nihāyat al-Qarn al-Thālith 'Ashar al-Hiġrī* [translated by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Suryānī, Mī'rāġ b. Nawwāb Mirzā; supervised by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Aḥmad 'Alī], vol. 2. al-Riyād: Nādī Makka al-Thaqāfī al-Adabī, 1411/1990; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Ṣafahāt min Tārīkh Makka al-Mukarrama* [translated by 'Alī 'Awdā al-Shuyūkh; edited by Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Suryānī, Mī'rāġ Nawwāb Mirzā; supervised by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm 'Alī], vol. 1. *Dirāsa lil-Awdā' al-Syāsiyya wal-Iqtisādīyya wal-Iġtimā'iyya min al-Ba'tha al-Nabawiyya al-Sharīfa wa-ḥat-tā Nihāyat al-Qarn al-Thālith 'Ashar al-Hiġrī*; [translated by Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Suryānī, Mī'rāġ Nawwāb Mirzā; supervised by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm 'Alī], vol. 2. *Dirāsa Tafṣīliyya lil-Awdā' al-Iġtimā'iyya fi Nihāyat al-Qarn al-Thālith 'Ashar al-Hiġrī*. al-Riyād: Dārat al-Malik 'Abd al-'Azīz, 1419/1999.

50 Al-Ġāsir, *Raḥḥāla*, p. 102: '*fa-ittadaḥa lī annahu min amta' mā qarātuhu mimmā nasharathu nawādinā al-adabīyya min al-mu'allafāt, in lam yakun amta'ahā*'.

51 Al-Ġāsir, *Raḥḥāla*, p. 111: *Abghaḍ al-ḥalāl 'inda Allāh al-ḥalāq*, attested in Abū Dāwud and Ibn Māġa, see A.J. Wensinck, *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane*, vol. 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1936), p. 202.

issue in Islam in general and especially in the Wahhābī Arabia of which al-Ġāsir was a citizen. Baqī' al-Gharqad, the famous graveyard of Muslim saints just outside Medina, once full of little structures and small mausoleums, was razed to the ground after the Sa'ūdī conquest on 9 December 1925. It now looks as clean as a mediaeval cathedral after a make-over by Calvinist iconoclasts. The visiting of graves was a frequently observed feature in the Mecca that Snouck visited in 1885.⁵² Graves were suspect as places that could give occasion to *shirk*, polytheism, and worse: prostitution and substance abuse during festivals. The house and grave of the Prophet's first wife Khadiġa is also mentioned, both by Snouck Hurgronje and al-Ġāsir. It is an interesting example of the extent to which two fundamentally different attitudes could have clashed, but did not do so. Al-Ġāsir rejects the historicity of the location of that house,⁵³ whereas Snouck Hurgronje describes only the Meccan people's devotion to it, so the arguments do not even match.⁵⁴ Comparative religion had taught him, of course, that little of sense can be said about the historical truth underlying holy localities and sacred relics, and that this goes for any religion. A good friend of al-Ġāsir's, Shaykh Aḥmad Zakī Yamānī (1930–2021), the former Saudi oil minister, himself a pious son of Mecca and, not being a historian, a staunch believer in the realities of the early history of Islam, even went so far as to organize an archaeological expedition to Khadiġa's house.⁵⁵

At some point in the early 1980s, Shaykh Yamani's interest had been aroused in Snouck Hurgronje's work about Mecca. I think he was first approached by the American scholar and fund-raiser, Father Carney Gavin (1939–2014), then

52 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part* (2007), pp. 29, 62, 242, 251.

53 Quoting from a lecture about 'Islamic Antiquities in Mecca' that he held on 13 Ġumādā 11 1402 (8 April 1982), see on the subject al-Ġāsir, *Rahḡāla*, pp. 134–138. Here too, al-Ġāsir closes the argument with a Qur'ānic quote: 'It is not for the Prophet and the believers to ask pardon for the idolaters, even though they be near kinsmen, after that it has become clear to them that they will be the inhabitants of Hell.' (Arberry's translation of *Qur'ān* 9:113). Here again, the quotation cuts the dialogue short.

54 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part* (2007), pp. 29, 62, 64, 110, 299. See also under 'Festivals' in the index.

55 A photographic survey of the digging is given in an album entitled 'Uncovering the home of the Prophet Mohammed in Makkah. Excavation work from November 26, 1989 till December 26, 1989'. A copy of the album was donated by Shaykh Yamani to the Leiden library on the occasion of his visit to Leiden on 14 November 1997, and is now registered there as Or. 23.990. Much later, Aḥmad Zakī Yamānī published his own studies on the subject, both in Arabic and English: *Dār al-Sayyida Khadiġa bint Khuwaylid raḡiya Allāh 'anhā fi Makka al-Mukarrama. Dirāsa Tārīkhīyya lil-Dār wa-Mawqī'ihā wa-'Imāratihā*. London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1434/2013; *The House of Khadeejah Bint Khuwaylid in Makkah al-Mukarramah. A historical study of its location, building and architecture*. London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2014.

director of the Semitic Museum at Harvard University. Gavin was the first scholar, after a long interval, to realize the potential of the image and sound collection that Snouck Hurgronje had assembled in and from western Arabia between 1884 and 1909.⁵⁶ Snouck Hurgronje's collections in Leiden were his source, and the generous Shaykh Yamani, who was so impressionable in matters of religion, was his willing supporter. For Gavin it was a matter of matching supply and demand, and he did so with great enthusiasm. When he came to Leiden for the first time it was not for the sound collection, but for Snouck Hurgronje's collection of photographs of western Arabia in general and Mecca in particular, and on one of his visits he may have discovered the wax cylinders. These were not well cared for in Leiden at the time. Gavin quickly observed that the Snouck Hurgronje archives, photos and wax cylinders were kept in an appalling state of negligence and that they no longer aroused the interest of the Leiden scholarly community. He promptly decided to take the wax cylinders to the Phonogrammarchiv of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna, directed at the time by Dietrich Schüller. That spontaneous action may have rescued what was left of Snouck Hurgronje's sound archive. With his great expertise in the field of historical sound recording, Schüler was probably the best-placed person to be offered the cylinders for further research, and I still regret never having heeded his repeated requests to let him co-operate with Leiden University in the work on the sound material. In the Phonogrammarchiv, Snouck Hurgronje's sound recordings were digitized by the sound engineer Franz Lechleitner who had constructed a special digital reader for wax cylinders. When, in the final days of October 1996, I visited Vienna in order to collect the original cylinders, I also received the raw digital copy on high-quality dat (digital audio tape) and all the sound in edited form on a number of CD-Roms.

Shaykh Yamani told me later that this sound might enable him to reconstruct some of the early music and singing tradition of Mecca as it had existed before the Saudi conquest of Mecca on 5 December 1924. Immediately after the conquest, all musical instruments in Mecca had to be handed in to the new masters. They were piled up and then burnt. To Shaykh Yamani, the Snouck Hurgronje sound collection was a rare time capsule containing a few materials that had miraculously escaped destruction.

In 1994, Carney Gavin founded the Archives for Historical Documentation

56 See C.E.S. Gavin, 'The Earliest Voices from the East: Photo-Archaeological Explorations and Tomorrow's Museums' in *Museum: Unesco*, Paris, 158 (1988), pp. 67–80. See now also, for a somewhat wider perspective, my article 'Written in wax' of 2018.



FIGURE 2.5 Shaykh Aḥmad Zakī Yamānī (left) and some of his guests (from left to right): Léon Buskens (Leiden), Muḥammad Benchérifa (Rabat), Jan Just Witkam (Leiden), Wimbledon, 4 December 1993.

© 1993. PHOTO BY AL-FURQĀN FOUNDATION.

(AHD) in Brighton, Massachusetts.⁵⁷ In 1995 that organization expressed its mission statement as ‘the presentation, publication and exhibition of historical documents and sound recordings of groups and traditions related to the Middle East and its religions’, but it seems to have left little or no trace on the internet since. During his directorship of the Semitic Museum, Gavin’s physical presence had been quite imposing. He was very well connected and his activities could hardly be ignored. His obituary in *The Boston Pilot* of 5 September 2014 mentions his close connections with the ruling family of the Principality of Liechtenstein, and with the royal family in Saudi Arabia.⁵⁸

Later, Shaykh Yamani’s interest in the history and culture of the two Holy Cities went much further than a study of the Snouck Hurgronje collections in Leiden. He founded an *Encyclopedia of Mecca and Medina*, the first volume of

57 See Piney Kesting, “A Legacy of Light”, in *Aramco Magazine* 64/5 (September–October 2013) <<https://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/201305/a.legacy.of.light.htm>> (accessed on 8 March 2021).

58 <<https://www.thebostonpilot.com/article.asp?ID=171900>> accessed on 13 March 2021.

which, after years of preparation, appeared in 2007 in London.⁵⁹

An Indonesian research group was brought together by Dr Pudentia MP SS on behalf of the Asosiasi Tradisi Lisan (ATL)/Oral Literature Association in Jakarta, with the purpose of further exploring the Snouck Hurgronje sound materials. The Association was primarily interested in sound from Indonesia. At first, the Indonesian researchers were enthusiastic, and language experts were asked to determine the regional languages of the texts and songs. This proved to be more complicated than expected, and in the course of time enthusiasm for the project faded away.⁶⁰ In the late 1990s, it occurred to me that Snouck Hurgronje's voice could perhaps be heard on one of the recordings. I visited Christien Snouck Hurgronje (1914–2014) and her husband Erik Adolf Lieftrinck (1914–2002) in order to establish this, but she was unable to make a positive identification.

Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka*, the two volumes and the one portfolio, *Bilder-Atlas*, published in 1888–1889 by Nijhoff in The Hague, have in the course of time become valuable collectibles. The second portfolio, *Bilder aus Mekka*, published by Brill in 1889, has always been very rare, and I have seen it offered for sale only once.⁶¹

In the mid-1960s, I once asked Brill's antiquarian bookshop in Leiden for a quotation for all Snouck Hurgronje's works. They priced the two volumes of *Mekka* plus the portfolio *Bilder-Atlas* of 1889 at NLG 60, nominally slightly under €30. At the time, I decided I could not afford that sum from my monthly allowance and I let it go. In the early 1980s, I purchased my own copy of *Mekka* for a few hundred guilders. In the 1990s, Shaykh Yamani asked me to look out for a copy of Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka*, and I was able to procure him the one that had been officially removed from the library of the Dutch parliament. It

59 'Abbās Šāliḥ al-Ṭāshqandī (ed.), *Mawsū'at Makka al-Mukarrama wal-Madīna al-Munawwara*. 6 volumes. London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2007 ff.

60 See now also van Zanten, 'Recordings of Indonesian Music', in the present volume.

61 By Sebastiaan ('Bas') Hesselink, owner of Hes & De Graaf in Houten, an up-market antiquarian bookseller in the Netherlands. He had realized the value of the portfolio during his visit to the international book fair in Dubai of 2011 and he decided to produce a facsimile-de-luxe of the portfolio in 1,000 copies. On 17 January 2012, together with his son Corstiaan, he came to visit me in my house in Leiden and asked me to write a commentary on the photographs in the portfolio *Bilder aus Mekka*. To this I consented, but in the end, because of a disagreement about the arrangements for my remuneration, nothing came of it, and the only souvenir of this episode is the prospectus that Mr. Hesselink had printed ('Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Early Photographs of Mecca. Facsimile after the edition of Leiden, 1888–1889*. With commentary by Prof. Dr. Jan Just Witkam.'). Hesselink still offered it for sale on 16 September 2021 for a price of six digits, but it was apparently sold shortly afterwards.

had come up for auction at Burgersdijk & Niermans, the Leiden auctioneers. There, it fetched a price equivalent to more than €5,000, an incredible record at the time.

The following anecdote may serve as an example of its accelerating increase in value since then. On 8 September 2006, I had an unexpected visitor from Saudi Arabia. He was an engineer and at the time a vice-president of commercial operations of Rajhi Steel in Riyadh. He had invested a sizeable amount of money in the purchase of a copy of Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka* with the *Bilder-Atlas*. He had come to see me during a short stop-over in the Netherlands in order to have me authenticate his newly acquired treasure. I obliged out of curiosity and it added a new dimension to my Snouck Hurgronje studies. He did not plan to read the book, nor even to handle it very often, but intended to place it in a vault in his house, wait until it had appreciated, and then dispose of it at a profit. From me, he merely wished to know whether or not the article that he had acquired was genuine.

Some years later, a complete set of Snouck Hurgronje's works on Mecca really hit the jackpot. On 14 May 2019, Sotheby's in London offered for sale by auction what they claimed to be Snouck Hurgronje's own copies of the two *Mekka* text volumes, plus the two portfolios, both the *Bilder-Atlas* and *Bilder aus Mekka*.⁶² The four volumes were bound in what seemed to me to be brand new, almost scuff-free kitschy leather bindings with gilded text, which the auctioneer maintained were old and authentic. Before the sale, Sotheby's estimate was between £80,000 – £120,00. Eventually, the lot was sold for £212,500. Sotheby's gave as its provenance 'C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936); thence by family descent'. I only became aware of the Sotheby's sale after the event. I had never seen, or even heard of, this 'author's set of Mekka', and, notwithstanding the detailed description,⁶³ I still have my doubts as to whether it really existed.

62 Auction Sotheby's London 'Travel, Atlases, Maps and Natural History' # 165 'See <<https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2019/travel-atlases-maps-l19401/lot.165.html?locale=en>> (last accessed on 14 March 2021).

63 'FIRST EDITION, THE AUTHOR'S COPY, 4 volumes, comprising: 2 volumes text, 4to (244 x 167mm.), and 2 atlas volumes (*Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka* and *Bilder aus Mekka*), folio (364 x 270mm.), TEXT: SPECIAL ISSUE PRINTED ON THICK PAPER, half-titles, 3 double-page genealogies (manuscript additions in pencil to the third genealogy), 2 folding plans of Mecca, errata leaf at end of volume 1, single page of MANUSCRIPT NOTES IN DUTCH AND ARABIC BY THE AUTHOR loosely inserted in volume 1, CONTEMPORARY POLISHED CALF GILT, spines gilt, gilt edges, marbled endpapers, ATLAS VOLUMES: *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka* with printed contents leaf and 40 numbered plates, comprising 65 photographs mounted on 30 leaves, 6 tinted lithographs (one folding) and 4 chromolithographs, *Bilder aus Mekka* with half title, title and 2 leaves of text, and 20 photographs mounted on 18 leaves, text and plates loose as issued, EXTRA-ILLUSTRATED with a loose folding plan

The family provenance and the four physical volumes could easily have been assembled by an unscrupulous antiquarian bookseller. One can only hope that the new owner of Snouck Hurgronje's author's copy of the Mekka volumes and portfolios, who has been so willing to spend a small fortune on them, will look after them well, and that some day they will be available for scholarly research.

4 By way of epilogue

Since the biography of Snouck Hurgronje published in 1938 by Moereels,⁶⁴ we have had to wait almost eight decades for more. Two biographies came out recently, one by Philip Dröge (2017), the other by Wim van den Doel (2021). Neither of the two was based on a truly extensive exploration of all the sources on Snouck Hurgronje's life. Only van Koningsveld and Rohmana seem to have realized the importance of these materials and to have started to publish editions of them. Van Koningsveld's work on the European correspondence has come to an untimely end, and the promised annotations were never published. Rohmana has worked on the documents in the Snouck Hurgronje archives in Leiden, especially in connection with the Aceh war and on Snouck Hurgronje and his informant Haji Hasan Mustapa. Dröge and Van den Doel, however, have drawn on many new and previously unknown documents. Dröge in particular exploited the Dutch newspapers of the time. The best sources on Snouck Hurgronje are, of course, his own works, both published and unpublished. His papers are mostly preserved in Leiden University Library.⁶⁵ Michael Laffan has summarized the contents of the letters from Raden Aboe Bakar.⁶⁶

of the mosque at Mecca (identical to that in text volume 1) and a printed (proof?) list of the first 17 plates issued in *Bilder zu Mekka*, atlas contents loose as issued, ATLAS VOLUMES UNIFORMLY BOUND IN ORIGINAL TAN CLOTH PORTFOLIOS, decorated in blind and gilt, upper covers titled in gilt, lined with patterned gilt paper, slight damp-stains to covers of text volumes, puncture marks to lower cover of text volume 1, text of Atlas <Bilder> aus Mekka spotted, minor wear to atlas spines.'

- 64 A.J.P. Moereels, *Chr. Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857 – 26-6-1936)*. Rijswijk: Kramers, 1938.
- 65 A first attempt was made in Arnoud Vrolijk & Silvia Compaan-Vermetten, *Snouck Hurgronje Papers. Correspondence, Archives and Photos*. Leiden 2016–2018:
 - Collection guide ubl165 <<https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1716512>>,
 - Collection guide ubl167 <<https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1889149>> and
 - Collection guide ubl215 <<https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1912911>>.
- 66 Michael Laffan, 'Writing from the colonial margin. The letters of Aboe Bakar Djajadinigrat to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in *Indonesia and the Malay World* 31, No. 91 (Novem-

The ideal scholarly life of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje is the subject of Wim van den Doel's new biography. It is the first proper biography written by a professional historian, without the blind and numbing hero worship of his younger contemporaries, without the opportunistic moralising of the theologians, and without the deranged mythomania of sensationalists. After his demise in 1936, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje had indeed gathered a picturesque crowd of aficionados around his person. Van den Doel, whom I do not regard as being part of this crowd, conveys a precise image of all the phases of Snouck Hurgronje's official and private lives, and in his final chapter treats some aspects of the afterlife as well. It is a rich book, full of interesting details and all sorts of eye-openers.

However, van den Doel has no eye for what I call the steganographic tendencies in Snouck Hurgronje's writing.⁶⁷ The collection of Meccan proverbs is much more than a source for Meccan folklore. Snouck Hurgronje concealed personal details in his discussion of the proverbs, and a few such details can still be retrieved. It was a game he played with himself and with his readership. Van den Doel has, of course, seen the collection of Meccan proverbs and tells his readers that, yes, the proverbs sketch daily life in Mecca.⁶⁸ A close reading tells a more complex story, containing both hidden and open references to the circumcision, possibly to the name of Snouck Hurgronje's Ethiopian concubine, to the first reactions of the Meccans to photography, and so forth. This, and maybe more, can all be read in and between the lines of the Meccan proverbs. The booklet is much more than just a study of Meccan proverbs. It is an encrypted source about Snouck Hurgronje's life in Mecca.

Notwithstanding van den Doel's thoroughness and his use of an enormous number of sources, he is no Lytton Strachey. In his biography of Snouck Hurgronje there is no place for a *homo ludens*.⁶⁹ An early example of Snouck Hurgronje's playfulness can be seen in his *Toost-epos*, the little scatological masterpiece in 151 hexameters that he dedicated to his student friend B.A.P. van Dam (1856-1940), and that he recited during a celebratory dinner on Saturday 22 May 1880 after van Dam had successfully defended his thesis.⁷⁰ Van den Doel

ber 2003), pp. 357-380.

67 See my 'Before Mecca. The Jeddah 'Diary' of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 1884-1885' in the present volume.

68 Van den Doel, *Snouck*, pp. 82, 561.

69 Nor was this how Johan Huizinga (1872-1945), the historian who coined the term in 1938, looked at Snouck Hurgronje; see Van den Doel, *Snouck*, p. 530.

70 Van Dam had chosen as the subject of his doctoral thesis (*De phosphorzuur-uitscheiding bij den mensch*, Leiden: S.C. van Doesburgh, 1880) the chemical analysis of his own excrement which he collected every day. See also my 'Inleiding' to *Mekka*, pp. 18-19.

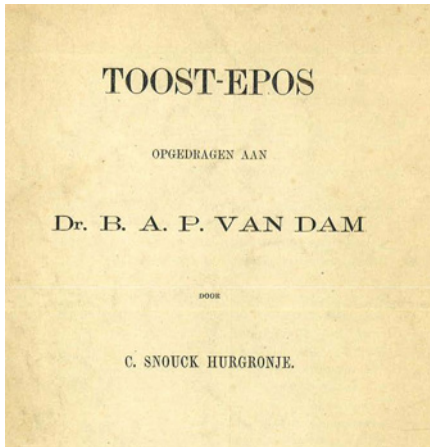


FIGURE 2.6

Title-page of *Toost-epos*, a facetious scatological poem in 151 Dutch hexameters, composed by C. Snouck Hurgronje, dated Leiden, Saturday 22 May 1880. Original in Leiden University Library, MS Or. 8952, the Snouck Hurgronje Archive.

© 2021, PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.

passes this episode over in silence.⁷¹

There is another detail of the Jeddah and Mecca episode that could have received more attention from van den Doel: the personal history of the Algerian spy and intriguer Sī 'Azīz b. al-Shaykh al-Ḥaddād and his connection with the French vice-consul in Jeddah, Félix de Lostalot de Bachoué, both of whom played such a fateful role in Snouck Hurgronje's Meccan life and work.⁷² Van den Doel may not have wished, for valid reasons of his own, to include elements of playfulness in his description of Snouck Hurgronje's personality, but to neglect the rich French archival sources, the existence of which was no secret, is a serious oversight for a professional historian.

Before Snouck Hurgronje left the Netherlands in 1889 for his first real job in the Dutch East Indies, he had been involved in two major polemics, one against L.W.C. van den Berg (1845–1927), the other against Carlo Landberg (1848–1924). Van den Doel treats these episodes separately. He does not ask himself the obvious question of what, in the Snouckian universe, van den Berg and Landberg could have had in common and whether Snouck Hurgronje's vitriolic attacks on either one of them were unavoidable, or maybe even justified. Nor does he really question the nature of these polemics. Did Snouck Hurgronje have a case against his two unhappy victims, or were his diatribes nothing more than the expression of his choleric or sanguine character? Yet one cannot dismiss van den Doel's as just another failed attempt at Snouck Hurgronje's

71 Van den Doel says not a word about this *Toost-epos*. He apparently did not wish to soil his pages with jokes about excrement, even if he repeatedly mentions Snouck Hurgronje's haemorrhoids (van den Doel, *Snouck*, pp. 192, 418).

72 More about this in my 'Before Mecca' in the present volume.

life. With his impressive book, he has cleared the ground for other biographers to try their hand at constructing a more multi-dimensional character than the somewhat prosaic one that he has projected onto his protagonist.

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PART 2
To Arabia



The Correspondence between Nöldeke and De Goeje on Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje

Daniël van der Zande

Vultures. So Snouck called those authors of obituaries which serve the personal interests of the writer rather than providing an honest and informative *In Memoriam* of the deceased.¹ But Snouck, nevertheless, was not opposed to necrologies. His *In Memoriam* of his teacher Michaël Jan de Goeje (1836-1909)² proves it. For this he even went so far as to ask Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930),³ who had sustained an extensive correspondence with De Goeje for over fifty years, to send his De Goeje letters to Leiden.⁴ Nöldeke complied readily.⁵ With Nöldeke's letters to De Goeje already at his disposal,⁶ Snouck could now better follow the arguments and views exchanged. After reading the correspondence⁷ he was convinced that it was an important source for the history of orientalism in Holland during the past fifty years.⁸ He therefore asked Nöldeke whether he was willing to leave De Goeje's letters in Leiden permanently.⁹ And, remark-

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- 1 Letter probably to De Goeje, Weltevreden, 26 November 1897 (Leiden University Libraries, archive Interpres Legati Warneriani; – ILW at that time: De Goeje).
 - 2 C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Michaël Jan de Goeje," lecture delivered at the Dutch Academy of Sciences on 13 December 1909.
 - 3 Hereafter Snouck; Nöldeke and De Goeje too used this shortened form. Citations in Dutch are translated into English, those in German not.
 - 4 P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985), nr. 76, Leiden, 20 June 1909. This correspondence started in 1884.
 - 5 *Ibid.*, nr. 77, Leiden, 29 June 1909.
 - 6 In *ibid.*, nr. 78, Herrenalb, 3 September 1909, Snouck tells Nöldeke that he came just in time to prevent De Goeje's son (Jan Willem de Goeje) from destroying his father's correspondence. Snouck's words do not inform us about whether he acted on his own initiative or according to a verbal last will of De Goeje, neither do they inform us about Jan's reason for destroying the letters.
 - 7 The collection, however, is incomplete: out of 933 preserved letters a few dozen are missing; five De Goeje letters are kept in the Tübingen University Library.
 - 8 Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 77, Leiden, 29 June 1909.
 - 9 *Ibid.*, nr. 78, Herrenalb, 3 September 1909; request repeated in nr. 79, Leiden, 12 October 1909. There is no letter from Snouck covering Nöldeke's answer, his eventual hesitation and a reason for accepting the request.

ably, he also let Nöldeke decide on what should be done with his own letters.¹⁰ Today's presence of both correspondence series in Leiden testifies to Nöldeke's positive reactions to the requests.¹¹

Why this liberality in putting one's correspondence at the disposal of others? Why did so many scholars carefully keep their correspondence during their entire lives? Of course short term goals could justify keeping letters for some time. They could serve, for example, as a sort of archive for an ongoing discussion on scholarly or institutional matters, or whatever else that mattered. But the absence of minutes in the case of the Nöldeke-De Goeje correspondence indicates that this function was of little value to them. Their correspondence was based on critical but supportive comments meant to stimulate each other to be productive with the best results possible. But even so most of their correspondence had soon lost its actual scholarly value, after which only its emotional value remained.

We find confirmation for this in Nöldeke's and De Goeje's awareness of a steady progress in their scholarship, to which their methods of working were adapted. Publishing imperfect texts was better than following the illusion of perfection; progress was won by allowing other people to improve on facts and hypotheses. Keeping each other's letters for decades seems senseless in this perspective. The reward must have been that they were a standing proof of their friendship. And perhaps on a second level that they fed feelings of self-esteem by showing that one is part of a group. But could we also speak of an implicit culture of keeping letters in the interest of later generations to learn from history, as Snouck's request to Nöldeke seems to imply?

If we assume that the authors knew that their letters were systematically kept by their correspondents as they themselves did with theirs, and also that they were aware of the prospect that their own letters would eventually be read by other people, must we then hypothesise that they certainly would have been written differently if this was not the case? Did the correspondents intentionally exclude some remarks or include others; did they embellish certain remarks in order to make a good impression or sharpen others to expose their opponents? In short, did they compose their letters with a view to future readers? How "natural," how "pure" are all these letters?

Looking at the Nöldeke - De Goeje correspondence it seems impossible to conduct systematic research in this direction. With the correspondents changing from young men into old ones, with changing concerns and a changing set

10 Ibid., nr. 78. In this case, too, there is no echo of Nöldeke's answer (see note 9).

11 Both series of letters are kept by Leiden University Libraries / Special Collections: BPL 2389.

of emotions at different ages, how could we possibly answer the question of manipulation with a view to future readers? And in the end the answer could also be negative. Without being naïve about manipulated details, we might find that the letters were honest and consistent after all. This is indeed what the passages about Snouck seem to teach us. De Goeje and Nöldeke were consistent advocates of a European scholarly career for Snouck and they were also consistent in rejecting Snouck's polemical sharpness. If we bring these two lines together we may see, at a higher level of interpretation, the first signs of how the relevant correspondences might have been configured where manipulation is not the key term, but only a potential dimension of a larger theme, here a discussion at cross-purposes along those two lines.

When Snouck became De Goeje's student in 1875, De Goeje and Nöldeke had already sustained a correspondence for almost twenty years. The tone of the correspondence was long since set. The basis was friendship, begun as a face-to-face relationship in Leiden, where Nöldeke stayed from the fall of 1857 until the next spring. After his sudden move to Berlin, via Gotha, Nöldeke began to correspond with De Goeje.

Nöldeke started his first letter to De Goeje by declaring that he wanted to address De Goeje as *Du* as best suiting the way they used to get along together in Leiden.¹² Closeness thus, but at this stage also a self-assured *doctor* Nöldeke and a De Goeje not yet *doctorandus* (equivalent to MA), looking up to his learned contemporary.¹³ A common link with the German town of Lingen might have contributed to their friendship. Nöldeke lived there as a teenager¹⁴ and De Goeje's mother was born in a well-to-do Lingen family.¹⁵

Nöldeke was a prolific writer, not only of books, articles, and reviews, but

12 Nöldeke to De Goeje, Berlin, April 28, 1858.

13 De Goeje to Nöldeke, no date, but reacting on Nöldeke to De Goeje, 14 October 1907. De Goeje: "...that you had already seen so much of the world and that you had already a well-founded opinion on issues I hardly knew that they existed at all. And I felt strongly the contrast between your liveliness, your ingenuity, your maturity to my schoolboy's dullness, my slow thinking, my clumsiness. The companionship with you has been very useful to me, something I only realized much later."

14 The Nöldekes lived in Harburg (situated at the southern Elbe bank opposite Hamburg) when in 1849 Theodor's father was nominated rector of the Gymnasium in Lingen, not far from the Dutch border. Since about the mid-1870s Nöldeke had no family living in Lingen anymore.

15 Wilhelmina Schilling (1810-1872), a grandchild of Lingen's *Oberbürgermeister* Friedrich Beckhaus. After her mother's death in 1812 Wilhelmina was brought up in the household of her mother's sister Catherina. Catherina was married to a Dutch theologian, who accepted a professorship at Leiden University in 1814. Wilhelmina married his student Pieter de Goeje.

also of letters to his colleagues all over Europe. He certainly derived pleasure from corresponding. Apart from De Goeje Nöldeke mentions Georg Bühler¹⁶ and Leo Meyer.¹⁷ Corresponding also fulfilled the emotional need to have contact with the person as such, to feel the presence of that person, and to share with him the joy and sorrow of everyday life. Writing a letter to them did not depend on having to deal with a professional question; it also happened just for the pleasure of fostering friendship. The same can be said of De Goeje's correspondence with Nöldeke.

I shall now present Nöldeke's and De Goeje's remarks from their correspondence which concern Snouck along the two aforementioned lines: first, that of Snouck's career, and second, that of his polemical style in scholarly matters.¹⁸

1 Snouck's Career

Snouck was an intelligent student with a critical attitude, which seemed to guarantee that he would eventually be an independent researcher. These qualities did not escape De Goeje.¹⁹ In 1878 he told Nöldeke that he would send Snouck to him in due course to follow courses in Aramaic.²⁰ Whether these words reflect Snouck's wishes is not clear.²¹

Snouck arrived in in Strasburg in December 1880,²² where he met Rudolf-Ernst Brünnow (1858-1917) and Carl Bezold (1859-1922) as fellow students at Nöldeke's courses. According to Littmann Nöldeke said on the occasion of

16 Nöldeke to De Goeje, Göttingen, 25 October 1862. Georg Bühler (1837-1898), Sanskritist, fellow student of Nöldeke in Göttingen.

17 Nöldeke to De Goeje, 16 March 1897. Leo Meyer (1830-1910), Classicist. As professor at Göttingen University in the period from 1862 to 1865, he was employed by this university at the same time as Nöldeke. The citation proves that the number of letters exchanged was not indicative of that special emotional value to which Nöldeke refers.

18 These remarks seldom amount to more than a few lines, often just one.

19 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 30 May 1879; 21 November 1880.

20 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 18 November 1878.

21 In none of the letters to Nöldeke had De Goeje informed him about Snouck's expectations of his stay in Strasburg, or about Snouck's character or family background. It is improbable that Nöldeke had received such information through other channels.

22 On 4 December, when the winter semester had already been underway for two months. Snouck's late arrival – due to the time needed for finishing his PhD – had as a consequence that Nöldeke had already scheduled his lessons. Snouck had to wait for the summer semester (May 2 - July 30) to get the scholarly attention “in full accordance with my needs.” J. de Bruijn and G. Harinck, *Een Leidse vriendschap. De briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinc en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 1875-1921* (Utrecht: Ten Have 1999), nr. 41, Strasburg, 22 December 1880.

his retirement in 1906 that he would continue to teach if he again had a trio of students like the one in the fall of 1880.²³ But strangely enough none of this enthusiasm can be found in Nöldeke's letters to De Goeje in this period. We cannot even infer from them how long Snouck stayed in Strasburg; nor can we do so from De Goeje's letters.²⁴ No information about Snouck is given spontaneously or requested; his ambitions were not discussed. That these ambitions were already different from De Goeje's wishes is certain. De Goeje knew that Snouck greatly disliked working on text editions,²⁵ De Goeje's main field of activity, and it must soon also have become clear that he did not aspire to a university career like Nöldeke's, centered on philological and historical studies. In July 1881 De Goeje wrote to Nöldeke that he had at last received a letter from Snouck, saying that the "Talmud" was not attractive enough to him any more than were Assyrian studies.²⁶ De Goeje had probably proposed this last field as a supplement to, or an alternative for, Aramaic; Snouck's rigorous scholarly attitude would help to discipline this field dominated by the wildest specula-

23 E. Littmann, Anton Schall, and Rudi Paret, eds., *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik. Lebensbilder aus der Feder von Enno Littmann* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1955), 83.

24 Snouck stayed in Strasburg until about 22 August and then hurried homeward on receiving the news that his three sisters were ill with scarlet fever, the youngest seriously (she died on 5 September). But Snouck left Strasburg with the intention of returning and of spending at least part of the new winter semester there (De Bruijn and Harinck, *Een Leidse vriendschap*, nr. 45, Leiden, 18 September 1881).

25 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 22 December 1879. De Goeje writes that one day one of his students will certainly edit the *Mafāṭiḥ al-'Ulūm* (*Essentials of Learning*, about key notions of Islamic scholarship), but that Snouck did not feel like it. Somehow De Goeje must have convinced Snouck to undertake this work, because we see him designated as its editor in "De Goeje to Nöldeke," 26 June 1888 (actual editor), and 9 February 1892 (former editor). In the end, after Snouck left for Indonesia, the work was taken over by De Goeje's student Gerlof van Vloten. In De Goeje's efforts to commit Snouck to the edition of the *Mafāṭiḥ al-'Ulūm*, while knowing that Snouck disliked this kind of work, we can discern another instance of De Goeje's wish to keep Snouck in Europe.

26 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 5 July 1881. In Strasburg Samuel Landauer (1846-1937; unsalaried lecturer) taught Snouck Talmudica. Like Nöldeke, and for the same reason, he promised to make more time for Snouck in the summer semester (see note 22). But Landauer had to leave unexpectedly for Italy in March 1881, from where he only returned in July. Snouck's only motive for spending at least part of the following winter semester in Strasburg was to make up for the loss of Landauer's instruction; other subjects were not important enough for a return, he expressly says, although he could tie up some loose ends in these fields too (see note 24; De Bruijn and Harinck, *Een Leidse vriendschap*, nr. 41, Strasburg, 22 December 1880; nr. 43, Strasburg, 14 March 1881; nr. 45, Leiden, 18 September 1881). De Goeje's remark might therefore also reflect Snouck's disappointment with that loss, possibly compensated for by renewed promises from Landauer after his return. On Assyrian studies, see *ibid.*, nr. 43: the mention of a proposal by Snouck to an enthusiastic Nöldeke, but accompanied by Snouck's remark to Bavinck that it might never come to fruition.

tions. In the same letter De Goeje confided to Nöldeke that Snouck would perhaps be invited to teach Islamic law.²⁷ He added emphatically that this was completely contrary to his own view of how the start of Snouck's career should be.²⁸

Does this absence of any reference to Snouck in the said period of the correspondence reflect tensions among the persons involved because of different views concerning Snouck's career? Without further proof we can only speculate.²⁹ But even so we can say that Snouck was not inclined to follow a track set

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- 27 On 6 September 1881 Snouck was appointed to teach Religious Laws, Folk Institutions and Customs in the Dutch East at Leiden's Municipal Institute for Civil Servants in the Dutch East Indies for an annual salary of 2000 Dutch guilders. In February 1882 he was also appointed to teach Islamic Law for two hours a week at the Military Academy (second section) in The Hague in the academic year 1882-1883 as a temporarily replacement of Abraham Juynboll (professor in Delft – see note 37 – and qualitate qua also teaching the cadets of the Dutch East Indies' army since 1880) for a fee of 250 Dutch guilders plus travelling expenses. One of Snouck's students at the Military Academy was J.B. van Heutsz (1851-1924). A soldier by profession since 1867, Van Heutsz had fought in Achin during the mid-1870s and in 1880, and owed his career to his distinction in battle. He enrolled in the Academy in September 1881 for a two-year course. In December 1883 he returned to the Dutch East Indies. From 1898 until 1903 Snouck – then a government official in the Dutch East Indies with a special assignment for Achin – and Van Heutsz – since 1898 civil and military governor of Achin – cooperated successfully in submitting Achin to Dutch rule.
- 28 As a member of Leiden's City Council (1879-1908; see Ver. Jan van Hout / Het Leidse Pluche) De Goeje had a say in this nomination. It seems therefore that if he agreed reluctantly, the initiative had probably come from the institute. Anyway Snouck was surprised when, on 28 August, De Goeje told him about this opportunity. The secretary of the institute's Curators (P.A. van der Lith, 1844-1901) should already have informed him by mid-July, but he fell ill and must have forgotten to do so (De Bruijn and Harinck, *Een Leidse vriendschap*, nr 45, Leiden, 18 September 1881).
- 29 The absence in the first five months of 1881 may also be due to other reasons: apart from his scholarly work Nöldeke's attention was claimed by the birth of a daughter, patients in his household, moving to another address, and the time-consuming correction of proofs of his part of the Tabari edition project ("Ich habe nicht d. Ruhe, die Correcturen liegen zu lassen; sie drücken mich wie eine Schuld, bis ich sie abgethan habe" – Nöldeke to De Goeje, 20 December 1880). Nöldeke's surviving correspondence in this period consists of no more than two postcards not densely written; we can however infer from the preserved pieces that two or three more were sent by Nöldeke and possibly one by De Goeje. But this evidence is counterbalanced by that about Snouck's feelings. Snouck must have been disappointed when he learnt, soon after his arrival in Strasburg, how little Nöldeke and other people could do for him until the next summer semester (see notes 22, 26; apart from Nöldeke and Landauer Snouck also mentions Julius Euting (1839-1913, librarian) for *Semitische Inschriftenkunde* and calligraphy). In connection with this postponement he expressed his doubt about whether he would still be in Strasburg during the next summer semester. Obviously Nöldeke was his main mark. Praising first his scholarship (on an "unattainable" level), Snouck added: "the sympathy I feel for him, remains at the not very

out by De Goeje, with Nöldeke helping him. And, as now, De Goeje and Nöldeke would also be unable to bend Snouck's career according to their own wishes in the future. De Goeje indeed continued trying to interest Snouck in a career as a university professor, preferably in Leiden, but otherwise elsewhere, for example in Amsterdam.³⁰ He considered Snouck's interest in Islamic law as "following a different road."³¹

Snouck seems to have undertaken his Arabia trip (1884-1885) on his own initiative, or at least not at the instigation of De Goeje. In Witkam's description of the start of the undertaking – Snouck's interview with J.A. Kruyt (1841-1927), Dutch consul at Jeddah from 1878 to 1888, but in the spring of 1884 on furlough in Holland, De Goeje does not play a role.³² De Goeje's own words in a letter to

high level where it has been since the beginning" (De Bruijn and Harinck, *Een Leidse vriendschap*, nr. 41, Strasburg, 22 December 1880). In the next letter (*ibid.*, nr. 43, Strasburg, 14 March 1881) he mentions Nöldeke again, but just repeats his reverence for the man's scholarship, remaining silent about the person himself (he refers to Landauer and Euting positively). Snouck's later friendship for Nöldeke seems only to have grown gradually, contrary to what the reminiscences about Nöldeke from many decades later suggest (especially when Snouck speaks of De Goeje and Siegmund Fränkel (1855-1909; a former student of Nöldeke, staying in Leiden in the second half of 1878), in: Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 154, 3 November 1919). Looking at the evidence (see also note 26) there is little room for supposing that Snouck went to Strasburg to seal his scholarly destiny. Rather, his stay there was a bridge in financially hard times when paid jobs were difficult to find; Snouck could not therefore imagine himself going back to Leiden, but continued to wander about (De Bruijn en Harinck, *Een Leidse vriendschap*, nr. 41, Strasburg, 22 December 1880). When the chance given by Leiden's institute came, he promptly grasped it (if no antedating was applied, the appointment followed within nine days; see note 27). In this he was encouraged by De Goeje, whose attempt to secure Snouck a lectureship in Aramaic at Leiden University had failed (*ibid.*, nr. 45, Leiden, 18 September 1881). For De Goeje the job at the institute was a provisional move, awaiting an opportunity to bind Snouck to Leiden University in a manner he thought fit for Snouck. But while Snouck continued to play the card of Aramaic for a post at Leiden University, nothing suggests that this was more than an expedient move in uncertain times. De Goeje's and Snouck's shared opportunism cannot thus conceal that they were drifting apart where Snouck's career was concerned (see note 31).

- 30 "They asked me if I would object to Snouck's nomination there [Amsterdam] instead [i.e. of Houtsma]. I was of course not permitted to say 'no,' but I have said that they could not get him cheap" (De Goeje to Nöldeke, 16 February 1882), Martinus Houtsma (1851-1943), De Goeje's former student and then his assistant at the Oriental section of the Leiden's University Library, of which De Goeje, as professor of Arabic, was head = *Interpres Legati Warneriani*, see note 2.
- 31 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 13 August 1883. De Goeje continues: "He is full of Fikh and I do not believe that he would change front again."
- 32 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw. Schetsen uit het dagelijks leven*. Vertaald en ingeleid door Jan Just Witkam (Amsterdam en Antwerpen: Atlas, 2007), 25-26. The evidence given by Witkam's source, Van Koningsveld's *Snouck*

Nöldeke of early July 1884 seem to explain this absence: “What do you think of Snouck’s plans?”³³ De Goeje’s letters during Snouck’s trip, moreover, show him to be a messenger to Nöldeke of what Snouck had already done on his own initiative.³⁴ De Goeje even told Nöldeke that he had advised Snouck not to visit Mecca.³⁵

After Snouck’s return to Holland De Goeje again tried to bind him to Leiden University, but, as he wrote to Nöldeke, a professorship was now out of reach as only in the fields of Aramaic and Assyrian had there been a chance to establish a chair, and both were rejected by Snouck. In 1887, however, a paid lectureship on Islamic law at Leiden University was secured,³⁶ which perhaps – even in the eyes of De Goeje – was more a matter of income³⁷ and a strategic step to a

Hurgronje en de Islam. Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1988), 58-61, shows that apart from consul Kruyt the Royal Institute of Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Dutch East Indies in The Hague played a role: on Kruyt’s request it confirmed to the minister of Colonial Affairs [J.P. Sprenger van Eyk (1842-1907), a conservative liberal] his opinion of Snouck’s competence to act as his replacement in studying the actual ins and outs of the Mecca pilgrimage in order to appreciate their possible effects on the colonial order in the Dutch East Indies (and possibly signaling thereby its readiness to take over the responsibility for the mission, for example by being its nominal sponsor). Maybe De Goeje played a part through this institute, but it is clear that the institute’s role is only secondary to Kruyt’s own initiative which seems to be a direct contact with Snouck.

33 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 4 July 1884. It is hard to believe that De Goeje limited himself to a short question if he was co-author or initiator of these plans.

34 Seven letters in the period 22 September 1884 – 7 September 1885.

35 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 4 May 1885. By then, however, De Goeje acknowledges the significance of this visit for a better understanding of the Islamic world. His earlier advice not to go to Mecca might have been inspired by concern for Snouck’s mother, a widow since 1870, as the trip was not without danger. De Goeje knew from his own experience what it meant to bear the responsibilities of an eldest living son in a fatherless family according to the customs of those days (De Goeje’s father died in 1854 and his elderly brother Bernard in 1856).

36 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 11 March 1887.

37 In March 1887 Snouck’s salary from Leiden’s Municipal Institute for Civil Servants [see note 27] was raised from 2000 to 3000 Dutch guilders. De Goeje, as member of Leiden’s City Council and also one of the institute’s curators [1886-1891; see Ver. Jan van Hout / Het Leidse Pluche], was undoubtedly partly responsible for this raise if not its instigator. In his letter to Nöldeke (see note 36) De Goeje gives as a reason for the raise: “...to retain him here...” Snouck’s lectureship brought him another 1000 Dutch guilders and we may without much doubt apply De Goeje’s words to this job too: that it was meant “to retain him here.” From Witkam’s “Inleiding,” (Introduction), 152-154, to Snouck Hurgronje’s *Mekka*, one might gather that this expression was about Leiden and Delft and their competing *Indische Instituten*. On Friday 4 February 1887, Abraham Juynboll died, professor of religious laws, folk institutions and customs at Delft’s Institute of Linguistics, Geography and

professorship someday.³⁸

When one year later Snouck began to express his firm wish to go to the Dutch East Indies for some years, De Goeje noted rather passively to Nöldeke that Snouck would certainly succeed in realising this ambition.³⁹ Although he himself would be happy if Snouck stayed in Leiden instead, he nonetheless

Ethnology of the Dutch East Indies. That very same day Snouck – as he said in a letter to his friend Van der Chijs, Dutch vice-consul in Jeddah – was approached by a delegation from Delft offering him Juynboll's chair at an annual salary of 4000 Dutch guilders, leaving him free to live in Leiden and to keep his university lectureship. Next day "a delegation" of Leiden's City Council offered Snouck a raise of 1000 Dutch guilders if he would stay at the Leiden institute.

But it is obvious that the university lectureship was already in the making before Juynboll's death and that it was only awaiting its bureaucratic completion. This proves in itself the existence of a policy to keep Snouck in Holland as the main goal, to which the Delft / Leiden competition was only secondary. And this case probably entailed more difficulties than Snouck suggested in his letter to Van der Chijs. Snouck's effort, through De Goeje, to persuade the City Council to raise his salary by 1000 Dutch guilders in the light of Delft's offer, seems to have met with serious opposition. It was only shortly before March 11 that he won the case. In the meantime Snouck provisionally accepted the job in Delft. If this was not meant solely to help out Delft's institute for the current academic year, then it was a provision to be turned into a steady appointment if the Leiden move were to fail. (De Goeje to Nöldeke, 11 March, 1887; 14 September 1887; Delfts Municipal Archives, Institute of Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Dutch East Indies, incoming mail 1864-1895, nr. 571, received 1 March 1887, excerpt from Delft's Municipal Executive's Minutes concerning Snouck's nomination for the period from 1 March to 1 July 1880, on 333-33 Dutch guilders a month. Qualitate qua Snouck must also have taught again at the Military Academy in The Hague (see note 27) although no record of this has been found so far).

38 "I hope that we have now got him for ever. It is a pity that we have abolished the extraordinary professorships" (De Goeje to Nöldeke, 11 March 1887). An extraordinary professorship (abolished in 1876) would have given a better prospect of a future ordinary professorship than a lectureship could do. Both De Goeje and Nöldeke were extraordinary professors before becoming ordinary professors a few years later.

39 De Goeje does not dwell on Snouck's ambition, nor do we see a reflection of it in Nöldeke's letters. The relevance of this might eventually be analysed in the light of the hypothesis that Snouck's ambition vis-à-vis Achin shows a consistency from 1882 on, i.e. since his lectureship at the Military Academy in The Hague. Through his acquaintance with Van Heutsz (see note 27) he learned at first-hand about the situation in Achin, see J.W. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen. Een onderzoek naar de verantwoordelijkheid*. (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1938), 37. But he also learned about the academy's mission. Established in 1868 after the example of Prussia's *Kriegsakademie*, it was intended to help to introduce the new military principles which had made Prussia so successful: a true general staff placed in the centre of the strategic and tactical decision process instead of making these decisions dependent on battleground experience alone; a flexible warfare instead of relying on sconces, and officers with an open, critical mind, ready for competition among themselves, see W. Bevaart, *De Gouden Zon. De hogere vorming van officieren der Koninklijke Landmacht, 1868-1992* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgeverij Koninginne

helped Snouck by intervening for him with the minister of Colonial Affairs.⁴⁰ But obviously De Goeje continued to hope that sooner or later Snouck's ambition to live in an Islamic ambience would give way to an ambition to be a respected professor in Leiden. He seized every opportunity to create conditions for Snouck's definitive return to Leiden.

It is difficult to say what De Goeje's reasons were. We learn more from Nöldeke, who was also of the opinion that Snouck ought to be in Europe. He did not see much advantage in living for years in an Islamic ambience for a good understanding of Islam. A man like Snouck could do better working at a Europe-

gracht, 1995), 23-33. That very same modern strategy was at the heart of the cooperation between Snouck and Van Heutsz in the 1890s. In 1898 they were officially mandated to apply it to Achin in a shared mission. The academy was not immediately successful. In the first half of the 1880s the traditional views were again predominant (as with military instructor F. Pompe van Meerdervoort, the same man who, in 1891 as governor of Achin, refused every support for Snouck, who was sent by the governor-general on a research mission to Achin – see Naarden, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen*, 36). But things changed in 1887. A new constitution entailed an army reform and the beginning of a law-making process for a new start of the academy, realised by 1891 (its chief architect: the aforesaid Rooseboom, also the academy's director from 1891 until 1894; Bevaart, *De Gouden Zon*, 51-57). These developments, in combination with Keuchenius' appointment as minister of Colonial Affairs (see note 40), and a relevant post in the Dutch East Indies left by Van den Berg (see note 53), might have led Snouck to conclude that the time was ripe for an effort to enlist the help of the Dutch East Indies administration to solve the Achin question (a continued contact between Snouck and Van Heutsz might also have played a role). How important Achin was to Snouck emerges from his plan to interrupt his journey to the Dutch East Indies in the spring of 1889 at Sumatra in order to tour Achin incognito before beginning his official duty as advisor to the Dutch East Indies government; however, upon arrival in Penang, he learned that the minister's permission for this tour had been withdrawn (Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen*, 35).

Van der Maaten (1861-1944), an officer in the Dutch Colonial Army who served under Van Heutsz's command in Achin around 1900 and who established a friendly relationship with Snouck in that period, wrote that these two men had known each other since the early 1870s when Snouck attended Breda High School and Van Heutsz received his military instruction at the Breda Barracks (K. van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh oorlog* (Leiden: Oostersch Instituut, 1948), 105). If correct – but so far there is no positive evidence – then the relevance of this observation for their later cooperation is still dubious. What relationship could there have been between the two differing in age by six years, marking the difference between a teenager and a young adult, a schoolboy and a soldier?

40 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 26 June 1888. The minister of Colonial Affairs since 20 April 1888 (until 17 February 1890), was the jurist L.W.C. Keuchenius (1822-1893), a man experienced in colonial affairs, who had spent twenty-two years in Indonesia and who had been a member of parliament for the Protestant Christian Anti Revolutionary Party (founded in 1878) in the eight years preceding his term as minister.

an university.⁴¹ But it would be wrong to assume automatically that De Goeje was motivated by the same conviction. De Goeje never goes further than to suggest that he wanted to have Snouck close by, which seems to express his need of enjoying Snouck's scholarship in a day-to-day friendly relationship.⁴²

We may also suppose a shortcoming in imagining what one really could do as a researcher in a colonial context. To this we can add that Snouck cherished some ideals of politico-cultural progress in the Dutch colony, whereas Nöldeke, and maybe also De Goeje, was sceptical about the possibility of emancipating the Muslim masses, just as they were both sceptical about the moral elevation of the masses in their own countries, especially in a political sense: to defend in a democracy what is good for the country as a whole. It seems that they did not see much possibility for scholars to play a role of significance in colonial politics. De Goeje's comment – ten years after Snouck started to work in Indonesia! – on the final success of Snouck's advice on dealing with the rebellious Achinese reveals a certain disbelief in Snouck's role: "Who had imagined that Snouck had the makings of a statesman?"⁴³

Having given Snouck his support for a temporary stay in the Dutch East Indies, De Goeje did not lose sight of what he really wanted for him. When, in 1888, there was the possibility of a professorship suited to Snouck's interests, namely Malaysian linguistics, De Goeje managed to secure the nomination of Snouck even though Snouck's trip to the Dutch East Indies was already decid-

41 In 1888 Nöldeke had already written: "Dass Snouck nach Ostindien geht, thut mir sehr leid. Er hätte doch ganz in Europa zu thun!" (*Nöldeke to De Goeje*, June 30, 1888). And in 1890 he wrote that Snouck's two-year stay in the Dutch East Indies had been long enough: "Dass Snouck sich so an die Tropen kettet, ist schade. Ich denke, in der Zeit, die dafür in Aussicht genommen war, könnte er genug sehen u. lernen, und die wissenschaftliche Vorarbeiten davon wäre after all in Leyden doch besser zu machen als auf Java" (*Nöldeke to De Goeje*, January 25, 1890). We should keep in mind that at that time ethnographic field research as a serious methodological technique, systematically applied, was a somewhat novel phenomenon.

42 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 13 January 1890: "...the pressure of the government of the Dutch East Indies seems to be strong. He [Snouck] will certainly be useful there, but here he would have been far more useful, and for me it would almost be as if I had lost him," and on 11 February 1890: "I am sorry for it [Snouck's decision to renounce his professorship], because I like him very much and I hoped to get his help in many questions."

43 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 1 March 1899. Nöldeke showed the same unbelief (*Nöldeke to De Goeje*, 11 March 1899): "Dass aus Snouck ein Staats- und gewissermassen auch Kriegsmann werden sollte, hätte ich eben so wenig gehant wie Du (u. wie er wohl selbst)." This disbelief in the possibility of Snouck's role should however not be confused with De Goeje's satisfaction with the results of the Dutch Achin policy based on Snouck's ideas and advice, which De Goeje emphatically endorsed (*De Goeje to Nöldeke*, 10 April 1896; 10 May 1896; 5 June 1898).

ed upon and arranged.⁴⁴ The chair would simply remain unoccupied for as long as Snouck was fulfilling his two-year official mission in the Dutch East Indies. But again De Goeje found himself up against Snouck's own will: during his stay in the East he decided to renounce his professorship in Leiden and to continue to work for the government of the Dutch East Indies.⁴⁵

After 1890 De Goeje could only wait and see what happened. When, in 1894, after the death of William Robertson Smith (1846-1894; Arabist in Cambridge), Snouck was asked by Edward Browne (1862-1926; Iranist in Cambridge) about his willingness to occupy Smith's chair, De Goeje hoped that Snouck would accept. He wrote to Nöldeke about this opportunity, adding that he had written a warm recommendation to Browne, in which he had also said that Nöldeke would certainly concur in his opinion. He further told Nöldeke that a critical report from Snouck about the Dutch Achin policy so far had caused him trouble as a result of his usual straightforwardness in his style of reporting.⁴⁶ This could make Cambridge an ideal opportunity for him.⁴⁷ But in a subsequent letter he had to report that Snouck had declined after serious consideration because of his fear that the scientific raw material he had collected in the

44 Nöldeke fully supported this move (Nöldeke to De Goeje, 17 August 1889).

45 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 13 January 1890. De Goeje says that he not only had written a letter to Snouck with a plea to return to Holland, but that he had also tried to convince the minister of Colonial Affairs to withhold his approval of the Dutch East Indies government's efforts to engage Snouck definitively. In *ibid.*, 2 March 1890, De Goeje tells Nöldeke that Snouck's decision to resign was not immediately accepted. Instead De Goeje had asked for an extension of the furlough from the professorship which was accepted. This move seems to have been inspired at least partly by what De Goeje also reports, namely that rumours about Snouck's marriage to a Muslim woman jeopardised his position. By implication De Goeje suggests that this could mean a forced return to Holland, and then the availability of a professorship could be an opportunity for Snouck. To Nöldeke Snouck wrote that he was very disappointed by De Goeje's "rash move," which jeopardised his career in the Dutch East Indies. Because De Goeje knew all the circumstances, he also knew that "the decision was mine alone." Now he felt himself the victim of De Goeje's "point of view," using here the same terminology as in his dispute with Nöldeke about his polemical sharpness – see note 65 (Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 7, 4 May 1890). In the end Snouck stayed. See for Nöldeke's reaction note 42 and Nöldeke to De Goeje, 3 March 1890: "Mir thut es leid, dass er [Snouck] auf Java bleibt."

46 Nöldeke once remarked to De Goeje about Snouck's style related to a secret official report (*Religieus-politiek verslag betreffende Atjèh* of 23 May 1892; see note 39) that had been inadvertently exposed to the public (Nöldeke to De Goeje, 6 June 1893): "Ob es Snouck an-genehm ist, dass sein vertraulicher Bericht an die Oeffentlichkeit gekommen ist? Nun, trösten wird er sich. Aber bei der Art, wie Freund Snouck schon öffentlich urtheilt, kann man sich denken, wie schonungslos seine vertrauliche Kritik sein mag!"

47 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 5 June 1894.

Dutch East Indies would be left unedited.⁴⁸

Not before 1905 did De Goeje have another chance to get Snouck to Leiden. This time it was his own chair (Arabic Linguistics and Literature) with which he tried to entice him.⁴⁹ Snouck accepted, not to please De Goeje, but for reasons related to his own situation and also only on his own conditions.⁵⁰ We see this implicitly recognised in De Goeje's mildly ironical remark to Nöldeke, that

48 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 24 August 1894. Snouck's letter to Nöldeke of 17 October 1894 confirms De Goeje's words, but with the important additional remark: "...and finally I find more happiness in a job with some practical benefits for my country than in living in a foreign country for the sake of Wissenschaft an und für sich" (Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 16).

49 Nöldeke was happy with De Goeje's decision to ask Snouck to be his successor, but at the same time sceptical about Snouck's ability to adapt to life in Holland after so many years of working in Indonesia (Nöldeke to De Goeje, 2 February 1904) and he was therefore far from sure that Snouck would accept the offer (*ibid.*, 8 June 1906). His comment in 1906 on that issue ("Ich würde ihm weder zu- noch abrathen, so sehr ich wünsche, dass er annehme") was directly prompted by Snouck's own hesitation expressed in a letter to Nöldeke a month earlier: "What ought to tip the balance [between returning to Indonesia and staying in Holland]? You will answer rightfully: You know what is best, but.... I do not know and I shall have to make a leap in the dark." Snouck added that the decision would have been easy a year earlier (Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 53, 11 May 1906). Although Snouck does not mention the specifics, he is probably referring to Kuyper's "confessional" cabinet (1901 - August 1905): with Kuyper and his circle in power, there would be no other option for him but to stay in the Dutch East Indies. Kuyper's cabinet was followed by a liberal cabinet (1905-1908).

50 About an eventual acceptance of De Goeje's chair Snouck said to Nöldeke: "... there are almost no personal financial interests involved in the choice" (Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 53, 11 May 1906). But De Goeje wrote to Nöldeke: "Snouck has declared himself willing to be my successor, but on the condition that the heavy financial loss he faces through an unconditional acceptance will be compensated for to some extent. This will be manageable, I hope. If I had not long ago represented to him this post as being perfect, he would have become nothing but a government functionary, something which he was already urgently invited to be, and for that outcome I would have been very sorry" (Tübingen University Library, Md 782 A 83, 12 July 1906). In his next letter to Nöldeke Snouck emphasized, however, once more that the content of his work as an official attached to the ministry of Colonial Affairs was important to him, including an eventual return to his beloved Indonesia, rather than the money, or at least not in the first place (Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 54, 24 September 1906). These words are confirmed by his *public* lecture on the acceptance of his professorship ("Arabië en Oost-Indië," delivered on 23 January 1907). He said (pp. 25-26) that he had accepted the post, which was to be granted by the university's curators, on two conditions, both guaranteeing that the tie with his former work was not severed: first, the opportunity to work for the ministry as well, and second, permission to lay emphasis in his professorship on educating a new generation to follow in his footsteps. The lecture's content bore testimony to this emphasis. On 20 June 1918, one month after the installation in Indonesia of a parliamentary council, Snouck was offered "the second to highest post" in the Dutch East

“Poor Snouck will be sorry these days for having accepted the post [i.e. the professorship] here, because he shivered already when I found it was still nice weather.”⁵¹

De Goeje’s letters to Nöldeke from the period between 1890 and 1902 are of little interest where Snouck is concerned. We have to keep in mind, however, that since 1884 Snouck had sustained his own correspondence with Nöldeke.⁵² We therefore turn to the second theme, namely Snouck’s style as a critic.

2 Snouck’s Polemical Nature

About Snouck’s style De Goeje remarked in 1884, with reference to Snouck’s review of L.W.C. van den Berg’s *De Beginselen van het Mohammedaansche recht*:⁵³ “Snouck is a witty man indeed, but extremely sharp [i.e. in his criticism]...”⁵⁴ De Goeje shows his concern about this sharpness, especially in the context of a small country like Holland where people should deal gently with

Indies; counting from the Queen as head of state downwards: governor-general (alternatively: second in line after the governor-general, then Count J.P. Limburg van Stirum (1873-1948), G.G. 1916-1921, sharing with Snouck the same basic principle about Holland’s role in Indonesia). Snouck declined on the grounds that such a post demanded “incorrigible optimists,” and, because of the war, he was not one of them: “If I feel no hesitation in declining the offer, it is also because the last four years made me lose all faith in the human race and its future” (Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 148, 20 June 1918).

51 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 26 December 1906.

52 With an exception of none for the years 1886-1889 (but see note 74) and 1902, and six for 1900, Snouck sent Nöldeke two or three letters every year until 1905, after which the number often rose to more than seven (Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, v-x1).

53 C. Snouck Hurgronje, “Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg’s beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht,” in *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, vol. 2 (Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1923), 59-202 (originally published in: *De Indische Gids* 6 (1884): 363-434, 737-816). The jurist Van den Berg had followed De Goeje’s courses in Arabic. He left Holland in 1869, twenty-four years old, for a job in Indonesia with an annual salary of 5000 Dutch guilders. He returned to Holland in the course of July or August 1887 to fill the vacancy in Delft – see note 37. (Witkam, “Inleiding” [introduction] to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 22; De Goeje to Nöldeke; 14 September 1887; Delfts Municipal Archives, Institute of Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Dutch East Indies, incoming mail 1864-1895, nr. 574, received 12 May 1887, conveying Van den Berg’s nomination as lecturer – not professor! – succeeding the late professor Juynboll). As Juynboll’s successor in Delft, Van den Berg also became teacher of Islamic law at the Military Academy (second section) in The Hague (see note 39).

54 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 8 March 1884. Witkam, well-informed about Snouck-related matters, sees the source of Snouck’s polemical sharpness in his “victim’s” scholarly incompetence combined with arrogance and pompousness, especially when manifested in

each other in order to advance; they should not stick to a state of permanent mutual anger. De Goeje agreed with Snouck that *admiration mutuelle* should not suffocate the critical function,⁵⁵ but on the other hand, criticism of a certain work should be coupled with consideration for the person behind the work criticised. De Goeje told Nöldeke that he had tried to convince Snouck of this form of diplomacy, but in vain, he was simply blind to the issue: "Snouck does not have a feeling for this. If I make a remark in this sense, he retorts: But I am right, am I not? And sure enough, he is right in most cases, for he is a clever man and makes every possible effort to discover the truth."⁵⁶ Already in 1883 De Goeje remarked that Snouck could have shown more consideration for Abraham Juynboll (1833-1887) in a review of his *Mohammedaansch recht*.⁵⁷ But Snouck's review of Van den Berg's book made De Goeje really worry: "...he has made a foe out of v.d. B. who will never forgive him."

Of course, De Goeje and Nöldeke saw a lot of amateurishness and poor thinking in their scholarship, and could not but sometimes appreciate a straightforward critique. Like De Goeje, Nöldeke recognised the sound basis of many of Snouck's opinions, and therefore often took his sharpness with irony. But he too discerned a lack of diplomatic skill behind this strongly polemical attitude. About Snouck's critique of Van den Berg's book he wrote to De Goeje:

Etwas boshaft klingt es, wenn auch 'boshaft' für Snouck nicht wirklich passt, denn es ist im Grunde nur sein übertriebener Ernst, der ihn mit ungenügenden Leistungen so streng umgehen macht. Aber die Schilderung,

Snouck's own field of interest. And when that combination had paid off socially or was accompanied by social success, it increased his sharpness all the more (Witkam, "Inleiding" to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 22, 93).

55 Strangely enough Snouck had used the same argument for his own position: the *admiration mutuelle* as the characteristic of a small country with its correspondingly small *société* of scholars (see note 53: Snouck Hurgronje, "Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg's beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht," 66). The British orientalist William Wright (1830-1889) replaced this small country argument with an argument about generation: "Ct. Landberg seems to be developing a laudable literary activity, but I do wish that his censures (however well deserved they may be) were seasoned with a little more civility. You may think a man a fool, but there is no necessity for blurting it out in his face. I agree with de Goeje that good manners are sorely lacking among the younger generation" (Tübingen University Library, Md 782 A5, Wright to Nöldeke, Cambridge, 3 March 1888).

56 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 8 March 1884.

57 De Goeje to Nöldeke, 20 February 1883; Snouck Hurgronje, untitled, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 2, 3-58 (originally published in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 6 (1882): 357-421, in response to A. Juynboll's article in the same journal (1882), 263ff.).

wie sich die europ. Gelehrten den geschenkten Exemplaren gegenüber benehmen, ist köstlich, bei mir trifft es fast wörtlich zu.⁵⁸

Both De Goeje and Nöldeke could thus distinguish the man, Snouck, from his criticism, even if they themselves were implicated in this criticism. But there was a limit. Nöldeke could, for example, enjoy Snouck's critique of Hartwig Derenbourg,⁵⁹ but when the person or the work involved was highly regarded by Nöldeke, as in the case of Musil,⁶⁰ he then held Snouck's sharpness at bay, even in advance: "Ein Philologe ist freilich M. auch nicht, und ein so strenger Richter wie Snouck würde darüber leicht die grossen wirklichen Verdienste M.'s verkennen."⁶¹

58 Nöldeke to De Goeje, 3 March 1884. Nöldeke claims to have amended ("...zu Aenderung bei persönlicher Kritik gebracht.") Snouck's *Mekka*, vol. 1, in two places: Snouck has dropped the justifiable, but in the given context superfluous, criticism of the former Bulgarian court pastor and Arabia traveller Koch, and he has rewritten a passage in which reference is made to Van den Berg's book on Hadramaut (*Le Hadramout et les colonies arabes dans l'Archipel indien*, 1886) turning it from a "unangenehme Anspielung" without mentioning Van den Berg as the person targeted into a "ganz unschuldig" looking remark but with Van den Berg now openly mentioned (Nöldeke to De Goeje, 30 June 1888). See also note 74.

59 Snouck Hurgronje, "Hartwig Dérenbourg. La science des religions et l'islamisme," (about two lectures given in March 1886 by Derenbourg as newly nominated professor of Islam at the École des Hautes Études in Paris) in *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 6: *Boekaankondigingen. Verscheidenheden. Registers. Bibliographie* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1927), 55-59 (originally published in: *Literaturblatt für Orientalische Philologie* 3 (1886): 103-108). Hartwig Derenbourg (1844-1908), professor of Arabic at the same institute since 1879. Nöldeke commented on Snouck's review: "Man soll zwar nicht mit Kanonen auf Spatzen schießen, aber wenn der Spatz sich als Adler gebühret, mag man auch ernstliche Waffen gegen ihn anwenden" (Nöldeke to De Goeje, 28 May 1887). But De Goeje was more conciliatory with reference to Nöldeke's relatively mild review of Derenbourg's 1886 edition of Ibn. Munkidh's *Kitâb al-'Ttibâr* (*Book of Instruction by example*), better known as *Usamâh Ibn Munkidh, a Syrian nobleman in the Crusaders' Epoch* (review in: *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1 (1887): 237-244): "Thank you for your review of Ibn Munkidh. It would be a balm on little Derenbourg's wounded feelings, inflicted upon him by Snouck." And in line with this he wrote about Landberg's review of the same book (in: Carlo Landberg, *Critica Arabica*, vol. 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1888): "Little Derenbourg has certainly deserved a good lesson for his vanity, but Landberg has gone too far" (De Goeje to Nöldeke, 8 August 1887 respectively 4 March 1888; "little" here means "junior," here in a more or less pejorative sense, in implicit contrast with the esteem given to Hartwig's father Joseph, also an orientalist; see Wright's opinion in note 55).

60 Alois Musil (1868-1944; an ordained Roman-Catholic priest) was a Czech-born, Austro-Hungarian citizen and orientalist, who had travelled extensively through the Levant in the decade after 1895, paying special attention to the region's ancient monuments which he described in detail in several publications.

61 Nöldeke to De Goeje, 5 May 1908.

This brings us to the “case” of the Swedish orientalist Carlo Landberg (1848-1924). Snouck had known him since the first half of the 1880s. After some time he began to dislike Landberg because of his pompousness. And after Landberg’s review in 1887 of Snouck’s *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, the latter’s feelings towards Landberg turned into a disgust which he was never to abandon.⁶² Neither Nöldeke nor De Goeje followed Snouck in this. Nöldeke wrote in 1886:

Ja unser Freund Carlo! Ohne die tiefe sittliche Entrüstung über ihn zu empfinden wie Snouck, der nun einmal Rigorist ist und das weise Wort nicht anerkennt: ‘ein jedes Thierchen hat sein Pläsierchen,’ bin ich doch auch der Ansicht, dass er einer der grössten Narren ist, die auf Erden wallen, und ich zweifle nicht, dass Du mir darin völlig beistimmst. Aber man kann ein Narr sein und sich doch recht nützlich machen. In Snouck steckt nach verschiedenen Seiten noch zu viel theologischer Sinn; dafür passt Carlo allerdings am wenigsten.⁶³

And in 1890: “Von Snouck hatte ich vor kurzem einen Brief. Schade, dass er von der Unbedingtheit seines Urtheils nicht abzubringen ist! Er kennt doch eigentlich unter d. Europäern nur gute u. schlechte.”⁶⁴

Nöldeke did not reveal to De Goeje that the 1890 remark was inspired by a difference of opinion between Nöldeke and Snouck about De Goeje himself. In a letter to Nöldeke Snouck had criticised De Goeje’s role in the 1889-session of the International Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm and Oslo organised by Landberg.⁶⁵ Nöldeke had reacted by defending De Goeje, reproaching Snouck

62 “It is nice that Snouck should be inclined to find Derenbourg’s learning not so bad after all, now that Landberg seems to agree with him” (De Goeje to Nöldeke, 4 March 1888; see note 58). Snouck and Landberg’s paths crossed each other from time to time: their scholarly interests showed parallels and their active contacts with the Islamic world made them confront, also more intensively, the question of what to make of the East-West relationship.

63 Nöldeke to De Goeje, 7 December 1886.

64 Nöldeke to De Goeje, 28 June 1890. This letter was most probably written after Snouck’s letter to Nöldeke of 4 May 1890 (see next two notes).

65 The International Congress of Orientalists founded in 1873 was an organisation of private individuals (emphatically so to mark its distance from governments), established to gather together every three years (at first every year) all persons interested in Oriental issues, scientific and practical. It was an itinerant organisation without a central authority, moving from land to land for its congresses. Landberg wanted to cap the Congress with a central authority with its own budget. This structure should have helped to intensify the contacts between East and West and to provide a solid basis for undertaking costly projects. The 1889 congress in Stockholm was to be the platform from which to realise this

with an unsociable attitude linked to “Vereinsamung,”⁶⁶ seemingly not only concerning his judgment in this particular case, but also, more generally, concerning the way he dealt with other people. Snouck defended himself from Nöldeke’s moral and psychological explanation of his behaviour with a quasi-epistemological explanation: every judgment is necessarily subjective and therefore has to be expressed as truth because every judgment is also by definition without qualifications.⁶⁷ It seems that Nöldeke did not react to this epistemological abracadabra.⁶⁸

Apart from Nöldeke’s criticism of Snouck’s inability to apply moderation in judging other people, there is another interesting aspect of Nöldeke’s words cited from his 1890 letter: “Er kennt doch eigentlich unter d. Europäern nur gute u. schlechte.” This is a rather cryptic remark. But if we relate it to another remark by Nöldeke, things become clearer. Two years earlier Nöldeke had written to De Goeje:

Wenn unser vortrefflicher Faqîh, im Grunde wohl nur halb im Ernst, die Ebenbürtigkeit der oriental. und occid. Cultur verfißt, so muss er dieses Buch lesen. Der Verf. ist gewiss der Besten einer unter den heutigen arab. Theologen; man hat den Eindruck, dass es in sehr ehrenhafter u. unabhängiger Mann ist (er bespricht z.B. sehr freimüthig die Stellung des Sultans): aber möchte Sn. seine europäische Einsicht mit ihm tauschen?

intention. To this end the congress was turned into a gala, with an important role for the Swedish King Oscar as the congress’s patron, who entertained twelve participants, among them De Goeje, as his personal guests. Nöldeke, also invited as one of the king’s guests, declined for health reasons and stayed at home. For Snouck’s critique of the congress, see Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 5, Garoet, 12 November 1889; nr. 6, Weltevreden, 26 January 1890; nr. 7, Weltevreden, 4 May 1890.

66 The content of Nöldeke’s reproach is inferred from Snouck’s own words: “Far from leading a self-contained existence, as you seem to believe, I move around peacefully among people of all dispositions and jobs more than any other Dutch Orientalist; circumstances have brought this about in the course of time.” And: “...; I am far less ‘schroff’ towards other opinions than you believe, but at the other side I am unwilling to see my sincere conviction presented as a result of ‘Vereinsamung,’ which is not the case, and of a ‘subjectivity’ which I share with all other people, but which I also explicitly acknowledge (unlike all other people).” To underline the truth of his judgment on Landberg and the 1889 congress Snouck noted furthermore that De Goeje and Nöldeke shared his opinion about Landberg, but that De Goeje – sensitive to public homage (his human frailty according to Snouck) – had since fallen victim to Landberg’s magic (Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 7, Weltevreden, 4 May 1890).

67 Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 7, Weltevreden, 4 May 1890.

68 Snouck’s argument in fact mirrors the argument of Nöldeke, making it a “no!-yes!-dispute,” in the same way as De Goeje and Snouck’s views on *admiration mutuelle* resulted in mirrored arguments; a way out of the dispute was therefore impossible.

Nein, ich danke dem Zeus fortwährend: 'Das ich ein Grieche bin und kein Barbar!'⁶⁹

The "outstanding *faqīh*" (expert on Islamic law) must be Snouck. This might be an indication of a fundamental difference of opinion between Snouck and Nöldeke about the confrontation of European and Oriental cultures, especially in a colonial context like that of the Dutch East Indies. Snouck's conflict with Landberg might also have been related to different views about how to deal with that confrontation. Landberg's efforts to turn this confrontation of cultures into a dialogue might have clashed with Snouck's view on moderating the confrontation in favour of dialogue and forms of integration.⁷⁰

De Goeje and Nöldeke's rejection of Snouck's polemical style might thus be reducible, at least partly, to an underlying difference of opinion relating to Snouck's ideals on cooperation with Muslims in a developing colonial situation.⁷¹ Snouck's personal tragedy was perhaps that De Goeje and Nöldeke's rec-

69 Nöldeke to De Goeje, 12 February 1888. The Arabian theologian had participated in a contest Landberg had organised as part of the 1889 orientalist's congress; Nöldeke and De Goeje were on the committee judging the contributions. On 15 October 1889, Nöldeke wrote to De Goeje: "Kremer [Alfred Kremer (1828-1889) Austrian Arabist], der vor 8 Tagen etwa 24 Stunden hier war, schilderte mir lebhaft, welch unvortheilhaften Eindruck auf dem Congress die Muhammedaner gegenüber den Japanern und Indern gemacht hätten; ich kann das wohl begreifen. Es ist nichts mehr mit dieser Bildung; mag man auch die alten Bildungsformen noch so sorgfältig conservieren, dies Wissen hat heute kein Werth mehr. Snouck würde einige Einsprüche erheben, aber ich bleibe dabei." Nöldeke's citation is often ascribed to the ancient philosopher Plato (ca. 427-347 BC).

70 Landberg, the driving force behind the orientalist's congress in Stockholm, intended to reform the congress (see note 64), but, unfortunately for him, the congress turned his intention into a farce. Far from becoming stronger in Landberg's sense, the congress threatened to disintegrate altogether. In the already cited letter of Snouck to Nöldeke (see note 65) we read the following comment on this congress: "But since evidently everything, fun and seriousness, was intended to place one man [Landberg] with the character of an adventurer in a false magic light, I find it wrong that the Orientalists should have helped to bring this result about, how ever much I find King Oscar's intention [SH underlined] praiseworthy and respectable." The intention Snouck spoke of was of course Landberg's intention. Snouck's explicit acceptance here of that intention might be an indication that his enmity towards Landberg was fed by the conviction that Landberg was fundamentally the wrong person to direct the process of a better understanding and cooperation between the East and the West. Snouck felt unhappy not only about Landberg's character, but also about the fact that this character was linked to a process to which he himself so much wanted to be attached (see notes 53, 61, and 65).

71 Nöldeke was a true free trade adept, who seems to have accepted colonies and colony-like spheres of influence only from the point of view of a *Realpolitiker*, acknowledging their politico-military reality and their development according to their own economic potentials. Introducing into this scheme moral values, as Snouck did, could not but seem naïve

ognition of his great intellectual talents went together with an underestimation, or even a lack of understanding, of his true ideals for which he wanted to use his talents.⁷² This testifies to their continuous efforts to bind Snouck to a

72 to him. Nöldeke once defended his own “realism” against Snouck by pointing to the contrast between Snouck’s professed “pacifism” and his role in the Achin War (Geh. StA. PK. Berlin, I HA, Rep. 92, NL C.H. Becker, 3138, Nöldeke to Becker, 28 January 1915). Likewise, in his letters to Nöldeke at least, De Goeje never objected to the war in Achin for moral considerations, in sharp contrast to his reactions in the case of the *Boers* in South Africa. “Es kommt aber bei Sn. in Betracht, dass er ein Idealist ist, der trotz aller Lebenserfahrung die rauhe Wirklichkeit vielfach verkennt. So sein Traum von einer idealen Verschmelzung der Javanern u. Holländer. So sah er auch d. türk. Revolution viel zu optimistisch an” (Geh. StA. PK. Berlin, I HA, Rep. 92, NL C.H. Becker, 3138, Nöldeke to Becker, 12 January 1915). The consistency of this difference of opinion is attested by the fact that in 1920 and in 1923 Snouck was still defending himself against Nöldeke’s charge that he was an idealist out of touch with reality (Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, nr. 161, 15 December 1920, nr 176, 1 January 1923).

The context of Nöldeke’s 1915 remark is the First World War and Snouck’s professed neutrality towards the European combatants. In a comment on his return of three British scientific marks of honour as a protest, Nöldeke said: “... [ich] bedaure nur, dass es jetzt nicht möglich ist, den betreffenden Stellen das direct mitzuthellen. Wenn de Goeje noch lebte, wär’s anders, aber Snouck ist viel zu kühl neutral, um die Vermittlung zu übernehmen” – Geh. StA. PK. Berlin, I HA, Rep. 92, NL C.H. Becker, 3138, Nöldeke to Becker, 20 September 1914) and Snouck’s criticism of German policy towards the Ottoman sultan as the acclaimed caliph, accusing Germany of foul play by supporting these false pretensions, and some of his German colleagues of betraying their scholarly integrity (Snouck feared the effects on the Dutch East Indies of a Pan-Islamic inspired jihad [holy war] in the name of the sultan-caliph). Nöldeke agreed on a scholarly level with Snouck, but he rejected his analysis on a political level as being detrimental to Germany’s war efforts and in favour of its enemies. Nöldeke and other German orientalists criticised Snouck for being blind to Germany’s history and its existential fight in Europe and the world. Although Nöldeke personally was not in favour of a warlike Germany (but a supporter of a strong army as a deterrent), he was prepared to accept war if it was made inevitable by political developments. The 1864 Danish-Prussian War found Nöldeke (supporting a *Prussia-on-mission* unifying Germany) opposed to De Goeje (autocratic Prussia should reform internally before taking up that mission, also to prevent it from becoming a threat to the independence of countries like Holland), but the privately expressed difference of opinion with De Goeje was not so bitter as the one with Snouck as a result of the latter’s openly ventilated opinion about a jihad “Made in Germany.” The link made by Snouck between Germany’s position, especially its alliance with Ottoman Turkey, and the situation in the Dutch East Indies was answered by Nöldeke – as we see in his correspondence with Becker – by reverting to a long-standing opinion about Snouck’s poor sense of realism. Snouck should think more realistically about the war in Europe, just as he should have been more realistic about the situation in the Dutch East Indies, and not start from an illusion. But Nöldeke was nevertheless careful not to poison their personal relationship; he proved conciliatory in favouring a continuing scholarly cooperation as in the case of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, of which the practical conditions fell under Snouck’s responsibility.

European career. We then have the paradox that Snouck's hatred for Landberg matched his loyalty to De Goeje and Nöldeke insofar as this loyalty did not conflict with what he hated.⁷³ His criticised polemical sharpness in general might have been less sharp if his loyalty had not forbidden him to express his ideals more polemically to De Goeje and Nöldeke, i.e. if De Goeje and Nöldeke had been more supportive of his self-chosen career⁷⁴ in a field that in itself was thorny and tricky enough to prevent a full blossoming of his ideals, and where a career was always compromised by political and bureaucratic opposition, not to speak of gossip.

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73 Snouck's rigid attitude towards Landberg is put in perspective by the attitude of Goldziher who was friendly with both Snouck and Landberg, although he was confronted with anti-Semitism in the German circles in which Landberg moved after his marriage to a German woman in 1884.

74 This does not mean that De Goeje or Nöldeke were negative about Snouck's publications on Indonesia. Quite the contrary; for Nöldeke's positive opinions see: Nöldeke to De Goeje, 3 June 1893; 10 February 1894; 5 September 1903. At an earlier stage, Nöldeke and De Goeje shared their enthusiasm for Snouck's book *Mekka* (2 volumes, including a *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka* (1888-1889), to which was added a supplement, *Bilder aus Mekka* (1889), about which Nöldeke wrote: "Die Bilder sind höchst anschaulich; das Heft ist im Ganzen für Unsereinen interessanter als das frühere; man bekommt wirklich eine Vorstellung von Mekka u. seinem Gebiet" (Nöldeke to De Goeje, 15 October 1889). Both feared however that the first volume might frighten people off the second one because of the former's rather dry historical enumerations. According to De Goeje Volume One should have been added as an Appendix to Volume Two, but Nöldeke was of the opinion that Snouck had followed the right sequence: "erst das Local, dann d. Geschichte, dann d. heutige Mekka" (De Goeje to Nöldeke, 29 August 1888; Nöldeke to De Goeje, Herrenalb, 3 September 1888). From Nöldeke to De Goeje, 26 December 1888 ("...Von Snouck, mit dem ich auf Anlass seines Buchs ziemlich viel correspondiert habe,..."; see also note 57) it becomes clear that this part of Snouck's letters to Nöldeke is missing in Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, probably for the banal reason that the relevant letters were stored away separately with the proofs (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. 1, "Vorrede," (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1888), xxiii) in Nöldeke's private papers.

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Urban Life in Late Ottoman, Hashemite, and Early Saudi Jeddah, as Documented in the Photographs in the Snouck Hurgronje Collection in Leiden

Ulrike Freitag¹

1 The Photographic Collection of Snouck Hurgronje in the Leiden University Library

The famous *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka*, published by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in 1888 as an addition to his voluminous work on Mecca, as well as the *Bilder aus Mekka* (1889), have long been recognised as a remarkably early (albeit not the earliest) visual document about late nineteenth century Mecca, comprising both photographs and engravings.² Some of these photographs, many of which document the different groups of pilgrims passing through Jeddah, were

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- 1 I would like to thank Léon Buskens for his kind invitation to Leiden in November 2011, and him and Jan Just Witkam for encouraging me to undertake this article. Jan Just Witkam and Arnoud Vrolijk gave me valuable advice and provided me with materials with regard to the Snouck Hurgronje papers and photographs at Leiden. Without their kind advice this research would have been impossible, and I also thank the library for the permission to reproduce the photographs. John Frankhuizen and the staff of the Oriental Reading Room at the Leiden University Library patiently helped me with the practicalities of obtaining the material and the reproduction of the photographs. As all the photographs come from the Leiden collection, this will not be indicated individually. Nelida Fuccaro helped with methodological references; Christoph Herzog, Rana von Mende, Gülhan Balsoy and a number of ZMO colleagues provided helpful references, and Jannis Hagmann and Selma Schwarz helped me to access the necessary articles and books. I am grateful to Claudia Schröder for her comments. My warmest thanks go to all of them. This text has been pre-published as *ZMO Working Paper* No. 16 (2016).
 - 2 On Snouck Hurgronje's journey to Jeddah and Mecca and on his photographs, see Claude W. Sui, "Die Pilgerfahrt zu den heiligen Stätten des Islam und die frühe Photographie," in *Ins Heilige Land. Pilgerstätten von Jerusalem bis Mekka und Medina*, ed. Alfred Wiczorek and Claude W. Sui (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 2006), 43f. and 53-61; and Jan Just Witkam, "Introduction" in Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw. Schetsen uit het dagelijks leven*, Vertaald en ingeleid door Jan Just Witkam (Amsterdam en Antwerpen, 2007), 7-184. The first photographer of the Hijaz was the Egyptian colonel Muhammad Sadiq, Wiczorek and Sui, *Ins Heilige Land*, 46-54, cf. Gillian Grant, "A century of Images in a Century of Change" in *Saudi Arabia by the First Photographers*, ed. William Facey with Gillian Grant (1996; repr., London: Stacey International, 2002), 18-23, here 18-19.

actually taken by Snouck Hurgronje during his stay in Jeddah from 28 August to 21 February 1884, which preceded his journey to Mecca. Others, notably the outdoor photographs of Mecca and the hajj published in the subsequent *Bilder aus Mekka*, were taken by his friend, the Meccan doctor 'Abd al-Ghaffar, at his request.³

During his lifetime, Snouck Hurgronje collected a very large number of photographs which are nowadays preserved at the Leiden University Library. This collection comprises not only photographs taken by the Dutch orientalist himself and by his Meccan friend, but also many others which were given or sent to him, often through the Dutch consulate in Jeddah. It covers a very wide range of topics and extends in regional scope beyond the Hijaz and even the Arabian Peninsula. This essay will draw attention to one aspect of this collection, namely the photographs of Jeddah, where Snouck Hurgronje spent almost six months before undertaking his famous journey to Mecca. Many of these images, some of which were taken by the orientalist himself and others of which were sent to him later, are closely connected to Snouck Hurgronje's so-called "Jeddah Diary," a translation of which is published by Jan Just Witkam in this volume, although they span the period from the mid-1880s to the 1930s.⁴ They attest Snouck Hurgronje's anthropological interest which led him to combine philology and participant observation with the most recent methods of documenting photographically and phonographically.⁵ Moreover, they illustrate a number of lesser known aspects of the social and religious history of Jeddah which were of special interest to the Dutch orientalist. Apart from the pilgrims from Southeast Asia and any information he could gather on religious life there and in Mecca, it is this theme which is particularly prominent in

3 P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de islam. Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk* (Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit: Leiden, 1988), 116-117. On the working relationship between Snouck Hurgronje and 'Abd al-Ghaffar, see the commentary as well as the very interesting letters by 'Abd al-Ghaffar reproduced in Sui, "Die Pilgerfahrt zu den heiligen Stätten des Islam," 56-60.

4 The "Jeddah Diary" of Snouck Hurgronje is kept at Leiden University, Or. 7112. It is henceforth quoted as "Jeddah Diary." Professor Jan Just Witkam kindly provided me with a typescript of his translation. I have used both the original and the translation for content. All English language quotations are taken from Professor Witkam's translation and are quoted as "Jeddah Diary, Translation." The page numbers refer to the original.

5 Jan Just Witkam, "Fifty Years of Dutch-Arabian Relations in Images (1885-1935)," in Dirry Oostdam, with contributions by Jan Just Witkam, *West-Arabian Encounters. Fifty years of Dutch-Arabian relations in images (1885-1935). Catalogue of an Exhibition in Leiden University Library, October 21 - November 21, 2004* (Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum, 2004), 9-16, here 10-13; and D. Oostdam, "Collecting Arabia: Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and his Work," in *Dutch Envoys in Arabia 1880-1950. Photographic Impressions*, ed. F.C. van Leeuwen, D. Oostdam and S.A. Vink (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1999), 17-24, here 20.

Snouck Hurgronje's "diary" and which is studied in this essay. And while other travellers, and a number of more recent historical anthropological studies, refer to these themes, they are rarely illustrated in photographs. This makes the collection by Snouck Hurgronje stand out in comparison to other early and often spectacular photographs of the Hijaz, taken by Arabs and foreigners alike. The photographs can also be used to contribute to a better understanding of other aspects of Jeddah's urban history, which this essay will illustrate.

2 Snouck Hurgronje's Photographs as Historical Documents

It was common in the early era of photography to consider photographs as "objective, impersonal, and authentic ways of representing the real,"⁶ and it might indeed have been this very perspective which encouraged Snouck Hurgronje to use the technique as one of the methods of his ethnography. It has thus been argued that *Bilder-Atlas* (pictorial atlas), the title chosen for his collection of pictures, already illustrates this documentary desire.⁷ Among the photographs chosen below for a discussion of selected aspects of late Ottoman, Hashemite, and early Saudi Jeddah there are, as I mentioned above, a number taken by other people, usually members of the Dutch community or travellers who were in touch with the Dutch consulate and/or with Snouck Hurgronje. If they are treated in the following essay in a fashion similar to the ones taken by Snouck Hurgronje himself, it is mainly because they do not seem entirely different in their approach and because they are clearly linked to themes or people with whom he was concerned in his local observations. And although these photographs also demonstrate the changes in material culture and infrastructure, as can be seen, for example, from the pilgrim buses and trucks shown in photograph 1, which was taken in 1926 by Dr. van Voorthuysen, it can be assumed that most of these were either taken at the explicit request of Snouck Hurgronje or at least orientated towards his interests, in other words many of them follow a logic similar to his own.⁸

6 Gregory Paschalidis, "Images of History and the Optical Unconscious," *Historein* 4 (2003): 33-44, here 35.

7 Sui, "Die Pilgerfahrt zu den Heiligen Stätten des Islam," 56. Cf. 57, where Sui contends that the eradication of 'Abd al-Gaffār's name from the photographs in *Bilder aus Mekka* was due to the consideration of photography as a reproductive rather than an artistic medium.

8 The album containing ms. Or. 12.288 B 1-69 contains a postcard by the photographer, dated 29 June 1927, thanking Snouck Hurgronje for his advice before the journey and offering these images as a gift. The original caption of photo 1 reads *Foto's van 't personenvervoer naar Mecca van de buslijn Djedda-Mecca* ("Photos of the transport of passengers to Mecca of the bus line



FIGURE 4.1 Early motorised pilgrims' transport (1926).

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

It has since been recognised that even ethnographic photographs have to be subjected to a criticism similar to that which is applied to other types of sources, i.e. that attention needs to be paid as much to the photographer as to the photographed, and account has to be taken of the motivation, arrangement, and audience - in brief, the context in which the visual archive came into existence.⁹ The context of orientalism and particular types of the portrayal of "the other" have thus been discussed in the literature.¹⁰ However, there has also

Jeddah-Mecca"). It was taken by Dr. van Voorthuysen.

- 9 Joan M. Schwartz, "Negotiating the Visual Turn: New Perspectives on Images and Archives," *American Archivist* 67, no. 1 (2004): 107-122, here 110, cf. Terence Wright, "Photography: Theories of Realism and Convention," in *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1992), 18-31.
- 10 Nissan N. Perez, *Focus East. Early Photography in the Near East 1839-1885* (Jerusalem: Abradale/Abrams, 1988); Wiczorek and Sui, *Ins Heilige Land*, and Ken Jacobson, *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography, 1839-1925* (London: Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 2007). Cf. more generally the contributions in: Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Simpson, eds., *Colonialist Photography. Imag(in)ing Race and Place* (London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2002), here particularly Ayshe Erdogdu, "Picturing Alterity.

been an increasing realisation that, in spite of the need to reflect on the motivations and circumstances of photography, the resulting images can tell us something about the past, and notably about certain aspects of the material culture and everyday life which otherwise might remain obscure.¹¹ The existence of at least some notes by the photographing academic, keen on recording as much as possible of his experience in the Hijaz, is a particularly fortuitous coincidence. In addition, there are a good number of other sources illuminating several issues emerging from Snouck Hurgronje's photographs and serving as a corroborating or explanatory context. It is thus the documentary side of the photographs that will be of special interest in this essay.

The importance of photography for the orientalist emerges from the entries in the "Diary": already during the first two weeks of his stay in Jeddah Snouck Hurgronje experimented with his photographic equipment.¹² Soon afterwards, his diary contains a slightly frustrated sounding note about "trying, but to no avail, to take photographs of the passing *mahmal* from the Austrian Consulate," and, still in the first fortnight of his stay, he reports that he had been "busy with photography" when a visitor came to call on him.¹³ He also notes the arrival of some photographic equipment and the dispatch of photographs to his mother, in addition to regularly reporting about taking particular photographs of people or spending time on photography.¹⁴ Besides, Snouck Hurgronje seems to have discussed the subject of photography not only with potential collaborators, but also with some men of religion, such as the Egyptian-born sheikh Husayn al-Baqari, who considered it to be permissible.¹⁵

This academic motivation notwithstanding, it is worth remembering that Snouck Hurgronje's journey was supported financially and logistically by the Dutch government because of its interest in pan-Islamic movements, notably those which impacted on, or emanated from, pilgrims in Southeast Asia. A significant number of the photographs taken by Snouck Hurgronje consequently show pilgrims from the Dutch colonies, grouped presumably by the photogra-

Representational Strategies in Victorian Type Photographs of Ottoman Men," 107-125.

- 11 Paschalidis, "Images of History and the Optical Unconscious," 39f., cf. Joanna C. Scherer, "The Photographic Document: Photographs as Primary Data in Anthropological Enquiry," in *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, ed. Edwards, 32-41. One of the most extensive methodological works on the use and problems of images is Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Cornell University Press, 2001), in spite of the criticism by, for example, Schwartz, "Negotiating the Visual Turn: New Perspectives on Images and Archives," 9-13.
- 12 Jeddah Diary, 1.
- 13 Jeddah Diary, Translation, 11, 14.
- 14 Jeddah Diary, 25, 37, 36-38, 40 and passim.
- 15 Jeddah Diary, 35.

pher in order to show the characteristic features of specific ethnicities, and thus perhaps contributing to the classification of Dutch colonial subjects.¹⁶ Nor is it surprising that it was a Hadrami *muwallad* (i.e. the son of a marriage between a Hadrami and a local woman), the nephew of the sultan of Pontianak, who was the first person with whom Snouck Hurgronje discussed the possibility of photographing Mecca.¹⁷ This, however, does not seem to have affected the way in which he looked at the city of Jeddah, and there is no evidence that he regularly supplied the Dutch government with his photographs.

It is worth noting that Snouck Hurgronje could use photography as a door-opener to “establish friendships and acquaintances.”¹⁸ After his conversion, for example, he was invited to meet the governor of the Hijaz, who offered him his hospitality when visiting Mecca. Snouck Hurgronje also noted: “Shows me badly taken photographs of himself, and would like to have better ones.” A few days later, the governor returned, “in order to be photographed later on in the building of the Consulate.”¹⁹ This might be seen in the established context of Ottoman portrait photography which began around the 1840s. Given that the governor was a very high-ranking Ottoman official, the wish for a good photograph might also have arisen in the context of the sultan’s efforts to document both the people and the sights of the Empire, leading to many officials sending the sultan photographs of themselves and their realms. This official sultanic endeavour seems to have sprung from two motives: the desire to present the outside world with a particular image of the (modernising) Ottoman Empire, and the interest in seeing (and visually controlling) the vast Empire from Istanbul.²⁰

To some extent, this mixture of motivations would also have held true for a number of the local officials and notables whose portraits will be discussed in the last part of this article. The resulting images are often of a distinctly formal nature and might say as much about the self-representation of the portrayed as

16 Michael Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia. The Umma Below the Winds* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 57. On the depiction of “types” see Erdogdu, “Picturing Alterity,” 118–120.

17 Jeddah Diary, 8–9.

18 Witkam, “Fifty Years of Dutch-Arabian Relations in Images (1885–1935),” 11. In the Jeddah Diary, Snouck Hurgronje mentions sending photographs to his mother, but does not indicate that he sends any to the government.

19 Jeddah Diary, Translation, 54ter, 22 January 1885.

20 Nancy C. Micklewright, “Personal, Public, and Political (Re)Constructions: Photographs and Consumption,” in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922: An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), 261–287, here 273–276 and 279–282. On Osman Nuri Paşa cf. M. Metin Hülagü, *Gazi Osman Paşa, Askeri ve Siyasi Faaliyetleri* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1993).

about the photographer. At the time there was no photographic studio in Jeddah, but given the cosmopolitan nature of its population, photographs were known and at least privately appreciated by the educated elite. If Snouck Hurgronje delegated the outdoor photography in Mecca to his friend, this was not so much because of a general rejection of photography, but had much more to do with his European origin and the fear of being declared an (unbelieving European) intruder, which could have endangered his life.²¹ This fear was not entirely unfounded: after all, it was the press reports about Snouck Hurgronje's presence in Mecca under the name of 'Abd al-Ghaffar (and Turkish agreement to his presence) that prompted the Ottoman governor to order his immediate departure just before the *Eid al-Adha* in 1895.²²

3 Photographic Evidence of Urban and Material Change

Snouck Hurgronje himself does not mention many of the sights of the city in which he spent five and a half months, staying, until his conversion to Islam, at the Dutch consulate.²³ This might, at the time, have been housed in a building similar to the one in figure 4.2, possibly taken by Snouck Hurgronje himself.²⁴ He describes, albeit without too much detail, a number of visits to the market. Figure 4.3, a picture dating from 1926 and showing a market street, gives a vivid impression of one of the quieter markets.²⁵ Featuring oil barrels in the middle of the street, it also illustrates the slow change in material culture. Oil was already imported to Jeddah from the United States by the time Snouck Hurgronje visited the city in 1884, probably mainly for cooking and lighting. Motor transport, introduced sometime in the early twentieth century, greatly increased demand.²⁶ The commercial transport of pilgrims to Mecca by bus was

21 Sui, "Die Pilgerfahrt zu den Heiligen Stätten des Islam," 46.

22 Witkam, "Inleiding," 129.

23 Jeddah Diary, 43 and the commentary by Witkam, "Inleiding," 66-67.

24 According to Dirry Oostdam, the images in this file are of different origins. There are a number of houses which might have been Dutch consulates, see Dirry Oostdam, "Catalogue," in Oostdam, *West-Arabian Encounters*, 28-141, here 95-97.

25 Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 12.288 B 18. The original caption reads *Soukhs in Djedda* ("Souks in Jeddah").

26 In 1878, an Italian firm was trading in petroleum; Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Centre des Archives Diplomatiques à Nantes (MAE, CADN), Djeddah, Consulat, 46, 341-342 and *Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance. Turkey, Report for the Year 1893 on the Trade, &c., of the Consular District of Jeddah*, Annual Series 1451 (Foreign Office: London 1894), 6, cf. Public Record Office (PRO), Foreign Office (FO) 195/2198, "Report on the Economic and Administrative Condition of the Hijaz Vilayet for the Quarter ended the



FIGURE 4.2 Imposing buildings in the *Hārat al-Shām* quarter.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

discussed in Jeddah in 1910, parallel to speculations surrounding the possible construction of a rail link between the two cities which was considered a supplement to the Hijaz railway.²⁷ In March 1911, the British consul reported that an omnibus had arrived from Liverpool, originally destined for the transport of pilgrims between Mecca and Arafat, but that the buyer had refused to accept it because the vehicle turned out to be a defunct second-hand item.²⁸ It was not until 1926 that the next serious effort at establishing motor transport for pilgrims began (see figure 4.1).²⁹

A number of photographs in the collection show both subtle (and not so subtle) changes in the urban material culture as well as the more direct urban

30th Sept. (1905),” 6.

27 MAE, CADN, Djeddah, Consulat, 45, no. 30-34 of July and August 1910 and PRO, FO 195/2350, Monahan to Lowther 4 June 1910.

28 PRO, FO 195/2376, Monahan to O’Conor, 8 March 1911.

29 PRO, FO 371/11442, Jeddah Reports February, March, September 1926.



Soukhs i Djedda.

FIGURE 4.3 Market street in Jeddah, 1926.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



FIGURE 4.4 The new seawater desalination plant in Jeddah (left) and an old prison building (right).
SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



FIGURE 4.5 A water seller of African origin.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

development which Jeddah witnessed. Van Voorthuysen thus also sent a picture of the customs station and another one of the new seawater desalination plant (figure 4.4), the first Ottoman installation of 1908 having become defunct (incidentally also providing a view of the almost derelict old prison building).³⁰

Nevertheless, it took a long time for piped water to reach the quarters and later the individual houses. Until then, the water tanks of the houses were regularly filled by water carriers who brought the precious substance from the various sources of supply to the houses by camel or donkey, as in photo 5 by an

³⁰ Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 12.288 B 31. The original caption of photo 4 reads *De nieuwe watercondenseerinstallatie. Rechts de gevangenis* ("The new seawater desalination plant. On the right the prison"). The construction of the desalination plant started in August 1907, shortly after the one in Yanbu' began to work, and seems to have been operational by early 1908. PRO, FO 195/2254, Monahan to O'Connor, 30 August 1907 and FO 195/2286, Monahan to O'Connor, 29 February 1908. Already in 1911, the installation of a new machine was planned, PRO, FO 195/2376, Memorandum of 6 October 1911. The technology had already been in use at the quarantine station of Camaran Island, FO 195/2061, Ahmed, Vice Consul to Hossain, Acting Consul Jeddah, 20 August 1899. The customs house is depicted on Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 12.288 B 10.

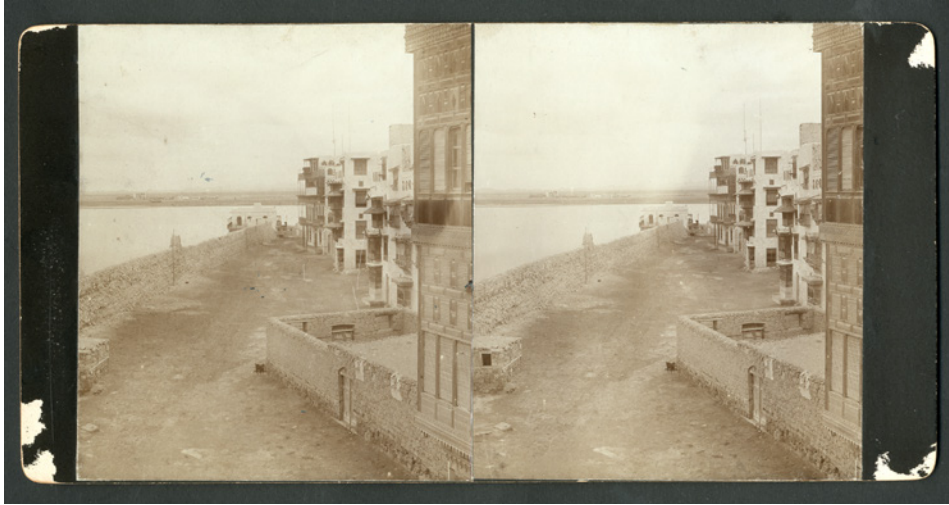


FIGURE 4.6 The French, British, and Austrian consulate as seen from the Dutch consulate in *Hārat al-Shām*.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

unknown photographer.

Other photographs, dating from 1906, show the development of the northern front of the *Hārat al-Shām* quarter, which was built in the last part of the nineteenth century and became the quarter inhabited by rich families and the consulates which can be seen lined up against the wall separating the city from the lagoon.³¹

4 Snouck Hurgronje's Passion: Islamic Scholarship and Muslim Life

By contrast, Snouck Hurgronje's diary does not indicate that he was particularly interested in matters of urban development. Instead, he mentions visits to coffee-houses in various parts of the city.³²

Jeddah, like many port cities, featured a wide variety of such coffee-houses. They served as public spaces of communication and entertainment for the majority of the inhabitants. They (or some of them) also provided affordable shelter for travellers, notably during the pilgrimage when Jeddah became crowd-

³¹ Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 26.363 02, showing the French, British, and Austrian consulate from the building rented by the Dutch.

³² See Jeddah Diary, 19, 22. The original caption of photo 7 reads *Koffieclub naast Nederl. Consulaat* ("Coffee club next to the Dutch Consulate").

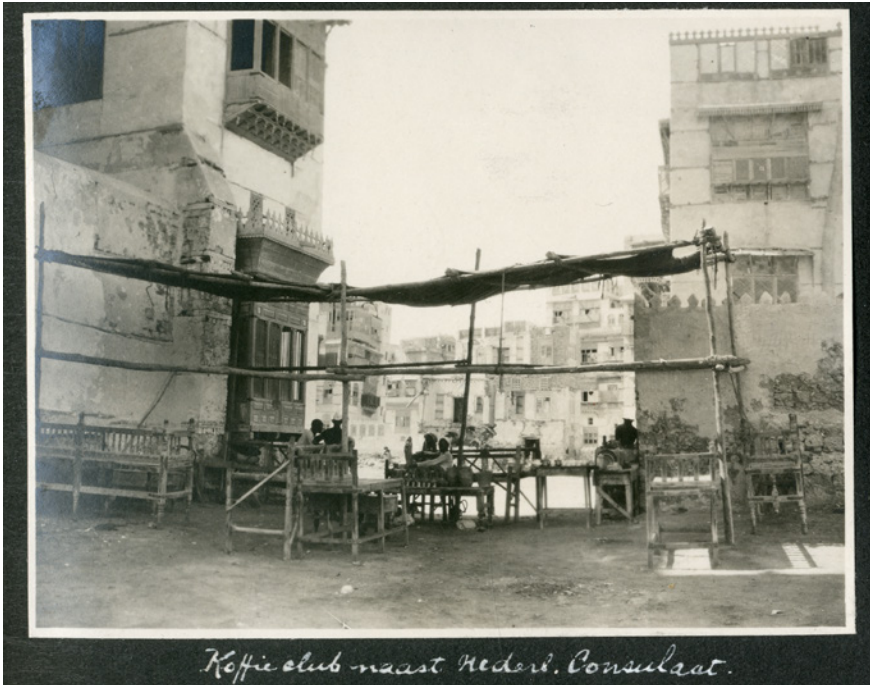


FIGURE 4.7 Coffee-house next to the Dutch consulate.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

ed.³³ Besides the coffee-houses, there existed private seating commodities outside the houses, benches or small platforms as well as benches in public spaces (*marākiz*; sing. *mirkāz*). These served as regular meeting places for the daily interaction between small, fairly well-established groups of friends (*shilla*) who met there in a more intimate setting than in the coffee-house, but they could also be rented out during the hajj.³⁴

The cafés were sites for Snouck Hurgronje's fieldwork, for example a place where he could listen to a storyteller.³⁵ This was in line with his deep-rooted interest in many aspects of popular (and religious) culture, such as lullabies, rain prayers, or dreams, and in the festivals associated with the Islamic calendar and the pilgrimage, on which he had, after all, written his dissertation.³⁶ While he collected as much information as possible on Islamic learning and

33 Muhammad Yusuf Trabulsi, *Jidda... hikayat madina*, 2nd enlarged ed. (Riyadh 2008), 196-202.

34 Muhammad Yusuf Trabulsi, *Jidda... hikayat madina*, 202-206; interviews in Jeddah, March 2009.

35 *Ibid.*, 22.

36 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (Leiden: Brill, 1880).



FIGURE 4.8 Official parade of the *maḥmal* through the streets of Jeddah.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

noted with great diligence the books prescribed in religious schools between Mecca and Java, as we see both in his diary as well as in many of his studies, it is the documentation of this live culture which will be highlighted in what follows. This should not, of course, allow us to forget the more general observation that Snouck Hurgronje's interest was evenly divided between this lived culture and more scriptural and orthodox aspects. These are, in a way, documented in the photographs of Mecca which he had asked his Meccan friend to take, but are also reflected in his interest in photographing the *maḥmal* and the pilgrims.³⁷

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the use of the term *maḥmal* was not limited to the litters brought by the different hajj caravans. Snouck Hurgronje describes the competition between the different quarters (*ḥārāt*) of the town in their reception of the governor (at the time Osman Nuri Pasha) who had been away. On this occasion, each quarter prepared its own *maḥmal*, apparently carried by people dressed up as Ottoman officials and competing in the presentation of the most beautifully decorated *maḥmal*. This gave rise to a fight between the *awlād*, the youth (mostly of lower strata), of two different quarters.³⁸ Incidentally, Snouck Hurgronje here confirms the importance of the organization of the quarter, also known from other parts of the Arabian

37 Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 26.363, 09. It is not clear who took this photograph.

38 Jeddah Diary, 44-45.



FIGURE 4.9 Children during *Eid al-Fitr*.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

peninsula and beyond, in spite of the important differences in local building styles and the spatial organisation of the quarters.³⁹ With regard to the ethnography of Jeddah, the photographs linked to the end of the breaking of the fast at the end of Ramadan contained in the collection are of great interest (figures 4.9 to 4.11). These are of an unclear date, but seem to relate to the common context of the festivities of the “Minor Feast” or *Eid al-Fitr* (in Dutch *Het Kleine Feest*). Snouck Hurgronje did not experience this particular feast. However, he describes on a number of occasions how he witnessed children during the festivities. On 1 October 1884, for example, apparently on the occasion of the *Eid*

39 For social institutions in the quarters of Jeddah, see Trabulsi, *Jidda... hikayat madina*, 179-206, and Ulrike Freitag, *A History of Jeddah. The Gate to Mecca in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (Cambridge 2020), 169-180. For two other Saudi cities, see Mohammed Abdullah Eben Saleh, “Privacy and Communal Socialization: The Role of Space in the Security of Traditional and Contemporary Neighbourhoods in Saudi Arabia,” *Habitat International* 21, no. 2 (1997): 176-184, particularly 171; Nancy Um, “Reflections on the Red Sea Style: Beyond the Surface of Coastal Architecture,” *Journal of Northeast African Studies* 12, no. 1 (2012): 243-272.



FIGURE 4.10 Children during *Eid al-Fitr*.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



FIGURE 4.11 A dancing boy during *Eid al-Fitr*.
SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



FIGURE 4.12 Slaves with musical instruments.
SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

al-Adha (he calls it “great hajj-day”), he describes what seems to match the three photographs very closely:⁴⁰

At several locations in town some Turkish swings with girls and boys in them. Sweets (pies, beans, candies, dates) were sold nearby. Also here and there dances (war dances and also a sort of cancan) by negro slaves. Beautifully clad children with gold-embroidered clothes and gilded amulet containers hanging from their necks or waists walk through town [...].⁴¹

He also describes the presence of well-dressed children (and adults) on the last day of the month of *Şafar* as well as on the occasion of the birthday of the

40 Jeddah Diary, Translation, 18.

41 Leiden Diary, Translation, 18. About the swings, cf. Trabulsi, *Jidda... hikayat madina*, 333-336 (and an image of a wheel); Muhammad Nasir ‘Ali Al Hasbul al-Asmarri, “*Tarikh al-hayyāt al-ijtima’iyya fi Madinat Jidda 1300h-1343 h/1882 m-1924m*”, unpubl. MA thesis (Jeddah: King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz University, 2008), 98.



FIGURE 4.13 Bagpipe-like or harp-like instrument played by a (slave?) “musician from Jeddah.”
SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Prophet on Rabi‘ al-Awwal.⁴² On the first occasion, he refers to other interesting traditions, such as the encampments outside the city and the organisation of donkey, horse, and camel races at the end of Şafar which are not easily found in other sources on Jeddah. Another photograph depicts young boys engaged in a mock fight with shields and sticks.⁴³

On many of these festive occasions, as well as at family parties such as weddings, a variety of music was played and dances were performed. While figure 4.11 shows a dancing boy, Snouck Hurgronje himself took a number of photographs of musicians with their instruments.⁴⁴ figure 4.12 shows a band of slaves, slavery being a very common feature of Jiddāwī society at the time, with most wealthy households owning one or more, whereas the bagpipe-like or harp-like instrument in figure 4.13 is played by a “musician from Jeddah.”

Remarkably enough he drew attention to a musical performance among women in his neighbourhood, something which has been described elsewhere mostly in the context of weddings and the like and attests the existence of a somewhat richer social and cultural life for women than is often acknowledged.⁴⁵

5 The Portraits of Individuals and Groups

As we have seen, a large number of the photographs taken by Snouck Hurgronje depict people, both local and pilgrims. What is of interest here are the social and habitual differences which are demonstrated in the photographs and which help us to understand the society of Jeddah of the late Ottoman and the early post-Ottoman periods. Particularly striking are the different dress codes observed by Hijazis, Ottomans, Europeans, and Najdis. It should be noted that the groups by no means dressed in a homogeneous way, details of dress and fabric as well as different types of uniform being important markers of social distinction.⁴⁶ Figure 4.14 thus shows a young man, portrayed by Snouck Hur-

42 Leiden Diary, 42-43.

43 While I have not been able to conduct a comprehensive research into these issues, it seems that most current books on the local traditions do not mention this tradition either. Besides Asmarri I refer here to Jasan ‘Abd al-Hayy Qazzaz, *Ahl al-Hijaz bi-‘abqihim al-tarikhi* (Jeddah, 1994).

44 Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 12.288 N 17 (entitled “Slaves with musical instruments”) and Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 12.288 O 7 (“musician from Jeddah”). On musical entertainment, cf. Qazzaz, *Ahl al-Hijaz bi-‘abqihim al-tarikhi*, 96-98; Trabulsi, *Jidda... hikayat madina*, 413-426.

45 Jeddah Diary, 18.

46 On the (male) Hijazi dress, see Trabulsi, *Jidda... hikayat madina*, 397-408; for women’s



FIGURE 4.14 Young man in traditional Hijazi garb in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate (1884).
SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



FIGURE 4.15 Pilgrim agents (*wukalā'*) in front of the consulate.
SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

gronje himself in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate, in traditional Hijazi garb with a turban.⁴⁷

He is clad in a manner similar to that of the Jiddawi pilgrim agents or *wukalā'* (pilgrims' agents) in figure 4.15, probably taken in the early years of the twentieth century by the then Dutch consul Scheltema in front of the consulate.

These agents worked in close cooperation with the *muṭawwifīn* (pilgrims' guides) in Mecca and were responsible for the reception of the pilgrims in the harbour, their accommodation in Jeddah, and the organisation of their onward transfer to Mecca. Upon the return of those pilgrims who did not proceed to Medina and Yanbu', they accompanied the departing pilgrims from their arrival until their final departure to their home countries.⁴⁸ An interesting detail in the photograph, found on a number of the outdoors images, is the umbrella, used as a protection against the scorching sun, but apparently still rare enough

dress, 409-412, cf. Wahib Ahmad Fadil Kabili, *Al-Hirafyyun fi Madinat Jidda (fi 'l-qarn al-rabi' al-hijri)*, 3rd ed. (Jeddah: 2004), 26-29, noting particularly social distinctions.

47 Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 12.288 O 3.

48 Kabili, *al-Hirafyyun fi Madinat Jidda*, 79.



FIGURE 4.16 Policeman (1884 or 1885).
SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



FIGURE 4.17 Chairman of the commercial council (*majlis al-tijāra*) (1884 or 1885). SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



FIGURE 4.18 Front, from left to right: Dutch consul Scheltema, Ahmet Ratip Paşa, governor-general of the Hijaz, Dr. Yusuf Bey (physician in the sanitary installations). Second row, from left to right: dragoman of the Dutch consulate, an Arab retainer of the governor-general.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

to serve as a suitable prop in such a formal photograph.⁴⁹

In comparison to the long robes of the Hijazis, Ottoman officialdom must have appeared distinctly foreign, and possibly Western, ranging from the pitiful, i.e. the policeman in figure 4.16, to the more dignified, as in the case of the chairman of the commercial council (*majlis al-tijāra*) in figure 4.17.⁵⁰

It is basically the fez, the headgear introduced in 1829 and already deeply unfashionable among nationalists by the end of the Empire, which clearly distinguished the Ottomans from the Europeans.⁵¹ However, the overall proximity in habitus is particularly striking in figure 4.18, depicting Ahmet Ratip Paşa, governor-general of the Hijaz (1892-1894 and 1895-1908), with the Dutch consul Scheltema, as well as Dr. Yusuf Bey, a physician in the sanitary installations, the dragoman of the Dutch consulate as well as a (from his dress apparently fairly high-ranking) Arab retainer of the governor-general.⁵²

49 Cf. Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 26.365 12.

50 Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 26.368 G 19, G 44. The dates and photographer are not known.

51 Touraj Atabaki and Erik-Jan Zürcher, *Men of Order. Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 210-211.

52 Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 18.097 S 16.2. On the dates of his governorship, see Sinan Kuneralp, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Erkân ve Ricalî (1839-1922). Prosopografik Rehber*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul 2003), 60; Saleh Muhammad Al-Amr, "The Hijaz under Ottoman Rule 1869-1914:



FIGURE 4.19 Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Sa‘ud of Najd and the *qā’immaqām* of Jeddah, ‘Abdallah ‘Ali Rida, December 1925.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The visual appearance, therefore, makes it likely that John F. Keane’s observations on the Turks were shared by many locals, albeit surely from a different perspective and thus with different value judgments. Keane visited the Hijaz in 1877 and commented that, to his mind, but also locally, the Turks were “the most civilised.” He adds, however, that they were hated as the ruling power, “both on account of their adoption of European costume and their introduction of such Christian innovations as forks, chairs, and, it is whispered, even wine into the holy Meccah.”⁵³

Finally, it is worth considering the well-known image of Amir ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Sa‘ud, sultan of Najd, with sheikh ‘Abdallah ‘Ali Rida, *qā’immaqām* of Jeddah in Ottoman, Sharifian, and Saudi times, and a prominent member of one of its foremost trading families.⁵⁴ In this capacity it was he who officially surren-

Ottoman Vali, the Sharif of Mecca, and the Growth of British Influence,” (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1974), 254 gives 1893 as his date of appointment.

53 John F. Keane, *Six Months in Meccah: An Account of the Mohammedan Pilgrimage to Meccah* (London: Tinsley brothers, 1881), 90.

54 Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 12.288 J 04. On ‘Abdallah ‘Ali Rida, see Muhammad ‘Ali Mağhribi, *A‘lam al-Hijaz fi l-qarn al-rabi‘ ‘ashar al-hijrī*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Jeddah 1985), 136-

dered the city to Ibn Sa‘ūd after a long siege and fierce criticism of Sharifian rule by a number of local notables. The picture was taken in 1925, shortly after the entry of Ibn Sa‘ūd on 23 December (figure 4.19).⁵⁵ It shows the two men at a table, drinking Turkish coffee – the Arabian variant being served in smaller cups – and brings out nicely the different styles of dress (note the overcoat, but, most strikingly, the difference between the turban and the *shammākh*, the chequered cloth worn on the head and fastened with the *‘iqāl*). These were perceived as emblematic of the cultural differences between Najd and Hijaz, resulting in the slow adaptation of Najdi dress as that of the new elite in the following decades.

This discussion of a few of the photographs from the Leiden collection has, of course, by no means exhausted the wealth of historical detail depicted in them. It has merely attempted to show a few avenues for the use of these images in future historical research, and has shown some of the particular strengths of this collection, which are largely the result of the specific anthropological interests of its former owner, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.

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Mekka as an Ethnographic Text: How Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje Lived and Constructed Daily Life in Arabia¹

Léon Buskens and Jean Kommers

1 Introduction: From Mythical Ancestor to Author

In October 1888, at the age of 31, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje was “childlike” happy when his venerated teacher Theodor Nöldeke wrote to him after he had read the first four chapters of the proofs of *Mekka II: Aus dem heutigen Leben*: “Certainly since Lane, nothing as accurate, comprehensive and reliable on an oriental population has been written, apart from the fact that you proceed historically and critically in a completely different way from the Englishman.” He immediately shared this praise in a letter to his close friend in Budapest, Ignaz Goldziher, who was also deeply involved in the creation of Islamic studies as a solid and respectable academic field.² This early appreciation from one of the greatest orientalist of his time points to many aspects of the second volume of *Mekka*, which we will discuss in this contribution: the literary and scholarly tradition of writing about the Middle East of which *Mekka* was part; the model set by Edward William Lane in 1836; the disciplinary standards for knowledge and intellectual craftsmanship; the historical-critical approach to religion that had become dominant in the course of the century; and the high expectations for the young scholar who had just completed this remarkable book.

Ever since its publication in 1888-9, readers of the two-volume monograph *Mekka* have been impressed by the results of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje’s relatively short period of research in the Holy City of Islam. In particular the second volume, picturing daily life in Mecca in the 1880s, established the reputation of the young orientalist as an outstanding scholar and a man of ex-

1 An earlier version of some parts of this essay was published in Dutch as Jean Kommers, “Snouck Hurgronje als etnograaf van Mekka,” *Sharīyyât* 10, no. 2 (1998): 151-76.

2 P.Sj. van Koningsveld (ed.), *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher. From the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest* (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1985), 107.

traordinary courage.³ The subject of the book itself was already an excellent choice with which to gain fame. As we shall see, Snouck Hurgronje situated his description of Mecca in a long tradition of travellers in Arabia. The perceived danger of the Arabian Peninsula and the formal prohibition on any non-Muslim entering the Holy City made a detailed description of ordinary daily life into a *nec plus ultra*.

In his introduction the author stressed that he had composed the book in order to appeal to a wider audience than a purely scholarly readership. He organised his material in the form of imaginary tours through public and private space, and through the Muslim year. The reader would encounter many individuals of flesh and blood, traders, scholars, Indonesians, and Ottomans. His descriptions were personal, vivid, and colourful, with an occasional bawdy remark about matters of the flesh, suggesting quite intimate knowledge, and asides about the less pleasant qualities of scheming Meccan women, offering prospects of consolation with caring African slave girls. Implicitly and explicitly Snouck Hurgronje constantly demonstrated to the reader that he had really been there and had heard and seen many a thing that had escaped the attention of his less gifted predecessors. While they were mere travellers, he was a scholar with a profound knowledge of Islamic texts, a sharp ear for spoken languages, and an eye that probed beyond the outward appearances. He had not only been there, but he had also seen and understood things better than any European before him. He described this superior knowledge in an ironic, masterly style, enlightening and entertaining his readers. The elitist and implicitly evolutionist perspectives situate the text in the late nineteenth century, while the attention to global connections, hybridity and change, and the cultural relativism testify to an open mind. The author is clearly sceptical about religion and lofty ideas, but not especially hostile to Islam in particular. Even almost a century and a half after its publication, *Mekka II* is still an informative and rewarding book to read, at least when one is willing to forgive the author his lapses into the male gaze, his rose-coloured view of slavery, based on per-

3 In this contribution we refer to the English translation of 1931 as Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931). The condensation of some parts performed by the translator J.H. Monahan in cooperation with the author in the English translation may be problematic, as we will argue in section 2, but for the sake of authorised quotations in English we use this version. When quoting from the English edition we also checked the original German version of 1889, and we indicate significant changes if we consider them relevant for our analysis. Biographical information on Snouck Hurgronje provided in this contribution is based on Witkam's seminal research, on Van Koningsveld's editions of source materials and critical studies, and on the recent biography by Wim van den Doel, *Snouck. Het volkomen geleerdenleven van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2021).

sonal experiences and aimed at its defence, or some boyish humour, and to take into account some other peculiarities of the time when it was written.

In the decades after its publication the book's fame would only increase, granting the author tremendous prestige in academic circles and in society. The publication in 1931 of the authorised and condensed English translation further confirmed its status as one of the "classics" of Middle Eastern ethnography. The word "classic" in this context has a mythical dimension, referring to the outstanding quality of the text, as well as to its impact on scholarly discourse. The scarcity of details about the actual fieldwork, Snouck Hurgronje's domineering style of self-presentation and the strong character of the ethnographic text all contributed to the rise of speculation, even myths, seeking to explain the impressive outcome of a stay of less than six months in Mecca. A personalistic interpretation of Snouck Hurgronje's monograph has long been dominant, considering *Mekka* as an exceptional work written by a unique personality. In more recent decades, the severe polemics about his research methods, criticism of a feigned conversion to Islam and his failure to acknowledge his informants, were part of a similar *ad hominem* approach.

In this contribution we will apply a more detached, and hopefully also a more nuanced, approach. As can be seen from our title, we shall study the second volume of the *Mekka* monograph as an ethnographic text, situating it in the history of travel literature and ethnography. Reading *Mekka* as an example of late nineteenth-century colonial ethnography yields an understanding of the peculiarities of the text without transforming the author into a mythical hero. This generic approach focusing on the literary dimensions enables us to unravel the ways in which the author managed to transform his own experiences in the field into a convincing account of how Meccans lived their everyday lives, and thus allows us to go beyond personalistic conjectures. We draw on important developments in the historiography of anthropology since the 1980s, which called for the analysis of ethnographies as texts and anthropologists as authors, thereby stressing the constructive character of the production of anthropological knowledge.⁴ This "literary turn" in anthropology was related to actual experiments in the writing of ethnographic texts and a close scru-

4 Some seminal publications are: George Marcus and Dick Cushman, "Ethnographies as Texts," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11 (1982): 25-69; James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988); Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1988); John Van Maanen, *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1988, second edition 2011).

tiny of the fieldwork as a process, questioning the multiple relations between ethnographers and their “informants,” who were sometimes collaborators or even co-authors.

To understand the making of the ethnographic text we will also examine the related question of how Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje went about his fieldwork in Jeddah and Mecca. The surviving records of the actual fieldwork are scarce in comparison with the abundance of other parts of the archive: the diary that Snouck Hurgronje kept in Jeddah⁵ – which Jan Just Witkam presents in an elaborately annotated English translation in this volume – the letters written and received in the field, the photographs taken, and the objects collected.⁶ We also have ethnographic notes which Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadinigrat sent from Arabia to Snouck Hurgronje after his return to Leiden and which he used extensively in the second volume of *Mekka*. It is puzzling that hardly any field notes of the research in Mecca should have been preserved. Is this due to a hasty departure from the field, or was it rather part of Snouck Hurgronje’s careful plan of self-presentation which shaped the archive as we have it today?

The Jeddah diary is an important primary source for the fieldwork process, although it stops at the very moment when Snouck Hurgronje leaves Jeddah for Mecca. The clues which this notebook, along with letters from the field to friends and colleagues, offers about Snouck Hurgronje’s research methods are of great importance and corroborate certain findings in the analysis of the public, published text. The diary and the letters show that Snouck Hurgronje was hoping to establish himself in Mecca soon after his arrival in Jeddah, and that he made careful preparations for a long-term residence there. He actively cultivated useful contacts and informants, and practised his skills in photography. Taking pictures of the ruling elite was not only a way to produce documents, but it also helped to build a network that included important local sponsors. In combination with his gift for learning languages, it was this kind of hard and determined work, rather than mythical qualities, which led Snouck Hurgronje to become one of the outstanding fieldworkers of his time.

His approach entailed a combination of assiduous activities in three do-

5 The *Jeddah Diary* is kept in the Leiden University Library as MS Leiden, Or. 7112.

6 The collections and photographs are beautifully presented and explained in: Luitgard Mols and Arnoud Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections: Traces of a Colourful Past* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2016). Snouck Hurgronje’s photographs, and those that his students took with his encouragement, have attracted ample attention. Dirry Oostdam compiled descriptions of many of these images and published her identifications, for example: Dirry Oostdam, *West-Arabian Encounters: Fifty Years of Dutch-Arabian Relations in Images (1885-1935)* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2004).

mains: observing and participating; recording by writing, by taking images and by collecting objects or *realia*; and creating a network of informants and helpers. His explicit statements about research methods contribute to our understanding of the way he conducted his fieldwork. However, even more revealing are his casual remarks which document how he observed everyday life in an unobtrusive manner, seizing opportunities that presented themselves or actively pursuing the creation of these opportunities. Snouck Hurgronje was less of a systematic fieldworker contributing to the development of new methods and theories, than a sharp observer who honed his skills in a casual way. His pragmatic and matter-of-fact remarks are in striking contrast with the heroic verbiage which later students used to depict their master as a fieldworker.

As discussed in the introductory chapter to this volume, Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld strongly criticised Snouck Hurgronje's research methods and his alleged hiding of the contributions of his "native informants," thus questioning his moral and professional integrity.⁷ Recently Michael Laffan addressed the question of Snouck Hurgronje's relations with his local collaborators in a more nuanced way.⁸ As discussed more extensively in the introductory chapter to this volume, these criticisms fit into a critique of orientalist scholarship that gradually gathered pace from the 1970s onwards in the wake of Said's *Orientalism*.⁹ The sometimes highly polemical studies can partly be understood as a

7 Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam: Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk* (Leiden, Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1987); Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, "Conversion of European Intellectuals to Islam: The Case of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje alias 'Abd al-Ghaffâr" in *Muslims in Interwar Europe: A Transcultural Historical Perspective*, eds. Bekim Agai, Umar Ryad, and Mehdi Sajid, 88-104 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015).

8 Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Michael Laffan, "Raden Aboe Bakar: An Introductory Note concerning Snouck Hurgronje's Informant in Jeddah (1884-1912)" *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155 (1999): 517-42; Michael Laffan, "Writing from the Colonial Margin: The Letters of Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 31 (2003): 356-80.

9 Two early examples of critical studies are Harry J. Benda, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia," *The Journal of Modern History* 30, no. 4 (1958): 338-47; and W.F. Wertheim, "Counter-Insurgency Research at the Turn of the Century: Snouck Hurgronje and the Aceh War" *Sociologische Gids* 19, no. 5-6 (1972): 320-8. Jacques Waardenburg contributed at an early stage to a detached history of orientalist scholarship with his 1963 thesis *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident. Comment quelques orientalistes occidentaux se sont penchés sur l'Islam et se sont formés une image de cette religion* (Paris and La Haye: Mouton) in which he devoted considerable attention to Snouck Hurgronje. Waardenburg provided Said with the major secondary source for his somewhat scant treatment of Snouck Hurgronje, who would have presented an interesting case which would both strengthen and modify his argument. For a more extensive discussion of this issue, we refer

reaction to the hagiographic approach that was dominant among Snouck Hurgronje's students until the 1950s, in this volume represented by the contributions of Drewes and Pedersen.

In our analysis of *Mekka* as an ethnographic text we intend to move beyond the time-bound political critique, which was to a certain extent as personalistic as the hero-worship of an earlier generation firmly rooted in colonialism. We shall try to avoid both mythical praise and moral indignation by taking the text as our primary object, concentrating on more factual issues such as rhetoric, generic conventions, impression management, and the cultivation of a scholarly persona.¹⁰ The post-orientalist turn promoted by François Pouillon and other colleagues in Paris has considerably influenced our reading of Snouck Hurgronje.¹¹ We will present an Orient which was jointly created by orientalists and Orientals, through exchange, dialogue, re-appropriation, contestation and confrontation, albeit in a political setting characterised by gross inequality and economic exploitation. Ulrike Freitag's theoretically informed study of the exchanges between the young orientalist Snouck Hurgronje and the venerable mufti Ahmad Zayni Dahlan is an inspiring example of the processual and dialectical approach to fieldwork that we share.¹²

We will first briefly present Snouck Hurgronje's travels to Arabia in 1884-5 and the resulting publications of which *Mekka II* formed a part (section 2). Then we will look more closely at the main object of his book, daily life, and his methods of research (section 3). Section 4 situates Snouck Hurgronje within the tradition of travel writing about Arabia, to which he continuously referred critically and which profoundly influenced the ways in which his readers perceived his work. Section 5 presents the textual model *par excellence* for ethnographic descriptions of Arab societies, the famous book by Edward William Lane about Cairo in the 1830s, with which Snouck Hurgronje was competing.

to the introductory chapter to this volume.

- 10 On the notion of "scholarly persona" as a tool for the historiography of orientalism, see: Christiaan Engberts and Herman Paul (eds.), *Scholarly Personae in the History of Orientalism, 1870-1930* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019). Léon Buskens is greatly indebted to these two colleagues for fruitful exchanges which familiarised him with this concept. The notion of "impression management" is of course taken from Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959).
- 11 For example in François Pouillon and Jean-Claude Vatin (eds.), *After Orientalism. Critical Perspectives on Western Agency and Eastern Re-appropriations* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015); François Pouillon, *Exotisme et intelligibilité. Itinéraires d'Orient* (Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2017); François Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française* (Paris: Karthala, 2012, nouvelle édition revue et augmentée).
- 12 Ulrike Freitag, "Der Orientalist und der Mufti: Kulturkontakt im Mekka des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Die Welt des Islams* 43, no. 1 (2003): 37-60.

Section 6 discusses the budding genre of ethnography, which linked orientalism to the discipline of anthropology that was gradually establishing itself in academia. The conventions in the two intertwined literary genres of travel writing and orientalist ethnography bring us to a discussion of issues of disguise and multiple identities of fieldworkers in section 7. Equipped with an understanding of the tradition of which Snouck Hurgronje was part, and in which he eagerly sought to position himself, we can finally undertake a close reading of the text of *Mekka II*, critically following our tour guide in section 8. In our conclusions we will return to the questions raised in this introduction.

2 Travels to Jeddah and Mecca, and the Resulting Publications

Snouck Hurgronje's research in Jeddah and Mecca in 1884-5 was a sequel to his doctoral thesis on the genesis of the ritual pilgrimage to Mecca, defended at Leiden University on 24 November 1880 as *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (The Meccan Feast). This dissertation fitted in with the emerging tradition of historical-critical studies of religion according to the standards of modern philology, promoted by theologians such as Jan Hendrik Scholten and Abraham Kuenen and the philologists Reinhardt Dozy and Michaël Jan de Goeje. His teacher De Goeje had suggested to Snouck Hurgronje that he write a follow-up to Dozy's study of Jewish influences on the genesis of Islam, which he held in high esteem. Snouck Hurgronje ably narrowed down the question set by De Goeje and expediently produced a well-written thesis which proved Dozy wrong.

The young doctor was clearly dissatisfied with a life in the library and longed to explore wider horizons. He seems to have been guided by a personal mixture of scholarly interest, a taste for adventure, and the ambition of a career in the colonial administration leading to social and economic success. Soon after this academic rite of passage he started to look for possibilities to travel to Arabia. The colonial demand for information about the doings of Indonesian pilgrims and residents in the Holy city of Islam, as voiced by the Dutch consul in Jeddah Johannes Adrianus Kruyt (1841-1927), fitted in nicely with his own taste for adventure and academic and social advancement.

Initially, the Minister of Colonies could not be induced to finance the mission. Snouck Hurgronje, with the help of his teachers, was more successful in convincing the important colonial learned society, the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Dutch East Indies (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië), to support him, which in its turn finally managed to receive a modest contribution from

the Ministry of Colonies.¹³ The official purpose was to gain a better understanding of the activities of pilgrims from the Indonesian archipelago, who at that time were Dutch colonial subjects, visiting, and sometimes even residing for many years in the Holy City of Islam. Snouck Hurgronje was thus formally not on a mission of espionage on the orders of the Dutch government, but engaged in a scholarly investigation, albeit one which might produce useful knowledge. After once having spontaneously offered advice to the Ministry of Colonies that was not appreciated, Snouck Hurgronje refrained from further direct contact with the authorities in The Hague, for whom he often expressed his disdain after this initial rejection.¹⁴

The plan was that Snouck Hurgronje would stay in Jeddah and work closely together with the Dutch consulate there.¹⁵ The enterprise was to a considerable degree initiated and supervised by Kruyt, the Dutch consul who appreciated the many talents of the young doctor when he met him in the Netherlands, and who travelled by ship with him to Jeddah, where they arrived on 29 August 1884. After a few months in Jeddah, Snouck Hurgronje warmed to the idea of continuing his fieldwork in Mecca itself. His Muslim friends encouraged him to go there, as he wrote to De Goeje. What was the benefit of studying Islam without practising it, and thus without making the meritorious visit to the Holy City and becoming acquainted with the neighbours of God? He made all the necessary preparations, including a conversion to Islam and the accompanying circumcision, and moved to Mecca on 21-2 February 1885. Almost six months of intense research and socialising in the Holy City followed. The scheming of the French consul, related to rivalry between France and Germany for the acquisition of a pre-Islamic stela from Tayma in which Snouck Hur-

13 For further details on the official framework, see Wim van den Doel, *Snouck*, 50-2; and Witkam, introduction to his Dutch translation of *Mekka II*, 2007.

14 Van den Doel, *Snouck*, 56.

15 For Jeddah and Mecca in the late nineteenth century, see these recent works: Ulrike Freitag, *A History of Jeddah: The Gate to Mecca in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Philippe Pétriat, *La négoce des lieux saints: Négociants hadramis de Djedda, 1850-1950* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2016); Louis Blin, *La découverte de l'Arabie par les Français: Anthologie de textes sur Djeddah, 1697-1939* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 2019); Luc Chantre, *Pèlerinages d'empire: Une histoire européenne du pèlerinage à La Mecque* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2018); Michael Christopher Low, *Imperial Mecca: Ottoman Arabia and the Indian Ocean Hajj* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020). For the specific Dutch political context in an international setting, see Michael Laffan, "A Watchful Eye: The Meccan Plot of 1881 and the Changing Dutch Perceptions of Islam in Indonesia," *Archipel* 63 (2002): 79-108, and Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

gronje became entangled, prompted the Ottoman authorities to order Snouck Hurgronje to leave Mecca at a few hours' notice early in August 1885. A military escort brought him to Jeddah, where he waited in vain to be allowed back into the Holy City. Finally, he left Jeddah on 19 September 1885, the day of the Great Feast, never to return.

On 17 October 1885 Snouck Hurgronje was back home with his mother on the Hooigracht in Leiden. Within a few months of his forced return, he started to publish articles in Dutch and German newspapers and in scholarly journals. At first, he mainly expressed his anger about the role the French consul De Lostalot had played in his expulsion from Mecca, and sought to repair his reputation as a scholar. At the same time, he ably advertised his outstanding findings and daring skills in carrying out fieldwork in the forbidden city. He presented himself as a successful explorer, going to a place where hardly any European had dared or managed to go before him and suffering expulsion from the Holy City of Islam due to false rumours. In contrast to earlier adventurous travellers, he stressed his qualities as a philologist, and as an acute observer of contemporary Meccan society, without however directly linking himself to the burgeoning tradition of anthropology. He demonstrated his interest in, and mastery of, very diverse fields of expertise, then still held together by the discipline of orientalism, ranging from history, dialectology, and religion, to ethnography and geography, and issues of public health and epidemics among the pilgrims. He even co-authored an article about the water of the sacred well of Zamzam, samples of which the Dutch vice-consul Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs (1855-89) had sent him from Jeddah and which had been analysed by his friend the chemist Pieter van Romburgh. Snouck Hurgronje published in Dutch, German, and French, thereby addressing diverse audiences and spreading his renown. Almost forty years later, towards the end of his academic career, these contributions would be assembled in his collected studies, mainly in volume III on Arabia and Turkey (1923), and in volume V on philology (1925).

In 1886 Snouck Hurgronje published the first major academic result of his stay in Arabia in the journal of the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Dutch East Indies that had sent him to Arabia: a substantial article of 134 pages "Meccan Proverbs and Sayings".¹⁶ He had prepared the article as a contribution to the Congress of Orientalists in Vienna in September 1886. The Institute sent him, together with Gustaaf Schlegel (1840-1903), the

16 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, "Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten, gesammelt und erläutert von Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje," *Bijdragen tot Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 5e Volgreeks, vol. 1 (1886): 443-576.

Leiden professor of Sinology, as an official delegate to Vienna.¹⁷ On behalf of the Royal Institute they would present the Congress with a separate printing of this collection of 77 proverbs from Mecca with extensive linguistic and ethnographic annotations. The lecture in which he introduced the complimentary copy to his colleagues was published in the proceedings of the Vienna congress. Jan Just Witkam has contributed to this volume an English translation of the journal article and the Vienna lecture, with ample annotations. Non-German reading scholars can thus finally become acquainted with this impressive piece of scholarship, which is also an indispensable companion for the understanding of *Mekka II*.

In our opinion this article marked a decisive point in Snouck Hurgronje's Meccan studies. He based it on his experiences as a fieldworker: he had selected the proverbs from more than 1,500 sayings which he claimed to have heard while living in Arabia, and he had annotated them with the help of his extensive knowledge of the Arabic spoken in Mecca, and its textual, cultural and material world. Many of his annotations are small essays about everyday life, food and cooking, about dress, hospitality, sociability, gestures, social hierarchy, slavery, photography, time, saint worship, and many other issues which complement his observations recorded in the monograph. The annotations abound with quotations from casual conversations, conveying what the author had heard in the streets, markets, mosques, and houses of Mecca, transporting the readers to the Holy City. Snouck Hurgronje demonstrated his outstanding ear by discussing phonetic variety and dissecting it with his dialectological erudition, referring to state of the art publications. To this ear he added an eye for detail, resulting in sharp observations about social intercourse and the manners and customs of the various layers of urban society. Although he stressed the dynamics and diversity of Mecca as a pilgrimage city connected to the outside world, he identified the Sherifian families as the guardians of an "original" and "authentic" Meccan culture and language and as the centre and kernel of Meccan society, which he documented through their proverbs.

We were particularly struck by a passage in the annotation to proverb 35, in which Snouck Hurgronje gives an overview of the habitual food of the Meccans. His discussion of bread prompted him to relate some personal recollections which showed that he had been there and had observed the city's inhabitants high and low, their looks, their speech, and their needs. He was not only familiar with the well to do and the mighty but also with the down and out. The passage is a fine example of the writer's evocative style, transporting his

17 Cf. minutes of the 274th board meeting of the Royal Institute on 12 June 1886, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 36 (1887): xxxiv-xxxv.

readers to the streets of Mecca, making them feel its heat and dust. At the same time the author reveals his feelings in a touching way, reminiscing about an event that had affected him deeply, thereby going well beyond his usual personal yet detached style. Implicitly, Snouck also seemed to refute the assertion so commonly made in order to refuse requests for charity, that beggars are “in reality” not that poor and needy.

The poorest inhabitants of Jeddah and Mecca walk around begging from early morning onwards till their tin-metal pots are filled with old bread. The bread sellers give them their unsold loaves (اقراص) from the previous day. Others give them the bits and pieces that remain of the meals of the previous day, or they buy fresh bread by way of *ṣadaqa*, ‘charitable gift’. You must know that in the hot and dry air of Mecca this old bread overnight turns as hard as stone. Only by extensively moistening it in water does it become somewhat palatable. There are in fact many beggars who, apart from incidental good luck, regularly eat this indigestible stuff, as breakfast, at noon and in the evening. That means that every day one can see these people with their hungry faces making their rounds through the Holy City, and the greed with which they devour the inedible stuff as if it were a delicacy, is the best proof of their poverty beyond any hypocrisy. For my part I shall never forget how I saw two unveiled women in rags (mother and daughter) sitting during several weeks for hours and hours next to one another at the corner of the Stone Street (زقاق الحجر) and the Night market (سوق الليل). With her ever-weaker voice the older woman called without interruption: ‘I ask God, the goodness from God, for a bite of bread; it is not much for you, oh Lord!’ (*aṭhub min allāh, min khēr allāh luqmèt ʿesh, māu ketīr ʿalēk yā rabb!*). Although the two miserable creatures used to sit opposite a bread shop, it was often two hours before the first *luqam*, ‘bites’, started falling into their pot.¹⁸

For our study of *Mekka* as an ethnographic text the methodological dimension of the *Meccan Proverbs* is of fundamental importance. The author solidly positioned himself in the disciplines of linguistics and ethnography, which he hoped would eventually spread in the Oriental world as well. Although many “native” Arab scholars tended to look down on the study of the spoken languages of the common people, orientalists such as Burckhardt, Landberg, and Goldziher had realised the tremendous importance of proverbs for documenting Arab culture and thought. Snouck Hurgronje stressed that his main interest

18 Translation by Jan Just Witkam, see p. 809 in this volume.

in these studies was not linguistic, but ethnographic: "For me, I needed above all to familiarize myself with the private and public life of Muslims. Words and usage were only a means to an end for me, even if they were a very important and indispensable means."¹⁹ In the introduction to the journal article he announced his intention to follow up the ethnographic annotations with "a description of social life in Mecca in a larger work." With the *Meccan Proverbs* he produced a masterpiece, demonstrating his ability as a fieldworker and a linguist, on a par with the colleagues cited. The ethnographic interest of the material was considerable, but the dialogue with ethnographers was less intense, limited to the occasional comparison with Lane's descriptions. In the introduction to his *Bijdragen* article (1886) and in the annotations Snouck occasionally indicated that he intended to develop his ethnographic description in a separate monograph.²⁰ For us as anthropologists his tremendous linguistic competence of recording, discerning, and analysing varieties of speech is still daunting. It demonstrated the extent to which his ethnographic eye was coordinated with his linguistic ear, grounding his observations in an impressive proficiency in both the written and the spoken languages and a great attention to detail.

With this contribution Snouck Hurgronje situated himself in a classical genre in orientalist scholarship, as he stressed in the first sentences of both his *Bijdragen* article and the Vienna lecture. In the journal article he linked himself primarily to the linguistic study of modern spoken Arabic dialects, and in the lecture to the collection of proverbs. In both cases the great Arabian traveller John Lewis Burckhardt (1784-1817), whom we will discuss later at greater length, was the founding father and he highlighted the importance of these linguistic findings for ethnography. With this important publication Snouck Hurgronje demonstrated his credentials as a fieldworker and a linguist. In his doctoral thesis he had shown that he was an able philologist, working with manuscripts and printed books in the library in order to advance a historical understanding of the genesis of Islam. He would further develop these philological skills in the first part of the *Mekka* monograph, on history and topography. With the *Meccan Proverbs* he took a new turn, presenting himself to his colleagues as a fully-fledged orientalist, at home in the library *and* in the field, although in the city than rather than in the desert.

Sometimes his learned and refined comments may seem slightly overdone,

19 Translation by Jan Just Witkam, see p. 768 in this volume.

20 For example, Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften* vol. v, 1925, 3; 100, annotation to proverb 72; 106 n. 3, annotation to proverb 75, in the latter two cases he does not yet explicitly refer to a book in the making. See the English translation by Jan Just Witkam in this volume, p.769 ("I hope to publish a description of social life in Mecca in a larger work."); and p. 855 and p. 860.

as if the young scholar was too eager to prove himself by flaunting his brilliance. He expressed his appreciation of Carlo Landberg's (1848-1924) work in Arabic dialectology and the study of sayings, but could not resist the temptation to correct him on a few points. In 1883 the two men had already vied for Amin al-Madani's friendship and attention at the Leiden Congress. When Landberg did not accept these corrections graciously and expressed himself disparagingly about Snouck Hurgronje's Egyptian friend 'Abd al-Rahim Efendi Ahmad, Snouck Hurgronje lost his temper, as he had done before in his critique of L.W.C. van den Berg, the specialist on Islamic law in Indonesia. He wanted to be the best, and to be acknowledged as the best in any field that he touched. He was never satisfied, either with himself or with others. Instinctively he felt that criticising a well-known scholar in the field that he wanted to make his mark on might be a way to establish his reputation. His sharp tongue and pen, however, did not just win him friends.

In the Vienna lecture Snouck Hurgronje also gave another important clue to his research methods. He spoke about his meeting on his journey home from Arabia with a highly talented young graduate from al-Azhar, the Egyptian scholar 'Abd al-Rahim Efendi Ahmad. Together with some friends 'Abd al-Rahim Efendi had compiled a collection of about 1,500 proverbs and sayings in Egyptian Arabic originating from different parts of the country. He had kindly put his collection at Snouck Hurgronje's disposal and had generously provided additional information during a visit to Switzerland. Snouck announced that he considered it his duty to make this valuable work available to his fellow orientalists for further research as soon as possible. These public statements showed that Snouck Hurgronje had a keen eye for opportunities for research and that he readily seized them by visiting his informant in Switzerland. He showered his new friend, whom he explicitly calls "mein ägyptischer Freund,"²¹ with praise for his open-mindedness and serious work and had no qualms about naming him explicitly.²² He expressed his conviction that many of his fellow orientalists would join him in his gratitude for the service that the learned Egyptian had rendered to scholarship. Unfortunately, Snouck Hurgronje would never get around to publishing this collection of proverbs.²³

21 Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften* vol. v, 1925, 104, annotation to proverb 74, also 117. See also the English translation by Jan Just Witkam in this volume, p. 781 and p. 860.

22 In his letters to Goldziher he also praised his Egyptian friend extensively and repeatedly; see Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, e.g. 54, 63, and 65.

23 On the history of this collection of proverbs as a manuscript in Leiden University Library, see: Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, "Eine Ägyptisch-Arabische Sprichwörtersammlung aus dem 19. Jahrhundert in der Leidener Universitätsbibliothek (Cod. Or. 7063 und 7120),"

One reason for his distraction from the Egyptian proverbs was that he was so busy with the monumental *Mekka* monograph which he had announced in Vienna. Immediately after the completion of the second volume, he left for Indonesia. His haste in finishing his Meccan studies can perhaps be seen in the rather casual wording of the preface to *Bilder aus Mekka*. In Indonesia not only would he build on the network of scholars and informants that he had begun to create in Mecca, but he would also perfect the research methods that he had practised there. His monumental two-volume monograph on Aceh is in some ways quite similar to the work on Mecca.²⁴ Again, his ethnographic work was based on linguistics. He would produce yet another masterpiece thanks to the strong combination of his eye and his ear, and most importantly again report his findings in a masterly style. Before moving to Aceh, he would pursue his interest in spoken Arabic by collecting sayings among the Hadramis, immigrants from Southern Arabia in Indonesia, which he contributed to a volume in honour of his former teacher De Goeje. He annotated these sayings with erudite linguistic and ethnographic observations.

In a nutshell, the proverb collection of 1886 presented what would become the hallmark of the Snouck Hurgronje's fieldwork method: his point of departure was a careful attention to the minutiae of the spoken language in all its varieties, recorded and analysed with the tools of modern linguistics, and this linguistic knowledge in turn enabled him to grasp the collective and individual ideas of the people studied and their social and political relations, through extensive observation and intimate conversations. Like many anthropologists, he quickly understood the immense importance of key informants, some of whom he cultivated lifelong relationships with. Relationships which they, and maybe also Snouck Hurgronje himself, considered to be not only profitable exchanges but also friendships.²⁵ Some of these collaborators, such as Raden Aboe Bakar and the Egyptian scholar 'Abd al-Rahim Efendi Ahmad, produced extensive written documents, which Snouck Hurgronje reworked in his publications.²⁶ Snouck's ear and eye were informed by his familiarity with texts,

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 77 (1987): 51-6; Arnoud Vrolijk; "Proverbial Misunderstandings: The Sources of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's Collection of Egyptian Proverbs," *Der Islam* 79 (2002): 103-17.

24 Cf. Jean Kommers, "Snouck Hurgronje als koloniaal etnograaf: *De Atjèhers* (1893-1894)," *Sharqīyyât* 8, no. 2 (1996): 89-115.

25 See on this issue the introduction to this chapter, and: Henk Driessen, "Romancing Rapport: The Ideology of 'Friendship' in the Field," *Folk* 40 (1998): 123-36.

26 See for example also the extensive notes on Indonesian scholars in Mecca that Snouck Hurgronje recorded at the end of his diary based on conversations with Raden Aboe Bakar. In his edition of this diary in the present volume Jan Just Witkam indicates how Snouck has incorporated these notes in the published text of *Mekka II*.

both “local” or “native” sources such as treatises on Islamic norms or doctrine, and works by travellers and fellow scholars.

The object of his research was clear cut and concrete: the daily life and current ideas of the people with whom he lived. In his empiricism he concentrated on what he could observe and collect, on *realia*: words, sentences, proverbs and sayings, political and religious ideas and practices, objects, and images. He cast his net very wide: from photographs of people, from rulers and scholars to enslaved people of various colours; from jewellery and musical instruments to brushes and brooms; from perfumes to Zamzam water.²⁷ *Collecting* in a panoptic and “panaural” manner was his main research method. He would present the *realia* collected in his writings in a quite idiosyncratic manner, as we will argue in this contribution. His way of describing was far less comprehensive than Lane’s about Cairo, for example. Snouck Hurgronje was far from being a “stamp collector,” striving to complete his series. This seemingly effortless and casual presentation of his materials, in a style full of humour and irony, would make him famous, while also allowing him to cover up the lacunae in his collections.

With the *Meccan Proverbs* and *Mekka II* Snouck Hurgronje would find his speciality as a linguist and ethnographer, *within* the framework of orientalism. He did not seem to have much interest in theorising or conceptual debates, and he did not seek to distinguish himself as an innovator in the making of these new academic disciplines. He would pursue “useful knowledge” of Muslim peoples of the highest academic quality, to contribute to the advancement of civilisation, modernity, and scholarship. His ethnographic fieldwork was always firmly grounded in field linguistics and the study of “indigenous” texts. A close reading of the *Meccan Proverbs* offers the key to a proper understanding of the methodological foundations of *Mekka II*. In the monograph he hid his hard work with the *sprezzatura* of his casual and ironic style. In the *Meccan Proverbs* he still strived hard to impress his methodological rigidity on his fellow orientalists.

On 5 March 1887 Snouck Hurgronje gave a lecture on Mecca for a general audience at the Berlin Geographical Society. In a letter to his close friend Goldziher he wrote somewhat boastfully that after three invitations he had finally accepted the proposal of Sachau, who had got himself so enmeshed in

27 A letter to Julius Euting from Jeddah of 18 December 1884 is quite informative about Snouck Hurgronje’s interest in objects of daily life. See Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld (ed.), *Minor German Correspondences of C. Snouck Hurgronje from Libraries in France, Germany, Sweden and The Netherlands* (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1987), 7; cf. 11-14, 23-4, 27, 28-9.

the *Kolonienschwindel*.²⁸ On this occasion he presented some photographs taken by himself and by a Meccan physician whom he had befriended. He had had the enlarged prints glued on cardboard together with printed captions in German. These illustrations are now kept at the Leiden University Library (see for example figure 5.7, with the caption in German “Nubian female slave.”). The society would publish his lecture in its journal. The photographs were yet another instrument to prove that he had really been to Mecca, and that he achieved results that went beyond the work of his predecessors. Maybe the preparation for the Berlin lecture and the response of his audience encouraged him to develop further the idea of a portfolio of images to complement his written ethnographic report.

Snouck Hurgronje developed the idea of a monograph in two parts on Mecca only some time after his return to his study in Leiden. His correspondence allows us to follow his collection of further information, especially from Van der Chijs and other local collaborators, notably Raden Aboe Bakar.²⁹ Unfortunately his letters to Theodor Nöldeke written during the composition of the *Mekka* monograph do not seem to have survived, but the Leiden University Library does keep letters from Nöldeke, who corrected the German language of the two volumes. However, the letters to Ignaz Goldziher, edited by Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, are a very rich source. They allow us to follow in a rather intimate, insider’s manner, the development of the *Mekka* project from the preparations for the journey, first mentioned in a letter of 6 May 1884, when he still hoped to obtain a subsidy from the Ministry of Colonies, to his reaction to the praise which Goldziher showered upon the second volume of the mono-

28 Letter of 4 November 1886, edited in: Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 70-2, quote on 71; in a letter of 30 December he ridiculed the pompous language which Sachau used in his invitation (78); and he would keep returning to his low opinion of his Berlin host (e.g. 89-90 and 108-9). His correspondence with Julius Euting abounds in details about the three successive invitations to give a lecture in Berlin, a request for information about the possibility of exhibiting pictures (which he presented as a compensation for the lack of coherence of the contents of his lecture), and the actual production of the 101 photographs. Snouck Hurgronje also asked for advice about how to dress for the lecture and courtesy visits, and when it was proper to make those visits according to the habits of Berlin. Upon his return he reported the appreciation for his lecture and expressed some concern about his views on slavery, which resulted in the “castration” of this part of his lecture for publication in the learned journal. See Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld (ed.), *Minor German Correspondences of C. Snouck Hurgronje from Libraries in France, Germany, Sweden and The Netherlands* (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1987), 15-22.

29 See the introduction to the 2007 Dutch translation of *Mekka II*, in which Jan Just Witkam provides ample quotations from these letters.

graph on 11 March 1889, when he was about to leave for Indonesia.³⁰ For a proper understanding it is important to note that the two friends were not only comrades in arms in the creation of the relatively new field of Islamic studies, but that in 1873-4 Goldziher himself had also travelled to the Near East, where he had studied at al-Azhar University in Cairo.³¹ Unlike many of their learned contemporaries, Goldziher, a practising Jew, felt quite sympathetic to Islam.

Snouck Hurgronje repeatedly stressed to his friend that Islam as a living practice was his main object of research, as we shall see. Unfortunately, we have only two or three letters from the field: two from Jeddah, before his departure for Mecca, and one from Alexandria, on the way home after his expulsion. The Jeddah letters reveal his networking and his grasp of opportunities for photography and for questioning learned visitors at the consulate. In his first letter he reported rather gleefully about the debauchery he witnessed in Jeddah, and in detail about an indecent proposal in no uncertain terms that a prominent Sharifa made him to come and visit her rich library while showing off her beauty.³² A learned article by Goldziher about sign language elicited his own observations on Mecca, where signs were of great use to enter into illicit sexual relations.³³ From signs he moved to sayings and proverbs, and again he enjoyed giving some “dirty” examples and abusive terms of a sexual nature that he heard from the boys hanging about in the streets.³⁴ In the next letter he returned to the subject by reporting one of the most obscene insults, involving

30 Cf. Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 35-120.

31 On this travel see: Lawrence I. Conrad, “The Near East Study Tour Diary of Ignaz Goldziher,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 122, no. 1 (1990): 105-26; and Lawrence I. Conrad, “The Pilgrim from Pest: Goldziher’s Study Tour to the Near East (1873-1874),” in *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam*, ed. Ian Richard Netton (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 1993), 110-59, with extensive further references.

32 Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 42.

33 Snouck Hurgronje discussed sign language as a means of entering into illicit sexual relations in two passages in *Mekka II*. The first, rather veiled one, is on p. 54 of the English translation (German original 1889 p. 67); a far more extensive, and again rather ironic and amused description is on p. 104, note. 1 (German original p. 129 n. 1), without however the details about the actual signs that he described in detail to Goldziher in his letter of 22 February 1886, published in: Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 60-1.

34 Snouck Hurgronje demonstrated his intimate knowledge of street boys’ language, obscenities, and insults regularly in his *Mekka II*, for example on p. 225 n. 4 and p. 237 of the English translation. A specimen in which he contrasted the lofty religiosity of the month of fasting with the mocking-vulgar rhyme with which a young man was trying to sell his food for Ramadan breakfast in the streets of the holy city, and which Snouck appreciated as “witty” (*Mekka II*, 1889, p. 77, n. 3), is lacking in the English translation.

the showing of the male *pudendum*.³⁵ He mentioned casually that the manner of access that he had found to the Holy City required some *izhar al-islam*, without going into any details. Proper observation and participation in daily life, far from the European community, were his most important research activities. The Javanese and Arab people with whom he was living were his “friends.”

He reacted to a remark by Goldziher about his alleged neglect of the psychological dimension of religion, countering that he did try to understand feelings in an empathic manner (“religiös mitfühlen”; “... sich in eine Religion hinein-denken und sie mit durchleben”).³⁶ Almost a year later Snouck Hurgronje brought up the issue again, going into his feelings about Islam. Although he did not feel as much sympathy as Goldziher, his stay in Arabia had led him to appreciate many aspects of Islam. In fact, he had never felt much aversion to the purely religious side. His objections concerned its political implications, which were a menace to Dutch colonial policy.³⁷ In a letter of December 1886 he expounded his views on the relationship between theory and practice in Islamic law, which would become one of the main themes of his work, developed still further by his students Schacht and Bousquet and informing Western studies up till today, by referring to his observations in Mecca. In his observations of daily life he had understood how fatwas often figured as tools in confrontations and rivalry, and were thus to be studied as social phenomena.³⁸ Although the two friends exchanged samples of high-brow scholarship, reviews of the latest publications, gossip about their teachers’ mistakes and weaknesses and about other colleagues, as well as an occasional “dirty” joke, the absences and lacunae are telling. Snouck Hurgronje did not seem too eager to share certain aspects of his intimate life, which were nevertheless fundamental to his fieldwork, and hence for the proper understanding of his impressive results. Or does the signature “Abd elGhaffâr” at the end of his letter of 22 May 1886 indicate that some vital information has not been preserved by his Hungarian friend?

The letters abound with informal details about the actual writing of the book.³⁹ In a letter from the spring of 1886 Snouck Hurgronje first mentioned a book in two volumes, the first about the history of Meccan administration, the second about daily life, to be accompanied by photographs taken by himself

35 Ibid., 57-61.

36 Ibid., 44-5.

37 Ibid., 66; cf. 113, where he stressed that they both share a sympathetic view of Islam and religion, unlike their master Nöldeke.

38 Ibid., 73-4, and 116.

39 Ibid., 64-120.

and others.⁴⁰ In the letters that followed, reports about the progress alternate with a new theme that first came up on 20 May 1887: Snouck Hurgronje wanted to travel again. With plans for a two-year research trip to Indonesia – this time officially in the service of the colonial government – becoming more concrete and real, the pressure to finish the book increased. The work on the book also filled him with a longing to return to Mecca. In 1888 his mission to Indonesia finally became so real that he had to hasten to finish his book. He could thus not afford to go on holiday, except for a short visit to see vice-consul Van der Chijs, who had come to the Netherlands, and who could provide him with additional information for the second volume of *Mekka*.

On 15 June 1888 the text volume of *Mekka I* arrived from the printer, but the reproduction of the photographs, made in Germany, was delayed. Soon he was trying hard to keep up with the compositor's typesetting of *Mekka II*. Goldziher was asked for information about some rare Arabic terms. On 8 December 1888 he wrote the final lines of the second volume. On 29 December the book was complete, and three-quarters of the text had already been printed. In the meantime, his appointment to the mission to Indonesia, mainly to study Islamic education and the mystical brotherhoods, had been formalised. On his thirty-second birthday, and the *dies natalis* of his *Alma mater*, he received the first copies of *Mekka II*. Goldziher immediately published a very favourable review, which prompted Snouck Hurgronje to muse in his last proper letter written from Leiden before leaving for Indonesia that he could have done better in Mecca if he had had Doughty's stamina and talent for paying attention to many different phenomena. His self-knowledge, however, had warned him to concentrate on a few subjects, instead of being dispersive. He hoped to do better in Indonesia. In any case, he would leave much better prepared thanks to his experience in the field.

The minutes of the board meetings of the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Dutch East Indies offer us a detailed official version of the intellectual conception and physical production of the monograph in two volumes and its accompanying portfolio of images as it was discussed publicly with his Leiden colleagues.⁴¹ In a meeting of 17 April 1886 the board discussed two letters from the author about the possible publication of a series of studies on Arabia with accompanying photographs of great rarity. The two options considered were a separate, independent publication, or in-

40 Ibid., 64.

41 These minutes from 1886 to 1889, together with the minutes of the general board meeting and its annual report, were published in the institute's journal: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 35 (1886) - 38 (1889).

stalments in the journal *Bijdragen*. In the next meeting, on 15 May 1886, the author himself was present to explain his plans extensively. He proposed dividing his main work into two volumes, the first dealing with politics, the second with social and domestic life. These two volumes should be accompanied by reproductions of photographs and portraits. Apart from this, he also announced some further specialised studies which might fit the format of the Institute's journal. Although the board considered the expenses to be considerable, it nevertheless decided to go ahead with publication. This would enable its members to acquire the books at a reduced price. The board decided to discuss further details of this publication project in the coming meetings. It also elected Snouck Hurgronje as a board member, which implied that he would take part in the decisions on the publication of his work.

In the years that followed the board would regularly discuss the details of the project. It would succeed in obtaining the support of the Ministry of Colonies, which ordered 100 copies. On 20 November 1886 the author asked the other board members for advice about the language of the publication. After some discussion they decided to leave the choice to the discretion of the author. They showed themselves unanimous in their welcoming of his minor studies in the journal. On 12 February 1887 he presented the library of the Institute with a collection of photographs from Arabia, on the condition that they would not be published without his consent. His gift was greatly appreciated. Further minutes allow us to follow in detail the financial arrangements with the ministry, the printing house Brill, the publisher Nijhoff, and with the author (who would obtain 40 copies for free), the number of copies (1000), mishaps in the production, publicity prospectuses (in Dutch and in German, but not in English, nor in French) and the decision on the price at which to offer the book to the members. On 9 September 1888 the king had his receipt of the work and the accompanying atlas "with great interest" acknowledged by his secretary. Later some German journals and learned societies would receive review copies. There was also mention of a possible translation of the work into French. The board was very happy to see that the interest in the books was so considerable that a large part of the expenses might be covered quite soon. On 16 February 1889 the secretary of the board announced that the second volume of the monograph had been completed. The chairman congratulated the author on this important achievement and wished him well for the continuation of his research in Indonesia, which he had been charged with by the government. Snouck Hurgronje acknowledged his kind words and especially the support that the Institute had offered him in his work.

In 1888 Snouck Hurgronje finished the first volume of his monograph on Mecca, on the topography and history of the Holy City. He had chosen to write

his book in German, one of the major academic languages at that time, which allowed him to address an international audience. His Master and lifelong friend Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), professor in Strasbourg and one of the foremost orientalists, was kind enough to correct his German, keeping up with the speed with which his former student was writing. The first volume complied with the standards of philology, being based on textual sources which he had partly acquired during his stay *in situ*, and also on the publications of earlier explorers such as Burckhardt and Burton. In his introduction he repeatedly stressed the primacy of his ethnographic interest in Islam. On the first page of his preface, he presented the historical overview of the first volume as an introduction to his sketches on the contemporary life of the Meccans.⁴² A few pages later he pointed out that the fact that he had had the privilege “to live for more than six months [a slight exaggeration, LB & JK] the life of the Meccans as one of them” offered him a better perspective to understand the written historical sources.⁴³ He showed himself very conscious of the importance of his fieldwork as a formative experience, which resulted in a general methodological statement for a new turn in Islamic studies:

For me the main result of my travel lies not so much in the coming about of this book, but rather in the lasting influence of my residence in the spiritual centre of Islam on my future Islam studies. The vivid sense of a shortcoming kindled in me the wish to immerse myself completely for some time in the Muslim world. As an Orientalist in Europe generally will not familiarise himself fully with the languages that he studies, if he observes these merely with his eye and not with the ear, thus his image of the spiritual and social life of the Orientals usually remains faulty as long as only books serve him as witnesses. [...] Yet nothing can replace proper observation, even if its fruitful effect is determined by diligent study of the sources, and a residence of many years in the Orient in itself does not entitle as such, as the general public all too lightly assumes, to an opinion on any and all conditions. In the country so rarely visited by Europeans I could of course have collected material in more than one direction; however, my aim remained always the observation of the life of Islam, and all other things served more or less as aids to the realisation of this.⁴⁴

42 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka I* (1888), xi.

43 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka I* (1888), xiv.

44 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka I* (1888), xix-xx. In a letter to Goldziher that Snouck Hurgronje wrote on 7 July 1884 from Leiden, before his departure to Arabia, he was already quite lucid about the need to avoid fragmentation of his interests and hence limit himself seriously in his research, because of personal character traits and for scholarly reasons. He

This passage may be read as an announcement of the immense contribution that Snouck Hurgronje would make to the study of Islam. He would combine sound knowledge of Islamic texts in various oriental languages with direct observation while participating in daily life through the adoption of a second identity, which he could assume so well because his extraordinary gift for languages. His focus on Islam in practice, and his fieldwork skills, would yield outstanding results. The preface to his first monograph already demonstrated his considerable stylistic and rhetorical skills, which he only underscored by theatrically complaining that his choice to write in a foreign tongue was a form of literary suicide.

In the same year he confirmed his ethnographic interest by publishing a detailed description of the artefacts which he had collected, being a mixture of unassuming ordinary utensils such as brooms and fans, slippers, and plain pottery, some more luxurious objects such as jewellery and wooden vessels for decoration, and souvenirs which pilgrims used to buy. The editors of the journal of the Leiden museum of ethnology, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, stressed in the first footnote the unique character of this collection from a city difficult to access, which justified prompt publication. This publication foreshadowed the appearance later in the same year of a portfolio of 39 plates, with photographs and lithographs offering images of the people and sights of Mecca, as well as the drawings of the ethnographic objects, *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka*. Seventeen plates had already been issued with the first volume, mainly picturing important sites and buildings in Mecca, as well as members of the Ottoman and local elite. The remaining 22 plates, with images of “ordinary people” such as enslaved black musicians, street vendors, guides, and pilgrims, accompanied the second volume.

In February 1889 the second volume of the monograph appeared under the title *Mekka. II: Aus dem heutigen Leben*, “From Contemporary Life”. In the same year Brill issued the last major publication on the Arabian fieldwork, a second portfolio of photographs of the pilgrimage and of important sites, *Bilder aus Mekka*, “Images from Mecca”. Unlike the two text volumes and accompanying album issued by the Royal Institute, this portfolio had not been planned beforehand. It was rather an improvised, independent publication by Brill, prompted by the reception of new collection of photographs taken by his friend and namesake, the Meccan physician Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar b. ‘Abd

clearly identified as the main objective of his travel “to get to know the Islam and its believers in practice through proper observation and dealings and thus to obtain clearer, less one-sided images.” Letter edited in: Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 36-9, quote on 37.



FIGURE 5.1 "Utensils common in Mecca." Ethnographic objects collected by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in Mecca in 1884-1885, or sent afterwards at his request by P.N. van der Chijs, lithograph plate first published in 1888 in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 1 (1888) as plate XII. Also published in: Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka* (1889) as plate XXXVIII.

al-Rahman al-Baghdadi al-Tabib.⁴⁵ During his stay in Mecca Snouck Hurgronje had instructed the doctor in the fine art of photography and he had left him his camera when he had to leave Mecca on the orders of the Ottoman authorities.

In the brief introduction to the portfolio Snouck Hurgronje clearly explained – albeit in a rather casual style, maybe due to haste and improvisation – that these pictures had been taken by the Meccan physician. His former student had not collected these images in any systematic way, but rather randomly. Nevertheless, Snouck Hurgronje showed himself quite satisfied with these important documents. While he clearly acknowledged the authorship of these images, as he did in the preface to the first volume of *Mekka*, where he referred to “an Arab instructed by me in photography,”⁴⁶ some later authors have expressed their discontent that he did not explicitly mention the doctor’s name. Nor did Snouck Hurgronje mention by name any of his other local informants, such as Raden Aboe Bakar. Did he do this to belittle their merit and aggrandise his own achievements, out of disdain for “native informants,” or instead to protect their safety? Snouck Hurgronje always pronounced himself against racism, showing great sympathy for the people he liked, regardless of their ethnic background. In this contribution we do not *a priori* assume bad faith.

In 1931 Brill in Leiden, together with Luzac in London, published an English translation of the second volume by J.H. Monahan, former British consul at Jeddah, the version to which we generally refer in this contribution.⁴⁷ Its title already announced a new presentation and understanding of the text: *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century. Daily Life, Customs and Learning. The Moslems of the East-Indian Archipelago (With 20 plates and 2 Maps)*. The book appeared when Snouck Hurgronje had reached the advanced age of 74, five years before his death in 1936. Not only the author, also the text had matured. The unsigned preface mentioned the profound changes in Mecca during the half a century that had lapsed, indicating in passing one of the strong points of the book:⁴⁸

45 In a letter to Goldziher of 10 February 1887 Snouck Hurgronje mentioned that the photographer was 60 years old; edited in: Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 81.

46 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka I* (1888), XIX.

47 The publisher kept the book more or less in print: Brill issued a photomechanical reprint in 1970; in 2007 yet another reprint appeared, this time with an introduction by Jan Just Witkam.

48 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century. Daily Life, Customs and Learning of the Moslems of the East-Indian Archipelago* (Leiden: Brill, 1931), v-vi.

... much of the gay social life of the past has disappeared under the present puritanical régime, which, while reactionary in matters of religious doctrine and practice, is at the same time incredibly progressive in its adoption of inventions of the modern mechanical civilisation.

Since many “institutions” remained “untouched,” the book was still of more than mere historical interest. The translation had been “revised” by the author, and “some parts of the original have been condensed and some technical details and Arabic names of things have been omitted.” As we will indicate later, these “condensations” and “omissions” concern matters of sexuality and the appreciation of the physical qualities of women. As a young scholar Snouck Hurgronje put these detailed descriptions to good use to demonstrate his intimate knowledge of the spoken language and daily life, and his closeness with his informants, while at the same time indulging in a rather student-like bawdy humour, thus combining business with pleasure.

Another change was the considerable reduction of the number of plates, from 96 to 20, which were “incorporated” in the text with sparse captions as “some typical figures.” The reduction of people of flesh and blood to “typical figures” and their insertion in a text full of lively descriptions of daily life in a personal style and with many details, signalled a transformation in the framing of the book itself. The “typical figures” were constructions of groups and categories presented in a rather abstract way. Both the changes in the text, in the direction of naturalistic and pragmatic designations, and the insertion of “typical figures” aimed at linking the text with the rising genre of realistic ethnography, which was so closely related to the colonial administration that reached its apex in those days. The original German language edition of *Mekka* was, both content-wise and materially, embedded in the tradition of expedition reports and colonial ethnographic compilations. The English version sought to give the book a second life by presenting it as a realist ethnography, thereby confirming its status as a “classic.”

In 1990 an Arabic translation of the second volume was published in Mecca, a new edition appeared in 1999 in Riyadh, together with a translation of the first volume.⁴⁹ These translations fit with a growing interest in the book as a witness of Arabian and Islamic, and also local, “heritage,” a trend that we have discussed at more length in the introduction to this volume. In 2007 Jan Just Witkam published an annotated Dutch translation of the second volume. The publisher chose to incorporate the book in a series “Classic Travels,” in the

49 See the bibliography of Snouck Hurgronje’s books compiled by Jan Just Witkam, following the introduction to this volume.

company of authors such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Wilfred Thesiger, Robert Byron, Charles Darwin, and Patrick Leigh Fermor. In his introduction to the book Witkam gave extensive quotations from Snouck Hurgronje's correspondence, which greatly improved our understanding of its coming into being, including the great help that the author received from friends such as Kruyt, Van der Chijs, Sayyid Ja'far, 'Abdallah al-Zawawi and Aboe Bakar. This introduction, together with the new materials presented in this volume as annotations to the English translations of the *Jeddah Diary* and the *Meccan Proverbs*, reconstruct the history of Snouck's research on Arabia in detail. We acknowledge the importance of Witkam's pioneering work to our present contribution.

3 Looking Behind the Scenes: Observing Daily Life

Through his philological studies Snouck Hurgronje had gathered that detailed information about the hajj could best be produced by studying the handbooks compiled for pilgrims, rather than by attending ceremonies "in the fearful crowd gathering yearly in the Holy Town."⁵⁰ He realised that research based on textual traditions would almost inevitably result in an idealised picture, dominated by normative rules and values. In his view, long-term research in the field was imperative to gain an insight into the practices of daily life and the social context of religion. In 1884 Snouck Hurgronje left for Jeddah to prepare himself for a period of complete immersion in the Muslim world, as he wrote in the already quoted preface to the first volume of *Mekka* ("mich einige Zeit völlig in die Muslimische Welt hineinzuleben"⁵¹).

The Jeddah diary offers us an insight into the way in which Snouck Hurgronje approached what, for him, was a foreign society. He more or less instinctively understood what would become a standard procedure for anthropologists finding their way in the field. On the one hand he greatly benefitted from the practical support of consul Kruyt and vice-consul Van der Chijs and the consulate staff. On the other hand, the diary documents how he immediately started to develop his own local network of sponsors. In the beginning he was looking for connections that acquaintances in Jeddah might have with his one Arab friend, whom he had met in Amsterdam and in Leiden, the scholar and bookseller Amin al-Madani, whose impressions of the 1883 Leiden Orientalists' Congress he had translated into Dutch.⁵² Soon he would make new friends

50 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), v.

51 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka I* (1888), XIX.

52 Cf. Kathryn Anne Schwartz, "Experiencing Orientalism: Amin al-Madani and the Sixth

himself, with people who often turned out to have as much interest in good relations with him as he had with them, such as the scheming Algerian exile Si 'Aziz, or the Indonesian scholar Raden Aboe Bakar, who would become a key informant and a lifelong trusted friend. The diary shows a young researcher actively pursuing connections and creating opportunities, which he would then readily seize.

He showed himself sensitive to accidental glimpses into the daily life of the inhabitants of Jeddah. For example, he reported the fortuitous opportunity to observe a party organised by a lady living next-door. From the unlit room in the consulate, he had a splendid view and was able to observe the ladies while not being noticed himself:

In the evening, a Turkish woman ... who lives on the second floor of a neighbouring house, held a party. She treated a number of her friends to music (drums and singing by two apparently famous singers). As they were sitting, unveiled, with windows open in a room with the lights on, we had an excellent view of this from the office of the consul, with our lamps unlit.⁵³

Later on, he gave another example of unobtrusive observation:

After sunset, we ended the walk by going to the coffeehouse in the alley of the blacksmiths, near our house, in order to listen to an Arab storyteller. Our presence did not seem to irritate anyone.⁵⁴

The following account of a communal ritual prayer documents his manner of gathering information:

I could observe all from fairly close by, since Raden Aboe Bakar, together with a friend and servant, had caught up with me and now accompanied me. Nobody took the slightest notice of me, not even the schoolchildren, who kept on singing and shouting between some of the rows of the pious, even during the *ṣalāt*.⁵⁵

Oriental Congress, Leiden, 1883," in *The Muslim Reception of European Orientalism: Reversing the Gaze*, eds. Susannah Heschel and Umar Ryad (London: Routledge, 2019), 39-60.

53 MS Leiden Or. 7112, 18, as translated into English by Jan Just Witkam in this volume, p. 612-3.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 616.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 632.

All three quotations indicate an important ideal in Snouck's fieldwork: to blend in, to be an unobtrusive observer who would not "contaminate" his findings. He would take this ideal further by choosing to participate as a Caucasian Muslim convert. As we will argue later, Snouck Hurgronje did not observe under cover, but rather assumed a second identity, aiming at being a Muslim among other Muslims in a cosmopolitan city accustomed to the presence of strangers. To his European colleagues he always stressed that he adopted the outward signs of Islam for the sake of scholarship, but that might not have been the full story.

The *Mekka* monograph shows that Snouck Hurgronje was always very attentive to opportunities to look "behind the scenes." While trying to remain unnoticed himself, he observed many aspects of Meccan life, mostly events he came across by chance. The constant alternation between observations of the accidental and more general statements connected to those observations provide *Mekka* with a quality of "splendid casualness." Rather than the assumed severe systematics or methodical perfection, which some commentators⁵⁶ read in the descriptions, Snouck Hurgronje created with this stylistic device the autoptic quality and the authenticity of the monograph, impressing on the reader that the author had really been there and that no significant detail had eluded his sharp eye.

Stressing that people did not notice the unobtrusive observer implies that the event described was not disturbed, influenced, or "polluted" by foreign presence, but rather "authentic" and "pure." Snouck Hurgronje usually presented these events in the form of an *excursus* or digression linked to more general statements. The *excursus* about European conceptions of the relations between husband and wife in Mecca offers a good example. According to popular European notions the "oriental" wife was totally subordinate to her husband. However, Snouck Hurgronje understood that this image was deceptive. He illustrated the informal power of Meccan women by relating the following incident:

If the Mekkan expresses himself openly, he will confess that his heart can belong to hardly any Mekkan woman but can well belong to a slave woman. An imprudent man once expressed himself before me with real enthusiasm in this sense, while his wife was walking up and down in the next room; when she then began to cough nervously, he changed his tone

56 See for example the entry: "Snouck Hurgronje, Prof. Dr. Christiaan," in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 8, 2nd ed. ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1939), 1747-50, quotation on 1748.

and said that there was nothing more precious than the freeborn daughter of the people ... All this however was mere make-believe, and that was not misunderstood even by the wife.⁵⁷

The ideal of unobtrusive observation, practised through radical participation, while creating and seizing opportunities to peek in, fitted with the object of his research as Snouck Hurgronje came to understand it. His more or less polished views ended up in the Preface to the German edition, where he defined the subject of the book as daily life in Mecca outside the pilgrimage season. Thus, he complemented the work of his predecessors, who had only come to know the city during the extraordinary times of the hajj, and then still in a superficial manner.⁵⁸

In a letter to Nöldeke, written in Mecca on the first of August 1885, hence only a few days before his expulsion, although he did not yet imagine that he would have to leave the Holy City so soon and in such humiliating circumstances, he expressed his ideas in a firm but not so polished way.⁵⁹ As to many others, he complained about how slowly his work progressed, his visits taking so much time, his efforts to obtain copies of manuscripts, musings all too familiar to anyone who has engaged in fieldwork. In passing he mentioned his adoption of the outward signs of Islam (written in Arabic script as *izhar al-islam*) as a condition for his presence in Mecca. Snouck firmly corrected his former teacher in his persisting in his erroneous ideas that he was continuously busy with learned disputes or solving complex questions of Islamic law. On the contrary, he was not at all involved in these activities. He followed with a crystal-clear statement of the object of his research and its relevance:

As I said repeatedly, my main objective is studying Islam in real life: hence the observation of the thinking and acting of the learned and the unlearned in a centre of Muhammadan life; of the influence, which radiates from this centre, to all parts of the earth inhabited by believers – especially, since I am Dutch and I do not scorn practical scholarship, the significant influences, which make themselves felt from here in the East Indies.⁶⁰

57 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 106.

58 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka II* (1889), xvi.

59 Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke from the Tübingen University Library. Published by P.Sj. van Koningsveld* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985), 8-10.

60 Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 9-10.

Snouck reassured Nöldeke that he was of course also interested in more conventional philological subjects such as the origins of the sanctuaries, but that these studies were difficult to pursue. Then he returned to his profession of faith: he was quite interested in questions of dialectology and the phonetics of the spoken language, but still at least as much, or even more so, in the study of “Muslim life.” He concluded with a summing up of his research method “I share the life of the Meccans to the full and thereby much becomes clear to me that one does not learn from books.”

From these statements we learn that Snouck Hurgronje was primarily interested in ethnography, with daily life, Islam, and the connections between Arabia and Indonesia as the main objects. In the *Meccan Proverbs* he would state clearly that linguistics was a means to better practise ethnography. In the introduction he once again positioned himself as primarily interested in ethnography:

When, now slightly more than two years ago, I went to Arabia, I did not intend to occupy myself with linguistic studies, but rather with the observation of the private and public life as dominated by Islam, and to do that in a place where Muslim culture was least touched by European influences and not at all controlled by Europe. At the same time, I wished to see with my own eyes, what the effect of Islam in this centre was on the countries from where pilgrims flock together, and more in particular in relation to the world of the East Indian archipelago.⁶¹

Although the Jeddah diary shows that he was constantly busy acquiring printed and manuscript books and perusing the consulate’s archive, written sources were again a means to better understand daily life.

By composing *Mekka II*, Snouck would find what would be the central question in his oeuvre and in his research: the constant contrast that he observed between the lofty ideals as professed in normative texts and public teachings and the earthly practices of the actual believers, high and low, rich and poor, learned and common. He would couch his understanding of these contrasts and tensions in a style that befitted this central theme, full of irony and humour, personal and detached, demonstrating a masterly grasp of reality by somebody who had been there, seen it and understood.

61 Translation by Jan Just Witkam in this volume, see p. 769. Original version: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften* vol. v (1925), 3.

4 The Orientalist as a Hero, Or Popular and Academic Manners of Travel Writing and Reading

Over the years much attention has been given to the extent and the manner of Snouck Hurgronje's "undercover" work. In his introduction to anthropology, in the section "The Ethnographer as a Spy," Anton Blok presents Snouck Hurgronje as a researcher who completely concealed his "true identity" during his stay in Mecca, and whose fieldwork was thus quite similar to espionage.⁶² Some authors, for example Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, have transformed this question into a moral or ethical judgment of Snouck Hurgronje's research methods, or even his character. In this section we shall discuss the nineteenth-century literary conventions of travellers' accounts, which stressed the use of a disguise during a "dangerous" mission in order to gather precious information in Arabia. Snouck Hurgronje composed his Mecca studies in this tradition, while he also tried to distinguish himself by looking at newly emerging orientalist and ethnographic models of writing. Until well into the twentieth century his readers abided by these conventions, reading his reports as part of this literary tradition and hence understanding his achievements as "heroic" and "unique".

Many travellers who preceded Snouck Hurgronje on his way to Arabia used to hide their identity in order to observe places and events that otherwise would have been inaccessible.⁶³ Their disguise fitted in with a long tradition in travel writing, which presented observation in an unobtrusive manner as one of the classic ideals. By "participating" in episodes of social life, travellers tried to enhance the validity of their observations, assuming that this approach would reduce the impact of the stranger's presence to a minimum. The method has always been subject to various kinds of criticism. In the eighteenth century travellers were sometimes considered to be spies, and one of the main handbooks for travellers was nicknamed "a handbook for spies."⁶⁴

Especially in countries considered dangerous for Europeans, travelling in

62 Anton Blok, *Antropologische perspectieven* (Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1978), 23.

63 In a letter to his teacher De Goeje from Jeddah of 30 December 1884 Snouck Hurgronje extensively defended his plan to adopt the outward characteristics of Islam for the sake of research in Mecca, with explicit reference to E.W. Lane. Jan Just Witkam included an English translation of this crucial document in Appendix 3.3 of his edition of the Jeddah Diary, see pp. 675-681 of this volume.

64 L. von Berchtold, *An Essay to Direct and Extend the Inquiries of Patriotic Travellers* (London, 1787). See: J. Kommers, "The Significance of 18th Century Literature about the Pacific for the Development of Travel Literature," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 144, no. 4 (1988): 478-93.

disguise highlighted the adventurous character of the expedition in the eyes of the reader. In the nineteenth century the narrative conventions of travel literature were such that writers would stress the sense of danger in their reports, whereas in the eighteenth century non-egotistical conventions prevented authors from paying much attention to personal sentiments. The long tradition of considering unobtrusive observation and “undercover” travelling as something peculiar, together with the colonial notion of “inhospitable” peoples, added to misinterpretations of travel accounts. This resulted in a great variety of speculations about the personal abilities of travellers who survived those “dangerous” societies. Changing literary conventions since the late eighteenth century further contributed to the growth of a tradition of personalistic conjectures and myths about courageous travellers venturing to go in disguise where their readers at home did not dare to go themselves.

Snouck Hurgronje’s *Mekka*, and the reactions and reviews of the monograph, should be understood in this long tradition of travellers to Arabia, in whose accounts the themes of dangers and disguise play a crucial role in one way or another.⁶⁵ One of his early predecessors was Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815), who arrived in Jeddah on 29 October 1762. According to Hogarth, who published a classic overview of Arabian exploration at the beginning of the twentieth century, Jeddah was considered “a town before and since notorious for hatred of Christians.”⁶⁶ However, despite its reputation, Niebuhr encountered neither hostility nor danger. Many later discussions of Niebuhr’s travels were structured by the same tendency to personalise his exploits, as in the traditional approach to Snouck Hurgronje’s work which we are questioning. This may be explained by a combination of the aforesaid fascination with writers who worked undercover and a lack of detailed knowledge concerning their

65 This literature has been surveyed in a voluminous corpus of studies, some of which have become classics. Gautier Juynboll wrote an overview, partly on the basis of the holdings of his ancestral library, which was formed in the same Leiden circles of which Snouck Hurgronje formed part: G.H.A. Juynboll, “Westerlingen in Mekka en Medina,” *De Gids* 143, no. 9/10 (1980): 648–58. Apart from the works mentioned in the subsequent footnotes, for general overviews see: F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); F.E. Peters, *Mecca. A Literary History of the Muslim Holy Land* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); V. Porter (ed.), *Hajj: Journey into the Heart of Islam* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2012), especially the contribution by Robert Irwin and the overview of “Hajj Travel Narratives” on 282–3; K. Tidrick, *Heart-Beguiling Araby* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1989); Ulrike Freitag, “Heinrich Freiherr von Maltzan’s ‘My Pilgrimage to Mecca’: A Critical Investigation,” in *The Hajj and Europe in the Age of Empire*, ed. Umar Ryad (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 142–54.

66 D.G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia* (Alston Rivers: London, 1905), 46.

research procedures.

Personalised accounts of this kind were often spontaneous: the later commentator tried to identify with the traveller or scholar. As a rule, these attempts suffered from idiosyncrasies and anachronisms. Sometimes this gave rise to amusing contradictions, as in the case of Niebuhr: many authors with different backgrounds tried to give their readers an impression of Niebuhr's thoughts, feelings, and special abilities, without being able to root their impressions either in published texts or in archival records. Hogarth, for instance, drew conclusions about Niebuhr's "severe suppression of himself." He saw him as a person who had so slight an interest in himself, that, in Hogarth's interpretation, Niebuhr wrote about his own experiences in such a way that these "might have been those of another." In fact, this interpretation of Niebuhr's "impersonal attitude" rested on a misinterpretation of a generic convention which characterised mid-eighteenth-century travel accounts.⁶⁷ Another commentator, Robin Bidwell, simply qualified Niebuhr's writings as those "of an official."⁶⁸ A comparison of feelings or emotional experiences which Pirenne or Hansen attributed to Niebuhr is quite instructive.⁶⁹

In the nineteenth century Snouck Hurgronje had two predecessors who combined philological erudition with a taste for adventure and worked this into travelogues on Mecca with scholarly pretensions. The Swiss traveller John Lewis Burckhardt (1784-1817) studied Arabic at Cambridge and then devoted himself to exploring for the rest of his short life. He visited Mecca and Medina in the guise of a pilgrim and participated in the rituals of the hajj in 1814. In his posthumously (1829) published *Travels in Arabia, Comprehending an Account of those Territories in the Hedjaz which the Mohammedans Regard as Sacred*⁷⁰

67 For an extensive analysis of Niebuhr and his commentators, with detailed references: J. Kommers, *Antropologie avant la lettre: enige gedachten over de geschiedenis van de etnografie* (Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1982), 17-41. More recent studies on Niebuhr, with further references, are: Lawrence J. Baack, *Undying Curiosity. Carsten Niebuhr and the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia (1761-1767)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014); Anne Haslund Hansen, *Niebuhr's Museum. Artefacts and Souvenirs from the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia 1761-1767* (Copenhagen: Vandkunsten, 2016); Han F. Vermeulen; "Anthropology and the Orient. C. Niebuhr and the Danish-German Arabia Expedition," in *Before Boas. The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment*, Han F. Vermeulen (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2016); Anne Haslund Hansen (ed.), *Arrivals: The Life of the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia 1767-2017* (Copenhagen: Vandkunsten, 2017).

68 R. Bidwell, *Travellers in Arabia* (London: Hamlyn, 1976), 90.

69 Cf. J. Kommers, *Antropologie avant la lettre*, 31. Hansen was an exception in that he was the only writer about Niebuhr under discussion who did extensive archival research.

70 John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia, Comprehending an Account of those Territories in the Hedjaz which the Mohammedans Regard as Sacred* (London, Henri Colburn, 1829);

the topoi of disguise and espionage were present. But Burckhardt stressed how he felt more at ease in Mecca than in any other place in the East, and how much he appreciated its inhabitants. His sojourn resulted in a detailed description of Jeddah, Mecca, Medina, and the rituals of the pilgrimage. Burckhardt also referred to written sources in Arabic, although not sufficiently according to Snouck Hurgronje. Burckhardt managed to complete, a few months before his untimely death in 1817, a study of Egyptian proverbs, which combined a manuscript source composed by an eighteenth-century shaykh with his own gleanings from prolonged stays. In 1830 his study was published as *Arabic Proverbs, or The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, Illustrated from Their Proverbial Sayings Current at Cairo*.⁷¹ As discussed above in section 2, it served as a model for Snouck Hurgronje in his work on proverbs from both Mecca and Egypt.

The British colonial administrator, explorer and philologist Richard Francis Burton (1821-90) first visited Medina in 1853 and went from there to Mecca as a pilgrim, where he performed the hajj. At least this is the underlying claim of the three-volume book that he published in 1855-6 in London under the telling title *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*.⁷² Snouck Hurgronje was quite critical of some of the observations, but still acknowledged the book as a useful source for his own descriptions and related his work to this predecessor. Recently scholars have started to voice doubts about the veracity of Burton's stories. Burton reported that only in Jeddah did his faithful travel companion, a young man from Mecca whom he had met in Cairo, realise that his friend had travelled in disguise. Burton's book about Mecca and Medina is a mixture of geographical and ethnographical descriptions, philological erudition, and an adventure story. Burton would continue his work as an explorer and a translator of Oriental texts, many of a popular or erotic nature.

The third author to whom Snouck Hurgronje had to relate himself was a traveller who staunchly refused to forego his Christianity by adopting an Islamic identity and would therefore not be able to visit Mecca: the British gentleman Charles Doughty (1843-1926). Doughty went to Arabia in search of a story to tell. His book remains less famous for the new knowledge that it brought than for its style. But all the topoi of the Arabian travel literature are there: vi-

cf. John Lewis Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys, Collected during his Travels in the East* (London: Henri Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830).

71 John Lewis Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs, or The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, Illustrated from Their Proverbial Sayings Current at Cairo* (London: John Murray, 1830).

72 Richard Francis Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1855-6).

olence, danger, drought, thirst, hospitality, sensuality, nobility of spirit and generosity, and disguise. In November 1876 Doughty joined a caravan of pilgrims heading for Mecca via Medina. He had taken the name “Khalil,” but consistently refused to pretend to be a Muslim, which caused him tremendous problems. In Hail the repugnance inspired by his impurity was such that a local even brought a knife in order to circumcise him by force. After many wanderings and adventures, he finally reached the safe haven of the British consulate in Jeddah in August 1878. There he took a rest for two months, before leaving for India. Ten years later he published his heroic tale, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, which Snouck Hurgronje read while writing the report on his own adventures in Arabia.⁷³

In March 1889 Snouck Hurgronje wrote an article in which he reviewed three recent studies on Islam, works by Wellhausen, Goldziher, and Doughty.⁷⁴ In his habitual severe manner he criticised the sloppiness of many of his colleagues and pleaded for a serious historical approach to Islam, demonstrating *en passant* his own knowledge and abilities and referring to his two *Mekka* volumes. Snouck Hurgronje considered Doughty’s book the work of a “hero.” His wanderings in Central Arabia had brought him hardship and suffering but yielded important results for scholarship. He found his work to abound with discoveries, such as inscriptions. His book was above all very important for ethnography, rich in descriptions of the manners and customs (“les faits et gestes”) of the Arabs of the desert and the oases. These observations allowed orientalist to transport themselves to the time of the Prophet Muhammad in Mecca and Medina. Snouck Hurgronje’s reading indicates the evolutionist framework which underlay his ethnography. In the dominant intellectual manner of his era, nourished by his exchanges with his Leiden colleague G.A. Wilken (1847–91), whose monograph on the matriarchate among the ancient Arabs he had reviewed in 1885, he understood some of the customs observed as “survivals” of a pre-Islamic past, which complemented the textual sources of

73 Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1888). On Doughty we have a considerable corpus of studies, for example: Stephen E. Tabachnick (ed.), *Explorations in Doughty's Arabia Deserta* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1987). Anthropologist and modern-day Arabian traveller François Pouillon places Doughty in a lineage of fellow travellers and in the ethnography of pastoral nomadism. His extensive studies on the relations between literature and ethnography, for example on Lamartine, make his analysis particularly rich: François Pouillon, *Bédouins d'Arabie. Structures anthropologiques et mutations contemporaines* (Paris: Karthala/HSMM, 2017).

74 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, “Contributions récentes à la connaissance de l’Islam,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 10, 25 (1889) : 64–90; reprinted in Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften* vol. VI, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1927), 76–97.

the orientalists. It might all lead to the composition of a fuller picture of these ancient times, “les fragments de l’antiquité conservés jusqu’à nous se laissent reconstituer en un tout vivant.”

The extensive praise was in no way belittled by two critical observations. Snouck Hurgronje found that Doughty was not a very gifted linguist, lacking a good ear and sufficient training in orientalism. But he considered this to be generously compensated by his energy and perseverance in gathering knowledge. The main critique concerned Doughty’s staunch refusal to adopt the outward appearances of Islam, thereby putting himself in constant danger, sometimes even of a mortal nature. Snouck Hurgronje acknowledged that there was “grandeur” in keeping the banner of civilisation and spiritual superiority high amongst the barbarians. But this attitude belonged more to the missionary than the explorer that Doughty wanted to be. Snouck Hurgronje formulated the general rule that, for the sake of being understood and above all to understand the people visited, it would be better to adapt oneself to the circumstances. The Bedouin had little tolerance for deviation from their ordinary way of life, especially in the domain of religion. Since it would be impossible to enlighten one’s hosts during a brief stay, it was better to adopt their ways. These considerations prompted Snouck Hurgronje to formulate guidelines, which he presented as commonly accepted and practised among the explorers of Arabia:

... la majorité des explorateurs estiment que, pour visiter l’Arabie et pour pénétrer jusque dans l’intimité de la vie arabe, il faut prendre, aux yeux des musulmans, l’extérieur d’un musulman. Ceux-ci se contentent, et la doctrine officielle de leur religion se contente, en effet, d’une accommodation toute extérieure. On obtient ainsi d’être considéré et traité comme un être vraiment humain, tout en gardant la liberté de conserver son individualité dans toutes les choses essentielles.

Doughty would have spared himself many sufferings if he had presented himself in a more accommodating way and had not sought confrontation with his hosts. Snouck Hurgronje gave the example of the issue of slavery, on which Doughty challenged his hosts, but which was according to Snouck Hurgronje’s own observations in actual practice not so bad, and which in any case was a deeply rooted institution that could not just be abolished by decree. In passing, Snouck Hurgronje pointed out that Doughty’s observations on the actual practice of slavery confirmed his own analysis in *Mekka II*, which was about to be published. In the vein of cultural relativism which, a few decades later, would become one of the tenets of anthropology, Snouck Hurgronje concluded that it

was not so strange that people preferred their own customs and beliefs and were less inclined to accept deviation from the social codes. The same attitudes could be observed in the European capitals where fashion and manners were concerned:

Comment recevriions-nous dans nos pays un Arabe si, traversant en curieux la ville et la campagne, il désapprouvait et dénigrait tout ce qu'il rencontrerait, et se prévalait des coups portés par sa nation à la civilisation chrétienne?

This review was a public statement of Snouck Hurgronje's views on research methods and ethics.⁷⁵ It was a justification in view of possible revelations concerning his own conversion to Islam, which we will discuss in more detail in the next section. Snouck Hurgronje rooted his own position on the one hand in his knowledge of Islamic doctrine, where he stressed the external aspects of Islam, without going into the fundamental importance of *niyya*, intention, without which any religious act would be invalid. This analysis tallied with a view of Islam as a religion of orthopraxis, in contrast to more "civilised" religions, which would stress belief and inner conscience. He paired his cultural relativism with ethics stressing individual liberty while complying with social conventions. His conviction raises the question how far this freedom and covering up of personal convictions went. Could it lead to a very personal variant of *taqīyya*, which would allow him to believe whatever he believed, loving his Abyssinian concubine and loving his Indonesian wife and children, while complying with the outward manners of secular bourgeois academic culture in Europe? These somewhat casual remarks published in a book review at the beginning of his academic career, might offer a clue to a life which might appear to be full of ambiguities and ambivalences to the external observer.

The tradition of travellers to Arabia, many of them in disguise, telling heroic tales of their daring exploits and their sufferings, continued for decades after Snouck Hurgronje. For example, ten years later, in 1894, the colonial govern-

75 In private letters he followed a similar reasoning, but went into far more detail, for example in the three letters from Jeddah to his teacher De Goeje in which he gradually presented the project of doing research in Mecca and hence converting to Islam, which Jan Just Witkam included as Appendix 3 to his edition of the Jeddah diary; and also in his correspondence with his other Master Nöldeke we find a mention of his *izhar al-islam* in a letter from Mecca on 1 August 1885, and an extensive justification 30 years later in a letter from Leiden of 27 February 1915, edited by Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 8 and 222.

ment of French Algeria sent the French convert Jules Gervais-Courtellemont to Mecca. Gervais-Courtellemont secretly took photographs of the Holy City, with which he illustrated his travelogue.⁷⁶ His daring won him the *Légion d'honneur*. Several decades later, in 1928, the Dutch filmmaker George Krugers travelled in disguise with pilgrims from Java to Mecca to produce the first film documenting the pilgrimage. He had himself circumcised before embarking on a ship to Arabia. Daniël van der Meulen, the Dutch consul in Jeddah who had been selected and prepared for this job by Snouck Hurgronje, assisted him in the preparations for the filming. His film had its first showing for the members of "The Oriental Society in the Netherlands" in Leiden in the presence of Crown Princess Juliana on 8 November 1928. As president of the Society, Snouck Hurgronje gave an introductory lecture.⁷⁷

Snouck Hurgronje was thoroughly familiar with the works of Niebuhr, Burckhardt, Burton, Doughty and others that formed the pre-academic, literary tradition of travelogues about Arabia. In *Mekka* he constantly contrasted his own work as a scholar with the more or less superficial gleanings of travelers turned into adventurous accounts. His book was not a travelogue, but a scholarly description of the history and daily life of Mecca. He held Burckhardt in high esteem for his detailed description of Mecca, but also criticised him for not using contemporary descriptions of its topography and history, because of sheer lack of knowledge of these sources.⁷⁸ Only his deep respect for Burckhardt, without whose book he would not have been able to write his study of Mecca, made Snouck Hurgronje refrain from criticising him abundantly.⁷⁹ In

76 Jules Claudin Gervais-Courtellemont, *Mon voyage à la Mecque* (Paris: Hachette, 1896); with many thanks to Sonia Ben Meriem, who drew LB's attention to this book and graciously offered him a copy from her father's precious library in La Marsa. On the author, see: Jean-Yves Tréhin, "Gervais-Courtellemont, Jules-Claudin," in *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, ed. François Pouillon (Paris: Karthala, 2012, nouvelle édition revue et augmentée), 467-8.

77 For further information: Luitgard Mols and Arnoud Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections: Traces of a Colourful Past* (Leiden: Leiden Publications, 2016), 14, 76-7; Rukayah Reichling, "Zicht op een verboden stad. De eerste documentaire over de bedevaart naar Mekka," *ZemZem* 17, no. 1 (2021): 137-146. A contemporary source about the popular reception of the film, which stressed the necessity for Krugers to adopt a disguise in order to produce the first "scholarly" film on the pilgrimage, is *Katholieke illustratie* 63, no. 7 (14 November 1928), 131, 140-1. LB owes this reference, and the actual article, to the generosity of the late Jac. Hoogerbrugge, always attentive to his interest in Morocco and Islam in Indonesia. See on the Leiden showing also: Oostersch Instituut – Leiden; *Jaarverslag 1927-1928* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1929), 4.

78 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka II* (German version), 293, footnote 2 and 326, footnote 2.

79 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka II* (German version), 293, footnote 3.

his writings about Mecca, already beginning with his doctoral thesis, he repeatedly proved Burckhardt and Burton wrong in their description and understanding of the pilgrimage rituals, both *‘umra* and *hajj*; in their description of the taste of the water of the Zamzam well, and of the black stone that was embedded in a corner of the Ka’ba.⁸⁰ Both travellers had not really succeeded in seriously familiarising themselves with daily life in Mecca, which would have permitted them to look behind the scenes and beyond the outward appearances. Snouck Hurgronje demonstrated again and again that, for a reliable description and a proper understanding of Mecca, its inhabitants and rituals, both a thorough knowledge of Islamic normative texts in Arabic and a prolonged stay and a dense social network were required. Before Snouck Hurgronje, no other Westerner had achieved this.

In his review of Doughty’s *Travels*, which we discussed earlier, Snouck Hurgronje made a cursory remark which revealed some of his ideas about the composition of his own Mecca monograph. He observed that Doughty presented his travel impressions (“impressions de voyage;” cf. Dutch “reisindrukken,” a common genre of travel writing in Dutch colonial literature) in a chronological sequence, “without ordering them by subject.”⁸¹ This observation tallied with criticisms earlier on the same page of Doughty’s misunderstanding of religious practices because of his ignorance of Islamic normative texts, and linguistic mistakes. Snouck Hurgronje called him “a layman where orientalism was concerned” (“laïque en fait d’orientalisme”), albeit with considerable merits as a fieldworker. The combination of these remarks points to a contrast between the travelogue, structured by the chronology of the journey, and the academic monograph ordered by subject.

Despite the fact that Snouck Hurgronje was part of this literary tradition of travellers in Arabia, and that he excelled as a writer, employing many literary devices that had developed as part of this tradition, his ambition was to establish himself in the burgeoning field of academic study of the contemporary Muslim world. To this purpose he combined solid philology with ethnographic fieldwork to compose a two-volume historical and ethnographical monograph. The second volume was structured by subject, not by the dénouement of the hero’s stay in the Holy City.

80 For example, Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften* vol. III, 22-23 and 54-5.

81 Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften* vol. VI, 92.

5 Lane's *Manners and Customs* as a Model

In 1836 the Englishman Edward William Lane published *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, Written in Egypt during the Years 1833, 34, and 35, Partly from Notes Made during a Former Visit to that Country in the Years 1825, 26, 27, and 28* in two volumes in London.⁸² It would become the authoritative model for ethnographic descriptions of Arabs. The book had met with considerable success, having gone through five editions by the time Snouck Hurgronje entered the world of orientalism, and it has remained in print ever since. It was the result of two prolonged stays, mainly in Cairo. In the Preface, Lane explained his method of gathering information. He referred to the Russell brothers' description of Aleppo as a model, but found them lacking in their knowledge of Arabic and in their familiarity with religious life, due to their inability to assume the necessary "disguises."⁸³ He also expressed his appreciation of Burckhardt's collection of Arabic proverbs but considered them too limited a source for a truthful picture of daily life. Lane had studied Arabic language and literature in preparation for his visit to Egypt and continued to do so during his residence. He adapted himself as much as possible to the manners of the Egyptian Muslims with whom he was socialising, avoiding what was forbidden to them in food and drinks. He did not seek to contradict or provoke them, apparently respecting the well-known ethnographer's adagio that the informant is always right. Lane never sought to stress his foreignness, or differences with his companions, but rather tried to blend in as much as possible. People often took him for a Turk, even if he did not conceal from those close to him either his nationality or his Christianity.

In his Preface Lane presented quite extensively one of his two salaried tutors and what we would nowadays call key informants. He is clear about their contribution to his knowledge of Egyptian daily life. He also mentioned the importance of textual sources, especially the *Arabian Nights*, which he considered an important source for popular culture. From his biography we learn that he had another means of privileged access to local society too.⁸⁴ In 1828 he

82 Edward William Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, Written in Egypt during the Years 1833, 34, and 35, Partly from Notes Made during a Former Visit to that Country in the Years 1825, 26, 27, and 28*, 2 vols. (London: M.A. Nattali, 1836). Snouck Hurgronje used a reissue of the fifth edition, edited by his nephew Edward Stanley Poole, in two volumes (London: John Murray, 1871).

83 On this monograph, see: Maurits van den Boogert, *Aleppo Observed: Ottoman Syria Through the Eyes of Two Scottish Doctors, Alexander and Patrick Russell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press and The Arcadian Library, 2010).

84 Jason Thompson, *Edward William Lane 1801-1876: The Life of the Pioneering Egyptologist*

acquired Nefeeseh, a Christian female companion, who had been taken – when she was still known as Anastasia – from Greece as a slave, either directly or through a friend. At the end of his first stay in Egypt he took Nefeeseh with him to Britain, and she survived Lane as his widow. From other sources we also know that some of his Cairene friends occasionally considered Lane too strict in his avoidance of alcohol, thereby obliging them to keep up appearances. Lane is a classic example of “going native,” of a rather extreme form of participant observation. He also collected an extensive range of manuscripts and objects of daily life, and made many drawings. He had been trained as an engraver and was able to produce the abundant illustrations for his monograph, although he was never satisfied with the quality of the reproductions of his drawings.

The two volumes gave a rich overview of many aspects of daily life in Cairo, for example domestic architecture, government, childhood, domestic life among the various classes, language, beliefs (“superstitions”), tobacco and coffee, drugs, games, music, public dancers, storytellers and other forms of entertainment, public and private festivities and rituals. An appendix even gave an overview of household expenditure. Lane had structured his observations and collections in thematic order, constituting a comprehensive survey of daily life and popular culture, paying attention to the different strata of society, but with a clear focus on the Muslim majority. His descriptions demonstrate his careful attention to language, customs and material culture in the most minute details. He showed himself to be a highly gifted observer, recorder, collector, and reporter, both in text and image.

The book catered to an audience of educated readers who wanted to learn about foreign places. Its publication had been encouraged by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Unfortunately, Lane did not succeed in having his *Description of Egypt*, a work on the ancient monuments, published during his lifetime. Later in his life he remained in Britain in order to concentrate on philological work on the basis of his knowledge and sources gathered in Egypt. He published an extensively annotated translation of the *Arabian Nights*, which was a logical sequel to his *Modern Egyptians*, as he already indicated in the Preface to his first book. Among Arabists he also became respected for his *Arabic-English Lexicon*, which was based on extensive studies of Arabic lexicography and published between 1863 and 1893.

His *Modern Egyptians* gained Lane a solid reputation. Among philologists, who had seldom travelled to the Arab world themselves, it was the standard source of information on actual daily life to supplement their readings of the

Arabic texts. Scholars held the book in high esteem as a reliable source, and it became the standard reference for what, in their perception, was a barely changing, timeless Orient. In retrospect we can understand the book as a landmark in the coming into being of an ethnography of the Middle East, as Dale Eickelman also did in his famous handbook *The Middle East: An Anthropological Approach* (1981 and later editions). Snouck Hurgronje referred to Lane in his earliest scholarly articles in order to compare ethnographic data about Muslim practices in Indonesia with Egypt, and to contrast the theory of Islamic law with the varieties of practice in different regions. In a reply to L.W.C van den Berg's rejoinder to a critical review of his introduction to the principles of Islamic law, Snouck Hurgronje reiterated the high esteem in which he held Lane's book and the thorough study that he had made of it. But he also found it appropriate to correct Lane's findings if necessary, albeit in polite terms, on the basis of information he had gathered himself from conversations with an Egyptian visitor to the Netherlands, in all probability Amin al-Madani, or from doctrinal texts.⁸⁵ Snouck Hurgronje compared Lane's book to some other "popular works" of Dozy, and the travelogues of Burckhardt and Burton. This qualification, and his corrections, revealed some of his ideas about scholarship, in which ethnographic observation should be related to a thorough knowledge of Islamic normative texts, which was his specialty.

While reading the second volume of *Mekka*, on contemporary life, one is struck by the parallels with Lane's *Manners and Customs* of half a century earlier. Lane's monograph must have served, unconsciously, or consciously, as a model for ethnographic description and for the methods of fieldwork. The attention to the *imponderabilia* of daily life, to material culture, the illustrations of the pottery collected, of musical instruments, and many other aspects, remind us of Lane. Instead of drawing, Snouck Hurgronje could use a camera. The description that Lane gave of his research methods must have inspired Snouck Hurgronje, who however had no qualms about going further and converting to Islam. Snouck Hurgronje also made good use of key informants, of his elite connections, and of privileged access to the female domain of society through his local companion. His contemporaries, as well as his later students, explicitly compared his achievements to the touchstone that Lane had created. This favourable comparison was arguably the highest form of praise within the dominant discourse.

Unlike Lane, Snouck Hurgronje did not strive to compose a complete, all-encompassing ethnography. In his preface to *Mekka II*, which was not included in

85 Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften* vol. II, 226 (esteem); 99 and 104 n. 4 (correction), cf. 85 and 108.

the English version, he stressed that the book was made up of sketches (“Skizzen”). Although he stressed that his gatherings and memories would have allowed him to write a much more encompassing work, he aimed at a larger readership, which he did not want to put off.⁸⁶ Snouck Hurgronje had spent far less time in the field than Lane and some of the earlier Arabian travellers, partly because of his expulsion by the Ottoman authorities. His talents as a sharp observer, gifted with an exceptional eye and ear, went some way towards compensating for this. He was prepared to go very far, using all his senses, as the purchase of the enslaved Abyssinian woman demonstrated, although the experiences of Lane and his circle in Cairo showed that he was by no means an exception in looking for such intimate knowledge. Snouck Hurgronje also continued gathering information through the exchange of letters with the employees at the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, especially with the vice-consul and merchant Van der Chijs, and with his Indonesian friends who moved back and forth between Mecca and Jeddah, and some of whom, including notably Raden Aboe Bakar, would also find employment with the consulate. These friends helped him to hire assistants to draw up reports on specific issues, for which work he paid, and they sent him objects, and photographs taken by the physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffar in Mecca with the camera that he had left behind. Snouck Hurgronje acknowledged their help in his prefaces to *Mekka*, extensively praising the essential contributions of European friends, while respecting the anonymity of his Arabian and Indonesian collaborators, perhaps to protect them.

Snouck Hurgronje’s research in Mecca can be understood as yet another step in the gradual development of ethnographic fieldwork, in which participant observation and the collaboration of key informants would come to take such an important place. We think that Snouck Hurgronje took something of a methodological lead from Lane’s manner of studying Cairene society. Snouck Hurgronje apparently did not feel hampered by the ethical considerations that have become so important in today’s debates, nor by explicit musings about the conventions of ethnographic writing. He was operating in a completely different intellectual and political setting. This was the heyday of European colonialism, accompanied by the theoretical legitimisation of evolutionist theory. Even if Mecca and Jeddah were not colonised, and even if the Ottoman Empire demonstrated its authority through Snouck Hurgronje’s expulsion, the general power balance was in favour of the European traders, travellers and scholars, an issue which we will further discuss below.

86 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka II* (1889), xv.

6 Ethnographic Sketches as Useful Knowledge

Snouck Hurgronje's observations, collections, connections, limitations, and choices resulted in a monograph composed of fragments, working as a kaleidoscope. In the preface to the German version, he presented his book as a series of "sketches," stressing that he had made a selection from his collections and memories and that he had not been able to observe everything, for lack of time or means.⁸⁷ While making the selection he had kept the interests of a more general audience and of Dutch colonial policy in mind. He explained the order of his presentation, moving from the public to the private sphere, the boundaries of which were crossed by the slaves, to which he would pay ample attention due to his intimate connections, though he did not make these explicit. In the third chapter the author moved back again to the public sphere in which scholarship took place, which had a strong international dimension owing to all the foreigners residing in Mecca in search of knowledge. The book ended with an extensive study of one specific foreign community, the Jawa, stemming from Indonesia. He explicitly justified the latter part by the usefulness of this knowledge for Dutch colonial interests.⁸⁸

All colonial governments were at that time interested in Mecca for at least two reasons. First, there was the general fear that the pilgrims and foreign residents meeting in Mecca would foment revolutionary ideas to overthrow European colonial rule in a pan-Islamic movement. Secondly, there was a concern for sanitary safety, based on the idea that the meeting of huge groups of people from all parts of the world in the limited space of Mecca in a limited period of time might lead to the spread of dangerous pandemics. For some states, such as the Netherlands, the pilgrimage additionally had an economic dimension, in that Dutch shipping companies transported pilgrims in large numbers. Michael Low has argued that some European consular agents, such as Snouck's close friend Van der Chijs, had considerable commercial interests in the pilgrimage.⁸⁹ Snouck Hurgronje catered to this need for "useful knowledge," an expression which he used himself in English as well,⁹⁰ through the choice of

87 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka II* (1889), xv.

88 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka II* (1889), xv.

89 Michael Christopher Low, *Imperial Mecca: Ottoman Arabia and the Indian Ocean Hajj* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020); cf. Jan Just Witkam, in his introduction to the Jeddah Diary in this volume, pp. 573-575. On the profound changes in the pilgrimage in the nineteenth and twentieth century, related to colonial modernity, see also: Sylvia Chiffolleau, *Le Voyage à La Mecque. Un pèlerinage mondial en terre d'Islam* (Paris: Belin, 2015); LB thanks Sonia Ben Meriem for the latter reference.

90 See also his explicit statement on "practical scholarship" in the already quoted letter to

subjects for the ethnographic volume, and through separate studies. He therefore wrote in greater detail about certain scholars teaching in Mecca, and about the particularities of the water of the Zamzam well, from which all pilgrims desired to drink. His subjects were certainly not chosen at random. He also discussed the political framework, the Ottoman administration, and the intervention of the *Dawla* in all kinds of matters of daily life. It is all the more striking that he did not address the imperial context and the role of European enterprises, which had such a considerable impact on the pilgrimage, and hence on Mecca.

The *Mekka* monograph, and many other works such as the collection of Meccan proverbs, draw attention to an exceptional dimension of Snouck Hurgronje: his ability to combine a thorough knowledge of textual sources with a great talent for fieldwork thanks to his skills in observing, listening, recording, and creating and maintaining networks. This combination was, and is, quite rare, and made Snouck Hurgronje into an exceptional scholar. He convincingly demonstrated through his work the importance of studying texts and of observing practice for the proper understanding of Muslim societies. In *Mekka* he brought together philology and ethnography in a fortuitous way, as he would later do again in his other great monograph, *The Achehnese*. In volume I, he dealt in an orientalist manner with history, politics, administration, and topography, based on an extensive reading of both Arabic and European sources, such as Burckhardt and Burton, and on his own observations. In volume II, he presented daily life based on what he had heard, seen, and sensed, informed by his understanding of the normative texts that the scholars taught, and that ordinary people were supposed to respect. References to literature are almost completely lacking, as are indications of the written information provided by his local correspondents.

Not only its content, but at least as much its impressive style, made the second volume into a success and a classic, as also happened with the English translation more than forty years later. His literary talent completed Snouck Hurgronje's gifts as a philologist and a fieldworker. In the ethnography he consistently linked anecdotes about seemingly casual events to general statements. His statements gain their force through his constant stress on autopsy and personal experience. He had seen what he related with his own eyes and heard it with his own ears. And he had properly understood it with his sharp wit. In his penetrating analyses the author went beyond first impressions. In contrast to the travellers, he did not remain on the surface. His prolonged stay enabled him to dig beneath. As a scholar he could relate people's beliefs and

Nöldeke from Mecca, in: Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 8-10.

practices to Islamic texts. In his realistic ethnographic style, dominated by factual, “positivist” description, he was constantly establishing and affirming his authority as a narrator who knew better and as a reliable scholar. The work of Lane, and the evolving tradition of “Land- en volkenkunde” (approximately “geography and ethnology”), offered a model for such a description, especially for the first volume of *Mekka*. But in the second volume Snouck Hurgronje made full use of his literary style, which stressed his really having been there, his autopsy and personal experience. This was not the work of an armchair anthropologist, but of a daring hero.

To understand the literary dimension of *Mekka* it would be helpful to know how Snouck Hurgronje had nourished this literary talent through his readings. From his correspondence we know that he enjoyed reading the great authors who were famous in his time, such as Goethe. What were his aesthetics? What books did he read to relax? Did he go beyond the common bourgeois taste of his class and his era? What was his cultural world and how did it contribute to him becoming such a gifted writer?

Snouck Hurgronje repeatedly used the term “ethnographic.” But he hardly ever entered any direct theoretical debate or tried to relate his work explicitly to the discipline of anthropology that was coming into being, or to its theoretical concerns. However, an evolutionist framework implicitly structured his understanding of culture and society in Arabia. Passing remarks demonstrate that Snouck Hurgronje understood life in Arabia as part of a particular stage in the development of mankind, which was not as far evolved as life in Europe. These “others” not only lived in another place, but also in another time. Some of their customs could be understood as “survivals” of an earlier stage. For example, the Bedouins that Doughty described in his travelogue allowed us to travel back to the time of the prophet Muhammad and thus to better understand the textual sources. These evolutionist assumptions were quite common in academic culture from the 1860s onwards, and also fitted in with the historical-critical approaches in comparative religion and philology.⁹¹

Snouck Hurgronje referred more explicitly to these theories in some early book reviews, with discussions of the works of McLennan, Robertson Smith, and his Leiden colleague Wilken, mainly concerning questions of kinship.⁹² He was also in contact with ethnologists through his article on ethnographic objects from Mecca for the newly founded *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, based at the Leiden museum of ethnology. “Civilisation” and “modernity”

91 For a study of this intellectual turn, see: George W. Stocking Jr, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York and London: The Free Press and Collier Macmillan, 1987).

92 For an overview of these reviews, see: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften* vol. VI.

were key notions in Snouck Hurgronje's analyses, which combined both descriptive and normative-ethical dimensions. As a scholar he described the Arabs from a quasi-detached point of view, with a certain cultural and moral superiority, availing himself of irony and humour. This position could theoretically justify his assuming a disguise, or what he would call *izhar al-islam*, "assuming the outward signs of being a Muslim." As Snouck Hurgronje wrote in his review of Doughty, the researcher simply did not have enough time to persuade his hosts to give up their narrow-minded ideas about the superiority of their beliefs. At the same time, Snouck Hurgronje promptly criticised similar forms of a narrow-minded belief in the superiority of fashion and manners in Europe, thereby demonstrating a degree of cultural (and maybe also ethical) relativism, which might in its turn also contribute to a justification of his discreet conversion to Islam. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not hold hostile opinions concerning Islam in particular. His understanding of religion in general fitted with a secular world view, which was nourished by the historical-critical approach that he had internalised during his studies at Leiden University.

In the end, Snouck Hurgronje seemed inclined towards an elitist view. Although his father had lost his peerage due to his elopement with the much younger daughter of a fellow clergyman, he felt at ease with the powerful and the elite. He understood how important they could be for obtaining access to the field. His later work in Indonesia, and his views of colonial administration and the development of the legal ties between Indonesia and the Netherlands, stressed the importance of good cooperation between the elites of the two countries. Personally, he cultivated ties with important families, also by marrying into this elite, and saw to the education of their sons. This elitist view also structured his polemical writings about World War I and the declaration of holy war.⁹³ These convictions, however, did not prevent him from socialising with common people and taking an interest in their lives, as we see, for example, from the photographs of the street vendor selling candies and the street crier included in the portfolio illustrating *Mekka*.

In *Mekka* Snouck Hurgronje brought together two literary traditions, two genres, in order to report on visits abroad: the travel account and academic orientalism cum ethnography. In his style he was indebted to the travel writers who had preceded him. By stressing his exceptionality he strived to reap the

93 Cf. Léon Buskens, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, "Holy War" and Colonial Concerns," in *Jihad and Islam in World War I: Studies on the Ottoman Jihad on the Centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's "Holy War Made in Germany"*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher, 29-55 (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2016).



FIGURE 5.2 "Pedlar of sweets (Djiddah)." Photograph taken by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah in 1884.

SOURCE: CHRISTIAAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE, *BILDER-ATLAS ZU MEKKA* (1889), PLATE XXIV.



FIGURE 5.3 "Town crier and middleman (Djiddah)." Photograph taken by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah in 1884.

SOURCE: CHRISTIAAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE, *BILDER-ATLAS ZU MEKKA* (1889), PLATE XXIV.

admiration of an educated audience. He conveyed the romance of the fieldwork, and the personal capacities which made him feel completely at ease in this foreign world and enabled him to see better and further than anyone before him had. Unlike the travellers, he ordered his findings thematically, moving from the public space to the intimacy of the family, and back again. This structure offered a certain narrative drama, but also respected the academic concerns of orientalism and ethnography, while implicitly contributing to the larger questions of evolutionist ethnology in the making. Snouck Hurgronje consciously intended to contribute to the development and further professionalisation of a new academic discipline, orientalism. He presented himself as an orientalist, which meant a solid grounding in philology, as he demonstrated in his mastery of both historical and normative texts, with a strong focus on questions of ethnography, approached through daring fieldwork. The linguistic study of spoken Arabic was another of his many competencies, which he presented as an aid to his study of lived Islam. In academia, the borders between these disciplines were not yet as clear cut as they would become in the following decades.

Snouck Hurgronje stressed his identity as a scholar because he aimed at an academic career. Before leaving for Arabia, he had obtained a somewhat modest position as a lecturer in the training programme for colonial civil servants in Leiden, and he had been busy demonstrating his qualifications as a scholar of Islam in general, and of Islam in Indonesia, by writing acerbic reviews. As Jan Just Witkam has shown, Snouck Hurgronje toyed for a brief while with the idea of becoming a consul in Jeddah, which would have allowed him to pursue his research and prove the practical use of his work for the colonial administration. His teachers and patrons in Leiden, however, were worried that his exceptional talents would be lost to academia. When it became clear that he would not be recruited, he could not prevent himself from making bitter remarks on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and on the new consul in particular. The refusal strengthened his identity as a scholar.⁹⁴

Snouck Hurgronje stressed high academic standards to demonstrate his own qualities and to fight his way into the academic establishment. He also wanted to produce knowledge that contributed to the professionalisation of orientalism and which was at the same time useful for the colonial administration. With his *Mekka* volumes and the related publications he demonstrated how good he was at combining these scholarly and political interests. *Mekka*

94 Cf. Jan Just Witkam, "Snouck Hurgronje's Consular Ambitions," in *Scholarship between Europe and the Levant: Essays in Honour of Alastair Hamilton*, eds. Jan Loop and Jill Kraye (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020), 349-73.

was a crucial early step in putting applied Islamic studies at the service of the colonial civilising project. As we have seen, the support of the consulate staff, both for professional and for personal matters, was of great help to Snouck Hurgronje. His “intelligence” would in turn prove to be of considerable value for the functioning of the consulate, as consul Kruyt had properly foreseen. But Snouck Hurgronje was not on a mission of espionage, his research was only indirectly, reluctantly, and quite modestly, funded by the Ministry of Colonies. Soon, from 1889 onwards, Snouck Hurgronje would be able to demonstrate the usefulness of his knowledge to the colonial administration as an advisor for Islamic and Native Affairs in Indonesia. This scholarship in action would not only bring him on horseback to the battlegrounds of Aceh, in order to advise on how to “pacify” this rebellious region by co-opting its local landed elite, but also provided abundant opportunities to do further fieldwork. This would result in a huge body of advice given to the colonial government in his capacity as an expert on Islamic and native affairs and in important ethnographic and philological monographs and articles which would further enhance his reputation as one of the foremost orientalist of his era.

In 1906 he was the obvious candidate to succeed his teacher De Goeje in the prestigious chair of Arabic in Leiden, and he could not resist the call. A few years later, when an excellent job opportunity in Indonesia came up, he was still considering whether to stay in academia, or to return to his family and friends in Indonesia, whom he apparently was missing. He decided to stay, got married and on the eve of the Great War became a father again, to a daughter called Christien. In the decades that followed he would consistently work at building a science of Islam according to the highest academic standards and which might also be of use to the political and social concerns of the colonial powers. He created and maintained international networks of scholarship and sought at the same time to influence Dutch colonial policy. This included the staffing of the consulate in Mecca and the vice-consulate in Jeddah and the choices in alliances with local rulers. For decades the legations would be led by former students of his. Snouck Hurgronje was one of the main proponents of the professionalisation of orientalism as an academic field and as a discipline relevant for society and politics. He was fully conscious of the imperial interests which made this turn in scholarship possible, and he served them willingly in accordance with his own scholarly and ethical understanding.

Leiden would gain international acclaim for Islamic studies thanks to Snouck Hurgronje's dedication, and he was personally acknowledged as a master of the field in many countries. He was particularly close to his German colleagues, especially Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933) and Martin Hartmann (1851-1918), who shared his views on the creation of applied Islamic studies.

Their misguided decision to back, or even to instigate the Ottoman declaration of holy war in the wake of the First World War, was a severe blow to this scholarly and academic project, as well as to his feelings of friendship.⁹⁵ After the war foreign students, such as Joseph Schacht (1902-69) and Georges-Henri Bousquet (1900-78), would come to sit at his feet and learn from him, and they would promote his views on scholarship and colonial policy.

Snouck Hurgronje's career saw a series of congresses of orientalists, where the international world of scholarship and politics met. He made his *début* as a young doctor at the September 1883 congress in Leiden, promoted his exploits in Mecca at the congress of September 1886 in Vienna, and was honoured as the undisputed Master at yet another congress in Leiden in September 1931, five years before his death and one of the last occasions on which scholarship and colonialism could converge without too many concerns. Snouck Hurgronje's life was intimately linked to this minuet of scholarship and colonialism, from its beginnings to its imminent end. It is a tradition of which we are the heirs, which laid the foundations and created the apparatus for contemporary Islamic studies, so severely criticised by Rodinson, Said and many others. But let us not move too far ahead in time, and rather turn to the reception of Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka* by his contemporaries and students to conclude this discussion of the literary traditions of which he was part.

7 A Second Identity: Going Native, Under Cover, In Disguise, Hypocrisy?⁹⁶

Snouck Hurgronje's masterly style and self-presentation considerably enhanced his reputation, as we can gather from contemporary memoirs and reactions. In the book review discussed earlier he called Doughty a hero, but he managed to make his contemporaries and students consider him to be one as well. The reception of his work could be considered a case of hero worship, in the best nineteenth-century tradition, as exemplified by the testimony of his student and successor G.W.J. Drewes included in this volume.

Snouck Hurgronje was a subject of "epic concentration" which seemed to be

95 Léon Buskens, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, "Holy War" and Colonial Concerns," in *Jihad and Islam in World War I: Studies on the Ottoman Jihad on the Centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's "Holy War Made in Germany,"* ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher, 29-55 (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2016).

96 As indicated by the title of this section, Richard Cobb, *A Second Identity: Essays on France and French History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) has guided our tragico-romantic understanding of this dimension of Snouck Hurgronje's fieldwork and life.

correlative of the genre of ethnographic classics written by early fieldworkers.⁹⁷ To celebrate the centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's birth in 1957, to which Drewes added lustre with his lecture, his brilliant foreign students Georges-Henri Bousquet and Joseph Schacht published a selection of his most important writings in English and French. With this collection they meant to make the teachings of their master available to younger generations as well. In his introduction Bousquet described in dramatic words Snouck Hurgronje's "unique" abilities to adapt to life in Mecca: "the smallest error, the slightest hesitation would be fatal here." Bousquet, who, as a colonial scholar in Algeria, had extensive experience with fieldwork, tried to explain the "astonishing" results by referring to Snouck Hurgronje's particular level-headedness and his absolute self-restraint. Eventually, this self-imposed riddle led Bousquet to presuppose a "strange" or "astonishing" quality (*quelque chose de stupéfiant*): "a kind of pre-established harmony between this great man and Muslim life" (*une sorte d'harmonie préétablie entre ce grand homme et la vie musulmane*).⁹⁸

However, the Jeddah diary makes it quite clear that Snouck Hurgronje had nothing to fear while preparing his research in the town which, in the tradition established by European travellers, had the reputation of being hostile to Christians. Like Niebuhr before him, Snouck Hurgronje encountered no danger while doing his work and could behave self-confidently without being threatened with death.⁹⁹ To a considerable extent this was due to the hospitality of the Dutch consul and vice-consul in Jeddah, who helped him greatly in his research. Snouck Hurgronje extensively acknowledged their assistance, but this drew hardly any attention in those heroic reviews. The willingness of so many people to cooperate and associate with Snouck Hurgronje may strike the readers of Bousquet, while it would be perfectly understandable if seen in the imperial context of that time. Bousquet compared *Mekka* to Lane's famous *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836): it deserved to remain a "classic," and he qualified Snouck Hurgronje's work as "purely objective."¹⁰⁰ This evaluation shows how he understood Snouck Hurgronje's writings in the framework of the literary traditions that were the subject of sections 4 and 5. Bousquet's view resonates with the appraisal that Nöldeke formulated almost

97 Cf. J. Kommers, "Snouck Hurgronje als koloniaal etnograaf: *De Atjèhers* (1893-1894)," *Sharqiyât* 8, no. 2 (1996): 89-115.

98 G.-H. Bousquet and J. Schacht, *Oeuvres choisies de C. Snouck Hurgronje* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957), XVI-XVII.

99 See for instance the incident related on p. 40 of the Dutch original of the diary, which corresponds to page 633 of the English translation by Jan Just Witkam as published in this volume.

100 Bousquet and Schacht, *Oeuvres choisies de C. Snouck Hurgronje*, XVI.

seventy years earlier, also favourably comparing Snouck Hurgronje to Lane, which we quoted at the very beginning of this essay.

The highly personal readings of *Mekka*, which are not based on any study of actual sources, only lead to myths and hero-worship and prevent us from properly understanding the actual achievements of the author of what has by now become a “classic” text. Stressing the unique qualities of the researcher rather than common characteristics of colonial ethnography and related activities steers research into a specific direction. It shifts attention to accidental, rather than to structural matters. This approach also discourages lines of questioning which would otherwise be obvious, such as examining the close relationship between colonial policy and the conditions for fieldwork in Jeddah and Mecca. All this leads to the creation of myths about intellectual ancestors which are difficult to refute. As late as the 1980s Eickelman described Snouck Hurgronje as a particular type of researcher: the “independent scholar,” who, during his Meccan days, would have nothing to do with colonial politics.¹⁰¹ In fact, as we will show in this analysis, the structure and rhetoric of the final part of the *Mekka* monograph can only be understood if one takes into account the political background of Snouck Hurgronje’s work.

The themes of danger and disguise that were prominent elements in the literary traditions in which Snouck Hurgronje inserted his *Mekka*, and according to which readers understood his writings and his actions, are in stark contrast with the private messages in his letters to his family and friends where he described himself as feeling completely at ease in Jeddah and Mecca.¹⁰² He enjoyed staying with his new friends in Mecca, feeling safe under the protection of the local elite. The Indonesian residents, Islamic scholars and local rulers considered him to be a fellow Muslim, who had legally entered the abode of Islam through his performance of the required rites, including a circumcision to comply with the rules of ritual purity, and the adoption of a new name, ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, “the servant of the All-Forgiving One.” The Dutch citizen Christian Snouck Hurgronje had transformed himself into the Muslim ‘Abd al-Ghaffar and lived according to the precepts of Islam, performing the prayers and outwardly respecting the fasting in the month of Ramadan, seriously studying Islam with respectable teachers in the Great Mosque and during learned meetings at their houses. In his own home he enjoyed visits from his

101 D.F. Eickelman, *The Middle East: An Anthropological Approach* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1981), 39-41. In later editions the author has suppressed this appreciation of Snouck Hurgronje.

102 For example, his letters to De Goeje, included by Jan Just Witkam as Appendix 3 to his English translation of the *Jeddah Diary* in the present volume.



FIGURE 5.4 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje as 'Abd al-Ghaffar in Mekka, early 1885, photograph in all probability taken by Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi al-Tabib.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Muslim friends and the company of an attractive Abyssinian woman. With her he was not only pursuing pleasure, or gathering information, but also affirming his masculinity in a way habitual to foreign visitors, as he extensively described in his book, thus reassuring his neighbours and friends that he was no menace to the social order who might create *fitna* through a quest for his hosts' women.

In public and private statements directed at his European colleagues and friends Snouck Hurgronje projected another image of himself: his conversion was just a disguise, a tool to do his fieldwork in Mecca. His review of Doughty, already discussed extensively in section 4, offered his clearest public statement on the matter. It entailed an unconditional recommendation of disguise as a research method in Arabia. Anyone who would like to do serious research in Arabia would be advised to assume the guise of a Muslim, since the natives were simply not (yet) enlightened enough to tolerate difference. This adoption of external forms would in no way hamper the exercise of internal liberties and personal conscience: "In this way one manages to be considered and treated as a real human being, while retaining the freedom to protect one's individuality in all essential matters."¹⁰³ The actual behaviour of Doughty, and of Lane, to whom he referred in his letters to justify himself, might suggest a slightly more nuanced view of these matters. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that a stay in Mecca would have been impossible without at least some form of external adaptation, as the earlier experiences of Burton confirmed.

In his letters to close friends and teachers, such as De Goeje, Nöldeke, Goldziher and others, Snouck Hurgronje revealed that he had converted to Islam. He presented it as a case of *izhar al-Islam*, assuming the external practices of Islam, that had been practised by his predecessors such as Lane, Burton, and Léon Roches.¹⁰⁴ He had adopted the customs and beliefs of Arabia, for the sake of his studies, at the same time suggesting that these religious practices had no real meaning for him. As he suggested in his review of Doughty, such an external accommodation left enough space for his freedom of conscience. It made him feel safe and at ease with his companions in Mecca. But Snouck Hurgronje asked his teachers and friends to remain discreet about this step, and in no case to tell his mother, the daughter and the spouse of protestant ministers, who had sent her son to Leiden University to study theology, after which he had then taken a historical critical turn to become an orientalist. He justified his adaptation to Islam with his ideas about the evolution of civilisation and

103 Reprinted in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften* vol. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1927), 94.

104 For example, in his letter to Van der Chijs from Leiden of 22 December 1885, edited by Witkam in his introduction to his *Mekka* translation (2007), 135.

modernity, and his service to scholarship and colonial politics.

When reading the letters justifying his conversion to Islam, we occasionally got the impression that the young Snouck Hurgronje was overstating his case. From Mecca he wrote to Van der Chijs full of bravura and somewhat braggingly how he would keep up appearances of fasting while drinking water in the privacy of his house. In another letter he showed himself so confident that he asked his friend to send him a bottle of cognac.¹⁰⁵ It somehow seems as if the young researcher is trying too hard to demonstrate to his European friends that his conversion is really not real. His letters might contain a revelation, but do they offer a confession as well? His behaviour could be understood as a somewhat radical form of “going native,” happily enjoying a new identity. He felt completely at ease in Mecca, due to the network of helpers and protectors that he had created through hard fieldwork, but also because he was true to himself. In Mecca he *was* a Muslim with his fellow Muslims, in European society a sceptical scholar professing secularism. To what extent was Snouck Hurgronje acting for two audiences, working hard on impression management on both sides? Was he a spy, or a double agent, involved in double play? Maybe we should understand this part of his life in terms of play, a play with multiple identities, appealing to multiple sides of his personality. Being in Mecca allowed him to explore quite another way of living, far away from his mother and sisters, his teachers and friends in Leiden. The rather austere portrait of the young man as ‘Abd al-Ghaffar the Caucasian convert,¹⁰⁶ should maybe be understood in light of the merry picture of Snouck Hurgronje wearing a fez amidst his friends of the Dutch consulate, smoking their water pipes.¹⁰⁷ It shows us a world of hybridity, play and leisure, heightened by the adoption of elements from oriental dress in a world far away from musty Holland.

Was Snouck Hurgronje’s disguise what it seemed to be? *Il faut se méfier des apparences*. While we are conscious of the danger of over-interpretation, the limited primary sources at our disposal suggest that much in his stay in Mecca is not what it seems to be, that there is more ambiguity and ambivalence than established facts and concrete proof which would allow straight answers. Snouck Hurgronje published the “methodological” statements on Doughty at a quite particular moment in his career. The first volume of his *Mekka* monograph had come out the year before; the second, ethnographic part was about to appear. A few weeks after signing the review, he would embark on a voyage

105 Edited by Jan Just Witkam in the introduction to his 2007 translation of *Mekka*, see 107-8 (cognac) and 117-8 (fasting).

106 See figure 5.4, Or. 8952 L 5: 18(4).

107 See figure 19.17 on p. 728 of this volume. See also figure 5.5.



FIGURE 5.5 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (standing in the back), consul J.A. Kruyt (sitting in the middle), vice-consul P.N. van der Chijs (sitting to the right of the consul, second from right), and European employees of the consulate and of Van der Chijs' trading company, enjoying a moment of leisure and drinks in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah in autumn 1884.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

to Indonesia to take up his position as an advisor on Islamic affairs to the colonial government. He wrote it in French, for a prominent French scholarly journal. His expulsion from Mecca early August 1885, shortly before the beginning of the pilgrimage, had been caused by French intervention. De Lostalot had been worried that Snouck Hurgronje would help his German friends to obtain a stela found at Tayma which according to the consul belonged to French scholarship. He had leaked the news about the presence of a foreigner in Mecca at a lecture in Paris and in the French press. The Ottoman authorities could no longer vouch for his safety and ordered him to leave immediately. For a while he had waited at the Dutch consulate in Jeddah for permission to return, and to obtain some of his belongings which he had had to leave behind.¹⁰⁸

108 In his letter from Alexandria of 27 September 1885 to his close friend Goldziher he gave a summary of his expulsion, the ensuing stay in Jeddah, and his considerations for finally leaving Arabia a few weeks after the events; edited in: Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and*

When this hope proved idle, he went back to Leiden and started to attack De Lostalot in his famously aggressive manner, pointing out the extent to which his irresponsible indiscretions had put him in danger. After a while Snouck Hurgronje's fury seems to have abated because he sensed another danger on the horizon.

When Snouck Hurgronje learned from his Indonesian friends that the Algerian exile Si 'Aziz, another acquaintance of his, was trying to lure his Abyssinian companion to his house, he understood that it might be in his interest not to provoke De Lostalot too much. If these attempts were successful, the French would have obtained even more intimate information about his conversion and his domestic life. During his stay in Mecca doubts cast on the sincerity of his conversion could have endangered him. After his return to Holland, the real danger shifted to the disclosure of his conversion to Islam, his circumcision and his intimate life with an enslaved woman resulting in a pregnancy. Snouck Hurgronje's exposure in Europe as a renegade might have seriously harmed his academic career and his social standing. In this light, his formulation of a methodological principle of accommodation to Islam could be read as an anticipation of a possible disclosure and a justification of his behaviour with reference to lofty academic ideals. His review of Doughty might be understood as a belated sequel to his exchanges with Lostalot. It was not just a scholarly overview of recent literature. His remarks about method and about common-sense research practices were more a justification of his own approach than a critique of Doughty. He was publicly professing this justification at the very moment that he was about to resume his life as a Muslim in Indonesia, meeting again with some of the friends that he had made in Mecca. He was insuring himself against possible damage to his career by belittling his conversion as a disguise. But was this conversion just make-believe?

In the following sixteen years which he would spend in Indonesia, Snouck Hurgronje continued to live as a Muslim. He married a woman from a respectable Sundanese background with whom he set up a family, and after she had died he married again with another young woman of proper social standing, with whom he also had a child. His Muslim friends considered him to be a fellow Muslim and an Islamic scholar, as did his in-laws. His family and friends kept writing letters to him from Indonesia, addressing him as a brother in the Faith and expressing their love and respect.¹⁰⁹ Snouck Hurgronje was by no

Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft, 46-51.

109 This correspondence is now finally being properly studied, thanks to the hard work of Indonesian colleagues, especially Jajang A. Rohmana. See further on this the introductory chapter to this volume.

means the only (male) Dutch scholar to contract a marriage with an Indonesian Muslim spouse. His predecessor as a government advisor for Islamic affairs, to whom Snouck Hurgronje was indebted in several ways, Karel Frederik Holle (1829-96), was also married to a Sundanese woman, about whom we know, significantly, very little.¹¹⁰ Unlike Holle, Snouck Hurgronje decided to return to Holland at a certain point. This meant leaving his wife and children, and his life as a Muslim, behind. His decision to pursue an academic career in Leiden required him to conform to the norms of bourgeois society – a society which, in his Doughty review for example, he had previously accused of being just as narrow-minded in some respects as society in Arabia. In 1885 he could not bring his Abyssinian companion to Leiden, and had to content himself with her clothes, sent to him as ethnographic specimens. In 1906 his life took another tragic turn. Fortunately, he had good Muslim friends who would watch over his wife and children in Java. They remembered him as an upright Muslim and held him in high esteem.¹¹¹ In 1983 his daughter Christien wrote a letter to her half-brother Raden Joesoef that evokes the sadness and remorse with which Snouck Hurgronje was wrestling during the long weeks that he lay dying in his stately mansion at the Rapenburg in 1936. He finally woke from his unconsciousness to speak about his Sundanese children. Only after he had amended his will in favour of them did he find some rest and the courage to leave this world.¹¹²

This brings us to more recent understandings of Snouck Hurgronje's field-work methods, which took the form of debates about whether he “cheated” on

110 Cf. Tom van den Berge, *Karel Frederik Holle: Theeplanter in Indië 1829-1896* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1998). These mixed relations, of various legal modalities, should be understood in the context of colonial society and law, as is demonstrated by Ann Stoler in her numerous studies, for example: *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); and *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002; second edition 2010); and by Reggie Baay, *De njai: Het concubinaat in Nederlands-Indië* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum Polak and Van Genneep, 2009); Reggie Baay, *Portret van een oermoeder. Beelden van de njai in Nederlands-Indië* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum Polak and Van Genneep, 2010). On the legal dimensions, see: Betty de Hart, *Unlikely Couples: Regulating Mixed Sex and Marriage from the Dutch Colonies to European Migration Law* (Oisterwijk: Wolf Legal Publishers, 2014).

111 Cf. Van Koningsveld *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, especially chapter V; cf. Van den Doel, *Snouck*, 2021; Jajang A. Rohmana, “Rereading Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: His Islam, Marriage and Indo-European Descents in the Early Twentieth-Century Priangan,” *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 26, no. 1 (2018): 35-66; Jajang A. Rohmana, *Informan Sunda masa kolonial: Surat-Surat Haji Hasan Mustapa untuk C. Snouck Hurgronje dalam kurun 1894-1923* (Yogyakarta: Octopus, 2018).

112 As reported by Wim van den Doel, *Snouck*, 526.

his companions and the inhabitants of Mecca, “falsely” claiming to be a Muslim, while “in reality” just being an opportunistic researcher. In the 1980s Van Koningsveld attacked Snouck Hurgronje’s reputation as a fieldworker. He exposed the considerable contributions that his local informants had made, including by sending extensive ethnographic notes to him after he had been expelled from Mecca. In passing Van Koningsveld categorically rejected participant observation as a proper research method.¹¹³ He lapsed into the same vice of a personalising approach as the earlier hero-worshippers whom he sought to prove wrong, instead of taking some distance through a generic approach. The ensuing polemic between the then still angry young outsider Van Koningsveld and the venerable Leiden orientalist establishment focused on the ethics of fieldwork and the standards by which to judge them. For Van Koningsveld it was crystal clear that Snouck Hurgronje cheated on his companions in Mecca, and again on his family and friends in Indonesia. He tracked down the Indonesian relatives to demonstrate in great detail how badly he had treated them, and thus his readers. Former students of Snouck Hurgronje defended their master with great force in public and made fun of the upstart Van Koningsveld in private. What the young man presented as discoveries had been common knowledge amongst them for decades.¹¹⁴ They could not care less. Some even had their own memories of female companions left behind in Indonesia. Van Koningsveld condemned Snouck Hurgronje professionally, ethically, and morally for his *izhar al-islam*, for adopting the outer signs of living a Muslim life in order to feign a conversion.

The public debate contributed to the strengthening of the relations between the Indonesian family and the Dutch daughter, which they clearly valued. But with hindsight one might wonder whether the ethical dimension should have been the most pressing question to ask. The harsh polemic might be understood as an expression of a particular moment in time and of a particular culture. It brought together the social critique of the leftist politics of a new generation conquering academia, the attack on orientalist philology and colonial anthropology fuelled by Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) and other lesser known works, and the older inquisitorial current so typical of Dutch Protestantism, which entailed a continuous scrutiny of one’s own beliefs and those of others in order to determine whether or not they were sincere. The Protestant model of religion, which stressed orthodoxy and conscience, and which their theologians enjoyed contrasting with the orthopraxis of Catholicism, considered to

113 Van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, 63ff.; 103ff.

114 For an example, see: Daniel van der Meulen; *Don’t You Hear the Thunder: A Dutchman’s Life Story* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), 75.

be a less “evolved” form of religion, may remind us of the concept of *nīyya*, “intention,” which is so central in Islamic law.¹¹⁵ Only if a person formulates the *nīyya* to perform a certain act, hence if he has the proper intention, can he perform his obligations in a legally valid manner. Only God knows the intentions of human beings.

To answer the question of to what extent Snouck Hurgronje genuinely converted to Islam in the sense of being a true believer (according to which standards?), seems to us impossible with the sources available. We propose to move beyond these outdated readings of the stories about Snouck Hurgronje’s life both public and private. Instead, we allow for ambivalence and ambiguity. From Snouck Hurgronje’s diary and private correspondence it is fairly clear that he had himself circumcised on 5 January 1885. He provided ample ethnographic and linguistic details, including a drawing, about the instruments and medicine which the barber in Jeddah used for this delicate operation. He converted to Islam, and the authorities of Mecca and Jeddah, like his Indonesian and other Muslim contacts, considered him to be a Muslim. He felt completely at ease and safe in their company with this second identity as a young Islamic scholar in Mecca, as later on he would feel comfortable as a Muslim and an established scholar with his family and friends in Indonesia.

His inner beliefs are much more difficult to reconstruct. Snouck Hurgronje stressed that the teachings of Islam require only an external accommodation.¹¹⁶ His personal and public writings suggested at least a somewhat pragmatic approach, and even a condescending attitude to an understanding of religion which gives so much weight to outward appearances, although he criticised European customs in a similar vein. But one might wonder to what extent Snouck Hurgronje thus revealed his inner feelings and longings.¹¹⁷ His career in Indonesia, extensive travels, and marriages to local women might all be understood as expressions of ruthless ambition, pragmatic opportunism, and cold egoism. Occasionally a passing remark suggests other dimensions to his inner life, hinting at romanticism and the desire to escape from bourgeois culture in

115 The Protestant perspective is very present in Van der Meulen’s memoirs, who incidentally concluded that his beloved teacher was a Christian at heart, like himself: Van der Meulen, *Don’t You Hear the Thunder*, 74-5.

116 For example, in the already often quoted letters to De Goeje from Arabia, and his letter to Nöldeke of 27 February 1915.

117 In a letter to Goldziher of 11 June 1886 Snouck Hurgronje seems to be quite open and sincere in expressing his feelings about Islam. He feels not as much sympathy as his friend does, but his stay in Arabia has brought him much closer, and he never had that many objections to the religious part, contrary to the political dimensions; see: Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 66.

Holland. His disparaging remarks might thus also be read as part of his clear tendency to carefully orchestrate his image formation and self-presentation, resulting in mystifications and leaving things unclear and ambiguous.

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, alias ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, might have cherished multiple identities with different audiences – an orientalist academic from a patrician family in Leiden and the colonial civil service, a Muslim scholar among family and friends in Arabia and Indonesia. There might have been an element of experiment and play in this juggling of identities, especially during his younger years developing his skills and his personality in Arabia. The social norms of Dutch bourgeois culture did not allow him to bring these identities together unless he chose to remain in Indonesia, like Holle and many others. These ambivalences and ambiguities, combined with ambition and intellectual pursuits, made his life tragic, as it did so many other colonial lives, including those of his wives and children. He could only try to take good care of them from a distance, through the help of his Muslim friends.¹¹⁸

We simply do not know about Snouck Hurgronje’s *nūyya*. Romance, adventure, *sang froid*, curiosity, cunning, are all present in his life. And probably also lust, love, and care for his dear ones. When her son was about to leave for Indonesia in early 1889 his mother wrote a concerned and emotional letter to his teacher De Goeje. She described Christiaan’s care and tenderness for her and concluded by saying: “He sometimes appears so hard, but his heart is so soft, nobody knows that better than I do.”¹¹⁹ We admit that the description by a mother of her son’s character might not be the most objective source, but we take her views seriously. Accepting ambivalences and ambiguities, we might also argue, provocatively, the other way around: Snouck Hurgronje was not acting under cover. He was a Muslim in Mecca and, if anything, in disguise in Europe, or maybe neither. Perhaps he felt at ease with both identities, not feeling any need to choose.

We do not feel the need to act as inquisitors in this matter, judging other people’s beliefs or morals. For us the main question is why, after all those years, the Mecca ethnography has retained such a reputation as the outcome of unparalleled fieldwork. The Jeddah diary shows that Snouck Hurgronje prepared

118 The recent studies of Rohmana, for example Jajang A. Rohmana, “Rereading Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: His Islam, Marriage and Indo-European Descents in the Early Twentieth-Century Priangan,” *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 26, no. 1 (2018): 35–66, and Jajang A. Rohmana, *Informan Sunda masa kolonial: Surat-Surat Haji Hasan Mustapa untuk C. Snouck Hurgronje dalam kurun 1894-1923* (Yogyakarta: Octopus, 2018), offer a quite different reading, and judgment, of his Indonesian family life compared to Van Koningensveld’s views. Cf. Van den Doel, *Snouck* (2021).

119 Letter A.M. Snouck Hurgronje to M.J. de Goeje, undated, UB Leiden Or. 8952 C 20.1.

for his entry into Meccan society in a determined way, focusing on local sponsors, authorities, and networks of useful contacts in a way that many anthropologists still do, although nowadays a feigned conversion would not be ethically acceptable. His play with identity and disguise, and the fact that he felt at ease in circumstances which would inspire fear in others, further added to the spell of the text. We feel that in order to explain the special reputation of *Mekka* we should concentrate on the particular characteristics and stylistic elements of the text.

Until a generation ago, Snouck Hurgronje's work and life were seen as heroic. He sacrificed his foreskin to scholarship and waged his life to bring peace and order in Indonesia. Since the 1970s, changes in perception have been considerable. Snouck Hurgronje evolved from an admired scholar and an ethical civil servant into a cunning scoundrel. While he was first allowed to cheat on natives for a greater cause, he was now condemned for philandering and for his flawed ethics and morality. All these readings are outsiders' interpretations, founded on the nineteenth century literary tradition discussed in the previous section. Here we go beyond this traditional reading. We will now turn to the text that resulted from this fieldwork, and we will read it as a construction. In his fieldwork and in his ethnographic writings Snouck Hurgronje was *constructing* daily life, while he was also implicitly constructing his own heroic authorship. We will put the stress in our analysis on the *-ing*, the gerund. It is a process in the making, which we can deconstruct by reading critically beyond the images that Snouck Hurgronje so consciously presented himself.

8 Touring Mecca, Writing Contrasts: Lofty and Banal, Outside and Inside, Ideal and Practice

With *Mekka* Snouck Hurgronje adhered to the models current in his era, presenting his results in the form of a report of a scientific mission and dividing his material into two volumes, thus inserting himself in the emerging disciplines of orientalism and *land- en volkenkunde* (geography and ethnology). Recent technological innovations allowed him to present his readers with photographic images of Arabia, a spectacular novelty, in two expensive portfolios. As mentioned before, the second portfolio did not strictly speaking belong to the report as it had been carefully planned in cooperation with the Royal Institute, it was rather the felicitous fruit of his cultivation of a relationship with a Meccan physician turned photographer, his namesake 'Abd al-Ghaffar.

The first volume, *Die Stadt und ihre Herren*, presented the history and topography of Mecca in a somewhat conventional manner. The second volume, en-

titled *Aus dem heutigen Leben* ("From present-day life"), described various aspects of the people themselves and their ways of life. This original title properly conveyed the loosely structured contents of the book, the great, and sometimes at first sight rather arbitrarily chosen variety of subjects, and the sketchy character of some parts. The somewhat condensed English edition of 1931 showed a slight change in the title. The word "from," which indicated a choice or a certain distance between description and reality, had been omitted. The new title, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century*, fitted nicely into the realistic convention of ethnographic writing that emerged in the 1920s. The original title expressed an essential characteristic of ethnographic compilations of the last decades of the nineteenth century: the inherent incompleteness and a lack of unequivocal principles of textual organisation referring to social reality, unlike the genre of early twentieth-century structural-functionalist ethnography.¹²⁰ This slight, but significant, shift, remained largely unnoticed and fitted effortlessly into the tendency to ascribe to the book the "purely objective" or strictly systematic character discussed above. To understand what made readers overlook the loosely structured character of the book conveyed by the original title, and to explain why those readers were tempted to conjecture precisely the opposite, i.e. a severely systematic organisation of the text, we will look at its textual properties and their effects.

Although Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka* became widely known as an authoritative work, the main subject of the book was far from elevated or lofty: it was the "banal," the commonplace aspects of life which figured largely in his descriptions. It was no coincidence that the description of "daily life" in *Mekka* opened with reference to "negative," trivial, or even vulgar aspects, ranging from corruption to prostitution. In this way Snouck Hurgronje immediately turned his back on exalted images of the Holy City. The opening sentences already demonstrate his perspective aimed at exposure and demystification:

An observer in the Mekka streets of the different types of inhabitants, from the fair-skinned Turks through all intervening shades to the pitch-black Nubians, might be tempted to think that only Renan's principle of nationforming, "*le désir d'être ensemble*," could have gathered together so motley a multitude. *It is, however, not so.* [emphasis added LB/JK]. The different nationalities take here for the most part, as everywhere else, an unfriendly attitude towards one another, and the opinions held by one

120 For a lucid description of these principles, see John Van Maanen, *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988, second edition 2011).

nation of another are repeatedly expressed in unfounded calumnies and malicious jokes.¹²¹

Why use this contrast between the elevated and the pragmatic as an opening sentence, setting the tone for the rest of the book? What is its effect? How did Snouck Hurgronje create the image of daily life, presenting the pragmatic as if it were in continuous contrast to the elevated dimensions of life? This contrast is a consistent element in much of his description. In order to understand his writing strategies, we will examine the contents as well as the forms of the description. For instance, in the opening sentences Snouck Hurgronje constructs a contrast between an imaginary observer who, from a superficial glance at the people, “might be tempted” to form an image that the researcher may sternly refute: “It is, however, not so.”

The main theme of the book is the contrast between an idealised image and daily practice, between the normative and the pragmatic, between law and reality, between the elevated and the banal, mundane, or vulgar. Intertwined with this contrast is another one: that between the “outsider,” who sees the ideal and the normative, and the “insider,” who sees the “reality,” which may be much more down-to-earth. The “outsider” is the superficial observer, to whom Snouck Hurgronje relates the reader using ingenious rhetorical suggestions. For instance, he describes certain seemingly self-evident notions as a matter of fact, as obvious, only to refute them. The book teems with variations on the theme: “It might then be supposed ... but it is not really so.”¹²²

One may wonder why Snouck Hurgronje made use of this rhetorical turn of speech so regularly: again and again he introduces the outsider, even in an imaginary form, only to criticise him. In the first part of the description of daily life the contrast between “insider” and “outsider” is particularly prominent. By continuously correcting the illusions and erroneous opinions of a fictitious observer, he establishes his authority as a pragmatic and critical researcher, who is able to participate in “real” life and look behind the scenes.

The author enhances his authority by alternating general observations with very detailed excursuses interspersed with local terms, rendered in Arabic script, in a scholarly transcription, or in translation.¹²³ The first images he con-

121 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 3; italics added.

122 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 174.

123 The use of Arabic typography strengthened the scholarly authority of the text. In his studies on Islamic law Snouck Hurgronje discussed the problematic aspects of translating Arabic learned terminology with terms taken from European legal systems. He was very conscious of the cultural dimension of translating, which structured his ethnographic work as well.

veys are disenchanting. Seemingly aware of this, he adds at once that this is only one side of life in Mecca: the side experienced by the pilgrims. The pilgrims are outsiders and idealise Mecca, as did the scholarly travellers who preceded Snouck Hurgronje. During the pilgrimage, the inhabitants of Mecca present themselves very differently from the way they really are. The hajj transforms them into opportunists who seem to renounce every ideal. During the hajj everybody is in a race to secure his livelihood for the entire year, taking advantage of every possible opportunity. This results in a peculiar contrast: at the very moment of the holy pilgrimage, Meccan life is replete with vice. With the exception of the period of the hajj, Meccans are highly sociable, but the pilgrim will never see that side of ordinary life. It is soon clear to the reader that, ironically, the group most closely associated with the Holy Town, the pilgrims, are not in a position to become acquainted with “real” Meccan life. This stands in sharp contrast to the author. The contrast, already carefully constructed in the first pages of *Mekka*, firmly establishes Snouck Hurgronje’s authority as an inside researcher. By phrasing in ironic terms this contrast between lofty ideals linked to the hajj by outsiders and down-to-earth reality, the author creates for himself a superior position. Later we will analyse this use of irony, so crucial to his art of describing, in greater detail.

The first pages are also instructive to obtain an idea of the narrative structure of the book. Immediately following the opening sentences, the reader comes across the first excursus, about slaves in Mecca. It contains information which Snouck Hurgronje claims “may seem incredible to many and yet it is true ...”¹²⁴ This description, which has been written in the first person, a stylistic figure that stresses its autoptic quality, contains an intermezzo, in which he sharply criticises European notions of oriental slavery. These images are spread by travellers “who unfortunately bring us little but their first false impressions.”¹²⁵ This intermezzo turns into a “digression,” as Snouck Hurgronje himself calls it, containing examples that show “how easily in such matters we may come to wrong conclusions if we consider social relations piecemeal.”¹²⁶ This remark indicates another important dimension of his description: its holistic pretension.

The digression is an important clue to his ethnographic rhetoric. In this part Snouck Hurgronje not only contrasts his insider’s view with the impressions of superficial observers, but also with common political ideas about slavery. By

124 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 13.

125 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 14. In his review of Doughty, Snouck Hurgronje again insists on these false understandings, *Verspeide geschriften* vol. VI, p. 96.

126 *Ibid.*, 20, 15.

doing so, he establishes his position as an independent observer who tells the "sober truth." This impression is strengthened by the suggestion that his insight has nothing to do with personal qualities, but results from the position of the observer, which is not unique but can be verified: "He who knows the local conditions exactly knows all this ...". The digression is a mixture between criticising certain stereotypes and underscoring others, such as those concerning Africans. This produces the impression of a well-balanced description that is critical, but at the same time pragmatic enough not to alienate the reader.

After these elaborations, the author starts his proper description of social life in Mecca. He familiarises the reader in passing with the various qualities required to sketch "real" life: the inside approach, a critical mind not influenced by popular misconceptions, a pragmatic perspective, and a holistic view. His audience is by then used to clear and at times powerful language, to ironic wording, to a realistic narrative form which justifies the summing up of many details, and the use of local terms, as well as to impressionistic phrases which confirm the autoptic quality of the description and reflect the vivacity of daily life. The intertwining of general statements and meticulous descriptions highlights the deep insight of the author which justifies his selections. He thus renders convincing his authoritative statements about what needs to be incorporated in the text and what may be left out: "We need not then dwell any longer ..."; "We have now seen enough to understand ...". The book abounds with anecdotes about a great variety of subjects, often formulated in a highly personal manner. Statements are worded in phrases like "It can now be understood ..." or in the "we" form: "As we have seen however ..." "we can now understand ...".¹²⁷ These rhetorical forms, in conjunction with predictive statements, justify evaluative remarks and generalisations.

Snouck Hurgronje enhances his notion of "completeness," as so often in this kind of ethnography, by imaginary tours as a means of textual organisation. We learn the sources of income in Mecca by closely following the pilgrim, we walk hand in hand with the author through a Meccan house, and we make an imaginary tour through the annual calendar. The author explicitly notes the problem of variety and diversity, and immediately offers solutions for such problems of representation, at times just by giving authoritative statements: "Into other occasional modifications of the arrangements we need not enter ...".¹²⁸ These, however, do not alarm the reader. The aforesaid rhetorical forms add to the conviction that the author is in a position to survey all possible varieties

127 These quotations from Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), e.g. 88 or 91. A great number of expressions like these can be found throughout the book.

128 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 33.

and is therefore able to decide what should be described and what not. Descriptions, often worded ironically, about “hidden matters,” as of the ways in which shaykhs inform one another “almost imperceptibly” about their victims, or of their hypocrisy and tricks, add to the required effect. These statements in particular serve to underline the value of the insider’s view, they enliven the story, and, by the use of ironical wording, they elevate the author and his text beyond all doubt.

The author’s superior position is particularly clear in an intermezzo with which Snouck Hurgronje, after only a few sentences, interrupts his tour through the calendar. This interruption concerns the image of unbelievers among the people of Mecca. The observations are sublime and strongly suggest that these lines could only have been written by somebody who knows this foreign world from the inside. In an evocative and “emic” way, and above all in great detail and in clear words Snouck Hurgronje describes the Meccans’ extremely negative views of Europeans:

From their mothers and other womenkind they have learnt that the *kafirs* (unbelievers) are horrible monsters: their pale complexion gives the impression of the leprosy: they cannot look up to Heaven, and so seldom walk with an upright carriage, and they have to shade their eyes with their great hat-brims; men and women sit shamelessly together, and quaff wine: they are unclean, for they enter rooms with their dirty shoes, and do not know how to purify themselves, as is seemly, after going to stool or after copulation: they are of coarse manners, for they laugh loud like hyenas, and speak all at once with violent gestures even when they are not yet drunk.¹²⁹

The Europeans themselves are to blame for this negative image, the author explains, because they make no attempt to learn about the thoughts and manners of the Meccans and they are, “at the same time, at every step treading on the toes of these carefully reserved people.”¹³⁰ He finishes the intermezzo with a sudden “We have said enough of this.” But instead of continuing his account of the calendar, Snouck Hurgronje inserts yet another intermezzo, now about the social character of the Meccans. Only after this, with a “Let us now return to the calendar,” does he return to his principal subject.¹³¹

These interruptions in the description do not make the text appear very co-

129 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 39.

130 *Ibid.*, 40.

131 *Ibid.*, 41.

herent. The author frequently strays from his topic, as he sometimes observes himself,¹³² and he does not present details in any consistent way. As we already observed before, the text lacks a clear organising principle. This results in a description in which certain information is given in unexpected contexts, as the author himself occasionally admits.¹³³ The weak, and at times even defective, structure of the ethnography may also explain why Snouck Hurgronje regularly presents aspects of Meccan life as “strange,” or sometimes even as “absurd.”¹³⁴

An overall survey of the ethnography not only shows the structural weakness of the text, but it also brings to light textual differences between the various parts of the book. The book opens with an evocative description of representatives of the great variety of ethnic groups that crowd the streets of Mecca. The author presents those groups in terms of their forms of livelihood, which are all related to the hajj in some way or another. Then he introduces the enslaved inhabitants, and he critically discusses abolitionist views, which lack a real understanding of the workings of slavery in Meccan society. Next, by following the ordinary pilgrim, the reader becomes acquainted with the different guilds from which strangers cannot escape. He reveals the different ways in which Meccans earn their living from the pilgrims. One of the sources of income is letting rooms to visitors. This activity gives Snouck Hurgronje the opportunity to describe the Meccan house in great detail. His description ends with the phrase: “We see how in Mekka the whole social life finds its central point in the Hajj.”¹³⁵ From this statement he immediately proceeds to a description of the calendar, a description interspersed, as stated earlier, with many digressions. This section also contains a wealth of detail, presented in a fairly unstructured way. This random enumeration undeniably lends the description a lively, holistic character and creates the impression that the author is surveying all aspects of daily life.

However, the anecdotal style limits the strength of the analysis. Some of the information given in one part would have been better fitted into another context, as the author himself admits. The description of the lunar calendar

132 As in the sentence quoted above, *Ibid.*, 41, see also 190.

133 E.g., *Ibid.*, 88. However, sometimes the author follows an illogical sequence in such a way that it will easily escape the reader's attention. For instance, on page 144 a description of usages concerning death immediately follows a discussion of marriage. The wording suggests a natural sequence: “We now come to the Mekka usages on the occasion of death.” Skipping certain periods in life, like youth or old age, is quite common in early ethnography, closely related to the position and age of the researcher.

134 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), for instance 8 and 144.

135 *Ibid.*, 39.



FIGURE 5.6 Portrait of a seated woman in Mecca, photograph probably taken by Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi al-Tabib, circa 1886-1888.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

changes into a detailed account of Ramadan, “in a pre-eminent sense the month of religion.”¹³⁶ The beginning is evocative. The place of action is the mosque, and the actors are the “lustly representatives of the holy science” and their audience of disciples. Snouck Hurgronje’s sketch of the scene is particularly revealing of his style. For instance, he observes the white coating covering the lips and tongue of a “too industrious professor,” which shows “how hard these afternoon hours have been to him.”¹³⁷ Such a trivial detail confirms the author’s authority and the autoptic quality of his description, and cogently supports the central theme of the book: the entanglement of the elevated and the trivial in daily life. Even the most committed believers appear to be susceptible to the mundane effects of thirst and exhaustion. In the description of Ramadan, we again come across the stylistic and rhetorical characteristics already noted in the description of the pilgrimage, with phrases such as: “One might be tempted to suppose ... however,” or: “It is often asserted, but wrongly ...” These phrases show how the author continuously and implicitly criticises the outsider or superficial observer, an effective way of stressing one of the main lessons that the “insider” Snouck Hurgronje wants to convey: every spontaneous or intuitive conclusion bristles with risks. He ends his discussion of Ramadan where he started, thus closing the circle and suggesting that the description is complete. The description of daily life also ends as it started: the author stresses that the usual information current in Europe differs greatly from the “real life” described in his book.

The layout and chapter headings of the original German edition indicate that the transition from chapter I to chapter II entails a move by the author, and hence by the reader who follows him on his tour, from the public to the private sphere of Mecca, thus further penetrating into society, a change that is less clearly conveyed in the English translation. In the chapter “Family life in Mekka” Snouck Hurgronje again severely criticises European misconceptions. Although the rhetorical and stylistic aspects noted in relation to the first part recur in this section, they are of a different character. The descriptions are model-like and more detached. This section of the book gives less the impression that the author lived the life he studied. This is not surprising because family life is dominated by women and, despite the fact that Snouck Hurgronje stressed that he managed to talk with men about their family life, where this subject is concerned, he seems unable to persist in his insider’s approach. This section seems to rest mainly on hearsay, rather than on first-hand experience,

136 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 62.

137 *Ibid.*, 62.

although several intermezzi suggest personal observation. Possible sources might have been his conversations with his Abyssinian companion, and perhaps with his friend the physician 'Abd al-Ghaffar.

The detailed discussion of the sexual life of the Meccans suggests intimate knowledge based on direct access, through conversations and participant observation, which makes it rather lively.¹³⁸ Snouck Hurgronje starts with a description of the popularity of massage among the Meccans, which in certain cases might be the beginning of more intimate acts. From there he moves to the subject of the ways in which ladies enhance their charms. For cosmetics he simply refers to Lane, in order to concentrate entirely on the means to excite sexual pleasure, to avoid pregnancy, and to provoke abortions. Midwives gladly offer their services in this field, about which the author proves to be well-informed. Snouck Hurgronje explicitly states that Meccans, freely and in explicit detail, discuss these issues with their kin and friends, contrary to what European travellers claim. If the Meccans take the liberty to express themselves freely, they will admit their preferences for black slave-women. Of these Abyssinian women are considered to be the best.

Snouck Hurgronje was a young man, 28 years of age, at the time of his fieldwork, and he seems to have enjoyed free conversations, which enable him to spell out the sexual preferences in great detail: "the darker their colour the higher is the degree of sexual attractiveness." The English translation lacks the footnote of the original German version which enumerates the three most valued characteristics which Monahan summarily rendered as "sexual attractiveness:" *hārr wenāshif wenadhif*. Snouck allows himself the pleasure of referring twice to these criteria in the same excursus. In neither case is the English reader able to share this privilege.¹³⁹ Did Monahan prune these descriptions to avoid too much technical or linguistic detail, as announced in the preface to the English translation? Or did Snouck Hurgronje himself consider it improper to recall, almost fifty years and three marriages later, these bawdy conversations of the orientalist as a young man? Since most of the readers of this contribution might be more familiar with Arabic than with Latin, we will spare ourselves the trouble of a translation.

The author continues to convey the enthusiasm of Meccan men for *hubūsh*, Abyssinian women: "If the ordinary Mekkan followed his inclination, he would unite himself only to Abyssinians ...". Snouck Hurgronje turns out to be well

138 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 104-9; cf. Original German version *Mekka II* (1889), 129-37.

139 *Mekka* (1931), 104 and 106; German original *Mekka II* (1889), 130 n. 2 and 133 n. 1.

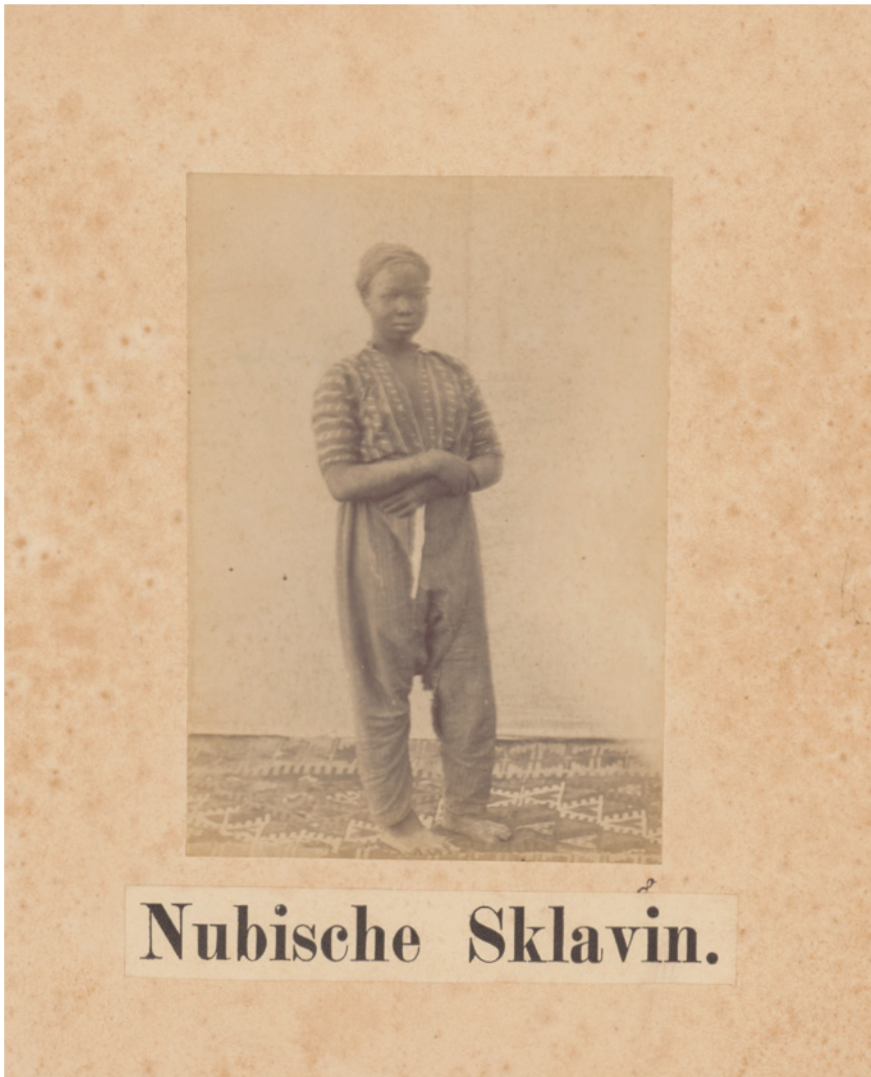


FIGURE 5.7 “Nubian female slave.” Photograph of a black enslaved woman taken by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje or by Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar b. ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi al-Tabib, probably in Mecca, circa 1885-1887. Print glued on cardboard with a caption in German, probably for display at Snouck Hurgronje’s lecture in Berlin on 5 March 1887.

SOURCE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

informed about the preferences of the Abyssinian slaves and their hopes in life to conclude a decent marriage. Like his Meccan hosts, he holds them in high esteem, and sings their praises:

She has not, like the wife [i.e. the Arab ladies from Mecca], interests contrary to those of the husband, and her thoughts are far from exploitation. Her highest wish is to attach the man to her and to prepare for him a happy home. The well brought up Abyssinian women are excellent housekeepers, modest, unpretending women, and they put all their good qualities at the service of their lord.

Thanks to the painstaking research of Jan Just Witkam we know that Snouck Hurgronje did not need to limit himself to information from hearsay on this delicate subject but had also managed to gather first-hand experience through participant observation. He was thus well informed about the physical particularities and attractions, means of contraception and abortion, and views of the enslaved women on manumission without the proper protection of a household.¹⁴⁰ Neither in the original portfolios of photographs nor in the English translation did Snouck Hurgronje include a reproduction of a photograph of an enslaved black woman, preserved in his archives at Leiden University to this day.¹⁴¹ Was this because of the rather poor technical quality of this exposure, or had Snouck Hurgronje adopted the discretion towards his own *harim* so dear to his hosts?

It is rather striking to see how much attention Snouck Hurgronje gave to sexual matters in his *Meccan Proverbs* and in the original German version of *Mekka*. We might understand this as part of his rhetorical strategy to impress authority by flaunting extreme insider's knowledge. The only other methodological explanation he offers is that men are quite willing to talk about intimate matters if one knows how to deal with them.¹⁴² Nowhere does he indicate that he had a rather more direct access to this domain, although his descriptions have quite a personal character. This personal tone occasionally verges on a patronising or condescending attitude towards women, which seems rather out of place in an academic study. At other places, though, Snouck Hurgronje comes to the defence of Mecca's ladies, lamenting the attitude of

140 See Jan Just Witkam, Introduction to his 2007 Dutch translation *Mekka*. See also his annotated translation of the proverbs included in this volume, where he expresses his guess that the name of Snouck Hurgronje's companion might have been Sa'ida, introduction p. 762 and annotation to proverb 51, p. 833.

141 UB Leiden Or. 26.403; 8 recto; cf. illustration 5.7.

142 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 83-4.

men and the lack of possibilities for a proper education.¹⁴³ It seems as if the author addresses his readers as buddies, bantering with friends from student-times.

Remarks concerning scatological matters express a similar tendency. From his letters to his friend vice-consul Van der Chijs, asking for example for dried prunes, we know how he was suffering from all kinds of ailments in this domain, casting a shadow over his life in the Holy City.¹⁴⁴ He seems to have enjoyed this scatological humour, with as the apex the poem that he wrote and recited during a banquet in 1880 to celebrate the doctorate of his friend B.A.P. van Dam, who had written a dissertation on the chemical analysis of his own faeces.¹⁴⁵ In the *Meccan Proverbs* and in *Mekka* Snouck Hurgronje allowed himself occasionally to continue to indulge in this kind of scurrile humour, disguised in the garb of linguistic and ethnographic erudition.¹⁴⁶ This playful and frivolous dimension goes together with an ironic style of writing, which we will discuss towards the end of this section. The contrasts between the juvenile, and occasionally outright puerile, German and the mature English versions of *Mekka* again suggest an attempt to transform the book through a “condensed” translation from a Victorian ethnographic compilation into a classic of colonial anthropology.¹⁴⁷

Snouck Hurgronje regularly describes the contrast between social knowledge, the domain of women, and religious knowledge, the domain of men, especially the learned, in evaluative terms. He stresses the ignorance of women concerning formal religious knowledge and describes “irrational” beliefs ironically. He uses normative expressions, ethnocentric evaluations, and words with a pejorative connotation, like “comedy” or “almost absurd.”¹⁴⁸ Many customs linked to family and kinship are, Snouck Hurgronje claims, in opposition to “the Law” and he adds: “so far as the women are concerned, this may be said of most of the usages.”¹⁴⁹

Particularly in this part of the book the analytical level is fairly low. Instead of explaining, he exposes various “absurdities,” expresses his astonishment at

143 E.g. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 90-93, 144.

144 Jan Just Witkam has included these letters in the introduction to Dutch translation of *Mekka* of 2007.

145 For further information, see: Jan Just Witkam, “Lives and Afterlives,” in this volume, p. 107.

146 As discussed earlier in section 2, his letters to his close friend Ignaz Goldziher also witness to his sense of bawdy humour and his interest in the vices of Mecca.

147 On the genre of Victorian anthropology, see: George W. Stocking Jr, *Victorian Anthropology* (1987).

148 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 101, 125 144.

149 *Ibid.*, 119.



FIGURE 5.8 “Pilgrims from Ambon, Kei and Banda. At left the son of an Ambonese man with a Meccan woman.” Photograph taken by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah in 1884.

SOURCE: CHRISTIAAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE, *BILDER-ATLAS ZU MEKKA* (1889), PLATE XXX.

several phenomena, and illustrates how life may be dominated by behaviour that is contradictory to “the Law” to such an extent that it may be “most repugnant to learned Moslims.”¹⁵⁰ His ironic and negative phraseology may add to his authority, but at the same time it betrays his lack of understanding. It seems as if family life is approached in a somewhat condescending way, understood as subordinate to the world of the learned in Mecca.

The domain of the scholar, for which Snouck Hurgronje shows clear sympathy, is the subject of the next chapter of the book. After a short statement about the relationship between women and medical knowledge, he inserts a long excursus concerning medicine as practised by *men*. Observations of superstitious women prompt him to write an excursus about “superstition.” It is also noteworthy that in his opinion the official religion “*fuses together* the discordant elements of the constantly fluctuating Mekkan society,” whereas “it is this

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 149.

society which *sweeps together into one chaotic whole* prejudices and superstitions deriving from all parts of the world,” and that “the greater share in this syncretistic task falls to the lot of women.”¹⁵¹

After the introductory sketch about Islamic sciences, of a philological and historical character, there is a sudden and sharp change in style, from an impersonal, “realistic” style into a personal style, which characterises this part of the book. The author thus returns to the strong autoptic quality of the first part. In this part a great variety of expressions stress that the author “was there,” to paraphrase Clifford Geertz (“When I was in Mekka ...”). Expressions like: “It needs long experience,” “the inexperienced observer is bewildered,” or: “I shall never forget,” “I attended,” “I have known,”¹⁵² and so on, stress the position of the author as a fieldworker. It is striking to see how often Snouck Hurgronje uses the first person in this section. Again, he indicates that his position is quite different from that of travellers, who are always tempted to jump to wrong conclusions.¹⁵³ This section also contains a long, impressionistic description in which the author guides the reader through the mosque. This ends in observations which go far beyond the proper subject, and require so much space that the writer feels obliged to remind the reader: “We must not forget that we are still in the Mosque ...”¹⁵⁴

The fourth and final part of the book is devoted to the Jawa colony, the Indonesians residing in Mecca, who offered the main justification for his mission. In this part Snouck Hurgronje adds short impressionistic phrases to personally worded observations and experiences. References to autopsy are, however, rarely exclusive. The author uses phrases like “Anyone who has seen such things ...” or “Anyone who observes how ...”¹⁵⁵ Sometimes events are described in such direct detail that personal observation seems the only possible source. But they are presented without any reference to the observer himself, in contrast to the previous part of the book. This might be partly explained by the fact that Snouck Hurgronje bases his descriptions on extensive eye-witness reports by his Indonesian friends and collaborators, such as Aboe Bakar Djajadinigrat, as argued previously by Van Koningsveld and Laffan.¹⁵⁶ This description

151 Ibid., 95, italics added.

152 Ibid., 164, 167, 167, 167, 174.

153 Ibid., 174, 211-12.

154 Ibid., 190.

155 Ibid., 218 and 224.

156 Van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, op. cit., especially chapter IV; Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Michael Laffan, “Raden Aboe Bakar. An Introductory Note concerning Snouck Hurgronje’s Informant in Jeddah (1884-1912),” *Bijdra-*

reveals a sharp contrast between the holiness of the city and the citizens' unscrupulous exploitation of the visitors, in particular of the Jawa, who are represented as being rather naive pilgrims.¹⁵⁷ The evaluative wording suggests a concern related to the interests of colonial policy.

In the chapter on the Indonesian community Snouck Hurgronje makes so-called colonial experts the target of his criticism, instead of the travellers and superficial observers from whom he vied to distinguish himself in the earlier parts. These attacks echo the very critical reviews of studies of Islam in Indonesia and of Islamic law, which the young scholar started to publish immediately after obtaining his doctorate, before his departure for Arabia. One of these reviews developed into a nasty polemic with L.W.C. van den Berg, the official adviser on Islamic affairs of the Dutch colonial government in Indonesia from 1878 until 1887. Apart from defending lofty standards for scholarship, the young doctor also seemed eager to prove his own superiority, and hence his far better qualifications as an adviser. Snouck Hurgronje succeeded in being acknowledged as an expert himself and was appointed in 1889 to replace Van den Berg in Batavia. As he was completing the second volume of his *Mekka* monograph, he thus wrote these critical lines when he himself was about to enter a new career as an expert in Indonesia.¹⁵⁸

Snouck Hurgronje illustrates the tendency of those colonial experts to generalise on the basis of superficial knowledge in an excursus in which he criticises the images fostered by outsiders who never come into contact with the people "upon a footing of entire equality."¹⁵⁹ He enhances the personal quality of his description by adding an emotional dimension to his observation: "These conversations were for me less delightful than instructive," he remarks when referring to embarrassing conversations with colonials. His excursus about outsider-experts is particularly important because of its implications for colonial policy. His language is brutally straightforward in this section.¹⁶⁰ After this excursus he resumes his description of the Jawa, showing an increasing tendency to use the first-person singular. He relates anecdotes and gives instruc-

gen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 155 (1999): 517-42; Michael Laffan, "Writing from the Colonial Margin: The Letters of Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 31 (2003): 356-80.

157 *Ibid.*, 237-8.

158 In a letter to Goldziher of 8 December 1888 Snouck Hurgronje wrote that he composed the final lines while he was negotiating the details of his mission to Indonesia with the Ministry of Colonies in: Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 111.

159 *Ibid.*, 246-7.

160 See also Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 291-2.

tive illustrations. The remark that “more detail would only mean repetition” is particularly relevant: again it implicitly justifies his masterly selection.

In chapter IV the reader pays imaginary visits to prominent scholars in the Indonesian colony. The guided tour is interrupted by a long digression about the study of the Arabic language by the Jawa. It is noteworthy that Snouck Hurgronje should introduce his final “visit” by remarking: “Memories of personal intercourse may possibly have led me into giving a longer list of names than the reader may find desirable ...”¹⁶¹ He seems to want to preclude even the slightest doubt concerning his personal relations and their importance. In contrast to the other parts of the book, he explicitly limits this description to the period which he had actually spent in Mecca.¹⁶² Although this part of the book, like the second part, is less convincing in suggesting autoptic qualities than the first part and the final section of part three, it does emit a strong sense of experiential authority, so characteristic of contemporary forms of colonial ethnography.

In *Mekka* many of the elements that would become the hallmark of Snouck Hurgronje’s contribution to Islamic studies are already present. Our textual analysis shows how he structured his analyses in *Mekka* according to contrasts and oppositions. One of the main threads is the constant contrasting of exalted ideals with the reality of daily life. The author is able to do so because of his prolonged stay and his ability to look beyond appearances and engage Mecans in conversations on their own terms through participant observation, or what Geertz has called “deep hanging out.” The opposition between ideal theory and real practice is particularly clear in the field of Islamic law. Muslims might know about the lofty norms of the scholars, but that does not mean that they will live accordingly. An example is the appreciation of the attractions of the enslaved Abyssinian women, which makes Meccan men oblivious to the clear rules of abstinence needed to ensure the proper establishment of eventual legitimate descent and leads them to transgress other related rules as well.¹⁶³ Snouck Hurgronje would further develop this opposition between theory and practice of Islamic law in his research in Indonesia, particularly with regard to the role of customs, *adat*. It would become one of the main themes in his monograph *The Achehnese* (Dutch version published in 1893-4), which was in many respects a sequel to *Mekka*.¹⁶⁴

161 Ibid., 276.

162 Ibid., 262.

163 Ibid., 108-9.

164 On Snouck Hurgronje’s seminal studies on Islamic law see Jan Brugman, “Snouck Hurgronje’s Study of Islamic Law,” in *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850-1940*, ed. Willem Otterspeer (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 82-93. On the *The Achehnese*, see J. Kommers, “Snouck Hur-

Snouck Hurgronje often describes Meccan practices in terms of “superstitions” and “survivals,” in contrast to the norms formulated by scholars in their texts and teachings. On several occasions he links the recurring theme of the opposition between the elevated and the trivial to issues of gender, opposing pragmatic women to male scholars. In several places he praises Meccan women for their social intelligence, medical knowledge and down to earth approach, hence diluting his acerbic remarks about their materialist attitudes and their domestic power. In his male view Snouck Hurgronje associates women with the mundane and trivial aspects of life. It goes without saying that this is quite revealing about the social and cultural background of the author and his idiosyncrasies.

Snouck Hurgronje had a good eye for the complex relations between theory and practice because of his outstanding competence both in ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork as well as in philological research. Being gifted at, and having a strong interest in, both social relations and texts was, and is, a remarkable combination. He seems to have had far less propensity for theorising. His tendency to contrast the lofty and the banal was rooted in a particular view of religion, culture, and practice. He enjoyed demystifying matters, pointing out the mundane, materialist, and pragmatic aspects of humans, despite their professing elevated ideals and beliefs. As discussed earlier, his understanding of religion as a cultural phenomenon was rooted in his studies with the historical-critical theologians of Leiden University and his reading of evolutionist anthropologists, related to a secular world view. Concepts such as “civilisation” and “modernity” played a key role in these analyses. Personal views on religion and society also influenced his approach. His analyses had a common sense, down to earth character, and did not prompt him to any more systematic theoretical reflections.

He structured his book as a series of detailed descriptions in the form of a string of anecdotes, which he alternated with generalising statements. His descriptions had a quite personal character. He demonstrated that he had been there, and had understood: *veni, vidi, vici*. His tone went from matter of fact to quite ironic, occasionally verging on sarcasm. Later memoirs of his students relate his acerbic manner. However, this style did not only express a personality trait, but also contributed to the creation of authority. Irony expressed an intellectual distance, while deeply participating. It conveyed a masterly overview rooted in a critical, quite sceptical attitude. As a stylistic means it went well with the thematic structure of the contrast between theory and practice, between lofty ideals and pragmatic behaviour.

gronje als koloniaal etnograaf: *De Atjèhers* (1893-1894), *Sharqiyyât* 8, no. 2 (1996): 89-115.

It is striking to see that Snouck Hurgronje's concern with daily life and the mundane is in some ways again at the heart of debates in Islamic studies. In recent years a number of studies have appeared on Islam in daily life, for example by Samuli Schielke, Nathal Dessing, and Baudouin Dupret, as a reaction to a strong focus on Islam as a religion in the last decades.¹⁶⁵ In the field of Islamic law, Wael Hallaq and others have put the relationship between theory and practice at the centre of the debate, criticising the views of Joseph Schacht and replacing them with an alternative. These critics are hardly aware of the fact that the root of the debate is to be found with Schacht's teacher Snouck Hurgronje.¹⁶⁶ In *Mekka* we can witness Snouck Hurgronje beginning to develop a new approach to Islamic studies in which he went beyond Islam as a narrowly defined system of beliefs and teachings to advocate a perspective linking texts and practices which, a century later, would develop into an anthropology of Islam.

9 Conclusions: The Orientalist as a Masterly Writer

Our study of *Mekka* as a literary work has resulted in understanding how Snouck Hurgronje transformed his observation and his collections of data, texts, images, and objects of various kinds into an ethnographic account that brought him tremendous prestige. We have both analysed the *context*, the literary and scholarly traditions of writings on the Arab world, to which he had to relate himself and in which his readers understood his work, and the *text* of the monograph itself. We have gone beyond the hero worship of his students, based on a mythological view of a superhuman, as well as beyond the demonisation by the critical generation of the 1970s. We, in our turn, have tried to get closer to Snouck Hurgronje "as he was," to recycle an expression that figured prominently in the debate between the two generations. At the same time, we are conscious of the fact that every age and generation will recreate their own Snouck Hurgronje.

165 For an overview of these trends, see Léon Buskens, "Middle Eastern Studies and Islam. Oscillations and Tensions in an Old Relationship," in *Islamic Studies in the Twenty-first Century: Transformations and Continuities*, eds. Léon Buskens and Annemarie van Sandwijk (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 241-267.

166 For the historical roots of this debate, see Léon Buskens and Baudouin Dupret, "The Invention of Islamic Law: A History of Western Studies of Islamic Normativity and Their Spread in the Orient," in *After Orientalism: Critical Perspectives on Western Agency and Eastern Re-appropriations*, eds. François Pouillon and Jean-Claude Vatin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 31-47.

The writing and reception of *Mekka* demonstrate once again how right Clifford Geertz was when he boldly stressed that the reputation of ethnographic texts is to a large extent due to their style.¹⁶⁷ Not outstanding facts, but good writing establishes and perpetuates the fame of an ethnography. Snouck Hurgronje consciously created scholarly authority by writing in a masterly style. Contrary to classical ideas stressing completeness and strict organisation, his book was quite loosely structured. The lack of clear-cut principles ordering the narrative, and the personal rather than institutional ethnographic authority of the author, indicate that the book is part of the genre of late nineteenth-century colonial ethnography.

These writing strategies were solutions to the challenges of conviction and cogency which the author faced. He addressed himself in the book to divergent audiences, to orientalist as well as to colonial civil servants in the East Indies. In the concluding part of the monograph Snouck Hurgronje turned to experts and administrators who were engaged in colonial politics in the Dutch East Indies. In these final pages we therefore again witness shifts in rhetorical style, which he would elaborate further in his later work on Aceh.¹⁶⁸

The differences in intended audiences, together with differences in the possibilities of conveying personal observation and experiences, explain the shifts in textual qualities which emerge from a comparison of the various parts of the book. In particular he had to solve two problems in presenting his observations and views. First, he had to overcome a tradition of studying Muslim life through texts instead of through observation and the experience of "real life." In the traditional orientalist approach, writers, and readers, had often equated the ideals and values expressed by texts with "reality." Snouck Hurgronje had to convince his readers of the value of his field research which produced quite a different picture: it revealed a contrast between norm and practice, between ideals and values and pragmatic behaviour. More than his great predecessor Lane, Snouck was, due to his philological training, able to contrast the actual behaviour that he observed and the ideal norms that Meccans professed to him with the rules embodied in Islamic normative texts. He made the contrast between theory and practice into one of the main principles to structure his descriptions.

The second problem was that until then images of "daily life" reached Europe almost exclusively through the accounts of travellers or pilgrims who saw

167 Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

168 See J. Kommers, "Snouck Hurgronje als koloniaal etnograaf: *De Atjèhers* (1893-1894)," *Sharqiyât* 8, no. 2 (1996): 89-115.

Mecca only in the exceptional state of the pilgrimage season. As Snouck Hurgronje kept pointing out, their reports were characterised by “inveterate errors,”¹⁶⁹ in dire need of correction. To achieve this aim he used an alternative method that required the creation of a strong textual authority. The various literary strategies discussed in the previous section, ranging from correcting common misconceptions in a straightforward way to autoptic descriptions and resorting to irony, helped him to achieve his aim: to draw attention to the commonplace and the trivial, instead of the usual spectacular information given by travellers or the normative images based on the study of texts. By making use of these strategies, he established the personal authority he needed to convince his readers. This way of establishing and “using” *personal* authority distinguishes this kind of early colonial ethnography from the later anthropological fieldwork reports which from the 1920s onwards would be increasingly characterised by method-oriented *institutional* authority.¹⁷⁰ Hence, while *Mekka* is clearly part of the genre of colonial ethnography, it would be an anachronism to call it a “social anthropological study.”¹⁷¹

Obviously, the rich contents of his book also contributed to its reputation. In the 1880s detailed reliable information about Mecca was scant. The adventurous young Dutch scholar braved the prohibition for non-Muslims to enter the sacred city. A general audience of educated newspaper readers received his tales of the field as part of a tradition of fascination with an exotic Orient full of menace and forbidden pleasures. Snouck Hurgronje impressed fellow scholars by his willingness to go to places about which they habitually satisfied their curiosity by reading Oriental manuscripts or Western travelogues, and by the quality of his findings and his mastery of the spoken and written language, all of which he stressed in his reports in a seemingly casual way.

The relation between *Mekka* as a text and the actual fieldwork of Snouck Hurgronje has been the subject of fierce debate. The text and the traces of the fieldwork show that Snouck Hurgronje was a highly gifted observer, who strived to immerse himself in daily life in Mecca. As Anton Blok already noted

169 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (1931), 83: the wording of the opening sentences deserves special attention here.

170 Many anthropologists too tend to underrate the differences between the fieldwork done by early ethnographers or by travellers on the one hand and by professional anthropologists on the other. They focus on experience “on the spot,” rather than on the ways of representing this experience, e.g. J. Stagl and Chr. Pinney, “From Travel Writing to Ethnography,” *History and Anthropology* 9, no. 2-3 (1996): 121-2; J. Kommers, “Koloniale etnografie en antropologie,” *Tydskrif vir Nederlands en Afrikaans* 3, no. 2 (1996): 196-218, especially 198-201.

171 Cf. Van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, op. cit., 111.

in 1978, in his balancing between participation and observation, a major challenge in fieldwork, he seemed, at first sight at least, to tend heavily towards deep involvement. Snouck Hurgronje assumed a second identity, converting to Islam, adopting a new name, and having himself circumcised. He lived in close company with his Indonesian friends and socialised intensely with the scholarly community. He also affirmed his male sexuality by procuring himself an enslaved Abyssinian woman, as so many other Meccans did. His gift for languages enabled him to socialise and observe. His solid knowledge of Islamic texts, especially in the field of *fiqh*, acquired during his studies in Europe, made him all the more credible and acceptable as a Muslim convert. In fact, this orientalist knowledge was a key with which to enter the world of the believers. His ironic style was a means to create distance from the objects discussed, while at the same time the personal tone stressed autopsy.

Snouck Hurgronje understood that he would only be able to enter Mecca through the careful cultivation of personal contacts. From his arrival in Jeddah and during his stay in Mecca he worked hard on the building of a network of relations, including the employees of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, members of the ruling elite in Jeddah and Mecca, scholars, Indonesian friends such as Aboe Bakar, and useful contacts such as the physician 'Abd al-Ghaffar and the Algerian exile Si 'Aziz. All these individuals provided Snouck Hurgronje with information and with access to other informants. He not only gathered ample material by observing and listening carefully during his relatively brief stay in Mecca, but after his forced departure assiduously continued to supplement this with new findings, in the form of written reports and answers to his detailed questions, photographs taken by his friend 'Abd al-Ghaffar the physician, and objects acquired by Van der Chijs, through the network that he had built *in situ* and maintained from Leiden. His creativity showed in the way he collected materials, in how he related these materials to each other and analysed them, and how he transformed all that he had gathered into a convincing text. His lively style makes that 140 years later his book remains, despite many outdated opinions and expressions, a pleasure to read, bringing back to life the inhabitants of the Holy City and the hustle and bustle of its streets, at least for the present writers.

Both the Jeddah diary and the textual composition of the monograph reveal that Snouck Hurgronje focused his observations on what characterises "daily life" in a pre-eminent way: the accidental, the trivialities and pragmatic actions that hide from view the basic structures of social life. His ability to relate the trivial to the normative in his descriptions was rooted in his knowledge of scriptural Islam and his position "in the field". He made the trivial and the contingent, and the opposition between lofty ideals and pragmatic acts into the

organising principles of his texts, highlighted through his outstanding writing skills. On first thoughts this mixture may seem to weaken the scholarly value of his ethnography, since it seems a blatant violation of the classical rules of positivistic methodology. It did indeed limit the analytical and explanatory qualities of the book. The lack of a systematic analysis of the social structure of Meccan society, discussing kinship, patronage, and social stratification for example, which would have allowed him to situate many of the phenomena described in a social context, indicates that the book belongs to the genre of early colonial ethnography, which is rather distinct from the later social anthropological studies in the classical, "Malinowskian" sense. The latter manner of doing fieldwork and reporting its findings would only become fashionable from the 1920s onwards, structured by a functionalist view of society. The new genre of scholarly reporting and theoretical innovation expressed further professionalisation and academic recognition of the discipline of anthropology, while struggling with an uneasy relationship with colonial administration. *Mekka* thus represents a specific genre, situated at a particular moment in the development of orientalism and ethnography, of European studying and writing about foreign societies.

With *Mekka*, Snouck Hurgronje established his reputation both as a philologist and as a fieldworker. His description of Meccan daily life complied with the conventions of a colonial ethnography that was struggling for academic recognition at the end of the nineteenth century. In fact, with his book Snouck Hurgronje contributed to the development of this genre in quite an original manner, by clearly focusing on Islam, instead of turning his attention in all possible directions and collecting everything curious that came on his way.¹⁷² In his opting for these limitations and choosing a clear focus he was remarkably "modern" as an ethnographer. For him personally and as a scholar, his fieldwork was a formative experience, an initiation rite. His residence and the subsequent writing of the publications allowed him to develop an original idea of what would be his object of research, what he considered proper academic knowledge, and what kind of scholar he wanted to be. He would build on these experiences, the research skills learned and the network that he created, in his future work in Indonesia. Unlike contemporary aspirant anthropologists,

172 As already mentioned before in our discussion of his correspondence with Goldziher concerning the writing and production of the *Mekka* books, Snouck Hurgronje was rather lucid on his choices and his focus on lived Islam, already before leaving for Arabia. He again highlighted these choices and limitations after he had received Goldziher's laudatory review of *Mekka II*, comparing himself with Doughty who had collected such a variety of rich materials, while he himself had chosen to concentrate on Islam. See: Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 37-8, 50, 119.

Snouck Hurgronje had little interest in theoretical developments, although his understanding was firmly rooted in an implicit evolutionism which linked the colonial project to the advent of modernity and secularism. Snouck Hurgronje thought that he would serve both academia and civilisation best by describing Mecca as he had seen, or rather understood, the city and its inhabitants.

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Snouck Hurgronje and Pan-Islamism

Gerard van Krieken

In 1882, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje wrote that the caliph was not the “successor of Muhammad” and that therefore one could not speak of a Muslim pope.¹ This remark was far from unnecessary, for at the beginning of the Aceh War in February 1873, one of the experts on Dutch-Indian affairs in the Lower Chamber of the Dutch Parliament, the member of the conservative party Johannes Nierstrasz, had said that Aceh was a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire. He added that the Indonesian Muslims paid respect to the Ottoman Sultan “as the head of all believers.”² His colleague in Parliament, Abraham Kuyper, the leader of the Anti-Revolutionary Party, went even further by speaking about the need to officially recognise him as the spiritual leader of all Muslims.³ The Dutch government disagreed with this judgment, and made its position clear by stating that it would oppose any attempt of the sultan to mediate in the conflict. Further, it ordered the Dutch ambassador in Constantinople, Maurice Heldewier, to communicate to the Porte that any claim of “spiritual supremacy” over the Muslims in the Dutch East Indies would be utterly unacceptable.⁴ Snouck Hurgronje agreed with The Hague.

1 Aceh

The Dutch government felt that it was necessary to adopt a position on this issue after an Acehese embassy led by ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Zahir arrived in Constantinople in April 1873. He had in his possession a firman of 1850 in which the sultan at the time, at the request of the Acehese, had consented to accept suzerainty over the territory. Now the Acehese asked the sultan to act

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- 1 C. Snouck Hurgronje, “Nieuwe bijdragen tot de kennis van den Islam,” in *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, vol. II: *Geschriften betreffende het Mohammedaansche recht* (Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1923), 40.
 - 2 *Verslag der handelingen van de Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal*, 27 February 1873.
 - 3 Snouck Hurgronje, “Nieuwe bijdragen,” 2.
 - 4 *Bescheiden betreffende de buitenlandse politiek van Nederland, 1848-1919, tweede periode* (second period), 1871-1898, *eerste deel* (first part), 1871-1874, ed. J. Woltring, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën 107 (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), 628.

and to help them in their struggle against the Dutch. The arrival of al-Zahir put the Porte in an awkward position. It was flattered, of course, but it realised at the same time that giving military support was entirely out of the question. What the Porte did want was to derive political gain from this visit by presenting itself as a mediator between the belligerents. This was an excellent opportunity to tell the world that Sultan Abdülaziz I (1861-1876) was indeed, as caliph, the protector of all believers. The minister of Justice, Midhat Pasha, made this clear to Heldewier. After having referred to the Greek who always, whether in or out of season, expected the assistance of the Russian tsar, he observed that Muslims, wherever they lived, could always address themselves to the sultan in Constantinople “comme calif, non pas comme souverain de l’Empire ottoman.”⁵

Al-Zahir’s arrival in Constantinople did not remain unobserved. Several newspapers – in particular *al-Basiret* (“The Insight”), *al-Gawa’ib* (“The Current News”) and *La Turquie* – devoted much attention to the Acehnese question and unanimously spoke in favour of military intervention. *Al-Basiret* went so far as to report prematurely in June 1873 that the decision had been taken to send eight Ottoman soldiers to Acehnese waters. Since Reuters took up this information it became world news. The Porte felt it had been put under pressure and reacted with a temporary censorship on publications.

Under pressure from Heldewier, who knew he had the support of his British and Russian colleagues, the Ottoman government desisted from an attempt at mediation. Without even having received an audience from the sultan, al-Zahir returned to Aceh by the end of July 1873. His mission had failed, and the only tangible result of his visit was a high decoration destined for the ruler of Aceh.

The Ottoman press continued to devote some attention to the war in Aceh. *Al-Gawa’ib*, for instance, reported in the summer of 1873 that the struggle had developed so much to the disadvantage of the Dutch that they had sent negotiators to Aceh in order to discuss the conditions of peace. But with the passing of time the war attracted ever less attention, and space was only devoted to the conflict of the co-religionists if they were able to make world news. One Arab author reproached the Acehnese several years later, in about 1880, for setting their co-religionists the wrong example. He said that the Dutch had been able to win the war only because their endless infighting prevented them from forming a unified frontline.⁶ After that there was a long silence on the issue.

5 *Bescheiden betreffende de buitenlandse politiek van Nederland, tweede periode* (second period), *eerste deel* (first part), 554-555.

6 Muhammad Bayram al-Khamis, *Safwat al-’Itibar bi Mustawda’ al-Amsār wa’l-Aqtar*, 5 vols.

For the great protagonist of Pan-Islamism, Gamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1897), Aceh simply did not exist. For him the Muslim world extended “from India to Marrakech.”⁷ Al-Kawakibi came to a similar conclusion. In his famous book *Umm al-Qura* (“The Metropole”), published in 1899, he described how Muslims from all corners of the world convened in Mecca in order to discuss the future. Among them were believers from British India, China, and England, but not from the Dutch East Indies.

2 The Sultan-Caliph in Constantinople

Al-Zahir’s request from the sultan-caliph illustrated the double function which the ruler in Constantinople had in the eyes of many Muslims: the sultan of the Ottoman Empire and the caliph of all believers. For a long time there had been little interest in the caliphate in Istanbul. The Tanzimat reformers had stressed the equality of all those who lived in the Empire, Muslims, Christians, and Jews. They had hoped that by doing so the continuous interference of the European powers, who thought that they should protect the interests of their suppressed co-religionists, would end. That hope had proved to be vain. On the other hand, an increasing number of Muslims all over the world looked on the sultan in Constantinople as the only person who might help them in their resistance against European imperialism. In 1871 Tunisia reinforced its ties with Constantinople in order to protect itself against increasing pressure from France and Italy. Embassies from Central Asia arrived in order to ask for help against the onslaught of the Russians. The visit of the Acehnese made it clear once more that many Muslims took the double function of the ruler in Constantinople very seriously. They hoped and expected that he would show himself to be a true protector of all believers.

Gamal al-Din al-Afghani, who lived in Constantinople between 1869 and 1871, became the mouthpiece of Pan-Islamism, the movement whose purpose was that all believers should unite in order to prevent the take-over of the Muslim world by foreign rule. He invited the sultan-caliph to fight for the unity of the *umma*, following the example of the king of Italy and the emperor of Germany, who had both succeeded in imposing on their countries a strong unity. He was no doubt inspired by article 4 of the Ottoman constitution of 1876. There it was solemnly stated that the inviolable Sultan was “by force of the caliphate the protector of Islam and the Sultan of all Ottoman citizens.”

(Cairo: 1302-1311/1884-1895), 1b. 40-41.

7 Gamal al-Din al-Afghani, *al-A'mal al-Kamila* (ed. Cairo 1968), 508.

Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), who ascended the throne shortly after the proclamation of this constitution, suspended it soon afterwards. Until the assumption of power by the Young Turks in 1908 he reigned as an autocrat, but he too was intrigued by article 4, and he fully exploited the possibilities that were given to him by the title of caliph. In internal politics he increased his prestige by emphasising the spiritual aspects of his office, and he could boast that this was a successful move since, after the Congress of Berlin in 1878 and the British occupation of Egypt, the Ottoman Empire did not lose any territory during his long period of office.

Few European politicians found the double role which the sultan gave himself problematic. If the tsar presented himself as the protector of the Orthodox Christians in the Balkans, and if Napoleon III intervened in the Lebanon in order to protect his co-religionists there, it seemed only logical that the sultan-caliph should do the same. In the treaty of Küchück Kainarji of 1774, Tsarina Catharina the Great had, for the first time, acknowledged the sultan as a sort of Muslim pope. With that treaty she had appropriated worldly authority over the Krim Tatars and left the sultan with "spiritual authority." This meant that the name of the Ottoman sultan continued to be mentioned in the Friday sermon so that the believers could sustain the fiction that the highest authority was not in St. Petersburg but in Constantinople. In the beginning of the twentieth century Austria made similar arrangements with the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as did Italy after the conquest of Libya. The British had no problem with the fact that in 1900 the name of the sultan-caliph in Constantinople was seen on the coins struck in Egypt, nor did they mind his being mentioned in the Friday sermon in British India. That he had never ruled over the Indian Muslims was irrelevant.

The Lower Chamber of the Dutch Parliament was relieved that al-Zahir's mission had failed. Thanks to a prudent policy, "unwanted interference by Turkey" in the conflict had been avoided.⁸ In 1875 Abraham Kuyper pointed out once more that Pan-Islamism, the "unexpected, rather artificial movement" which extended from Malacca and Aceh, over Asia Minor and well into Herzegovina, was a danger to Dutch authority in the Dutch East Indies.⁹ But after that The Hague seemed to have lost interest in matters pertaining to the caliphate. Only in 1893 did the position of the sultan-caliph again become a topic, when it was rumoured that a new Acehnese mission was to be sent to Constantinople. The Dutch ambassador at the Porte, Dirk Tets van Goudriaan, then

⁸ *Verslag der handelingen van de Tweede Kamer*, 18 December 1873, Isaïc Fransen van der Putten.

⁹ *Verslag der handelingen van de Tweede Kamer*, 16 November 1875, Abraham Kuyper.

proposed that Sultan Abdülhamid II be persuaded that the Netherlands had no intention of eradicating Islam in Aceh, as “that would make it easy for the Caliph to advise the Acehnese to submit to the Dutch.”¹⁰ But in the end the Acehnese never came to Constantinople, and The Hague could afford to ignore his proposal.

Fourteen years later, in 1904, Sultan Abdülhamid II had more success in his attempts to be recognised as a sort of Muslim pope. In that year there were rumours that mosques in Java had been destroyed. The Dutch ambassador, Dmitry van Bijlandt, heard from several sources that these rumours greatly alarmed the sultan since he was genuinely interested in the conditions under which the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies had to live. The ambassador proposed to The Hague that they set the sultan’s mind at ease as far as this point was concerned, which apparently interested him very much in his position as caliph.¹¹ By doing so they could prevent an anti-Dutch sentiment from arising in the Pan-Islamist milieu of the sultan. This could damage Dutch economic interests since the Dutch were at that moment endeavouring to obtain a concession to build a railway. After much hesitation, the minister of Foreign Affairs, Robert van Lynden, allowed the ambassador to let the sultan know that Her Majesty had received his message, “which was of a private and personal nature,” that she appreciated “his feelings of friendship,” and that there was no need for him to be apprehensive about the treatment of her Indonesian subjects.¹² During a personal audience granted to the ambassador, the sultan declared himself satisfied with this answer, but he added that it was unfortunately not unthinkable that “here or there (...) a subaltern official would fail in doing his duty and that thereby regrettable incidents could not be excluded,” to which he added that he had no doubt that the queen would give strict orders to prevent this in the future. When the ambassador took his leave, the sultan-caliph slyly remarked that he was going to receive on that same day an envoy from the pope in Rome, who extended his protection over all Roman Catholics in his Empire.¹³

The minister of Colonial Affairs, Alexander Idenburg, was far from happy

10 *Bescheiden betreffende de buitenlandse politiek van Nederland, tweede periode* (second period), *vijfde deel* (fifth part), 1891-1894, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën 132 (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), 476.

11 National archive, ministry of Foreign Affairs, “panislamitische woelingen,” 450 A 190, 3 September 1904.

12 National archive, “panislamitische woelingen,” 450 A 190, 24 October 1904.

13 *Bescheiden betreffende de buitenlandse politiek van Nederland, derde periode* (third period), 1899-1919, *tweede deel* (second part), 1903-1907, ed. C. Smit, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën 102 (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958), 365.

with this. He pointed out to his colleague that, from the religious point of view, the idea of a caliphate had no value at all, and that the ambassador had been far too accommodating with the sultan. Van Lynden responded that the sultan would have wished “to assert his pretensions of being caliph to all believers ... had our opinion on the matter been expressed more sharply and clearer to everyone.” Moreover, he did not think it very wise to irritate Pan-Islamist circles in Constantinople because that might endanger “important colonial interests.”¹⁴

Idenburg did not agree with this policy of passive accommodation. In particular, he was of the opinion that Van Bijlandt should have rejected the request for “strict orders.” He should also have responded to the sultan’s clever comparison between the pope and the sultan-caliph, and should have realised that this was an unacceptable interference by the sultan-caliph.¹⁵ Van Lynden therefore communicated in March 1905 to Van Bijlandt that The Hague, with the wisdom of hindsight, had not been happy with his view on the matter.

Idenburg’s opinion was fully shared by Snouck Hurgronje. As he had already explained in 1882, a Muslim pope did not exist and the sultan-caliph in Constantinople was only a worldly ruler. He was the symbol of political unity for all Muslims, but that unity had disappeared forever long ago. In his eyes, Sultan Abdülhamid was nothing but an opportunist who made clever use of the ambiguities created by the Treaty of Küchück Kainarji. He wished to impersonate a caliph because the weapons of Islam had become blunt and he had no interest whatsoever in making clear to European governments that the caliphate was not a prescribed institution in Islam. That the British took a benevolent stance with the caliphate in order to win the hearts and minds of the Indian Muslims was, in his eyes, reprehensible. They might have the impression that the sultan-caliph in Constantinople defended their interests, but it was the task of the Dutch government to see to it that the Muslims in the Dutch East Indies remained outside his sphere of influence.

3 Mecca and the Hajj

Next to this politically oriented Pan-Islamism with Constantinople as its centre, Snouck Hurgronje distinguished a spiritual Pan-Islamism, the centre of which was Mecca. This second form of Pan-Islamism was, as he saw it, undeniably connected with Islam. It now had Mecca as its main seat because that, at

14 National archive, “panislamitische woelingen,” 450 A 190, 14 November 1904.

15 National archive, “panislamitische woelingen,” 450 A 190, 31 January 1905.

the moment, was the only important Muslim city where European influence could not be felt and where believers from the entire world could meet one another unimpeded. But a Mahdi could rise anywhere and at any time. And if he were successful in his struggle against the unbelievers, he would be assured of the sympathy of the believers, and the place where he dwelt would become a centre of Pan-Islamism. In order to avoid unnecessary problems, he advocated a prudent approach to this "Great International under the Green Banner,"¹⁶ since every colonial power with Muslim subjects should realise that Pan-Islamism was a fire that slumbered under the ashes. It was "a continuous source of chaos, an enemy that would continually cause unpleasant surprises."¹⁷

Since Indonesian Muslims liked to travel, there had always been a close relationship between Mecca and the Dutch East Indies. In the mid-nineteenth century, an average of two thousand pilgrims departed every year to the Holy City. It was a long journey. The stretch from Singapore to Jeddah alone took five months. When steamers were used for pilgrim transport travel time was reduced to forty days, also because the number of pilgrims increased. In the beginning of the twentieth century an average of twenty thousand Indonesians went on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Half a year later they would return home and could proudly call themselves *hajji*, pilgrim.

The Dutch authorities expected little benefit from the *hajji*. The common opinion was that after his return home each Mecca traveller had become "an enemy of the Dutch government."¹⁸ The government did not let itself be influenced by this. It stated that a government that wished to treat Christians and Muslims on an equal basis should not prevent its Muslim subjects from performing their religious duty. In addition to this, the *Pelgrimsreglement* (the Pilgrim Regulation) of 1859 contained a sufficient number of articles to prevent excesses. It prescribed that everybody who planned to go on a pilgrimage should apply for a passport, and should be prepared to pass the pilgrim's test after his return. The passport was only issued to those who could prove that they had sufficient means for the journey. The test was done by the regent, in the presence of the personnel of the local mosque, and had as its aim to investigate whether the persons concerned had really visited Mecca. When he had passed the test, the *hajji* was allowed to wear the white turban as a sign of his

16 Snouck Hurgronje, "De laatste vermaning van Mohammed aan zijn gemeente," in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 1: *Geschriften betreffende den Islam en zijne geschiedenis* (Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1923), 144.

17 Snouck Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, vol. II, eds. E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, *kleine serie* 34 (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959), 1683.

18 *Verlag der handelingen van de Tweede Kamer*, 17 November 1911, Jan van Hoogstrate.

newly acquired dignity.

In his younger years Snouck Hurgronje also saw a potential agitator in each Mecca pilgrim. In one of the propositions attached to his PhD thesis in 1880, he declared himself in favour of limiting the hajj. But already in 1883, before he travelled to the Holy City himself, he receded from this earlier opinion. He then stated that the authorities could prevent the *hajjis* from becoming declared enemies of Dutch rule only by adopting a benevolent attitude towards the pilgrims, who would undoubtedly fortify their religious pride in Mecca.¹⁹ And after his stay in Mecca he maintained this stance, even after the Banten revolt of 1888. He conceded that for the preparation of that revolt there had been regular contacts between Bantenese exiles in Mecca and pilgrims from the area, and that the resistance had been encouraged by the Holy City. But to issue a general prohibition of the pilgrimage for Indonesians on the basis of that circumstance alone would be excessive. The revolt had not been the result of a Meccan conspiracy, but of the situation in Banten itself, a region with a long tradition of resistance and a deep-rooted hatred of kaffirs, so that there was always enough fuel for a good fire. Mecca's only involvement was that it was the place where the fuse had been ignited by the Bantenese, who often expressed a quite justifiable rancour towards the Dutch because they had fallen victim to an arbitrarily applied policy of expulsion.²⁰ Finally, he remarked that impeding the pilgrimage would lead to a fear of the government in the Archipelago, where it would be perceived as ill-disposed towards Islam and as wishing to prevent the believers from performing their religious duties.

With Snouck Hurgronje's intercession two articles were removed from the Pilgrim Regulation, because they were useless and would only cause irritation to the *hajjis*. In 1902 the inspection of the funds allotted for travel was cancelled. It had proved practically impossible to ascertain whether or not two different persons produced the same coins from under their clothes. The travellers were also irritated by the fact that they were obliged to show in public that they carried such a considerable amount of money. In 1905 the *hajji*-examination was removed from the regulation. According to Snouck Hurgronje, it had been an unworkable document: every educated indigenous person or European who had taken the trouble to peruse a description of the pilgrimage would have less trouble in answering the interrogation than the pilgrims them-

19 Snouck Hurgronje, "De beteekenis van den Islam voor zijne belijders in Oost-Indië," in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. IV, part 1: *Geschriften betreffende den islam in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1924), 26.

20 Snouck Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke adviezen*, vol. III (kleine serie 35, 1965), 1981 and "Nieuws over Bantam?," in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. IV, part 1, 255.

selves, three quarters of whom were illiterate. Furthermore, the examination was useless anyway because everybody in the *desas* (villages) could easily identify those who falsely assumed the title of *hajji*.

The ideas in Mecca were not propagated by ordinary pilgrims anyway. As Snouck Hurgronje pointed out, the journey of the pilgrims was quite similar to a tourist trip from which the traveller came home as stupid or as wise as he had departed. If anti-Dutch ideas existed in Mecca, they were to be found among the members of the permanent Indonesian colony. In 1901, the size of that colony was estimated to amount to eight thousand people. Among them were students of the sacred sciences, silver smiths, and tailors. Most of them returned home after a while. Their behaviour in the Dutch East Indies did not justify cutting the relationship that existed between Mecca and the Archipelago. They hardly ever proved to be firebrands and they only distinguished themselves from their co-religionists by their diligent observation of religious precepts.

Snouck Hurgronje would have advocated a prohibition of the pilgrimage if political Pan-Islamism as observed in Constantinople had been thriving in Mecca as well, but this was not the case. The Ottoman governor of the Hijaz, who also had Mecca under his authority, made no effort to withdraw Indonesian pilgrims from Dutch authority by making them subjects of the sultan-caliph. The Dutch consul, who had been established in Jeddah since 1872, could do his work without any hindrance. He issued visas for the passports of the pilgrims upon their arrival and kept these for them until the moment they departed. Thanks to the capitulations that were in force in the Ottoman Empire, he also had legal jurisdiction over Dutch subjects. Disputes on matters of trade between the members of the Indonesian colony were tried by him. He also had the right to request possession of the goods left in Mecca by pilgrims who had died there. The few Indonesians who let themselves be naturalised in Mecca as Ottoman subjects did so because it was impossible for a foreigner to buy a house there.

The only matter which Snouck Hurgronje loathed was the contribution that the pilgrims in Mecca had to pay for the Hijaz railroad, the building of which had begun in 1901 and which was to connect Syria to Medina over a distance of thirteen hundred kilometres. His objection was that this was not simply a "local tax on foreigners," but rather a levy imposed by the caliph in his function of "overlord of the believers from his subjects,"²¹ and therefore an expression of political Pan-Islamism.

21 Snouck Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke adviezen*, vol. II, 1675.

4 The Foreign Orientals

After the visit of the Acehnese embassy in 1873, the sultan-caliph would have had little chance to engage with his co-religionists in the Dutch East Indies if there had not been an Arab community. In 1890, this group of “foreign orientals” numbered approximately twenty thousand persons. Fifteen years later, in 1905, there were some thirty thousand. The largest communities – each more than two thousand souls – were in Batavia, Surabaya, and Palembang. Just like the Chinese, the Arabs were a link between the indigenous community and the European wholesale trade. Their country of origin was the Hadhramaut, a region in Southern Arabia that had never belonged to the Ottoman Empire. They were proud of their origins and gladly called themselves sayyid, descendant of the Prophet. Well-to-do families would send their sons back to their former fatherland to study. Once back in the Dutch East Indies, they enjoyed respect among the indigenous community because of their knowledge of Arabic and religious precepts. Several important and influential jurists arose from their circles who, in their writings, always advocated a strict observance of the rules of Islam.

For the Dutch government their presence had for a long time hardly been a cause for concern. They had come to the Archipelago as traders, and were therefore above anything else keen on quiet and order.²² Sometimes their orthodox tendencies were frowned upon, because wherever they exercised religious influence Islam became more strictly imposed.

Yet the Arabs felt more attracted to political Pan-Islamism than to its spiritual variant. Since the Dutch East Indies had two different juridical systems at the same time, they did not enjoy the same rights as the Europeans, and they hoped that they would be able to put an end to this unpleasant situation with the help of Constantinople. Europeans were subject to Dutch law and they had complete freedom of movement. The indigenous population had its own system of law, and the foreign orientals (Arabs, Chinese, and Japanese) were, to their irritation, subject to that law.²³ In the case of the Arabs this meant that they were not allowed to take up their abode wherever they wanted and that they had to live together in special quarters. There they were subject to the authority of the *wijkmeester*, the head of the quarter, who issued them

22 L.W.C. van den Berg, *Le Hadramaut et les colonies arabes dans l'archipel indien* (Batavia: 1886), 83, 117.

23 See on this dual system C. Fasseur, “Cornerstone and Stumbling Block: Racial Classification and the Late Colonial State in Indonesia,” in *The Late Colonial State in Indonesia: Political and Economic Foundations of the Netherlands Indies, 1880–1942*, ed. Robert Cribb (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994), 43–45.

with travel papers against payment, ten-cent stamp duty and fifty-cent commission. Like the Chinese they were not allowed to travel around freely. The interior of the country was closed to both of the two ethnic groups, which was meant as a measure of protection for the indigenous population. This caused resentment. For a one-hour train journey from Batavia to Buitenzorg (Bogor), an Arab first had to pay a visit to the master of his quarter in Batavia. An overzealous assistant-resident even went as far as to require a travel pass for a journey by tramway to Batavia's suburb Meester Cornelis. A prominent Arab who had dared to board a tram without his travel documents was forced to dismount and to pay a fine of no less than twenty-five guilders.

Most annoying of all was the case of an Arab who was born and raised in Bandung, whose father had lived there since 1882, and who had founded a flourishing business there. Twenty years later the son, after a stay in Arabia, wished to establish himself in the town where he was born in order to continue the business of his father, who had died in the meantime. This was refused. Furthermore, there were clothing prescriptions that forbade Arabs from wearing European dress and from exchanging the turban for the more modern fez.

The unrest and discontent caused within the Arab community by all these rules and regulations gave the sultan-caliph in Constantinople a chance to present himself as the protector of suppressed Muslims. As early as 1873, a group of forty Arabs informed him that members of their community were put in jail in Batavia and Semarang. Had there been a representative of the Porte in the Dutch East Indies, the Dutch would never have dared to do so...²⁴

Ten years later, in 1883, the Ottoman Consul-General Ghalib Bey came to Batavia. Officially he was only a commercial agent, but in practice he devoted much of his attention to the interests of the Arabs. Soon after his arrival, he constituted himself as the protector of a certain 'Umar Garut al-Telimbang. This Arab, who lived in the Dutch East Indies, had requested that the governor of the Hijaz would henceforward consider him as an Ottoman subject. With the passport which he would then acquire, he hoped to be treated not as a foreign oriental anymore, but as a European, with all the advantages that came with this status. The ministry of Foreign Affairs acknowledged that Ottoman subjects enjoyed "a treatment on equal footing with subjects of foreign powers to whom is granted the most advantageous juridical status in our colonies."²⁵ Under no circumstances, however, did Batavia wish to recognise the naturali-

24 National archive, ministry van Foreign Affairs, Djeddah consulate, 33, 27 November 1873.
 25 *Bescheiden betreffende de buitenlandse politiek van Nederland, tweede periode* (second period), *derde deel* (third part), 1881-1885, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën 122 (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), 153.

sation, and the Ottoman representative angrily reported to the sultan-caliph that, contrary to what the treaties between the two countries stipulated, his subjects were not treated as Europeans.

In 1896, when the Japanese living in the Dutch East Indies received a status equal to that of Europeans, the whole question once more came under discussion. The Arab community hoped that the sultan-caliph would do the same for them and insisted that the Ottoman consul-general bring their wishes to the attention of the authorities in Constantinople. This was not in vain. In 1900 the Ottoman minister of Foreign Affairs remonstrated with the Dutch ambassador in Constantinople, Othon van der Staal van Piershil, about the unequal treatment of Japanese and Ottoman subjects.²⁶ The ambassador then asked The Hague for further information. Were the Arabs of the Hadhramaut Ottoman subjects or not? The answer was that they were not. For genuine Ottoman subjects it was the rule that those who originated from the European part of the Ottoman Empire would be treated as Europeans in the Dutch East Indies, while their compatriots whose forebears were born on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus would henceforth be treated as foreign orientals.

A few Arabs tried to prove their European origin, and in at least one instance with success. That was the good luck of Salih Faqih Samkari. He had arrived in the Dutch East Indies in 1902 with a document signed by the deputy-governor of the Hijaz, which stated that his grandfather was an Albanian, implying that he thus originated from the European part of the Ottoman Empire. Thanks to the intervention of the Ottoman consul-general, the paper was accepted as genuine and valid. That meant that Samkari could dress as a European and that he could ignore the master of the Arab quarter. 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Abd al-Majid, too, was very persistent and almost successful. He earned his living in Mecca by advancing to Indonesian pilgrims the money required for their journey back home. In order to cash the outstanding debts he would spend between four and five months in Palembang every year. With his "European" status, he would be free to look up his creditors in their villages. When he disembarked in Batavia he showed his Ottoman documents, which were so impressive that the official in charge gave him an entry permit which stated that he enjoyed European status. However, this success was short-lived. After arriving in Palembang he was fined twice, once one hundred guilders because he had chosen his domicile outside the Arab quarter, and once fifty guilders because he had gone out without a passport. In 1913 Ibn 'Abd al-Majid attempted to gain European status once more. Upon arrival in Batavia he showed his birth certificate in which it was stated that he was born in Constantinople. But

26 National archive, "panislamitische woelingen," 450 A 190, 12 April 1900.

this was to no avail either. According to the Dutch authorities it was reasonable to doubt the accuracy of the Ottoman civil registers.

The case of Ibn 'Abd al-Majid was not taken lightly in Constantinople. Twice, in 1909 and in 1914, the Ottoman ambassador in The Hague brought the subject up for discussion. He expressed that it was unfair to discriminate against the Ottomans in favour of the Japanese, considering that the Dutch were treated as subjects of the most glorious nation in the Ottoman Empire. The answer he received was that the sultan-caliph had no right to speak on behalf of Arabs from the Hadhramaut since he had never ruled over that region.

Most Ottoman consul-generals were not conspicuous for their Pan-Islamist persuasion or their anti-Dutch conviction. There was one exception, however: Kiamil Bey, who stayed in Batavia between November 1897 and December 1898. At the coronation festivities for Queen Wilhelmina, he ostentatiously stayed away. He also took care that journals published in the Middle East would print articles in which the harassment of the Arab community in the Dutch East Indies was expounded. Furthermore, he proposed that Constantinople appoint a governor for the Hadhramaut so that the Arabs would have the possibility to apply for Ottoman nationality.

Kiamil Bey scored a great success when seven sons of prominent Arab families departed for Constantinople in order to study there at the expense of the sultan-caliph. He had told his government that it would make a good impression in the Dutch East Indies if youngsters from the Archipelago were given the opportunity to pursue a good, modern education in Constantinople. When the Dutch ambassador there enquired after the plans of the sultan-caliph, he was told that all this had been the personal initiative of Kiamil Bey. It was evident that Constantinople wished at the same time to run with the hare and to hunt with the hounds, that is, they wished to have a good press in the Dutch East Indies without having any difficulties with the Dutch government. That was why the students, when they received an audience from Sultan Abdülhamid II, were told that they were expected to behave as "obedient and loyal subjects of Her Majesty."²⁷ Later on the number of students increased to seventeen. They had a hard time, since they only spoke Malay and a little Arabic. They were placed in the francophone *Lycée* at Galata Serai. Most of them never got as far as the diploma. Two of them, the al-Attas brothers, did indeed complete their education in Constantinople and departed with a Dutch passport to Western Europe to continue their studies there. One of them read law in Montpellier, the other enrolled in a technical university in Belgium.

Two others, the Ba Janayd brothers, had enrolled in 1906-1907 at the College

27 National archive, "panislamitische woelingen," 450 A 190, 4 March 1899.

of the Lazarist Fathers in Damascus. In 1904, with Ottoman passports, they had gone back to Java for a holiday, where their family and the Ottoman consul-general awaited them. They had been able to go home unimpeded, clad in modern clothing and fez. A few days later, however, they were fined for contravention of the dress regulations. After closer inspection, and notwithstanding their Ottoman passports, they remained foreign orientals after all. They left embittered by the experience. One of them married a woman in Constantinople who was born in that city. After much trouble, The Hague acknowledged that she had the right to hold a Dutch passport, but her husband was adamantly denied the same. In 1915, reconciliation came about. That year the Ottoman government decided to incorporate all foreign Muslims in the Turkish army. Ba Janayd applied to the Dutch ambassador with the request that he be allowed to return to the Indies, and he was given permission to do so. The unkind treatment in the case of the Ba Janayd brothers during their Javanese holiday was criticised in an article in a magazine which appeared in Cairo, *al-Liwa'* ("the Banner"). For the Arab community in the Dutch East Indies the press in the Middle East was the outlet in which the dress regulations and the internal passport system were attacked. Although the number of articles was relatively small – between 1894 and 1904 no more than twenty of them were published – Snouck Hurgronje was quite irritated by these publications, not in the least because in one article he was attacked personally. An article in *al-Liwa'* said that he harboured deep resentment against Turks and Arabs because "he had been chased from Mecca as a result of his insincere conversion to Islam." That was why he now advocated "a change of belief with a number of make-believe believers" and why he wished to chase the Arabs from the Archipelago.²⁸

Snouck Hurgronje, however, was not in favour of a restriction of the admission of the newspaper in question. The press regulation in force in the Dutch East Indies made it possible for the authorities to refuse foreign newspapers, and at least one periodical had been confiscated, *al-Ma'lumat* ("The News"), an illustrated weekly published in Constantinople in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, with close ties to the palace. But as long as such periodicals could be sent unimpeded to Singapore, it was impossible effectively to keep them out of the Indies. Moreover, in that case they were given much more importance than they really deserved, if only because few people in the Dutch East Indies were able to read Arabic well. Instead, he preferred to alert the Ottoman censorship, and he did so, at least once, with success. In April 1901, the Beirut-based weekly *Thamarat al-Funun* ("The Fruits of the Sciences"), whose purpose was to serve the cause of the Muslim world community, published an anti-Dutch arti-

28 National archive, "panislamitische woelingen," 451 A 190, *al-Liwa'*, 21 May 1904.

cle. Four weeks later, however, after interference by the governor of Syria, the newspaper published an article praising the benevolent attitude of the Netherlands towards the pilgrimage. A year later, the same periodical was banned from publication for one issue, after it had reported that the recent miscarriage of the Queen had been caused by the cruel behaviour of the prince consort. That the source of this story was not a grudging Arab in Batavia but the respectable news agency of Reuters made no difference.

Snouck Hurgronje's judgment on the Dutch policies against the Arabs was merciless: "it was narrow-minded." In order to clarify his position, in 1903 he declared himself in favour of subjecting the admission to "very restrictive conditions."²⁹ The Dutch government could then end its ambivalence towards Constantinople, for how could it responsibly be argued that an Albanian, because he was born in Europe, enjoyed more freedom in the Dutch East Indies than an educated Syrian Muslim? Moreover, the Pan-Islamist propaganda of the sultan-caliph would certainly lose its sounding board. His advice was not followed, however.

5 The Young Turks

In July 1908, the Young Turks came to power in Constantinople. Snouck Hurgronje, who stayed in the Ottoman capital for two months that year, gave an optimistic report. He thought it possible that the country would before long be able to turn into a sort of second Japan. At any rate, the change of regime was favourable to the Netherlands, since political Pan-Islamism was now dead and the medieval caliphate with its "absurd pretensions"³⁰ was now something of the past. The Young Turks were interested in a secular state and they maintained Islam as a state religion in order not to incite discontent. The new sultan-caliph had his title but no extra power, with the result that there was nothing left to fear from him. If the Young Turks were to present themselves in the future as protectors of suppressed Muslims, it would not be done under the false flag of the caliphate, but in imitation of the European powers who always stood up for the Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

It was precisely in this period that the ministry of Colonial Affairs in The Hague thought that the time had come to follow up Snouck Hurgronje's sug-

29 Snouck Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke adviezen*, vol. II, 1568.

30 Snouck Hurgronje, "Jong-Turkije, herinneringen uit Stambol. 25 Juli – 23 September 1908," in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. III: *Geschriften betreffende Arabie en Turkije* (Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1923), 256.

gestion that it should be made more difficult for Arabs to enter the Archipelago. Asked for advice on the matter, the Dutch ambassador at the Porte, Pieter van der Does de Willebois, advised against this step. He was afraid that the Young Turks would immediately demand that all their subjects, irrespective of whether they were born in the European or in the Asian part of the Empire, would be set on an equal footing with the Japanese. The minister of Colonial Affairs gave in with the argument that "if the new regime would not have killed Pan-Islamism ... it would at least have weakened it and made it nervous."³¹ Snouck Hurgronje called this the result of "a hesitant, half-hearted, and irresolute policy."³² To this he added that the ambassador had little practical knowledge if he asserted that the Arabs of the Hadhramaut originated from the Asian part of the Ottoman Empire. Even the Ottoman consul-generals had never said such a thing!

The position of the Arab community in the Dutch East Indies improved soon afterwards. Between 1910 and 1919 the system of quarters and internal passports was first weakened and then abolished altogether. The requirement of a passport for travel within the colony disappeared, and the discussions about the dress regulations fell flat. Indeed, the Young Turks did not show any interest in the well-being of the Arab community. The Balkan Wars and the struggle against the Italians in Libya occupied their full attention. For their part, the Arabs in the East Indies maintained an interest in the vicissitudes of the Ottoman armies. Regular collections were made on behalf of the Red Crescent and in Semarang a fight broke out between Chinese and Arabs after the former had applauded Italian military successes during a newsreel at the cinema.

6 The Great War

In November 1914, the Young Turks sided with Berlin. Shortly afterwards, they published a "General Announcement to all Believers of Islam" with an appeal to side with the sultan-caliph. It went without saying that this not only applied to believers who were French, British or Russian subjects, but also to the forty million Indonesian Muslims who suffered under the yoke of the "unbelieving Dutch." Because they maintained no connections with the "Seat of the Caliphate," they lived outside the global Muslim community and were therefore considered "certainly godless." It was then stated that declaring war was one of

31 National archive, "panislamitische woelingen," 452 A 190, 24 February 1909.

32 Snouck Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke adviezen*, vol. II, 1679.

“the rights of the Caliphate” and that Muslims who lived under colonial rule – including those in the Dutch East Indies – now had to exert themselves and make sure that the unbelievers fell from power.³³ A correction followed in June 1915: since the Netherlands was “a country living in friendship with the Ottoman government,” the general announcement did not apply to Indonesian Muslims.³⁴

This correction would have been sufficient had Snouck Hurgronje not interfered. He declared, however, that the announcement made the holy war suitable “for daily use by assassins and bandits,”³⁵ and that the only suitable reaction to this was to sever all ties between the Dutch East Indies and the Ottoman Empire, and to ban the pilgrimage. Authorities in The Hague were amazed by this stance and the ministries asked whether Snouck Hurgronje had not reacted rashly. Idenburg, who at that moment was governor-general, expressed his views on the matter: “for the average human being this special fear of Pan-Islamism is ... not so easy to explain.”³⁶ The Dutch government thought it would be excessive were it to react in a more severe way than the British, who were in a state of war with the Ottoman Empire but who had not upheld a prohibition of the pilgrimage. In practice such a measure was unnecessary because the war made the journey to Mecca impossible anyway. Shipping companies had avoided Jeddah ever since the lights and buoys had been removed from the port. And because freight prices had become very high, companies were no longer interested in the transport of pilgrims. Moreover, the Indonesian pilgrims themselves had become convinced that it was unwise to go to Mecca since the Indonesian community there had voluntarily asked to be repatriated because of the rapidly deteriorating food situation. Finally, it should not be forgotten that an official prohibition of the pilgrimage would only incite discontent in particular circles. Snouck Hurgronje’s advice was not followed, and he wrote, “not without some bitterness,” that his advice was overruled as a “*quantité négligable*.”³⁷

In the eyes of the government Snouck Hurgronje’s advice was a complete change of mind. The adviser, who had always been in favour of the freedom of pilgrimage, now pleaded for its prohibition and would not be satisfied with the correction issued in Constantinople. The government did not agree that a fatal

33 Snouck Hurgronje, “Een belangrijk document,” in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. III, 344-347.

34 Snouck Hurgronje, “Een belangrijk document,” vol. III, 352.

35 Snouck Hurgronje, “Een belangrijk document,” vol. III, 330.

36 *Bescheiden betreffende de buitenlandse politiek van Nederland, derde periode* (third period), *vierde deel* (fourth part), 1914-1917, ed. C. Smit, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën 109 (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), 354.

37 Snouck Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke adviezen*, vol. II, 1696.

boundary had been transgressed. Until then, Mecca had only been the seat of religious Pan-Islamism, what could be seen as a lesser evil and with which each colonial government that ruled over Muslims had to come to terms. The greater evil was political Pan-Islamism emanating from Constantinople, which the Young Turks now tried to copy for purely opportunistic reasons. They planned to make the Holy City a second centre of this unacceptable Pan-Islamism and to contaminate pilgrims with their doctrine. Moreover, Mecca could serve as a centre of recruitment of soldiers for Pan-Islamist legions which could cause great problems for Dutch subjects. Snouck Hurgronje also wrote that the government now silently endorsed the pretensions of the caliphate in Constantinople. The appeal to holy war might have been withdrawn as far as the Indonesian Muslims were concerned, yet the impression had been created that the Netherlands had to thank themselves for this because of "its proper recognition of the Caliphate of the Sultan of Turkey."³⁸ That meant that The Hague had in fact conceded that the sultan-caliph had a say about the Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. Finally, Snouck Hurgronje was convinced that a prohibition was fully justified in response to the cancellation of the capitulations, agreed upon in Constantinople at the beginning of the war. Hereby the consular jurisdiction had vanished and Dutch subjects in Mecca were greatly humiliated – and so, in its turn, was their government.

Epilogue

After the war, the pilgrimage was soon resumed. In 1919 no less than fifteen thousand Indonesian pilgrims travelled to Mecca. Snouck Hurgronje had no objection at all to their journey because, after the defeat of the Ottomans, the Holy City was no longer the centre from which dangerous propaganda for political Pan-Islamism emanated. The office of caliph would subsequently become meaningless. In 1922, when Turkey became a republic, the last of the Ottomans, Abdülmeçid II, had to content himself with the caliphate in name alone. Two years later, in 1924, Atatürk even took that away from him. Attempts to elect a new caliph found little or no response in the Dutch East Indies and eventually came to nothing. Snouck Hurgronje could be content. The chimera of the political unity of all Muslims under one caliph was over, and the loyalty of the Indonesian Muslims could no longer be jeopardised by a Muslim pope.

38 Snouck Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke adviezen*, vol. II, 1353.

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PART 3
In Indonesia



Snouck Hurgronje and the Colonial Administration of the Dutch East Indies

Wim van den Doel

Snouck Hurgronje had a versatile career, and his influence was felt in a multitude of fields. His most famous contribution was as an authority on Islam, both in the Netherlands and in the Dutch East Indies. In the Dutch East Indies, he advised the colonial government on a variety of matters regarding Islam, including in relation to the prolonged and bloody conflict fought out in Aceh on Sumatra. Snouck Hurgronje's advice was appreciated in nineteenth-century Batavia and Buitenzorg. As a result, in March 1891, he was appointed by Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk as adviser for Oriental Languages and Islamic Law (in 1898 his title was changed into adviser for Indigenous Affairs). In this context, Snouck Hurgronje also became involved in the manner in which the colonies were administered.

Snouck Hurgronje thus played a role in a crucial period in the history of the Dutch East Indies, in which the colonial state attempted to broaden its power to include all parts of the Indonesian archipelago and above all became actively involved on Java in an increasing number of aspects of social life. In other words: at the time of Snouck Hurgronje, the Dutch East Indies were undergoing a process of state formation comparable to the state formation processes in Europe that would form the basis for the modern Indonesian Unitarian State. This meant that it was necessary to relinquish old forms of colonial administration which had as much as possible maintained the traditional power relations in the indigenous society, and to replace them with new administrative structures that were more appropriate for the twentieth century. Snouck Hurgronje played a key role in the search for these new administrative structures. He thus came to be known as someone who, in the context of nineteenth-century colonialism, would undoubtedly be considered progressive. The interests of Snouck Hurgronje in the formation of the modern colonial state are sketched below. What ideas did he contribute to the debate on the structure of the colonial administration of Java? What influence did he have, and did his ideas have a positive effect on the development of the colonial state?

1 The Dualistic Administration of Java

Until the end of the nineteenth century, the central island of the Dutch East Indies colony, Java, had an administrative structure in which Dutch colonial civil servants worked together with an indigenous administrative élite, the *priyayi*. After 1830, when the Cultivation System was introduced on Java, the Dutch rulers emphatically reinforced this structure because it left the indigenous population primarily under the administration of their “own” leaders. Regents, *wedonos* (district heads) and *desa* chiefs ruled over their own people, ensured that the people cultivated crops and delivered these to the Dutch, and in return they were rewarded in the form of “cultivation percentages.” Dutch residents, assistant-residents and *controleurs* (‘inspectors’) in turn left the indigenous leaders to their own devices, as long as they ensured peace and order and made sure the indigenous population delivered the crops.

Although this structure did not formally change, the relations between the Dutch administrators and the indigenous leaders changed substantially towards the end of the nineteenth century. Despite the fact that, in 1859, it was clearly established on the basis of articles 68, 69 and 70 of the Government Regulations of 1854 that the Dutch residents were to rule the indigenous population as much as possible through “the intervention of government-appointed or recognised leaders,”¹ this instruction increasingly became nothing but empty words. This development was caused by a number of factors, one of the most important of which was the publication of Eduard Douwes Dekkers’ novel *Max Havelaar* and the impact this book was to have. In the novel, the indigenous leaders are portrayed as corrupt rulers, while the Dutch administrators are seen as the bearers of justice, prosperity and civilisation. Ambitious administrators saw it as their mission in the East Indies to – in the words of Douwes Dekker – “save the millions of people who are oppressed victims of exploitation, extortion, corruption, robbery and murder.”²

After 1860, the new generation of administrators, inspired by Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekkers’ pseudonym), would above all slowly start to govern the Javanese population in a much more direct manner. They would increasingly ignore the regents and district heads in particular, and often looked down on them. Among the results would be a deterioration of the position of indige-

1 Art. 27 and 29 of the “Instruction for the Heads of Regional Administration on Java and Madura,” in: *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, no. 102 (1859). Announced again as ordinance in *ibid.*, no. 114 (1867).

2 Multatuli, *Volledige werken. Brieven en dokumenten uit de jaren 1846-1857*, vol. 9 (Amsterdam: Van Oorschot, 1956), 607.

nous leaders and a decrease in their prestige. Characteristically, although in 1859 the stipulation had been dropped that the indigenous regents were to be seen as the “younger brothers” of the resident, in the meantime assistant-residents began calling themselves the older brothers of the regent, a misconception which was to persist in history.³

Even the lowest Dutch administrators, the *controleurs*, sometimes behaved like minor despots. The power that an administrator could wield was very tempting for the sometimes still young *controleurs*. Not only were they put in charge of large territories, they also seldom had superiors constantly checking on them. After all, the connections within the Javanese interior were, to say the least, not always good, so that an inspector could have a great degree of independence. “It is a field of activity,” one *controleur* said about his work,

in which a fine ambition to do that which is good and pure can provide complete satisfaction. If a man sees his task thus, if he has the determination to lead his district further on the road to prosperity and progress, and in this way truly works towards the salvation of the land and the people, then the shadow sides, the worries and unpleasantness which come with every duty, can be borne lightly. They will fall away in the face of the good and the pleasant, and the satisfaction gained through labour.⁴

In this way, by the end of the nineteenth century the colonial administration on Java had developed into a system in which the Dutch colonial civil servants dominated and wished to govern as much as possible “directly.” The once so powerful regent families were of course not in any way finished yet, but they had to live off their former influence. Snouck Hurgronje befriended a number of these families after his arrival on Java. He realised that old fame was insufficient to remain influential in a modern society, which is why he encouraged young *priyayi* to follow a Western schooling, a position in which he differed from the Dutch administrators who were against indigenous leaders behaving in “Western” ways. Snouck Hurgronje’s protégés included Achmad Djajadinigrat, Koesoemo Oetoyo and Moeharam Wiranatakoesoema, all of whom were later to occupy influential positions. For the adviser for Indigenous Affairs,

3 For instance in Harry J. Benda, “The Pattern of Administrative Reforms in the Closing Years of Dutch Rule in Indonesia,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 25 (1966): 595-596; W.Ph. Coolhaas, “Ontstaan en groei,” in [Wij gedenken...] *Gedenkboek van de Vereniging van ambtenaren bij het binnenlands bestuur in Nederlands-Indië*, eds. C. Nooteboom et al. (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1956), 51.

4 A.J.H. Eyken, *De werkring van den controleur op Java* (’s-Gravenhage: M. van der Beek, 1909) 23-24.

these young *priyayi* were, “thanks to a careful education, from a moral and an intellectual perspective, high enough [...] to become sound and in every way reliable administrators.” Snouck Hurgronje did not hide the fact that it was his ambition to release the indigenous leaders from what he called the “childish tutelage” under which educated and independent regents were still required to dance to the tune of assistant-residents even “to the minutest details.”⁵

Snouck Hurgronje always kept in mind the interests of the colonial state. It had not escaped him that the modern era was also knocking on the door of the Dutch East Indies and that indigenous society, certainly on Java, was on the threshold of radical changes. It was for this reason that he emphatically advised Governor-General Willem Rooseboom quickly to give regents and *wedonos* more control in the administration. The time was past when the indigenous chiefs could be expected “spontaneously” to serve the interests of the colonial state. This is why the indigenous heads had soon to be released from the “oppressive bond of spineless servility” in which they were still being kept by the Dutch civil servants.⁶ The time was ripe. According to Snouck Hurgronje, young indigenous leaders who had for instance completed an HBS⁷ education, were “generally more intellectually developed than the average European.”

Snouck Hurgronje knew, of course, that there were also many regents and *wedonos* on Java who were not sufficiently well-educated to hold an independent position in a modern administration. Nevertheless, it would have been a grave error, in his opinion, to use this to refrain from giving them greater authority and allowing them to operate a more independent administration, especially because the indigenous administrators had to be convinced that a better education would also bring them advantages. If these advantages failed to materialise, the “oppressive yoke of childish tutelage” would only become “more severe and less bearable.” He also refuted the objection voiced by some Dutch people that indigenous rulers, due to the “characteristics of their race,”

5 Snouck Hurgronje to Arends, 12 June 1901, in *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, vol. 1, eds. E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957-1965), 515; Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 3 September 1903, in *ibid.*, 493-494; H.A. Sutherland, *Pangreh Pradja. Java's Indigenous Administrative Corps and Its Role in the Last Decades of Dutch Colonial Rule* (New Haven: Yale University, 1973) 182-189; Achmad Djajadiningrat, *Herinneringen van Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat* (Amsterdam and Batavia: Kolff, 1936), 61-64 and 67-69.

6 Snouck Hurgronje to Van Rees, 22 August 1904, in *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:526.

7 HBS = *Hogere Burgerschool*, a secondary school type in the Netherlands and the Dutch possessions, existing between 1863 and 1974.

were not fit to rule a territory without supervision by the Dutch. Although he was convinced that “races” could have certain characteristics, he thought these were exclusively the result of shortcomings in their upbringing. In Europe the Jews in particular had, in his opinion, as a result of years of oppression, developed a number of “highly deplorable characteristics.” However, maintaining that Dutch administrators were more suitable than well-educated Javanese counterparts from the higher layers of society was proof of “a great rigidity of prejudice” and a “foolish over-estimation of one’s own abilities.” The time had therefore come to break radically with the existing administrative practices and begin the emancipation of the indigenous leaders. “The continuity of the administration can only be ensured,” in the words of the adviser for Indigenous Affairs, if “the administration is relieved of unnecessary spending, the number of indigenous administrators increases and the competence level of the European administrators now reduced in number is raised.”⁸

Snouck Hurgronje’s ideas weighed heavily with both the governor-general and the minister for the Colonies. Governor-General Rooseboom wrote to the Minister for the Colonies Idenburg that due to the continuing development of the indigenous leaders, the Dutch could no longer avoid a radical reform of the administration and it was much better “to allow the transition to happen gradually than to be forced for political reasons to take sudden measures to that effect.”⁹ Idenburg also concluded that the indigenous leaders should be given greater independence. “The indigenous administrators should be granted greater independence and be relieved of the overly severe tutelage of European administrators,” he wrote. This “de-tutélisation” was not supposed to be taken too far, in his opinion. After all, a good colonial administration also required the indigenous heads to be subject to supervision. According to Idenburg, the Dutch had both the task of protecting the indigenous population against every form of “arbitrariness and extortion” and the duty to maintain their authority as colonial rulers. “If we fail to exert enough control over the administration of the indigenous element, we will progressively lose ground and end up having to give up our authority,” wrote the minister in the spirit of Multatuli.

Regents and *wedonos* were therefore to remain under the daily supervision of European assistant-residents and *controleurs*. Representatives of the colonial administration were to travel around the interior systematically, so that they could remain up to date regarding events that were taking place there,

8 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 8 September 1904, in *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:538-551.

9 Rooseboom to Idenburg, 22 September 1904, in National Archive (NA), Archive Colonies after 1900, Vb. 8 June 1905, lt. N14, inv.nr. 57.

intervene where necessary, and ensure that the colonial authority could be felt all the way into the smallest *desas*. All this because, according to Idenburg, it was certainly not the goal of an ethical colonial administration to retreat rapidly from the East Indies and leave the country to the rule of its own leaders. This did not yet “fall within the scope of practical considerations,” according to Idenburg.

The final aim of our colonial government policy must undoubtedly be to educate the indigenous population and make them suitable for a greater degree of independence, including in the political arena. However, there is still such a long way to go before that is possible, that both now and in the near future, the only conceivable possibility is administration as a colony. And as long as we are administering Java as a colony, it remains a firm requirement that the European authority provides both factual leadership and regular supervision.¹⁰

2 The Koesomo Joedo Affair

But before the ideas of Snouck Hurgronje and Minister Idenburg could be put into practice, another surprising development took place in the context of the “dualistic” administrative structure sketched above. In 1904, in Leiden, a Javanese candidate successfully took the so-called advanced civil service examination (*groot-ambtenaarsexamen*), which provided access to the ranks of the Dutch colonial administrative apparatus: *Raden Mas* Koesoemo Joedo Soemido, son of Pakoe Alam V. Governor-General J.B. van Heutsz had no objection to appointing Koesomo Joedo to the “European Interior Administration.” First of all, there was not a single legal prescription prohibiting it and secondly, the governor-general had also noticed that “Europeans as black as pitch and born of native mothers were becoming residents,” referring to Indo-Europeans who were officially ‘European’ but had an Indonesian mother.¹¹ Van Heutsz therefore appointed Koesomo Joedo on 11 November 1904 as “civil servant available to be appointed to the Interior Administration.” He was then sent to the densely populated Central Javanese residence of Kedu, where the resident J.H.F. ter Meulen assigned him to the Kebumen District. On 5 December 1904, his per-

10 Idenburg to Van Heutsz, 8 June 1905, in NA, Archive Colonies after 1900, Vb. 8 June 1905, lt. N14, inv.nr. 57.

11 Van Heutsz to Idenburg, 13 March 1905, in Documentation Centre for Dutch Protestantism (DCNP), VU University Amsterdam, Idenburg Archive, inv. no. A 11 2b.

manent appointment as prospective inspector to the European Interior Administration followed.¹²

When Minister Idenburg heard of Koesomo Joedo's appointment, he immediately reached for his pen. In a telegram dated 6 January 1905 he declared that the appointment of "natives" to the European Interior Administration was utterly undesirable, because this administrative body was the one that most directly represented the mother country. Idenburg therefore urgently requested Governor-General Van Heutsz to transfer Koesomo Joedo as quickly as possible to a position outside the Interior Administration. In two private letters addressed to Van Heutsz, the minister reiterated his position. Idenburg welcomed every attempt to grant the "well-practised natives" greater independence. It would, for instance, be excellent if a Javanese candidate who had successfully completed the advanced civil service examination could quickly become head of the district and regent. An appointment as *controleur*, however, had to be utterly excluded. "You know," he wrote to Van Heutsz, "that I do not consider the indigenous people to be in principle in any way inferior to a European, but just as it is impossible to appoint a European to the native administration, it is equally impossible to incorporate a native in the European administration as long as he remains a native."¹³

However, Van Heutsz was not convinced by Idenburg either. In an initial response, he informed the minister that he had no objection to the principle that a "native" could not be expected to represent the mother country "if you replace mother country with fatherland, since there are very many European administrators with a mother who is either of the indigenous race or has sprung from it." In terms of the practical considerations, Van Heutsz was, on the contrary, of the opinion that appointing to the post of *controleur* a Javanese candidate who had successfully completed the senior civil service examination was to be highly recommended. He was convinced that, should Koesomo Joedo make a career for himself within the European Interior Administration, many sons of Javanese leaders would come to the Netherlands for their education with the goal of passing the senior civil service examination, which would lead within a "short period to a superior body of native administrators (who could replace) the present assistant-residents and *controleurs*." "I am

12 Sutherland, *Pangreh Pradja*, 190-192; Letter Koesoemo Joedo to Governor-General Van Heutsz, 18 November 1906, in NA, Colonial Archives after 1900, Vb. 13 January 1908, no. 40, inv. no. 518.

13 Idenburg to Van Heutsz, 6 January 1905, in NA, Colonial Archive after 1900, Vb. 6 January 1905, lt. J1, inv. no. 50; Idenburg to Van Heutsz, 14 February 1905 and 24 April 1905, in NA, Van Heutsz Collection, inv.nr. 2.

convinced,” wrote the governor-general to Minister Idenburg, “that the result will be surprising if the direction I have taken to appoint natives to the European Administrative Body is not abandoned again.”¹⁴

In this matter, Snouck Hurgronje was unsurprisingly on Van Heutsz’ side. He too wished to make no distinction between “natives” and Europeans. Those who did do so were using, as Snouck Hurgronje had written numerous times, a “fictitious racial distinction.” What was important was not origin, but education and development. Koesomo Joedo was in this context not the best example as far as the adviser for Indigenous Affairs was concerned. Snouck thought that he possessed only “average qualities and little energy”; moreover, he had not chosen administrative work out of “love” but for financial reasons. One should not, warned Snouck Hurgronje, attach too much value to Koesomo Joedo’s performance. There were other, better suited Javanese candidates who should be admitted to the European Interior Administration. People would have “to still put up (with the dualistic administration system) [...] for a long time for opportunistic reasons,” but entry to the European Civil Service had to be made dependent on the level of schooling alone. “Since for a long time now the concept of European has no longer been synonymous with Western origin, education and civilisation, and since many natives enjoy the best education, the time has come to see the [...] duality of the administrator positions as resting on two different systems of education.” The appointment of Koesomo Joedo at the European Civil Service therefore had to be seen, as far as Snouck Hurgronje was concerned, as a transitional measure towards a situation he both desired and considered normal: a unitary administration, in which the European Civil Service would to a large extent be replaced by a modern indigenous government.¹⁵ He warned Van Heutsz that he should work “powerfully and using all the means at your disposal” towards the emancipation of indigenous administrators. There was much at stake. If the government kept denying educated indigenous young men the possibility of making a serious career within the administration, “then in an attempt to keep everything, we would lose it all in the end.”¹⁶

The Koesomo Joedo question incidentally seemed to resolve itself when the Javanese aspirant inspector was moved to another governmental department,

14 Van Heutsz to Idenburg, 4 June 1905, in DCNP, Idenburg Archive, inv. no. A II 2b.

15 Snouck Hurgronje to Van Heutsz, 19 February 1905, in *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:552-556.

16 Snouck Hurgronje to Van Heutsz, 28 August 1905, in *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:562-574.

the Indigenous Agricultural Credit System.¹⁷ Nor was Koesoemo Joedo the last Javanese who would pass the senior civil service examination. In 1905, he was followed by Raden Mas Sajogo and in 1907 by Mas Mohammad Achmad and Raden Soejono.¹⁸ It was clear, though, that the problem of the administrative body to which these Western-educated Javanese should be appointed had to be resolved once and for all. Governor-General Van Heutsz no longer allowed Snouck Hurgronje to advise him on this issue. Grave differences in opinion concerning the Aceh policy had led to a break between Van Heutsz and Snouck Hurgronje. "Working in the East Indies gradually turned bitter for me through wilful lack of appreciation and cooperation from the highest echelons," wrote Snouck Hurgronje some time later to Colonel K. van der Maaten. "Maybe my increased sensitivity, resulting from so long a stay, meant that I felt it more keenly than I would have done before, but it simply got to be 'too much' for me."¹⁹ As a result, Snouck Hurgronje decided in March 1906 to leave for the Netherlands, for good, as it turned out later, leaving behind his twenty-one-year-old Sundanese wife (he himself was forty-nine years old) and five children (four of whom were from a previous marriage).²⁰

Without Snouck Hurgronje in the role of adviser for Indigenous Affairs, Van Heutsz eventually allowed himself to be convinced that the Javanese could not occupy the administrative positions reserved for the Dutch. Although he did appoint Koesomo Joedo as an inspector on 2 October 1907, it was on the understanding that in this function he would still be working for the Indigenous Agricultural Credit System.²¹ A real career in the European Civil Service was thus factually excluded and in 1916, Koesomo Joedo, having been a regional inspector of the People's Credit System for almost four years (still as a *controleur à la suite*), was appointed as regent of Ponorogo in the residence of Madiun. "Natives" were not to be allowed into the European Civil Service.²²

17 Excerpt from the register of decisions of the governor-general, 1 July 1905, no. 39, in NA, Colonial Archive after 1900, Vb. 30 December 1905, lt. E31, inv. no. 65.

18 Sutherland, *Pangreh Pradja*, 190.

19 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 11 October 1907, in K. van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Oostersch Instituut, 1948), II, appendix XLVIII.

20 P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam. Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk* (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1987), 130-141.

21 Hulshof Pol to De Graaff, 2 October 1907, in NA, Colonial Archive after 1900, Vb. 13 January 1908, no. 40, inv. no. 518.

22 Cf. H.G. Heijting, "Kan een inboorling worden opgenomen in het corps der Europeesche ambtenaren bij het binnenlandsch bestuur," *Indische Gids* 61 (1939): 18-22.

3 'The Indigenous Civil Servants, Particularly on Java'

The colonial administration was therefore resolute in its decision to stick to a system in which the Dutch administrators and indigenous leaders operated alongside each other. The basis of this continued to be that as far as possible the Dutch administrators would govern the Dutch East Indies at *all* levels of administration. From the outset, the Javanese were excluded from important positions in the administrative apparatus on the grounds of race. The "character failings" or, as the Council of Dutch East Indies termed them, "racial characteristics" of the regents and *wedonos* ensured that, as regards "competence, education, experience, understanding and righteousness," they generally did not meet "by a long way, even the most modest requirements."²³

Snouck Hurgronje did not leave it at this once back in the Netherlands. He was indeed disappointed when he left the Dutch East Indies in March 1906, but on arriving back in the Netherlands this ambitious scholar was certainly not a beaten man. He arranged almost immediately to be interviewed by *Het Vaderland* and declared that it was still his aim to ensure that the indigenous civil servants would be granted greater influence in the entire administration. However, Snouck Hurgronje no longer considered admitting Javanese people with a Western education to the European corps of civil servants in the domestic administration to be a good method of emancipating the Javanese leaders. "Just as it would be irrational to appoint a European as regent, to appoint a native as resident would be equally so; due to their nature, both offices set completely different requirements concerning birth, origin and education," said Snouck Hurgronje, showing that he had somewhat modified his point of view regarding dualism. Whereas at the lower administrative level "a good number of the native and European administrative posts" could be merged, for the time being representatives of Western culture and civilisation must keep the administration of the colonial state in their hands. After all, it was their duty to pass on Western values to the indigenous elite. However, the government of the Dutch East Indies should be striving here to reduce the tutelage of the European domestic administrators.²⁴

Snouck Hurgronje's reputation had preceded him when he made his way to

23 Conclusion of the Council of the Dutch East Indies, 4 March 1904, in NA, Colonial Archives after 1900, Vb. 8 June 1905, lt. N14, inv. no. 57.

24 Interview with *Het Vaderland* on 7 July 1906. See: "Toekenning van grooteren bestuursinvloed aan den inlandschen ambtenaar," *Indische Gids* 28 (1906): 1261-1262. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, "De opleiding van ambtenaren voor den administratieven dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië," in *Verspreide geschriften* IV:2 (Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1924), 69-70.

the Netherlands. In 1906, he had barely arrived back when he was already approached by Leiden University about a professorship in Arabic and the Islamic institutions. He was naturally flattered by this request, but he also realised, with some dismay, that such an appointment could mean the end of his involvement in Dutch East Indies policy and the loss of some of his colonial retirement benefits. In a letter to the minister of the Colonies, Fock, Snouck Hurgronje therefore made it clear that he could only accept the appointment at Leiden University if he could also be associated with the ministry as an adviser for Indigenous and Arabic Affairs, including an official salary.²⁵ Fock agreed to this proposal and consequently Snouck Hurgronje, although now in the Netherlands, remained involved in policies relating to the Dutch East Indies.

For Snouck Hurgronje, one of the most important colonial issues continued to be the relationship between the European and the indigenous administration on Java. The responsible administrators in the Dutch East Indies and the Netherlands were well aware of his opinions on this, but his many policy documents and letters had achieved little in the way of results. Snouck Hurgronje therefore decided to take a decisive step into the public domain with his ideas rather than reserving them only for the eyes of the civil servants in The Hague or Batavia. On 25 March 1908 he gave a lecture in Leiden about the application of article 67 of the Government Regulations which prescribed that, in as far as circumstances permitted, the indigenous population should be left to the immediate governance of its own leaders and should be subjected only to the higher supervision of the European domestic administration. Snouck Hurgronje's lecture proved to be an extremely sharp attack on the policy of keeping the indigenous civil servants in a subservient position. In order to achieve even greater publicity for his opinions, he published the lecture in the autumn of 1908 in *De Gids* under the title of "The Indigenous Civil Service, particularly on Java."

Both during his lecture and in his article Snouck Hurgronje made it clear that, in his view, the administrative principle that was laid down in article 67 of the Government Regulation was the only correct basis for the colonial administrative practice. Approvingly, he quoted the Arabic proverb: "sort above sort: that is mercy." He considered it necessary to state this in clear terms, because only few people in the Netherlands understood how unpleasant it was to be governed by foreigners and even fewer understood that the Asian peoples also always preferred their own administration to colonial administration, especially when the latter was trying so hard to "dissolve" them. "Even under the

25 Snouck Hurgronje to Fock, 25 June 1906, in *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 118-19.

most favourable circumstances,” said Snouck Hurgronje, “foreign control remains a disadvantage for a population, even if it is also sometimes an unavoidable disadvantage.” The colonial administration should therefore aim to give the indigenous leaders and organisations as much room as possible to manoeuvre. If the colonial authorities did not follow this line of action, they would cultivate “in an energetic population endless resistance that would gradually intensify into enmity and hate.”

Although article 67 of the Government Regulations appeared to endorse this, in practice Hurgronje believed it had served “more as an empty symbol than as a living administrative principle.” The “great majority” of the European civil servants who were “bowed under the weight of prejudice” were responsible for this because they had ensured that, instead of functioning as independent civil servants, the indigenous leaders on Java had become the “children and servants in the administrative family,” in other words, “the *wayang* puppets that are played by *dhalangs* who swap over much too quickly.” Snouck Hurgronje did not hesitate to wipe the floor with these *dhalangs*, the European civil servants who, through rash judgement and ignorance and laziness, had started to believe in the moral and intellectual inferiority of their indigenous colleagues. He called on the government to intervene strongly by giving the positions that they deserved to those indigenous civil servants with a Western education. The European civil servants would also have to change their attitude drastically and thus see it as their final aim to “gradually make themselves for a good part superfluous.” In all of this the “own leaders” from article 67 of the Government Regulations were, for Snouck Hurgronje, a completely different kind of administrator, of course, than Jean Chrétien Baud, governor-general of the Dutch East Indies from 1833 to 1836, had conceived of in 1836 when he officially formulated this administrative principle. Whereas Baud was thinking about quasi-feudal national leaders, Snouck Hurgronje did want the indigenous population to be governed by “their own” civil servants, but first and foremost he wanted these civil servants to have a Western education.²⁶

In Snouck Hurgronje's opinion, the true aim of colonial policy must be the voluntary merger of the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies, the realisation of a “noble *political* and *national* sentiment,” namely, the coming into being of a Dutch state consisting of two parts that were geographically far removed from each other “but with profound spiritual bonds.” The Dutch owed this to

26 C. Snouck Hurgronje, “De inlandsche bestuursambtenaren, vooral op Java,” *De Gids* 72 (1908): III, 211-234 (quotes on 216, 217, 223, 232 and 234); cf. “De inlandsche bestuursambtenaar op Java,” *Indische Gids* 30 (1908): 672-674.

themselves. In 1911, Snouck Hurgronje presented a number of Dutch administrators who were on leave with the following words of Goethe:

“Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,
Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen.”²⁷

The legacy alluded to here was the political link between fatherland and colony, and if this unit wished to withstand “the storms of time” Snouck Hurgronje believed the “material merger would have to be followed by the spiritual one.” By “spiritual merger” Snouck Hurgronje did not mean, incidentally, that the Javanese would have to assume Western culture in full. He was for a policy of association, which would enable the Javanese people to “participate in the life of their rulers in *their own way*.” A policy focusing on association would make what was previously foreign for the Javanese people their own. Snouck Hurgronje believed that in the end there would only be “Eastern” and “Western” Dutch people who would “form a whole in a political and national sense in which racial differences do not count.” What counted was therefore only the wish to live as one state. An association policy should, in the eyes of Snouck Hurgronje, focus primarily on the higher groups in Javanese society, who were most able to combine “Western wisdom” with “Eastern experience.” The government should therefore make it possible for the sons of indigenous leaders to receive a Western education and to come to the Netherlands for higher education. Such educated indigenous civil servants should then, to repeat it once more, be granted greater independence. Snouck Hurgronje was less enthusiastic about expanding the *desa* schooling system: not only was this beyond the colonial means, but the psychology of the average person also still represented too many “currently unsolvable mysteries.” Snouck Hurgronje challenged the opponents of a policy focusing on association by making it clear that ambitions awakened in the indigenous populations could no longer be repressed. The only question that still needed addressing was whether “the continuation of the movement that began with such strength will take place with our cooperation and under our leadership or despite our opposition and then under the leadership of others who will not be made to wait for long.” The emergence of a nationalistic movement in the Dutch East Indies did not instil fear in Snouck Hurgronje, but he considered the “strong promotion” of an association policy, which included granting an important part of the colonial administration to educated indigenous civil servants, to be extremely urgent.²⁸

27 Faust I, Nacht. “What you have inherited from your fathers, make it yours to possess it.”

28 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islâm. Vier voordrachten gehouden in de Neder-*

As Snouck Hurgronje wrote this plea, a young nationalist movement was forming in the Dutch East Indies. In 1908, a small number of the *priyayi* and a larger group of older students at the higher education establishments for Javanese had become convinced that the time had come to unite in order to advance the Javanese people. The quick development of China and Japan in particular had led them to believe that, if the Javanese did not develop quickly, they would lag behind the rest of Asia. This belief finally led to the establishment on 20 May 1908 of the *Budi Utomo* ("The Noble Endeavour") association, which held its first congress on 5 October in that year in Jogjakarta.²⁹ For Godard Hazeau, Snouck Hurgronje's successor as adviser on domestic affairs, the significance of the *Budi Utomo* congress was clear. In a letter to Governor-General Van Heutsz, he wrote that it was "of a not to be underestimated significance as the first expression of a new life that, under favourable circumstances, will lead to development and flourishing in the long term." The indigenous society on Java certainly appeared to be about to enter a new phase in its development.³⁰

Against this backdrop, it was striking that Snouck Hurgronje's reflections only related to the position of the traditional Javanese elite, the *priyayi*. *Budi Utomo* was not yet a mass movement – far from it – but from Snouck Hurgronje's observations, it would seem that there were no masses at all on Java. Snouck Hurgronje made it look as if it was all about the regents and that if they could be bound to Dutch convictions and the Dutch administration, this would provide the guarantee of the unthreatened possession of the colony of the Dutch East Indies. In other words, people like Snouck Hurgronje, who were in principle progressive, had in fact a rather traditional view of the structure of the indigenous society. They did not appreciate that it was precisely the students at establishments of higher education for the Javanese people and not the regents who had given the impulse to the formation of *Budi Utomo*.

However this may have come about, with his publications Snouck Hurgronje appeared to be able to count on the approval of the minister of the Colonies, Idenburg. "I agree with the conclusion of Dr Snouck's *De Gids* article from August," the minister wrote to J. Th. Viehoff, the head of the A3 department of his ministry, which was the department that dealt with the colonial administra-

landsch-Indische bestuursacademie (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1911), 78-101, in particular 85, 89-90 and 96.

29 Akira Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism. The Early Years of the Budi Utomo, 1908-1918* (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1972), 26-50.

30 Hazeu to Van Heutsz, 30 December 1908, in *De opkomst van de nationalistische beweging in Nederlands-Indië. Een bronnenpublikatie*, ed. S.L. van der Wal (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1967), 42-47 (quote on 45).

tion. "It is my resolute conviction, on the basis of what I read about Japan and Siam, that we *must* move, and preferably not too slowly, in the direction of the greater independence of the native civil servants."³¹ At the beginning of November 1908 Minister Idenburg wrote to Governor-General Van Heutsz that they must not wait until all the indigenous leaders had been educated in the Western fashion but must immediately commence an experiment to give the indigenous administration more independence, even if it was only in one district or part of one.³²

However, Idenburg's proposal was rejected in the Dutch East Indies. Snouck Hurgronje was no longer Governor-General Van Heutsz's most important adviser; this position was now held by the director for Domestic Administration, the hardworking and intelligent but archconservative Simon de Graaff. He was firmly against the idea of leaving the actual administration to the indigenous leaders. To begin with, he believed, such an experiment would cause a great deal of unrest, given that the most suitable indigenous civil servants would have to be transferred from all over Java to the specific district that had been chosen for the trial. De Graaff was also convinced that such a trial would quickly cause "all sorts of undesirable complications" and would result in "such confusion" that "the matter would lead to a complete fiasco, sufficient to cause the desire to take further steps in the intended direction to be dampened for years."³³

In November 1909, Simon de Graaff came up with his own plan: the conservative answer to the proposals made by Snouck Hurgronje in his article in *De Gids*. In contrast to many colonial civil servants, De Graaff was very aware of the changes that were occurring in the indigenous society and he understood that, sooner or later, the government would have to react to them. If the government, De Graaff wrote in his policy document, "does not want the population to see it forced in the near future to do [...] that which is demanded by the natural course of events and [...] is a sign of the times" then it should strike out on a new course, "quickly and determinedly," with regard to the structure of the domestic administration.³⁴

This new direction was not the one indicated in Snouck Hurgronje's ideas about association. It went without saying that the administrative authority in

31 Idenburg to the head of the A3 Department of the Ministry, 1 October 1908, in NA, Colonial Archives after 1900, Vb. 3 November 1908, no. 18/1807, inv. no. 595.

32 Idenburg to Van Heutsz, 3 November 1908, in NA, Colonial Archives after 1900, Vb. 3 November 1908, no. 18/1807, inv. no. 595.

33 S. de Graaff, *Nota over eene hervorming van het bestuurswezen in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1909), 66-68.

34 *Ibid.*, 80-81.

the Dutch East Indies should remain in the hands of a racially “pure” Dutch administrative corps. The indigenous civil servants and leaders should never be allowed to assume executive positions within the internal administration *alongside* their Dutch colleagues. De Graaff was very categorical here:

Just as there is no room for Europeans, however driven they might be in their use of native languages and however greatly they have penetrated the life of the native people, in the indigenous administrative corps, [...] it is not fitting to open the way to natives entering the corps of European civil servants whose duty it is to maintain the general administration with respect for our terms of Western government and the interests of the Dutch supreme authority.

De Graaff could not sympathise at all with Snouck Hurgronje’s reflections on whether article 67 of the Government Regulation had been correctly implemented. Snouck Hurgronje was “seriously misled” with these comments. What was the case here? Article 67 did, it was true, speak of the “immediate governing” of the population by indigenous leaders but also of “higher supervision” by the European administration. That this had led to a dualistic administrative structure was no denial of what article 67 had to say but merely “a necessary outcome” of “the pressing circumstances.” De Graaff believed that the *controleurs* were, in principle, only instruments of the residents and assistant-residents to allow the higher supervision required by the Government Regulation to be more than nominal. The task of the *controleurs* therefore consisted of checking the lower indigenous administration together with the regent.³⁵

In other words, De Graaff did not wish to make any changes to the foundations of the colonial administration on Java. The Dutch administrators must be able to assert their authority at all levels of the administration. He did want to provide the regents with “proficient, well-educated native helpers who are permeated as much as possible by Western social opinion,” but this was all he wanted.³⁶ Although there was also some criticism of De Graaff’s plans, he expressed the views of many Dutch administrators who could see a continuing role for themselves in indigenous society. The administrators continued to defend almost *en masse* the idea that the indigenous civil servants were unreliable by definition, primarily because of their “Oriental” characteristics, which meant that the only thing that could protect the indigenous population was

35 De Graaff, *Nota over eene hervorming van het bestuurswezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 17-23.

36 *Ibid.*, 1-7 and 51-81; for these so-called “assistant-regents” see further Idenburg to De Waal Malefijt, 22 March 1911, in DCNP, Archief De Waal Malefijt, inv. no. 38.

daily contact between the inspector and the population. "Only such *intimate* contact can act as a guarantee," Fokkens, a former resident, wrote, "that efforts are continually being made to ensure that the common man is not cheated, robbed and bled dry by Arabs or Chinese and [...] abused by native leaders, their family members and accomplices."³⁷

Snouck Hurgronje, however, found De Graaff's ideas thoroughly reprehensible. He believed that the "native helpers" with a Western education should, for example, start to act as "the special instruments of the European administration" so that they would continually, albeit indirectly, be able to look after all the details of the everyday administration. "Anyone who is familiar with the smell of the atmosphere of the higher civil servants in the Indies," wrote Snouck Hurgronje, "can certainly smell in all of this the stink of deeply rooted mistrust about the native world's suitability for higher education."³⁸

4 The "Detutelisation" of the Indigenous Administration

In the meantime the development of Javanese society was by no means stagnant. In 1911 the *Sarekat Islam* was established. This movement quickly attracted over a million followers with a variety of nationalistic demands. P.H. Fromberg, previously a member of the Dutch East Indian Supreme Court, offered an incisive analysis of the consequences of the rise of the *Sarekat Islam* in an article published in 1914, entitled "The indigenous movement on Java":

The chief basis of government policy, that is, rule over the indigenous populations by their own leaders, whom the Government Regulations (art. 67) regard as chiefs and representatives of the people, is in a state of irreversible decay. At present the historical and traditional element that envelops the regents, from which they derive their authority as well as through state appointment, will retain its integrity, but the decay cannot be withstood.³⁹

In fact, every initiative related to internal governance was becoming obsolescent with the rise of *Sarekat Islam*. Whether one adhered to the conservative or

37 F. Fokkens, *De ontworpen reorganisatie van het bestuur in Nederlandsch-Indië* ('s-Gravenhage: Daamen, 1911), 23-36 (quote on 23).

38 Snouck Hurgronje, "Het wetsontwerp-Malefijt betreffende de bestuursinrichting in Nederlandsch-Indië," in *Verspreide geschriften* IV:2, 335-336.

39 P.H. Fromberg, "The Indigenous Movement on Java," *De Gids* 78 (1914): IV, 227.

the progressive wing, whether one counted oneself a Simon de Graaff or a Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, the standpoint was always one in which the traditional indigenous leaders played a central role, in the one case from time immemorial subordinate to European internal policy, in the other trained in a more modern ethos and with greater independence. Even Snouck Hurgronje's "ideas of association" seem out-dated. The events on Java made clear that it was no longer possible to sustain the idea that it was sufficient to train the indigenous leaders in such a way that they in turn could help their fellow-inhabitants. The feudal structure of society, that for the most conservative through to the most progressive thinkers formed the basis for their ideas about future government, was now definitively seen to rest on insecure foundations. If the authorities wished to continue to enhance the development of the indigenous society—by which is meant here the rise of a nationalist movement—then it was obliged to develop a completely fresh vision about the future of internal government: the population must be accorded a place in the colonial administration itself. The Dutch East Indies must be given democratic administrative structures.

But it would never come to this. In September 1917, Governor-General Van Limburg Stirum indeed initiated a concrete reform of internal administration along the lines of Snouck Hurgronje's 1908 article "Indigenous administrators, with special reference to Java," an article which, at the time of its publication, was probably still of some relevance, but certainly not almost a decade later. Nevertheless Van Limburg Stirum decided once again to make clear to the European authorities that the era of a permanent "state of tutelage" in which the indigenous administrators were held was over once and for all, and that it was necessary to steer "a new course."⁴⁰ But his director of Internal Affairs H. Carpentier Alting wanted to go further. The most ideal solution would then be the entire abolition of the dual administrative system, but he realised that such a measure would never be acceptable. He therefore proposed to remove the *controleurs* as co-administrator solely for the departments of inspection on Java and Madura, in itself a revolutionary measure within the colonial context. Abolishing the *controleurs* in this way would in any case bring about dramatic changes to the administration, given the permanent and significant influence they exercised on internal administrative affairs. The director took the view that many regents "[saw] in the *controleur* the man responsible for everyday policy." In other words, it was this official who "[gave] the regent in question a sense of dissatisfaction [and] in whatever way [prevented] the advancement

40 Van Limburg Stirum to Pleijte, 15 September 1917, in NA, Archief Koloniën na 1900, Vb. 11 January 1918, no. 33, inv.nr. 1781.

of beneficial qualities within indigenous administrative circles." In future the role of the inspector should be restricted to that of a co-operator to the local assistant resident. Complete control of the indigenous administration should be left to the regents themselves, a view that did not, however, imply that Carpentier Alting considered these officials wholly capable of independent supervision: for a long while to come the inspectors would continue to be indispensable as "guides." There was equally a large difference in rank between an inspector who, by means of his *wedonos*, more or less administered directly, and one who was solely responsible for advising a regent. So the measures proposed by Carpentier Alting would dramatically alter the manner in which the practice of indigenous administration was carried out on Java and Madura, and indeed in the direction that had previously been indicated by Snouck Hurgronje himself.⁴¹

In principle, Governor-General Van Limburg Stirum agreed with Carpentier Alting's proposals, but it remained unclear to him when, and indeed whether, those proposals could actually be implemented. He therefore commissioned the director of Internal Affairs to develop by way of example a concrete plan for a given regency. To this end Van Limburg Stirum suggested selecting Cianjur in the residence of Preanger (now Priangan) Regency, where the young protégé of Snouck Hurgronje, Moeharam Wiranatakoesoema was regent.⁴² Carpentier Alting took up this idea, and in February 1918 empowered the resident of the Priangan Regency, *Jonkheer* (title of nobility) L. De Stuers, to develop a directive that would share the regency's charges and competences between the European and the indigenous administrators.⁴³

Resident De Stuers appeared to fully support Carpentier Alting's initiative. Moreover, he was attracted by the choice of Cianjur because of all the regencies in his residency it was among the most straightforward to administer. It would be possible to intervene in case of possible difficulties. Furthermore, De Stuers was completely convinced of the capacities of Wiranatakoesoema who, in his view, "as far as intellectual development and character traits are concerned" would make the ideal ruler of an autonomised regency. In the provisions De Stuers drew up for Cianjur the number of Dutch administrators was reduced to two: one assistant-resident and one *controleur*, both based in the capital Cianjur itself. The *controleur* was in the first instance expected to assist the regent and to manage the work of the regent's office. The assistant resident

41 Carpentier Alting to Van Limburg Stirum, 16 November 1917, in NA, Archief Koloniën na 1900, Vb. 16 October 1920, no. 34, inv.nr. 2183.

42 Erdbrink to Carpentier Alting, 30 January 1918, in *ibid.*

43 Carpentier Alting to De Stuers, 9 February 1918, in *ibid.*

would be given the task of “advanced general supervision.” The latter role meant that he would consult with the regent in regard to all cases of important administrative concern. The proposal entailed allocating the regent general administrative leadership within the regency, assisted by an official who must occupy a higher rank than that of *wedono*. The older function of *patih* was thus revived under De Stuers’s proposal. The dual positions of regent and *patih* would assign all responsibility to the *wedonos*, whose tasks were considerably extended as a result of the abolition of the inspectorate. In this way the *wedono* would act as district judge and chief of police, take responsibility for the election of *desa* heads or minor administrators, and among other matters supervise minor administrative credit affairs, indigenous schools and teachers of religious education.⁴⁴

De Stuers’s plans were approved by both Wiranatakoesoema along with the other indigenous administrative offices in Cianjur, and by Carpentier Alting as well, and they were presented to Governor-General Van Limburg Stirum on 3 July 1918.⁴⁵ During the installation of the People’s Council, the latter had already, in fact, officially made the further detutalisation known, and had even emphasised that the Dutch East Indian government—like Snouck Hurgronje himself—were at the same time convinced of the sovereignty of the traditional indigenous power structures. “The progeny of the established higher echelons in Javanese society,” would, in his view, “continue to play a leading role in the development of their people. Greater independence will therefore be ensured them as a result of the steps that are leading towards the autonomisation of indigenous administration. The greater responsibility that will result will in turn lead to an increase in the self-confidence that must form the basis of the moral guidance without which a nation cannot arrive at a higher destiny.”⁴⁶ In other words, for Van Limburg Stirum it was the regent families that were crucial to the maintenance of colonial authority and the progress of an indigenous society, and this was precisely what Snouck Hurgronje had proposed.

By the middle of 1918 the governor-general therefore had to hand a detailed proposal, with which the detutalisation of the indigenous administration could be put to the test. On 23 September 1918, at his summer residence Ciapanas, he signed a decree bringing into force the detutalisation of the indigenous administration on Java and Madura. At first sight such a decree did not

44 De Stuers to Carpentier Alting, 29 May 1918, in NA, Archief Koloniën na 1900, Vb. 16 October 1920, no. 34, inv.nr. 2183. See also Sutherland, *Pangreh Pradja*, 314-315.

45 Carpentier Alting to Van Limburg Stirum, 3 July and 1 August 1918, in NA, Archief Koloniën na 1900, Vb. 16 October 1920, no. 34, inv.nr. 2183.

46 *Handelingen van den Volksraad*, 1918, 2.

seem to amount to much. It simply opened up the “possibility” for a “modest” transfer of various powers from European administration to indigenous administrators “as a trial measure.” It was left to the residents themselves to determine which competences would be affected by this measure.⁴⁷ Even the decree, in which it was Cianjur that was earmarked as the regency for this experiment in detutelisation, did not seem exceptionally far-reaching. A number of powers were explicitly named that could be transferred in this way, powers that among other things concerned land rental to Europeans, the cultivation of waste ground, the appointment and dismissal of police officers, and the splitting up and merging of *desas*. But it was not the transfer of these powers, “the detutelisation in the stricter sense of the word,”⁴⁸ that was in any way remarkable; it was the change in the administrative division of Cianjur, “the detutelisation in the broader sense of the word,” that in fact led to something quite revolutionary. The administrative units of Cianjur and Sukanegara were actually abolished, as a result of which one of the *controleurs* was transferred elsewhere, while the other was attached to the assistant-resident. As a result of this measure, in addition to the powers transferred on the basis of the detutelisation decree, the *wedonos* were simultaneously obliged to fulfill many other tasks independently, now that most of the executive tasks of the inspectors were completely entrusted to the indigenous administrators. In Cianjur the overseer had in fact been withdrawn to a supervisory position, in consequence of which he would officially be solely answerable to the regent in the future. On account of the extra administrative burden placed on the indigenous administration, an experienced *patih* once more had to be appointed, who no longer needed to be concerned with the administration of a given district.⁴⁹

In choosing to detutelise, the authorities intended not only to give the indigenous administrators a more independent role: there was another, implicit intention that lay behind this decision. This was the neutralisation of the growing might of the nationalist movement. It was not their intention that the process should be rolled back, making further experimentation difficult to carry out. During the official ceremony marking the detutelisation of Cianjur on 8 January 1919 resident De Stuers made no secret of this. “This reorganisation is frequently spoken of as an experiment,” he said. “This is not correct. In the case of an experiment the assumption is that if it is unsuccessful, one can return to the old way of doing things, and in this particular instance that is simply not

47 *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1918, no. 674.

48 The phrase is taken from J.M. Pieters, *De zoogenaamde ontvoogding van het inlandsch bestuur* (Wageningen: Veenman, 1932), 33.

49 *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1918, no. 675.

possible." He made it clearer still to the indigenous administrators that in view of the authority vested in them by the leadership, they should maintain that authority, "above all in these times in which disaffected elements attempt to remove the insignia of authority and place themselves between the governors and the people." Naturally, De Stuers did not need to specify what he meant by "disaffected elements." He enjoined the indigenous administrators emphatically not to tolerate

any deviation from the charges and competences invested in you by the government, nor that any grouping of irresponsible people should attempt to intervene between you and the people, thereby undermining your indispensable power by sowing mistrust and contempt for you as custodians of that power. There must be no toleration of any attempt whatsoever to undermine matters of state that come within the competence of the Internal Administration by elements, often posing as representatives of the people, who would disempower and sideline the official administrators.⁵⁰

Needless to say, the authorities kept a very close eye on developments in the detutelled Cianjur. It was always possible that detutellation might provide a response to various problems facing the indigenous administration, not least those having to do with the rise of the nationalist movement. During 1919, the various indigenous administrators with a role in Cianjur repeatedly had to report to the government about various issues in the regency. Naturally the regent Wiranatakoesoema affirmed that up to that point his executive had enjoyed great success, and in so doing he even openly attacked the *Sarekat Islam* movement. The relationship between the administration and the populace had perceptibly improved, witness the number of *desa* works that, since the removal of the *controleurs*, had been brought under the control of the *wedonos*, something that previously, because of physical resistance from the populace, would not have been possible. For Wiranatakoesoema another positive aspect of the detutellation was the transfer of the office of the *jaksa*, the indigenous justice officer, to the *kabupaten*. As a result, the regent could now be closely involved with judicial matters, which were previously the preserve of the assistant resident. Advances had also been made, according to Wiranatakoesoema,

50 Oration by De Stuers, in KITV, Archief Hazeu, inv. no. 17; see also Soenardja, "De bestuursreorganisatie in de gemeenschap Tjiandoer," *De oud-Osviaan: Maandblad van de Vereeniging inlandsche ambtenaren bij het binnenlands Bestuur in Nederlands-Indië* "Oud-Osvianen Bond" 2 (1919/20): 4.

in disempowering the nationalist movement, even though many Javanese were still reluctant to express themselves openly towards the indigenous administrators. In this respect a sense of discontent still prevailed among the populace, something that surfaced through the “familiar, spiritually destructive ‘gripping’” of the *Sarekat Islam*. This “gripping” would, however, disappear of its own accord, in the view of the regent who two years previously had hosted the nationalist party during the first national congress. “Trust in the fullest sense of the word,” wrote an optimistic Wiranatakoesoema “will be more effective than a show of force”—in so doing allowing the government to hear precisely what it wished to hear.⁵¹

Like Wiranatakoesoema, resident De Stuers was generally speaking satisfied with the results of the detutelisation. The indigenous administrators seemed perfectly capable of performing the tasks assigned to them. However, it could not be maintained that the detutelisation had caused the power of the *Sarekat Islam* to wane. According to the resident, one had only to read the reports of the well-attended assemblies of this movement in the regency of Cianjur to appreciate that it was scarcely possible to detect a growing trust on the populace’s behalf in the indigenous administration.⁵²

Governor-General Van Limburg Stirum had not waited for the results of the “experiment” in Cianjur before deciding to detutelisate other regencies. He took the view that detutelisation was no less than “one of the most important measures that aim to allow the indigenous society to grow to greater independence.”⁵³ Between 1919 and 1921, at least one regency in every residence on Java was detutelisated “in the broader sense of the word.”⁵⁴ The districts of the *controleurs* in the regencies concerned were disbanded and in general terms the indigenous administrators were allocated the same competences and charges as their colleagues in Cianjur. In these regencies the European Internal Administration was only represented in its primary location by an assistant resident,

51 Report Wiranatakoesoema, 22 June 1920, in NA, Archief Koloniën na 1900, Vb. 1 February 1922, no 52, inv. no. 2373.

52 L. de Steurs, “Verslag nopens de werking van de ontvoogding van het inlandsch bestuur in de afdeeling Tjiandjoer van 1919 en 1920,” 13 September 1920, in NA, Archief Koloniën na 1900, Vb. 1 February 1922, no 52, inv. no. 2373.

53 Valkenburg to the heads of the departments, 30 December 1918, in NA, Archief Koloniën na 1900, Vb. 16 October 1920, no. 34, inv. no. 2183.

54 *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1919, no. 668 (Banjumas), no. 804 (Blora); *ibid.*, 1920, no. 44 (Pasuruan), no. 45 (Batang), no. 66 (Berkbek), no. 91 (Indramajoe & Cherbon), no. 128 (Grisee), no. 246 (Bangkalan); *ibid.*, 1921, no. 353 (Seang), no. 424 (Banjoewangi), no. 425 (Krawang), no. 476 (Koeningen & Madjalengka). In addition the following regencies were autonomised before the 1925 Governmental Reform: Madiun & Ngawi (*ibid.*, no. 435) and Megatan & Patjitan (*ibid.*, 1927, no 534).

supported at most by one *controleur*. The uniformity of the detutalisation further enabled the government to incorporate the *Inlandsch ontvoogdingsbesluit* (“detutalisation decision”) in the *Staatsblad* on 9 May 1921, in which the number of issues to be considered for inclusion in the transfer of competencies was actually extended.⁵⁵

Of course, it was not so much the transfer of competences but the removal of the *controleur* as co-administrator in internal affairs that was by far the most important consequence of this policy, a policy that had been propagated by Snouck Hurgronje in particular a decade before, in order to take concrete steps towards the reform of the interior administration on Java and Madura. Eventually many indigenous administrators came to view the detutalisation on Java and Madura as the start of a new era. Notohadisuryo, the regent of Banyuwangi, addressed the People’s Council with these words: “The detutalisation process is indeed a matter of honour to our indigenous peoples, a matter of the greatest importance. I cannot adequately express how important this occasion is to us. For detutalisation contains the core of the self-governance so long promised us.”⁵⁶ But there was criticism as well. The former aspirant-inspector Koesemo Joedo made it emphatically clear to the People’s Council that he was anything but satisfied with “the quantity and quality of the competences transferred.” In his view, the issues that were the concern of the transfer of competences vied with each other for clarity of purpose.⁵⁷ Whatever the truth of the matter, the indigenous administration certainly operated more independently, but the question as to whether this measure had indeed strengthened the position of the indigenous administrators themselves in respect of the populace and—in consequence—had diminished the role of the nationalist movement, was of course another matter altogether.

It quickly became apparent that the nationalist movement had lost none of its influence, but instead could now rely on still more support from the populace. Eventually this led, in colonial circles, to a conservative reaction characterised by a distancing of themselves from the very principles upon which the concept of detutalisation had been based. “Abrogation, liberation, autonomisation, information, association, socialism, ethics, and so many other such terms,” thundered assistant-resident M.B. van der Jagt in the People’s Council,

55 Ibid., 1921, no. 310. See also: *ibid.*, 1921, no. 779; *ibid.*, 1922, no. 438 and *ibid.*, 1923, no. 276.

56 *Handelingen van den Volksraad*, 1921, 312; see also: *ibid.*, 1922, 264; and *ibid.*, 1923, 293.

57 *Handelingen van den Volksraad*, 1920, First General Assembly, 503. Djajadinigrat later insisted that the transferred competencies were “of such minimal importance” (“*van zóó gering belang*”) that he could not even recall them. See A. Djajadinigrat, “De positie van de regenten op Java en Madoera in het huidige bestuursstelsel,” *Indisch Genootschap* (1929): 99-100.

“have become the mantras under which the pseudo-leaders, the indigenous populace, are quickly being caught up in modish terminology. Even now, God help us, full-blooded Europeans are busy with their demolition work, visible to all, even the outsiders, the non-indigenous peoples.”⁵⁸

From within Leiden University, which would come to be known as a bastion of progressive colonial thinking, emanated a note of dissent. In 1923, Snouck Hurgronje wrote in an article in *De Gids* entitled “Forgotten jubilees” that the administration in the Dutch East Indies was truly in every area “a concatenation of abysmal misunderstandings.” The majority of colonial administrators paid only lip service to their task, without any awareness of responsibility. “A minority does possess such awareness,” wrote the Leiden professor, “but perceives it as gradually eroding under the pressure of a despicable system, that shows appalling injustices on a daily basis.” Snouck Hurgronje therefore urged “a powerful reform of the system of government in the Dutch East Indies,” as a result of which he above all wished to bring an end to “the contemptible *system of administration*, that rests on a failure to recognise the individual lives of the indigenous people, that consistently operates in despotic fashion, without any sense of enlightenment.”⁵⁹

The period when progressive colonial thinkers were celebrated, was, however, long gone. Conservative voices could count on more consent in colonial circles. An example of the latter was the book *Koloniale vraagstukken van heden en morgen* (“Colonial questions of today and tomorrow”) that the future Prime-Minister Hendrik Colijn wrote on board ship back to the Netherlands in 1928 after a four-month tour of Java and Sumatra. In his view, the only correct policy was to regard every development in the Dutch East Indies in the context of an indigenous, oriental society. A policy based on association would, on the contrary, operate in a destabilising manner, and, what was worse, would in the opinion of many undermine “the authority of the indigenous chiefs and of *adat* organisations, that we can ill afford to lose.” Association would allow space for “political agitation” on the part of the nationalist movement which, according to Colijn, was “merely an upper layer of the populace, as thin as the outer membrane of a grain of rice.” The anti-revolutionary proponent Colijn thus considered the regents as more than purely administrators. In his view, they were “also the forum and negotiators for the populace, a populace aware that both *respect* and *obedience* are required from them.” As a result, the government would not be able to avoid future dealings in support of such local

58 *Handelingen van den Volksraad*, Second General Assembly 1918-1919, 200-201.

59 C. Snouck Hurgronje, “Vergeten jubilé’s,” *De Gids* 87, no. 4 (1923): 79, 81; C. Snouck Hurgronje, “Naschrift op [afterword to] Vergeten jubilé’s,” *De Gids* 87, no. 4 (1923): 330.

chiefs, and would decidedly be unable to reckon on an expansion of democratic, Western, institutions.⁶⁰

Snouck Hurgronje was appalled by this attitude: “Despotic authority has left its traces across the entire world,” he wrote in response to Colijn’s book. “We would make ourselves a picture of ridicule abroad were we to attempt to weaken a natural democratic movement that has arisen and flourished in the Dutch East Indies not least through our presence there, to smother it by galvanising the power of an aristocratic class whose authority has been undermined through our own system of governance for an entire century.”⁶¹ In this way Snouck Hurgronje also distanced himself from his earlier elitist theory of association. He was now drawn to the liberal-democratic movement, which was at this time fighting against the tide. It was moreover clear where sympathy for a modern Indonesia lay. Achmad Djajadiningrat contributed forcefully to the debate in a speech to the *Indisch Genootschap* in 1929, arguing against those who believed that “the glory of the *pajong*” could be revived on Java. The regent was convinced that it was precisely the reversal of the process of democracy and the modernising that would undermine the authority of the indigenous administrators. “Let us not forget that the present-day Javan is not the Javan of hitherto. He does not expect an invisible *berkah* or blessing from his overseer. [...] He wants to see accomplishments.”⁶²

But Snouck Hurgronje and Djajadiningrat were voices calling in the wilderness. Certainly during the 1930s, the Dutch East Indies took on the character of a police state, nationalism was violently suppressed, and even the detutelisation of its indigenous administration partially rescinded. Snouck Hurgronje would not live to see the disastrous consequences of this colonial policy. He died on 26 June 1936.

5 Conclusion

Van Doorn and Hendrix in their brief sketch of a “sociology of the colonial order” have rightly ascertained that this order consisted of a system that aimed at “maintaining the initiative of the upper echelons of colonial society in relation to the lower strata.” Where a nationalist movement attempted to take over this initiative “from the bottom up,” as was the case in the Netherlands East

60 H. Colijn, *Koloniale vraagstukken van heden tot morgen* (Amsterdam: De Standaard, 1928), 17-18, 45, 85-86.

61 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Colijn over Indië* (Amsterdam: H.J.W. Becht, 1928), 26.

62 Djajadiningrat, “De positie van de regenten,” 90.

Indies from the First World War, the colonial authorities had two possible protective measures at their disposal. First, they could opt to respect and preserve as far as possible the existing indigenous social structure and culture, in other words to allow as many as possible of the traditional authority relationships to continue to exist, but they could also endeavour to give the colonial order its own stability, by creating a modern bureaucracy and semi-democratic institutions in which the modern indigenous elites would have a place. In other words, by creating a modern colonial state.⁶³

From the end of the nineteenth century, the Netherlands East Indies colonial state had indeed attempted to create stability through a process of modernisation and rationalisation: specific government departments were created and a cautious start was made on instituting joint decision-making fora, such as the People's Council. As a consequence of the association theory propagated mainly by Snouck Hurgronje, modernisation and rationalisation were the keywords in the policies relating to the indigenous administrators. Not only should they receive a modern, Western education, they should also be given a much more significant role within the administration. The detutalisation of the indigenous administration would be the practical consequence of this policy. There was also a paradoxical aspect to detutalisation: it was focused on the *traditional* indigenous elite rather than aiming to further incorporate the nationalist movement or the indigenous people into the colonial state structure. The relation between the government and the people would have to be maintained primarily via the indigenous administrators who had been released from tutelage and had received a modern education, while the influence of the nationalist movement could at the same time be neutralised by the same autonomised officials.

Snouck Hurgronje had played a crucial role in these developments, first as adviser for Indigenous Affairs, later as professor in Leiden and adviser at the ministry for the Colonies. He had built up a good relationship on Java with families from the Javanese and Sundanese elites and encouraged young *priyayi* to gain a modern education. As a result, a group of ambitious young Javanese men was formed who, in terms of the level of their education, were equal to the Dutch administrators who occupied positions level with or superior to them. It was clear to Snouck Hurgronje that this group of young Javanese and Sundanese had to be given a place within the colonial administration. In his opinion, the structure of the colonial state should in no way be based on "a fictitious racial distinction." It was not ancestry that was important, but educa-

63 J.A.A. van Doorn and W.J. Hendrix, *Het Nederlands/Indonesisch conflict. Ontsporing van geweld* (Amsterdam en Dieren: De Bataafsche Leeuw 1985), 67-69.

tion and personal development.

It was on the basis of this reasoning that Snouck Hurgronje was in favour of appointing Koemoeso Joedo to the ranks of the so-called European Civil Service, while there was an unwritten rule stating that these positions were reserved for the Dutch – even though in the colonies these “Dutch” may have been born of indigenous mothers. Governor Van Heutsz eventually followed Snouck Hurgronje’s advice and in 1904 appointed Koesoemo Joedo as prospective *controleur*, but this appointment did not endure within the colonial context: there were too many forces that defended the continuing presence of an entirely Dutch-occupied administrative corps.

Snouck Hurgronje subsequently concentrated on the “detutélisation” of the indigenous leaders on Java. In 1908 he wrote an exceptionally influential article containing ideas that were eventually put into practice a decade later. Indonesian bureaucrats were extremely proficient at prevaricating and postponing measures that they considered less correct, but eventually at the end of 1918 Snouck Hurgronje’s protégé Wiranatakoesoema obtained a more independent position within the colonial administration as regent of Cianjur. It was a measure that would have been appropriate in 1908, but that in 1918, following the rise of the nationalist movement on Java, had lost its relevance. It would be difficult to blame Snouck Hurgronje for failing to perceive the rise of this nationalist movement in the intervening period. Just as other “Indonesian specialists” who had established themselves in the Netherlands following their career, he based his ideas partly on his experiences from the period in which he played an active role in the colony. The development of Javanese society following the foundation of *Budi Utomo* and the *Sarekat Islam* was difficult to follow from a distance.

Scarcely any measures were taken to give the nationalist movement a role in the colonial administration. The establishment of the People’s Council was in this context barely a minimal first step and in any event was not followed by further measures. After 1918 colonial politics were in the grip of conservative powers. These included most of the Dutch officials who were old enough to have experienced the period before the rise of the nationalist movement and young enough to still have a large part of their career ahead of them. They held fast to the idea that the most important elements of Indonesian society were still organised along traditional and feudal lines. A modern colonial state was in this context little more than an anomaly. This denied the importance and the influence of the nationalist movement and the ideas about the need to modernise the colonial administration and to provide a Western education for its indigenous officials. Meanwhile, feudal “national leaders” and traditional institutions should, on the contrary, give the colonial order the stability and

legitimacy it needed. In ethical circles, too, the idea that the individual, “oriental” character of Indonesian society should be preserved as far as possible, was strongly embraced.

Snouck Hurgronje was powerless to resist this. At the age of 66, he did publish a cutting article in *De Gids* in which he advocated a “powerful reform of the political structure of the Dutch East Indies,” where “one should reject the assumption of moral and intellectual inferiority on the part of the indigenous people” and afford them “free representative bodies and as much autonomy as possible” – but the tide had turned. What ensued was a policy that took absolutely no account of the real evolution of Indonesian society, where the growing influence of the nationalist movement constituted an important aspect. There was no question of democratising the colonial administration, and the detutelisation of the indigenous leaders was partially reversed. Consolidating the position of the Dutch officials may have laid the basis for “a reinvigorated *Beamtenstaat*,” as Benda wrote;⁶⁴ what was more important was that the legitimacy of this state had been fundamentally damaged.

In the final event, the influence of Snouck Hurgronje on the development of the administrative structure of the colony was relatively minor. It is true that a number of fundamental questions arose when he occupied the position of adviser for Indigenous Affairs, but as a result of his conflict with Governor-General Van Heutsz, he left for the Netherlands, thereby losing his influence. Consequently, it was easier for conservative powers in the colony to resist the reforms he advocated. Snouck Hurgronje’s most important contribution was his *De Gids* article “The indigenous administrators, particularly on Java,” that ensured that the indigenous civil service on Java were eventually “detutelisated.” But this measure, too, was a case of “too little and too late.” The influence that a Leiden professor from his house on the Rapenburg could exercise on colonial policy proved to be subject to significant limitations.

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64 Benda, “The Pattern of Administrative Reforms,” 589-605.

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Snouck Hurgronje, Shari'a, and the Anthropology of Islam

John Bowen

Dedicated to Petrus Voorhoeve (1899-1996), who, in his devotion to Sumatran scholarship and selfless work at the KITLV collection, represents in remarkable fashion the Leiden tradition of working to ensure that knowledge, once gained, is transmitted to the next generation.

1 Snouck as Fieldworker

In this paper I will ask how some of the arguments put forth over a century ago by C. Snouck Hurgronje look today, in the light of current field-based knowledge.¹ I do so quite unabashedly from the perspective of my own work. All those who have worked on Aceh have done so after reading the writings of Snouck Hurgronje. I would like to begin by returning to three of his claims about shari'a and social practices.

First, he argued that Islamic law and Islamic practices have had little to do with each other since the very beginning of Islam. For Snouck, *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf* (roughly, law and mysticism) formed a well-developed tradition that had less and less success in doing what it was supposed to do, namely, shaping how Muslims actually practice their religion. This was just as true for Catholicism, he added, where canon law had little to do with practices, laws, and morality in Catholic countries.² What Snouck meant by law was rather narrow and static: the fixed set of rules and doctrines that derive from the revealed texts. But he recognised the expansive role played by practical accommodations, what he sometimes called “dogma,” whereby elements of local traditions, or interests of local people, were baptised as “Islamic.” So: “In its interpretation of the law, the

1 This text is a lightly edited version of the C. Snouck Hurgronje lecture (and third annual LUCIS lecture) delivered in Leiden on 3 November 2011, which the author preferred to see in print as such. Hence it does not contain the usual bibliographic support. Readers may consult the introductory chapter in this volume for further references.

2 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acehnese*, vol. 2, trans. A.W.S. O'Sullivan (Leiden: Brill, 1906), 271.

Muslim school has always neglected the requirements of actual life, but in dogma it has conformed more and more to these human needs.”³

“Dogma” or the “Catholic instinct” of Islam involves the readiness of local practitioners and scholars to allow into the locally-practiced tradition both the social norms that come entirely from local history—*adat* and *‘urf*—and the developments of Islamic notions in new directions, as when the generally accepted ideas about spirits, jinn and *aulia* are drawn on to allow people to make extensive petitionary prayers to saints.

Snouck also referred here to ways in which scholars and others weighed elements from the canon to correspond to local needs. For example, Acehnese considered performing the salat to be important and worth practicing when it performed social functions, such as bringing on the rain or bringing together people, as on the *‘Id* days. But they neglected the requisite regular performance of salat because those performances did not meet any such “human needs.”

He also observed, without being able to explain, that people refrained from eating pork, and they did assiduously pay their zakat, because they saw these as importance, but they cared less about observing other prohibitions, or about looking into how the zakat was distributed. Here, Snouck’s acuity of observation opens the way for anthropological analyses of this selectivity. Today, drawing on the work of Marcel Mauss, we would say that practices that invoke the obligation to give and receive, or that draw social boundaries, would find widespread appeal in any society. One pays the zakat because one is obliged to repay God for the fertility of the crops, and people living in Aceh have pointed to failure to pay it as an explanation for illness in a family or poor harvests. Avoiding pork marks off Muslims from others, and reinforces pressures to avoid marrying non-Muslims.

Snouck did not have the benefit of this largely twentieth-century comparative work, however, and he saw these practices as reflecting the importance of local customs and superstitions. He saw what was occurring and reported it accurately, but had recourse to a blanket idea of “superstition” to explain Acehnese practices.

Secondly, Snouck thought that this disjunction of law and practice was true everywhere. He refused any marginalisation of the Indies, although he did this by making a negative point, namely, that one finds the same non-observance of the law in Egypt or Arabia that one finds in the Indies. Neither the customary laws of the Arabs nor the *Qanuns* of the Ottomans were any closer to the shari‘a, the revealed law, than were the *adat* rules of the Indonesians.

3 Ibid.

All this is food for reflection on the part of Europeans who take upon themselves to write on the Muhammedanism of Indonesia. Let them cease to apply to their scanty observation of native life the test of their still more imperfect knowledge of the law and doctrine of Islam, in order to arrive at the surprising conclusion that the Malays, Javanese, Achehnese, etc., are not nations of theologians and jurists or book-Muhammedans modeled from wax.⁴

In other words, in terms of following the law, all Muslims are marginal, as are all Catholics and, one would presume, all Jews and Protestants.

Third, he argued that determining whether a practice is Islamic or not is a matter of determining how it is justified. Those practical teachings that interpret a locally-derived superstition as invoking the aid of God or the aid of saints against the Devil are within the bounds of Islam, as indeed local scholars would say, because they follow orthodox reasoning. Their local derivation does not rid them of Islamic legitimacy. However, those practices that are in clear contradiction with teachings of Islam, usually because they commit the sin of *shirk* or polytheism, are seen by local scholars as un-Islamic, and we should do so as well.

Furthermore, the same action can be given both kinds of interpretation, and thus can be considered by us and by local scholars as Islamic or not, depending on how it is justified. For example, there is a holy tree in Aceh called “Grandfather Kariëng.” People who are in search of water buffaloes that have gone astray promise to make offerings to Grandfather Kariëng should they find the buffaloes. How are we to understand this practice? Snouck urges us to figure out how the Acehnese see it and only then decide whether it is Islamic or not. Someone might be appealing to the tree; this is *shirk* and outside the bounds of Islam. Someone else might be appealing to a saint, the Grandfather, and then it could and would be justified.⁵

Notice how Snouck combines his own normative stance—what is or is not within the permissible bounds of Islam—and an empirical one—what local religious leaders are likely to say. He does not insist on this equation, and of course was well aware of the long-running debates in Aceh and elsewhere on precisely these issues, and therefore that there was no ‘ulama’-wide consensus, but at the most general level of setting boundaries between the Islamic and the non-Islamic, these two approaches, the normative and the descriptive, came together. Saints are in, even though the Wahhabis protest; trees are out, even if

⁴ Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acehnese*, 280.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 287-288.

some Acehese elders say otherwise.

What can we do with Snouck's approach today? Today, and here we side with Snouck, we validate the "marginal," no longer taking the Hijaz for the essence, and instead focus on processes of debate, change, and adaptation by Muslims wherever they might live. We see this positively—all Muslims interpret their tradition—rather than negatively—no Muslims get it right—but most of today's students of Islam would adopt the same non-essentialising stance as I think is found in these passages from Snouck's work on Aceh.

Secondly, we analyse the justifications for interpretations. Rather than accepting something as Islamic if and only if we can show the descent of a practice from the Prophet—what we might call a philology of suspicion—we look to see in what ways a practice receives a justification from within the tradition. This way of looking at things raises the question of authority and power, of who gets to set these boundaries, and which views on the matter carry the day.

Third, we use this last point to move beyond Snouck's own views on law and practice, in a way that I think could be argued to remain consistent with the ethnographic and indeed potentially constructivist side of Snouck. It also allows us to interject a third element between Islamic law and practices, namely, that of positive law.

Now let me now turn to three examples of contemporary practices of Islamic justifications. These reveal actors, who lay claim to some authority, seeking to do three things:

1. To base their claims on accepted elements of the Islamic tradition;
2. To reason strategically, thinking both of social benefit (*maṣlaḥa*) and their own constraints and interests; and
3. To assess or reassess the boundaries that are drawn between the permissible and the impermissible.

These interests, motives, and justifications are central to understanding the life of Islamic law in the world today.

2 Aceh

In the Aceh of today, over a century since Snouck's time, much has changed. A national system of positive law, with parallel Islamic and civil courts, a special dispensation allowing Aceh to remake law according to shari'a, and a national set of debates about Islam often pitting various forms of the modernist heritage against various forms of traditionalist, more or less *madhhab*-based, renders the landscape much more complex. The decades-long civil war would have seemed more familiar to Snouck, I think. In that respect, the Aceh of the

1990s resembled all too closely the Aceh of the 1890s.

The advent of modern positive law has transformed the structure of justification of legal decisions. Let us remind ourselves how fundamental that change has been. As in other countries with Islamic legal arrangements, marriage, divorce, and inheritance among Muslims are regulated according to Islam, but an Islam as it exists in the form of statutes or law codes. In Indonesia one major reference is the Compilation of Islamic Law, promulgated in 1991 by then President Suharto. The Compilation consists of a set of law-like rules concerning Islamic family law. In effect, it rendered as positive law one among several possible interpretations of shari‘a. It drew from the Shafi‘i Islamic legal school, the school or *madhhab* that has predominated in Indonesia for centuries, but it also drew on other teachings.

The Compilation raised the key question of governance of religion: was an action effective in Islamic terms if it corresponded to current socially accepted Islamic norms, or only if it was carried out in accord with the Compilation? Put another way, were the new rules contained in the Compilation “positive” in the technical legal sense, in that they created laws that did not previously exist, or did they merely render explicit and in law-like form what already was the consensus among judges and other authorities? (This latter theory lay behind British “digests” of native laws in India.)

Take the example of divorce initiated by the husband, *ṭalāq*. According to older understandings and practices, the husband pronounces the *ṭalāq* and it is immediately effective. A local religious scholar might pronounce on any religious matters that arose. But the modern laws require that the husband shows grounds for divorce and stipulates that the divorce occurs if and only if the judge permits the husband to pronounce the *ṭalāq*. (An ambiguity remained: if a man divorced his wife out of court, was he divorced albeit in violation of the law or still married?)

Here, as in many other places, the state governs Islam by reproducing in modern legal form what appears to be the content of older traditions of Islamic jurisprudence. But much is altered in the process. Courts become agents of legal acts that once were prerogatives of ordinary people. One version of an otherwise pluralistic jurisprudential tradition becomes the sole enforceable one, and indeed the sole legitimate one. State religious authorities or tribunals **incorporate** the opinions of religious scholars, rather than appealing to them as external guarantors of religious knowledge.

But in Aceh a judge works constrained by several structures and forces. The current political leadership draws heavily from the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), which saw Jakarta’s offer of “shariatization” as an unwelcome trick, and opposes further extension of shari‘a. The new ‘ulama’ body, the MPU (*Majlis*

Permusyawaratan Ulama, Ulama Deliberative Council), has the authority to sanction the Islamic character of new laws and to propose new laws. It is dominated by conservative 'ulama' based in Aceh's rural Islamic boarding schools, and who follow the Shafi'i Islamic legal school. These 'ulama' have drawn on their new powers to take control of the main mosque in Banda Aceh, where their version of prayer ritual (involving the morning *qunūt* prayer, a repeat of the Friday prayer, and more prayer cycles at certain times) is now the rule.

Finally, the Islamic judges are appointed by Jakarta and are supposed to judge on the basis of national law, including the Compilation of Islamic law and Supreme Court decisions. They are the products of Indonesia's positivist approach, that Islamic law is what has been enacted. But they judge in a social world in which the conservative religious teachers exert a great deal of influence, and those teachers argue that Islamic law is that of Shafi'i *fiqh*. The judges must make judgments and justify them to anti-shari'a politicians, conservative pro-shari'a teachers, and their judicial superiors in Jakarta.

Let me turn to a banal example, that of a simple divorce hearing in a trial court. In January 2011, I sat in on the Banda Aceh Islamic court. A husband and wife came to get official papers to make official a divorce they both thought had already occurred. The husband explained to the judge that he already had divorced his wife, with a triple *ṭalāq*, in the village, and that his family and hers were agreed that he divorce her. The judges were caught unaware at this and the presiding judge, Judge Idris explained that "I would not say that it is not legitimate (*syah*), but the *ṭalāq* has no legal force (*kekuatan hukum*) unless the pronouncement (*ikrar*) is made here at court."

The two parties had come together, and Idris asked them: "why not reconcile?" He was legally required to send the couple for mediation to try and prevent a divorce, even though, as he acknowledged, the couple had divorced according to "the living law," an English expression the judges use regularly. The couple went to mediation the following day. One of the judges told us after court that he was torn about how to speak with such couples, because

we should not try to bring them back together if he already has performed *ṭalāq*, because according to the living law they have divorced, it is completely over. But we can think of reconciliation in another way, that they divorce in a friendly way, especially if there are children. We have to hold mediation, that's the law, but we do not have to insist that they remain together.

Formally, the judge followed the written code by sending the man and woman for mediation, and only then allowing them to come to court and present their

case for divorce, which they did, successfully, two weeks later. This is how the court records read. But to the village couple he explained that he was taking extra steps to make their divorce, which he would not say was invalid, legally valid. At the mediation session, which we were allowed to attend, the mediator only talked about the way they should speak to each other and to their children, not once proposing that they continue the marriage.

Here the judge works in a pragmatic way, enforcing the letter of positive law but then re-presenting his actions to Acehnese in terms of the “living law,” their understanding of Islamic law. At issue here is not the reference to one or another legal school—although these issues do arise, for example with respect to property divisions—but how to broker between two different understandings of how one can accomplish the act of divorce in Islam, what the *hukm* is.

3 France

An example from France highlights the importance of the apparatus of justification. In countries of Europe there is no background legal infrastructure; individuals and assemblies are constructing new normative repertoires, and doing so in an international context of deliberation and critique.

Allow me to return briefly to a well-worn path, the story of the European fatwa on *riba*. If a Muslim lives in a country where no shari‘a-compliant financial instruments are available, may he borrow even from a bank that charges interest? In the late 1990s, the European Council for Fatwa and Research, the jurists who mostly now reside in Europe led by Yusuf al-Qaradawi, commissioned a report and issued a fatwa that affirmed the prohibition on usury but said that if Muslims in Europe could not find alternatives then they could take out a bank mortgage for a first house.

The major issue was that of justification. The Council’s scholars justified their decision in two main ways. First, they drew on past rulings from the Hanafi and Hanbali legal schools (minority opinions, as it happened) to the effect that while living in non-Muslim countries, Muslims might legitimately make contracts that violated Islamic law. Secondly, they appealed to the architecture of the objectives of Islamic norms, the *maqasid al-shari‘a*. The Council cited the Qur’anic texts that:

*He (Allah) has explained to you in detail what is forbidden to you, except under compulsion or necessity, and
But whosoever is forced by necessity without willful disobedience, nor trans-*

gressing due limits; (for him) certainly, your Lord is oft-Forgiving, most merciful.

And then they extended this reasoning:

Jurists have established that *ḥāja*, need, whether for an individual or a group, can be treated in equal terms with *ḍarūra*, extreme necessity. Need is defined as those things which put the Muslim in difficulty if not fulfilled, even if he/she can do without. Extreme necessity, on the other hand, is that which the Muslim cannot manage without. Allah SWT has lifted difficulty as stated in sura al-Hajj and al-Mā'idah:
And He has not laid upon you in religion any hardship" (22:78).

The concluding scriptural citation added to the argument that Muslims should respond to mere need or hardship in the same way as they would respond to matters of necessity.

The Council then argued that renting a house placed Muslims in a state of financial insecurity, whereas owning a house allows them to settle in close proximity to a mosque and to modify the house to accommodate religious needs. Moreover, Muslims living in Europe had reported to the Council that mortgage payments were equal to or lower than rents. Muslims cannot change the institutions that dominate life in their host countries, continued the text, and thus they are not responsible for the existence of an interest-based financial system. If they were forbidden to benefit from banking institutions then Islam would have weakened them, a result that would contradict the principle that Islam should benefit Muslims.⁶

The ruling led to a debate among well-known Islamic scholars around the world, and even some members of the European Council rejected it. It seems to have led the prestigious Cairo institution al-Azhar to issue a fatwa allowing fixed-interest transactions, on grounds that if they were allowed for Muslims in the West they ought to be allowed for Muslims living elsewhere as well. In response, Muhammad Sa'id Ramadan al-Buti, professor of Islamic law in Damascus, used his December 2002 "monthly word" on his website to claim that the Sheikh of al-Azhar was merely repeating what the Jews had said to Muhammad, to which the latter had been told by God: "God has permitted trade and forbidden interest (al-Baqara 2:275)."

I sought the opinions of Paris-region Islamic scholars on the al-Qaradawi

⁶ The details and references are to be found in my *Can Islam be French? Pluralism and Pragmatism in a Secularist State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

ruling, and began with Ahmed Jaballah, a jurist on the European Council mentioned earlier and now the leader of the UOIF (*Union des Organisations Islamiques de France*). Jaballah explained that the Council had decided that Muslims could best provide for their children by moving out of poor neighborhoods and buying houses. “The only way to improve family life is to move out, and the loan helps them do that. Many in the Muslim world objected to the fatwa because it approved interest. They do not understand what social life is like here.” But others disagreed, including Dhaou Meskine, a figure who had begun the first Islamic day school and served as imam at the mosque in Clichy-sous-Bois.

“There are too many families in France who live in debt,” he said, “and four million who have been unable to repay their debts.” He went on to explain that there are other, creative ways of obtaining money, such as repaying the seller of the house gradually, perhaps at a higher price, and that he had successfully experimented with such arrangements. Meskine also objected to the very idea of different laws for different places:

“Sheikh Qaradawi says that interest in Europe is acceptable because Europe is not a Muslim land. But laws must be universal: if it is forbidden to steal, or lie, or falsify papers, or to make illegal marriages in Muslim lands, then it is also the case for Muslims living in Europe, in the ‘land of treaty.’ That is the nature of religion; it is intended to apply everywhere.”

Although they all agreed that statements about Islamic norms should be based on sound knowledge of jurisprudence, in their own justifications they advanced socially pragmatic reasons taking one or another position on the *riba* decision. What would be the social consequences of permitting mortgages or forbidding them? Some hold that bank mortgage gives Muslims the ability to realise their duties to their families, a positive value in Islam. Others counter that retaining the prohibition leads to fruitful experimentation and maintains the moral power of the law. For someone such as Dhaou Meskine, who has lived through years of difficult negotiations with a left-wing local government, many of the problems faced by Muslims come from their not following the rules that are common to Islamic law and French state law.

For them, the main issue is how best to help Islam and Muslims, and not how best to interpret the writings of the Hanbali or Maliki school. *Madh-hab*-based justification may be a first hurdle to clear, but the possibility of *taf-fiq*, of drawing from multiple schools of thought, makes it non-determinant, and makes it necessary to engage in pragmatic reasoning.

Pragmatism now becomes part of the legal reasoning of French Muslims. Justifications reach back to the *madhāhib*, and to earlier scholars, but they do

so in order to justify an outcome arrived at through thinking about *maṣlaḥa*. In contrast to Snouck's sense of a timeless law and a more pragmatic set of practices, legal interpretations themselves are closely tethered to "human social needs." But Snouck's broader view is confirmed, that people reshape Islamic texts to fit their sense of the needs of the community.

4 England

In England and Wales we are dealing with a legal jurisdiction in which Islam has no formal legal role, but with points of contact between Islamic and civil-legal worlds. My focus here will again be on an Islamic judge, in the broadest sense of the term, who is crafting Islamic justifications for his rulings with multiple publics in mind, in the world of civil law and in the world of Islamic scholarship and everyday religious opinion. As is the case with his Acehnese counterpart, he is trying to shape and maintain a space in which multiple legal and religious justifications can coexist, but unlike his Acehnese colleague he is doing so from a position outside the legal sphere.

England has the most developed Islamic institutions among countries in Western Europe and North America. Two features help explain this fact. In their English settings, South Asians live concentrated by place of origin and often by theological background more than is the case elsewhere, and they have done so for decades. Secondly, because things are done through local associations here, by the early 1980s there arose a number of informal mediation boards to deal with family problems among Muslims.

During the 1980s, mediation bodies developed into more formal shari'a councils, the largest of which, the Islamic Shari'a Council, is located in Leyton, eastern London, and meets monthly as well in the London Central Mosque. Its formal deliberations mainly concern dissolving marriages at a woman's request. They also issue fatwas from time to time on issues that arise in the course of those deliberations. The Council's scholars have adopted a strategy of justification that resembles that pursued in Aceh: decide on socially pragmatic grounds, and then seek a sound Islamic justification.

Increasingly, scholars justify their selection from the Islamic repertoire on socially pragmatic grounds: this interpretation will lead to the desired result, this other possible interpretation will not; so we choose the former. But at the same time the Council emphasises that "the Sacred Law" does not itself change. They oppose those who would innovate in matters settled by revelation. In doing so they seek to maintain their credibility with those Muslims in England and in Pakistan, or elsewhere, who attack this and other Councils as illegiti-

mate and as likely to water-down shari'a.

The Council thus finds itself publicly upholding a strict orthodoxy, and at the same time finding ways to draw from Islamic texts in such a way as to resolve practical difficulties. For example, in August 2008, the Muslim Institute published a model Muslim Marriage Contract, intended to provide for women's rights while remaining within the rules of Islamic marriage. The Contract was endorsed by the Ealing based Muslim Law Shariah Council UK but rejected by the Leyton Council. As a principled argument against the methods used in compiling the model contract, the Council denounces the way in which opinions were taken from different scholars. "It is a well-established juristic rule that Muslims are not allowed to deliberately select and choose a concession or irregular opinion attributed to a scholar; to gather all such opinions for the purpose of acting upon them, then, is even more unsightly."⁷

And yet, on other matters the Council does "deliberately select" among alternative opinions rather than following one line of reasoning or legal school, and they do so with the outcome in mind (as in the earlier example on consummation of a marriage). One such example has to do with the *ṭalāq*. A long-standing debate in Islam concerns how to view it when a husband pronounces three *ṭalāqs* all at once. As a general rule, he may pronounce *ṭalāqs* twice, and thereafter take back his wife, but after the third *ṭalāq* she must marry and divorce someone else before she would be able to reconcile with her first husband. But what if in anger he pronounces all three at once? The matter arose in a conversation with Suhaib Hassan when I asked how the scholars on the larger council, who came from different parts of the world, could agree, and whether conflicts among legal schools ever arose. He gave the "triple *ṭalāq*" question as an example:⁸

All four *madhāhib* (the Sunni legal schools) say that three *ṭalāqs* at once count as three. But we start from the interest of the parties involved, and then because in the Prophet's time and thereafter the practice was to consider the three as only one, and because Ibn Taymiyya supports this view, so we have a prestigious scholar to cite, we say it is only one, and there was no disagreement among us on that issue. The other Shari'a Councils in England follow the Hanafi legal school and so consider the three *ṭalāqs* together to count as three. I remember one case, where the woman was caught between us and her father, who wanted to follow the

⁷ "ISC stand on the Marriage Contract," available on the website of the Islamic Shari'a Council: <http://www.islamic-sharia.org/>.

⁸ Interview, Leyton, 26 May 2008.

Hanafi school and so did not recognise her marriage to her husband after he had issued the triple *ṭalāq*, even though we had given her a statement that it only counted as one. That was what led us to issue a fatwa on the matter; some of us urge that we only give a fatwa when someone comes to us with their individual case.

Now, in this case Suhaib Hassan can say that they base their opinion on practices in the Prophet Muhammad's time, but he first refers to the interests of the couple, which are that the marriage should not be unduly disrupted by an angry pronouncement. The case he then mentions, which gave rise to their fatwa, illustrates the point that the best interests of couples are served by interpreting the "triple *ṭalāq*" as only one. Citing Ibn Taymiyya is practically useful, because no one sees him as soft on matters of *fiqh*, but this is a citation drawn on after their judgment has been made, not a reason to decide in the way they did.

On other topics, the same scholars have sought solutions in Hanafi jurisprudence. For example, it renders life easier if Muslims can consider a civil marriage to constitute an Islamic one, but many Islamic scholars object to making that statement. The Leyton Council did so, however, and here is how Suhaib Hassan justified it:

There is an *ijāb-qabūl* by both parties and even if the amount of the dower is not set, it then automatically becomes the usual one for the economic status of the parents . . . The only problem that arises is that the consent of the guardians is not required at a civil marriage. The *ahl al-hadīth* does require the explicit consent of the guardian. However, the Hanafi school says that if the couple elopes, the wife's guardian can invalidate the marriage only if the woman is marrying someone of lower status or the dower is too low. If he does not do this within a reasonable time, then the marriage is valid. Under that understanding, at a civil marriage, because the parents are there, the civil marriage is Islamically valid. We decided that we would follow the Hanafi school in this matter and recognise the civil marriage.⁹

In the civil marriage case, the scholars follow the Hanafi legal school and yet in the triple *ṭalāq* case, they follow Ibn Taymiyya against the Hanafi and other legal schools, doing in practice something close to what the creators of the Muslim Marriage Contract had in mind. But the Muslim Marriage Contract does something quite objectionable to scholars on the Leyton Council. It does

⁹ Interview, Leyton, 12 July 2007.

not flexibly interpret agreed-on norms of Islam; it restates those norms in ways that fit with English social norms, as if shari'a was not already perfect. As they put it in their reply to the Muslim Institute:

Marriages have been taking place for centuries according to shari'a guidelines and it is unacceptable to claim earlier generations were marrying according to a faulty system which we have now to put right. Nor is it feasible to posit our time as so drastically different to earlier times as needing a wholesale reform.¹⁰

We can better understand this distinction between restating and interpreting by looking at two specific objections made to the new Contract. Regarding the role of the bride's guardian, the Contract states that "The parental or guardian's legal role finishes when children reach adulthood. Thereafter their role is optional and complementary." In the section on ending the marriage: "Neither party will end this contract unilaterally without recourse to arbitration/ reconciliation by an independent Muslim professional body." The first sentence explicitly erases the normative responsibility of a daughter to her father, and vice versa. Now, as we saw above, in specific cases the Leyton Council has invoked the provisions of Hanafi teaching to allow a marriage without the father's consent, but they have not sought to weaken the general rule that such consent is required. The second provision of the Contract withdraws a basic element of Islamic divorce law, namely, the right of the husband to unilaterally divorce his wife. Here again, the Leyton Council urges husbands to reconcile and mediate, but they do so without denying their ultimate right to declare a divorce.

The Leyton scholars probably have deeply-felt reasons to reject these innovations, but they also realise that such statements explicitly contradict generally-held understandings of Islamic law. Most reforms of Islamic divorce law carried out by countries with Islamic legal systems have sought to preserve these understandings but place conditions on their exercise: men have the right to divorce their wives, but only with a judge's permission; daughters need their fathers' consent to marry, but fathers cannot compel their daughters to marry.

In this sense the Islamic Shari'a Council is doing something very much like what legal reformers have done in Indonesia, Morocco, and elsewhere, that is, preserve the space between religious authorities and legal authorities that allows for translating and trading of concepts across different registers, different

¹⁰ "ISC stand on the Marriage Contract," available on the website of the Islamic Shari'a Council: <http://www.islamic-sharia.org/>.

understandings of law. It is also something very much akin to what English marriage law at home and in the colonies did, that is, create a set of personal status arrangements that gradually were broadened and pluralised, and only later on leading to a notion of civil marriage.

5 Return to Snouck

These examples confirm the general ideas held by Snouck of the tendency of Islamic scholars to interpret their tradition to conform to "human needs." But the terms in which we analyse these examples are rather different. Rather than speaking as did Snouck of "the law" as consisting of *fiqh* plus *taṣawwuf*, we can draw on the ethnography and history of judges to look at their roles as key Islamic actors who mediate across different, competing demands.

We can surely draw from Snouck the importance of justification in determining the "Islamicity" of a practice. However, if for Snouck the important boundary at issue was that between religion and superstition, today we also see other boundaries. In Aceh we see the new boundaries introduced by the development of Indonesian positive law and the divergence and multiplication of ideas of Islam. In Europe we see the accentuation of pragmatist forms of reasoning. However, across these sites, the boundaries between Islamic and non-Islamic remain objects for debate.

What would Snouck think of these developments? He might be of two minds. On the one hand, he surely would be concerned about the development of Islamic law and suspicious of the Islamic scholarship underpinning it. On the other hand, he just as clearly would be intrigued by the ways in which legal change has made creative use of elements drawn from the Islamic tradition. In his ambivalence he probably would align with many scholars of Islamic law today, who are sceptical of the Islamic jurisprudential bases for much recent innovation, and yet who welcome the capacity of positive law that refers to Islam to change. Perhaps Snouck is less distant from us than at first meets the eye.

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The Scholar and the War-Horse. The Aceh War, Snouck Hurgronje, and Van Heutsz

Kees van Dijk

Many in the West have praised Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje as a renowned scholar of Islam. The reports and letters he wrote as adviser, first to the governor-general of the Netherlands Indies and, after his return to the Netherlands, to the minister of the Colonies, were considered important enough to be published in three impressive volumes.¹ The praise went beyond his fieldwork in Aceh between July 1891 and February 1892 and the monograph, *De Atjèhers*, in which he presented the results.² For a long time he also received acclaim for the decisive role he played in the Aceh War. As late as 1957, G.W.J. Drewes, one of his pupils and a well-known scholar in his own right, wrote that once all reports and letters written by Snouck Hurgronje had become public, people would value his contribution to the Aceh War as much as they praised *De Atjèhers*, which, according to Drewes was “a model of an ethnographic study.”³ Nowadays Snouck Hurgronje’s involvement in subjugating the Acehnese – and consequently also the hawkish motives underlying his research – is considered more problematic, but this does not detract from his image as a great scholar. In Indonesia Snouck Hurgronje has a different reputation. To Indonesians he is “the *mufti* of the Dutch imperialists.”⁴ Or, as the Indonesian minister of Religious Affairs said in a 1989 speech before Parliament defending the introduction of a new law on religious courts in Islamic circles, Snouck Hurgronje is known as having been “very anti-Islam.”⁵ Especially since the end of the 1950s, when nationalist sentiments entered the scholarly world and Indonesians be-

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- 1 E. Gobée en C. Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 3 vols. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957-1965).
 - 2 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*. 2 vols. (Batavia and Leiden: Landsdrukkerij and E.J. Brill, 1893-1895).
 - 3 G.W.J. Drewes, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islamwetenschap. Herdenking van de 100e verjaardag van Prof. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1957), 2.
 - 4 B.J. Boland and I. Farjon, *Islam in Indonesia. A Bibliographical Survey 1600-1942 with Post-1945 Addenda*. KITLV Bibliographical Series 14 (Dordrecht and Cinnaminson: Foris, 1983), 13. Citing M.Rasjidi, *Islam dan Indonesia dizaman modern* (Djakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1968).
 - 5 Undang, *Undang-undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 7 Tahun 1989 tentang Peradilan Agama* (Jakarta: CV Eko Jaya, 1989), 22.

gan to break free from the grasp of Dutch scholarly giants such as Snouck Hurgronje, he has often been presented in Indonesia as the evil genius who obstructed a further islamisation of society, and as such shares the blame for the fact that Indonesia is still far from a perfect Islamic society. Illustrative of this changing attitude is that in 1963, during the closing session of a seminar on the advent of Islam in Indonesia, Hamka – one of Indonesia's most famous Islamic scholars – sarcastically attacked those Indonesians who refuted an alternative explanation on this point by saying “your explanation is not scholarly sound because you have never been to Leiden.”⁶

Snouck Hurgronje has a number of adulating admirers. K. van der Maaten (1948), R.P. van Calcar (1936), and Drewes (1975) sing his praises ecstatically. Van Calcar, rector of Leiden University when Snouck Hurgronje was professor there, went as far as to entitle his booklet about Snouck Hurgronje *THE MASTER. Recollections of Prof. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje (DE MEEESTER. Herinneringen aan Prof. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje 1857-1936)*. In a similar vein Van der Maaten, a retired general, confesses his “boundless adoration” of Snouck Hurgronje.⁷ Van der Maaten served in Aceh at the time when J.B. van Heutsz was Aceh's civil and military governor; Van der Maaten's friendship with Snouck Hurgronje dates from that period as well. Initially Van der Maaten was also a personal friend of Van Heutsz. Within years, however, their relationship turned sour, and Van der Maaten became a bitter enemy. The reason for this remains unclear, but rumours which had circulated at least since 1903 about an affair of Van Heutsz with Van der Maaten's wife when Van Heutsz was still governor of Aceh indicate what might have happened.⁸ Thereupon Van der Maaten took upon himself a mission which nowadays not many want to take upon themselves: to demonstrate that it was Snouck Hurgronje who should be hailed as *the* person responsible for conquering Aceh and not Van Heutsz. Snouck Hurgronje himself fully agreed with such a point of view.

Snouck Hurgronje may have been a great scholar, but he did not take it well when his recommendations were ignored. He seemed to have been convinced of always being right. It did not help in making friends that Snouck Hurgronje, himself an ardent worker, did not hide the fact that he considered others, whom he blamed for not pursuing the correct colonial policy, to be stupid, incompetent, and lazy, which perhaps some of them indeed were. Insight into

6 Risalah, *Risalah seminar sedjarah masuknja Islam ke Indonesia* (Medan: Panitia seminar sedjarah masuknja Islam ke Indonesia, 1963), 268.

7 K. van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog* (Leiden: Oostersch Instituut, 1948), 2.

8 J.B. Witte, *J.B. van Heutsz. Leven en legende* (Bussum: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1976), 98-99; Paul van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1969), 253.

how he succeeded in antagonising others is provided in a letter in May 1900 from the Dutch minister of Foreign Affairs, W. de Beaufort, to the minister of the Colonies, T.Th. Cremer. In the letter, an angry De Beaufort requested to be spared the opinions of Snouck Hurgronje for the time being about how to react to anti-Dutch newspaper articles in the Middle East; one of the topics closest to Snouck Hurgronje's heart, fearful as he was of the dangers of pan-Islamism and of any blemishing of the image of Dutch rule.⁹ Cremer refused to comply with such "a request formulated in a surprising way in a correspondence between colleagues." He replied that he would continue to transmit what the governor-general in Batavia had learned from his "expert advisers" about schemes in the Middle East to undermine Dutch rule in the Netherlands Indies. This was his duty as minister responsible for keeping law and order in the colony.¹⁰

The animosity Snouck Hurgronje encountered added a tragic aspect to his life in the Netherlands Indies. It almost certainly contributed to the fact that he experienced his stay in Aceh between July 1891 and February 1892 as "far from pleasant".¹¹ It was also the reason why he left the Netherlands Indies. Much of the antagonism Snouck Hurgronje encountered was caused by differences of opinion about how to win the war in Aceh. He showed the way how to do so, but at the same time his involvement resulted in his resignation as adviser to the governor-general and his return to the Netherlands in 1906.

1 Keeping Others Out

In the 1870s and 1880s, just before Snouck Hurgronje appeared on the scene, the world had entered its final phase of colonial expansion. There was not only a scramble for Africa but also one for parts of Asia and the Pacific. Newcomers in the colonial race, especially the newly established German Empire, vied for new colonial settlements in Asia and the Pacific. They were in search of land on which to build coaling stations for their commercial fleets and navies, to lay out plantations to grow copra, cotton and other tropical products, and to recruit the labour needed for such endeavours. In other instances they just wanted to gain preponderance over rival nations. Of the old established colonial

9 C. (Kees) van Dijk, "Colonial Fears, 1890-1918. Pan-Islamism and the Germano-Indian Plot," in *Transcending Borders, Arabs, Politics, Trade and Islam in Southeast Asia*, eds. Huub de Jonge and Nico Kaptein (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002), 53-89.

10 De Beaufort to Cremer 25 May 1900; Cremer to De Beaufort, 2 June 1900 (Archive Dutch ministry of Foreign Affairs, NAR A-dos. 190 box 450).

11 Snouck Hurgronje to W. Rooseboom, 2 October 1903, Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:322.

powers Great Britain alone was a main player. It was even a prime contender. Spain became a victim. At the end of the century it lost the Philippines and Cuba to the United States. The Netherlands fared better, but was too weak to compete in earnest with the superpowers of those days: Great Britain, Germany, France, and Russia. It had to content itself with making sure that no foreign incursions were made in what the Dutch considered to be territory of the Netherlands East Indies.

Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra, was one of the regions where the Dutch did act. It was an important strategic region. The Sultanate of Aceh was located along the Straits of Malacca which connected the Far East with India, the Middle East, and ultimately with Europe. Nearby were the busy British ports of Penang and Singapore. Then as well as now the Straits of Malacca was one of the main shipping lanes in the world. The Straits of Malacca was also notorious for the pirates who infested its waters, as it still is.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the independence of the Sultanate, a major world producer of pepper, was still safe and secure. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of London of 1824 in which Great Britain and the Netherlands had delineated their respective spheres of influence in the region had seen to this. The Dutch and British had swapped some possessions (Bengkulu in Sumatra became Dutch, Malacca in the Malay Peninsula British), London had allowed the Dutch to take Billiton, but neither of the two allowed the other a free hand in Aceh.

Fifty years later circumstances had changed radically. London had come to fear that Aceh might end up in the hands of France or the United States, potentially much more powerful colonial rivals than the Netherlands; the absence of a central authority in Aceh and rampant domestic unrest in the Sultanate hampered European trade interests, including those of British merchants in Singapore and Penang.¹² Another predicament London and The Hague wanted to put an end to was piracy by Acehnese vessels in the Straits of Malacca and in Acehnese waters.¹³ All this made Great Britain no longer object to Aceh becoming Dutch. For similar reasons the Dutch government also considered action, although this did not necessarily imply annexation. Recognition by Aceh of Dutch suzerainty could suffice. Mirroring British concerns, E. de Waal, minister of the Colonies from June 1868 until November 1870, wrote to King Willem

12 M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia. C. 1300 to the Present* (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1981), 136; Van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog*, 33.

13 Robert van Niel, "The Course of Indonesian History," in *Indonesa*, Southeast Asia Studies, ed. T. McVey Ruth (New Haven: Yale University, 1963), 290; Maarten Kuitenbrouwer, *The Netherlands and the Rise of Modern Imperialism. Colonies and Foreign Policy 1870-1902* (New York and Oxford: Berg 1991), 89-90.

III in 1870 that an independent Aceh posed “local and international risks.”¹⁴ In that same year De Waal called for a greater effort in combating Aceh-based piracy and slave trade.¹⁵ One of De Waal’s successors, P.P. van Bosse, minister of the Colonies from January 1871 until July 1872, had additional reasons to contemplate actions against the Sultanate. He suspected the Acehnese of having a hand in disturbances on tobacco estates in the Deli, south of Aceh.¹⁶ A new Anglo-Dutch treaty, the Sumatra Treaty of November 1871, removed any British opposition to Dutch annexation of Aceh. In the first of its four articles it was stated that “Her Britannic Majesty desists from all objections against the extension of the Netherlands Dominion in any part of the island of Sumatra (...).” The price the Dutch had to pay was the handing over of the Dutch colony on the Gold Coast in Africa to Great Britain.

As fears in London and The Hague that other nations might try to gain a foothold in Aceh indicate, a colonial race was taking shape when the Sumatra Treaty was concluded; although, as we now know, it had not yet gained real momentum. The chancellor of the German Empire, Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck, who would later become one of the main players, did not yet have any colonial ambition.¹⁷ The United States secured a coaling station in Samoa in 1872, but did not aspire to colonies either. It would only do so some twenty years later when it took possession of Hawaii and the Philippines in 1898. Nevertheless, for Dutch and British contemporaries the threat that other nations might try to gain a foothold in Sumatra was very real.

There were also other unnerving signs. Adventurous private entrepreneurs carved out territories of their own in Samoa and other islands in the Pacific. Closer to home, the uncle and cousin of the sultan of Brunei, Rajah Muda Hasim, who ruled Sarawak, had given the Benares-born Englishman James Brooke extensive authority over a large tract of land and its inhabitants in the spring of 1841. Sabah was handed over by the sultans of Brunei and Sulu to British merchants in 1877 and 1878. It meant that approximately one-fifth of Borneo had come under the control of the British. Many Dutch persons considered Borneo to be part of the Dutch sphere of influence because the rest of the island was part of the Netherlands Indies territory, but Dutch protests in London against the advance of the British merchants in Sabah were in vain.

In some instances such adventurers took advantage, or intended to do so, of the precarious position of rulers of still independent indigenous states who

14 Kuitenbrouwer, *The Netherlands and the Rise of Modern Imperialism*, 90.

15 *Ibid.*, 54.

16 *Ibid.*, 91.

17 C. (Kees) van Dijk, *The Netherlands Indies and the Great War, 1914-1918* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 2-3.

sought allies in their conflicts with domestic rivals. European nations were also making their moves. Asian rulers could try to protect their state against such threats and against the spectre of colonial territorial expansion by turning to another Western nation for assistance. When it concerned Muslim states they might also seek the protection of the Ottoman Empire. The Sultanate of Aceh was among those which did. In 1868 a delegation travelled to Istanbul to offer sultan Abdulaziz suzerainty over Aceh, and later on the Acehnese would try to seek the Ottomans' support again. Istanbul was too weak to respond positively, but such moves unnerved the Dutch and probably also the other colonial powers, anxious as they were about the prestige and authority of the Ottoman sultan among Muslims in Asia. Equally in vain, Aceh had turned to London for support in 1872.¹⁸ As Snouck Hurgronje would observe, the British had a much better image in Aceh than the Dutch. Based on the information they had about life and trade in the port of Penang, a city where traders and refugees from Aceh had settled (he does not mention Singapore), the Acehnese far preferred British rule to that of the Dutch.¹⁹

There was more to worry about for the weaker colonial powers in those days; this also explains why Dutch politicians thought they had no choice but to subdue Aceh, no matter how many years of war this would cost. Mere claims that a particular region formed part of a colony or fell within its sphere of influence where no other nation should try to gain foothold, did not suffice. This became evident in early 1877. Countering moves to levy customs duties on British and German ships sailing the Sulu Archipelago, the seas between the Philippines and Borneo, London and Berlin acted in concert and denied Spanish claims on the Archipelago. There was no formal treaty between the Sultanate of Sulu and Spain, nor did Spain exercise an active administration in the region.

Aware that only *de facto* rule could back up territorial claims, the Netherlands Indies took its measures. A lot of planting of flags occurred - handing out gifts to local indigenous rulers, warships visiting isolated islands, and signing of contracts in which local rulers stated that their territory formed part of the Netherlands East Indies and was thus under Dutch rule. Military expeditions were also mounted, to Lombok (1894-1895), Bali (1906-1908), Flores (1907-1908), and South Sulawesi (1905-1906), only to mention the most important ones.

18 Kuitenbrouwer, *The Netherlands and the Rise of Modern Imperialism*, 91.

19 Snouck Hurgronje to C. Pijnacker Hordijk, 18 January 1893. Gobée en C. Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:115; Snouck Hurgronje to K. van der Maaten, 29 June 1933. Gobée en C. Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 11:100.

2 The Invasion of Aceh

The Aceh War was an early example of the efforts to impose Dutch rule by force in the closing decades of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. After signing the Sumatra Treaty of 1871 The Hague initially proceeded by renegotiating a Treaty of Trade, Peace and Friendship with Aceh which dated from 1857, intended to have Aceh recognise Dutch suzerainty. In December 1872 an Acehnese delegation visited Tanjung Pinang in the Riouw Archipelago close to Singapore to meet the local Dutch resident, D.W. Schiff, and plead for a delay of the talks. The following month the Dutch ship on which the members of the delegation returned home called in at the port of Singapore for a brief stop.²⁰ What was supposed to have happened there galvanised the Dutch into action. The consul-general of the Netherlands in Singapore, William H.M. Read, an English businessman, and a close friend of James Brooke, reported to Batavia that the Acehnese had visited the Italian and American consul in town in an attempt to gain foreign support to withstand a Dutch assault. The Italian consul was said to have shown no interest, but his American colleague would have been more eager and would even have taken preparatory steps to come to the assistance of the Acehnese. Evidence of the American consul's ill-intent was extremely slim, and after some time was found to be completely unsubstantiated. The same can be said about rumours circulating in Batavia at the time about an American squadron that had already set sail for Aceh. As a consequence, the Dutch war machine had been set in motion.²¹ Batavia demanded an explanation from the sultan for "the treason of Aceh," as governor-general Mr. J. Loudon phrased it in a letter to the minister of the Colonies in The Hague.²² The Sultanate should be punished. How, Batavia and The Hague could not agree upon, but some rattling of arms was deemed necessary. Loudon was especially impatient. Aceh should cease to be an independent state. I.D. Fransen van de Putte, minister of the Colonies from July 1872 until August 1874, was less sure. A show of force might suffice.²³

Loudon got his way. On 26 March 1873 the Netherlands declared war. Dutch troops invaded Aceh. The first Dutch military expedition proved to be a disaster. After only seventeen days the invading army had to beat a hasty retreat. Before the end of the year a second expedition was mounted. After days of bombardment of the Royal Palace, the *dalam*, consequently called *kraton* by

20 Van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog*, 43-44.

21 *Ibid.*, 51.

22 *Ibid.*, 45.

23 *Ibid.*, 45-46.

the Dutch, was taken on 24 January 1874. On 26 January the sultan died of cholera. Five days later Aceh was declared part of the Netherlands Indies; the Sultanate was abolished. The Acehnese were made to understand that it was futile to appoint a new sultan. The Dutch would not recognise such a figure.²⁴ Naturally the Acehnese did not listen. Before the end of the year Tuanku Muhammad Daud, just three years old, was selected to succeed his deceased grandfather as sultan of Aceh. Ten years later he would ceremonially be declared of age and installed as sultan in the mosque of Indrapuri in Greater Aceh. He established his court at Keumala in south Pidie (Pedir). Dutch reports referred to him as the "Pretender Sultan."

The *kraton* that had been taken was not an impressive complex. In the words of Van 't Veer it consisted of "many dilapidated buildings and small buildings, not one of which resembled a 'palace' in any way."²⁵ The Dutch were to change this. They set out to develop the *kraton* and the surrounding area, and baptised it the City of the King, Koeta Radja (Kota Raja, at present Banda Aceh). They fortified the *kraton* with a wall two metres high with bastions and loopholes, turning it into the "citadel" of the city.²⁶ Koeta Radja itself was surrounded by an iron fence.

3 Snouck Hurgronje's Mission

In January 1874, when the *kraton* had been taken, Lieutenant-General J. van Swieten, the commander of the expeditionary force, was extremely satisfied. The war was won.²⁷ Others were of a similar opinion. After the fiasco of the first expedition the victory was a reason to celebrate in Holland and in the Netherlands Indies. Flags were hung out and fireworks were let off, even in the garden of the house of Fransen van de Putte in The Hague.²⁸ How wrong they all were. Some fifteen years later the Dutch had not made much progress in conquering Aceh. They held Koeta Radja and the ports of Sigli, Idi, and Meulaboh. Even their hold over Koeta Radja was not very impressive, sensitive to guerilla operations as the city remained. The Dutch had fenced themselves in. In 1884 a start had been made with the building of a Concentrated Line (*Geconcentreerde Linie*), a system of sixteen fortresses, aimed at protecting the imme-

24 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 9.

25 Van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog*, 99.

26 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 21.

27 A.P. Taselaar en C.P. van Santen, "De kraton is ons!: Nederland en de eerste jaren van de Atjehoorlog," *Spiegel Historiae* 28, no. 10 (1993): 416.

28 Ibid.

diate hinterland of Koeta Radja, little more than fifty square kilometers wide, where some 5,000 men were to be stationed.²⁹ In this tiny bastion – “this miserable plot of land,”³⁰ Snouck Hurgronje would call it – the Dutch army retreated in March 1885. All the Dutch were capable of in Aceh, with some rare exceptions when punitive raids were launched, was to sit and wait behind their fortifications. They expected that an economic blockade would force the Acehnese into surrender, but as Van Heutsz observed, this “did not result in shortage among the enemy, neither in money, nor in articles of war, nor in foodstuffs.”³¹ Discord among the Acehnese political and military leaders was another card the Dutch hoped to play, offering potential allies, money, and weapons in return for surrender and waging war on their domestic rivals.

By the end of the 1880s the failure to win the war, even to make any significant progress, and the Dutch troops being confined to a tiny part of Aceh, had become an embarrassment and a topic of public and scholarly debate. To explain the Dutch position in Aceh to a British audience those days, Vogel, professor emeritus of Sanskrit and Indian archeology at Leiden University, would later compare the region with the North-West Frontier of British India: “Despite military expeditions and treaties Achin remained turbulent and unsubdued.”³² One of those who came forward with a solution to turn the tide was Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. His stay in Jeddah and Mecca in 1884 and 1885 and the information he had gained there about Aceh had convinced him that a change in tactics was needed. The Dutch army should not passively wait behind the Concentrated Line in the hope that disgruntled or ambitious local potentates would defect to them or seek support in fighting other local leaders. Such a policy was not only foolish; it detracted from national honour. The Acehnese should feel Dutch superior military strength, and fear it.³³

An opportunity to visit Aceh presented itself at the end of the 1880s when Snouck Hurgronje was seconded to the director of Education, Worship and Industry in Batavia to “broaden his studies” and to present recommendations

29 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 21; Van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog*, 157; J.W. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje - Van Heutsz - Van Daalen*. PhD diss., Utrecht University (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1938), 19.

30 C. Snouck Hurgronje, “De excursie ter Noord- en Oost-Kust van Atjeh en hare gevolgen,” in *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje* IV:1 (1899) (Bonn und Leipzig and Leiden: Kurt Schroeder and E.J. Brill, 1923-1927), 410.

31 J.B. van Heutsz, “De onderwerping van Aceh,” *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift* 23 (1892): 1076.

32 J.P. Vogel, “The Contribution of the University of Leiden to Oriental Research.” Lecture delivered to the Royal India and Pakistan Society on Thursday, June 23, 1949 (Leiden: Brill, 1954), 12.

33 *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje* IV:1 (Bonn und Leipzig and Leiden: Kurt Schroeder and E.J. Brill, 1923-1927), 318.

to the governor-general. To allow him to take up this position, Leiden University, which appointed him as lector for institutions of Islam in March 1887, granted him a two-year leave.³⁴ In 1887 Snouck Hurgronje asked the minister of the Colonies to be seconded to the governor-general for a period of two years to study Islam in the Netherlands Indies. In early 1889 his request was granted and shortly before he was to sail to the Netherlands Indies, Snouck Hurgronje visited the minister of the Colonies, L.W.C. Keuchenius, to tell him that, since the government was especially interested in the political aspects of Islam, Aceh would be one of his main interests. He also had a suggestion. He intended to sail to Penang first, where he wanted to meet refugees from Aceh, and from there to the north coast of Aceh, where he intended to travel on into its interior, perhaps to Keumala, he ventured, to collect data in the regions where the Dutch were absent.³⁵ Snouck Hurgronje was adamant that he should carry out his research before he took up his post in Batavia. Only in that case was there a fair chance that the people in Aceh would remain in the dark about his identity.

Keen to visit Aceh, Snouck Hurgronje stressed that the Dutch colonial army had made no progress at all because the policy was based on wrong premises. A thorough insight into Acehnese society, which Snouck Hurgronje deemed necessary for a successful subjugation of the Acehnese, was lacking. They could only be defeated after the Dutch had acquired "solid knowledge of the land and the people," information which, he pointed out, was almost non-existent.³⁶ Snouck Hurgronje was sure that he was right, but realised that further research was necessary to convince others. Field work "in loco" was what was required. Among the topics he planned to study were religious schools, the religious books used there, and the mystical sects - all institutions of which local Dutch civil servants were ignorant, but about which information could be gained "in a short period of time by well-phrased questions to some knowledgeable natives."³⁷

His five-and-a-half month stay in Mecca had not only given him a notion of the social, political, and religious situation in Aceh. It had also increased his self-assurance: "My travel experiences in Arabia gave me the confidence that I

34 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:321.

35 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 29 June 1933. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 100.

36 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:321.

37 Snouck Hurgronje to Pijnacker Hordijk, May 1889. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:1.

would be able to push out into the interior from Penang, without the Acehnese having an idea of who I was and from where I came, allowing me to collect a rich amount of data for a serious solution to the Aceh problem," he wrote in retrospect in October 1903.³⁸

We cannot be sure if Keuchenius and the governor-general, C. Pijnacker Hordijk, realised the urgency of Snouck Hurgronje's proposal. To get the position he wanted Snouck Hurgronje had been forced to visit Keuchenius a number of times. The latter was of the opinion that it was Snouck Hurgronje himself who would gain from a stay in the Netherlands Indies, and initially did not see how the colonial government itself could profit.³⁹ Once he got their approval Snouck Hurgronje left "quietly" for Penang. On 1 April 1889 he embarked in Brindisi on a British P&O mail boat. Nobody should have an inkling of who he was and what government position he was to hold in the Netherlands Indies.⁴⁰ On arrival in Penang disappointing news awaited him. The Dutch consul in Penang, J.A. Kruyt, informed him that he had to travel straight on to Batavia. Not everybody was that pleased with Snouck Hurgronje's trip. Pijnacker Hordijk had changed his mind within less than a week after Snouck Hurgronje had sailed from Holland. General H.K.F. van Teijn, civil and military governor of Aceh since the end of 1886, had advised against the venture, or rather the assistant-resident of Greater Aceh, M.A.F. Goossens, had done so. Goossens was afraid that Snouck Hurgronje's endeavour might upset the negotiations which were being conducted at that time with the "Pretender Sultan."⁴¹ Goossens may also have feared that Snouck Hurgronje would plead for a complete overhaul of Dutch policy in Aceh. In 1903 Snouck Hurgronje explained Goossens' opposition to his fieldwork as a result of the latter's belief in the existing policy of dealing with the Acehnese. He wrote that Goossens "feared that research as intended by me might result in different conclusions, and if these would be adopted by the Government, could foul up everything."⁴²

38 C. Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:321.

39 Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:XL.

40 C. Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 29 June 1933. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 100.

41 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 42.

42 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:322. From his correspondence with I. Goldziher it becomes clear that shortly before Snouck Hurgronje left he did not yet know whether he would proceed from Penang straight to Batavia or would travel to Aceh. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher, 19-20 February 1889, 23 March 1889. P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of*

Almost immediately after his arrival in Batavia in May 1889 Snouck Hurgronje wrote his own job description, suggesting to the director of Education, Worship and Industry what instructions he should receive. He should concern himself with the “institutions of Islam.”⁴³ Contrary to what he initially intended, he now pleaded for a second chance to do fieldwork in Aceh even when this meant that he could not leave Koeta Radja. He did so in a letter to Pijnacker Hordijk in May 1889. He even suggested that Van Teijn might help him in contacting “the man who I have heard mentioned as their spiritual leader: Sjàh Saman, *vulgo* Tengkoë di Tirou.”⁴⁴ This was a rather intriguing request. Teungku di Tiro, nowadays one of Indonesia’s national heroes because of his fight against the Dutch, was the very person who emerged at that time as the most prominent leader of Acehnese resistance, as Snouck Hurgronje himself would acknowledge in the report he wrote about his stay in Aceh.⁴⁵

Again his stay in Mecca had convinced Snouck Hurgronje that the fieldwork he intended to conduct would be successful, even in the adverse conditions in which it had to be carried out. In May 1889 he wrote to Pijnacker Hordijk that the experience gained by him in Mecca and his contacts with the Acehnese he had met there would probably enable him “to get relatively much information, even from the few sources which are available to us in the existing circumstances.”⁴⁶ He also made a claim: “It goes without saying that from a political as well as a scholarly perspective the inclusion of Aceh in my inquiries into the practice of Islam in these territories can be of great importance (...).”⁴⁷ His plea was in vain. Instead, shocked as the Dutch were by a large scale rebellion in Cilegon in Banten in West Java in 1888 by people whom Snouck Hurgronje described as “mystical fanatics,” he was ordered to study religious education and the role of Islamic religious leaders in Java.⁴⁸ On the agenda were also a study of mystical sects, *zakat*, and how the government could enlist the support of

Sciences, Budapest (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985), 115, 118, 120.

43 Snouck Hurgronje to the director of Education, Worship and Industry, 23 May 1889. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:3.

44 Snouck Hurgronje to Pijnacker Hordijk, May 1889. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:1-2.

45 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 68.

46 Snouck Hurgronje to Pijnacker Hordijk, May 1889. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:1.

47 Ibid.

48 Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 14 July 1889. Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 121. For the Cilegon rebellion see Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions, Course and Sequel. A Case Study of Social Movements in Indonesia*. KITLV Verhandelingen 50 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966).

moderate people to counter the influence of more radical voices without interfering in religious affairs.⁴⁹ Yet another task he was given was to suggest ways to improve the performance of the existing religious courts.⁵⁰

The spring of the following year, 1890, was a decisive moment for Snouck Hurgronje. Leiden University had offered him a chair in the Malay language and was prepared to expand his leave in the Netherlands Indies by one additional year. A professorship did not yet appeal to him. He greatly preferred a post in the Netherlands Indies and wanted to work on a solution to the "Islam question in this interesting region."⁵¹ The governor-general was favourably disposed, but in order to solicit a decision from the ministry of the Colonies, he had to write a letter to his chief, the director of Education, Worship and Industry. In it he observed "with all due respect" that the colonial administration definitely needed a person to advise it on "the many matters which require its attention and concern Islam." Having said this he "in all frankness" expressed the hope that the colonial administration would offer him a permanent position.⁵² To extend his stay by only one year would mean that he would be morally bound to accept the Leiden chair, while he preferred to remain in the Netherlands Indies much longer: "The experience gained in the last year has convinced me more and more that if my work here is to be of permanent use to the Government, it cannot be completed in a few years, but needs me to devote to it the best years of my life."⁵³ Snouck Hurgronje got what he wanted.⁵⁴ In March 1891 he was appointed advisor to the governor-general for Eastern

49 Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 14 July 1889. Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 122.

50 G.W.J. Drewes, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," in *Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland*, vol. 2, ed. J. Charité (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1985), 524.

51 Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 14 July 1889. Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 122.

52 Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke, 26 January 1890. P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke from the Tübingen University Library* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985), 17. Snouck Hurgronje to the director of Education, Worship and Industry, 23 May 1889. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:4.

53 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:5.

54 In retrospect he only wrote that he was offered a permanent position in the Netherlands Indies and that he accepted the offer (C. Snouck Hurgronje to K. van der Maaten, 29 June 1933. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 100). Snouck Hurgronje was less concerned about the fate of the Leiden municipal training college for colonial civil servants, where he had been appointed a lecturer in 1881. The loss of such a well-known teacher contributed to the closing of this already distressed college in 1891. C. Fasseur, *De Indologen. Ambtenaren voor de Oost. 1825-1950* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1993), 231.

languages and Islamic law. Again he drafted his own job description: he had to devote himself to the study of the Arabic and Malay languages and of the institutions of Islam.⁵⁵

Once more Aceh loomed. Two years after he had spoken out against Snouck Hurgronje's research Van Teijn changed his mind. Goossens had been replaced as assistant-resident of Koeta Radja by J.L.J.A. Ruysenaers, according to Van Heutsz "a man of clear discernment and strong initiative."⁵⁶ Ruysenaers succeeded in convincing Van Teijn of the necessity of a study as proposed by Snouck Hurgronje. More knowledge about Acehnese society might even be an urgent matter. Van Teijn seemed particularly interested in the influence the religious leaders could exert on the sultan and his followers. The only condition he had was that Snouck Hurgronje should remain within territory occupied by the Dutch.⁵⁷ Van Teijn and Ruysenaers expected, in Snouck Hurgronje's own words, "great results" of such a study.⁵⁸ Consequently, in February 1891, Snouck Hurgronje was ordered to go to Aceh "with dispatch."⁵⁹

This time it was Snouck Hurgronje, receiving the news while he was in Madiun, who had his doubts. The right moment had passed. More importantly, he was happy with the work he was doing. He had already been in various parts of West and Central Java, first of all in Banten, to collect information about religious education and Islamic religious leadership, and wanted to continue to do so in places in Central and East Java he had not yet visited, including such important centres of Islam in Java as Surabaya and Madura. He did not look forward to having to stay in Aceh for several months. That would be "very inconvenient" and "an annoying interruption," he wrote in March 1891.⁶⁰

Initially he did not expect much of such an undertaking, confined as he would be to the zone held by the Dutch colonial army. The fact that Van Teijn had just resigned as civil and military governor of Aceh for reasons of health was no encouragement either. Van Teijn had been replaced by Colonel F. Pompe van Meerdervoort, a man, Snouck Hurgronje later wrote, "not averse to the intention of pulling to pieces the work of his predecessor."⁶¹ Snouck Hurgronje

55 Snouck Hurgronje to the director of Education, Worship and Industry, 23 May 1889. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:8-9.

56 Van Heutsz, *De onderwerping van Aceh*, 29.

57 H.T. Damsté, "Drie Atjeh-mannen: Snouck Hurgronje – Van Heutsz – Van Daalen," *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* 25 (1936): 471-472.

58 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:322.

59 Ibid.

60 Snouck Hurgronje to first government-secretary. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:7.

61 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke ad-*

had some reason to write this assessment. Before he left for Aceh he had met Pompe van Meerdervoort in Batavia. The latter did not see the good of the fieldwork planned and told Snouck Hurgronje to consider all arrangements he had made with Ruysenaers about his stay in Aceh as cancelled.⁶² To make matters even worse, Ruysenaers was replaced, leaving nobody in Aceh who was in favour of the research Snouck Hurgronje was asked to do there.

Governor-general Pijnacker Hordijk did not give in. He disregarded both Snouck Hurgronje's own and Pompe van Meerdervoort's reservations. In July 1891 Snouck Hurgronje finally travelled to Aceh, where he was to stay from 16 July 1891 until 4 February 1892, and where he earned himself the nickname "Teungkoë Hadji Blanda," "Revered White/Dutch Hajji,"⁶³ among the Acehnese.⁶⁴ He may have left with distaste, sent, he was to write, "thither against my own judgment."⁶⁵ It had been a perilous time, he wrote afterwards in his report to the governor-general.⁶⁶ Snouck Hurgronje did not look back with joy on his experience. To Goldziher he wrote from Koeta Radja that Aceh was an "unheimlichen Gebiete."⁶⁷ He clearly did not like the Acehnese. They were immensely divided amongst one another, unreliable, fanatical, even ultra-fanatical Muslims (that is what he would write in connection with politics, not with religious precepts), and full of self-satisfaction.⁶⁸ He describes the people he mingled with as former pirates and highwaymen.⁶⁹ The house he lived in, he wrote later, was a "hovel unfit for human habitation without air and almost without light, where once in a while I sat up to my ankles in water."⁷⁰ The Dutch

viezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936, 1:322; J.B. Witte, *J.B. van Heutsz. Leven en legende* (Bussum: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1976), 34.

62 This is Snouck Hurgronje's own recollection of events (Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:322). Damsté writes that Pompe van Meerdervoort wanted to do everything he could to make Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Aceh a success and that Snouck Hurgronje asked him to find a house for him. H.T.Damsté, "Drie Atjeh-mannen: Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen," *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* 25 (1936): 457-83; 26 (1937): 21-36, 142-66, 295-307, 356-75; 27 (1938): 7-25.

63 "Teungku" is the Acehnese title for a religious leader.

64 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 43-44.

65 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:322.

66 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 70.

67 Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 14 July 1889. Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 131.

68 Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 2 November 1891, 15 July 1898. Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 131, 189.

69 Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, 15 August 1891. Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 31.

70 Snouck Hurgronje to C.H.A. van der Wijck, 15 March 1898. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hur-*

civil servants had not given him “the least co-operation.” They had even frustrated his efforts.⁷¹ There were also other obstacles. Afterwards he complained that “he had to observe Great Aceh from the position restricted by our line, while an actual visit to the North, East and West Coast was beyond the bounds of the possible.”⁷² Outside the Concentrated Line every European and Javanese was a dead man, he wrote to his teacher and friend Th. Nöldeke.⁷³ An alternative might have been to board a government ship accompanied by a Dutch civil servant, “ordering” people on board or paying short visits to the Dutch fortifications in Meulaboh, Sigli, and Idi, but he expected no results at all from such a demarche. In spite of all his initial reservations Snouck Hurgronje was pleased with the enormous amount of data he had been able to collect.⁷⁴ What he had accomplished far exceeded his expectations.⁷⁵ This was due to “a number of (...) extraordinarily suitable Acehnese” who had been able to provide him with the right kind of information.⁷⁶

On his return to Java in May 1892 Snouck Hurgronje submitted his “Report about the religious-political situation in Aceh” to Pijnacker Hordijk. The first two parts formed the basis of his well-known ethnography *De Atjèhers*.⁷⁷ It was published on the suggestion of the governor-general. The most important part of this report, his views about how to proceed in Aceh, remained a secret. The recommendations it contained were clear. They can be summarised as “hit the Acehnese hard and hit them relentlessly.” The sultan and his “Keumala party” should be ignored. He exercised no real power or influence at all and winning him over would make no difference.⁷⁸ There should be no negotiations with the enemy. The gangs headed by the religious leaders (‘ulama’) who made good use of the hatred of the Acehnese for the infidel Dutch, and “adventurers”

gronje en de Atjeh Oorlog, 33.

71 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:322.

72 Snouck Hurgronje to Pijnacker Hordijk, 23 May 1892. Gobée en C. Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:47.

73 Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, 15 August 1891. Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 31.

74 Snouck Hurgronje to Pijnacker Hordijk, 23 May 1892. Gobée en C. Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:47.

75 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:320.

76 Ibid.

77 The last two parts of his report remained a secret, but were later published in Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:46-114 and Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 59-94.

78 For a brief period, in the 1880s, Batavia considered co-opting the sultan and even a restoration of the Sultanate.

should be hunted incessantly and mercilessly. To inspire fear in the Acehnese and to prevent them from joining such persons Snouck Hurgronje suggested “to beat them very sorely.” When Islamic leaders were routed, Snouck Hurgronje greeted this with delight. Writing about one such a “clean-up” (*opruiming*) among the spiritual leaders in Pasai (Pase), he quoted an *adat* leader who observed that in the whole region there was nobody left who could ritually slaughter animals.⁷⁹ He admits that such an observation was a gross exaggeration, but nevertheless mentions it to show how successful the military campaign had been. With the same apparent pleasure Snouck Hurgronje noted that when in the first days of the Pidie expedition “71 fanatical followers of a spiritual leader (...) lost their lives, the desire to be shown the way to Paradise by ‘ulama’ considerably decreased.”⁸⁰

While he wrote in his report that it would have been wise had the Dutch at an early stage, “with the proper show of force... struck up a friendship with the *uleëbalang*,” the hereditary worldly leaders, the *adat* heads, he later expressed himself more bluntly. To negotiate, as later Van Heutsz and his staff continued to try to do, with “hostile heads, who only bow to force” was a waste of time. It would make no impression and would only lead to disappointment and ridicule.⁸¹ In one of his articles published under a pseudonym, in which he informed the public about the progress in Aceh, he would also observe that when the *uleëbalang* refused to bow to Dutch rule they “should be rendered harmless by death or banishment.”⁸² To restore faith in the beneficial intentions of the Dutch, economic development should be promoted once territory was firmly in Dutch hands.

These recommendations not only remained a secret, they were also shelved. The authorities balked at the high costs and the number of soldiers who would have to be deployed were Snouck Hurgronje’s suggestions to be put into practice.⁸³ Snouck Hurgronje would later claim that he knew this in advance. The then governor-general, C.H.A. van der Wijck, had been forced by The Hague to promise not to change the Aceh policy. His hands were bound.⁸⁴ Maybe Van der Wijck also had some doubts about whether Snouck Hurgronje’s suggestion would work. He asked the governor of Aceh what his opinion about

79 Snouck Hurgronje, “De excursie ter Noord- en Oost-Kust van Atjeh en hare gevolgen,” 385.

80 Ibid.

81 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 127.

82 Snouck Hurgronje, “De excursie ter Noord- en Oost-Kust van Atjeh en hare gevolgen,” 401.

83 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 107.

84 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 28 June 1931. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 97.

this was. When it came he agreed with the objections it contained.⁸⁵ Aceh policy stayed as it was. For the time being Snouck Hurgronje remained a voice crying in the wilderness. Many opposed him, Van der Maaten wrote in his work that was intended to present Snouck Hurgronje as the real hero of the Aceh War.⁸⁶

In his report Snouck Hurgronje only discussed “Greater Aceh” (*Groot-Atjeh*), Aceh proper. In 1921 he would write that he had already been convinced in 1892 that the Dutch position in Aceh would only be safe and secure in Dutch hands after the much larger territory of all its “Dependencies” (*Onderhoorigheden*) had also been conquered. The Acehnese fighters should be given no opportunity to withdraw to a region beyond the control of the Dutch army, which aimed at advancing ever further into the interior.⁸⁷

Among those unhappy with Snouck Hurgronje’s report and conclusions was the new civil and military governor of Aceh, Colonel C. Deijkerhoff, who in January 1892 had replaced Pompe van Meerdervoort shortly before Snouck Hurgronje left Aceh. Deijkerhoff made no secret of his disdain for Snouck Hurgronje when in June 1893, after waiting for one year, he finally condescended to reply to the request of Van der Wijck to say what he thought about the report. The delay had been deliberate. The Dutch officers in Aceh were very busy, and on top of all their work still had to react to reports of “experts” from outside Aceh, who had nothing new to say.⁸⁸ In May 1893 Snouck Hurgronje complained to governor-general Pijnacker Hordijk about Deijkerhoff’s talking in public “in the most disparaging tone” about his report.⁸⁹ Later, Deijkerhoff continued to dismiss his suggestions and warnings, “trying to refute them by personal attacks because of lack of arguments.”⁹⁰ Deijkerhoff said more or less the same thing about Snouck Hurgronje. He called him “professorial” and accused him of making unsubstantiated assumptions, of riding his hobbyhorse, Islam, and even of lacking in patriotism. Moreover, Snouck Hurgronje was wrong about the authority of the sultan, and did not realise that when the Dutch army started a military offensive the Acehnese would unite.⁹¹

85 Damsté, “Drie Atjeh-mannen: Snouck Hurgronje – Van Heutsz – Van Daalen,” 479-480.

86 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 90.

87 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 10 December 1921. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 90.

88 Damsté, “Drie Atjeh-mannen: Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen,” 479-480.

89 Snouck Hurgronje to Pijnacker Hordijk, 24 July 1893. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:125.

90 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:325.

91 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Wijck, 8 March 1896. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:325; Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de*

As for Snouck Hurgronje, he made no effort to conceal his opinion that Deijkerhoff was a bad choice for the job. During Deijkerhoff's governorship of Aceh lack of principles had reached a low, he would write in November 1896 in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*.⁹² Nor did he hide his frustration about the fact that the governors-general Pijnacker Hordijk and C.H.A. van der Wijck had allowed Deijkerhoff to stay in office for four years, until November 1896.⁹³ In hindsight he singled out as one of Deijkerhoff's main mistakes the fact that he had embarked upon cooperation with one of Aceh's most important resistance leaders, Teukoe Oemar, in 1893.

While the highest authorities admired General Deijkerhoff's policy, I saw with apprehension the approach of the miserable end in which his foolhardy game *had* to result, and I could not refrain from pointing this out time and time again, although the task of a critical adviser was, as so often, a highly thankless one.⁹⁴

Such negotiations with the enemy, Snouck Hurgronje would later write, could only be conducted because of the lack of any sense of honour.⁹⁵ In February 1894 he still thought differently. He welcomed the surrender of Teukoe Oemar and his decision to fight alongside the Dutch.⁹⁶

After his return to Java Snouck Hurgronje intended to stay in control of what happened in Aceh. In July 1893 he suggested that governor-general Pijnacker Hordijk send a copy of all correspondence of the administration in Aceh with local leaders to Batavia.⁹⁷ His judgment of what had been accomplished in the past was crushing. In the same letter he observed that past correspondence had compromised Dutch rule, had pursued aims which were non-existent, had been based upon poor assumptions, and at times had showed a complete misunderstanding of the content of the letters received.⁹⁸ Moreover, the Dutch

Atjeh Oorlog, 103; Damsté, "Drie Atjeh-mannen: Snouck Hurgronje – Van Heutsz – Van Daalen," 480.

92 Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje* IV:1, 323.

93 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, I:324.

94 *Ibid.*, 325.

95 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 23 January 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, I:252.

96 Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, 17 February 1894. Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 39.

97 Snouck Hurgronje to Pijnacker Hordijk, 24 July 1893. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, I:124.

98 Snouck Hurgronje to Pijnacker Hordijk, 24 July 1893. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke ad-*

stationed in Aceh knew little about the people, while he himself had continued to follow developments in Aceh and was much better informed. Snouck Hurgronje did not foresee any problems in having extra copies made. The “native clerks” working for the Dutch administration of Aceh had plenty of time. As could have been expected Deijkerhoff remonstrated. Snouck Hurgronje was not impressed. The governor would certainly not have objected, had not it been he, Snouck Hurgronje, who had suggested that copies should be sent to Batavia. Deijkerhoff got his way; Pijnacker Hordijk called off the plan. He also sided with Deijkerhoff on how to proceed with the war, disregarding all Snouck Hurgronje had proposed.⁹⁹

Back in Batavia Snouck Hurgronje remained well informed about developments in Aceh after July 1893. One of his main sources was H. Hasan Mustapa, a religious scholar from Garut in West Java. Snouck Hurgronje had met Hasan Mustapa in Mecca and would strike up an acquaintance with him shortly after he arrived in the Netherlands Indies during his tour in West Java. Both in Mecca and in West Java Hasan Mustapa already had been an important source of information.¹⁰⁰ He would also perform this function in Aceh. Snouck Hurgronje saw to it that he was appointed chief *Penghulu* (head of the religious administration) of Koeta Radja in 1893. During his three-year *penghuluship* Hasan Mustapa sent weekly reports to Snouck Hurgronje in Batavia.¹⁰¹

4 J.B. van Heutsz, the Man for the Job

Snouck Hurgronje had no high esteem for the military officers who were stationed in Aceh. There was one exception, however, a relatively junior officer, Johannes Benedictus van Heutsz. Van Heutsz certainly had a strong personality. According to one of his biographers he “loved women, playing cards, dancing and a good drink.”¹⁰² He was brave and a good soldier, but also priggish and coarse, and as stubborn as Snouck Hurgronje was.¹⁰³ Van der Maaten, who in his efforts to deify Snouck Hurgronje and because of his disdain for Van Heutsz,

viezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936, 1:124.

99 Ibid., 125; Damsté, “Drie Atjeh-mannen: Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen,” 480-481.

100 Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia. The Umma Below the Winds* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 82-84.

101 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Wijck, 8 March 1896. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:179-180.

102 Witte, *J.B. van Heutsz. Leven en legende*, 14.

103 Ibid.

could not but present an unfavourable picture of the man, depicts him as a “peculiar” man, who “evidently lacked all sense of dignity,” a blabberer, and a person with a special talent for ridiculing people behind their backs and making everybody laugh.¹⁰⁴ Such characteristics meant that Van Heutsz was not appreciated by his superiors, for whom he did not spare his criticism and even contempt. They considered him to be “quarrelsome, insistent on being right, impudent and vindictive.”¹⁰⁵ “The opinion of almost all field officers who at that time were placed higher in the army hierarchy was so unfavourable that the virtues they attributed to him seemed to serve as a small shadow to have his bad points shine all the brighter,” Snouck Hurgronje would write.¹⁰⁶ Such assessments were clearly not an asset for a quick advancement in the army. Snouck Hurgronje blamed the initial reluctance to have Van Heutsz play a decisive role in the war on “envy and stupidity” on the part of his superiors.¹⁰⁷

Van Heutsz and Snouck Hurgronje both knew what they wanted. Van Heutsz first vied for the position of civil and military governor of Aceh, and after he had accomplished this he wanted to become governor-general of the Netherlands Indies. Snouck Hurgronje was convinced that he could show the way to victory in Aceh and left no stone unturned to get his views accepted. Though the two men were worlds apart, one being a war-horse, the other a scholar, they shared a number of characteristics. Both were ambitious. In the descriptions of Van Heutsz these characteristics are presented as weaknesses, and in those of Snouck Hurgronje as supporting his brilliance. In his hagiographic necrology Van Calcar draws attention to Snouck Hurgronje’s iron-sharp criticism, and he depicts him as “the king of humour, also of biting humour, which one sometimes calls sarcasm.”¹⁰⁸ Van Calcar also calls him a “domineering ruler made of iron” (*ijzeren heerschersfiguur*), a “born ruler” (*geboren heerscher*), not used to playing second fiddle, whose personality commands others to take on a subordinate position.¹⁰⁹ C. van Vollenhoven, the second much admired scholar in the field of Indonesian studies in those days, would have remarked: “One serves people like Snouck Hurgronje.”¹¹⁰ Naarding, who presents a generally favoura-

104 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 144-145.

105 Van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog*, 196.

106 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 23 January 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:326-327.

107 Ibid.

108 R.P. van Calcar, *DE MEESTER. Herinneringen aan Prof. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje 1857-1936* (S.l.: s.n. 1936), 11, 13.

109 Ibid., 11; Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 154-155.

110 Van Calcar, *DE MEESTER*, 31.

ble picture of Snouck Hurgronje, describes him as “haughty and passionate.”¹¹¹ About Van Heutsz he is less flattering and writes that “his soul was as empty of ethical values as an ash pot turned upside down.” He was a “loose man, loose of tongue, loose of morals.”¹¹²

Initially the two got on well. They had first met in Breda in 1872 when Snouck Hurgronje was still a fifteen-year-old secondary schoolboy and Van Heutsz a young officer of twenty-one.¹¹³ The two came across each other again when Snouck Hurgronje taught Islamic law at the Advanced Military Academy in The Hague, the highest educational institution preparing officers for a position in the general staff. Van Heutsz, at that time still a first lieutenant, had been one of his students.¹¹⁴ Their stay in Aceh also briefly overlapped. Snouck Hurgronje arrived there in July 1891. At that moment Captain Van Heutsz served there as chief-of-staff of Van Teijn, but his assignment came to an end in August. Nevertheless, they did not meet in Koeta Radja.¹¹⁵ The following year their paths crossed after Snouck Hurgronje had returned to Batavia and Van Heutsz had become battalion commander of nearby Meester Cornelis. Van Heutsz would often visit Snouck Hurgronje after his “morning ride” to discuss the situation in Aceh.¹¹⁶

Before the end of the year Van Heutsz made his views about the Aceh War known in a three-part article in the *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift* (“Indies Military Journal”).¹¹⁷ His main line of argument was that the war could only be won by applying military force and that the time had come to act decisively. To bring the message home each of the three parts started with the same motto: “The Aceh War gnaws our Colonial possession, it *has* to end. Let us at last show the civilised world that we are capable of doing so.” His conclusion (in italics) also left no doubts: “Only he who shows that he possesses the power to have his will respected will bring about the subjection of Aceh.”¹¹⁸ Van ’t Veer describes the

111 Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen*, 11.

112 *Ibid.*, 24.

113 Witte, *J.B. van Heutsz. Leven en legende*, 13; Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 106.

114 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 23 January 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:323.

115 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 2 May 1931. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 94.

116 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 2 May 1931. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 94.

117 J.B. van Heutsz, “De onderwerping van Atjeh,” *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift* 23 (1892): 1965-1990, (1893): 1-53, 97-135. In 1893 a book was published with the same title: J.B. van Heutsz, *De onderwerping van Aceh* (’s-Gravenhage en Batavia: Van Cleef en Kolff en Co, 1893).

118 Van Heutsz, *De onderwerping van Aceh*, 106.

article as the “the first imperialist piece of writing in Dutch colonial policy,”¹¹⁹ but the same qualification can be given to Snouck Hurgronje’s recommendations to the colonial government. No wonder that Snouck Hurgronje could fully agree with Van Heutsz’ assessment that applying force was the only way to subdue the Acehnese.¹²⁰ There was one basic difference in the chosen approach between the two. Van Heutsz was not in favour of the all-out war Snouck Hurgronje preached. In 1894 he still maintained that a large-scale military operation would only be needed in case Teukoe Oemar would defect.¹²¹

Still in 1893 Van Heutsz left for Holland on sick-leave. He returned to the Netherlands Indies in January 1895 to become commander of Sumatra’s East Coast; at a time when Snouck Hurgronje’s suggestion of a more aggressive approach was gaining ground in Batavia. The following year something happened in Aceh that shocked the Dutch and would bring about Van Heutsz’ and Snouck Hurgronje’s direct involvement in the war. In March 1896 Teukoe Oemar, nowadays one of Indonesia’s national heroes, defected. “Teukoe Oemar’s treason” – or as Snouck Hurgronje would call it “the Teukoe Oemar catastrophe” or “disastrous Oemar comedy” – made people rethink policy and call for a more belligerent approach. Reaction was swift. Early in April and within days after Teukoe Oemar’s defection General J.A. Vetter, the commander of the colonial army, was appointed government-commissioner for Aceh and was dispatched to Aceh. Snouck Hurgronje also lost no time in impressing upon governor-general Van der Wijck that Van Heutsz was “just the person to sort out the chaos” in Aceh.¹²² Snouck Hurgronje partly got what he wanted. Still in April, and shortly after the appointment of Vetter, Van Heutsz was “suddenly,” as he wrote in a letter to Snouck Hurgronje, ordered to Aceh.¹²³ However, he was still not the person who determined military strategy. He was seconded to the civil and military governor. During one of the military operations in May commanded by him he would conquer and destroy Teukoe Oemar’s home base.¹²⁴ That he was ordered to Aceh was Snouck Hurgronje’s doing. He had been afraid that Vetter, of whose appointment he did not think much, and his staff would not be belligerent enough, and had persuaded Van der Wijck to transfer Van Heutsz

119 Van ’t Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog*, 193.

120 Snouck Hurgronje to the first government-secretary, 17 March 1893. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:117.

121 Witte, *J.B. van Heutsz. Leven en legende*, 76.

122 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 23 January 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:327.

123 Damsté, “Drie Atjeh-mannen: Snouck Hurgronje – Van Heutsz – Van Daalen,” 22.

124 Teukoe Oemar was killed in February 1899.

to Aceh to sustain the momentum of the war.¹²⁵ During his stay in Aceh, Van Heutsz acted as a kind of informant of Snouck Hurgronje. Van der Maaten depicts him as “Snouck Hurgronje’s correspondent in Aceh, his source for events, about which, he himself not being on the spot, was insufficiently informed.”¹²⁶ In fact much of Van Heutsz’ letters was about military operations and skirmishes, interspersed with complaints about being shunned by his fellow officers.

As for Snouck Hurgronje, he was already thinking of expanding the war from Greater Aceh to the “Dependencies,” neighbouring Pidie first, and of what had to be done if such expeditions were to be successful. Snouck Hurgronje “as a great general attached more value to making preparations than to leading a battle,” Van Calcar wrote.¹²⁷ He did so at a time when others were prepared at the most to launch some punitive expeditions into the “Dependencies.” To accomplish his aim Snouck Hurgronje first had to convince Van Heutsz, and after that, in concert with the latter, Van der Wijck.¹²⁸

For the time being Snouck Hurgronje’s efforts to have Van Heutsz take charge were in vain. In June 1896 Snouck Hurgronje probably suggested that Van der Wijck appoint Van Heutsz as civil and military governor of Aceh.¹²⁹ Van der Wijck refused. He recognised Van Heutsz’ military qualities, but recoiled from his other qualities. Van Heutsz was “very much in Van der Wijck’s bad books,” Snouck Hurgronje remembered later.¹³⁰ Indeed, Van der Wijck complained in his letters to Snouck Hurgronje about Van Heutsz’ excessive criticism of superiors, his drivel and boasting (*gezwets en gesnork*), his lack of trustfulness, and the big defects in his character. He also called him an intriguer and somebody who is not considered to be a dignified field officer.¹³¹ Nevertheless, Van der Wijck was impressed by Van Heutsz’ military record – all agree that he is a good commander of troops he would write to Snouck Hurgronje¹³² – which accounted for Van der Wijck’s support of Van Heutsz’ military career while remaining hesitant about the latter’s administrative qualities. According

125 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 126.

126 *Ibid.*, 137.

127 Van Calcar, *DE MEEESTER*, 25.

128 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 139, 151-152. Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 16 May 1931. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 95.

129 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 131.

130 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 10 December 1921. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 91.

131 Van der Wijck to Snouck Hurgronje, 13 June 1896, 7 August 1896, 25 September 1897. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 3, 7, 16.

132 Van der Wijck to Snouck Hurgronje, 13 June 1896. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 3.

to Van der Maaten there was an additional reason for Van der Wijck not to like Van Heutsz.¹³³ Van Heutsz keeping Snouck Hurgronje abreast of developments in Aceh, information he did not share with the governor-general.

The situation changed after Van Heutsz had been appointed chief of general staff in Batavia at the end of September 1897 and he and Van der Wijck finally met in person.¹³⁴ Snouck Hurgronje paved the way. In advance he wrote to Van der Wijck that meeting Van Heutsz, who in October of the year was promoted from major to colonel, would make him appreciate Van Heutsz's "most unusual characteristics." He added that many had put the defects of Van Heutsz's personality in a bad light, but that in fact Van Heutsz was no worse than other excellent officers. His disposition only made it impossible for him to hide his faults.¹³⁵ In March of the following year Van Heutsz was appointed civil and military governor of Aceh. The explicit condition was that Snouck Hurgronje would act as his adviser. In retrospect Snouck Hurgronje wrote that nobody had been better pleased about the appointment than he himself because he knew Van Heutsz as a "man of uncommon strength of mind and energy."¹³⁶ Two decades later, in December 1921, he wrote: "Without my ceaseless urging, Van Heutsz would not have been sent to Aceh, and without Van Heutsz, my programme would have remained unimplemented."¹³⁷

5 Snouck Hurgronje and Van Heutsz in Control

In April 1898, within a fortnight of the appointment of Van Heutsz as civil and military governor of Aceh, Van der Wijck gave Snouck Hurgronje "permanent direct influence over the affairs of the civil administration in Aceh and the Dependencies."¹³⁸ It was Van der Wijck who took this initiative, almost presenting this as a condition for the appointment of Van Heutsz. He also told Snouck Hurgronje that Van Heutsz "wholeheartedly agreed."¹³⁹ Simultaneous-

133 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 131-132.

134 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:327.

135 Snouck Hurgronje Van der Wijck, 26 October 1897. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 31-32.

136 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:327.

137 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 135.

138 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:320.

139 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 10 December 1921. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 102-103.

ly the first government-secretary informed Van Heutsz that as civil and military governor of Aceh he had to cooperate with Snouck Hurgronje where possible in matters which were outside the direct military domain. This special assignment, Snouck Hurgronje later wrote, was a “significant turning point in my involvement with Aceh.”¹⁴⁰ Snouck Hurgronje took his April assignment seriously. In May he left for Aceh together with Van Heutsz and his family. Once there he took an active part in the Pidie expedition, which he had helped to plan in close cooperation with Van Heutsz.¹⁴¹ Snouck Hurgronje, who had been assigned a house and an office in Koeta Radja, actively participated in the staff consultations and joined the military operations whenever he could. Once in a letter to Nöldeke, he described himself as “assistant-general.”¹⁴² This was almost always the case. Only once, in June 1898, after he received a kick from a horse on his shinbone, was he absent. Snouck Hurgronje and Van Heutsz often rode in front of their men, both on horseback. Sometimes they had to go on foot.¹⁴³ Snouck Hurgronje loved it: “More appetite, better digestion, cheerfulness, etc.,” he wrote to Nöldeke, reporting about his Aceh adventures. He also wrote about his “contact with officers,” and their “calm devotion to duty.”¹⁴⁴ In another letter – and there were others in which Snouck Hurgronje exhibited his joy of being in Aceh – he wrote about the “tiring, but, for my constitution, very favourable military operations, at times 40 kilometres, a day on horseback, partly through difficult terrain.”¹⁴⁵

The Pidie expedition, which lasted from the beginning of June until the end of September 1898, was a success. Keumala was taken, but the sultan had fled. Afterwards momentum was maintained. During one of the many military campaigns that followed along the north and east coast “a big clearance [*grote opruiming*] had been undertaken among the spiritual leaders of the resistance and their followers,” Snouck Hurgronje reported in the newspaper *Java-Bode* in

140 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:32.

141 Witte, *J.B. van Heutsz. Leven en legende*, 54; Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 189.

142 Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, 13 May 1900. Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 79. Snouck Hurgronje wrote his letters to Nöldeke in Dutch, which sounds a little more pompous. Snouck Hurgronje used the word *assistent-veldheer*.

143 Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 15 July 1898. Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 189-190; Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 169; Witte, *J.B. van Heutsz. Leven en legende*, 58.

144 Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, 25 June 1898. Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 64.

145 Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, 23 November 1898. Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 70.

October 1899.¹⁴⁶ In November of the same year, and in the same newspaper, Snouck Hurgronje publicly praised Van Heutsz. He was a governor who, “in a rarely found fortunate way combines acumen, strength of mind and breadth of outlook with knowledge.”¹⁴⁷ Such newspaper articles belonged to the minor contributions of Snouck Hurgronje. They kept the public informed of progress made, countering reports and rumours to the contrary.

His military successes had won Van Heutsz the admiration of Van der Wijck, who wanted to promote him. To achieve this Van der Wijck turned to Snouck Hurgronje for help in his effort to impress the minister of the Colonies about the merits of Van Heutsz. After all, Snouck Hurgronje had been in Aceh himself and had been an eyewitness of all that had happened there. Snouck Hurgronje complied. Van Heutsz was promoted to major-general. He was also made a Knight Commander of the Military Order of William I (*Commandeur der Militaire Willemsorde*).¹⁴⁸

On 11 January 1899 Snouck Hurgronje was appointed adviser for Native and Arabic Affairs.¹⁴⁹ Once more he drafted his own job description. This time it had the specific stipulation that the adviser should “proceed to Aceh as often and for as long as this is deemed necessary by him.”¹⁵⁰ It seems that Van der Wijck had been very anxious to have Snouck Hurgronje observe developments on the spot, suggesting that he would go there even before Van Heutsz was appointed governor.¹⁵¹ Snouck Hurgronje may have been equally eager.¹⁵² He could also agree, providing that the government could offer him a decent house outside the *kraton*, which meant that he had to move to one of the hous-

146 Snouck Hurgronje, “De excursie ter Noord- en Oost-Kust van Atjeh en hare gevolgen,” 407.

147 C. Snouck Hurgronje, “Een onbezonnen vraag,” in *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje* IV:1, 383.

148 Van der Wijck to Snouck Hurgronje, 28 September 1898, 15 December 1898. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 17-18.

149 Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 113.

150 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Wijck, 22 January 1899. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 115.

151 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Wijck, 11 March 1898. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 32.

152 It is not completely clear whether this addition was inserted on Snouck Hurgronje's own initiative or on that of Van der Wijck. Van der Maaten (having the date wrong) gives the impression that it was the governor-general's wish, see Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 152. As early as March 1897 Van Heutsz reacted very positively to a suggestion by Snouck Hurgronje that he should come to Aceh to see for himself what was happening (J.B. van Heutsz to Snouck Hurgronje, 4 March 1897. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 68).

es available for military officers.¹⁵³ It should also be noted that although his position still formed part of the department of Education, Worship and Industry, the letter in which he suggested what his task should imply was not addressed to the head of that department, but to governor-general Van der Wijck.

Snouck Hurgronje went to Aceh a number of times for months in a row, also to join the military expeditions staged to expand Dutch rule. Therefore, he wrote later, he met Van Heutsz almost on a daily base when he was in Aceh. This allowed him to present his suggestions and remonstrations orally, being very hesitant to put these to paper, as written reports can make a harsher impression.¹⁵⁴ Van Heutsz “time and again took along Dr Snouck Hurgronje to the West Coast (...) even at the time when it rained *klewang* attacks,” Van der Maaten writes,¹⁵⁵ praising Snouck Hurgronje for his bravery. Van der Maaten also reveals that during the staff meetings he attended Snouck Hurgronje did the talking and that at times Van Heutsz would fall asleep, especially after they had been out in the field or had just finished a meal (a *rijsttafel*) and he was used to having his after-lunch nap.¹⁵⁶ Writing about Van Heutsz’ falling asleep, Naarding, and he may have based this on interviews, concludes from such anecdotes that Snouck Hurgronje talked for too long and in too academic a style, boring Van Heutsz stiff.

Hesitant to put to paper what he saw in Aceh, Snouck Hurgronje showed equal restraint in his reports to Batavia. He would later explain that he had refrained from criticising Van Heutsz in his reports, not because he was afraid of conflicts that would inevitably follow but for other reasons. The explanation Snouck Hurgronje gives can be read in two ways. One is that since everybody had become convinced that Van Heutsz was the right man to conquer Aceh, emphasizing his weak sides was of no use. The other is that his criticism would have been so damning that Van Heutsz might well have lost his position as governor, while he himself still considered Van Heutsz indispensable and the only military officer who could do the job.¹⁵⁷

153 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Wijck, 15 March 1898. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 33.

154 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:124.

155 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 196.

156 Van der Maaten to Somer, 6 June 1935. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 110.

157 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 139.

6 A Relationship Turning Sour

In the early years of their acquaintance Snouck Hurgronje and Van Heutsz were still on good terms. Snouck Hurgronje had done his best to make sure that Van Heutsz got an assignment in Aceh, convinced that Van Heutsz was the most suitable man to execute his aggressive approach towards Aceh. Snouck Hurgronje may have needed Van Heutsz, as Van der Maaten writes, as “his broadsword.”¹⁵⁸ Van Heutsz, for his part, as Snouck Hurgronje later pointed out to governor-general W. Rooseboom, had impressed upon Van der Wijck that Snouck Hurgronje’s involvement on the spot in Aceh was vital.¹⁵⁹ As early as 1892, when Van Heutsz frequently visited Snouck Hurgronje in Batavia, Van Heutsz himself had also tried to convince Snouck Hurgronje that he, Van Heutsz, was the right person to defeat the Acehnese.¹⁶⁰

Each one almost certainly saw the other as instrumental to the plans he had for his career and for the war in Aceh, and each of them probably wanted to have the final say, and, as we will see, was convinced that it was he who had come up with the right solution for winning the war. Their active involvement in, first, the subjugation, and thereafter the administration, of Aceh drew them apart. During the years in which priority had to be given to military operations differences of opinion did not yet result in open conflict, though we may speculate about mutual irritations and exasperations creeping in.

In the first years after Van Heutsz had been appointed governor of Aceh all still went well. Snouck Hurgronje used words like “outstanding harmony” and “pleasant” to sketch their relationship in those days.¹⁶¹ Matters came to a head in 1902 and early 1903 when Aceh seemed secure and a severe difference of opinion emerged on how to proceed. Van Heutsz wanted to put Aceh on the map, develop its countryside, and turn Koeta Radja into a thrilling modern city.¹⁶² Snouck Hurgronje had other priorities. He was of the opinion that for a real pacification it was essential to win the trust of the population. This should be accomplished by promoting the local economy and especially trade, and by refraining from excessive violence and economic exploitation. That is why – as he claimed – as early as 1896 he believed that the pacification of Aceh might

158 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 148.

159 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:327.

160 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 2 May 1931. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 94.

161 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 124-125.

162 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 205.

take as long as twenty-five years, and not just one year as Van Heutsz had boasted in a speech.¹⁶³ Such basic principles clashed with what Van Heutsz seemed to be doing. Snouck Hurgronje feared the negative consequences for the life of the local population, and frowned at the cost of money and compulsory labour these and what he regarded as other sometimes excessive projects implied.

Snouck Hurgronje informed Van Heutsz about his objections in a letter in April 1902. He especially lashed out at the building of a racecourse. He had already protested against the building of a racetrack the previous year, but this had obviously been in vain. Plans to build a new one and to get the Acehnese involved had not been shelved. Snouck Hurgronje was steadfast. A “volatile European hobby” such as horse racing could only flourish in a community of rich Europeans, who were permanently living in a city and who would not be transferred frequently. In Koeta Radja a racetrack was a folly. In Snouck Hurgronje’s eyes there was much amiss with the enterprise. In no way should the track be paid for with the money and labour of the local Acehnese. No public money earmarked for the development of the region or acquired from granting permission for special gambling events for the Acehnese should be used.¹⁶⁴ The government should distance itself from building the racecourse, especially because it might be difficult for the Acehnese to ignore suggestions by Dutch civil servants to contribute. It might also prompt village heads and others – as indeed was not uncommon in the Netherlands Indies – to hold collections, or, in this special case, to become a member of the racecourse and buy horses. In no way should the encouragement of horse breeding by the colonial government be used as a guise to promote the racecourse, nor should racing events be made more attractive by organising Acehnese popular entertainment and by

163 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:355. Aceh report, in Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:96. It should be noted that in April 1900 in a letter to Nöldeke Snouck Hurgronje was much more optimistic. He wrote that in the previous two years enormous progress had been made. Large-scale military expeditions seemed a thing of the past, though it might still take a considerable time before Aceh was a fully peaceful region. Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, 13 April 1900. Van Koningensveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 80.

164 In a later letter to governor-general Rooseboom Snouck Hurgronje pointed out that a Chinese who had been contracted to build and maintain the buildings of the racetrack could not be fully paid. As a compensation he had received a license to construct a big gambling hut on the racecourse and was allowed to organise gambling activities for three to five days during the race festivities. In 1901 Snouck Hurgronje had protested, but Van Heutsz had not bothered to interfere. He is said to have told Snouck Hurgronje that such gambling was useful and entertaining. Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 135.

holding an Acehnese cattle exhibition (which, according to him, would not be attended voluntarily). Acehnese “do not know and generally do not like horses.”¹⁶⁵ In the closing sentences of the letter Snouck Hurgronje did not hide the fact that he felt aggrieved. No notice had been taken of an earlier word of caution about the racecourse. Van Heutsz did not react at all. By remaining silent he indicated that he did not value Snouck Hurgronje’s “insight into various matters, especially those which concern the Native world, ripened by a long experience and study.”¹⁶⁶

Van Heutsz was not amused by Snouck Hurgronje’s written rebuke. He had seen to it that irregularities in raising money for the racecourse were a thing of the past, but had continued to support the construction plans just as he supported everything that made life more pleasant in Koeta Radja.¹⁶⁷ Snouck Hurgronje had based his opinions on “slanderous and untrue communications” which the *penghulu* and maybe others had provided. He, too, was aggrieved and refused to go into the matter by post.¹⁶⁸

Another bone of contention was how to deal with the “Pretender Sultan”; but this issue seems to have taken central stage only because of Snouck Hurgronje’s criticism of the building of the racecourse and other such projects. On 20 January 1903 Tuanku Muhammad Daud formally submitted to Dutch rule during a ceremony at the governor’s house in Koeta Radja. At the instigation of Van Heutsz Muhammad Daud wrote to a number of Acehnese leaders to surrender. Snouck Hurgronje spoke out against these and other plans which Van Heutsz (who intended to build an impressive house for the sultan) might have to involve Tuanku Muhammad Daud in Dutch rule in Aceh.¹⁶⁹ He was most adamant about this. As early as 1897 he had suggested that in case of surrender

165 Snouck Hurgronje to Van Heutsz, 26 April 1902. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 80. See also Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 133-135.

166 Snouck Hurgronje to Van Heutsz, 26 April 1902. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 83.

167 It should be stressed that the conflict was not one between an enlightened scholar and a narrow-minded military officer. Van Heutsz also had the economic development of Aceh at heart, and during his governorship in vain demanded that *Koninklijke Olie* (Shell) should build a refinery in Aceh instead of pumping the oil to a refinery in East Sumatra. Aceh should profit from the exploitation of its natural resources. Van ’t Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog*, 218. Contrary to many of his contemporaries he also saw no harm in appointing Indonesians who qualified for this at the European civil service. Achmad Djajadiningrat, *Herinneringen van Pangeran Ario Achmad Djajadiningrat* (Amsterdam-Batavia: G. Kolff & Co, 1936), 262.

168 Van Heutsz to Snouck Hurgronje, 14 June 1902. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 84.

169 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 210.

the sultan should preferably be banished to a place where he could not interfere in Acehneese affairs, and at the most should be allowed to live in Koeta Radja.¹⁷⁰ Since then he had not changed his mind. In his opinion co-operation with the sultan implied recognition of the Sultanate of Aceh.¹⁷¹ To prevent problems in the future it should be made crystal clear that the Sultanate of Aceh was an institution of the past.

In February 1903 Snouck Hurgronje briefly travelled to Aceh at the request of Van Heutsz to discuss the matter. It would be a memorable visit. The tension between him and Van Heutsz burst into the open. They must have had a formidable row. It is impossible to know whether this was before or after they had their verbal clash of arguments, but Snouck Hurgronje now definitely abandoned his avowed strategy of not putting his objections to paper. While he was in Koeta Radja he wrote two memoranda to Van Heutsz, one on 9 February and one on 15 February.¹⁷² The result was as he had predicted in the past. The notes added to them by Van Heutsz make it clear that the latter did not want to be treated as a nitwit. Van Heutsz was extremely annoyed by what he considered irrelevant observations made on the basis of insufficient information gained from sources which were unnamed, but according to Snouck Hurgronje, reliable. He noted that all “*experienced* administrators and authorities” were already well aware of what Snouck Hurgronje tried to impress upon them.¹⁷³ He also had no intention at all of negotiating with the enemy, as Snouck Hurgronje had assumed: “The Government *itself* only seeks contact with hostile heads with the bayonet and demands of each of them unconditional surrender.”¹⁷⁴ With some irritation he also noted that he considered it “a mistake *to announce* that something that does *not* exist will be abolished,” that is the Sultanate.¹⁷⁵

170 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Wijck, 31 May 1897. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 25.

171 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:238. What Snouck Hurgronje especially deplored was that before the sultan had formally surrendered, Van Heutsz had at least given the impression that his possible banishment and the future allowance the sultan was to receive could be points of negotiation. Matters should not end up as they had done with Teukoe Oemar. Snouck Hurgronje also strongly disapproved of the fact that after his surrender the sultan had been allowed to write letters urging others to surrender as well. In the end the sultan would be banished to Java in 1907. He was suspected of having tried to enlist the support of Japan.

172 Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:260-272; 275-286.

173 Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:267.

174 *Ibid.*, 266.

175 *Ibid.*, 260.

Afterwards Snouck Hurgronje complained about the way in which Van Heutsz had tried to refute his point of view. He called Van Heutsz's arguments a curious distortion of facts. Van Heutsz's tone had revealed "that he was most annoyed with me" and his manners had been in sharp contrast to the way he had behaved up to then. With Van Heutsz in such a mood, Snouck Hurgronje was sure that he could no longer exercise any influence in Aceh. Nor did he look forward to "being constantly exposed to such whimsical airings."¹⁷⁶ Van Heutsz gave a different version. Accusing Snouck Hurgronje of being a person cursed with the desire to demolish civil servants, he claimed that he had always stood up for his civil servants and officers without its coming to a clash. In early 1903 "this became impossible, I had to act against him publicly and because of that became his personal enemy."¹⁷⁷

7 Snouck Hurgronje Resigns

His February 1903 visit to Aceh would be Snouck Hurgronje's last one. He would never visit the region again. When W. Rooseboom, a former director of the Advanced Military Academy in The Hague and governor-general since 1899, did not back him up Snouck Hurgronje distanced himself from Aceh policy.¹⁷⁸ He was furious that his recommendations had been ignored. In polite terms he alluded to this in a letter to Rooseboom. To set right the "many serious evils" in Aceh would certainly mean a fight with Van Heutsz. In such a conflict he needed the support of Batavia. Without such backing he would not be able to bring to fruition the assignment the colonial government had given him.¹⁷⁹ Still in 1903 Snouck Hurgronje asked to be relieved from his special advisory role in Acehnese affairs. His request was granted. His objections were disregarded.¹⁸⁰

For a while forms were observed. Snouck Hurgronje congratulated Van Heutsz by telegram on a new decoration he had received (a Grand Cross of the Military Order of William I). In reply Van Heutsz informed Snouck Hurgronje by postcard in April 1903 that he had had Snouck Hurgronje's house "beautiful-

176 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 141.

177 Van Heutsz to A.W.T. Idenburg, 30/31 July 1908. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 143.

178 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 210.

179 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 140-141.

180 Drewes, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," 524.

ly painted” and renovated: “It will certainly please you.”¹⁸¹ Not much later, the time of mutual debunking and recriminations began, first in letters to the governor-general and the minister of the Colonies, and later also in the press, the accusations and denunciations intensifying as time went by.

Snouck Hurgronje struck back in a letter to Rooseboom in October 1903, presented as an account of his involvement in shaping Aceh policy.¹⁸² Van 't Veer observes that Snouck Hurgronje might well have given it the title “I am always right.”¹⁸³ The letter is a lengthy epistle in which, it seems, Snouck Hurgronje listed all the defects, mistakes, and policy errors of Van Heutsz. To clear his name and to refute in advance any criticism that might be levied against him in the future, he claimed that he had never put these down on paper before, but that he had frequently informed Rooseboom about them in person. Grave errors had been made by Van Heutsz and he had to mention them as well as the action he had taken to try to redress such mistakes; he did not want to be held responsible at a later stage. Consequently, the report depicts Van Heutsz as a very poor administrator and a poor judge of character, whose deeds, and in some instances his silence about abuses, set a bad example for the local Dutch administrators and officers. Snouck Hurgronje himself, always hoping to win over the Acehnese and achieve real pacification, was very much aware that the population should not be further alienated by “the traditional burn and destroy tactics” during military operations. Van Heutsz shared this view, but was not as firm in repressing such acts as he should have been. At the same time Snouck Hurgronje did not object to, but even welcomed, the burning down of dwellings of those he considered to be robbers and mischief makers.¹⁸⁴ The same holds true for demanding compulsory labour from the population.

Snouck Hurgronje dealt at length with the misappropriation of non-budgetary funds, in this case the road funds (*wegenfondsen*) filled with money from export fees and intended for the economic development of the region. He directly linked Van Heutsz to such malpractices, noting that he had used an interest-bearing loan from the road fund for building a new club (*sociëteit*) in Koeta Radja, and had decided to donate money from the fund to biannual race

181 Van Heutsz to Snouck Hurgronje, 16 April 1903. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 85.

182 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:320-349; Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 118-142.

183 Van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog*, 246.

184 Snouck Hurgronje, “De excursie ter Noord- en Oost-Kust van Atjeh en hare gevolgen,” 408-409.

festivities. The racetrack figures prominently in the report, again with the observation that Acehnese are not familiar with horses and do not like such animals. Snouck Hurgronje refers to a “hippophile” a number of times, who was responsible for this, that is Van Heutz’s son-in-law, Captain P.A.H. Heldens. He was the man who had persuaded the Acehnese heads in his district to join the race club and to buy horses (which he himself had bought earlier with money from the road fund). To make everything still worse Snouck Hurgronje informed Rooseboom that the first race course – against the building of which he had protested – had been built on a terrain unsuitable for it. He did not fail to mention that the popular entertainment had partly been paid for by the population and that their participation in the cattle exhibition had also not been voluntary. Snouck Hurgronje concluded his exposé by stating that due to circumstances outside his influence he had not accomplished what he should in Aceh, and that the recently experienced disappointments had been no less painful to him than to the colonial government.

After he dissociated himself from Aceh policy Snouck Hurgronje remained active as the adviser for Native and Arabic Affairs, even if it did not give him much pleasure. His misfortune was that Van Heutz was appointed governor-general of the Netherlands Indies in October 1904. Both Van Heutz and Snouck Hurgronje were well aware that this meant that the minister of the Colonies, A.W.T. Idenburg, who had read Snouck Hurgronje’s October letter, had not taken Snouck Hurgronje’s accusations seriously; and in fact would say so to Van Heutz in September 1908. Had he done otherwise, Idenburg, who had also served as a military officer in Aceh, would never have appointed Van Heutz as governor-general.¹⁸⁵

In May 1905 Lieutenant-Colonel G.C.E. van Daalen, a fighter and not an administrator who treated the population with contempt, became governor of Aceh. It was not long before he gained notoriety for his earlier 1904 military expedition through the Gayo and Alas Lands in the southern highland interior of Aceh and for the excessive taxation and compulsory labour to which he would subject the Acehnese during his governorship. Van Daalen was Van Heutz’s choice. Snouck Hurgronje had advised against Van Daalen’s appointment. He saw a good military commander in Van Daalen, but considered him unsuitable as a civil administrator charged with developing the region and winning the trust of the population – the real pacification that in Snouck Hur-

185 Snouck Hurgronje to G.C.E. van Daalen, 26 February 1908. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutz-Van Daalen*, “Bijlagen”: 141, 181. Van Heutz to Idenburg, 30/31 July 1908; Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 144.

gronje's perception now lay ahead.¹⁸⁶

Changing circumstances made him contemplate a trip to Europe. In 1900 Snouck Hurgronje still wrote to Nöldeke, saying how busy he was and that only illness could force him to take the European leave to which he was by now entitled. By the end of 1903 he was considering leaving in about two years, and in June 1904 he wrote about a growing desire to visit Europe.¹⁸⁷ Van Heutsz's appointment as governor-general in October 1904 complicated Snouck Hurgronje's position. He was not on very good terms with the man he now had to work for. To make matters worse he was no longer the trusted, highly valued adviser of the governor-general he had become accustomed to being for so many years. Van Heutsz put his trust in H. Colijn, his former adjutant in Aceh, and a future minister of War and prime minister.¹⁸⁸ Snouck Hurgronje did not like Colijn. He had witnessed his *Streberai* in Aceh, and wrote in a letter to his friend Van der Maaten that all projects Colijn had initiated had ended in failure. In Aceh Colijn had "accomplished nothing lasting, except having in words and in writing demolished the work of many in a derogatory way and having drawn up memorandums, of which the terse, brazen style enormously impressed Van Heutsz."¹⁸⁹

Matters were aggravated by the fact that Van Heutsz, in his capacity as governor-general, was allowed to read all the secret correspondence of Snouck Hurgronje of the previous years, including the incriminating letter he had written to Rooseboom in October 1903, even though Van Heutsz claimed in a letter to the then minister of the Colonies, A.W.T. Idenburg, that this had not influenced the way he treated Snouck Hurgronje, and that he had shown no rancour. He had not even told Snouck Hurgronje that he had read the letter.¹⁹⁰ Reality must have been different. In July 1908 Van Heutsz complained bitterly

186 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 138. Snouck Hurgronje to Van Daalen, 26 February 1908. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen*, "Bijlagen": 141.

187 Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, 13 April 1900, 23 October 1903, 18 June 1904. Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 79, 99, 101.

188 Van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog*, 274.

189 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 12 October 1933. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 101.

190 Van Heutsz to Idenburg, 30/31 July 1908. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen*, "Bijlagen": 168. Van Heutsz added to this that he had discontinued the practice of the colonial government of hiding sources of accusation and their information from the European or Indonesian colonial civil servants accused of wrongdoings. To enable these colonial civil servants to react, a copy of such reports or letters would always be sent to them.

about the letter to Idenburg.¹⁹¹

This time it was Van Heutsz who had reasons to pull out all the stops. The atrocities committed by the Dutch army under Van Daalen in Aceh had provoked a public scandal. People called for the resignation of Van Daalen. Snouck Hurgronje considered this unfair. He postulated that Van Daalen had acted according to expectations and that what he had done did not differ from Van Heutsz's own actions when the latter was still governor of Aceh. He suggested that a civilian should be sent to Aceh, who, like himself and Van Heutsz, would oversee policy in Aceh in mutual consultation with Van Daalen.¹⁹²

Van Heutsz had his reasons to blacken Snouck Hurgronje. When he wrote his letter, Idenburg toyed with the idea that Snouck Hurgronje, who was now living in Holland, might be the right man to be sent to Aceh to supervise the new Dutch administration there, now headed by Lieutenant-Colonel H.N.A Swart as the civil and military governor. He had informed Van Heutsz of his intentions.¹⁹³ Van Heutsz reacted by trying to impress upon Idenburg that Snouck Hurgronje's long letter of October 1903 had only been intended to slander him and that it was full of "deceitful and unworthy allegations." He depicted Snouck Hurgronje as a great scholar with an "unfortunately unworthy character" (*onwaardig karakter*), a great scholar with a complete lack of understanding of administrative matters, and as having a "vile character" (*laagstaand karakter*). He also accused Snouck Hurgronje of having "*hajjis, penghulus* and women of [native] heads spy on, and discredit, the European civil servants' corps," and, as we saw, of being possessed by "the urge to demolish civil servants." All this made Snouck Hurgronje "absolutely unsuited" for overseeing the administration in Aceh. Idenburg reassured Van Heutsz. He had

191 Van Heutsz to Idenburg, 30/31 July 1908. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen*, "Bijlagen": 158-170.

192 Minutes meeting Snouck Hurgronje and J. Heemskerk, 14 February 1908. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje - Van Heutsz - Van Daalen*, "Bijlagen": 140.

193 Idenburg to Van Heutsz, 15 September 1908. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje - Van Heutsz - Van Daalen*, "Bijlagen": 151. Snouck Hurgronje declined to take upon himself such a mission as this would have implied the resignation of Van Heutsz (Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 215). Initially Van Heutsz had shielded Van Daalen, but after an investigation on the spot he had forced Van Daalen to retract the oppressive measures the latter had taken. Piqued, Van Daalen offered his resignation. (Van Daalen to Van Heutsz, 28 December 1907. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje - Van Heutsz - Van Daalen*, "Bijlagen": 130). Maybe because of his animosity towards Van Heutsz, Snouck Hurgronje considered the way Van Daalen was treated unfair, as he also informed him by letter (Snouck Hurgronje to Van Daalen. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje - Van Heutsz - Van Daalen*, "Bijlagen": 140-142).

never attached any value to what Snouck Hurgronje had written about him.¹⁹⁴ The battle was also fought in the press. In September 1908 Snouck Hurgronje sent a letter to the editor of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* in which he protested against an earlier article that month which, in strong words, depicted Snouck Hurgronje as having pressed Rooseboom for the replacement of European civil servants, as a result of which Van Heutsz was forced to interfere in Batavia to protect his staff. Snouck Hurgronje denied this reading of events. The article was based on a highly placed and, according to him, highly dubious source. He had never suggested that civil servants in Aceh should be replaced, Van Heutsz had never had to come to the rescue of any of them, nor had there ever been a serious difference of opinion between him and Van Heutsz in this field.¹⁹⁵

Being out of favour, Snouck Hurgronje's recommendations to the governor-general became few, "very rare," as he remarked himself.¹⁹⁶ Finally Snouck Hurgronje decided to request a one-year-leave in 1906, which Van Heutsz granted him in February. The following month Snouck Hurgronje left for Holland.¹⁹⁷ Initially he was not yet sure whether he would return to the Netherlands Indies or not, informing his friend and colleague Ignaz Goldziher from Luzern that he certainly would not return there before February 1907.¹⁹⁸ It was not to be. In a sense it was the end of an era. Snouck Hurgronje would never visit the Netherlands Indies again, neither would he write that much about Indonesia or Indonesian Islam.¹⁹⁹ In fact, he would be much less productive than in previous years when he had published *Mekka*, *De Atjèhers*, and *Het Gajōland en zijne bewoners*— all monumental works.

8 Back in Holland

Snouck Hurgronje found it difficult to part with the job he had had for so many years. Back in Holland, Leiden University offered him a chair in Arabic and the institutions of Islam. Snouck Hurgronje did not know what to do. He still

194 Idenburg to Van Heutsz, 15 September 1908. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje - Van Heutsz - Van Daalen*, "Bijlagen": 181.

195 Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje* IV:II, 169.

196 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 17 June 1931. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 96.

197 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 49-50, 204.

198 Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 13 May 1906. Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 249.

199 Boland and Farjon, *Islam in Indonesia*, 19.

longed for the Netherlands Indies. In May 1906 he confessed to Ignaz Goldziher in Budapest that the choice was a difficult one. Becoming a professor would mean that he would have to part for ever with the Netherlands Indies “where so much and so many were close to his heart,” and where he loved the people. He would also have to give up a “prestigious and influential position.” On the other hand, an offer was made which might be a once-in-a-life-time opportunity.²⁰⁰ In the same month he wrote a letter to Nöldeke in a similar vein, explaining how difficult the choice was and that in fact he did not yet know what to decide.²⁰¹

Within a month Snouck Hurgronje had found a solution to his dilemma, though he did not know yet whether it would be accepted.²⁰² In June he explained to Idenburg that he did not like to see the work he had done in the interest of the Netherlands Indies terminated. He preferred to retain his old position to accepting a professorship, unless the latter could be combined with an advisership.²⁰³ In a letter to Nöldeke in September 1906, Snouck Hurgronje showed himself confident that, in this position, he could remain in control of matters in the Netherlands Indies, which he considered of vital importance. Another advantage was that the backdoor to “escape” to the Netherlands Indies was kept open.²⁰⁴ He got what he wanted. In 1907 he was appointed adviser to the minister of the Colonies. Van Heutsz cannot have been pleased. After he learned about the appointment he immediately addressed a letter to the then minister of the Colonies, D. Fock, in 1907, correcting what Snouck Hurgronje had written in his letter to Rooseboom of 2 October 1903.²⁰⁵

Gobée and Adriaanse observe in their introduction to the collection of reports edited by them (*Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*) that in this position there were differences of opinion as well which resulted in “at times very strained relations” with the department.²⁰⁶ In fact, Van der Maaten gives the impression, and he must have gained this notion from his

200 Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 13 May 1906. Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early slamwissenschaft*, 249.

201 Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, 11 May 1906. Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 114.

202 Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 20 July 1906. Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 251.

203 Snouck Hurgronje to Idenburg, 25 June 1906. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:18; Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 18.

204 Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, 24 September 1906. Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 115.

205 Van Heutsz to Idenburg, 30/31 July 1908. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 143.

206 Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:XXVI.

meetings with Snouck Hurgronje, that the governors-general in Batavia and the ministers of the Colonies hardly listened to what Snouck Hurgronje had to say.²⁰⁷ One instance Gobée and Adriaanse mention in which Snouck Hurgronje's recommendations were ignored occurred during the First World War. In 1915 Snouck Hurgronje suggested issuing a ban on the pilgrimage from the Netherlands Indies.²⁰⁸ To Snouck Hurgronje it was a matter of the utmost importance as it was linked to the pan-Islamism he feared so much, respect for the Dutch and for Dutch rule which he had at heart, and also, we can assume, to his fame as an expert on Islam. Idenburg, at that time governor-general of the Netherlands Indies, and the then minister of the Colonies, Th.B. Pleijte, refused to act accordingly, afraid as they were that such a prohibition could lead to discontent among Muslims in the Netherlands Indies. Snouck Hurgronje was furious. A very serious argument of his had been treated disparagingly, and had been dealt with as if it originated from a mere office clerk.²⁰⁹

From the letters of Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten we can reconstruct what he thought about leaving the Netherlands Indies. In one of them he explains that he had not decided to accept "*lichten Herzens*". To be stationed in the Netherlands Indies would have been better, but "while in recent years my constitution has become less able to cope with nuisance, the instances of nuisance due to the spinelessness in the administration have increased."²¹⁰ In another letter he wrote that in the Netherlands Indies he "had little by little become embittered by the lack of appreciation and cooperation by those in the highest places." Finally it had become "too much" for him. He would have stayed on had Van der Wijck or "even" Rooseboom still been governor-general.²¹¹ Over the years Snouck Hurgronje's repulsion only increased. In 1908 he wrote about the unscrupulous policy of Van Heutsz, which was a disgrace to the country.²¹² He also started to explain that already in 1898 he had expected nothing of his "enforced cooperation" with Van Heutsz, and that even then he realized that problems and complications might well be in store.²¹³ From the

207 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 56.

208 Van Dijk, *The Netherlands Indies and the Great War*, 297-298.

209 Snouck Hurgronje to Pleijte, 23 July 1915. National Archive, ministry of the Colonies, verbatim report, 6 August 1915, B11.

210 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 26 August 1906. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 87.

211 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 11 October 1907. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 87-88.

212 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 23 March 1908. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 88.

213 Snouck Hurgronje to Rooseboom, 2 October 1903. Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:326-327.

outset he was aware of the “great defects” of Van Heutsz.²¹⁴ In Aceh Van Heutsz only contributed “the common sense of a developed non-commissioned officer.”²¹⁵ From Snouck Hurgronje’s correspondence with Nöldeke in the late 1890s a different picture emerges. Snouck Hurgronje calls Van Heutsz “a wise and cautious politician,” and speaks of “my old friend Van Heutsz, a man with an iron will and a heart of gold.”²¹⁶

9 Who is the Real Pacifier of Aceh

For Snouck Hurgronje the fact that the general public attributed the successes in Aceh to Van Heutsz and not to him was also a tragedy.²¹⁷ Van Heutsz was hailed as the “Pacifier of Aceh,” people praised the “Van Heutsz system.” Statues in his honour were to be erected in Koeta Radja, Batavia, Amsterdam (where a few years ago the Van Heutsz Monument was re-baptised as the “Indies Netherlands Monument,” (*Monument Indië-Nederland*), a place to commemorate the victims of colonialism), and in his birthplace, Coevorden. In Amsterdam a mausoleum was built for Van Heutsz which fell into decay in the Netherlands when Van Heutsz became associated with all that is wrong with colonialism.

Van Heutsz himself did not want to honour Snouck Hurgronje either. In July 1904, just before he became governor-general, he visited Holland where he received a hero’s welcome. In a speech at a festive meeting in the *Hotel des Indes* in The Hague Van Heutsz praised Van der Wijck and the ministers of the Colonies, J.H. Bergsma and J.T. Cremer, as well as the colonial army for the change in the fortunes of war. He did not mention Snouck Hurgronje.²¹⁸ The latter’s fame was limited to the academic world. He was only honoured with a picture in one of the stained glass windows of Leiden University’s Academy Building,

214 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 11 April 1930. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 91.

215 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 13 January 1936. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 103.

216 Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, 24 September 1906. Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 64.

217 During the Pidie expedition and on other occasions Van Heutsz is said to have explained to Snouck Hurgronje that he never publicly mentioned the latter’s role because Snouck Hurgronje was not his assistant but his equal, and that it was thus not proper to mention him in his reports. “Initially I took this as being sincerely meant, later the intention became clear to me,” Snouck Hurgronje wrote in 1931. Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 9 February 1931. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 92.

218 Van ’t Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog*, 257.

but this was related solely to his academic fame and not to his decisive role in the Aceh War. He was awarded the Knight Commander's Cross of the Dutch Lion (*Commandeurskruis van de Nederlandsche Leeuw*), but, as Van der Maaten points out, this was in August 1898, and was not given to him because of his role in the military expeditions in Aceh.²¹⁹ Both Van der Maaten and Damsté wrote with indignation about the fact that, for his bravery, Van Heutsz had become a Knight Commander of the Military Order of William I, while Snouck Hurgronje, who had shared in the perils of war, had not received the same honour.²²⁰ "Was the great courage the scholar had shown inadequate for the *Militaire Willemsorde*?" Was this the way to treat the man who had lived in Mecca, who in 1889 had wanted to travel through the interior of Aceh on his own, who had shared with Van Heutsz "the experience of war, quiet and resigned as his nature was"?²²¹ Only in 1933 did Snouck Hurgronje finally get his decoration. He was not happy with it. Colijn, not one of his friends, informed him of the distinction while writing in the same letter that the government could no longer pay him and that, as of the end of the year, his advisership to the minister of the Colonies was terminated. In fact a year earlier the ministry had already cut his allowance by two thirds.²²²

In his *in memoriam* of Snouck Hurgronje Damsté writes that Snouck Hurgronje did not deign to correct the myth that Van Heutsz was the man who, first and foremost, deserved the honour for what had been achieved in Aceh.²²³ Snouck Hurgronje "smiled at the myth and kept silent." This does not mean that Snouck Hurgronje did not mind. Nor did it mean that Snouck Hurgronje did not endeavour to present a different picture to the public. After he had returned to Holland he tried to set things straight in a series of anonymous articles published in the newspaper *Nieuwe Courant* in June 1908. "*Pacificator* is not the title which Van Heutsz deserves for his work in Aceh. *Victor* he may be called," is one of the sentences in it.²²⁴ Snouck Hurgronje also wrote with sar-

219 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 57.

220 When in January 1899 Van Heutsz was designated Knight Commander of the Military Order of William I he had already been awarded the Military Order of William I third class and second class. In August 1899 he became a Companion of the Order of the Dutch Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van de Nederlandse Leeuw*), while in August 1903 he was awarded the Grand Cross of the Military Order of William I.

221 Damsté, "Drie Atjeh-mannen: Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen," 23.

222 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 56. Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 4 September 1933. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 101.

223 H.T. Damsté, "In memoriam Dr Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* 25 (1936): 454-455.

224 C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Het stelsel Van Heutsz," *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje* IV:1 (1908), 132.

casm about the “Van Heutsz system” (the ideas presented by him in the *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift*), “if one wants to call it so,” and claims that the series of articles was of no historical value at all.²²⁵ At the time when the articles were written they were ignored by the authorities because they were “not serious and not profound enough to be of much use.” Besides, after 1896 Van Heutsz himself never put his suggestions into practice. He had always followed the instructions of the “government” (that is to say of Snouck Hurgronje himself) which were of a completely different nature. Snouck Hurgronje writes about Van Heutsz’s lack of knowledge of men and his looseness of tongue. He also claims that “Van Heutsz never understood anything about the Acehnese” and that “just as he never understood the language of the Acehnese, he never understood their inner life.”²²⁶ Shortcomings like these, Snouck Hurgronje stressed, formed no great problem in the first years after 1896, the time of “spring-cleaning with military means.” At that time the “military system of Van Heutsz (the only thing that rightfully bears his name) was very appropriate,” but after the military campaigns the civil administration had to take precedence and “the *pacificator* had to take the place of the *victor*.”²²⁷

Snouck Hurgronje’s writing got him nowhere. What his supporters dubbed the “Van Heutsz legend” continued. It was even the reason why Van der Maaten – who, like Snouck Hurgronje, stressed that Van Heutsz did not speak Acehnese while Snouck Hurgronje did – wrote his book. He wanted to correct the view (propagated by Van Heutsz and Colijn, he emphasized) that Van Heutsz’ article in the *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift* showed the way how to conquer Aceh, and that all the progress made in Aceh after 1896 had to be attributed to Van Heutsz.²²⁸ He could not stomach such “almost complete negation” of the con-

225 Snouck Hurgronje would maintain that during their meetings in Batavia in 1892 Van Heutsz and he had discussed the articles intensively, but that he had failed to convince Van Heutsz that an all-out military campaign was the only solution. Nevertheless, he also claimed that the stress laid by Van Heutsz on the fact that the Acehnese would only yield to superior military force was his doing. He also writes that he refused to write an endorsement of the series of articles as Van Heutsz had asked him to do (Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 2 May 1931. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 94). That Van Heutsz had got it wrong in 1892 and that the turning-point in the Aceh War only came after he had been won over by Snouck Hurgronje, is also a main argument of Van der Maaten in presenting Snouck Hurgronje as the real hero of the Aceh War.

226 Snouck Hurgronje, “Het stelsel Van Heutsz,” 130-133. Naarding suggests that Snouck Hurgronje’s knowledge of colloquial Acehnese was not that good and that once, after he had addressed an assembly of heads in Pidie for an hour, some of them approached Snouck Hurgronje to inquire what he had been talking about. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen*, “Bijlagen”: 32.

227 Snouck Hurgronje, “Het stelsel Van Heutsz,” 133-134.

228 Van der Maaten was especially enraged by H. Colijn’s *Politiek beleid en bestuurszorg in de*

tribution of Snouck Hurgronje, “this great Scholar and Statesman,” this “great Man.” The only thing Van Heutsz did was to follow and execute the directives of Snouck Hurgronje. As governor of Aceh he had been nothing more than the assistant of Snouck Hurgronje.²²⁹

Snouck Hurgronje did not get the acknowledgment for his role in the Aceh War he thought he deserved. His work for the ministry of the Colonies and the opposition he encountered there at times did not make him a happy man either. It all added to what, in a letter to Van der Maaten in 1931, he called “lack of appreciation” (*sommige vaderlandsche miskenningen*).²³⁰ He abhorred the hero-status Van Heutsz had acquired. In August 1924, a month after Van Heutsz had died, he castigated Idenburg for becoming chairman of the committee to commemorate him. Idenburg could agree with what Snouck Hurgronje had written to him about the glorification of personality, but replied that the position had been more or less forced upon him “from a serious side,” by which he probably meant Queen Wilhelmina, who was an admirer of Van Heutsz.²³¹ Snouck Hurgronje must have felt the same pressure. He became a member of the committee, which, as was not unusual in those days, was a very impressive one, bringing together almost everybody who mattered in society.

In the end, Snouck Hurgronje did get recognition for his role in the Aceh War, but perhaps not in the way he had wanted. In the 1950s Vogel – in his overview of the contribution of Leiden University to Oriental studies – did write that Aceh was “pacified by General Van Heutsz, but the merit of this pacification was largely due to the wise councils of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje.”²³² Vogel draws attention to Snouck Hurgronje’s study of Acehnese society, but not to his insistence that only an iron fist could defeat the Acehnese. Similarly Wertheim, writing at the height of the Vietnam War, puts Snouck Hurgronje’s “counter-in-

Buitenbezittingen and Neerlands Indië. He also deplored the fact that even the *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch Indië* sketched the wrong picture.

229 Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 1-4, 155. See also his letter to Damsté, who, similarly to Van der Maaten, wanted Snouck Hurgronje to receive the acclaim he deserved for his role in the Aceh War, and equally detested the myth that Snouck Hurgronje had only been Van Heutsz’s assistant and adviser. According to Van der Maaten Damsté had written in a too positive sense about Van Heutsz in a series of articles in the *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*. Snouck Hurgronje was “the brilliant solver of the Aceh problem.” Until 1903 Van Heutsz had merely carried out his suggestions. Van der Maaten to Damsté, 6 September 1937. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 105.

230 Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Maaten, 16 May 1931. Van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, 95.

231 Idenburg to Snouck Hurgronje, 21 August 1924. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje - Van Heutsz - Van Daalen*, “Bijlagen”: 203.

232 Vogel, “The Contribution of the University of Leiden to Oriental Research,” 12.

surgency research” in Aceh on a par with the contribution of American scholars to the American war effort in Southeast Asia and Latin America.²³³ Wertheim also highlights Snouck Hurgronje's fieldwork and subsequent “harsh policy recommendations” as well as the tactics he proposed, but he does not draw attention either to his ceaseless encouragement of war when others were not yet convinced that this was the way to proceed.²³⁴

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233 A second publication by Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajōland en zijne bewoners* (“The Gayo area and its inhabitants,”) published in 1903, was also the result of research which Snouck Hurgronje was sure could benefit Dutch military campaigns. He himself could not manage to reach the terrain. Nevertheless, except for a map drawn up on the basis of information presented to Snouck Hurgronje by his Gayo informants, one may doubt the practical use of his research for the military officers. In September of the following year, after Gayo had become a place of refuge for some of the most important Acehnese guerilla fighters, Snouck Hurgronje draw up an overview of the region to be used by the first Dutch military expedition into Gayo. He presented another memorandum about Gayo to Van Heutsz in November 1902. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajōland en zijne bewoners* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1903), xii; Gobée en C. Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 1:407-431; Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 22 September 1901, Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 214.

234 W.F. Wertheim, “Counter-insurgency Research at the Turn of the Century: Snouck Hurgronje and the Aceh War,” *Sociologische Gids*, vol. 19, no 5-6 (1972): 325.

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Governors-general

C. Pijnacker Hordijk	29 September 1888 - 17 October 1893
C.H.A. van der Wijck	17 October 1893 - 3 October 1899
W. Rooseboom	3 October 1899 - 1 October 1904
J.B. van Heutsz	1 October 1904 - 18 December 1909

Civil and military governors of Aceh

F. Pompe van Meerdervoort	1891 - 1892
C. Deijkerhoff	1892 - early 1896
C.P. J. van Vliet	1896 - early 1898
J.B. Van Heutsz	1898 - 1904
G.C.E van Daalen	1905 - 1908
H.N.A Swart	1908 - 1918

From Wayfarer to *Wedono*. Snouck Hurgronje and the Sufi Threat on Java, 1884-1892

Michael Laffan

In this short essay I would like to throw some small light on the subtle transformation of Snouck's writing about the Sufi orders in the Dutch East Indies. Whereas in his early years of reportage he could summon the general spectre of a (Sufi) threat emanating from Mecca in quest of his future employment, his increasing engagement with particular Sufi teachers both in Mecca and the Indies, and indeed his strengthened position vis-à-vis his rivals in Dutch academia, allowed him to lead the call for an official shift in attitude that moved from counter-insurgency research to historiography.

1 Beginnings

In July of 1889, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje travelled into the Priangan Highlands of West Java on the first of several ventures criss-crossing the island. The aims of his mission were partly directed to surveying the so-called Mohammedan clergy for a state that hoped to formally incorporate them into its structures of surveillance and control, and partly geared to building his own understanding of how the diverse channels of scholarly and Sufi influence emanating from Mecca permeated Javanese society. Seen in retrospect, this journey was the natural continuation of his Meccan venture of 1885, yet Snouck had not necessarily planned at that time to continue his work in what some would call the tropical Netherlands. In the end, though, he had been compelled to cast his Meccan findings as a job application, and to seed the public imagination with an awareness of his value for the ongoing security of the Dutch endeavour in Southeast Asia, and especially with the departure of one rival scholar in particular. In this process it would appear that he made tactical use of the fear of the Sufi brotherhoods; for at this time little was known of their precise workings, and some officials imagined that they were the means by which Meccan propaganda could be converted into violent rebellion.

As is well-known, Snouck defended his thesis on the history of the hajj in 1880, undermining the previous work of scholars like R.P.A. Dozy (1820-1883).

Hereafter he spent some time in Strasbourg with Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930) and gained a teaching post in Leiden's municipal institute for the training of officials for the Dutch East Indies. It was already clear at this time that he had his eyes set on obtaining a better post in the Netherlands, and he was well aware that the key to this would lie in engaging with the extant knowledge of its overseas possessions. Certainly his first scholarly offerings can be seen in this light, including a paper delivered at the Amsterdam Colonial Exhibition of 1883 on the subject of Islam's importance for the peoples of the Dutch East Indies. Subsequently published in the prestigious *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, this offering emphasised that Malays and Javanese needed to be treated seriously as proper Muslims entirely capable of being touched off by the "gunpowder" of the *hajjis* returning from Mecca.¹

In part his warnings were inspired by rumours of the inherent threats embodied by the Sufi orders. Perhaps he was led to such a view by the literature he exploited for his first papers. Some of the evidence he cited had been collected or synthesised by (former) missionaries such as Carel Poensen (1836-1919) and G.J. Grashuis (1835-1920), who had been active in Java. The former was responsible for several articles in the *Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap (MNZG)*, including one memorable piece on the *Suluk Gatoloco*, from which Snouck obtained an image of some Javanese literature being the product of opium-addled mystics. At any rate, in the opening of his subsequent analysis of a series of apocalyptic letters supposedly sent from Mecca to Java, he reaffirmed that "for a colonial power such as ours, Islâm, that great INTERNATIONALE with the green banner," was to be "studied with seriousness and handled with great wisdom."²

Perhaps more memorable at this juncture to his widening audience than his scholarly offerings on the Dutch East Indies were the increasingly vituperative exchanges between himself and the standing Adviser for Mohammadan Law at Batavia, L.W.C. van den Berg (1845-1927). Hostilities had commenced when

1 C. Snouck Hurgronje, "De beteekenis van den Islâm voor zijne belijders in Oost-Indië," (1883) in *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, 6 vols., edited by A.J. Wensinck (Bonn and Leiden: Kurt Schroeder and E.J. Brill, 1923-1927) (hereafter *VG*), IV-1, 1-26 at 26.

2 C. Snouck Hurgronje, "De laatste vermaning van Mohammed aan zijne gemeente, uitgevaardigd in het jaar 1880 N.C. vertaald en toegelicht," (1884) in *VG* I, 125-44, at 144. For analysis of the *Gatoloco* derived from his reading of the *MNZG*, see Snouck Hurgronje, "De beteekenis van den Islâm," 13-15; cf. Carel Poensen, Review of "*Gato-Lotjo (Een Javaansch geschrift)*," *Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 17 (1873): 227-265; and Benedict Anderson, "The *Suluk Gatoloco*," *Indonesia* 32 (October 1981): 109-150; and 33 (April 1982): 31-88.

the younger man wrote a not altogether hostile review of the latter's text edition of the *Minhaj al-Talibin* of Imam Nawawi (d. 1277-1278). Published in French with facing Arabic text, Van den Berg intended that this canonical work of Shafi'i scholarship would find a place on the shelves of colonial administrators who were charged with overseeing Islamic law in their domains in the form of the newly-convened *priesterraden* or "priests' courts." For his part Snouck raised some valid concerns about the work's utility and reliability (not to mention its excessive cost given the availability of Cairene imprints) causing the lawyer to take extreme umbrage and publish a condescending response. This was like a red rag to a bull for Snouck, who would become as famous for his intolerance of fools as his undoubted mastery of primary sources.³

The argumentative ping-pong would continue even at Jeddah, where Snouck was based from late August 1884 to early January 1885, and things would become yet more complicated when other matters would imperil his position in the Hijaz in general. But that is another story, for what is important here is Snouck's attitude and engagement with the Sufi orders at Mecca. For a series of misunderstandings and, indeed, a certain degree of panic over the turn of the new Muslim century in 1882 had ultimately led the Colonial ministry to engage Snouck to carry out a study of the very people whose machinations he had predicted might threaten the enduring control of "our Indies" ("*ons Indië*" in Dutch).⁴

2 Arabia and Allies

Arriving in Jeddah, and first staying with the consul, Snouck knew that he would have to bide his time if he wanted to witness the inner workings of Sufi transactions in Arabia, let alone the famous pilgrimage that had been the subject of his dissertation. Following training at the hands of his Banteneese assistant, Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat, and the encouragement of others, he would ultimately don the dress and name of a Muslim and surrender a small part of his person that marked him as a Christian. While the sincerity of this conversion has been the subject of a great deal of speculation, based at times on Snouck's own utterances, suffice it to say that it would appear that he was taken for a convinced neophyte by many scholars in the Hijaz, including the imam

3 C. Snouck Hurgronje, Review of L.W.C. van den Berg, *Minhâdj at-Tâlîbîn, Le guide des zélés croyants: Manuel de jurisprudence musulmane selon le rite de Châfi'i* (1883) in *VG* VI, 3-18.

4 See Michael Laffan, "A watchful eye': The Meccan Plot of 1881 and Changing Dutch Perceptions of Islam in Indonesia," *Archipel* 63, no. 1 (2002): 79-108.

of the Shafi'i juridical tradition in Mecca, Ahmad b. Zayni Dahlan (1816-1886). Snouck therefore embarked on studies with those teachers in the proper order, concentrating on jurisprudence, moral training, and exegesis, rather than openly seeking the heights of philosophical mysticism or yet joining in the practices of the many orders active there.

Technically speaking, membership of an order required demonstrated knowledge of Islam and a rigorous period of training under a sheikh or one of his disciples, after which time the initiate (*murīd*) would make a pledge of absolute obedience (*bay'a*) to the former. Certainly there is no evidence that Snouck made a pledge of personal loyalty to any sheikh during his time in the Hijaz; for such probably went against his personal principles given the sorts of utterances he had already made in his writings about the "screaming and howling, [and] dancing and spinning" that accompanied the *dhikr* of the general masses involved with the *ṭarīqas*. Indeed there is no evidence that he associated with a particular *ṭarīqa* other than remaining at the fringes of public ceremonies or the various commemorations associated with the saints, which were attended by believers with varying degrees of connectedness to the orders.⁵

Naturally, in the course of his studies he did engage in personal discussions with some sheikhs, and later alluded to having seen others at a distance. In terms of the latter experience we might reliably include two leading – and rival – masters of the Khalidiyya order dueling over the prestigious ground of Jabal Abi Qubays, of whom the apparently unoffending Sulayman Affandi had been the losing opponent in a turf war with his "fat and grizzled" nemesis Khalil Pasha. As Snouck later noted, Sulayman's downfall had been caused in part because Snouck's own patron Ahmad Dahlan had composed a fatwa condemning his practices and ordering his books be destroyed.⁶

On the other hand it is far clearer from the anecdotes embedded within his work (and indeed his photographs) that Snouck had met such Southeast Asian (Jawi) sheikhs as Ahmad of Lampung and 'Abd al-Karim of Banten. Ahmad Lampung, a vociferous discussant on the question of Dutch colonialism and Jawi unity, was a representative of the Khalidiyya, while 'Abd al-Karim was

5 For more passing mention of screaming dervishes, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Een en ander over het inlandsch onderwijs in de Padangsche bovenlanden," (1883) in *VG* IV-1, 27-52, at 44-46; for his standing quietly in the vicinity of prayers for rain in Jeddah, see his diary as cited in Jan Just Witkam, "Inleiding," [introduction] to C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw: Schetsen uit het dagelijks leven*, translated and introduced by Jan Just Witkam (Amsterdam and Antwerp: Atlas, 2007), 58.

6 Ahmad b. Zayni Dahlan, *Risala raddiyya 'ala risalat al-shaykh sulayman afandi* (Mecca: al-Miriyya, 1301); C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Een rector der Mekkaansche universiteit (met aanschouwing)," (1887) in *VG* III, 65-122, at 71.

then the Meccan head of what was becoming one of the most popular fraternities for Indonesians. This was the so-called Qadiriyya wa-Naqshbandiyya. Combining the litanies of one order with the pedigree of transmission of the other, this had been founded by the late Ahmad Khatib Sambas, whose many deputies were fanning out across the archipelago and paying heed to the utterances of 'Abd al-Karim. As Snouck would later write to the Honorary Adviser K.F. Holle (1822-1896), whose own plans for the monitoring of Islam in the Indies had often been scuppered by Van den Berg:

Abdul Karim Banten is well known to me, the successor to Chatib Sambas and the most respected tareqat-sjeh of the Jawa in Mecca (after 'Abd es-Shakur of Surabaya), he has lived in Mecca for more than 40 years. I have all sorts of anecdotes about him and I visited him often. He told me himself how, during his stay in Bantam, there was a certain ferment and that his murids had then asked him if it was not yet the time to carry out the teaching, yet he, through lack of inspiration, responded in the negative. I do not believe that he would himself play a leading role in a battle even if he could take pleasure in the defeat of the kâpir hólanda [Dutch unbelievers]. Yet his influence is great, even among the moderates, and all the more as he leads truly quite holy lessons, and even the representatives of the official learning respect him, eg. Sjeh Nawawie of Tanara and even the Arab authorities, who cannot hold him to be a learned man. By virtue of our intercourse I have gained a certain respect for him, yet from a political perspective I regard his activities as dangerous. If the opportunity arises I suspect that the Government will not do itself a disservice if an appropriate person is found to follow the steps of Abdul Karim at Mekka. For I am of the conviction that religious intolerance is stoked from Mekka. For there it was confirmed that a ferment had long existed in Bantam, for if I am not mistaken, it is already quite some years ago that Abdul Karim Bantam visited Bantam, at which time he had an enormous influence.⁷

Of course we must consider the tactical element of Snouck's writing here, for he was supplying information to Holle in the wake of an uprising at Cilegon in 1888 that had been led by some of 'Abd al-Karim's followers; seemingly vindicating Holle (who had long warned of the dangers of the Sufi brotherhoods) and damning the erstwhile official Van den Berg (who had originally dismissed

⁷ Snouck, as quoted in K.F. Holle to governor-general, Waspada, 14 October 1888, secret, in MR.1888, no.727.

Holle as an alarmist).⁸ Certainly it was still in Snouck's interest to play upon the inherent dangers of the orders in the hope that his forthcoming work would both answer many questions about what went on in Mecca and make him the obvious choice as a government adviser on Islam. Even if he liked some of the Sufi teachers personally, it is clear from his writings composed on either side of his Arabian venture that Snouck had a much higher regard for the intellectualist orthodoxy defined by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali (1058-1111) and upheld by the scholastic tradition, than for men he could mock at times as tricksters intent on fleecing Jawi sheep. At least al-Ghazali's work, which formed a key part of the Jawi curriculum, could provide a moral compass for believers of all tendencies. As he wrote of the landmark *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* and its role in Islamic history:

The theosophist, for whom the aim of contemplation is pantheism, and the aim of self perfection is the disappearance of the individual in the All-Living; the popular saint, who by an ascetic or otherwise eccentric way of life arrived at the point where the future was revealed, could bless his devotees, and curse his enemies; the itinerant beggar, who in his poverty trusts in God's will for the right to demand what he desires from anyone; and the libertine, who at the highest stage of spiritual development, where spirit and matter are independent, declared the whole law to be allegorical and thus disobeyed it; all found in the Qur'an what their hearts desired. As usual, the orthodox began in opposition against these innovations without distinction, yet soon it appeared that there were so many of these unheard of matters to be found even beyond India and Persia, that compromise was the only available way forward for Muslim Catholicism.⁹

Perhaps the closest Snouck ever came to a personal alliance with an order was by indirect association with the eminently Catholic (and certainly flexible) 'Abdallah al-Zawawi, whose father was a Naqshbandi of note; though of the Mujaddidi rather than the Khalidi tradition. Snouck described how both men served as the guides to the royal families of Riau and Pontianak, which would serve the younger al-Zawawi well when he was forced into exile in 1893. It would also become clearer later that the Zawawis were interested in limiting

8 Regarding the Cilegon affair, see Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions, Course, and Sequel* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966).

9 C. Snouck Hurgronje, "De Islām," (1886), in *VG* I, 183-294, at 268-269. See also his *Mekka* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1931), 202-203.

membership of Sufi orders (once more) to the educated elite.¹⁰

Such an attitude was also very much maintained by perhaps the most prominent Muslim jurist (and publicist) in the Dutch East Indies, Sayyid ‘Uthman (1822-1914), who is the subject of a recent work by Nico Kaptein.¹¹ Born in Batavia and educated in Mecca among other places, this leading scion of an Arab family in the Dutch East Indies had used his own printing press since the 1860s to produce all manner of accessible works in Malay and Arabic for the wider Jawi public. And once the various sheikhs of the Naqshbandiyya – and of its Khalidi sub-order in particular – began to find fertile soil in the Straits and Java, including among officials, he issued tracts that were critical of them.¹² He also made sure to send exemplars of such works to the young Dutch scholar whom he had probably heard of from Holle, much as the scholar had heard of him from appreciative Jawis in Mecca. Snouck would also be apprised of ‘Uthman’s fears of the potential unrest to be stoked by the many *ṭarīqa* sheikhs who were only held back by the power of the colonial state. At any rate he famously presented Sayyid ‘Uthman to the colonial public in a review of his works on the *ṭarīqas* as a worthy “jewel” for the colonial treasury that was “deserving of being set in gold” and would ultimately recommend him for an honorary post as adviser, a position he too would occupy after commencing a study tour of Java in 1889.¹³

3 Java

Whereas Snouck had been sent to Jeddah with the explicit aim of determining the extent and influence of the brotherhoods in the Dutch East Indies, his Java journey was also intended to produce a survey of the practical administration of Islam among the various officials who would be effectively made state pensioners as time went on. For it was recognised that their control over the resources brought in by alms and pious donations could conceivably be directed

10 See my “Understanding al-Imam’s Critique of Tariqa Sufism,” in *Varieties of Religious Authority: Changes and Challenges in 20th Century Indonesian Islam*, eds. Azyumardi Azra, Nico Kaptein, and Kees van Dijk (Singapore: ISEAS, 2010).

11 Nico J.G. Kaptein, *Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age in the Netherlands East Indies. A Biography of Sayyid ‘Uthman* (Leiden: E.J. Brill 2014). See also Kaptein’s chapter in the present volume “My Dear Professor ‘Abd al-Ghaffar’: The Letters of Sayyid ‘Uthman to C. Snouck Hurgronje as a Reflection of Their Relationship.”

12 See, for example, ‘Uthman b. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Aqil, *al-Nasiha al-anīqa lil-mutalabbisin bi-l-tariqa* ([Batavia]: n.p., n.d.).

13 C. Snouck Hurgronje, “Een Arabisch bondgenoot der Nederlandsch-Indische Regeering,” (1886) in *VG IV-1*: 69-85, at 85.

to “war chests” for such causes as the ongoing insurgency in Aceh or yet the machinations of local (and increasingly displaced) regal actors. Snouck’s methodology, which he refined as he made a series of journeys back and forth across the island, and in the vicinity of the Priangan in particular once he married the daughter of the Chief Penghulu of Ciamis, was largely directed at assembling quotidian data about rites of passage, mosque finances and interpersonal relationships between scholars and pupils. It was only in the later stages of his enquiries regarding local schools, known as *pondoks* or *pesantrens*, that he would try to determine the texts in use and what, if any, *ṭarīqa* affiliation the teacher in question maintained. After all, as he wrote to his good friend Herman Bavinck (1854-1921) in July of 1890, “the knowledge of the situation in the Mohammedan region here, of the spirit and influence of Mohammedan education, of the scope of the so-called mystical societies, etc. etc.” was “as necessary for government and legislation as one’s daily bread.”¹⁴

That said, it became increasingly clear as he traipsed across Java that the precise details of the “so-called mystical societies” became less important to him given that a general picture had begun to form in his mind. Rather than finding nests of reclusive fanatics across the island (as some might have imagined in the wake of the Cilegon massacre), he would meet teacher after teacher open to his questions and who willingly showed him the contents of their libraries; or yet offered their books to him for copying. Sometimes too they even offered him exemplars of works that they felt had been supplanted by the latest waves of Meccan learning. As he would later note in the course of his work on Aceh, many such memorandum books had been given to him on Java by “orthodox” teachers of religion who had inherited them from their fathers or grandfathers (teachers like themselves), but who set no store in them themselves, and were even a little ashamed of having them in their possession.¹⁵

Indeed Snouck would find increasingly that the story to be told was of the displacement of “old” learning associated with the by then indigenised Shattari tradition of ‘Abd al-Muhyi Pamijahan (1640?-1715) and the “heretical” pantheism of its Jawi patrons by the newer Naqshbandi lines. Part of the appeal seems to have been founded in its Meccan connections and that its teachers could offer their adherents access to works that were often printed abroad and available in Arabic. This furthermore meshed with the increasing emphasis in the

14 Snouck to Bavinck, Weltevreden, 16 July 1890, in J. de Bruijn, ed., *Amicissime: Brieven van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje aan Herman Bavinck, 1878-1921* (Amsterdam: Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme, 1992), 50-53. For his notebooks, see Leiden University Libraries, Cod.Or. 7931.

15 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, trans. A.W.S. O’Sullivan, 2 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1906), II, 11, n.1.

new “Meccan” schools of the understanding of Arabic directly rather than by way of a written gloss, though the older methods by no means disappeared overnight.

It would also seem to Snouck that these “new” works were generally twinned to a more “orthodox” Ghazalian spirit. Perhaps such a vision can also be attributed to his network of contacts, accessed by way of some of the same Jawi scholars he had met in Mecca, or who he had heard of there. Crucial in this sense was the active intermediation of Hajji Hasan of Garut, a member of the Qadiriyya wa-Naqshbandiyya and a well-known teacher of the new Meccan learning. In 1890 Hajji Hasan had composed a listing of works in use in the *pesantrens* for the benefit of the government in which he noted his own commentary on the *Waraqāt* of al-Juwayni (d. 1085).¹⁶

It was through Hajji Hasan and his network of Mecca-oriented scholars that Snouck would meet teacher after amenable teacher, including, it seems, a “Qadiri” in Cirebon known as Muhammad Talha of Kalisapu. When Snouck first met him in August of 1889 he was quite taken by the relative wealth and solidity of his *pesantren* with its prayer hall, mosque, and dormitory. During the nine years he had spent in Mecca together with Hasan Mustafa, Talha had joined the Khalidiyya, the Haddadiyya, and the Qadiriyya wa-Naqshbandiyya orders, into which he claimed to have inducted the local regent and his family. Snouck was also taken by the Talha’s claims to training in Hanafi *fiqh*, which he deployed in “useful” fatwas for such local officials in respect of polygamy or the consumption of brandy.¹⁷

It was also clear that such meetings, amusing as they may have been to Snouck at times, laid out the clear divisions between the Mecca-oriented teachers and the propagators of the older, nominally Shattari, and yet more avowedly indigenised tradition that was sometimes termed the Akmaliiyya. Teachers of this tradition often claimed descent from one of the Wali Sanga – the “Nine Saints” held to have converted Java from its Northern Salient in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. And while they too were often happy to engage in conversations with Snouck and to make their more limited libraries available to him, it was clear that few had been to Mecca, and fewer still among their followers had the requisite textual knowledge to interrogate the texts they would be charged small fees for the privilege of excerpting or yet touching. At one point he even noted that Cilacap, with its community of Akmalis,

16 See “Hadji Hasan’s voor ’t bestuur gemaakt lijst der in de Preanger gebruikelijk kitabs 1889,” in Leiden University Libraries, Cod.Or. 18097, s12.

17 Leiden University Libraries, Cod.Or. 7931, 22b, 77, 78b-79b.

could boast “no scholars.”¹⁸

Such encounters even seem to have led Snouck to return to various pages in his journal adding annotations to the effect that these were representatives of a passing order. It also became clearer that he felt less and less inclined to record all the minute details the further East he went. A picture had emerged, and he was already developing it for his colonial public and employers now resolved to send him to the front line of Aceh, where he would compile his now classic ethnography cum intelligence report.

With such surety in mind – both intellectual and financial – he could afford to moderate his previous predictions of danger from the Mecca-linked orders and speak instead to the problems inherent in the ignorance of so many colonial officials. This he did in the guise of a native official. Serialised in the liberal *De Locomotief* over the course of 1891 and 1892, Snouck’s “Letters from a retired Wedono” were the distillation of his many weeks in the field. Thus, having described the many life rituals of the Javanese who often had to put up with boorish and ill-informed Dutch masters, Snouck turned to address the ways in which some (often elite) Javanese became sometimes unwitting, or even uncaring, members of the much-feared Sufi orders, as here when he manufactured an incident from the imagined youth of his Wedono.

First I had to recite the Fatihah in front of the teacher, being the first chapter of the Koer’an that is reeled off in every division of every sembahjang (prayer); and then another formula, called tasjahoed, which is also said in the sembahjang, and which contains our profession of faith, among other things. Thereafter the goeroe impressed upon me that it was not good to skip the five daily prayers, and that I was not to neglect them during the holy fasting month, above all else because I was learning the tarèkat. Eventually he taught me, after each of the afternoon sembahjangs, being after magrib and ngiso, to say one hundred times: *lā ilāha illa allāh* “there is no god but God,” during which I had to sit in a manner specified very precisely by the goeroe. Once I had practiced with the goeroe for three days, each day for an hour, I was allowed to do the *bé’at* or *bèngat*. What this entailed was not clear to me at the time. Having first bathed and perfumed myself, I had to sit before the teacher in the instructed posture. He held a white cloth by one corner while I took the other in my right hand. He then said a few Arabic formulas, which I repeated. The cloth was dropped, a prayer said, and the matter was thus at

18 Leiden University Libraries, Cod.Or. 7931, 73-74, 77, 269.

an end. Only in later years did I learn that this *bèngat* was actually a sacred pact between moerid (student) and goeroe, whereby the student promises thereafter to treat the goeroe as a representative of Allah, and not to disobey any of his commands.¹⁹

Hereafter Snouck placed words in the mouth of his pious *wedono* that he himself could not so easily say:

I have often been asked if these tarèkats could cooperate in order to alienate the population from the administration or stir up hatred in them against people of a different orientation. My answer remains thus: that in all cases it depends upon the goeroe. If he is stupid and bad, then he teaches the superstitious villager not so much to be a good and religious person as to do his every bidding; indeed there are even some who teach thieves the arts of invisibility or invulnerability for missions that they have planned against others. If he is ignorant without malicious intentions, then he teaches false magical arts, or such things that his students will not understand, and about which he himself has little idea. A clever and good tarèkat teacher, meanwhile, directs the people, to the best of his knowledge, on the path of religion, such that they will have a greater influence upon the hearts [of the people] than the [normal] kitab teacher. Here in Java he will only become mistrustful of the administration if he observes that he is mistrusted. And clever teachers with less good intentions are dangerous, while the population treats their instructions almost as if they were divine.²⁰

From the above it seems that Snouck now argued less for seeing the orders as bodies hatching coordinated mischief from Mecca, and more as brands to which a wide variety of individuals – some pious, some mischievous – could affiliate. As such, what would be required was less a systematic policy of oppression of the orders (as Holle had once proposed), especially given that their books seldom – if ever – contained any calls to violent action or propaganda, but rather the precise policing of individuals by a body of properly educated officials.²¹

Meanwhile the tracts that Snouck was still so assiduously collecting, and

19 C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Brieven van een Wedono-Pensioen," (1891-1892) in *VG IV-1*, 111-248, at 188-89.

20 *Ibid.*, 194-195.

21 *Ibid.*, 192.

especially the increasingly disdained teachings of the “old” order, were to be treated as the stuff of history. Indeed it is clear from his letters to superiors and mentors alike that he was more interested in what such works could say about the reception of Islam on Java and its particular character. For example he told his mentor Nöldeke how the many materials he had gathered could potentially explain “the earliest spread of the mystical brotherhoods in these territories,” and thus “the manner by which Islam and Hinduism engaged and interacted.”²² But while Snouck was long compelled by his official duties to put his manuscripts aside, they became the fertile sources for theses tackled by some of the key officials he trained or oversaw, who laid the ground in time for the very particular scholarly vision of Indonesian Islam that we see today.

4 Conclusion

While I do not wish to suggest that Snouck was somebody who was cynically inclined to redress his views on the mystics purely for political gain, it is nonetheless important to observe the changing tone he adopted with respect to the activities of people whose faith interested him as much as historical agents as a politically-urgent subject of inquiry. Arguably Snouck, informed by his readings of the extant literature on the *ṭarīqas* and Islam in the Dutch East Indies, initially made use of the metropolitan need for knowledge to get him to Arabia for fieldwork. Once he was able to proceed both there and to Java, however, and thereupon to craft for himself a place of influence within the bureaucracy as the leading expert on Islam, he would start to shift the view of Sufis from incipient insurgents to partakers of an antiquated form of folk-religion to be monitored with informed care and attention rather than panic and blind aggression. To do so, he knew that a scholarly tone would not suffice, and hence in 1891 he first opted to effect a curious change of voice, exchanging the dress of a Muslim scholar in Mecca for that of a Javanese *wedono* in the liberal press.

22 Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke, Weltevreden, 26 January 1890, in P.Sj. van Koningsveld, ed., *Orientalism and Islam: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke from the Tübingen University Library* (Leiden: Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, 1985), 15-17; cf. Snouck to Director of Education, Weltevreden, 6 November 1890, in E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse, eds., *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957-1965), II, 1202-1203.

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“My Dear Professor ‘Abd al-Ghaffar”: The Letters of Sayyid ‘Uthman to C. Snouck Hurgronje as a Reflection of Their Relationship

*Nico J.G. Kaptein*¹

1 Introduction: C. Snouck Hurgronje and his Dutch East Indian Collaborators

Throughout his entire career, from the very beginning when he still was a young man until the end of his life, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje had the ability to gain the trust of a wide variety of people and to involve them in his activities, both in his academic endeavours as well as in his more practical efforts. This was the case during his famous stay in Mecca, where he had spent the first half of 1885,² as well as during his work in the Netherlands East Indies from 1889-1906. He made extensive use of indigenous informants in his capacity as advisor to the Netherlands Indies colonial administration for native affairs. A number of examples might serve as an illustration of this.

When Snouck travelled in Java between 1889 and 1891 as part of a government mission to study Islam in the archipelago, he did so in the company of the Sundanese scholar Haji Hasan Moestapa (1852-1930). In accompanying Snouck, Haji Hasan Moestapa was of vital importance to his fellow traveller, not only in explaining local customs to Snouck and initially as an interpreter, but also in introducing him to all kinds of local persons. These Javanese peregrinations did not lead to a large monograph, but the field notes were used extensively in Snouck’s column “Brieven van een wedono pensioen” in the Dutch East Indian newspaper *De Locomotief* in 1891 and 1892.³ Later his rela-

1 I thank professor Jan Just Witkam who generously sent me his notes on most of the letters dealt with here in April 1996. After I finished the research for this paper, Leiden University Libraries made most of the letters used here available online.

2 Jan Just Witkam, Introduction to *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw: schetsen uit het dagelijks leven*, by C. Snouck Hurgronje, translated [from German] and introduced by Jan Just Witkam (Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Atlas, 2007), 66-128.

3 P.S. van Ronkel, “Aanteekeningen over Islam en folklore in West- en Midden-Java uit het reisverhaal van Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 101 (1942): 312.

tionship with Haji Hasan Moestapa would also prove to be important when the government asked Snouck to give advice about the Aceh War and Haji Hasan Moestapa had become *hoofdpanghoeloe* in Kota Raja. As a matter of course, this relationship greatly facilitated Snouck's access to Acehese society.⁴

In Aceh, Snouck also used a number of other informants, whom he sometimes mentions explicitly, while in other cases their involvement becomes clear from other sources.⁵ A lot of the information gained from these individuals was of an academic nature and was eventually placed in Snouck's famous monograph on Aceh, but there are also instances of information which was of direct use in the warfare against the Acehese. The best known example of this type relates to the military expedition to Pidie in 1898, in which Snouck participated personally. During this expedition a number of prominent members of the Acehese resistance were captured on the basis of information which Snouck received from his clerk Muhammad Noerdin⁶ and a local informant.⁷

In his 1903 work on the Gayo highlands of Aceh and its inhabitants in North Sumatra, Snouck also made use of two indigenous informants, Nyaq Putih, whom he characterised as "an intelligent young man," and Aman Ratus. After Snouck moved back from the field to Batavia in 1903 and had completed his monograph on Gayo, he continued to work on the Gayo, taking his two informants with him.⁸

These are a few examples of the central role of indigenous collaborators in

4 P.S. van Koningsveld, "De geschiedschrijving van een koloniale expansie-oorlog. Vijftig jaar na de dood van Snouck Hurgronje," in *Snouck Hurgronje en de islam. Acht artikelen over het leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk* (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1987), 203-214 (first published in *De Volkskrant*, 21 June 1986). See also Mufti Ali, "It is Incumbent upon Indonesian Muslims to be Loyal to the Dutch East Indies Government': A Study of a Fatwa by Hasan Mustapa," in *Hasan Mustapa: Ethnicity and Islam in Indonesia*, ed. Julian Millie (Monash University Press, 2017), 141-160. The Indonesian scholar Jajang A. Rohmana has published a number of letters of Hasan Moestapa in Arabic to Snouck, see his *Informan Sunda Masa Kolonial: Surat-surat Haji Hasan Mustapa untuk C. Snouck Hurgronje dalam kurun 1894-1923*, Yogyakarta: Octopus, 2018. See also his article "Colonial Informants and the Acehese-Dutch War," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 49, no.143 (2021): 63-81, which is based on the letters which Moestapa wrote to Snouck, when Moestapa was based in Kota Raja. Jajang Rohmana is preparing an edition of these letters.

5 A.A. Trouwborst, *De Atjehers van Snouck Hurgronje* (Arnhem: Stichting Vrienden van Bronbeek, 1993), 14.

6 Van Koningsveld, "De geschiedschrijving van een koloniale expansie-oorlog," 210.

7 Trouwborst, *De Atjehers van Snouck Hurgronje*, 17.

8 J. Bowen, *Sumatran Politics and Poetics: Gayo History, 1900-1989* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 32-33.

the activities of Snouck in the Netherlands East Indies, and they show how well he was able to involve native people in his work, not only as informants for academic purposes, but also for purposes of a more administrative or even political nature.

In this contribution I will discuss the relationship between Snouck and one of his best known partners, Sayyid ‘Uthman, as this evolves from the latter’s letters to Snouck which have been preserved. Although these letters are rich in content, in this essay the primary focus will be on what they reveal about the nature of their connection. Consequently I will not go into the entire content of the letters. Before I start to deal with the letters, I will give some biographical information about Sayyid ‘Uthman.

2 Some Biographical Notes on Sayyid ‘Uthman⁹

Sayyid ‘Uthman b. ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Aqil b. Yahya al-‘Alawi (1822-1914) was born in Batavia in 1822 as a member of the Arab minority of the city. Within this group he belonged to the religious nobility, the so-called *sāda* (pl. of *sayyid*), who traced their genealogy back to the Prophet Muhammad. The Arabs in Batavia formed part of the large Arab diaspora which originated from Hadramaut in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, and which had taken shape in all regions around the Indian Ocean. Between the Hadramaut and the diaspora there was an intensive traffic of persons, for instance by sending sons who had been born in the diaspora back to the homeland for education, including thorough training in the Arabic language. Likewise, Sayyid ‘Uthman left his native Batavia for educational purposes, initially going to Mecca in 1841, when he was nineteen years old. He stayed for seven years in the Holy City in order to study Islamic sciences with, among others, the famous Sayyid Ahmad b. Zayni Dahlan. In 1847 Sayyid ‘Uthman moved on to Hadramaut, where he met members of his family, continued his studies, married, and fathered at least one son, as will become clear below. In 1855, after a period of eight years in Hadramaut, he

9 See for detailed references to the information given in this section, Nico J.G. Kaptein, “Sayyid ‘Uthman: de adviseur,” in *Tropenlevens: de (post)koloniale biografie*, ed. Rosemarijn Hoefte, Peter Meel and Hans Renders (Amsterdam and Leiden: Boom and KITLV, 2008), 195-215; and Nico J.G. Kaptein, “Arabophobia and the Aversion Against the Tarekat: How Sayyid ‘Uthman Became Advisor to the Netherlands Colonial Administration,” in the *Hadhrami Diaspora in Southeast Asia. Identity Maintenance or Assimilation?*, ed. Ahmed Ibrahim Abu Shouk and Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2009), 33-44. Most information in these articles has been integrated in my monograph, *Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age in the Netherlands East Indies. A Biography of Sayyid ‘Uthman* (Leiden: E.J. Brill 2014).

toured various cities in the Middle East. After this trip Sayyid ‘Uthman resettled in Hadramaut, where he stayed for a period of seven years.

In 1862, around the age of forty, Sayyid ‘Uthman returned to his birthplace, where he would spend the rest of his long life which would end in 1914. In Batavia he became active in teaching and preaching Islam, and within a few years he developed into a well-established authority in religious matters. Around 1870 Sayyid ‘Uthman seems to have started experimenting with a lithograph press to publish his own writings which he eventually offered for sale. After a hesitant start with a publication in 1875 and one in 1877, from 1880 until shortly before his death in 1914 he regularly wrote and published books and brochures, of which more than 150 different items have been preserved. These writings deal with most branches of Islamic scholarship, such as theology, *fiqh*, mysticism, Islamic law, hadith, Qur’an recitation, ethics, Arabic language, and astronomy, and show that Sayyid ‘Uthman was one of the most important and productive ‘ulama’ in the Netherlands East Indies of his time. In this capacity he was consulted many times on all kinds of issues by various Muslims from the entire archipelago, who often regarded him as the most important mufti of the Indies.

In addition to these activities as a prominent Muslim scholar, Sayyid ‘Uthman is also known for his involvement in the Dutch colonial administration from 1889 onwards, from 1891 bearing the official title of “Honorary Advisor for Arab Affairs.” In this capacity Sayyid ‘Uthman worked closely together with Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. In the legacy of the latter a number of letters from Sayyid ‘Uthman have been preserved, to which I will now turn.

3 The Letters

3.1. *Introduction*

The Leiden University Library houses the largest collection of material from Sayyid ‘Uthman’s lithograph press in the world. In addition to these printed works, the Oriental Department of the Leiden University Library has preserved twelve letters from Sayyid ‘Uthman to Snouck Hurgronje in the latter’s archive (Or. 8952). Besides these twelve letters, on a few occasions other letters have popped up which Snouck had put in a book or a manuscript of his personal library. When his personal library was included in the Leiden University Library after his death in 1936, these items came along too. In all I now have sixteen letters of Sayyid ‘Uthman to Snouck at my disposal, and hopefully still unknown ones will be found in the future. From these remaining sixteen letters it is obvious that the correspondence must have been much more inten-

sive from both sides, so that what we have is just the tip of the iceberg. Apart from one isolated example, Snouck’s letters to Sayyid ‘Uthman are not known.

The letters are written in Arabic, which was also the language in which Snouck and Sayyid ‘Uthman were accustomed to converse.¹⁰ Occasionally Malay words and passages pop up in these Arabic letters. Most letters are dated according to the Christian era, which was not uncommon among the Arabs in the Netherlands East Indies who often used the Western calendar and numerals.¹¹ Some letters have been dated according to the Muslim calendar and some according to both the Christian and the Muslim calendars.

The letters can be classified according to the period in which they were written: a) letters from the period before Snouck’s arrival in the Netherlands East Indies in 1889 (three letters); b) letters written during Snouck’s stay in the Indies from 1889-1906 (three letters); and c) letters written after Snouck’s departure from the Indies in 1906 (ten letters).¹²

3.2 *The letters before 1889*¹³

The three letters from this period were written before Snouck and Sayyid ‘Uthman had ever met, and Sayyid ‘Uthman addresses Snouck in these letters as “Mister or Dr. Snouck Hurgronje” (*al-khawāja/al-duktur* Snouck Hurgronje), while in the later letters, after they had met, Snouck is addressed as “*al-perufīsūr* ‘Abd al-Ghaffar,” thus using the Muslim name which Snouck had adopted in Mecca. Sayyid ‘Uthman had heard about Snouck from K.F. Holle (1829-1896), the well-known tea planter and honorary advisor for native affairs, and the latter’s close friend J.A. van der Chijs.¹⁴ (I) On the other hand, Snouck Hurgronje had heard about Sayyid ‘Uthman during his stay in Mecca.¹⁵ Furthermore, Snouck would have been reminded of Sayyid ‘Uthman when the well-known Leiden professor of Arabic M.J. de Goeje (1836-1909) wrote a review in the *Revue Coloniale Internationale* of 1886 on the atlas of Hadramaut which

10 A. Djajadiningrat, *Herinneringen* (Batavia: Kolff, 1936), 77.

11 L.W.C. van den Berg, *Le Hadramout et les colonies arabes dans l’Archipel Indien* (Batavia: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1886), 236-237.

12 See for an overview of the letters the appendix at the end of this chapter. I refer to a particular letter by using the Roman number given in the appendix.

13 I have dealt with these letters more extensively in Nico J.G. Kaptein, “Arabophobia and the Aversion Against the Tarekat,” and Kaptein, “Sayyid ‘Uthman: de adviseur.”

14 This person should not be confused with P.N. van der Chijs (d. 1889) who resided in Jeddah, initially as a shipping agent and later also as a staff member of the Dutch consulate (Witkam, “Inleiding,” 33-34).

15 C. Snouck Hurgronje, “Een Arabische bondgenoot der Nederlandsch-Indische regeering,” in *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 14 and 16 October 1886 [reprinted in his *Verspreide Geschriften* IV:1 (Bonn und Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1924), 79].

had been compiled and published by Sayyid 'Uthman. In this journal, De Goeje evaluated the atlas positively and also suggested that Sayyid 'Uthman could perhaps be of service in the study of the inscriptions from Hadramaut.¹⁶

It is not clear who took the initiative in the correspondence. The earliest letter (I) contains two notes in the margin. One note refers to the epigraphy in Hadramaut, in connection with which Sayyid 'Uthman mentions that he had sent his son in Hadramaut a letter to request relevant information; the other note says that Sayyid 'Uthman has enclosed some linguistic data. I think these two notes suggest that this is not the first letter from Sayyid 'Uthman to Snouck Hurgronje, because it seems plausible that they refer to a previous request made by Snouck Hurgronje.

The most important information contained in these early letters deals with Sayyid 'Uthman's ambition to become involved in the Dutch colonial state apparatus as advisor, or, as he prefers to denote this position himself, as mufti (III).¹⁷ To accomplish this, Sayyid 'Uthman tries to convince Snouck of his loyalty towards, and his possible value for, the Dutch government, and for this purpose he added to the letters some of the booklets which he wrote to condemn the activities of the Naqshabandiyya brotherhood in West Java, which at the time was highly suspected and feared in government circles.

These early letters convinced Snouck of the trustworthiness of Sayyid 'Uthman and caused him to write two articles in the Dutch newspaper the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of 14 and 16 October 1886 about this "ally of the Netherlands Indies government," the last one ending with the statement that "one Arab like 'Uthman b. Yahya is more valuable to us than many 'liberal,' wine-drinking regents."¹⁸ After Snouck had arrived in the Dutch East Indies in 1889, he negotiated with the authorities about a possible involvement of Sayyid 'Uthman as his informant on Muslim affairs, and this indeed materialised, at first on a loose basis, while two years later Sayyid 'Uthman was appointed to the official position of Honorary Advisor for Arab Affairs.¹⁹

3.3 *The letters from the period 1889-1906*

As a young student, Ahmad Djajadiningrat used to frequent the house of Snouck Hurgronje in Batavia. These visits were part of his education, because he was one of the young and able natives who had been selected by Snouck to

16 M.J. de Goeje, "Hadramaut," *Revue Coloniale Internationale* 2 (1886): 101-124.

17 In Kaptein, "Sayyid 'Uthman: de adviseur," 208 there is a facsimile of this letter.

18 Snouck Hurgronje, "Een Arabische bondgenoot der Nederlandsch-Indische regeering," 85.

19 E. Gobée en C. Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 3 vols. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957-1965), 1510-1513.

be trained as the future native leader of the country. The idea was that, amongst other educational activities, his exposure to Snouck involved a training along the lines of a Western system of education. As such he would be the living proof of the correctness of Snouck's *association* policy.²⁰ In his memoirs, written in Dutch and entitled *Herinneringen*, Djajadiningrat also mentions Sayyid 'Uthman among the many individuals who frequently came to visit Snouck in his house.²¹ This is just one indication that Snouck and Sayyid 'Uthman often met personally and explains why there was no need for written communication between them. On the other hand, Snouck Hurgronje was often travelling within the Netherlands East Indies for longer periods of time, for example to Aceh, and we might expect that, during these field trips, Sayyid 'Uthman kept Snouck informed about current affairs in Batavia. Perhaps due to the often difficult circumstances in which Snouck had to work during these trips these letters have not been preserved. Another reason for this absence might be that the relationship between Snouck and Sayyid 'Uthman seems to have cooled around 1898 when Snouck obstructed efforts to award Sayyid 'Uthman a royal decoration, because he thought that such a reward would expose him too much as an ally of the Dutch government and would consequently isolate him from the Muslim population in the country.²² Whatever the reason might be, for the entire period of Snouck's stay in the Netherlands East Indies only three letters are available.²³

These three letters originate from the period in which Snouck, in his capacity as director of the Office of Native Affairs, was the actual supervisor of Sayyid 'Uthman within the colonial bureaucracy and was also personally responsible for paying him his monthly salary of one hundred Dutch guilders.²⁴ The first two letters (IV and V) start with only a short introductory salutation without mentioning a name. This underlines the professional character of the letters. Interestingly enough, in the letter of 1 February 1906 (VI), Snouck is addressed for the first time as "*al-perufīsūr* 'Abd al-Ghaffar." In contrast to the letters from the first period, which were written before they had actually met, these few

20 See the contribution of Otterspeer in this volume.

21 Djajadiningrat, *Herinneringen*, 77.

22 See letter of F.W.M. Hoogenstraaten to M.J. de Goeje, 8 February 1899 (Leiden University Library, BPL 2389). Sayyid 'Uthman eventually received the decoration in 1899. See Nico J.G. Kaptein, "The Sayyid and the Queen: Sayyid 'Uthman on Queen Wilhelmina's Inauguration on the Throne of the Netherlands in 1898," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 9, no. 2 (1998): 158-177.

23 I thank professor Jan Just Witkam for drawing my attention to letters IV and VI; I found letter V among Snouck's Aceh papers in March 2009. Letter VII also dates from 1906, but at the end of that year Snouck had already returned to the Netherlands.

24 Gobée en Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 45, 1510-1511.

letters show that both men know each other very well. For instance, Sayyid ‘Uthman complains about constipation²⁵ which prevents him from writing and from being able to stand up properly, as a result of which he had to perform the salat seated (iv); in the other two letters he also refers to his bad health. These complaints about his health are a recurrent theme in almost all of his letters until the end of his life. It seems to have been a favourite habit of Sayyid ‘Uthman to go on about this. However, since Snouck was Sayyid ‘Uthman’s boss in this period, we might also wonder whether, by insisting on his bad health, Sayyid ‘Uthman meant to say that Snouck should not expect too much from him. One letter comments on a request by Snouck on various *fiqh* matters (v) and another on Hadrami poetry (vi). In the most extensive letter from this period (iv), Sayyid ‘Uthman mentions some things which do not seem to be of direct relevance to the work, but are of a more general interest. We read, for instance, as Snouck would have known from the newspapers, that there had been a fight in Surabaya between Arabs, who had been cheerfully celebrating the marriage of the Queen, and Eurasians (*mawāladat al-Ifranj*).

As far as we can judge on the basis of the few letters from this period, the tone is more business-like than it is in the letters from the next period when Snouck had settled in the Netherlands.

3.4 *The letters after 1906*

The remaining ten letters available to me date from the period after Snouck had left for the Netherlands. Although this return was initially intended to last for a short period, it turned out to be for good. The tone of the letters is more intimate than in the period when Snouck was still living in the Netherlands East Indies, and a number of times Sayyid ‘Uthman complains that he misses Snouck, which shows that they had had a very good personal relationship during Snouck’s stay in the Indies. For example Sayyid ‘Uthman ends a letter from 1909 (x) as follows:

O, my dear, all the white paper which is in the bookshop (in Malay *toko buku*) of ‘Ali²⁶ could not hold what I feel in the way of the French eloquence. My longing for you occurs frequently and when I remember the days of discussion and expounding with you, there is a gentleness in my heart which no one knows but God.

25 In Arabic *yabūsa*, literary “dryness.”

26 Although the letter reads ‘Ali, perhaps Sayyid ‘Uthman’s son ‘Alwi is meant, who was in charge of the family bookshop.

The content of the letters is mixed and consists of all kind of scattered information, sometimes of a more trivial nature, such as health matters (VIII, x, XIII, XIV) and a car accident in Batavia which he discussed with his old friend Dr Hoogenstraaten (x). More often, however, these letters contain useful information on various matters, such as scholarly information requested by Snouck; news from Batavia and the Netherlands East Indies, like the rise of the first indigenous nationalist movement the *Sarekat Islam* (xv); and developments within Islam in the Indies, like the coming of modernist ideas from Egypt (xvi).²⁷ While I have already dealt with some of these issues in more detail in other publications,²⁸ I will here go into one particular matter, because it sheds a unique light on the relationship between Sayyid 'Uthman and Snouck.

The issue is the translation of the Qur'an. In a letter dated 25 July 1909/8 Rajab 1327 Sayyid 'Uthman reports to Snouck that in Solo a Javanese by the name of Agus Arpah (sic) had made a translation of the Qur'an in the *Jāwī* language,²⁹ containing the Arabic original ("the Qur'an") on the right side of the page and the translation on the left side of the page, i.e. in two parallel columns. Moreover, this translation was printed and distributed.

This person, to be identified as Bagus Ngarpah,³⁰ was the head-teacher of the Madrasa Mambā' al-'ulūm in Solo. He had started to make a Javanese translation of the Qur'an from about the end of 1907, which appeared in parts, printed by the publisher H.A. Benjamins in Semarang.³¹ This translation was published under the sponsorship of the literary circle *Waradarma* in Solo which had received a subsidy from the prime minister of the Sunan, as a result of which the translation had an official ring. At the end of 1908, this translation, or at least the parts which had already been published, had led to protests among a number of very orthodox scholars of religion and some Arabs. Against these protests Bagus Ngarpah had replied that the translation was in fact a

27 I have dealt with these issues extensively in my abovementioned biography of Sayyid 'Uthman.

28 See Nico J.G. Kaptein, "The Lament of an Old Man: Sayyid 'Uthman of Batavia (1822-1914) on Cars," in *Lost Times and Untold Tales from the Malay World*, eds. Jan van der Putten and Mary Kilcline Cody (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), 283-289 on this car accident; and Nico J.G. Kaptein, "Grateful to the Dutch Government: Sayyid 'Uthman and the Sarekat Islam in 1913," in *Islamic Legitimacy in a Plural Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid and Michael Gilsenan (London: Routledge, 2007), 98-116 on the *Sarekat Islam*.

29 The word *Jāwī* in Arabic means "Southeast Asian," in a general sense. Often it means "Malay," but sometimes it can also mean "Javanese."

30 I owe this identification to Dr. Moch. Nur Ichwan, Yogyakarta.

31 There is a copy of a part of this translation in Leiden University (851 F 20), namely sura 1 - sura 7:85.

tafsīr, or an explanation (Or. 6495).³² This reply of Bagus Ngarpah shows that he defended his translation with the argument that what he had produced was not a literary rendering of the Qur'an, and therefore had not affected the divine character of the text. He had merely explained the Qur'an's meaning in another language, which was permissible according to the shari'a. This idea constitutes the classical justification for the translation of the Qur'an: as a kind of compromise, a "translation" becomes possible under the guise of an explanation.³³

In his letter to Snouck Sayyid 'Uthman does not mention these events, but relates the following incident. According to him, a man from China had bought a copy of the translation and while reading it, reached the verse "Fight the polytheists all together..." (in Arabic *qātilū al-mushrikīna kāfatan*) (Q. 9:36) and its translation *mesti bunuh orang yang semah tepekong sama sekali*,³⁴ which can be translated as "Kill the people who sacrifice in the [Chinese] temples all together." When he read this he became very angry and threw the book into the street. When a man from Java saw this, they started a quarrel and decided to ask Sayyid 'Uthman to give a legal opinion on the issue. Sayyid 'Uthman wrote a brochure in reaction to the incident, which he handed over together with the letter to Tuan Hazeu who was to see to the dispatch of the items to Snouck in Leiden (x).

The brochure mentioned has been preserved and is entitled *Hukm al-Rahman bi-l-Nahy 'an Tarjamat al-Qur'an* ("The judgement of the Merciful on the prohibition to translate the Qur'an"). The booklet is bilingual (Arabic and Malay) and was published at the end of Rabi' al-Thani 1327 which corresponds to the end of May 1909, i.e. two months before the writing of the aforesaid letter. In the introduction to this work Sayyid 'Uthman says that he wrote the work

32 I have derived the information on this case from an exchange of letters about the Qur'an translation between the advisor for Native Affairs G.A.J. Hazeu (1870-1929) who held this post after Snouck, and the assistant resident of Solo Ch.P.J. Blok, d.d. 30 December 1908 and 23 January 1909 respectively, which are kept in the Leiden University Library, Or. 6495 no. 235.

33 A.L. Tibawi, "Is the Qur'an translatable?," *The Muslim World* 52 (1962): 4-16.

34 It is noteworthy that Sayyid 'Uthman here translates the verse into Malay, and does not give the Javanese rendering of Bagus Ngarpah. My former student Dr. Munirul Ikhwan has checked the Javanese translation of all twelve occurrences of the Arabic word *mushrikūn* in the parts of the printed translation of Ngarpah which are available in the Leiden University Library, namely chapters 1- 7, verse 85. Notably, he did not find any rendering which deviates from the usual rendering (polytheists and the like). The word *tepekong* means "Chinese temple" and has been derived from the name Tua Pek Kong, the Buddhist deity of money, who has been venerated in Buddhist temples in Southeast Asia until today. In Malay this name has become a *pars pro toto* for the entire temple.

after someone had brought him a copy of a *Jāwī* translation of the Qur’an and had requested him to give his judgement about it. In the same letter we have seen in more lively terms what the background of this request was, as well as who the translator was and what the book looked like. In the booklet Sayyid ‘Uthman advocates the prohibition of the translation of the Qur’an, based on the traditional arguments. In short, he argues that the Arabic language cannot be rendered adequately into another language because this leads to corruption (*tahrīf*) and transformation (*tabdīl*)³⁵ of the Holy Book. Moreover, the style of the Qur’an (*balāgha*) cannot be imitated by a translation into a non-Arabic language. In conclusion Sayyid ‘Uthman states that:

it is absolutely not permitted to translate the Qur’an, for what has been translated is not the Qur’an, but it is a corruption and transformation of the Qur’an, as well as an insult. A translation should not be considered to be an Islamic book, but as something which causes Muslims to fall into religious sins.

We should note that Sayyid ‘Uthman also briefly goes into the concept of *tafsīr*, which, as we saw, was adduced to justify the Javanese translation. According to him *tafsīr* means “the explanation of words at their face value,” and this is only permissible for a person who masters fifteen branches of the Arabic sciences. If this applies to *tafsīr*, it applies even more to *tarjama*, which is basically the transformation (*tabdīl*) and alteration (*taghyīr*) of words. In a final remark he calls the translator of the Qur’an which had been brought to him a rebellious sinner who should repent by destroying his translation.³⁶ We thus see that Sayyid ‘Uthman here categorically forbids the translation of the Qur’an. Moreover, he seems to be aware of the concept of *tafsīr* in the discussion about the translation of the Qur’an, but he makes it virtually impossible to use the concept as a compromise to allow a “translation” of the Qur’an.

It is interesting to learn about Snouck’s reaction to these observations. As we saw, the letters of Snouck to Sayyid ‘Uthman are lost, but his reaction becomes clear from a letter of 2 October 1909, sent by Sayyid ‘Uthman to Snouck (XI). In this letter Sayyid ‘Uthman refers to a (now lost) letter on the issue of Qur’an translation from 27 August 1909 which he received from Snouck. In this

35 The Malay rendering gives here for both terms *merusakkan*, “to destroy” the Qur’an. These two terms are theological concepts in polemical and apologetic writings in which Jews and Christians are accused of having falsified the Holy Scriptures, which prevents them from a proper appreciation of Islam.

36 Sayyid ‘Uthman, *Hukm al-Rahman bi-l-Nahy ‘an Tarjamat al-Qur’an* (Batavia: the author, 1909), 5-8.

letter Snouck had affirmed that there are many translations of the Qur'an in non-Arabic languages (*ʿajamiyya*) which have not provoked any rejection by anyone.³⁷ Sayyid ʿUthman's reply to this reads as follows:

You have to realise, my dear, that this prohibition is pertinent to the translation of the Qur'an itself for the reasons we have mentioned in our brochure *Hukm al-Rahman*. But a translation of the interpretation of the Qur'an (*tarjamat al-tafsīr al-Qurʿān*) is, as we have said, permissible, and there is no one who rejects that. May the difference between these two not be hidden to you.

Interestingly enough, we see that, in response to Snouck's view, Sayyid ʿUthman writes in a different way about the issue of the interpretation (*tafsīr*) of the Qur'an translation. In his letter he takes a much less rigid view on the issue than in his booklet *Hukm al-Rahman*, and instead of mentioning it reluctantly, he seems, in his letter, to allow it generously as a means of circumventing the difficulties surrounding the translation of the Qur'an.

This raises an interesting question related to the relationship between the two men. Had Snouck actually mitigated the views of the mufti of Batavia here? and was Sayyid ʿUthman prepared to give up his more rigid ideas after having heard Snouck's more liberal opinion? In any case this example of the translation of the Qur'an shows that, at least in his letters to Snouck, Sayyid ʿUthman was ready to accept Snouck's more liberal opinion on a sensitive religious issue. For a proper understanding of this observation we should keep in mind that Sayyid ʿUthman was a highly respected religious scholar who was regarded by many as the most important spokesman on Muslim affairs in the Netherlands East Indies, while Snouck, in his capacity as advisor for native affairs, had been (and at the time still was) deeply involved in, and to a certain extent responsible for, the religious policy of the country. Moreover, during Snouck's stay in the archipelago both men had been working closely together in answering all kinds of religious questions which Snouck received from the archipelago in his capacity as "mufti of Batavia," but which were usually answered by Sayyid ʿUthman.³⁸

37 Snouck retained his interest in the issue of Qur'an translation, since he published an article on it in the Dutch daily the *Telegraaf* on 19 April 1932, entitled "Mag de Quraan vertaald worden?"

38 Michael Laffan, "What Can Collaborators Tell Us about the Idea of an Islamic Indies?," in *Proceedings of the Symposium on Bangsa and Umma: A Comparative Study of People-Grouping Concepts in the Islamic Areas of Southeast Asia*, eds. M. Kawashima, K. Arai and H. Yamamoto (Tokyo: Sophia University, 2007), 116. There is more to be said about this

الحمد لله وحده
 الى جناب المفاضل الاكرم العلامة السيد عثمان بن عبد الله
 بن يحيى زيد قدسه امين .
 تحب اهداء جزيل السلام عليكم ورحمة الاكرام ففي ابرك
 وقت قد وصل كتابكم المؤرخ عم التوبر مع رسالتكم المخصوصة
 بامر شركة الاسلام وقد صار ذلك لنا من اعز اسباب الفرح لان
 كتابكم فيد دليل كافي شافي على دوام المحبة وعدم السيان وكذلك
 حجة عليكم في ادعاءكم زيادة الضعن فان جوابكم لاجل نامنه
 نور بصركم وبصيرتكم وتبيلين لنا من دوام صحتكم البدنية
 والروحانية لانزلتم في احسن حال في المحال وفي المال وقد طالعتنا
 مؤلفاتكم في الشركة وتشكرنا منها والمرجو اذا كان في المستقبل صحتكم
 شيئاً صغيراً او كبيراً في اي موضوع كان لاقتنوا المعاهدة القيمة
 الكاشفة بيتنا وترسلوا لنا نسخة بعد الطبع هذا ولا يخفاكم انه في
 الايام القريبة قصدنا سفرنا الى بلاد امريكا فيكون حدة السفر
 ذهاباً واياباً ثلاثة اشهر وستغير من هذه السياحة زيادة معرفة
 بعجائب المخلوقات ان شاء الله وتحصل لنا اضافة من بعض المدارس
 العلمية الموجودة في تلك الافاق . ونرجوكم من حين الى حين
 تسروننا بعلامة الذكر لنا لاسيما بيش من الاخبار الحاصلة في قريكم
 هذا ما لزم ودمتم نافعين لنا ذاكرين

طالب الدعاء منكم
 عبد الغفار
 لم

ليدن ٨ نوفمبر سنة ١٩١٣

FIGURE 11.1 Letter of Snouck Hurgronje, 8 November 1913, Leiden University Library, Or. 8543. This letter is published with kind permission of Leiden University Libraries.

4 A Letter of Snouck

Snouck used to reply to all letters from Sayyid ‘Uthman which reached him. This is not only apparent from references and reactions to Snouck’s letters made by Sayyid ‘Uthman, an example of which we have just seen, but also from the notes which Snouck made on the original envelopes to indicate when he had answered a particular letter (“*beantw.* ... ” = answered, followed by the date).

As we saw, Snouck’s part of the correspondence has not been preserved, apart from a single letter. This was written in Leiden on 8 November 1913 and is preserved in Or. 8543. The reason why it has been preserved may be because it was never sent, but this is mere speculation. In it Snouck thanks Sayyid ‘Uthman for his letter of 4 October (xvi) and the publications on the *Sarekat Islam* which were enclosed. Snouck regards this gift as clear proof of their continuing friendship and asks Sayyid ‘Uthman to send him any writing he might produce in the future, be it great or small. Furthermore, Snouck mentions his imminent travels. I translate this passage here, because it is an interesting example of the religiously coloured style in which Snouck apparently communicated with Sayyid ‘Uthman. It reads as follows:

It may not be concealed to you that we have the plan to travel soon to America for a period of three months, back and forth. May we profit from this trip by increasing our knowledge about the marvels of creation – God willing – and may we benefit from some of the scholarly institutions which exist in these distant regions.

The letter ends with the request to remain in touch and is signed in the conventional way “*ṭālib al-du‘ā’ minkum* (“requesting your prayer”), ‘Abd al-Ghafar,” Snouck’s Muslim name.

Although this is the only example of a letter from Snouck to Sayyid ‘Uthman it constitutes a significant complement to the correspondence since it fits very well into the intimate and cordial tone of Sayyid ‘Uthman’s letters and thus shows that both men were communicating on the same wavelength.

As Snouck had announced, he would indeed go to the United States, and when he was staying with professor Richard Gottheil at Columbia University he received a letter from ‘Alwi, the son of Sayyid ‘Uthman, dated 5 February

matter in Solo, but here I have limited myself to what the issue reveals about the relationship between Sayyid ‘Uthman and Snouck. More details can be found in my biography of Sayyid ‘Uthman.

1914, in which ‘Alwi reported to Snouck (“Our brother in God, ‘Abd al-Ghaffar”) that his father had died in the night of Monday 21 Safar, corresponding to 19 January 1914, after an illness of two months (Or. 8952 A 62).³⁹

5 Conclusion

Throughout his entire career Snouck Hurgronje appears to have been a great networker. In the present chapter I have analysed his relationship with Sayyid ‘Uthman from Batavia as reflected in his letters to Snouck, sixteen of which have been preserved.

Snouck Hurgronje and Sayyid ‘Uthman were already in touch through correspondence before they met. While Snouck initially seems to have been interested in the *sayyid* for the help he might give him in his research into Hadrami linguistics and epigraphy, Sayyid ‘Uthman approached Snouck in order to obtain an advisory position within the colonial administration. These initial written contacts generated mutual trust, and through the intervention of Snouck, they eventually led to the appointment of Sayyid ‘Uthman as Honorary Advisor for Arab Affairs.

From the period in which Snouck, in his capacity as director of the Office of Native Affairs, was acting as Sayyid ‘Uthman’s supervisor, the number of letters is unfortunately limited to three. From this scarce evidence, it appears that the relationship between Snouck and Sayyid ‘Uthman was mainly of a professional nature, but that it was very good. The most striking feature of the correspondence in this period is that Snouck was addressed with his Muslim name ‘Abd al-Ghaffar.

There are ten letters available from the period after Snouck had returned to the Netherlands permanently, which indicates that their relationship during Snouck’s stay in the Indies must have been very good. In these letters both men not only exchange useful information, but also discussed more personal matters. The exchange about the translation of the Qur’an shows that Sayyid ‘Uthman was ready to take a less rigid stance in religious matters on Snouck’s advice. In view of the role both men played in the religious policy in the Netherlands East Indies, this is an interesting observation and makes one wonder how their working relationship had been during Snouck’s tenure of the directorate of the Office of Native Affairs.

39 The postal stamp shows that the letter was forwarded from Leiden to professor Gottheil at Columbia University on 1 March 1914. On the envelope Snouck indicated in his handwriting that he answered the letter on 16 March 1913.

In the introduction to this essay I said that Snouck Hurgronje was able to engage with indigenous informants in a very effective manner. Judging from the letters of Sayyid ʿUthman dealt with here, this ability was based on a number of features which were important in conjunction with the financial reward which the informants received. First of all, Snouck was seen as a Muslim; secondly, people were aware of his reputation and he was highly respected for his knowledge of Islam and, I imagine, of other fields, and for his language skills; and finally, he was careful to develop a good personal relationship with his informants. As a result of these features, Snouck was able to gain the complete confidence of his informants which enabled him to obtain the information he was looking for.

Appendix

Overview of the letters of Sayyid ʿUthman to C. Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden University Library (if not otherwise indicated they are kept under numbers Or. 8952 A 1023 and Or. 8952 A 1024).

Letters before they met

- I. 30 August 1886
- II. 4 January 1887 (Or. 18.097 S 32)
- III. 8 July 1888

Letters during Snouck's stay in the Indies

- IV. 22 March 1901
- V. 14 May 1903 (Or. 18.097 S 16)
- VI. 1 February 1906 (in Or. 7098, Collection of Qaṣa'id by poets of the Hadramaut, and several other texts)

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- VII. 1 December 1906
- VIII. 6 March 1908
- IX. 31 December 1908
- X. 25 July 1909
- XI. 2 October 1909
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Law School and Racial Prejudice

*Cees Fasseur*¹

The education of Indonesian jurists in the Dutch East Indies about a century ago heated tempers and set pens writing. Could the administration of justice and the application of the law really be entrusted to them? And, if the answer was affirmative, which law system should be applied: the indigenous law, the *adat* law therefore, or Western law, the codified law of the Dutch East Indies? The question of education was eventually answered with the foundation of the Batavian Law School (*Bataviaasche Rechtshogeschool*) in 1924, but the question of which law system was to be applied was in fact never answered.

By the end of the nineteenth century the number of Dutch jurists in the great insular empire of Indonesia was small. Even rarer were Dutch jurists who were entrusted with the administration of justice in the archipelago. In this respect the mother country was too small to serve its almost immeasurably large colony. Besides, the education and the suitability of these Dutch jurists left much to be desired. As presidents of local courts (*landraden*) they administered justice to the indigenous population, but apart from a few exceptions they were completely ignorant of the language, the juridical concepts, and the manners and customs of those to whom they dispensed justice. Capable only of expressing themselves in an utterly defective *pasar*-Malay, the interrogation of suspects and witnesses was left to the *jaksa*, the indigenous district attorney, who usually proceeded by summarising the results of the interrogation and answers given before the presiding judge.

It is no wonder that judicial mistakes occurred in great numbers. It often happened that, after the *jaksa* had requested that the heaviest penalty be imposed on the basis of “sound declarations of witnesses,” suddenly and unexpectedly a mistaken identity came to light and allowed a suspect to go free. In another case, a recently appointed president realised that his secretary, who was of mixed Dutch-Indonesian origin with much energy but little education,

1 Cees Fasseur (1938-2016) was professor of the history of Southeast Asia, in particular of Indonesia and its connection with Dutch history, at Leiden University. The present text is a revised version of his farewell address “Rechtsschool en raciale vooroordelen,” delivered on 14 December 2001 (previously published in Dutch: Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2001). Thereafter he continued his career as a judge in the High Court of Amsterdam. He retired in 2006.

had produced two identical declarations by the witnesses, although the second witness had given a testimony quite different from that of the first one. When asked for an explanation, the secretary replied that this was normal at the *Landraad*, because nobody could be condemned except on the basis of two identical testimonies.²

In the Dutch East Indies indigenous convicts were still frequently sentenced to the death penalty, making mistakes in the courtroom irreversible. In 1905 the *Landraad* in Pati (the residency of Semarang) sentenced twelve Javanese (then the name for the indigenous Indonesians) to many years of forced labour for violent robbery. When they asked to revise the verdict – a full appeal was only possible for Indonesian suspects in a limited number of circumstances – the files remained where they were for a period of one and a half years before they were finally sent to the revision judge. Contrary to the way the law works nowadays, the delay was not to the advantage of the suspects. The *Raad van Justitie* (Council of Justice) in Semarang, which consisted entirely of Europeans, or rather of Dutchmen, convicted the twelve suspects *without even hearing them*, and sent them to the gallows. A request for amnesty directed to the governor-general was to no avail and they were summarily hanged. Indeed, in the colonial administration of justice in the Indies much was possible.³

At the same time Western education in Dutch was introduced in the Indies. The small upper class of the indigenous population profited from this. The Indonesian elite (at the time particularly the Javanese elite) increasingly sent its sons to schools for European children. The first Indonesians who came from these schools, often the first of their class, enrolled as students in Dutch universities, in particular at Leiden University. Thus the question could be raised of whether ethnic Indonesians – or “*inlanders*,” indigenous people, as they were then called – were eligible for being appointed to judicial and other positions. On 4 February 1902, C.Th. van Deventer (1857-1915) warmly advocated the education and appointment of indigenous jurists before the “*Indisch Genootschap*,” a debating club for colonial affairs in The Hague. He is considered to be the spiritual father of the “ethical colonial policy,” a term coined only a few months earlier, on 17 September 1901 – another forgotten jubilee – in the official address of Queen Wilhelmina at the opening of the new parliamentary year.

2 D. Mounier, “Iets over de landraadvoorzitters op Java en Madoera,” in *Verslagen der Algemeene Vergaderingen van het Indisch Genootschap*, report of 27 March 1900, 141-164.

3 The matter led to questions in the Dutch Lower Chamber and to protests by Van Deventer. See H.T. Colenbrander and J.E. Stokvis, *Leven en arbeid van Mr. C.Th. van Deventer*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1917), 230, 241-242.

In his address, Van Deventer criticised the defective way in which the Dutch presidents of the *Landraad* in Java neglected their tasks of administering justice. He suggested that it would be advantageous to appoint indigenous jurists since they were much better acquainted with the local language and customs.⁴ C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), who needs no introduction here, subsequently used a much more poignant adage: “Kind over kind, that is grace” (“*soort over soort, dat is genade*”).⁵ In this paper I will not focus on his role as a great scholar of Islam, which he certainly was, but on his work as an advocate of the emancipation of the Indonesian people, or rather its elite.

In November 1902, Raden Toemenggoeng Achmad Djajadiningrat, the regent of Serang in Banten, addressed the government, asking if, in cases where they were obviously qualified for the job, Indonesian jurists could also be appointed to positions in the judiciary. Raden Toemenggoeng did this on behalf of his younger brother, Hoesein, for if the answer was affirmative, the latter wished to enroll as a student of law in the Netherlands. Hoesein and his brothers were former pupils of the adviser for indigenous and Arab affairs in Batavia at the time, Snouck Hurgronje, who had personally taken an interest in their education. When it came to his character there was no doubt in anyone’s mind – he was the best pupil of his school, the *Gymnasium Willem III* in Batavia. Snouck Hurgronje called it “a grace” when educated Indonesians such as Hoesein could be invested with the office of judge in their own country, but that was not the end of the matter.

The Indonesian Supreme Court (*Indisch Hooggerechtshof*) was asked for advice and offered the opinion that only those indigenous people who had been naturalised as Dutch, that is those who were placed on an equal footing with Europeans, could be appointed as judges, according to the reasoning that a non-European could not apply European law when he was not subject to it himself. This was a sophism of course, since the reverse – the application of indigenous law by Dutch judges – was taking place on a daily basis and had never been opposed by the colonial rulers.⁶

A majority of the *Raad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, the highest advisory body of the governor-general, proved to be even more inflexible. It found, in short, that

4 C.Th. van Deventer, “De ontwikkeling der inlandsche rechtspraak,” in *Verlagen der Algemeene Vergaderingen van het Indisch Genootschap*, report of 4 February 1902.

5 C. Snouck Hurgronje, “De inlandsche bestuursambtenaren, vooral op Java,” *De Gids* 72 (1908): III, 216.

6 For the petition of Achmad Djajadiningrat of 21 November 1903, and the ensuing reports and opinions, see the National Archives (ARA), ministerie van Koloniën 1850-1900 (2.10.36.04), verbal (vb.) of 14 October 1905, no. 3, KOL 338. See also Achmad Djajadiningrat, *Herinneringen van Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat* (Amsterdam and Batavia: Kolff, 1936), 222.

Indonesians were not suitable for holding office in the judiciary “because of qualities of character which, even if they were not racially innate, yet could be attributed to deficiencies in domestic education.” The nature of these deficiencies was not explored any further, though they added that education in a Dutch university could not possibly remove these deficiencies.

These objections infuriated Snouck Hurgronje, who saw these as the expression of a prejudice which was as objectionable as it was deeply rooted. Lack of integrity and reliability, he contended, as well as other unfavourable qualities of character, were not alien to many Dutch officials either. All of this had nothing to do with race. Not only in the days of the East India Company but also long afterwards, corruption among Europeans had been no less present than among indigenous people. And even if this had changed in the past few decades and the Dutch rulers had indeed improved their behaviour in this matter, that was the result of better checks and balances, the influence of the press and public opinion, and of other external causes, and certainly not because of an allegedly greater excellence of the European race or of European civilisation in comparison with the indigenous culture. Of course these Indonesian youngsters could be exposed to “particular moral dangers” because of their family relationships, but these dangers could easily be allayed by placing them in an environment different from their original setting. In general, Snouck Hurgronje argued, the Dutch judge was superior in terms of integrity to other Dutch officials. Why would the same not apply to his indigenous colleague?⁷

Governor-General Rooseboom, a former soldier with more imagination than is usually the case with soldiers, allowed himself to be swayed by this argument. It was indicative that he should have published a few novels, albeit under a pseudonym.⁸ It was true, he conceded, that education could remove certain deficiencies of character. Nurture is more important than nature, we would say nowadays. But that did not mean that he was enthusiastic about the idea of accepting as many Indonesians as possible into functions that had hitherto been occupied exclusively by Dutchmen. In his opinion, the great majority of Dutch officials were more honest than the members of the indigenous aristocracy, because the latter lacked something that the former did indeed possess, a certain type of *prévoyance*, an ability to look ahead. Indigenous officials

7 Snouck Hurgronje issued a report on this *perkara* twice. His most substantial report, that of 5 July 1904, on which my text is based, has been included in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, vol. 1, eds. E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), 494-502.

8 For information on Rooseboom, see C. Fasseur, “Willem Rooseboom,” in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, vol. 1, 500-501.

did not feel strongly about the consequences of their actions, living more in the moment, and were therefore more susceptible to the dangers of seduction and to the desire to obtain immediate profit. Without wishing to exclude certain well-educated indigenous individuals, Rooseboom argued, it would be wise to put as many practical difficulties as possible in their way if they wished to obtain the office of judge or any other office. Fellowships for a study in the Netherlands, to give but one example, should be withheld from them. But they could very well be educated for simple administrative and judicial duties, allowing for a win-win situation. On the one hand Indonesian youth would, for the time being, be able to satisfy their ambitions by holding positions, albeit inordinate ones. On the other hand, expenses of salaries and pensions would be less heavy on the colonial budget because Dutch officials, who were more expensive, were no longer needed for performing these tasks. To the benefit of the colonial budget everyone would receive his part: the indigenous person was given an administrative role and the Dutch would maintain supervision and control!⁹

In newspapers, journals, and brochures, swords were crossed over the question of whether indigenous people were suitable for administering justice. Even Van Deventer, who advocated the ethical approach in his lecture at the *Indisch Genootschap*, was less fundamental than Snouck Hurgronje. Van Deventer stated that he did not wish to entirely ignore “the unfavourable traits that we think we can discern in the indigenous character,” although he was of the opinion that this question would lose its relevance with the progress of Western civilisation and the elevation of the indigenous population from its inferior position which had made it so dependent on the Europeans.¹⁰ His adversaries were, insofar as this last point was concerned, less convinced. They would concede that a Javanese, or any other indigenous person, could indeed satisfy on paper all the requirements of knowledge of language and law that were essential for a Dutch juridical education. But what about his independence, his honesty, and his love of truth? Would a Javanese judge not yield to the word of a regent, whom he had to acknowledge as his superior in society? Would he not be tempted to let himself be bribed by a rich litigant, a European or a Chinese person for instance, who was involved in the dispute in which he had to administer justice? Did he not have different ideas from Europeans on the definition of truth?

Fortunately, The Hague reacted in a more mature way. The “anti-revolutionary” minister of Colonial Affairs, A.W.F. Idenburg, and his successor, the “liber-

9 Rooseboom to Idenburg, 2 September 1904, vb. 14 October 1905, no. 3, KOL 338.

10 Van Deventer, “De ontwikkeling der inlandsche rechtspraak,” *op. cit.*, 15, 16.

al” Dirk Fock, followed the example of Snouck Hurgronje. The idea of justice triumphed over the objections raised by the *Raad van State* (Dutch Council of State), which tried to thwart the whole idea. Noble words were spoken in ministerial letters. The admission of indigenous persons was called “a demand of justice,” as it was “unjust to the extreme to deny a person, who is fulfilling all requirements by law, admission to the office of judge, not because of his individual character, but on the basis of the alleged presence of racial deficiencies.”¹¹

After almost two years of waiting, the petitioner on Java received an answer that was personally authorised by Queen Wilhelmina, and which in all its succinctness reflected the high ideals and expectations of the ethical policy, before it was frustrated by later failures and set-backs. It was Her Majesty’s wish, the regent of Serang was told, “that no indigenous person, who satisfies the requirements by law for holding office as a judge, will be excluded from that office on the grounds of his being indigenous.”¹²

The Sovereign had only agreed to this answer after the former governor-general, *Jonkheer* (title of nobility) C.H.A. van der Wijck, whom she highly valued, had assured her once more that “difference in race” was of little importance in this matter. If a Javanese had his faults, like any other human being, then these could be explained by his different way of life.¹³

Now Indonesians were also eligible for the office of judge. Hoesein Djajadiningrat had not waited for the answer and had left for the Netherlands. As an extraneous pupil of the *Stedelijk Gymnasium* in Leiden – a school to which I myself also owe a great deal – he quickly obtained his *alpha* diploma. He did not, however, continue with studies in law, but started studying Oriental languages, which resulted in his PhD thesis defense in 1913 under the supervision of his life-long mentor, Snouck Hurgronje.

Although the matter seemed to have been decided, that was not really the case. As a good member of the liberal party, Fock was extremely avaricious as far as governmental expenses on higher education were concerned – not much has changed in the past one hundred years for that matter. He was so moved by the arguments of governor-general Rooseboom that he decided to found a law school in Batavia – which was still something quite unlike a law faculty! – where indigenous jurists could receive an education for the lower offices in the colonial judiciary. The lightning example of this was the *Dokter Djawa* school

11 Idenburg to the Queen, 11 April 1905, no. 30, KOL 305; Fock to the Queen, 23 September 1905, no. 28, KOL 334.

12 Fock to Van Heutsz, 14 October 1905, no. 3, KOL 338.

13 ARA, Kabinet der Koningin 1898-1945 (2.02.14), 4 October 1905, P 4, 8990.

in Batavia, which had been reorganised in 1902, a school of medicine where Indonesians received a simplified medical education, which might, if required, be followed up by a period of full-fledged medical study in the Netherlands.

A committee started to work on this question in Batavia under the presidency of the ubiquitous Snouck Hurgronje. It completed its report within one month, on 7 February 1906, and recommended the immediate foundation of a law school for Indonesian students. Those who left the school with a diploma could, after proven suitability and merit, hope to be appointed president of a *Landraad*. This latter feature, under Snouck Hurgronje's active influence, constituted a clear breach of Dutch colonial policy which until then was intended to keep the higher posts in the judiciary reserved for Dutchmen. This happened in contravention of the ministerial plans, which by no means went that far.¹⁴

Governor-General J.B. van Heutsz, a pragmatic man, a well-known fire-eater, and successor to Rooseboom, proved to be much less prone to racial prejudice than many of his contemporaries. He fully supported Snouck Hurgronje's proposition, yet opposition was voiced loudly elsewhere, at first by all those world reformers who were also represented in the colonial administration, and in particular by the high-minded director of Justice in Batavia, J.W.Th. Cohen Stuart, who wished to bring about a complete reorganisation of the entire Indonesian justice system as well as the foundation of no less than three law schools. Snouck Hurgronje cut him down with the argument that that was the surest way to let everything remain as it was. Adversaries would cause endless delays, blaming high costs and the enormous impact of reorganisation on such a large scale.

Then there were the colonial die-hards, united in the *Raad van Nederlandsch-Indië* and the Indonesian Supreme Court. Though their opinions varied somewhat, they all used the old argument that the indigenous character was full of deficiencies due to an Oriental education. According to the Supreme Court, the indigenous person could only acquire enough of the necessary judicial virtues of integrity and independence after a stay of at least four to five years in the Netherlands.

These oppositional voices annoyed Snouck Hurgronje, who in the meantime had moved to Leiden where he had become a professor and an adviser to the minister. They made him lament the fact that the few Indonesians who came to the Netherlands were abused by people in the street as "negroes," while the upper classes took them for exotic princes. According to Snouck Hur-

14 *Gouvernementsbesluit* of 8 January 1906, no. 12, exh. 14 February 1906, no. 2, KOL 360. For the report of the committee and a further report of 27 March 1906, see exh. 16 July 1906, no. 17, KOL 393, and the Snouck Hurgronje collection in the Leiden University Library.

gronje it seemed that neither situation was ideal for the moral formation of the young people involved. Certainly, he argued, it should not be expected that Indonesians would wholly conform to the notion of a European identity before replacing Dutch officials!¹⁵

He received the full support of minister Fock, who first defeated the official resistance which also existed in his own ministry, and then gave short shrift to the objections proffered by the *Raad van State*. This august body had once more fulminated against the idea of an education for “inferior” jurists, but the minister strongly opposed the use of this term. There was “no sound argument” for the idea that with future indigenous jurists’ objectivity would be less guaranteed than in the case of Dutchmen.¹⁶

A law was passed by the Dutch parliament, which had to approve this new post in the Indonesian budget, and on 26 July 1909 the law school was finally able to open its doors in the Indonesian capital in the presence of Governor-General Van Heutsz. It was the first step in the organisation of Indonesian jurists. An education in law, however, spread over six years of study, was not as simple as it seemed. Among other things a thorough knowledge of the French language was expected from the pupils, so that they would also be able to study the Dutch-Indonesian law books in their original language. At the same time they would benefit from the mental exercise that the study of French was supposed to have.¹⁷

Fifteen years later the second and final step followed. On 28 October 1924, after all hesitations about the lack of suitability of Indonesians for the study of law had been discarded, the *Bataviaasche Rechtshogeschool* opened its doors. It was a full-fledged law faculty comparable in all aspects to its Dutch equivalent. No less a person than the famous jurist Paul Scholten (1875-1946) took on the role of its founding father. He had come from Amsterdam to Batavia for this purpose and would stay in Java for a period of five months. Everybody was overjoyed. Queen Wilhelmina sent him a medal and congratulated the new institution on the appointment. It was a joyous occasion for former minister Fock as well. In the meantime he was advanced to the position of governor-gen-

15 Snouck Hurgronje to Fock, 5 September 1906, exh. 6 October 1906, no. 40, KOL 409.

16 Report of the *Raad van State* of 6 November 1906, no. 28; Fock to the Queen, 11 January 1907, no. 66, KOL 427. Once more the advice of Snouck Hurgronje (this time of 2 December 1906) was mobilised to support a ministerial point of view. Fock’s successor, Idenburg, who was of the same opinion, defended with great gusto the proposal in the Dutch Upper Chamber.

17 *Bijlagen Handelingen Tweede Kamer* 1906-1907, no. 178; *ibid.* 1907-1908, B 4, no. 6; *Handelingen Tweede Kamer* 1907-1908, 371-373, and *Handelingen Eerste Kamer* 1907-1908, 250-254.

eral and performed the official opening of the *Rechtshogeschool*. He also saw to the birth of a child, which he had much anticipated, albeit only if it would not burden its parents too much financially. Hoesein Djajadiningrat was among the first professors who was appointed to the faculty. He taught Islamic law and several vernacular languages. Law and justice seemed to have triumphed.

But a colony will always remain a colony. Indonesian jurists only found their way into the Indonesian judiciary in very small numbers. Many an Indonesian with a degree in law turned out to be an enthusiastic nationalist and did not wish to have any relationship with the white ruler, let alone administer justice in his name. As late as 1941, on the eve of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, there were no more than thirty Indonesian judges with a complete and full education in law. Only one of them was a member of the *Raad van Justitie* before which most European suspects and civil parties appeared.

Judges are there to apply the law, but which law had to be applied in a society such as the Dutch East Indies? For the jurists Van Deventer and Fock, both of whom had been working as lawyers in Java, there could be no doubt about the answer to that question: only Dutch law offered sufficient legal security. Without such legal security a well-ordered society, progress, and the foundation of a modern society were impossible. Had the Dutch themselves not benefitted from the abolition of old law, which was often very varied locally, and from the introduction of unified French law at the beginning of the nineteenth century?

The Leiden professor Cornelis van Vollenhoven (1874-1933), the champion of *adat* law, the unwritten law system of the Indonesian people, was diametrically opposed to these ideas. What, he asked, could give more satisfaction than an indigenous society that was ruled not by the law of the foreign ruler, but by its own ancestral institutions and customs? Under the inspiring leadership of Van Vollenhoven quite a crowd of assiduous researchers started to study and to register the *adat* law of the vast archipelago, and in order to facilitate this process the entire insular empire was divided into nineteen districts of *adat* law. It was in fact a colossal task which would never be completed, and which, moreover, was self-destructive. Not only did new customs replace older ones over the course of time, but, once registered, *adat* law was not *adat* law anymore because it had become codified and static instead of unwritten and fleeting.

As Van Vollenhoven's star was rising, his influence on the development of Indonesian law increased. The Dutch East Indies threatened to change, with the touch of the Leiden magic wand, into one large open-air museum of *adat* law. This at least was feared by many a young Indonesian jurist who would look at *adat* law, which was largely unsuitable for the formation of a modern society and which was difficult to grasp, as a barrier to the development of his country.

As R. Supomo (d. 1958) – Van Vollenhoven's most brilliant pupil who wrote the Indonesian constitution in 1945 which is still in force – asserted: in constructing a new judicial order for Indonesia, the degree of adaptation of Indonesian life to the requirements of the modern world must be the guiding criterion. What was needed was a system of law and order that was equivalent to that of Western countries. There was hardly any place for *adat* law with its enormous juridical variety; a much more suitable system was the codified law of Western origin with its integral application within the country, and the unifying effects thereof.¹⁸

It was the tragic fate of Van Vollenhoven that he was to witness the first signs of a growing resistance in Indonesian circles against the ideas that he had proposed with so much brilliance and conviction. It must have saddened him enormously. Professors who wish to found a school run the risk that their pupils play truant or that they turn against their teacher. That too was Van Vollenhoven's destiny.¹⁹

Epilogue

The endless correspondence, the syrupy indolence inherent in the process of decision-making, the moralism that is so arbitrarily used to make political judgments, the myopic avarice of a liberal politician such as Fock, though he did not lack common sense, but also – and much more joyfully – the initiatives and the energetic approaches of individuals, whether their name be Van Deventer, or Achmad or Hoesein Djajadiningrat, and last but not least, the dedication and idealism of professors such as Snouck Hurgronje and Van Vollenhoven – all these are still there, albeit in other forms and shapes. In our post-colonial world they continue to be a warning or an exhortation, even after the last eye-witness of the Dutch East Indies has faded away and the tangible memory of more than three centuries of colonial rule has entirely disappeared.

18 F.M. van Asbeck, *Gedenkboek rechtswetenschappelijk hoger onderwijs in Indonesië 1924-1949. Uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het vijf en twintig jarig bestaan van het rechtswetenschappelijk hoger onderwijs in Indonesië op 28 October 1949* (Groningen/Jakarta: J.B. Wolters, 1949), 38-52, especially 48, 50.

19 I have further elaborated on this theme in my article "Colonial Dilemma: Van Vollenhoven and the Struggle Between Adat Law and Western Law in Indonesia," in *European Expansion and Law: The Encounter of European and Indigenous Law in 19th- and 20th-Century Africa and Asia*, ed. W.J. Mommsen and J.A. de Moor (Oxford/New York: Berg Publishers, 1992), 237-257.

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Recordings of Indonesian Music and Speech in the Snouck Hurgronje Collection (1905-1909) in Leiden. Preliminary Remarks

Wim van Zanten

1 The Collection and Method of Describing

Between 1906 and 1909 several hundred wax cylinders were recorded with music and speech in the Hijaz (Mecca, Jeddah, Medina), under the supervision of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. Most wax cylinders in the Snouck Hurgronje collection contain recorded music and speech from Arab countries.¹ However, a substantial part of this collection contains recorded music and speech from Indonesia, almost certainly recorded in Indonesia (the Dutch East Indies) in 1905-1906. In this contribution I shall present an overview and some analysis of these Indonesian recordings. Philip Yampolsky already described most of them in an unpublished report for the Harvard Semitic Museum and he kindly sent it to me.² He called his report “preliminary.” As I may too raise more questions than supply answers, my report is also just a start. Hopefully, it may stimulate someone else to investigate these early Indonesian sound recordings and the context in which they were made more thoroughly.³

In 1996 the wax cylinders that are kept at the Leiden University Library were cleaned and digitalised by the *Phonogrammarchiv* in Vienna. The results became available on sixteen CDs with a total of 355 items mentioned.⁴ However,

1 *Piney Kesting*, “A Doorway in Time,” *Saudi Aramco World* 44, no. 5 (1993): 32-39; Carney Gavin, “The Earliest Arabian Recordings: Discoveries and Work Ahead,” *Phonographic Bulletin* 43 (1985): 38-45; Carney Gavin, “Explorations phonoarchéologiques: les premières voix d’Orient,” *Museum* 158, vol. XL, no. 2 (1988): 67-80.

2 Philip Yampolsky, “Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders: A Preliminary Report to the Harvard Semitic Museum,” unpublished report, December 1985.

3 The research on this collection of wax cylinder recordings was mainly carried out in 2010, and this essay was planned as part of this book concerning the work of Snouck Hurgronje. I discussed some results of my research in presentations at the 41st world conference of the International Council for Traditional Music in St. John’s, Newfoundland, Canada, 13-19 July 2011, and at two conferences on Sundanese culture in Bandung, 19-22 December 2011 and 5-7 December 2013. The editors accepted my essay in 2010; my last update was made in March 2021.

4 Vrolijk and Van de Velde mention “355 cylinders with c. 20 hours of sound registration.” See

three audio tracks are missing and thirty-five tracks are digitalised twice, in different ways. Hence there are 317 different audio tracks, mostly between two and three minutes long; see Appendix 1. In real playing time these contain about fifteen to sixteen hours. Of these 317 audio tracks about ten percent is of Indonesian music and speech, including Dutch speech related to Indonesia. The thirty-two cylinders of Indonesian music and speech are listed and briefly described in Appendix 3.

Some of the tracks are badly damaged as a result of which the music and language can hardly be heard. It is thus sometimes difficult to hear whether it is a man or a woman singing or speaking. This may have been partly caused by technical reasons, and means that, in one way or another, the sound is not reproduced at the same pitch as it was recorded. Yampolsky mentions that he made use of “working transfers” to cassette tape⁵ and that Dietrich Schüller of the Vienna *Phonogrammarchiv* told him that “a likely speed was chosen” for playing the wax cylinders; they had not tried alternative speeds.⁶

The *Phonogrammarchiv*'s list, accompanying their 1996 transfer to digital format that I used, shows that in thirty-five cases the transfer was done twice, mostly with different speeds of the phonograph. For instance, A-2 was digitalised with the speed of the wax cylinder of 180 rotations per minute (rpm) on CD1, track 1, and with 200 rpm on CD1, track 3; the first digital file takes about 126 seconds and the second one takes about 115 seconds (200:180 \equiv 126:115). People recording music in fieldwork circumstances are usually advised to write down carefully these technical details, such as speed, or to record a tuning fork (440 Hertz) at the start and end of each recording, so that possible deviations of the absolute pitch can be corrected.⁷ That has not been done for these 317

Arnoud Vrolijk and Hans van de Velde (compilers), *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), Orientalist. Catalogue of an Exhibition on the Sesquicentenary of his Birth, 8 February 2007. With an Introductory Essay by Jan Just Witkam* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2007), 95. The recordings are digitally available at Leiden University Library.

5 Philip Yampolsky, personal communication, 12 May 2010. Cassette tape is more difficult to work with than digital files (such as MP3 and WAV), and probably of less quality because of some degradation of the sound by transfers to copies. In a digital file you can select a very small section (I used the freeware programme Audacity for that) and easily listen to it several times.

6 Yampolsky, “Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders,” 15.

7 A difference of 200 and 180 rpm results in a pitch difference of about two semitones (182 cents). I inspected the phonograph used by Snouck Hurgronje (see Vrolijk and Van de Velde, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) Orientalist*, 92-93) and found that it has three speed markings: 120, 140 and 160 (rpm), but it can be put on higher and lower speeds as well and in a continuous way. This leaves quite some uncertainty about the recording speed, if this was not written down or otherwise recorded explicitly; this information has so far not been discovered in the Snouck Hurgronje legacy. The *Phonogrammarchiv* in Vienna digitalised twenty of the thirty-two Indonesian wax cylinders by using a speed of about 160 rpm, nine times

wax cylinders.

However, Witkam presents a “Copy of the instructions given by Muhammad Sa’id Tag al-Din in Batavia to his brother Gamal in Mecca, concerning the recording of sound with Snouck Hurgronje’s phonograph, 7 September 1906” which states:

Keep the apparatus clean and handle it with care. Keep it in its box. Keep the cylinders in their covers, also after the recording. Mention the name of the performer, or the name of the piece performed.⁸

Fortunately, this last advice has been followed. The words of sung texts are mostly inaudible, although a few words may be heard. In this transcription process, apart from knowledge in the field, one has to use one’s imagination together with a healthy mistrust of one’s own ears. However, without the human ear it would be very difficult to get a first ordering of these sounds of the past. So I started my overview by just listening to each of the tracks and writing down my impression about what I heard. My main purpose was to select the sound tracks from the Dutch East Indies out of the total of 317 items.

This method, of course, is problematic, as it is very difficult to determine by ear whether a call for prayer is sung by a man from an Arab country or from the Dutch East Indies. The same holds true for the recitation of the Qur’an: until the present day Indonesians recite the Qur’an in Arabic.⁹ In present-day Indonesia the recitation of the Qur’an is considerably slower than what I heard on the collection of these wax cylinders. I have classified all the recorded calls for

it was 120 rpm, twice 140 rpm and once 100 rpm, as is clear from the background noise on the wax cylinders and the notes of the *Phonogramarchiv*. I have determined the rpm at the time of digitalisation of these wax cylinders and listed the results in Appendix 3. In addition, see for Jaap Kunst’s technical problems Felix van Lamsweerde, “Jaap Kunst’s Field Recordings,” in Jaap Kunst, *Indonesian Music and Dance: Traditional Music and Its Interaction with the West* (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1994), 36-48.

8 Jan Just Witkam, “The Audio-Visual Dimension: Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje’s Documentation of Sights and Sounds of Arabia,” workshop “Scholarship in Action. Views on Life and Work of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936),” Leiden, 16 February 2007, 26-27. See also Jan Just Witkam, “Written in Wax: Quranic Recitational Phonography,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138, no 2 (2018): 818-819.

9 However, in the late 1990s Radio (RRI) Bandung in West Java started broadcasting sung Qur’an texts, translated into Sundanese verses. The verses are written in the four commonly used verse forms (*pupuh*): Kinanti, Sinom, Asmarandana and Dangdanggula and sung on melodies of Tembang Sunda Cianjuran music. See Wim van Zanten, “The Discourse on Islam and Music in West Java, with Emphasis on the Music Group ath-Thawaf,” in *Divine inspirations: Music and Islam in Indonesia*, ed. David D. Harnish and Anne K. Rasmussen (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 250-251.

prayer and recitations of the Qur'an as "non-Indonesian," also because there is no mention on the boxes of the cylinders of whether an Indonesian singer had been recorded.¹⁰

I then compared my overview of the Indonesian part of the collection with the list given by Gavin.¹¹ There were only small differences. By just listening by ear I could in some cases only conclude that the item originated from Sumatra. It was sometimes also difficult to decide on the basis of the music alone whether the *macapat* solo singing from Java was Javanese or Sundanese. Nevertheless, in most cases the words were Sundanese and pronounced in the Sundanese way. An inspection of the written information on the boxes of the wax cylinders clarified a few points (see Figure 1). As some of the handwritten texts are no longer very readable, I decided to provide the full texts on the cylinder boxes concerning Indonesia, as far as I could decipher them, in Appendix 3.

Having done all this, I received the report by Philip Yampolsky with its very valuable information and I was able to compare my results to the ones he found.¹² Although most of the wax cylinder recordings survived remarkably well, it is not always easy to catch the music and words. It was therefore very helpful to use Philip Yampolsky's experience in working with these old recordings for improving my findings. Comparing the transcriptions of the Malay/Indonesian on cylinders A-17 and I-8 was particularly helpful. I also decided to make the information on the Indonesian items in Appendix 3 more comprehensive.

2 Overview of Indonesian and Non-Indonesian Recordings

An overview of the 317 items in the whole Snouck Hurgronje collection may be found in Appendix 2. This overview only gives a rough indication of the audio recordings on the wax cylinders, mainly based on listening to them. On some cylinders there are sections with both speech and singing; I decided to classify these according to one category only. The call for prayer and the recitation of the Qur'an by a man constitute about ten percent of the recordings. However, these figures in particular need to be checked, as I have no knowledge of the

10 According to Yampolsky, Qur'anic recitation and devotional songs were an important category of commercial 78-rpm gramophone records sold in the Dutch East Indies from 1903 to 1942. See Philip Yampolsky, "Kroncong Revisited: New Evidence from Old Sources," *Archipel* 79 (2010), 8.

11 Gavin, "The Earliest Arabian Recordings: Discoveries and Work Ahead," 41.

12 Yampolsky, "Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders."



FIGURE 13.1 Clearly decipherable information on the lid of box I-11 on the left (“5 Atj Haba plandōs Béntara Bagōt”)¹³ and less clear text on box I-13 on the right (“Woelang Poetra Dandanggoela” en “Setjawata (Asmarandana)” [last line unreadable]). Both boxes were bought in Amsterdam: “83 Rokin, Amsterdam, Stille zijde tegenover den overhaal” (left) and “140 Rokin, Amsterdam, Over de Nederlandsche Bank” (right). Photograph published with permission of the Special Collections Department, Leiden University Library, the Netherlands. PHOTOGRAPH BY WIM VAN ZANTEN.

Arabic language.¹⁴ Recitation of stories, most probably about the life of a saint, also occurs in Indonesia but in a local language.¹⁵ The reciting of stories, classified as non-Indonesian, constitutes seventeen percent of the total tracks.

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- 13 The symbol ’ (Arabic *hamzah*), here written as ʿ and that indicates a “glottal stop” at the end of a word, is in Indonesian languages usually written as “k,” “q,” sometimes “t.” See further C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers* vol. 1 (Batavia/Leiden: Landsdrukkerij, 1893-1895), xv.
- 14 Anne van Oostrum studied some of the Arabic recordings of Snouck Hurgronje with the purpose to answer the question “to what kind of a perception he [Snouck Hurgronje] had of Arabic music and if he appreciated it, taking his remarks on song texts, performance practice, and social and musical contexts into account.” See Anne van Oostrum, “Arabic Music in Western Ears: An Account of the Music of the Hejaz at the Turn of the twentieth Century,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabia Nuova Serie* 7 (2012): 127-144, 129. In 2010 I had given an earlier version of the present essay to Anne van Oostrum. In her 2012 article she presents my analysis of the total collection of the recordings, but otherwise only describes one wax cylinder with Arab music and speech in detail.
- 15 See for the Sundanese, for instance, Julian Patrick Millie, “Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java,” PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2006; Julian Patrick Millie and Syihabuddin, “Addendum to Drewes: the Burda of al-Bûsirî and

One of the most important results of this overview is that about forty-eight percent of the 317 recordings consists of a solo voice, almost without exception accompanied by a plucked lute (most probably *gambus*),¹⁶ sometimes in combination with a (frame) drum, or a bowed lute (most probably *rebab*). Almost all of these are recordings of male vocalists. *Gambus* music is also not uncommon in Indonesia,¹⁷ and it is possible that some of these recordings were made of Indonesian performers. Female solo singing, with or without instrumental accompaniment, is only three percent of the non-Indonesian collection; if non-Indonesian female singing occurs, it is mainly in choruses (nine percent). This is in contrast to the Indonesian recordings that contain about thirty percent female solo singing. About five percent of the recordings contain non-Indonesian speech.

The thirty-two recordings concerning Indonesia include five cylinders with Malay and Dutch speech that are in some way relevant for my overview. The recorded Indonesian music was undoubtedly biased, as it only includes performers from Gayo (nine cylinders) and other groups in Aceh, northern Sumatra, (six cylinders) and further Sundanese from West Java (twelve cylinders). There are no recordings of other Muslim groups in Indonesia, for instance the Javanese and the Minangkabau and other ethnic groups from Sumatra. This is most probably connected with the interests of Snouck Hurgronje, who wrote a book on the Acehnese and a book on the Gayo.¹⁸ Furthermore, for about three decades his main informant in Jeddah was the Sundanese Radén Aboe Bakar,¹⁹ a brother of the regent of Pandeglang in West Java. This started from 1884 onwards, when Snouck Hurgronje stayed in Jeddah and Mecca.²⁰ From these thir-

the Miracles of AbdulQadir al-Jaeleni in West Java," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 161 (2005): 98-126.

- 16 When writing Arabic words, I use the present-day Indonesian spelling, except when I quote the literal text. The transcriptions of the spoken Malay/Indonesian texts are also presented in present-day spelling.
- 17 See, for instance, the CD *Musik Tradisi Nusantara*, volume 3, published under the responsibility of Edi Sedyawati and Sri Hastanto (Jakarta 1999) with several items of *gambus* music from different regions in Sumatra (North Sumatra, South Sumatra and Lampung), and *gambus* music on two volumes of the CD *Music of Indonesia*, i.e. volume 11; *Melayu music of Sumatra and the Riau Islands*, CD and documentation edited by Philip Yampolsky (Washington 1996), and volume 13, *Kalimantan strings*, CD and documentation edited by Philip Yampolsky (Washington 1997).
- 18 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajöland en zijne bewoners* (Batavia 1903).
- 19 "Radén" is the lowest title for nobles that is inherited through the male line.
- 20 Michael Laffan, "Raden Aboe Bakar: An Introductory Note Concerning Snouck Hurgronje's Informant in Jeddah (1884-1912)," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155 (1999): 517-542.

ty-two audio tracks I shall mainly discuss the Sundanese recordings and the wax cylinders on which Dutch and/or Malay is spoken; the recordings of Acehese music and speech need to be inspected more carefully by an expert in that field.

The 1906-1909 Snouck Hurgronje recordings of Indonesian music and speech belong to the first ones.²¹ The very first (surviving) recordings of Indonesian music were probably made in 1893 by Benjamin Ives Gilman in the Java Village theatre at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Henry Spiller was able to show from these recordings that there is "a 100-year continuity in several specific aspects of Sundanese dance drumming."²² The 1893 Chicago wax cylinders also contain one item of Tembang Sunda Cianjuran solo singing of three minutes and twenty seconds. At this Chicago exposition, there was also a Sundanese gamelan – now kept at the Chicago Field Museum – that has been described by Sue DeVale.²³ The sound recordings from Aceh and Gayo are probably the first ones of this area and offer, together with the written materials on the oral literature supplied by Snouck Hurgronje,²⁴ a valuable source of information.²⁵

The *Phonogrammarchiv* in Berlin has a collection of wax cylinders that includes the recordings by Bernhard Hagen in Sumatra, 1906, and the ones recorded much later, between 1922 and 1929, by Jaap Kunst in several parts of Indonesia. Most of the wax cylinders recorded by Jaap Kunst (327 cylinders) were kept at the *Tropenmuseum* in Amsterdam²⁶ and are now kept in the *Nederlands Instituut voor Beeld en Geluid* (The Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision).²⁷

21 Not all wax cylinders are from the period 1906-1909. Although a date of recording is rarely given on the cylinder boxes, I saw some dates: 1909 (on cylinders D-1 and M-23, both with a recorded call for prayer), 1911 (B-8), 1916 (K-1), 1920 (H5). Gavin gives some more information on this and it seems that all recordings were made before 1920 and by far the majority of them in the period 1906-1909. See Gavin, "The earliest Arabian Recordings," 41; Vrolijk and Van de Velde, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936)*, *Orientalist*, 93. There is evidence that many Indonesian music recordings were made around 1905 in the Dutch East Indies (see below).

22 Henry Spiller, "Continuity in Sundanese Dance Drumming: Clues from the 1893 Chicago Exposition," *The World of Music* 38, no. 2 (1996): 23.

23 Sue Carole DeVale, "A Sundanese Gamelan: A Gestalt Approach to Organology," PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 1977.

24 Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajōland en zijne bewoners*.

25 Yampolsky, "Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders," 17.

26 Felix van Lamsweerde, "Appendix 2: Inventory of the Wax Cylinder Collection of the Tropenmuseum," in Kunst, *Indonesian Music and Dance*, 247-273.

27 See <http://www.beeldengeluid.nl/en>. It seems that none of the wax cylinders recorded by Jaap Kunst were published on 78 rpm gramophone records in the 1920s and 1930s (Van

3 The Phonograph in the Dutch East Indies and Arabia

Suryadi describes how, in the early 1890s, when Snouck Hurgronje was working in the Dutch East Indies, the phonograph became better known there owing to demonstrations by, for instance, Douglas Archibald and G. Tesséro.²⁸ During the demonstrations they also sometimes recorded and reproduced the voices of people in the public. Chapter 1 of Suryadi's PhD dissertation of 2014 is based on his 2006 article with some additional data. One important addition is that De Greef apparently already came to the Dutch East Indies with a (tin-foil) phonograph in 1879, two years after it had been invented by Edison, as reported in the *Java-Bode*, 22 February 1879. At that time the Singapore newspaper *Straits Times Overland Journal* of 1 March 1879 reported about De Greef's demonstrations of the phonograph in Batavia (Jakarta) and Buitenzorg (Bogor) and made some interesting remarks about the technicalities of the recordings and the reproductions:

The phonograph uttered a feeble sound like the voice of a ventriloquist, but the rising and falling of the voice, the stress on some of the syllables and difference between the vowels, all these were faithfully reproduced. The consonants were audible but formed the weak side of the instrument. What was spoken, whenever reproduced by the phonograph, was, however, very intelligible...²⁹

Suryadi also mentions that in a newspaper article of 16 April 1885 "P.B." (most probably Pieter Brooshoof) suggested that it would be beneficial for "the art world" in Java

1) to record aloud the voice of a female dancer (*tandak*) so that her fans can listen to her recorded voice any time they like; 2) to record a funny

Lamsweerde, "Jaap Kunst's Field Recordings," 43-44). According to its website, the *Nederlands Instituut voor Beeld en Geluid* has digitalized all its ethnomusicology recordings and has put them on CD (last accessed: 17 August 2017). In 2021 Barbara Titus and meLê Yamomo of the University of Amsterdam, in cooperation with universities in the UK and France, obtained a European subsidy for their project "Decolonizing Southeast Asian Sound Archives" to make archived recordings available to the countries of origin.

28 Suryadi, "The 'Talking Machine' Comes to the Dutch East Indies: The Arrival of Western Media Technology in Southeast Asia," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 162 (2006): 269-305.

29 Suryadi, "The Recording Industry and 'Regional' Culture in Indonesia: The Case of Minangkabau," PhD dissertation (Leiden: Leiden University, 2014)," 20-21.

puppeteer (*dalang*) so that his fans can enjoy his voice whenever they want; 3) to record the voice of a good reciter of Javanese poetry (*pembaca tembang*) so that people can enjoy it before sleeping.³⁰

In his September 1892 demonstrations Tesséro played recordings of Sundanese *tembang*.³¹ We do not, however, know of recordings of Indonesian music, apart from the Chicago recordings by Gilman, which survived from the 1890s; the first surviving sound recordings seem to date from the first decade of the twentieth century. In the 1880s and 1890s the phonograph was still very expensive, certainly for most native people. The first person in the Dutch East Indies to own a private phonograph was Melchior Treub, director of the National Botanical Garden in Buitenzorg (Bogor), in 1892³². Whereas around 1900 “the ‘talking machine’ had become a luxury good that was affordable for European, Eurasian (*Indo*), Chinese, Arab, and Indonesian Native upper-class families”, in the early years of the twentieth century “the gramophone was starting to be assimilated into Indonesian life” and was even used in rural central Java by an Islamic functionary who “played Quran recordings for religious adherents in the prayer house”. As the machine and the gramophone disks became cheaper “its use was no longer dominated by Europeans, but crossed racial and class lines.”³³ See for the increasing impact of these early commercial music recordings also the article of Tan Sooi Beng, (2013:474) who made similar remarks about the gramophone music in Malaysia in the 1930s: it had become “part of public life in the main towns of British Malaya”, it had “crossed over to other media, and was available to a wide public which cut across the boundaries of race, class and gender.”³⁴

Philip Yampolsky says that the initial commercial recordings of Indonesian music were made in Singapore in May 1903; the performers came from Semarang on the north coast of Central Java.³⁵ The first commercial recordings of Indonesian music (“stamboul” songs with “gamelang” (gamelan) accompaniment) that were recorded in Indonesia were made in Batavia over two days in

30 Suryadi, “The Recording Industry and ‘Regional’ Culture in Indonesia, 21.

31 *Ibid.*, 40-41.

32 *Ibid.*, 37, 50.

33 *Ibid.*, 52-53.

34 Tan Sooi Beng, “Negotiating ‘His Master’s Voice’: Gramophone Music and Cosmopolitan Modernity in British Malaya in the 1930s and Early 1940s.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 169 (2013): 474.

35 Yampolsky, “Kroncong Revisited: New Evidence from Old Sources”, 7-10.

January 1906³⁶. These recordings were distributed on 78-rpm gramophone records, mostly by European companies and until the First World War by only one Indonesian company in Jakarta (Pendapatan Baroe). However, no gramophone record was pressed in Indonesia before the 1950s. Yampolsky classifies these 78-rpm recordings before the Second World War in three periods: the first one from 1903-1915, the second from 1925-1935, and the third from 1936-1942. In the period between 1916 and 1924 there were almost no commercial recordings made because of the difficulties caused by the First World War and its aftermath.

Snouck Hurgronje was interested in photography and sound recordings. He had followed the debate on recordings of the human voice on wax cylinders, including the recitation of the Qur'an, in Indonesia. In 1900 he published his article on Islam and the phonograph, in which he describes how the Muslim world of the Dutch East Indies reacted to these recordings and to the recordings of female voices in particular. Some of the more progressive Muslims considered listening to recorded Qur'an recitations as recommendable (*mandub*) and thought the recordings of the call for prayer, *ad(z)an*, could very well replace the human voice in the future.³⁷ However, most reactions of the Muslim leaders were negative: listening to the recordings of Qur'anic chant was listening to an "echo" of the live recitation, and certainly not recommended, but rather objectionable (*makruh*) and maybe even forbidden (*haram*). The echo of the sound recording was not considered to be the "real" recitation. Listening to women performing Qur'anic chant was objectionable, even if it did not evoke evil thoughts. Listening to their recorded voices was even more objectionable. The main concern was that another man's wife might arouse erotic feelings. At that time the consensus of the Muslim leaders was unfavourable where the phonograph was concerned.³⁸

36 Tan Soei Beng, "The 78 rpm Record Industry in Malaya prior to World War II," *Asian Music* 28, no. 1 (1996): 2; Suryadi, "The Recording Industry and 'Regional' Culture in Indonesia," 54.

37 C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Islam und Phonograph," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 42 (1900): 410. See also Jan Just Witkam, "Written in Wax: Quranic Recitational Phonography," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138, no. 4 (2018): 807-820.

38 *Ibid.*, 422, 426-427. For a discussion of the situation from 1900 until the beginning of the twenty-first century in West Java, see Wim van Zanten, "God is Not Only in the Holy Scriptures, but Also in the Arts: Music, Cultural Policies and Islam in West Java, Indonesia," conference "Music in the World of Islam," Assilah, Morocco, 8-13 August 2007; Van Zanten, "The discourse on Islam and music in West Java," 241-65.

4 Speech on Wax Cylinders: A-17, H-15, H-16 and N-12

Before turning to the Indonesian music on twenty-seven cylinders, I shall discuss five wax cylinders that mainly contain speech in Dutch and/or Malay. Cylinder A-17 contains speech by Indonesian pilgrims in Arabia. Further, three of these five recordings (H-13, H-16 and N-12) are apparently mainly meant to be “try-outs” to see how to operate the phonograph. One cylinder (H-15) contains speeches made during the reception or feast after Hoesein Djajadiningrat obtained his PhD at Leiden University in 1913. Most of these recordings do not have a direct connection to music, but are nevertheless interesting in order to understand the larger social setting. I did not consider transcribing the text on cylinder K1 (CD5, track 31), as it is a recording of a female voice reading Dutch from books, including some poems, with no obvious connection to the recording process or the Dutch East Indies.

In 1905 or 1906 Snouck Hurgronje bought a phonograph to be used for his work.³⁹ In his collection there is an interesting recording, on wax cylinder N-12 (CD7, track 24), on which we may hear the voice of a man (in Dutch and Malay) who is buying an Edison phonograph in Brussels and the voice (in French) of the male seller. The quality of this sound track has been preserved quite well, probably because it was a try-out made in the Edison depot in Brussels. Presumably it was not often played afterwards, and this prevented it from becoming slightly more worn each time.⁴⁰ It is not clear whether this particular phonograph was sent to Snouck Hurgronje and used in the Dutch East Indies before it was sent by the latter to the Dutch consul in Jeddah, N. Scheltema in 1906⁴¹ after Snouck Hurgronje left the Dutch East Indies on 29 March 1906.⁴² However, that is quite likely, since it becomes clear from the spoken text that the plan was to use this phonograph in the difficult field situation in the Dutch East Indies and also in “Arabia” (see also the remarks below concerning the Gayo recordings).⁴³ The twenty-seven Indonesian wax cylinders were thus almost certainly recorded in the Dutch East Indies before the phonograph was

39 Vrolijk and Van de Velde, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), Orientalist*, 92-93.

40 On inspection at the Leiden University Library it became clear that this wax cylinder is in one of the few boxes with a printed label saying “Edison Recording Blank – Patented Feb 14, 1905,” whereas more than ninety percent of the boxes has the label “The World’s Phonograph Co. – Rokin 83 Amsterdam – Stille zijde tegenover den overhaal” and a few others the Amsterdam address “140 Rokin – Over de Nederlandsche Bank”. See also figure 1.

41 Vrolijk and Van de Velde, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), Orientalist*, 93.

42 Jan Just Witkam, “Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: A *Tour d’horizon* of his Life and Work,” in *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), Orientalist*, 27.

43 John R. Bowen, *Sumatran Politics and Poetics: Gayo History, 1900-1989* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 169-172.

sent to Jeddah.

When I was uncertain about hearing a certain word or words, I put them in round brackets with a query mark in the transcriptions, like (*adaptez?*) and (*fil à broche air?*). I have used [+++] when I was unable to catch the meaning of the sounds in a passage and/or when it is inaudible. When I was able to hear the number of syllables, but not the words, I have indicated that by [2 syll] or [3 syll], sometimes shortly as [2] or [3], etc., if there are two, three or more syllables that I was unable to catch. A pause of the speaker has been indicated by The speech or music regularly starts too early, that is, before the speed of the wax cylinder is steady, and words or music are lost for one to two seconds; I have indicated this by [*]. The Dutch and Malay (Indonesian) on cylinder N-12 are spoken by the same man. His Dutch has a slight Dutch-Indonesian (*Indisch*) accent and his Malay has a Dutch accent.

**Cylinder N-12 (CD7, track 24):
Buying a phonograph in Brussels**

Translations N-12⁴⁴

0:05 – 0:33

French

Voici, Monsieur, pour enregistrer vous avez changé le parleur et le remplacé par l'enregistreur. Vous y (*adaptez?*) naturellement un (*fil à broche air?*)⁴⁵ et vous parlez dans ce tube acoustique d'une voix haute et bien claire, et sans presser. Règle général vous obtenez un très bon résultat. C'est vrai vous pouvez parler ou pouvez chanter, c'est à votre volonté, ça.

From French

Well, Sir, for recording you have changed the speaker and replaced it by the recorder. Of course you have (*put?*) a (*thread to the pen 'writing air?'*)⁴⁶ in place and you speak into this acoustic tube with a strong and very clear voice without hurrying. In general you get a very good result. It is true that you can speak or sing, as you want.

44 All translations from French, Dutch, Malay/Indonesian and Sundanese are mine.

45 I am grateful to Tran Quang Hai from Paris and also to Liesbet Nyssen from Amsterdam, born and grown up in Belgium, whom I asked to help me and listen to this French sentence; unfortunately they did not catch all these uncertain French words either.

46 I am not sure if the French is correct. Presumably the seller talks about a part or parts of the phonograph. I have assumed that he is talking about transmission of the air waves from the recorder funnel to the "pen" or stylus (*broche*) writing "air" (*air*) on the wax cylinder by means of a "thread" (*fil*). Or did he mean the small brush (*brosse*) near the recording needle?

(continuation)

**Cylinder N-12 (CD7, track 24):
Buying a phonograph in Brussels**

Translations N-12

0:35 – 1:10

Dutch

Ik ben nu op het ogenblik in Brussel en ik ben in een magazijn waar de machines van Edison verkocht worden. Nou dacht ik, dat ik je misschien een goede dienst zou bewijzen met daarin even in te spreken, zodat je dan kunt zien welk resultaat het zal hebben voor de Indische, uh, beproevingen, en misschien ook in Arabië. Wanneer je er tevreden over bent, laat het me dan weten.

From Dutch

I am now in Brussels and I am in a depot where the Edison machines are being sold. Well, I thought I could serve you well by speaking into it for a moment, so that you may see what the result will be for the Indonesian, eh ... ordeals, and maybe also in Arabia. When you are satisfied with it, please, let me know.

1:12 – 2:00

Malay

Saya kirim banyak tabé sama tuan. Saya ada di sini sekarang dan saya coba-coba apa boleh bicara sama ini masin. Saya rasa baik sekali. Ia punya harga tiga ri... tigaaaaa tiga ratus sepuluh. Uang. Jadi, tidak begitu mahal. Dan lagi, itu tuan bilang, tinggal baik sekali, lama. Bagaimana, tuan sama tuan punya saudara dua-dua ada baik? Saya harap lekas datang kembali ketemu lagi ... sama tuan.

From Malay

I send you many greetings, Sir. I am here now and I try out what can be spoken into this machine. I feel it is very good. The price is three thou...⁴⁷, three, three hundred and ten. Money. So, not too expensive. Moreover, this gentleman says it will stay very well, and long. How is it, with you and your brother/sister,⁴⁸ are you both well? I hope to come back soon and meet you, Sir.

47 The speaker probably wants to say *tiga ribu*, i.e. “three thousand,” but realises this is wrong.

48 Passages like *tuan punya saudara*, “your brother/sister,” literally “Sir has brother,” occur a few times on these cylinders; in present-day standard Indonesian this would be said with a suffix to *saudara*, “brother/sister,” *saudaranya*. Such changes in the (spoken) language are also noticeable in Dutch. However, I will not pay much attention to this aspect of the recordings.

(continuation)

**Cylinder N-12 (CD7, track 24):
Buying a phonograph in Brussels****Translations N-12**

2:03 – 2:22

French

Quel que le vous le voyez au catalogue, Monsieur, cet appareil est vendu trois cent et dix franc avec l'enregistreur. Maintenant vous pouvez y adapter n'importe quel grandeur de pavillon. Plus le pavillon est grand, plus c'est doux. Ce n'est pas plus fort, mais c'est plus doux et plus développé.

From French

As you see in the catalogue, Sir, this apparatus is sold for three hundred and ten francs, together with the recorder. Now you can put on it any size of funnel. The larger the funnel, the more pleasant it [the sound] is. It is not louder, but it is more pleasant and rich.

Whereas on wax cylinder N-12 the phonograph is discussed, on cylinder H-16 we hear, among other things, that wax cylinders will be sent to Arabia. I suppose these recordings were, like cylinder N-12 above and H-13 discussed below, a try-out to discover the possibilities of the phonograph. The quality of most recordings on H-16 is not very good.

**Cylinder H-16 (CD4, track 47):
Wax cylinders for Arabia****Translation H-16**0:13 – 0:28: **Man***Dutch*

Deze rollen zijn bestemd om naar Arabië gezonden te worden, om daarmee opnamen te doen van liederen onder begeleiding van gitaar, viool, luit en andere instrumenten.

From Dutch

These cylinders are meant to be sent to Arabia in order to make recordings with them of songs with the accompaniment of guitar, violin, lute and other instruments.

0:28 – 0:35: **Noise, no recording**0:35 – 0:46: **Woman**

Ik zou wel willen dat ik niet zo'n zachte onduidelijke stem had, anders zou ik wel een heleboel rollen vol willen spreken, maar nu ben ik bang dat er niets van terecht zal komen, hoe ik ook mijn best doe.

I would have liked it if I had not such a soft, unclear voice, otherwise I would fill many cylinders with my speech, but now I am afraid that nothing will come of it, no matter how hard I try.

0:46 – 0:51: **Woman (Malay/regional Indonesian?)**

(continuation)	
Cylinder H-16 (CD4, track 47): Wax cylinders for Arabia	Translation H-16
[1 syll] (kita?) [+++] (saya kenal?) [1 syll] (saya bikin?) [2 syll]	[1 syll] (we?) [+++] (I know?) [1 syll] (I make?) [2 syll]
0:53 – 0:57: Other woman	
Ik heb ook geen erge duidelijke stem, daarom heb ik ook niet veel hoeven te leren.	I do not have a clear voice either; therefore I did not have much to learn. ⁴⁹
0:59 – 1:27: Man (Arabic and other language)⁵⁰	
1:27 – 1:54 [*] - Woman (Italian?)	
1:55 – 2:03: Man reciting lines of a Dutch poem by H. Tollens, 1821 (see H-13 below)	
... roer en streel, en (worde/wordt?) u 't loon der kunst, een enkele traan, ten deel!	... stir and caress and may you reap the reward of art, a single tear drop!
2:04 – 2:22: Woman or two women?	
[*] Zal ik daar lezen? Zal ik voor die (kleppers?) lezen? (Ook niet goed?) [+++] (2:18) Jantje zag eens pruimpjes hangen, o! als eieren zo groot!	Shall I read there? Shall I read before those (clogs/rattles?) (Also not good?) [+++] Johnny saw some fine little plums hanging, Oh! like eggs, so very large! ⁵¹
2:22 – 2:30: noise [*]	

The recordings also contain some information on the Indonesian pilgrims who stayed in Jeddah at that time, sometimes apparently for a “long period” as they said. For instance, on cylinder A-17 (CD1, track 19), a man says that he will go back to Java with his child who will start going to school. Another asks for a magic formula to be used for travelling (to heaven?). It is not clear, but it seems

49 As this is not a very logical sentence, it may be that I did not catch the right Dutch words.

50 According to the notes on the DVD with the recorded music, the start is a recitation of the Surat al-Fatiha: “a’udhu billahi mina ash-shaytani ar-rajim.”

51 These are well-known starting lines of the nursery rhyme “*De pruimeboom: Eene vertelling*” by Hieronymus van Alphen (1746-1803). In the original it is *pruimen*, instead of *pruimpjes* (*Proeve van kleine gedigten voor kinderen*, 1778, p. 29-30). This rhyme was also translated into German, French and English. The collection of nursery rhymes by Hieronymus van Alphen was translated into Malay by G. Hejmering with the title *Babarapa panton bagi ‘anakh...* Kupang, 1838. See <<https://www.kb.nl/themas/nederlandse-poezie/dichters-uit-het-verleden>> and <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/alph002klei01_01/alph002klei01_01_0079.php> [last visit 15 May 2017].

that, because of the wish of one person in the group who wants to die in the Holy Country, the other thirty members of the group have to stay in Jeddah. One of the men (0:48 – 1:08) speaks very fast and just nonsense (imitating Arabic?) on purpose it seems, because this recording is followed by the next speaker who says: “Ahmad Waleti is a very naughty person!” This cylinder was also transcribed by Yampolsky⁵² and I shall compare both transcriptions.

**Cylinder A-17 (CD1, track 19):
Spoken texts by Indonesian
pilgrims**

Translation A-17

0:04 – 0:23: Man

Lagi sedikit ... hari,⁵³ insya Allah, saya mau pergi ke Jawa, dengan membawa saya punya anak, buat bisa dimasuk sekolah. Nanti kalau saya kembali, saya harap berjumpa lagi dengan selamat. Dan jikalau tidak berjumpa ... lagi di Jiddah,⁵⁴ insya Allah, kemudian bertemu di Jawa lagi.

In a few days, God willing, I want to go to Java taking with me my child, so that [he/she] can be entered in school. Later, when I return I hope to meet [you] again in good health. And if we don't meet again ... in Jeddah, God willing, we shall then meet again in Java.

0:27 – 0:43: Woman (?)

[*] saya punya jemaah sudah lama tinggal di dalam negeri (besar?).⁵⁵

[*] I have a group of pilgrims that has already been for a long time in the large country.

Kasih, Tuhan,⁵⁶ tulung pada ini orang, kasih tulung dia berlayar. Lalu, Tuhan, khusus tiga puluh [2-3 syll] orang tidak jalan. [Other woman:?] Tentu saja, Dia punya (aji?).

God, help this person, help him/her to die.⁵⁷ Hence, Lord, especially thirty [2-3 syll] persons do not travel. Surely, You have a (magic formula?).

52 Yampolsky, “Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders,” 12.

53 The pause makes me think that this part should possibly be transcribed as “Lagi dibikin. Hari,...” “Again done (made). One day...” This recording could in fact be a new recording of a similar, earlier recorded text, maybe at the end of cylinder I-8; see below. However, these alternative words seem to make less sense in the passage here.

54 I decided to take this text given by Yampolsky, as it seems more logical than the one I hear: “Nanti, kalau tidak berjumpa, lagi dicita, ...,” “If we do not meet again later, I shall keep longing for...” The problem with this speaker is that his pauses (transcribed by commas) are not in line with Yampolsky’s transcribed text, so I put these pauses ... in the text.

55 Yampolsky gives here “Negeri Jiddah,” “(the country of) Jiddah.”

56 I wrote “Tuhan,” “God,” because of the context; it could also be “Tuan,” “Mr.,” as Yampolsky gives.

57 “Berlayar” is literally: “sailing.” Probably here is meant “berlayar pintu,” “to sail to the gate,”

(continuation)

**Cylinder A-17 (CD1, track 19):
Spoken texts by Indonesian
pilgrims**

Translation A-17

0:48 – 1:08: Male (?) voice very fast, non-audible Malay words

1:09 – 1:16: Other man

Na, sekarang baik. Boleh dapat, tapi saya bilang itu Ahmad Waleti orang nakal sekali!

Well, that's good. You can take it, but I say that this Ahmad Waleti is a very naughty person!

1:22 – 1:40: Woman (?) [same person as between 0:27 – 0:43?]

Saya punya jemaah sudah lama tinggal di negeri Jiddah.⁵⁸ Saya minta tulung sama Tuhan untuk kasih macam (kata?) ini orang. Kalau tidak dikasih, (hancur?) dia. Lagi, habis!

I am with a group of pilgrims that is already for a long time in Jeddah. I ask help from God to give this person some kind of words. If not given, he will be ruined. Again, finished.⁵⁹

1:42 – 1:44: Man

[*] Nomor satu.

[*] Number one.

1:45 – 2:16: Only noise

Wax cylinder H-15 (*Hoeseins promotie*) contains speeches by several people at the feast on the occasion of P.A. Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1886-1960) obtaining his PhD at Leiden University with his dissertation on the history of Banten on 3 May 1913. Snouck Hurgronje was his supervisor (*promotor*) and in the introductory pages of his book Hoesein Djajadiningrat thanks his supervisor warmly:

Each expression of gratitude, Mr. Snouck, can only weakly represent my feelings of deep appreciation. Obligations, like those I have with respect to you, one carries until one's death. A monetary debt can be repaid, a debt of gratitude one takes to one's grave.⁶⁰

and these words are spoken on cylinder I-8. This is a metaphor for dying. The old Indonesian pilgrims apparently wished to die in the Holy Country; dying on pilgrimage to Mecca is still a wish of present-day pilgrims. See also below, the analysis of the spoken text at the end of cylinder I-8.

58 Or "negeri cita," "the country we longed for"?

59 This "finished" may mean that the person is broken, but it may also indicate the end of the speech: "Again, I have come to the end." Yampolsky gives: "Kalau tidak dikasih, tentu dia (sakit?) habis," "If (help) is not given, definitely they will (be sick?), and that's all."

60 "Elke dankbetuiging, mijnheer Snouck, kan mijne gevoelens van diepe erkentelijkheid slechts zwak weergeven. Verplichtingen als die, welke ik jegens U heb, neemt men mee tot in den dood" ("Oetang ěmas dapat di-bajar, oetang boedi di-bawa mati"). Zie Hoesein

Hoesein Djajadinigrat was the first Indonesian to receive a doctorate in the Netherlands and it was with distinction (*cum laude*).⁶¹ Most of the recordings on this cylinder are very soft. Apparently Snouck Hurgronje (addressed as “Snouck”) and his wife organised the reception and dinner. The speakers congratulate the fresh doctor (*de jonge doctor*) with the result. This recording is interesting in that it shows Snouck Hurgronje’s connection to West Java and the Djajadinigrat family, to which many regents of Serang belonged, as becomes clear from the last but one speaker, who is also the most clearly recorded one on this very unclear recording. Probably the last speaker on this cylinder is Snouck Hurgronje himself.

Cylinder H-15 (CD4, track 46):

Translation H-15

Hoeseins promotie (very unclear)

0:07– 0:32: **Man (Hoesein Djajadinigrat?)**

Volgaarne maak ik van de mij aangeboden gelegenheid gebruik om een paar woorden te (spreken?) voor de buitengewone hartelijkheid wat voor mij en mijn vrouw te bezorgen.

With pleasure I use this occasion to (say?) a few words in response to the generous cordiality in presenting something to me and my wife.

Om mij met mijn [4 syll] en mijne broers naar Leiden te (mogen geïntroduceerd?) [+++]

To allow me with my [4 syll] and my brothers to (be introduced?) to Leiden [+++]

0:34 – 0:49: **Second man**

Gaarne sluit ik mij bij beide vorige sprekers aan en dank de heer en mevrouw Snouck voor hun ontvangst ter gelegenheid van de promotie van onze vriend Hoesein [+++]

Gladly I concur with the both preceding speakers and thank Mr. and Mrs. Snouck for their reception on the occasion of the promotion of our friend Hoesein [+++]

0:49 – 0:58: **Third man**

Opvolgend aan mijn voorganger sluit ik mij ook bij zijn dankzegging aan voor de prachtige gelegenheid ons geboden om de jonge doctor hulde te geven.

Following my predecessor I also join him in thanks for the splendid opportunity given to us to praise the fresh doctor.

0:58 – 1:30: **Fourth man**

Djajadinigrat, *Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah Bantën: bijdrage ter kenschetsing van de Javaansche geschiedschrijving* (Haarlem: Joh. Enschede, 1913), VIII.

61 *Ensiklopedi Sunda: alam, manusia dan budaya, termasuk budaya Cirebon dan Betawi*, ed. Ajip Rosidi (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2000), 275-76.

(continuation)

**Cylinder H-15 (CD4, track 46):
Hoeseins promotie (very unclear)****Translation H-15**

Ik sluit mij bij de vorige sprekers aan en dank mevrouw en mijnheer Snouck voor hunne buitengewone vriendelijkheid om ons uit te nodigen te komen dineren [1:11 other man? : 'Eh...'] De jonge doctor is getrouw gebleven aan de (Sundanese?) spreuk: (*Ngalamar?*) *kidung daék* [1 + 2] (*sinar?*), *Wayang (beunghar?) di Sunda*. Moge, dat ook een nieuwe (*sinar?*) die nu begint, (*pelabuhan Sunda, pelabuhan?*) in alle opzichten (*meunang/ beunghar?*)

I concur with the preceding speakers and thank Mrs. and Mr. Snouck for their special kindness in inviting us for dinner. The fresh doctor has been faithful to the Sundanese saying '(To propose to a girl?) want to sing [3] (*ray?*); The wayang plays are the (richness?) of Sunda'. We hope that also the new (*ray?*) that starts now, (the harbour of Sunda, the harbour?), will be rich in all respects.⁶²

1:32 – 1:55: Fifth man

Ik ben overtuigd dat de regent van Serang over ruim (drie?) weken horen zal hoe wij op deze avond bijeen zijn geweest, hij zich geheel zal verenigen met de woorden van dankbaarheid die door zijn broeder zijn gesproken en ik acht mij gelukkig om hier uit zijn naam hier zijn tolk te mogen zijn.

I am convinced that the Regent of Serang in some (three?) weeks' time will hear how we have been together this evening, he will agree with the words of thankfulness spoken by his brother and I am very happy that I may here be his interpreter in his name.

1:57 – 2:17: Sixth man (Snouck Hurgronje?)

Het is ons bijzonder aangenaam geweest, de velen die zijn ons getuige geweest op deze heugelijke dag, die wij nooit zullen vergeten en waarvan wij hopen dat hij ook gegrift blijft in de herinnering van alle hier aanwezigen.

It has been a great pleasure to us, the many who have been our witnesses on this memorable day that we shall never forget and of which we hope that it will also remain engraved in the memory of all people present.

2:17 – 2:25: noise

62 I cannot make much sense of the Sundanese saying and other Sundanese words in between the Dutch ones. It may be that the word *kidung* that I hear fairly clearly should not be taken in the sense of "singing," but rather as the *Kidung sign* of the zodiac, that is, Orion.

5 Lullaby “Nina Bobo” and Dutch speaking on H-13 (CD4, track 44)

Cylinder H-13 contains a well-known lullaby “Nina Bobo” (“Sleep Nina”). The box of this cylinder has the written information: “Fam. v. Ophuysen.”, that is, the Family van Ophuysen, and the song “Nina Bobo” is embedded in other song and speech. This cylinder may have been used for a try-out of the apparatus. The spoken texts are not very clear, but a few fragments may be heard. On this recording the speaking starts too early several times, before the machine has gained its proper speed; this is indicated by [*].

H-13 (CD4, track 44)	Translation
0:00 – 0:05: [+++]	
0:05 – 0:06: Man	
Ben je terug?	Are you back?
0:06: Woman	
[*] (vanwege de aangevoerde?) familie van Ophuysen-van Doorstad, door nog vele dergelijke(n?) zal gevolgd worden.	[*] (because of the arrived?) family van Ophuysen-van Doorstad, this will be followed by many such things (people?).
[*] En worden we 't loon der kunst, een enkele traan, ten deel!	[*] And then we get the reward of art, a single tear drop! ⁶³
0:21 – 0:31: Same woman	
<i>It is time forever</i> en daarom is het wel zaak dat ons al onze stemmen nu voor altijd onvergetelijk worden gemaakt.	It is time forever, and therefore it is necessary that all our voices be made for ever unforgettable.
0:32 – 0:37: Man with Dutch-Indonesian accent	
[*] uitgescholden wordt, op het laatst zal ik hier toch graag een keer terug willen komen.	[*] be scolded, finally I would like to come back here some time.
0:38 – 1:03: Man singing – not in Indonesian style	
1:04 – 1:22: Man reciting first lines of a Dutch poem by H. Tollens, 1821:	

63 This is clearly a variant of line 54 – “En vall' u 't loon der kunst, een enkele traan, ten deel!” – from the poem *De overwintering der Hollanders op Nova Zembla in de jaren 1596 en 1597* (“The hibernation of the Dutch on Nova Zembla in the years 1596 and 1597”) by H. Tollens, published in 1821. See also the variant text on cylinder H-16 above, in which part of the preceding line 53 is added: “...roer en streele, en worde u 't loon” The poem, consisting of 718 lines, received a prize of the *Hollandsche Maatschappij van fraaije Kunsten en Wetenschappen* – The Dutch Society of Fine Arts and Sciences – in 1819. See the full poem on http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/toll003gwhu01_01/toll003gwhu01_01_0003.php (accessed 15 May 2017). The first three lines of this poem are also recorded on this cylinder.

(continuation)

H-13 (CD4, track 44)**Translation**

Nog hield het schriklijk pleit van dwang
en vrijheid aan;

The terrible dispute of compulsion and
freedom was still going on

En droeg der vaadren erf de Spaansche
legervaan,

And the Spanish banner was still on the
national heritage

En dronk om strijd het bloed van
landzaat en van vreemden;⁶⁴

And drank in turn the blood of
countrymen and foreigners.

1:22 – 1:45: [*] Man singing “Nina Bobo”

1:47 – 1:53: Woman [unclear]

(Ik kan?) uit naam van de (Vis?) familie
[+++] (verzoek gedaan?). Dit is alles.

(I may?) in the name of the (Vis?)
family [+++] (has been asked for?) This
is all.

1:54 – 2:24: Wistling a (military?) march tune⁶⁵

2:24 – 2:31: noise

The male singer of “Nina Bobo” knows the tune, but apparently not the whole text as he keeps repeating “Nina Bobo,” and only at the very end adds *bobo pagi*, “sleep (until) the morning.” He sings only part of the tune, that is, eight bars of four beats. Most probably the singer is Dutch or Eurasian. Below is my transcription of the music and text as recorded on this wax cylinder.

Nina Bobo

From wax cylinder H13 (CD4, track 44)
the real pitch is one semitone lower

♩ = 80

Voice

Ni - na ni-na bo - bo ni - na ni-na bo - bo

Ni - na ni-na bo - bo bo - - - bo - pa - gi

64 The second line should start: “Nog droeg der vaadren erf...” See also previous footnote.

65 Philip Yampolsky says that popular music on commercial gramophone records also included, apart from the categories *kroncong* and *stambul/opera/toneel*, “military marches, waltzes and other dance tunes, songs in Dutch and Malay/Indonesian...” Yampolsky, “Kroncong Revisited: New Evidence from Old Sources,” 8-9.

The music and text of “Nina Bobo” were also transcribed by Ernst Heins⁶⁶ from a performance by a *kroncong* group in Tugu, Jakarta. The text he gives is:

Nina bobo	Sleep, Nina.
Kalau tidak tidur digigit nyamuk	When you don't sleep, you will be bitten by mosquitos
Mari, bobo, anak ku sayang.	Come on, sleep, child that I love.

The music transcribed by Ernst Heins is also different, but recognisable. Ernst Heins gives twelve bars for the whole song which he described as “traditional *kroncong*.” Philip Yampolsky⁶⁷ pointed out that “Nina Bobo” should not be classified as *kroncong asli*, the “pure” or “original” *kroncong*, because it does not have the necessary chord progression, as was also noted by Heins.⁶⁸ The version of “Nina Bobo” on cylinder H-13 was of course solo singing without any accompaniment, most probably also sung for a try-out. It should therefore not lead us to the wrong conclusions about the structure and chord progression.

Both *kroncong* and the song “Nina Bobo” are thought to have been derived from Portuguese melodies and instruments, brought to Indonesia as from the sixteenth century, but with the addition of many Indonesian elements.⁶⁹ According to Philip Yampolsky *kroncong* had been “professionalised” at the beginning of the twentieth century by the popular theatre, and

from the 1920s on, it was no longer a Eurasian music, but rather the principal entertainment music of Batavia as a whole, and to some extent of other cities and towns as well.

Yampolsky adds that “the only Batavians who did not accept *kroncong* were the Europe-oriented elite and recent immigrants from China whose language insulated them from Indonesian culture.”⁷⁰ The well-known Dutch researcher of Indonesian music, Jaap Kunst, was one of the people who expressed concern about the “monotonous and characterless wail going under the name of ‘Stam-

66 Ernst Heins, “Kroncong and Tanjidor – Two Cases of Urban Folk Music”, *Asian Music* 7, no. 1 (1975): 32.

67 Yampolsky, personal communication, 2010.

68 Heins, “Kroncong and Tanjidor – Two Cases of Urban Folk Music,” 25.

69 Yampolsky, “Kroncong Revisited: New Evidence from Old Sources,” 10-12.

70 *Music of Indonesia* (volume 2), *Indonesian popular music: Kroncong, Dangdut, and Langgam Jawa*, CD and documentation edited by Philip Yampolsky (Washington 1991): liner notes.

bul' or 'kronchong' music that causes Indonesians to become more and more estranged from their own art," but he also spoke about the "enthusiasm and unmistakable musicality" of the Eurasian performers.⁷¹

It is interesting to find the song "Nina Bobo" recorded in Arabia (or was it the Dutch East Indies?) in the first decade of the twentieth century and sung by a European or Eurasian man. The song "Nina Bobo" is now so widely known that the Indonesian dictionary of 1988 gives the noun *ninabobo* as "lullaby" and the verb *meninabobokan* as "singing a lullaby" so that the child is put to sleep: "menyanyikan lagu (untuk anak) supaya tidur; menidurkan (anak) dengan nyanyian."⁷²

6 Music from Northern Sumatra

The northern Sumatra recordings are restricted to Aceh and a large proportion is music of the Gayo. The Gayo are a small ethnic group in northern Sumatra: according to Philip Yampolsky there are about 100,000 Gayo speakers in Aceh and another 100,000 living mostly in Jakarta.⁷³ Nowadays the total population of Aceh numbers about 4.7 million people,⁷⁴ that is, about two percent of the total population of Indonesia. They are thus a small minority in Indonesia, in contrast to the Sundanese who are, after the Javanese, the second largest group in Indonesia comprising about fifteen percent of the population. That was similar in the period of the music recordings in 1905-1909. So these recordings are not representative of the music in the Dutch East Indies at that time.

Moreover, there is a bias in the Gayo and the "other Acehnese" recordings. On none of these recordings is the solo singing or speaking accompanied by an instrument, in contrast to the Sundanese recordings where three out of twelve recordings are with instrumental accompaniment. There are six⁷⁵ recordings of *didong* singing in Gayo and seven (or even eight?) of the nine Gayo recordings seem to be recordings of the same man: Njaq Poetéh. On four of the six

71 Jaap Kunst, *Music in Java: Its History, Its Theory and Its Technique* (The Hague: Nijhof, 1973), 4, 375.

72 *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, Tim Penyusun Kamus, Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (Jakarta: 1988), 615.

73 *Music of Indonesia* (volume 12), *Gongs and vocal music from Sumatra*, CD and documentation edited by Philip Yampolsky (Washington 1996), liner notes, 8.

74 See <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aceh> [last accessed 19 October 2020].

75 Or five? See below. John R. Bowen mentions receiving a copy of the "Gayo tapes" of the Snouck Hurgronje collection with four *didong* recordings: on wax cylinders Nos. I.3, I.16, I.17 and P.11; see John R. Bowen, "Poetic Duels and Political Change in the Gayo Highlands of Sumatra," *American Anthropologist* 91, no.1 (1989): footnote 5.

Aceh recordings Ms. Tjoet Njas Paridat is recorded.
The nine cylinders with Gayo recordings comprise:

six cylinders with *didong*: I-3, I-5 (Nj. Poetéh), I-16 (Nj Poetéh), I-17 (Nja^c Poetéh), I-23 (Nj.P.), P-11 (Nj Poetéh);
one cylinder with lament (*sebuku*): I-20 (Njaq Poetéh);
two cylinders with storytelling (*kekeberen*): I-14 (Nj. Poetèh) and P-7 (by *ulama* Aman Ratoes).

The six cylinders with other Acehnese recordings contain:

Solo singing by Ms. Tjoet Njas Paridat: I-1, I-2, I-19;
Singing/Discussion Ms. Tjoet Njas Paridat with man: I-6;
Storytelling: I-11 (story of the mouse deer, *plandök*) and P-10.

One may wonder whether the name Njaq Poetéh on these wax cylinders refers to the same man that was one of Snouck Hurgronje's most important informants when he wrote his book on the Gayo. In the preface of this book Snouck Hurgronje writes:

In the second half of 1900 I met in Peureumeut (Upper-Meulaböh) Gayo Njaq Poetéh originating from Isaq, whose picture can be seen opposite page 199.⁷⁶ This intelligent young man, who knew a large part of the Gayo land from his own observation and excelled by his natural topographical sense, supplied rich material for the geography of his native country [...] Moreover, I learned from Njaq Poetéh, who spoke Acehnese well and with whom I could therefore communicate immediately without difficulty, the Gayo language and I obtained many data from him for the ethnography.⁷⁷

76 The caption of this photograph reads "Djampōq, alias Njaq Poetéh uit Isaq (Krambél)."

77 "In de tweede helft van 1900 ontmoette ik in Peureumeut (Boven-Meulaböh) den uit Isaq afkomstigen Gajō Njaq Poetéh, wiens portret men tegenover bladz. 199 aantreft. Deze intelligente jonge man, die een groot deel van het Gajōland uit eigen aanschouwing kende en uitmuntte door natuurlijken topographischen zin, verstrekte een rijk materiaal voor de geographie van zijn vaderland, [...] Bovendien leerde ik van Njaq Poetéh, die goed Athësch sprak en met wien ik dus dadelijk zonder moeite van gedachten kon wisselen, de Gajösche taal en verkreeg ik van hem tal van gegevens voor de volksbeschrijving." Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajōland en zijne bewoners*, XI-XII.

This question is important because if the voice of Njaq Poetéh is on the recording and he is the same as the man described by Snouck Hurgronje in the preface of his book, we may wonder where this recording was made: in the Dutch East Indies or in Arabia? Was the phonograph first used in the Dutch East Indies, for instance, to record Njaq Poetéh and maybe also Ms. Tjoet Njas Paridat of the Aceh recordings, as is suggested by the discussion on cylinder N-12, discussed above? That is, the sentence “... so that you may see what the result will be for the Indonesian, eh ... ordeals, and maybe also in Arabia.” Was the phonograph used in Aceh and possibly also elsewhere in the Dutch East Indies, before Snouck Hurgronje sent it to the Dutch consulate in Jeddah in 1906?⁷⁸

It could of course also be possible that these two people, Njaq Poetéh and Tjoet Njas Paridat, went on a pilgrimage and were recorded in Jeddah just like the other people. Njaq Poetéh might even be the name of the person recording the music in Indonesia or in Arabia, although this appears far-fetched. It seems most likely that these recordings, if taken in Arabia and not in the Dutch East Indies, are made from a Njaq Poetéh different from Snouck Hurgronje’s important Gayo informant. In the section on personal names (*persoonsnamen*) of his book on Aceh, Snouck Hurgronje lists the name Poetéh as one of the common Aceh names and explains that Njaq, literally “child,” is a very common addition to the family name of men and women.⁷⁹

John Bowen solved part of the puzzle. He says that when Snouck Hurgronje was transferred from Aceh to Jakarta (Batavia) in 1903, he brought Njaq Poetéh (Nyak Putih), mentioned in his Gayo book, and Aman Ratoes (Aman Ratus) with him, and they began to work with the linguist G.A.J. Hazeu on a Gayo-Dutch dictionary:

Before his departure [to the Netherlands] in 1906, Snouck Hurgronje also made wax cylinder tapes of Indonesian songs and stories, including nine Gayo didongs and tales. Both Nyaq Putih and Aman Ratus were sent back to Gayoland after the dictionary was completed in 1907.⁸⁰

Bowen transcribed the text on cylinder I-3, “recorded circa 1905, possibly by Nyaq Putih,” with the help of several older *didong* singers in 1989, and he calls the song “Patchouli Flower” (“Dilem Renggali”). It begins by telling about the greatness of God (“Tuhen,” Indonesian: “Tuhan”) and “[t]he singer then bemoans his own fate as he travels from place to place to perform his art – most

78 Vrolijk and Van de Velde, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936)*, *Orientalist*, 93.

79 Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, 501-503.

80 Bowen, *Sumatran Politics and Poetics*, 32-33.

recently, all the way to Jakarta to make this recording.”⁸¹

From Bowen’s account, also based on the study of Snouck Hurgronje’s legacy at the Leiden University Library, it seems fairly certain that eight of the Gayo recordings were made by Njaq Poetéh and one by Aman Ratoes, recorded in 1905 or 1906 in Jakarta, and not in Arabia. It appears to be quite certain that the Aceh and Sundanese recordings were also made in the Dutch East Indies before Snouck Hurgronje departed for the Netherlands on 29 March 1906 and had his phonograph sent to the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, to be used for recordings that form the other eighty to ninety percent of the Snouck Hurgronje wax cylinder collection.

On the basis of the style of singing I classified I-5 as *didong*, and not as *sebuku* as is indicated on the handwritten text on the box: see Appendix 3. This needs to be investigated more thoroughly. Snouck Hurgronje writes that the *sebuku* lament is done by women on two occasions: (1) when a bride is taken to the house of the family of the bridegroom and left behind by her own family; and (2) when people come to a condolence reception for a deceased person.⁸² The laments are partially based on existing texts and partially improvised.

Both cylinder I-20 and I-5 contain a lament (*sebuku*), according to the written information on the boxes (although I classified I-5 not as *sebuku* but as *didong*). On both cylinders I hear a male voice, whereas Philip Yampolsky hears a male voice on I-20 and a female voice on cylinder I-5.⁸³ The voice on I-5, if male, is high, or the speed of the wax cylinder has been too high in the transfer process to digital sound. Although the custom of wailing at weddings seems to be disappearing, if it is performed it is always by women, both at weddings and funerals.⁸⁴ Ara states: “On both occasions *sebuku* wailing is always done by women and it would be very odd if a man did this.”⁸⁵ So why is a man performing the *sebuku* lament on cylinder I-20 and possibly also on I-5? Adjustments to recordings like these are often made out of social context and that may be the case here. However, there may be another reason why a man is singing the lament.

In the area slightly more southeast of where the Gayo live, the Pakpak-Dairi language-speaking Batak group also knows the sung lament (*andung*). The Dairi *andung* lament, similar to the Gayo *sebuku* lament, is also sung mainly by

81 Ibid., 169-174.

82 Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajoland en zijne bewoners*, 294, 312.

83 Yampolsky, “Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders,” 5, 10.

84 L.K. Ara, *Sebuku: seni meratap di Gayo* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1979), 10.

85 Ara, *Sebuku: seni meratap di Gayo*, 11: “Dalam kedua peristiwa ini sebuku itu selalu dilakukan oleh kaum wanita dan sangat lucu kalau seorang laki-laki yang melakukannya.”

women during weddings and funerals.⁸⁶ In her presentation at the Sumatra seminar in Leiden, Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen presented an audio recording of such an *andung* lament, sung by a man in the late 1970s. This lament was part of a story in which the male storyteller represented a woman singing a lament.⁸⁷ It is possible that the Snouck Hurgronje recordings of the Gayo *sebuku* lament were also made from men who knew how to tell the stories in which these laments occur.

The *didong* of the Gayo is male solo and choral singing of poetry.⁸⁸ Snouck Hurgronje described *didong* in his book on the Gayo as follows: “a combination of music, rhythmic body movements, dance and declamations that should not be lacking at a good marriage or circumcision party.”⁸⁹ Apart from the male solo singer and dancer there is a chorus of young men. On all these old Gayo recordings the choral singing is entirely missing. The songs come from different regions in the Gayo country: Laut Tawar and Lues (Loeös). The style of the *didong* singing in all recordings of this collection of wax cylinders is fairly similar and makes use of much ornamentation.

Margaret Kartomi describes *didong* as “sung poetry in duels in the Gayo-speaking mountainous area of central Aceh.”⁹⁰ In a later article she emphasizes the dance aspect in her definition of Gayo *didong*: “male Gayo sitting dance with cushion percussion and singing.”⁹¹ It seems that nowadays the Gayo *didong* singing and dancing is classified rather as the “*saman* dance” inscribed on the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding in 2011.⁹² This may be due to the spectacular bodyclapping that also occurs in several Acehnese performing arts.⁹³ Further investigation is

86 Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen, “Treasures of Indonesia’s Cultural Heritage: Van der Tuuk’s Collection of Batak Manuscripts in Leiden University Library,” *Sari* 25 (2007): 16; Uli Kozok, “On Writing the Not-to-Be-Read; Literature and Literacy in a Pre-colonial ‘Tribal Society,’” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 156 (2000): 33-55, 47-48.

87 Brakel-Papenhuyzen, “Dairi Stories and Storytelling,” Sumatra seminar, 23-24 April 2010, Museum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 2010.

88 *Music of Indonesia* (volume 12), *Gongs and vocal music from Sumatra*, liner notes p. 8 for tracks 5-7.

89 Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajōland en zijne bewoners*, 284: “(...) eene combinatie van muziek, rhythmische lichaamsbewegingen, dans en voordrachten, die bij een goed huwelijks- of besnijdenisfeest niet mag ontbreken (...)”

90 Margaret Kartomi, “Toward a Methodology of War and Peace Studies in Ethnomusicology: The Case of Aceh, 1976–2009,” *Ethnomusicology* 54 (2010): 466.

91 Margaret Kartomi, “The Saman Gayo Lues Sitting Song-dance and its Recognition as an Item of Intangible Cultural Heritage,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 45 (2013): 121.

92 See <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&USL=000509>. Accessed 17 May 2017.

93 Margaret Kartomi, “The Development of the Acehnese Sitting Song-dances and Frame-

needed into the relationship between the Snouck Hurgronje *didong* recordings and present-day singing during the *saman* dance.

The Gayo *kekeberen* is from *keber*, that is, from Arabic *chabar*, “story, legends or fairy tales” according to Snouck Hurgronje,⁹⁴ and similar to the *haba* of the Acehnese. Both men and women tell these stories; here on cylinders I-14 and P-7. The Acehnese story (*haba*) on I-11 is one of the stories about the mouse deer, *plandök*. Such mouse deer stories are well-known in many parts of Indonesia under the name of the *kancil* stories. The Aceh recording I-19 (CD5-25) contains a lullaby (“dodo, dodo aneuk”).⁹⁵ The written and spoken information tells us that it is a song in the *nalam* verse. Snouck Hurgronje notes that this is from the Arabic *nazm* and that the Acehnese consider *nalam* to be texts, arranged in “metres that imitate the Arabic metres.”⁹⁶

7 Sundanese Music: *Pupuh* Verse Forms

There are twelve wax cylinders with Sundanese music from West Java. Most recordings are without instrumental accompaniment; only on three cylinders is there instrumental accompaniment of the singing: I-4 (CD5-11; bowed instrument - *rebab?*), I-9 (CD5-16; tuned drum(s), or drum and small gong, and flute - *suling?*)⁹⁷ and I-24 (CD5-30; bowed instrument - *rebab?*). Nine of the twelve cylinders include solo singing of *macapat* songs, (Tembang Sunda) Cianjuran songs and *kakawén* songs. These three genres of solo singing are fairly similar, if sung without instrumental accompaniment, and it is difficult to draw sharp boundaries.

Macapat or *dangding* are songs with different verse forms (*pupuh*); these verse forms are also used in Cianjuran songs. The texts of the large Rarancagan subset of Cianjuran songs are always set to a *pupuh* verse form. The cylinders contain sung texts in the verse forms Sinom (I-7, I-15, N-13),⁹⁸ Dangdanggula (I-13, I-22), Asmarandana (I-13, I-22) and Kinanti (I-15, I-18). These are the common verse forms in Sunda. However, in Sundanese manuscripts the other thir-

drum Genres as Part of Religious Conversion and Continuing Piety.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 166 (2010): 83-106.

94 Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajoland en zijne bewoners*, 320.

95 Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, 507-509.

96 *Ibid.*, 80-81: “De Atjehers verstaan hieronder [*nalam*] echter geschriften, die in eene een Arabisch metrum nabootsende maat zijn gesteld.”

97 Yampolsky gives for the accompanying instruments: *rebab*, drum and gong. See Yampolsky, “Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders,” 6.

98 I-4 is not in Sinom, although this is written on the box; see below.

teen verse forms are also mentioned and used.⁹⁹

The *pupuh* verse forms are distinguished according to the number of lines per verse, the number of syllables per line (*guru wilangan*), and also the last vowel (*guru lagu*) of each line:¹⁰⁰

Line	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Asmarandana	8-i	8-a	8-é/o	8-a	7-a	8-u	8-a			
Dangdanggula	10-i	10-a	8-é/o	7-u	9-i	7-a	6-u	8-a	12-i	7-a
Kinanti	8-u	8-i	8-a	8-i	8-a	8-i				
Sinom	8-a	8-i	8-a	8-i	7-i	8-u	7-a	8-i	12-a	

The *pupuh* verse forms are also used by the Javanese, but the texts as sung here are Sundanese or possibly Old-Javanese (*Kawi*) pronounced in the Sundanese way. Moreover, the written information on the boxes of the wax cylinders indicates that there are no Javanese recordings. I shall therefore assume that these recordings are all Sundanese. Unfortunately, the texts can hardly be heard on these recordings and only in a few instances have I made an attempt to hear whether the verse forms mentioned on the recordings and cylinder boxes were indeed sung, by counting the number of lines and syllables per line and listening to the end vowels of each line.

In *macapat*, Cianjuran and *kakawén* singing the end of a text line does not always coincide with the end of the musical phrase, which sometimes makes it difficult to hear the texts. Besides, in practice these structural aspects of the verse forms are not always perfectly adhered to: the number of syllables in a line may be one more or one less. In addition, although generally there is not much repetition of text, in Cianjuran music a text line may be repeated, and stopgaps added.¹⁰¹ Repetition of text and stopgaps occur less frequently in *macapat* singing, which is without instrumental accompaniment, and is therefore more text-oriented than Cianjuran, in which the musical aspects are relatively more important.

99 Of these only *Pangkur* (or is it *Pangbodas*?) is mentioned in recording I-24 (CD5, track 30), but, like Yampolsky (Yampolsky, "Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders," 11), I doubt whether this is correct; it seems that the singer— after stopping — is continuing with the former song Candran Gatokaca. See also M.A. Salmun, *Kandaga kasusastran Sunda* (Bandung/Djakarta: Ganaco, 1963), 46-55.

100 See, for instance Wim van Zanten, "The Poetry of Tembang Sunda," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 140 (1984): 289-316, 294-296.

101 Van Zanten, "The Poetry of Tembang Sunda," 292.

7.1 *Cylinder I-18 (CD5, track 24): Kinanti Songs from the “Panji Wulung” Story*

The written information on the cylinder box tells us that two-and-a-half Kinanti verses from the “Panji Wulung” story are sung. I have traced this back from the starting words in the third verse, and found that the texts are indeed taken from the book *Wawacan Panji Wulung* written by Radén Haji Muhammad Musa (Moehamad Moesa) in 1862 and first published in 1871.¹⁰² The *wawacan* are stories written in *pupuh* verse forms. Such stories usually already existed and are retold in a new form. The *wawacan* “Panji Wulung” was taken from the Javanese story with the same name (“Panji Wulung”). Verses 1-28 are set in Dangdanggula, verses 29-78 in Asmarandana, verses 79-124 in Sinom, verses 125-156 in *Pangkur*, followed by the Kinanti verses 157-213, etc. Below is the text as given in Musa¹⁰³ for the first three Kinanti verses (157-159). It is sung exactly like this by *kalipah* Radén Ékék on cylinder I-18; the fourth line of verse 159 is the last one on the cylinder that ends on 2:28.

157

Laju lampah Panji Wulung
Diiring ku Jayapati
Ki Janggali ki Janggala
Jeung baturna Jayapati
Ngaran ki Kebo Manggala
Kalima Kebo Rarangin

Panji Wulung continued the journey,
Accompanied by Jayapati,
Ki¹⁰⁴ Janggali and ki Janggala,
And Jayapati’s friend,
Called ki Kebo Manggala.
The fifth was Kebo Rarangin.

158

Turun gunung unggah gunung
Nyorang lebak nyukang pasir
Ngaliwat kana bubulak
Sampalan badak jeung sapi
Jauh cunduk anggang datang
Sumping damping ka basisir

Going up and down the mountains,
Crossing valleys, taking roads over ridges,
Passing grasslands in the hills,
Pastureland for rhinoceros and cow.
They travelled very far
And arrived at the beach.

159

Radén ngantosan parahu

The nobleman waited for a ship.

102 Mikihiro Moriyama, *Sundanese Print Culture and Modernity in Nineteenth-Century West Java* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2005), 143-144, 159, plate 7.

103 Muhammad Musa, *Wawacan Panji Wulung* (Jakarta: Girimukti Pasaka, 1990), 35.

104 *Ki* is a honorific term put before a personal name, or for titles and other qualifications, like *ki sémah*, the guest, *ki kuwu*, the village chief. See F.S.Eringa, *Soendaas-Nederlands woordenboek* (Dordrecht, Holland / Cinnaminson, US: Foris, 1984), 399.

Calikna dina kikisik	He sat down in the enclosure
Disarap dangdaunan	And ate all sorts of leaves,
Daun bakung jeung badori/ Tamba kesel sasauran	<i>Bakung</i> and <i>badori</i> leaves. ¹⁰⁵ / Medicine for his bad feelings about the words
Nyaritakeun ajar tadi	That had just been said to instruct him.

In his introduction to the 1990 edition of *Wawacan Panji Wulung*, Ajip Rosidi remarks that this book was compulsory reading for schools and that therefore many Sundanese know some of these poems by heart, including the quoted Kinanti verse 159 that starts *Radén ngantos an parahu*.¹⁰⁶ By 1904 the fifth print (new edition) had already appeared.¹⁰⁷ So is it hardly surprising to find these “Panji Wulung” verses sung by Sundanese pilgrims in 1906-1909, or in West Java around 1905.

7.2 *Cylinder I-22 (CD 5, track 28): Verse(s) by Hasan Mustapa?*

At the start of wax cylinder I-22 it is clearly announced that the following text is set to the Dangdanggula verse form and in the Sundanese language: “Ieu guguritan Dangdanggula, basa Sunda.” The first sentence can also clearly be heard. It has ten syllables and ends on the vowel i: “Dangdanggula nu jadi mamamis,” Dangdanggula that becomes pleasing. This poem seems to be the first poem from a cycle with a hundred verses by Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930), and is dated 3 July 1901 but never printed.¹⁰⁸ The recording is from *kalipah* Radén Ékék, who has also been recorded on cylinder I-18 discussed above and probably also on I-15. The Dangdanggula verse structure that I hear is more or less what it should be according to theory:

Line	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Dang- dang- gula	10-i	10-a	8-é/0	7-u	9-i	7-a	6-u	8-a	12-i	7-a
Heard in I-22	10-i	10-a	8-0	8-u	11-i	8-a	8-u	7-a	12-i	8-a

105 “Bakung,” bulbous plant with great white flowers; “badori,” shrub with seed lints that are similar to those of cotton.

106 Musa, *Wawacan Panji Wulung*, 5.

107 Moriyama, *Sundanese Print Culture and Modernity in Nineteenth-Century West Java*, 235.

108 Ajip Rosidi, *Haji Hasan Mustapa jeung karya-karyana* (Bandung: Pustaka, 1989), 497.

The end vowels are the same, but in many lines I hear a different number of syllables than required by theory. However, on the aforesaid cylinder I-18 the same singer performs the verse exactly as it should be according to theory. It is therefore quite possible that my hearing is not accurate enough. In the two following songs the verse structure that I hear is also more or less what it should be for Asmarandana according to theory:

Line	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Asmarandana	8-i	8-a	8-é/o	8-a	7-a	8-u	8-a
Heard in verse 1, I-22	8-i	8-(a/ i?)	8-o	8-a	6-a	8-u	12-a
Heard in verse 2, I-22	9-i	10-a	7-o	8-a	8-a [end recording at 2:23.0]		

8 Tembang Sunda Cianjuran

Cianjuran songs are, and were in about 1900, accompanied by a large zither (*kacapi*) and a bamboo flute (*suling*). Nevertheless, the two songs on the wax cylinders L-4 and N-13 that I classified as Cianjuran are unaccompanied, most probably to avoid the technical difficulties of recording more than one singer or instrumentalist. To a large extent the Cianjuran repertoire, in particular the subset of Rarancagan songs, developed from *macapat* singing. The ornamentation, however, is more elaborate in Cianjuran than in *macapat* singing.¹⁰⁹

The *kakawén* songs are mood songs sung solo by the puppeteer of the *wayang* plays. For a long time these mood songs have also been sung outside the context of the *wayang* theatre. *Kakawén* songs (nowadays always in the *saléndro* tone system) have also been incorporated in the Cianjuran repertoire, mainly after the 1960s.¹¹⁰ I shall discuss the two Cianjuran songs in some more detail.

8.1 Cylinder L-4 (CD6, track 11): Cianjuran Song “Papatet Ratu”

On cylinder L-4 there is a recording of a woman singing the Cianjuran song that is nowadays called “Papatet Ratu.” She sings four verses of the song and this is done in a total time of two minutes and thirty seconds (respectively 40,

109 See further Wim van Zanten, “Sundanese Music in the Cianjuran Style. Anthropological and Musicological Aspects of Tembang Sunda,” in *KITLV Verhandelingen* 140, with 90-minute demonstration cassette tape (Dordrecht/ Providence-USA: Foris, 1989) 21-23, 160-162.

110 See further the discussion in Van Zanten, *Sundanese Music in the Cianjuran Style*, 28.

39, 34 and 28 seconds per verse), which is on average slightly faster as compared to the singing of today: mostly forty to forty-five seconds per verse.¹¹¹ The phenomenon of slowing down the tempo of singing, which also occurred in the popular *kroncong*,¹¹² is a topic of further investigation. In Cianjuran music this slowing down of the tempo goes together with a lowering of the standard pitch by about a third to a fourth. I have suggested that for Cianjuran this was a musical reaction to counter the democratisation process that has been going on in the Cianjuran world since the beginning of the twentieth century: a lower pitch level is associated with a higher social status.¹¹³ This “slowing-down” effect is also noticeable in the preference for a slower rate of change from one harmony to another in *kroncong* and a preference for a longer interval between two structural gong notes in Cianjuran music (*wilet*) since 1900.¹¹⁴ This slower speed and slower structural development of the music went together with more elaborate ornamentation.

Several of the ornaments that are used these days may also be heard in this recording.¹¹⁵ The recording is unfortunately very soft and I can only hear very few words. On the bottom of the box was written “Sinom – Soenda.” Yampolsky¹¹⁶ describes his difficulties with the Sinom verse form: “This is *macapat*, but I cannot scan it as Sinom or any other standard meter.” Although I do not know which poem is sung, the verse form is definitely not Sinom. It would have been remarkable if the verse form used would have been Sinom, as the words of the song “Papatet” (Ratu) are mostly set in the Old Sundanese verse forms

111 In comparing the speeds of singing on the recordings we should of course make sure that this is not caused by a technical process, or by trying to fit the song to the time available on the wax cylinder by singing faster. In the case of the song “Papatet Ratu” the time taken for the four verses is very different, from forty to twenty-eight seconds. However, the pitch is almost constant. On the recording there is continuity of the recordings of the first three verses, but then there is a break before the last verse is recorded; it seems that the last verse is sung faster to fit the recording time left. This needs further investigation.

112 Yampolsky, “Kroncong Revisited: New Evidence from Old Sources,” 28. The slowing down of the chord structure not only occurred in *kroncong*, but also in the related *stambul II* – see Philip Yampolsky, “Three Genres of Indonesian Popular Music: Their Trajectories in the Colonial Era and After,” *Asian Music* 44, no.2 (2013): 29-30, 34, 40.

113 Van Zanten, *Sundanese Music in the Cianjuran Style*, 117.

114 *Wilet* is not the Western augmentation, making the length of all the notes twice as long, but rather filling a time interval that is twice as long with twice as many notes of the same duration; see Yampolsky, “Kroncong Revisited: New Evidence from Old Sources,” 35; Van Zanten, *Sundanese Music in the Cianjuran Style*, 156.

115 For instance, the vibrato’s *eureur* and *gedag*, the turns *lélol* and *geregel*, the staccato note after a glissando down *kedet*, the “glottal stops,” etc. (compare overview in Van Zanten, *Sundanese Music in the Cianjuran Style*, 163).

116 Yampolsky, “Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders,” 8.

with eight syllables per line and much assonance and alliteration (*purwakan-ti*).¹¹⁷ The alliteration can be heard here in each of the eight lines of the first verse ending on respectively: a, a, a, a, a, u, a, a (Sinom has nine lines, of which four end on the vowel *i*; see above). It is more difficult to count the number of syllables on this soft recording; in the first verse I counted respectively 7, 8, 7, 7, 8, 8, 9 (10?) and 8 syllables.

Nowadays the song “Papatet Ratu” is often sung just before the song “Pangapungan.” “Papatet Ratu” could be described as a shorter version of the song “Papatet.” “Papatet” is said to have been composed by Étje Madjid Natawiredja (1853-1928) and to contain the musical essence of Cianjuran music. A serious student of the music should first of all need to know how to sing this song.¹¹⁸ It would therefore be interesting to find the first recording of “Papatet Ratu” in this collection. This may give answers to the question as to how “Papatet” and the shorter “Papatet Ratu” are related.

8.2 *Cylinder N-13 (CD7, track 25)*

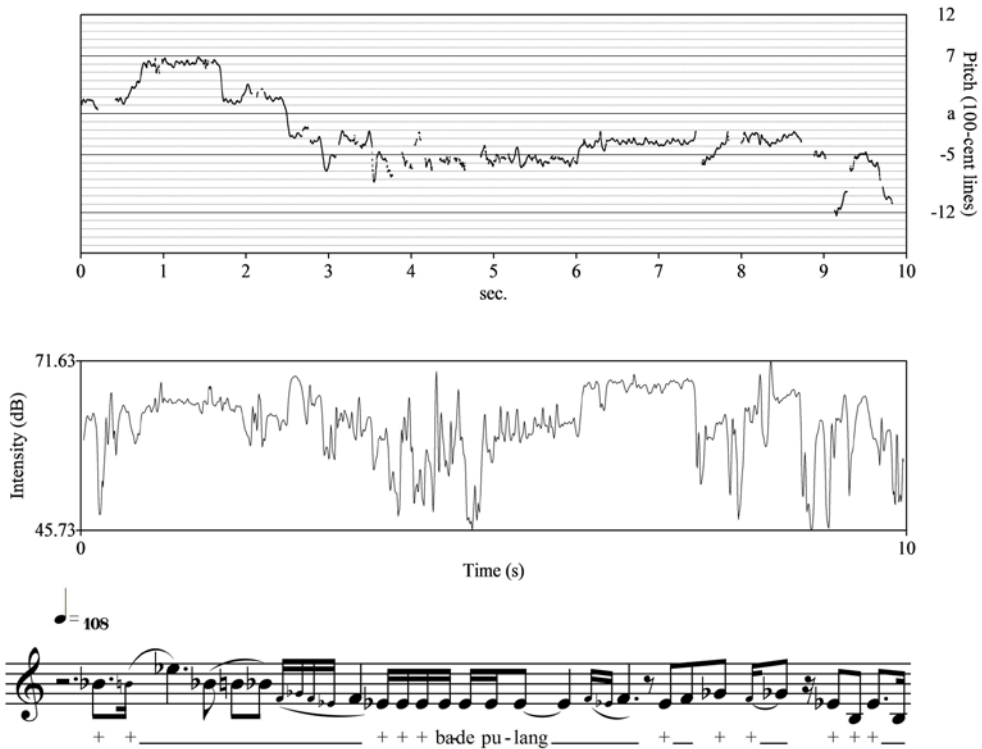
This cylinder N-13 probably also contains a Cianjuran song, although I cannot say which one. According to the written information on the box and the announcement on the recording, the first song is in Sinom verse. On this recording the sound is louder than on cylinder L-4 discussed above. Because of the better signal-to-noise ratio it was possible to analyse the sound with a computer programme PRAAT¹¹⁹ in order to have a closer look at the ornaments. Below there is an analysis of ten seconds of sound taken from the audio file on CD7, track 25 (cylinder N-13) between forty-three and fifty-three seconds from the beginning, that is, after the restart at 0:31 and in the first complete Sinom verse.

The top image gives the pitch development over these ten seconds. On the right the pitch A of 440 Hertz is marked (as “a”). The lines are multiples of hundred cents, that is, multiples of a semitone, apart. Hence the highest tone, produced after less than one second, is about six semitones higher than the 440 Hertz pitch A, and therefore an E-flat. The second picture below gives the intensity of the sound in decibels (dB). It shows that the high E-flat in the beginning is relatively loud as is the long wavering tone between F and G-flat between six and seven-and-a-half seconds. Below these PRAAT pictures, giving pitch and intensity, is a real pitch transcription of the music in Western staff

117 Van Zanten, “The Poetry of Tembang Sunda,” 293-294.

118 Van Zanten, *Sundanese Music in the Cianjuran Style*, 25.

119 PRAAT is a computer programme that was written by Paul Boersma and David Weenink, University of Amsterdam, to analyse speech. Since the 1990s I have also used it for the analysis of music, mainly the Cianjuran ornaments. Information can be found and the freeware downloaded at <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>. Last accessed 17 May 2017.



notation (more or less parallel to the PRAAT picture). The syllables are indicated with a + when I did not hear the syllables.

The tone system used is *sorog*, a pentatonic system with the main pitches from high to low: G-flat, F, E-flat, B, B-flat, (G-flat). If transposed down a semitone, it is more or less the standard pitch of these days (*ukuran* 62¹²⁰): F, E, D, B-flat, A, (F). In contrast, the song “Papatet Ratu” recorded on cylinder L-4, uses the *pélog* tone system, in which the tone D is replaced by the tone C in the standard pitch: F, E, C, B-flat, A, (F).¹²¹ If this song is indeed a Cianjuran song, it

120 *Ukuran* 62, measure 62, refers to the length in centimetres of a six finger-hole bamboo flute (*suling*). For Cianjuran music the lengths are mostly between 60 and 62 cm (a range of about one semitone) and the voice of the singer also determines the choice of the standard pitch. On a 62-cm *suling* the reference note *barang* will be around f; the analysed sound track reproduced from cylinder N-13 has a pitch level that corresponds to a *suling* of about 60 cm. In dealing with the recordings on wax cylinders, we have to be very careful about the actual pitch of the singing; we may only take the pitch of the digital sound for sure if the speed of the recording and reproduction match exactly.

121 Van Zanten, *Sundanese Music in the Cianjuran Style*, 114-116; Wim van Zanten, “The Tone

belongs to the subset of the Rarancagan songs, because it is not metric and it uses a *pupuh* verse form and the *sorog* tone system.

The transcription, in which the “ornamental notes” are represented as small notes shows the very common Cianjuran vocal ornaments, like grace notes, a turn (*lélol*), and a lower mordent (*ketrok*):

Lélol: turn, starting and finishing on the note F:



Ketrok: lower mordent on note F:



These two Cianjuran recordings offer evidence for the study of change in the vocal ornamentation over a period of one hundred years.

9 Other Sundanese Music

There are three wax cylinders with Sundanese music (I-4, I-8, I-10) that do not contain *macapat*, Cianjuran or *kakawén* songs. I shall discuss these below.

9.1 *Cylinder I-4 (CD5, track 11): Song for Purification Ceremony*

According to the text on the box, cylinder I-4 contains “Kidung Banyak Dalang (roewat) – Dalang Serang.” This is apparently a song sung for a purification (*ruat*) ceremony. This would fit in with the Sundanese meaning of *kidung*: an incantation to avert illness, theft, and possible evils that might harbour spirits,¹²² and as such similar to *jampé* and *raja* that are discussed below. Yampolsky remarks that the song “Banyak Dalang” is an important exorcistic *kidung*.¹²³

On this recording I hear the voice of a woman (Dalang Serang, or is it for Dalang Serang?), where Yampolsky heard a male voice. Sundanese puppeteers (*dalang*) are men, and as far as I know the individuals performing a purification ceremony (*dalang ruwatan*) are mostly men too. This would confirm Yampolsky’s observation. If this is a woman, the word *dalang* (from Serang) may indicate that the performer is in the first place a dancer, as male and female mask dancers in Cirebon and the area south of Cirebon are called *dalang*

Material of the Kacapi in Tembang Sunda in West Java,” *Ethnomusicology* 30 (1986): 84-112, 86-91.

122 Van Zanten, *Sundanese Music in the Cianjuran Style*, 18.

123 Yampolsky, “Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders,” 9.

(*topéng*).¹²⁴ It may also be that this singing gives the impression that it is by a female performer because the speed of the wax cylinder was too high during the transfer to digital sound.

9.2 *Cylinder I-10 (CD5, track 17): Start of Pantun Story?*

The male singing on cylinder I-10 is described as “Djampe njawer. Lagoe Galoeh.” It is not entirely clear what this is. A *jampé* is a magic formula and *nyawér* (from *sawér*) is singing benedictions, wise lessons and cautions for a bridal couple before entering the house, for a boy to be circumcised, or for a baby in the “touching the ground” ceremony (*nurunkeun*). At a *sawér/nyawér* ceremony rice, mixed with pieces of turmeric and money, is thrown over the bridal couple, the circumcised boy, or the baby. A *jampé* may generally be used for getting a particular wish fulfilled, or to avert illness and bad spirits, however, a *jampé nyawér* is for well-wishing a bridal couple, a baby and a circumcised boy.

A *jampé* could have similar words as a *kidung* and/or *raja*. It is not sung, however, but (softly) spoken over the offerings, as far as I know.¹²⁵ This *jampé nyawér* is sung, like a *sawér*, and, with difficulty, I tried to catch a few words from the beginning. These suggest that we are dealing with communication between human beings and the gods:

Pun! Sapun!	I beg forgiveness
Ka luhur ka sang rumuhun	From above, from the ancestors
Ka handap tembang batara	The song of the gods descends
Sang batara sang batari	Of the gods and goddesses
[8 syll]	[+++]
Amit ampun [4 syll]	I beg forgiveness [+++]
...	

As the written information on the cylinder box also states that this is a “Galuh song,” it is possible that this singing refers to a *pantun* story, that is, a story about the nobility of the old Sundanese (Hindu) kingdoms such as Pajajaran and Galuh.¹²⁶ This is also strongly supported by the fact that in 1907 Pleyte¹²⁷

124 Endo Suanda, “The Social Context of Cirebonese Performing Artists,” *Asian Music* 13, no. 1 (1981): 27-42, p. 31.

125 Wim van Zanten, “Sung Epic Narrative and Lyrical Songs: Carita Pantun and Tembang Sunda,” in *Performance in Java and Bali. Studies of narrative, theatre, music and dance*, ed. Ben Arps (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993), 144-161, 145-146.

126 *Ibid.*, 144-145.

127 Pleyte, C.M.. “Raden Moending Laja di Koesoema; Een oude Soendasche ridderroman met eene inleiding over den toekang pantoen,” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en*

gave similar lines for the sung opening (*rajab*) of a *pantun* story most probably originating from Karawang, east of Jakarta.¹²⁸ Such *pantun* stories could be sung for healing someone who is ill or for rice that has a disease, or for the well-being of a bridal couple or a boy to be circumcised. If so, this singing a *jampé nyawér* may also be part of a *rajab* that is sung at the start of a night long recitation of a *pantun* story. Musically the recitation definitely resembles the recitation of *pantun* stories. In an earlier publication I wrote:

As far as I know there are no audio recordings of *pantun* before the 1970s. Dutch scholars like Pleyte and Meijer wrote down only the texts of *pantun* around 1900. Pleyte gave some translations and information about the context and music, but Eringa (1949) was the first scholar to analyse a *pantun* text systematically. Pleyte (1912: unnumbered pages after p. 425) gives a short section of transcribed music of the beginning of *Paksi Ke(u) ling*.¹²⁹

It is fairly certain that this recording is indeed part of the recitation of a *pantun* story; it needs to be investigated further before we can be sure.

9.3 *Cylinder I-8 (CD5, track 15): Vendors' Shouts and Malay Speech*

The first part of this cylinder is filled by two recordings of repeated shouting by at least two men and one woman, like vendors in a street or on a market place. For instance, “cai panas,” (hot water or tea), “bubur panas,” (hot porridge), “kacang,” (peanuts), “salak (?) manis,” (sweet *salak* fruit?), “bubur manis,” (sweet porridge), and other shouts that I cannot understand. It could be that they also shout “puasa halala” an allowed (*halal*) fasting period, and “cai halala,” allowed water. In speaking one would say “halal” and not “halala,” so it may be that I did not hear these words correctly; Yampolsky did not mention this cry. I do not recognise these cries as typically “Sundanese,” but it may well be because of the Sundanese word “cai,” water or tea.

At the end of the cylinder there is a European man apparently talking to the

Volkenkunde (TBG) 49 (1907): 1-159, 30.

128 See also Van Zanten, “Some notes on the *pantun* storytelling of the Baduy minority group; Its written and audiovisual documentation”, *Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya* 17 (2016): 404-437, 415. For more information on the text and performing aspects of the Baduy *rajab*, including audio-visual examples on Figshare.com, see Wim van Zanten, *Music of the Baduy People of Western Java: Singing is a Medicine* (Leiden: E.J. Brill 2021), 202-215.

129 Van Zanten, “Sung Epic Narrative and Lyrical Songs: Carita *Pantun* and *Tembang Sunda*,” 148.

people who have just been recorded and he seems to be telling them to get back from the apparatus. Then the phonograph is stopped and started again. The following recorded conversation on this cylinder (2:35 – 3:06) has nothing to do with the previous music. It seems that someone, representing a group of eighty pilgrims from Padang, West Sumatra, is explaining that there are many old people in this group. They have already been waiting to enter the Holy Places of Mecca for seventeen days, because they only want to enter when they feel they are dying.

Cylinder I-8 (CD5, track 15): vendors' shouts and Malay speech	Translation
2:26-2:33: Man speaking Malay with Dutch accent	
Mundur aja. Ayo, mundur (rendo?) ¹³⁰ ; nanti dapat semua. Pelahan-pelahan saja, jangan begitu. [*]	Just go back. Well, go back (and down?). Later you will get all. Do it slowly, not like that. [*]
2:35-2:43: Same man	
[*] [4 syll] punya nama? Punya nama sendiri? Jadi, pas didapat dari mana? Beli?	[*] [4 syll] what is your name? What is your own name? So, where did you get the pass? Bought?
2:47-3:06: Malay man	
Tuan, (minta?) tulung sama saya. Atas nama punya jemaah delapan puluh orang belum (mampirkan?) sampai sekarang. Sebab kapan, mau berlayar pintu. Sekarang dia sudah <i>laat</i> sekali, sampai tujuhbelas hari di sini. Untuk tahan ambil baik sebab. Dia datang di sini susah. Ada banyak orang tidak bisa masuk (karena?) semua orang tua dari orang Padang.	Sir, I (ask?) for help. I have a group of eighty pilgrims that were not yet (sent along?) until now. ¹³¹ Because when (they go), they want to die. ¹³² Now they are already very late, up to 17 days here. For staying they have a good reason. Their coming here was difficult. There are many people who cannot enter (because?) all people from Padang are old.

130 I suppose this is the Malay *rendah*, “low,” pronounced in the Javanese way.

131 Or should the first word be *Tuhan*, “God,” instead of *Tuan*, “Sir”? In that case the translation of this first part could be: “God, (I ask Your?) help in the name of a group of eighty pilgrims. They were not yet (sent along?) until now”.

132 “Berlayar pintu” literally means “sailing (to) the gate” and it is a metaphor for going to the gate of heaven, that is, dying. See also the remarks about cylinder A-17 above.

It may be that the recording of this group on cylinder I-8 was continued on A-17, discussed above, because there is also talk about old people who want “to sail to the gate of heaven” (“berlayar pintu”).

10 Conclusion

As I said at the beginning, it is impossible to give a full treatment of all the Indonesian music and speech on these Snouck Hurgronje wax cylinders within the scope of this essay. Moreover, much still needs to be checked properly, especially in the notes of Snouck Hurgronje. I have concentrated on grasping the spoken words (mainly Dutch, Malay/Indonesian and Sundanese) and the recorded music by ear from the recordings which are sometimes of very bad quality. Much work still needs to be done, and I hope that this essay will stimulate others to improve our knowledge of the recorded music at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Last but not least I express my gratitude to Philip Yampolsky who was not only very helpful in sending me his 1985 report about these wax cylinders, but also in reading critically an earlier version of this essay and suggesting several improvements. I also thank Annemarie van Sandwijk for correcting my English in an earlier version of this essay.

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Appendix 1 Overview of Recordings in Collection Snouck Hurgronje, Leiden University Library

Duration of CDs and Number of Digital Tracks

Each track corresponds to the contents of a wax cylinder; in some cases the sound on the wax cylinder was digitalised twice in different ways. This causes the "double" tracks of the same music. The audio recordings on the CDs that I analysed were in MP3 format. The "duration" in the second column indicates the beginning of the last item, according to the *Phonogramarchiv* in Vienna.

CD	duration	Number of digital tracks on CD					
		“Side A”	“Side B”	Total	double	lacking	different tracks
1	152'10	23	24	47	7	-	40
2	159'11	24	22	46	8	-	38
3	156'47	26	17	43	7	-	36
4	157'12	25	22	47	5	-	42
5	159'34	24	23	47	1	1	45
6	159'34	22	23	45	2		43
7	156'49	24	22	46	-	1	45
8	128'20	21	13	34	5	1	28
Total	ca.20 hours			355	35	3	317

On 22 and 30 March 2010 I inspected the wax cylinders in the Leiden University Library, in particular for the information written on the boxes of the recordings concerning Indonesia, and I counted 332 cylinders and one empty box. Of these 332 cylinders, nineteen were not on the list of digitalised items by the *Phonogrammarchiv*, because these were broken, had too much fungus - *Pilz-befall* - on the wax, or were otherwise too heavily decayed. Of these nineteen cylinders in the University Library six were clearly broken and one had “decayed,” “... *bedorven* 27/12 (1912?),” written on it:

A-8 (broken), B-6, B-7 (... *Vortrag Cairo, 18 Januar 1930...*), B-9, C-2, C-4 (bottom: ‘5045 Dichter und Bauer’), C-6, C-7, C-8, C-15 (broken), D-2 (broken), D-3, F-8 (broken), H-6 (broken, no lid on box), I-12 (‘... *bedorven* 27/12 (1912?)’), O-18, P-15, P-16 (broken) and one cylinder without number with text ‘Kamer 120 kast IV’.

This would leave $332 - 19 = 313$ wax cylinders to be digitalised, instead of 317. The most likely explanation seems to be that of the 317 digitalised “different tracks” in the table above there still remain four that have been digitalised twice, since I may have misinterpreted the information, for instance, of *matrizierte Kopie* 39B and 40B and *reparierter Zylinder, alter Phonograph* 37B (information on coverindex_8b). This needs to be checked more carefully. Under the thirty-two wax cylinders connected with Indonesia (Appendix 3), there are no doubles.

Appendix 2 Crude Classification of the Recordings

Types of music and speech on the recordings, classified according to the main issue per track; on some recordings there is a combination of speech and singing, etc.

Type according to vocal part	Gender	Additional instruments	Number of items	Percentage
<i>Indonesian items, specified in Appendix 3</i>			32	10
<i>Non- Indonesian items:</i>				
Call for prayer	male		13	4
Reciting Qur'an	male		20 ¹³³	6
Reciting stories	male		54	17
Solo singing	male	Plucked lute	120	38
		Plucked lute and drum	14	4
		Bowed lute	4	1
	female	drum	6	2
		unaccompanied	6	2
Chorus	female	(Frame) drum	2	1
		unaccompanied	6	2
	Male or children	Frame drum(s)	14	4
			2	1
	Male + female	8	3	
Speech			12	4
Other			4	1
Total			317	100

133 Witkam only presents eleven items with the recitation of the Qur'an. My judgements were only based on some knowledge about Indonesian music and I may have classified some stories as recitals of the Qur'an. See Witkam, "The Audio-Visual Dimension: Christian Snouck Hurgronje's Documentation of Sights and Sounds of Arabia," 30.

Appendix 3 Overview of Thirty-Two Wax Cylinders Concerning Indonesia

In the first column of the following table I used three identification numbers: (1) the number on the boxes of the cylinders, supplied by Snouck Hurgronje or the recorders in Jeddah; (2) CD number and track as given by the *Phonogrammarchiv* in Vienna; and (3) the identification by Philip Yampolsky in his 1985 report (indicated by Y...). In this Appendix 3 references to Yampolsky are always to his 1985 report.¹³⁴

The items are ordered according to the wax cylinder identification: first in alphabetical order and then by numerical order: A-17, H-13, H-15, H-16, I-1, I-2, etc. Gavin remarks that “no strictly rational system other than convenience has so far been determined to underly the designation”¹³⁵ of the letters and numbers. However, it seems that the letter “I” has been used exclusively for recordings from Indonesian performers; the “H” refers at least in several cases to recordings in Dutch (Holland).

Note especially the following differences between the number on the cylinder that I use and the ones by Yampolsky:

- cylinder I-4 is the same as Yampolsky 119/A.4;
- cylinder I-5 is the same as Yampolsky 95/I.4;
- cylinder I-20 is the same as Yampolsky 125/I.20 (and not 105/I.20);
- cylinder I-22 is the same as Yampolsky 105/I.20.

In the third column, under *Box*, I included the exact text written on the box, sometimes on the label on the lid, sometimes on the bottom of the box, as far as I could decipher this. Under *Ann.* (announcement), I wrote the text as transcribed from the recording, if any. I also gave the duration of the recording, excluding the start and the end with just noise, and the starting point of the wax cylinder on the audio file as made by the *Phonogrammarchiv* in Vienna.

In a few cases there were differences between Gavin,¹³⁶ Yampolsky,¹³⁷ and my findings:

1. cylinder H-15 was classified as “Malay” language by Gavin, but it is entirely Dutch;
2. cylinder I-10 was once classified as Sundanese and once as Acehnese by Gavin, but it should be Sundanese only;
3. cylinder I-17 was not mentioned by Gavin, but it was by Yampolsky, indicated below as Y102/I.17;
4. Yampolsky did not include cylinders H-13, H-15, H-16 and N-12, all with mainly Dutch speech.

¹³⁴ Yampolsky, “Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders.”

¹³⁵ Gavin, “The Earliest Arabian Recordings: Discoveries and Work Ahead,” 41.

¹³⁶ Gavin, “The Earliest Arabian Recordings: Discoveries and Work Ahead,” 41.

¹³⁷ Yampolsky, “Indonesian Music and Speech on the Jiddah Cylinders.”

Wax cylinder CD track; Yamp id.	Language/ region	Text on box and announcement on recording, followed by a description of the recording.	Comments; speed wax cyl. in rpm when digitalising
A-17 CD1-19 Y91/A.17	Malay	<i>Box:</i> [nothing on top; on bottom] "Mal. gesprek 1909." <i>Ann.:</i> None <i>Duration:</i> 1:40; start cylinder: 0:00.7 Speech in Malay by several people, men and boys.	Original with translation in text of this essay; 160 rpm.
H-13 CD4-44 Not in Y	Dutch, Malay	<i>Box:</i> "Fam. v. Ophuysen." <i>Ann.:</i> None <i>Duration:</i> 2:23; start cylinder: 0:01.5 Dutch speech, apparently by members of the van Ophuysen family. This seems a recording for trying out the technical aspects. 0:38-1:04 try-out singing? 1:04-1:22 Lines from poem by Tollens 1:22-1:45 <i>kroncong</i> song "Nina Bobo"; 1:45-1:53 woman speaking; 1:54 -2:23 whistling.	Song "Nina Bobo" analysed in essay; original speech and translation in essay; 160 rpm.
H-15 CD4-46 Not in Y	Dutch / Sundanese proverb	<i>Box:</i> "Hoeseins promotie" <i>Ann.:</i> None <i>Duration:</i> 2:07; start cylinder: 0:01.2 Speeches by several people on the day that P.A. Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1886-1960) obtained his Ph.D. at Leiden University in 1913. Most probably also the voices of Snouck Hurgronje and Hoesein Djajadiningrat.	Very unclear; original with translation in essay; 160 rpm.
H-16 CD4-47 Not in Y	Dutch	<i>Box:</i> "(Jrege Juffr. ?) Hugon" <i>Ann.:</i> None <i>Duration:</i> 2:14; start cylinder: 0:01.3 Apparently try-out of the recordings by spoken texts; men and women.	Unclear; original with translation in essay; 160 rpm.
I-1 CD5-8 Y92/I.1	Aceh	<i>Box:</i> "Seulaweüöh tjitjém, gez. d. Tjoet Njas Paridat 3 Atj." <i>Ann.:</i> 0:3-0:05 [2 syll] (<i>seulaweuet?</i>) <i>cicèm</i> . <i>Duration:</i> 2:14; start cylinder: 0:01.2 Solo singing by woman, Tjoet Njas Paridat; third Aceh recording. Yampolsky (1985:4) writes that <i>seulaweuet</i> in Acehnese is usually spelled <i>selawat</i> or <i>shalawat</i> in Indonesian; these terms refer to songs in praise of the Prophet, and he is not convinced that this is the case with this recording.	160 rpm.
I-2 CD5-9 Y93/I.2	Aceh	<i>Box:</i> "Dōdaidi gez. door Tj. Nj. Paridat 1 Atj." <i>Ann.:</i> 0:07-0:10 [2 syll] <i>Doda'idi aneuk</i> [2 syll]. <i>Duration:</i> 2:15; start cylinder: 0:00.8 Solo singing by woman of lullaby by Tj. Nj. Paridat; first Aceh recording.	160 rpm.

(continuation)			
Wax cylinder CD track; Yamp id.	Language/ region	Text on box and announcement on recording, followed by a description of the recording.	Comments; speed wax cyl. in rpm when digitalising
I-3 CD5-10 Y94/I.3	Gayo	<i>Box</i> : “N ^o 1 Gajō Didòng Laut T. Lagoe naroe” <i>Ann.</i> : None <i>Duration</i> : 2:03; start cylinder: 0:00.8 <i>Didong</i> solo singing by a man in the style of the region Laut Tawar; <i>Lagu naru</i> means “long song.” Bowen describes <i>lagu naru</i> as “long voice,” “the drawn-out melodic style of singing.” ¹³⁸ First Gayo recording.	Song text in Bowen (1991:72-3); 160 rpm.
I-4 CD5-11 Y119/A.4	Sundanese	<i>Box</i> : “Kidoeng Banjak dalang (roewat) – Dalang Serang” <i>Ann.</i> : None <i>Duration</i> : 3:13; start cylinder: 0:01.0 Solo singing by a woman; accompaniment with bowed string instrument (<i>rebab?</i>) [*] 3:00-3:13 (<i>rebab?</i>) solo. For purification (<i>ruwat</i>) ceremony; some of the sung words are: 0:20-0:24 <i>banyak dalang</i> , 2:38 <i>kotorkan (sapuana?)</i> , menstruate (cleaning?).	Yampolsky hears a male singer; 120 rpm.
I-5 CD5-12 Y95/I.4	Gayo	<i>Box</i> : “3 Bersë boekoe Gajō Loeös Nj. Poetéh” <i>Ann.</i> : 0:03-0:07 [2+4+2 syll] Gayo Lues. <i>Duration</i> : 2:15; start cylinder: 0:01.2 Solo singing by a man; most probably <i>didong</i> , as the singing is similar in style to the other <i>didong</i> recordings (I-3, I-16, I-17, I-23, P-11) and not to the <i>sebuku</i> lament in I-20. A <i>sebuku</i> is always sung by women, according to Snouck Hurgronje (1903:294, 312) and Ara (1979:11). Third Gayo recording.	Yampolsky and I do not hear “ <i>bersebuku</i> ” in announcement. Yampolsky hears a female voice; 160 rpm.
I-6 CD5-13 Y120/I.6	Aceh	<i>Box</i> : “6 Atj gesprek Tj. Paridat en man” / 6 Aceh <i>Ann.</i> : None <i>Duration</i> : 3:06; start cylinder: 0:01.2 Is this a “conversation” (<i>gesprek</i>) between Tj. Paridat and a man?; sixth Aceh recording. 0:03-1:47 and 2:03-2:59 Woman Reciting/ shouting repetitious text; 1:47-1:58 and 3:03-3:09 man speaking.	120 rpm.

(continuation)			
Wax cylinder CD track; Yamp id.	Language/ region	Text on box and announcement on recording, followed by a description of the recording.	Comments; speed wax cyl. in rpm when digitalising
I-7 CD5-14 Y96/I.7	Sundanese	<p><i>Box</i>: “2 Kĕka-wèn (soenat) en een fragment Sinom” <i>Ann.</i>: 0:04-0:06 <i>Ieu kakawén Arjuna</i> (This is the <i>kakawén</i> Arjuna); 1:07-1:10 <i>Ieu kakawén Banowati</i>; 1:54-1:56 <i>Ieu tembang Sinom</i>. <i>Duration</i>: 2:23; start cylinder: 0:00.9 Solo singing by the same man of the two <i>kakawén</i> (songs of puppeteer) apparently meant for circumcision (<i>sunat</i>) and a fragment of Sinom verse (<i>macapat</i>). Arjuna and Banowati are figures from the Mahabarata epic. Arjuna is one of the major heroes and the third one of the five Pandawa brothers. 0:06-1:07 <i>Kakawén Arjuna</i> (wayang), 1:10-1:53 <i>Kakawén Banowati</i> (wayang), 1:57-2:27 <i>Tembang Sinom</i> (only first part).</p>	160 rpm.
I-8 CD5-15 Y121/I.8	Sundanese	<p><i>Box</i>: “Boeboer panas etc.” [on bottom:] “(Tjai?) panas II.” <i>Ann.</i>: None <i>Duration</i>: 3:06; start cylinder: 0:01.0 Repeated shouting by men and women, like vendors in a street or on a market place, for instance (0:16-0:28) <i>cai panas</i>, hot water/ tea; (<i>puasa halala?</i>), an allowed (<i>halal</i>) fasting period?; <i>bubur panas</i>, hot porridge; <i>kacang</i>, peanuts; 0:33-0:36 (<i>salak?</i>) <i>manis</i>, sweet (<i>salak</i> fruit?); 0:40-0:43 (<i>cai halala?</i>), allowed water; 1:02-1:05 <i>bubur manis</i>, sweet porridge; other shouts that I cannot understand. 2:25-2:41 Speaking Malay with Dutch accent, 2:45-3:05 Indonesian man speaking.</p>	2:26-3:06 For the shouts Yampolsky gives <i>jahé panas</i> , hot ginger drink, presumably instead of <i>cai panas</i> . <i>Cai</i> is Sundanese; 120 rpm.
I-9 CD5-16 Y97/I.9	Sundanese	<p><i>Box</i>: “Biantara bij huwelijk Dalang Serang” <i>Ann.</i>: 0:02-0:16 <i>Sementara</i> (or <i>biantara?</i>)[+++] <i>Duration</i>: 2:11; start cylinder: 0:00.8 Occasional speech/poem (<i>biantara</i>) at marriage by puppeteer (or dancer/singer) Serang/ from Serang, West Java. The initial speech seems to be a mixture of Indonesian and Sundanese: <i>Sementara</i> (while) is Indonesian and <i>umrah</i> (visit to a holy place as part of a pilgrimage) is used in Indonesian as well as in Sundanese. 0:02 woman speaking; 0:16 drum; 0:21-1:02 singing (with flute?); 1:07 woman speaking, 1:24 two tuned drums, 1:28 singing with flute, 2:05-2:08 two tuned drum.</p>	Yampolsky gives instruments: <i>rebab</i> (instead of <i>suling</i>) and drum and small gong (instead of two tuned drums); 160 rpm.

(continuation)			
Wax cylinder CD track; Yamp id.	Language/region	Text on box and announcement on recording, followed by a description of the recording.	Comments; speed wax cyl. in rpm when digitalising
I-10 CD5-17 Y98/I.10	Sundanese	<i>Box</i> : "Djampe njawer. Lagu Galoeh" <i>Ann.</i> : None <i>Duration</i> : 2:11; start cylinder: 0:01.1 Solo singing by a man at the occasion of a marriage, circumcision or "touching the ground" ceremony for a baby (<i>jampé nyawér</i>). Most likely this is a <i>rajah</i> , that is, the sung beginning of a <i>pantun</i> recitation, where forgiveness is asked from the gods, as <i>lagu Galuh</i> (Galuh song) seems to refer to a <i>pantun</i> story.	Small part of the sung text in essay; 160 rpm.
I-11 CD5-18 Y122/I.11	Aceh	<i>Box</i> : "5 Atj Haba plandō ^s Béntara Bagò" ¹³⁹ <i>Ann.</i> : 2:47-2:52 [*] [2 syll] <i>haba</i> [2 syll] <i>haba</i> [+++] <i>Duration</i> : 2:48; start cylinder: 0:00.8 Story (<i>haba</i>) telling by a man of the mouse deer (<i>plandōk</i>) story Béntara Bagòk; fifth recording from Aceh.	120 rpm.
I-13 CD5-19 Y100/I.13	Sundanese	<i>Box</i> : "Woelang Poetra Dangdanggoela en Setjawata (Asmarandana) [last line unreadable]" <i>Ann.</i> : 0:01-0:04 <i>Sumuhun pupuh Dangdanggula</i> : as you wish, the verse form Dangdanggula. <i>Duration</i> : 2:08; start cylinder: 0:00.8 Solo singing by a woman: <i>macapat</i> with verse form (<i>pupuh</i>) Dangdanggula, two verses with big leaps in the melody, which is unusual; 1:41 new song (not announced) in Asmarandana verse form. "Wulang putra" means lessons for children.	Yampolsky does not hear standard Dangdanggula; I did not check this; 160 rpm.
I-14 CD5-20 Y123/I.14	Gayo	<i>Box</i> : "Nj Poetèh Gajösch verhaal – N° 7" <i>Ann.</i> : 0:04-0:06 Gayo [3 syll] <i>lagu</i> <i>Duration</i> : 2:42; start cylinder: 0:00.9 Gayo story told by a man (Njaq Poetéh?); seventh Gayo recording. 0:19-0:21 <i>kita beli kuda dulu</i> , we shall first buy a horse; 0:25-0:26 <i>tawar kita</i> , our bargain 1:05-1:07 <i>kuda dulu</i> , first a/the horse; <i>ada sepuluh (nagu/lagu?)</i> , there are ten (/songs?); 1:30-1:33, 2:42 three times <i>gupermer</i> , governor; 2:28-2:30 Tuan Besar Ariyatis, the head/boss Ariyatis; 2:31-2:41 three times <i>kepala kampung</i> , the village chief.	Yampolsky: names Tengku Danil and Tengku Haji Dun are mentioned; I hear "Haji Bin"; 140 rpm.

139 For the information on the boxes I try to follow the handwritten texts as much as possible; here the symbol ' (*hamzah*) indicates a "glottal stop," that I shall write as "k" or "q"; see further Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*, xv. See Figure 1 for a photograph of the handwritten text.

(continuation)			
Wax cylinder CD track; Yamp id.	Language/ region	Text on box and announcement on recording, followed by a description of the recording.	Comments; speed wax cyl. in rpm when digitalising
I-15 CD5-21 Y124/L15	Sundanese	<i>Box</i> : "Sinom (2) en Kinanti (1) Kalipah (Lebak/Lalas?)" <i>Ann.</i> : None <i>Duration</i> : 2:58; start cylinder: 0:01.4 <i>Macapat</i> singing by a man: Sinom verse form, 2 verses; 2:20-3:00 part of another song in Kinanti (?), apparently by the head of a small mosque (<i>kalipah</i>) (Ékék from Lebak?; compare I-18, I-22).	120 rpm.
I-16 CD5-22 Y107/L16	Gayo	<i>Box</i> : "Didong Laut Tawar Nj Poetéh – N° 2 Gajo" <i>Ann.</i> : None <i>Duration</i> : 2:27; start cylinder: 0:00.5 Solo singing by a man: <i>Didong</i> from the Laut Tawar region (by Njaq Poetéh?) second Gayo recording.	Yampolsky hears a female singer; 160 rpm.
I-17 CD5-23 Y102/L17	Gayo	<i>Box</i> : "Nja ^c Poetéh Didong Gajō Lagoe (.. ölliō?)" <i>Ann.</i> : 0:05-0:08 <i>Ini didong Gayo, lagu (Deutillo?)</i> (This is <i>didong</i> from the Gayo, the song (Deutillo?)) <i>Duration</i> : 2:21; start cylinder: 0:00.8 Solo singing by man: <i>Didong</i> Gayo by Njaq Poetéh, song (.. ölliō?).	Not clear; 160 rpm.
I-18 CD5-24 Y103/L18	Sundanese	<i>Box</i> : "Kinanti 2 ½ pada (Pandji Woeloeng Soend) Kal. R. Ekek" <i>Ann.</i> : 0:01-0:03 <i>Ieu, lagu Kinanti</i> (these are Kinanti songs). <i>Duration</i> : 2:26; start cylinder: 0:00.6 <i>Macapat</i> solo singing by a man, the head of the mosque (<i>kalipah</i>) Radén Ekek: 2½ Kinanti verses from the Sundanese "Panji Wulung" story by Muhammad Musa (Moehamad Moesa). Verses start at 0:04 (first), 1:00 (second) and 1:53 (third: <i>Raden ngantos an parahu</i>).	Original text and transla- tion in essay; 160 rpm.
I-19 CD5-25 Y104/L19	Aceh	<i>Box</i> : "Dōdō aneu ^c lagèë nalam Tj. Nj. Paridat 2 Atj" <i>Ann.</i> : (<i>Iye?</i>) <i>dodo aneuk lagee Nalam</i> ((This is?) a lullaby, in the <i>Nalam</i> verse). <i>Duration</i> : 2:27; start cylinder: 0:01.0 Solo singing by a woman, Tj. Nj. Paridat, of lullaby in special verse form (<i>nalam</i>); second Aceh recording.	160 rpm.
I-20 CD5-26 Y125/L20	Gayo	<i>Box</i> : "N° 4 Berseboe koe Böbö sön Njaq Poetéh" <i>Ann.</i> : [*] [3 + 2 + 1 syll] (bobon?) <i>Duration</i> : 3:21; start cylinder: 0:00.5 Solo singing by a man: lament (<i>sebuku</i>) by Njaq Poetéh. Fourth Gayo recording. The singing mentions <i>bersebuku</i> (1:50-1:52).	Bebesen is a town in Gayo land (Bowen 1991:14); 120 rpm.

(continuation)			
Wax cylinder CD track; Yamp id.	Language/ region	Text on box and announcement on recording, followed by a description of the recording.	Comments; speed wax cyl. in rpm when digitalising
I-22 CD5-28 Y105/L20	Sundanese	<i>Box:</i> "Dangd.goe-la en Asmaran. Soend. Kalipah R. Ekek" <i>Ann.:</i> 0:02-0:08 <i>Ieu guguritan Dangdanggula, basa Sunda</i> (These words are in Dangdanggula (verse form), in the Sundanese language); 1:23-1:25 <i>Ieu Asmarandana</i> (This is Asmarandana) <i>Duration:</i> 2:21; start cylinder: 0:00.6 <i>Macapat</i> singing by a man, head of mosque Radén Ekek: Dangdanggula; 1:23 Asmarandana. First line of first song is <i>Dangdanggula nu jadi mamanis</i> , also the start of a poem by Hasan Mustapa.	160 rpm.
I-23 CD5-29 Y106/L23	Gayo	<i>Box:</i> "N° 6 (Lg Doak?) ni didong Laut Tawar Nj.P." <i>Ann.:</i> 0:04-0:06 (<i>Surat?</i>) <i>didong Laut Tawar</i> <i>Duration:</i> 2:22; start cylinder: 0:00.6 Solo singing by a man, Njaq Poetéh (?): <i>Didong</i> from the Laut Tawar region in Gayo land. Sixth Gayo recording. This <i>didong</i> singing is musically in a different style than the other <i>didong</i> of this collection.	Yampolsky: this <i>didong</i> is more melismatic, with more vowels; 160 rpm.
I-24 CD5-30 Y126/L24	Sundanese	<i>Box:</i> "Tjandran Gatot Katja en (pangkoer/pangbodas?)" <i>Ann.:</i> None, except 2:34-2:35 a man probably shouting <i>teruskan!</i> (go on!) during the instrumental interlude. <i>Duration:</i> 3:06; start cylinder: 0:00.7 Solo singing by a man; 0:00-2:30 Candran Gatotkaca (Gatotkaca is a figure from the Ramayana story, who is introduced in sung narrative passage Candran or Nyandra; see Weintraub 1997:138-140); accompaniment by <i>rebab</i> , with 2:30-2:36 instrumental interlude; 2:36 song (<i>Pangkur/Pangbodas?</i>).	Distorted; 120 rpm
L-4 CD6-11 Y108/L.4	Sundanese	<i>Box:</i> [nothing on lid; bottom:] "Sinom – Soenda" <i>Ann.:</i> None <i>Duration:</i> 2:30; start cylinder: 0:01.2 Cianjuran: 4 verses of song "Papatet Ratu" by a woman in <i>pélog</i> tone system; verses start at 0:01, 0:43, 1:23, 2:03. Verse form is <i>purwakanti</i> and not Sinom.	Very soft; see explanation in essay; 160 rpm.
N-12 CD7-24 Not in Y	French, Dutch, Malay	<i>Box:</i> [entirely brown box; only sticker with "N-12" on it] <i>Ann.:</i> None <i>Duration:</i> 2:16; start cylinder: 0:02.8 Spoken texts in shop in Brussels where Edison phonographs are sold.	Original and translation in essay; 160 rpm.

(continuation)			
Wax cylinder CD track; Yamp id.	Language/ region	Text on box and announcement on recording, followed by a description of the recording.	Comments; speed wax cyl. in rpm when digitalising
N-13 CD7-25 Y127/N.13	Sundanese	<i>Box:</i> "Sinom (Tjirebonan/Asmarandana?) (suara?) (Pringgling Tjin?)" <i>Ann.:</i> 0:02-0:06 <i>Ieu, pupuh Sinom</i> (this is the Sinom verse form) <i>Duration:</i> 3:43; start cylinder: 0:02.0 Female vocalist. 0:07-0:27 starts Sinom and stops, 0:31 starts again, 1:19 second verse Sinom; 1:59 third verse (Asmarandana?) 2:50 Fourth verse. Cianjuran songs? Sorog tone system. At 3:31 starts singing <i>Batu (Da pu..?)</i> , then stops and starts again on 3:34 to sing the last musical phrase starting with <i>Batu (Da pu..?)</i> .	See PRAAT analysis in essay. Yampolsky gives Sinom and Asmarandana ¹⁴⁰ ; 100 rpm.
P-7 CD8-19 Y128/P.7	Gayo	<i>Box:</i> "Ke Köbörön ni oelama Aman Ratoes 8" <i>Ann.:</i> 0:05-0:08 [4 syll] <i>kekeberen (buku?) lama ([4] storytelling from old (book?))</i> <i>Duration:</i> 3:08; start cylinder: 0:00.8 Fairy tale/ story (<i>kekeberen</i>) telling by a man, <i>ulama</i> Aman Ratoes; (eighth Gayo recording?) Words repeated several times: <i>masyarakat</i> (people, society), <i>tukang kayu</i> (carpenter), <i>mokot-mokot (?)</i> , <i>tukang jahit</i> (tailor), <i>tukang mas</i> (goldsmith), <i>Cina</i> (China).	120 rpm.
P-10 CD8-22 Y129/P.10	Aceh	<i>Box:</i> "Haba balaih goena T. Bón Bagòc 4 Atj" <i>Ann.:</i> 0:01-0:07 [+++] <i>haba [+++]</i> <i>Duration:</i> 3:11; start cylinder: 0:01.0 Story (<i>haba</i>) telling by a man, Teungku Bón Bagòk; fourth Aceh recording. Words heard: <i>manusia</i> (human(s)), (<i>pantun?</i>), <i>raja</i> (ruler, king), <i>hukum</i> (law), <i>hukum gantung</i> (sentence by hanging).	Very unclear; 120 rpm.
P-11 CD8-23 Y109/P.11	Gayo	<i>Box:</i> "Didong Gajō Loeōs Lagu Kònòt Nj Poetéh - N° 5" <i>Ann.:</i> 0:06-0:09 <i>Didong [2 syll] Lues, lagu Konot.</i> <i>Duration:</i> 2:40; start cylinder: 0:01.1 Solo singing by a man: <i>Didong</i> from the Lues region in Gayo land, song Kònòt, (sung by?) Nj Poetèh; fifth Gayo recording.	140 rpm.

PART 4
Professor in Leiden

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Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in Istanbul (1908): Letters and an Unknown Diary Preserved in the Leiden University Library

*Jan Schmidt*¹

Much has been written about Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), professor of Arabic language and literature at Leiden University (from 1907), and government adviser for colonial policy.² This is not surprising. Snouck Hurgronje wrote a great deal, and above all polemically and ironically, which means that many of his writings, whether they address an academic, bureaucratic, or a broader readership, are still eminently readable. He was one of those personalities about whom the English could say that “he did not suffer fools gladly.” That this characterisation is justified is clear if one reads his work. Many an ingenuous official was rapped over the knuckles in his official reports. On his debit side are a lack of modesty and humour.

Snouck’s self-esteem was aroused early in his life when he acquired international fame for his book on Mecca which was first published in German in 1888-1889; an English version appeared in 1931. A few years ago a Dutch scholar analysed the anthropological method which underlay Snouck’s “fieldwork” and the resulting description of the town and its inhabitants³ - Snouck was able to stay there in 1885 - which might better be characterised as a clever piece of travelogue, or even as an “ego document,” in which the personality of the author dominates the prose, rather than a study in anthropology (ethnography would be the term of those days). Snouck, with hindsight, seems, rather than a “fieldworker,” to have been an exceptionally capable journalist and writer *tout court* who, during the last years of his life, spent much energy on writing articles on contemporary political developments for magazines and newspapers. Nevertheless, Snouck was in the first place a linguist. He mastered Arabic and various Austro-Asiatic languages, and wrote about these languages and about

1 First published in Dutch in *Sharqyyât* 11, no. 2 (1999): 77-100.

2 A good concise biography is G.W.J. Drewes, “Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan (1857-1936),” in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, vol. 2 (Den Haag 1985), 523-526.

3 Jean Kommers, “Snouck Hurgronje als etnograaf van Mekka,” *Sharqyyat* 10, no. 2 (1998): 151-176.

aspects of the cultures to which they were related, Islamic law in its various forms in particular. Turkish was among these languages, although he wrote almost nothing about it or about Turkish culture. During my cataloguing work in the Leiden University Library I came across various traces of Snouck's Turcological activities, if you could call them such. These occurred mainly around the year 1908 when he spent some months in Istanbul. The collection of manuscripts bequeathed by Snouck to the Leiden Library⁴ comprises three autograph notebooks with texts in various languages, among them Turkish, as well as a number of letters related to this episode in his life. One of the notebooks (Cod.Or. 7114a) contains lists of Turkish words and Turkish phrases with, mostly, German explanations. The date of August 1907 is found on the first page. This clearly indicates that by that time Snouck had begun to learn the language. The third notebook (Cod.Or. 7114c) contains a report made during his period in Istanbul in 1908 which can be found in translation at the end of this chapter. It was already known that Snouck kept a diary now and then – he also did so in Jeddah during 1884-1885; it is preserved as Cod.Or. 7112 in the library – but this fragment has hitherto been overlooked. From the later 1950s onwards, the Leiden Library received a big collection of letters in various languages, among them Turkish, archival documents, and photographs from his daughter Christina Liefinck-Snouck Hurgronje which had belonged to her father (Cods.Or. 8952 and 18.097). These papers, available to the public from 1 January 1997, comprise a wealth of material which will doubtlessly contribute to a better insight into Snouck's biography and work.

Snouck reported about his Istanbul period in the Dutch journal *De Gids*. The article⁵ was later included in his collected works (*Verspreide geschriften*). Although it is largely devoted to the exciting political events which took place during the time he was in Istanbul – the immediate aftermath of the “declaration of freedom” as the Young-Turkish revolution was called by contemporary Ottomans – he also did some “fieldwork” that had nothing to do with politics, as becomes clear from the diary and the relevant letters. This research never led to any publication as far as I have been able to establish.⁶ Nor is there any

4 See J.J. Witkam, *Honderd jaar Mekka in Leiden. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling gehouden ter gelegenheid van de honderdste verjaardag van de Mekka-reis van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1885)*. *Archivalia, handschriften, gedrukte boeken, wetenschappelijke notities, brieven, foto's en ethnografica* (Leiden: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1985).

5 C. Snouck Hurgronje, “Jong-Turkije. Herinneringen uit Stambol. 25 Juli – 23 September 1908,” in *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, vol. 3: *Geschriften betreffende Arabië en Turkije* (Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1923), 227-256 – in the following I will quote from this edition.

6 His only contribution to the interpretation of a Turkish text is to be found in the appendix to

indication that Snouck kept up his Turkish or had any particular interest in Ottoman or Turkish matters after 1908 (unless they influenced global events).

The reason why Snouck began to study Turkish in 1907 is unknown, but it may have been prompted by a change in his life: his conflict with the governor-general of the Dutch East Indies, J.B. van Heutsz, his decision in 1906 to leave the Indies, and his acceptance of the chair of Arabic at Leiden University. During his professorship Snouck remained in office as government adviser, and it is not unlikely that his wish to learn Turkish, or improve his mastery of the language, was related to the threat of Pan-Islamism, felt at that time in broad circles, as well as by Snouck himself, and its potential to undermine the authority of the colonial government over the Islamic population of the Indies. Snouck had been the driving force behind the policy of monitoring the Ottoman “Pan-Islamic press” by the Dutch Legation in Istanbul. There cannot, however, have been many readers in the Indies who were able to read Turkish – Snouck was of course aware of this – and even the influence of Arabic publications on the small Arab community mainly in Batavia (Jakarta) appears, with hindsight, to have been negligible. Interest in the Indies for the Middle East, moreover, was scant, and Ottoman journalists only wrote very few articles about the area. In some of these Snouck, to his intense irritation, was berated and presented as someone who fostered a deep hatred for Arabs and Turks, and “had been expelled from Mecca because of his insincere conversion to Islam.”⁷ A greater and more direct threat was constituted by the presence, from 1883 on, of Ottoman consuls in Batavia, but even their influence over the population of the Indies was, as documentary evidence has shown, negligible.⁸ The revolt of July 1908 seriously undermined the authority of the sultan in Istanbul and his international prestige – Snouck himself was of the opinion at that time that “the Medieval Caliphate” with its “absurd pretensions” had already come to an end⁹ – and this may have contributed to the fact that Snouck’s interest in Turkish matters was only of short duration.

However that may have been, Snouck wrote a letter to a certain Mehmed

Georg Jacob's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschis* (Berlin: Mayer, 1908), 96-100; as is clear from the first footnote, it was largely based on information obtained from his Turkish teacher Hayruddin Bey.

7 See G.S. van Krieken, *Snouck Hurgronje en het Panislamisme* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 26. For a survey of the role played by Pan-Islamism in Dutch-Ottoman relations, see my *Through the Legation Window 1876-1926. Four Essays on Dutch, Dutch-Indian and Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1992), 49-143. Also see chapter 6 of this volume.

8 See Schmidt, *Legation Window*, 85-90.

9 Snouck Hurgronje, “Herinneringen uit Stambol,” 256.

Hayruddin Bey, a resident of *Urbanstrasse* 96 in Stuttgart, in June 1907, and inquired if the latter was willing to teach him Turkish.¹⁰ It is unclear how Snouck came into contact with this man, but both were acquainted with the German orientalist and professor at Erlangen University, Georg Jacob (1862-1937) whom Hayruddin had assisted in translating Turkish literature.¹¹ It is quite possible that Jacob suggested that Snouck should contact him. Snouck wrote to the Hungarian orientalist, Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), that Hayruddin had been a staff officer who had been sent to Stuttgart in order to purchase *Mauser* rifles for the Ottoman army. There, he married a German woman from Schwaben, retired from the army, and found employment with the export agency of the *Mauserwerke*. (The factory itself was situated in Oberndorf, not far from Stuttgart). Snouck wrote to his teacher in Holland, Professor de Goeje:¹² "I do not regret my journey to Stuttgart; I found here what I could reasonably expect: a very civilised, most diligent Turk, a native of Constantinople, a former staff officer, forced to emigrate because of his marriage with a German woman..."¹³ Hayruddin and his wife had a son called Osman and three daughters, Hayriye, Feride and Emine. Three of the children received an Islamic education, the fourth was raised as a Christian.¹⁴ In April 1908, a fifth child, a son called Ali, was born.¹⁵

Hayruddin Bey kindly replied to Snouck's letter of June 1907, informing him that he generally asked two marks an hour for his lessons.¹⁶ A month later, at the end of July 1907, Snouck travelled to Stuttgart, where he took lodgings in a pension in the *Blumenstrasse* 27. The lessons were given in the evenings, and, during Hayruddin's holiday from 10 to 26 August, by day. Snouck enjoyed these hours so much that he advised his student A.H. van Ophuijsen, who was pre-

10 See the letter from Hayruddin Bey to Snouck, 3 July 1907, in Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 8952. Unless indicated otherwise, all letters referred to in the following are found in this collection.

11 See letter from Hayruddin to Snouck, 3 April 1908.

12 Michael Jan de Goeje (1836-1909), professor of Oriental languages at Leiden University from 1866.

13 Letter of 12 August 1907.

14 See letters of 21, 28 July and 7 August 1907, published in P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985), 264-265. Hayruddin wrote Snouck on 27 December 1909 that Hayriye had become a *Konfirmand*; Osman confessed his faith in April 1915, see letter of 29 March 1915. (His wife and daughters Feride en Emine died, to his great sorrow, during the First World War.)

15 See letter of 13 April 1908.

16 Letter of 7 July 1909.

paring himself for a job as assistant-dragoman at the Dutch Legation in Istanbul, to take lessons from Hayruddin too. Van Ophuijsen followed his teacher's advice and spent the summer and autumn of 1908 in Stuttgart.¹⁷ Snouck was soon on friendly terms with his teacher and he kept visiting him during his holidays, not only to practise his Turkish with him. Hayruddin assisted Snouck in obtaining newspapers and books from Izmir and Istanbul, thereby sometimes using the services of a local carpet seller he had befriended, Karl Hopf, who had good connections in the Levant. The exchange of letters (and presents) continued until after the First World War, the last letter which Snouck received from Hayruddin dating from 20 August 1921. The latter's letters were in German and Turkish, and so, probably, were Snouck's - only one draft in Snouck's hand and in Turkish has survived.¹⁸ Snouck's last visit to Stuttgart must have taken place at the end of July 1911, when he and his wife stayed in a pension in the *Umlandstrasse* 8 for a fortnight.¹⁹

Not long before the Young-Turkish revolution Snouck must have decided to visit Istanbul. He was not the only European scholar to do so. He wrote to De Goeje that he wanted to spend seven weeks there in order to increase his knowledge "of the language and the people,"²⁰ without giving more details. On 13 July 1908 Georg Jacob wrote him a letter in which he asked him to conduct some inquiries for him, particularly about local dervish orders, the shadow theatre (*Karagöz*), and street artists (all subjects about which Jacob has written), and to send him a list of individuals, Ottomans and Europeans, to whom he might pay a visit. These included Ömer Lutfi (d. 1918) who had studied in Erlangen and was police inspector in Istanbul at that time; the bookseller (Rıza) Nasrullah²¹ from Tabriz (at the book market near the Bayezid mosque; he received *literati* whom he had befriended in his shop during the evenings);²²

17 See the picture postcard from Hayruddin and Van Ophuijsen (written in Turkish) to Snouck of 9 August 1908. "Van Ophuijsen jr. is, with great vigour and pleasure, busy acquiring proficiency in the spoken language and calligraphy with my Turkish mentor in Stuttgart," Snouck to De Goeje, 18 July 1908. See also Schmidt, *Through the Legation Window*, 116-117. (Van Ophuijsen eventually did not stay very long in Istanbul; he found the work boring and got involved in a conflict with the Legation personnel, including the envoy, and he resigned in November 1912, see also the letters from Van Ophuijsen to Snouck in Cod.Or. 8952.)

18 Enclosed in a letter from Hayruddin to Snouck of 9 August 1908, see below.

19 See postcard of 7 July 1911, and letters to Goldziher dated 13 and 27 July 1911, in Van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*, 354-355.

20 Letter of 18 July 1908.

21 Snouck made his acquaintance on 6 August, see his diary, f. 22b.

22 See also Friedrich Schrader, *Konstantinopel. Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1917), 146-147.

the librarian İsmail (working at the library nearby);²³ the public performers and story-tellers (*meddah*) Aşkı²⁴ and Sürürî;²⁵ and the German orientalist Süssheim²⁶ who was lodged in a hotel in Sirkeci. He also informed Snouck that Schwally²⁷ and Menzel²⁸ had written to him that they too were going to Istanbul. Finally he advised Snouck not to take lodgings in one of the more expensive hotels (where he would not be allowed to receive Turks) and to be careful with food and drink. Water, Bomonti beer, oysters and fish were particularly dangerous. The best thing to do was to drink wine. Georg Jacob himself had had good experiences with an Armenian tavern on the Galata Bridge where he used to consume a few glasses every day.²⁹

At the end of July Snouck boarded the Orient Express to Istanbul, travelling via Nuremberg and Passau.³⁰ He arrived on 25 August and took rooms in Hotel Messeret at Bab-i Âli caddesi (the street between Sirkeci station and the Sublime Porte) in the old city, in the midst of government offices. Chance had it that on the previous day

the Sultan [Abdülhamid II] had proclaimed the reinstatement of the Constitution which he had suppressed for more than thirty years and the most ardent supporters of which he had rewarded with death or exile.³¹

23 İsmail Sa'ib Efendi (Sencer, 1871-1940), director of the Bayezid Umumi Library. Snouck visited the library and spoke to a "*mèmur*" (official) who may have been İsmail Efendi (see the diary, ff. 21a-b).

24 Mustafa Aşkı (1853-1934), cf. Özdemir Nutku, *Meddahlık ve Meddah Hikâyeleri* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1976), 41, passim; Schrader, *Konstantinopel*, pp. 127-129. Snouck attended one of his performances on 6 August and made his acquaintance, see the diary, f. 23a.

25 See Nutku, *Meddahlık*, 47, passim.

26 Karl Süssheim (1878-1947), of Jewish origin. He kept a diary in Turkish and Arabic which is preserved in the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek*, from which it is clear that he was in Istanbul between 30 August and 15 November 1908. (He arrived by ship from Cairo on the first-mentioned date.)

27 Friedrich Schwally (1863-1919), professor at Giessen University. Cod.Or. 8952, contains a collection of letters and postcards from which it appears that he was in Istanbul between the end of August until 26 October.

28 Theodor Menzel (1878-1939), German orientalist and Turcologist. He succeeded Georg Jacob in the chair of Oriental languages at Kiel University in 1926.

29 See also Snouck Hurgronje, "Herinneringen uit Stambol," 231-233: European residents of Istanbul had dissuaded him to go because it was almost impossible to find lodgings in "the Turkish town of Stambol" (in contrast to the more European Pera) and to make the acquaintance of "civilised Turks," but foreign scholars, fortunately, had brought him into contact with some "very civilised Turks" who were able to move more freely than others, see also below.

30 Cf. the letter from Hayruddin of 20 July 1908.

31 Snouck Hurgronje, "Herinneringen uit Stambol," 232.

The end of a long period of oppression and the seizure of power by the Young Turks led to unusual scenes and excited expectations in broad layers of the population that everything would henceforward be different, and that the all-pervading misery, both economic and political, was to be a thing of the past. Snouck wrote to Hayruddin that it seemed as if the sun had broken through a thick layer of clouds; the slogans of freedom, justice, and equality were heard continually; and everyone was very happy.³² Hayruddin envied his presence in the city and regretted that he was unable to share directly in the joy. He hoped to receive a detailed report from his friend soon.³³

The series of demonstrations seemed unstoppable. *Hurrijèt! adalèt! mu-sawat! ochuwwet!* Freedom! Justice! Equality! Brotherhood! were the chants which resounded all around in the annoyingly heavy vocal resonance of the Stambol people, having been used to compensating for the absence of police regulations concerning traffic by shouted statements amidst the crowded hubbub in the streets of their place of residence. The same words adorned the red banners with the white Crescent which one saw being carried in front of the ubiquitously demonstrating groups of people...³⁴

The crowds in the streets, which usually are not less than those in London... have been multiplied by all these manifestations. The police, which had gradually become a pack of blackguards, has almost completely vanished since 25 July... Even so one rarely hears about cases of violence or crime, and the busy traffic, with its packed mass of people and vehicles, finds its way along impossible paths without my having witnessed one single accident.³⁵

Representatives from all groups of the population participated in the demonstrations, Snouck noted, Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and Kurds, and there was little violence or signs of revenge:

32 Draft letter by Snouck, enclosed in Hayruddin's letter of 9 August 1908: "...*memalîk-i Osmaniye kanun-i esasinin îlânından sonra henüz güneş vasıtasıyla açık olmuş karanlık bir yer gibi görünüyor her taraftan hürriyet adalet uhuvet müsavat avazları işidiliyor...*" (the sentence is partly crossed out).

33 Letter of 9 August 1908.

34 Snouck Hurgronje, "Herinneringen uit Stambol," 235.

35 Snouck to Th. Nöldeke, 13 August 1908, in P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke from the Tübingen University Library* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985), 136.

One early morning, I saw someone being led captive by a crowd of people... The unhappy object of this demonstration had been placed in a garbage cart and, while being driven on, was now and then belaboured with fists by those surrounding him...

Once at the Porte, it appeared that someone had made a mistake and taken the wrong person.³⁶

For three weeks we lived without police, with a number of criminals in our midst; nevertheless no more crimes or accidents than usual occurred among the 100,000 people of widely varying race, religion, and degree of civilisation, and notable disturbances were rare exceptions in the endless demonstrations, and these were instantly suppressed.³⁷

What strikes me in particular is the dominantly benign and free intercourse between high and low, despite the ubiquitous title worship and zest for officialdom. Pashas conducting intimate conversations with coach-men and butlers, while exchanging their impressions about the day's events...³⁸

Snouck also noted that the number of daily papers grew exponentially, among them one that pleaded for free intercourse between the sexes in Western fashion.³⁹ After a few weeks, however, the almost inevitable disenchantment followed "when it became clear to many that even the *Kanun Esási* [Constitution] did not immediately bring paradise to earth,"⁴⁰ even if tyranny had become a thing of the past.

I have moved in all circles under circumstances which were profitable for observation. Officers of high and low rank, soldiers, aide-de-camps, and secretaries of the Sultan. Softas, grey-bearded men and old women, students and serious men dedicated to scholarship all agree that things could not have gone on like they had and that they will not and should not go on like that.⁴¹

But in order to be able to sketch a more reliable picture of the future, Snouck

36 Snouck Hurgronje, "Herinneringen uit Stambol," 238.

37 Snouck to De Goeje, 17 August 1908.

38 Snouck to Nöldeke, 13 August 1908, in Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 137-138.

39 Snouck Hurgronje, "Herinneringen uit Stambol," 241.

40 Snouck Hurgronje, "Herinneringen uit Stambol," 242.

41 Snouck to Nöldeke, 13 August 1908, in Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 136.

wrote in *De Gids*, it was worth discussing it with Turkish intellectuals. This was precisely what he had done:

Especially the recommendations to an academically well-educated high-ranking officer and to an influential civil servant – both of them fortunately supporters of reform – which I had brought with me, offered opportunities for making the acquaintance of Turks of all circles of society... What one sometimes heard about the secrecy of the Turks and their suspicion vis-à-vis people unknown to them, had exclusively been due to the pressure from above...⁴²

The officer and the civil servant are probably Re'if Mehmed Fuad Bey, a *yaver* (aide-de-camp) of the sultan, with whom Snouck had become acquainted through Hayruddin,⁴³ and Mahmud Efendi, an official at the ministry of Education (*maarif*) and the son of Nafi Baba whose *tekke* (building used by dervishes for their meetings and ceremonies) Snouck visited and described in his diary.⁴⁴ Letters from both of them to Snouck are preserved in Cod.Or. 8952.⁴⁵ Fuad Bey lived in Yeniköy, and he invited Snouck to come and watch the festive illuminations in the Bosphorus on the occasion of Fleet Day.⁴⁶ Another contact was Mehmed Nizamî, the son-in-law of the writer Ahmed Rasim (1864-1932) and apparently a student and *homme de lettres* in his own right. He also edited a paper which, however, soon folded, and later, from 1909 onwards, he was employed at a branch office of the ministry of Public Health in Galata. Snouck knew him through Georg Jacob. Nizamî was also acquainted with the aforesaid Professor Schwally with whom Snouck had corresponded and who was also staying in Istanbul at the time. Another well-known figure with whom

42 Snouck Hurgronje, "Herinneringen uit Stambol," 245.

43 "...my intelligent Turk... advanced my interests in Constantinople [by recommending me to] a former comrade-in-arms of his, at present a colonel, who came to Germany some months ago as agent and at present resides in Oberndorf," Snouck (in Stuttgart) to De Goeje, 27 December 1907. "An aide-de-camp of the Sultan offered me his services, but whether these consist of more than friendly words experience will teach us," *Ibid.*, 18 July 1908.

44 On 18 September, see ff. 31a-35a.

45 Two invitations from Mahmud Efendi to Snouck are preserved: one asking him to come and visit the *tekke*, dated 4 September 1908, and the other an undated note in which he asks him to come to the library of the ministry; see also Snouck Hurgronje, "Herinneringen uit Stambol," 245: "The official preferably receives his intimate acquaintances in his office... There were thus four heads of office to whom I could pay a visit now and then, and with the personnel of some of whom I came to be on intimate terms..."

46 See the letters (in German) of 17 and 30 August 1908.

Snouck came into contact was Halil Edhem (Eldem, 1861-1938), director of the Imperial Museum of Antiquities (at present *Arkeoloji Müzesi*). A letter in French has survived in which Edhem Bey thanks Snouck for a photograph of himself and a copy of his *De Atjehers*. He hopes to be able to greet him during the next summer.⁴⁷ Via E.G. Browne⁴⁸ in Cambridge, Snouck obtained a letter of introduction to Mirza Husayn Danish Khan,⁴⁹ but it is not known whether Snouck ever made use of it. In response⁵⁰ Snouck asked for another introductory letter addressed to one of Browne's Persian friends, but also asked him to disclose nothing about his "Meccan experience" in it and to mention only his "familiarity with Arabs and Arabic" in a general sense. He also asked him whether he could recommend a "Turkish mentor of the better classes, able and apt to accompany me on most of my excursions and to assist me in obtaining more familiarity with colloquial Turkish." We do not know whether he did find such a mentor. His diary is silent on this point.

Be this as it may, Snouck had come to Istanbul in the first place to acquire knowledge, but the "general, continuous excitement" forced him to change his programme.⁵¹ From the diary one gets the impression that, perhaps inspired by Georg Jacob's suggestions and questions, Snouck was drawn by the traditional culture, in particular by its more popular aspects (hitherto little studied by Western orientalists): the dervish convents and street theatre, picturesque phenomena which today have more or less totally vanished, the first by political intervention (all *tekkes* were closed in November 1925 and the Sufi orders prohibited), the second pushed out of existence by modern forms of mass entertainment - radio, film, and television. Nevertheless, after three weeks Snouck already thought that his visit was a success and wrote to De Goeje:

I found excellent Turkish mentors and assistants and I already made the acquaintance and learnt about very important individuals and matters. I

47 Letter of 26 January 1909, preserved under A[dham]. The same collection, Cod.Or. 8952, also contains a visiting-card of Edhem Bey.

48 Edward Granville Browne (1862-1926), lecturer in Persian and professor of Arabic at Cambridge University.

49 Husayn Danish or, in Turkish, Hüseyin Daniş (Pedram) (1870-1943) was a poet, publicist, dragoman, and scholar. The son of a merchant from Isfahan who had settled down in Istanbul in the middle of the nineteenth century, his career reached its apex with his appointment as professor of Persian literature at the Galatasaray Lycée and at Istanbul University (*Darülfünun*) (1909-1923).

50 Letter of 26 July 1908, preserved in the Cambridge University Library, E.G. Brown papers 10/6; letters under S (I am indebted to Dr. Daniël van der Zande who draw my attention to this letter and sent me a copy of the text).

51 Cf. letter from Snouck to De Goeje, 17 August 1908.

am gradually learning to follow the conversations around me in coffee-houses, on board steamships, at Karagöz- and meddah-performances, and the Turks, highly inclined to democratic ways, are always most inviting and ready to make one's acquaintance. Intimate conversation on politics is made by the pasha with his cabman, coffee-house boy, subaltern officer, and soldier. Certain forms are respected, but everyone speaks freely. I had much contact with spiritual authorities, dervishes etc., and so it happened once that I came to participate by mistake as a foreign member in an exercise of the so-called "howling dervishes" in Skutari.⁵² With an aide-de-camp of the Sultan, who is married with a German woman, I enjoyed the privilege of dining in the "harem" with husband and wife and of getting to know him as a warm supporter of the revolution, recently achieved. I am lodged in the midst of Stambul proper, in a purely Turkish hotel, where one does all kinds of things besides having meals. There are excellent places for that in the neighbourhood. So far I have imparted to you some of my travel experiences. I hardly see Europeans: I only came across Macdonald⁵³ and his wife at the Selamlık⁵⁴ the day before yesterday; they are at present staying in Constantinople after a sojourn of half a year in Egypt and a short visit to Beirut.⁵⁵

After Snouck's return to Leiden, Nizamî remained in touch and wrote a number of letters. From these it appears that he took quite some trouble on behalf of Snouck to find answers to the questions which Georg Jacob had originally put to him, Snouck, but which he had not been able (or willing?) to answer. One also gets the impression that Nizamî had been deeply impressed by Snouck's personality, spiritual power, and superior scholarship. What a contrast with Turkish lethargy, he wrote to him, but, he added, "we will earn your respect under the Constitution, we will work hard and make progress."⁵⁶ Alas, Nizamî's optimism soon turned into despair, especially after the counter-revolution of April 1909. In a last letter to Snouck he wrote that the continuous crisis and political conflicts led to a complete intellectual stupor and inertia. He had set his hopes on a grant for studying in Europe so that he would be able to come to Leiden.⁵⁷ Earlier Ophuijsen had written from Istanbul:

52 On 30 July, see diary, ff. 18a-b. (Skutari is another name for Üsküdar.)

53 Duncan Black Macdonald (1863-1943), Scottish orientalist, taught at the Theological Seminar and the Kennedy School of Missions in Hartford (Connecticut).

54 *Selamlık*: public procession of the sultan and his retinue to a mosque at noon on Fridays.

55 Letter of 17 August 1908.

56 Letter of 5 October 1908.

57 Letter of 11 April 1910.

I am seeing Nizami more frequently these days. He is going through a very bad time. With the ‘improvements’ in all branches of the administration, he is moved to another section and, while being lowered in rank, he keeps the same salary... Since a week he seems, for the time being, to have recovered; but before that he was in a very sorry state. His father-in-law reportedly earns a huge amount of money, 60 to 70 pounds per month, but he is a fickle person [*onslolied mensch*], to whom it does not occur that he might be of any help. Nizami and I often talk about you and we both long for the time when we will see you here again...⁵⁸

What follows is the translation of the diary. It offers a good, albeit succinct, impression of a world no longer in existence: that of prospering Sufi orders, *tekkes*, and street theatre. Although much has been written about these subjects after 1908, eye-witness accounts of public performances and, even more so, interviews with sheikhs of that period are rare as far as I know. The diary also nicely demonstrates Snouck’s way of thinking, his opinions about Islam, and his entertaining and ironic style of writing, which, I hope, will not be completely lost in translation.

Numbers in bold print indicate folios of Cod.Or. 7114c. The diary was a draft, and, in some parts, clearly jotted down hurriedly. Dubious readings are followed by [?]. I have inserted interlinear and marginal additions into the main text. I have kept as closely to the idiosyncrasies of the original as possible, which are, when necessary, explained in footnotes.

[18a] Constantinople

30 July 1908 Thursday: afternoon, c. 2 hours of “howling Dervishes.” Rifâ’îs.⁵⁹ Haiderpaşa, Üsküdâr. Normal *ḍikr*,⁶⁰ in which the sheikh at first seemed to in-

58 Letter of 27 June 1909. In a following letter Ophuijsen wrote that things were going badly for Nizami; he had been keeping watch at the bed of his dying mother-in-law every night for three weeks. “His paper... could not manage more than two or three issues; therefore that hope has also been dashed.” Ophuijsen fears that he will take to the bottle again, as he used to do before his marriage. “Drinking is something awful here; almost all young people do it as soon as they feel a little sad and they get used to it so quickly that they are unable to get rid of the habit again,” letter of 3 August 1909.

59 A Sufi order founded by Ahmed Rifâ’î in Iraq, twelfth century; it found broad support in all parts of the Ottoman Empire; see C.E. Bosworth, “Rifâ’iyya,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed., eds. E. van Donzel et al. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006), hereafter EI².

60 *zikr*: praising God with recitation of litanies during special sessions in dervish convents (*tekkes*); see also L. Gardet, “Dhikr,” in EI².

voke assistance by bowing to the Qibleh.⁶¹ Dervishes proper c. 10, participants without costume 4 to 5, and some others more or less. In front of the queue proper and directed vertically towards it, two, who were already reciting during the *ḍikring*. The Sheikh and his proxy supported the *ḍikring* by leading the way, standing near the men. They prepared themselves by laying off the normal turban and especially at the end when the sheikh turned a black turban, which he had kissed first with an elaborate gesture. *Ḍikring* at first sitting with increasingly vehement movements of the upper body, thereafter standing, with strong movement, sounds gradually replaced by sighs or yelling. Thereafter dispensing of blessings to the ill, above all to children: first one of the brethren [was] laid down on the ground, next to him the person who asked for the blessing and the sheikh, one hand held up by one of the brethren, stepped over both back and forth, first rubbing a part of the body with a lacquered shoe [18b]. Some, a cavalry major among others, derived blessings only from a [slight] touch while standing. Thereafter more *ḍikr*, loudly and finally with tambourines, led by the drums of the sheikh, deafening, and ending in a loud beat, followed by concluding formulas, whereupon all who were involved, within the partition and some outside it, kissed the hand of the sheikh and various brethren. One, however, was kept in the circle for the final litany, which was concluded with ⁶² *السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته* by the sheikh, and this was well responded to by those present. Immediately afterwards *aḍān* for the ‘*azr*.⁶³

[19a] 31 July Improvised visit to Bektaşis⁶⁴ in Cámliǵá⁶⁵ and later with the *halifá*⁶⁶ who officiated there... to the baba of the larger *tèkè* at Mèrdiwenkøj,⁶⁷ whose head, though very old, seems to be less popular than that of Camlyǵa. The interior of the exercise room was like that of the *tekke* (?) of the Rūfa’ijjè, except for a number of “post”⁶⁸ which had been spread out, as well as a sed-

61 *kible*: “direction of Mecca.”

62 *es-salam aleyküm ve rahmet Allah ve berekatüh*: “peace be with you as well as God’s compassion and blessings.”

63 *ezan*: “call to prayers”; ‘*azr*: “afternoon.”

64 Sufi order founded by the semi-legendary Hacci Bektaş Veli in Anatolia in the thirteenth century; his tomb (*türbe*) is located near Kırşehir, zie R. Tschudi, “Bektashiyya” in E1².

65 Çamlıca, near Skutari (Üsküdar) in the Asian part of Istanbul.

66 *halife*: successor to or official assistant of a sheikh; in the Bektaş order a *baba* (head of a *tekke*) who has attained a certain spiritual level, see F. de Jong, “Khalifa,” in E1².

67 Mèrdiwenkøj, part of Üsküdar; the Şahkulu Sultan Tekke is probably meant, described in Raymond Lifchez, “The Lodges of Istanbul,” in Raymond Lifchez, ed., *The Dervish Lodge. Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 73-129; 117-124.

68 *post*: litt. “skin,” a floor cover made out of a hide; symbolic seat of a sheikh.

djadè⁶⁹ (as the halifè claimed that it used to be called later, instead of the former *post*, which could have been interpreted as [implying] a claim on the Sultanate for the leader near the kiblè. On the wall, to the left of him who directed his face to the kible, the names of the 12 imâms⁷⁰ (some of them, for that matter, also with the Rûfa'îs set in 12 frames. Various writings, moreover, were on the wall, as one finds them elsewhere, among them the “four caliphs,”⁷¹ and also Naqshband,⁷² about which the halifè however said that these had served as camouflage for some time when, under S. Mahmud, the Bektaşîs had been persecuted.⁷³ Since Mahmud – Abdülazîz⁷⁴ [the order] had been forbidden and therefore [19b] was only secret. Below the picture of the dervish on the wall in the reception room, at least in Mèrdiwenköj, and left and right on the wall opposite the entrance too, there were pictures of Ali and Hüsein's graves,⁷⁵ which, amazingly, were unknown to the halifè of Camliğa who accompanied us and who only let himself be informed after my question. Everything looked neat and fresh. Cigarettes and lemonade or coffee were offered.

The halifè, in his way, was communicative and most polite until we were with the old man (Albanian), who appeared to be suspicious and restricted himself to questions, partly impertinent, and represented the *tarikèh*⁷⁶ as a thing unattainable to normal people. The *اركان*⁷⁷ etc. was never talked about, nor was the involvement with the *نفس*⁷⁸ in contrast to the *dunja*.⁷⁹

What the halifè communicated in the first instance boiled down to the following:

Headtèkè near grave Hadji Bektaş in Kyrşehir (Angora), a picture of which hung [on the wall of] the Merdivenköj-teke [20a]. Attached to it was a minaret.

69 *seccade*: “prayer-rug.”

70 The twelve spiritual successors of Muhammad according to the Shi'i tradition, see S.N. Nasr, “Ithna-'Ashariyya,” in EI².

71 The four direct successors of Muhammad: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali.

72 Baha'uddin Muhammad b. Muhammad Naqshband (1318-1389), founder of the Sufi order of the same name, cf. H. Alger in EI².

73 The *Bektaşî* order was suppressed in 1826, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, after the destruction of the janissary corps with which it had close ties.

74 Sultan Abdülazîz (ruled 1861-1876); in the middle of the nineteenth century the *Bektaşî* order was again allowed and its *tekkes* rebuilt.

75 The *Bektaşî* order has a strong Alevi-Shi'i character and worships the Twelve Imams, in particular Caliph 'Ali who is considered to be part of a trinity, together with Allah and Muhammad.

76 *tarikât*: litt. “path”; Sufi order.

77 *erkan*: litt. “pillars”; the basic tenets of the order.

78 *nefs*: “spirit.”

79 *dünya*: “the material world.”

Also the grave of Sultan Balyım (بالم),⁸⁰ who was reportedly from Chorasán and with whom the rule originated that some Bektašis had their ears pierced and remained unmarried for [the rest of their] life. This was considered to have originally been related to exemption from military service. Therefore at present very few left.

The ostensible dogma could be summarised as: 1) no زنا⁸¹ or 2) لواط⁸² no lying 3) no stealing. Whoever wants to know more has to be introduced by a beктаšî who takes full responsibility for him. Only then will the secrets appear which one must keep [to oneself] in life and death. One constantly speaks about specific mor[a] traditions, never about duties. Furtively the halifè asked me whether I knew the passage in the سورة النساء⁸³ from which it appeared that a human being is [worth] more than the Qurân. The 4 mazhaps⁸⁴ he declared as being beneath contempt and said that the Bektašis keep to Imam Dja'far,⁸⁵ because the others do not descend from the [zob] Pejgember.⁸⁶ Besides Derwishes, with their grey cap and black turban and grey cloak (the halifè had on him 12 stones, polished and looking like crystal, six on each side and in the middle instead of a knob, but hanging loose from a little chain) there are mühibler, mühüpler,⁸⁷ thousands [of them] in Stambol according to the halifè, particularly among women, furthermore very many in Albania and in Anatolia. Headsjeich (dede) is Faizollah at Kyršehir. Halifè is a title higher [in rank] than baba. There are other ranks, and within each rank seniority conveys a certain precedence.

One wife, whom one is only allowed to repudiate in the case of adultery and to whom one must restrict oneself. The halifè's wife †, thereupon he married with one older than himself to take care of his children. One marries before the baba.

The halifè did not show the least readiness to be considered an orthodox muslim, spoke more than once of the müsliman⁸⁸ in contradistinction to [21a] Bektašis, but moved all the same on the lowest ground of the Muslim tradition and said that he never known Jews or Christians who had become Bektašis,

80 Balm Sultan (flourished in the early sixteenth century), is officially considered the second leader (*pir*) of the *Bektaši* order.

81 *zina*: "adultery."

82 *livat*: "sodomy, pederasty."

83 *surat an-nisa'*: the "book of women," the fourth chapter of the Qur'an.

84 *mezheb*: religious sect; here: one of the four major Islamic schools of canonical jurisprudence (*fikh*).

85 Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 765): the sixth imam according to the Shi'i tradition.

86 *peygamber*: "prophet," here: "Muhammad."

87 *muhibler*: "sympathisers."

88 *müsliman*: "Muslims."

although especially the Christians showed him respect. The hadj seems to be appreciated to a certain extent, that is, the founder himself was always called Hadji Bektaš and the old baba of Merdivenköj had been in Mecca about c. 30 years ago.

It seems that tekkes (tekkes?) belong to the “*dergahs*”⁸⁹ of the *babas* etc. Inside the tekkes of Mèrdiwenköj a baba had been buried some years ago. Outside the one in Camliğa, there stand together many graves with stone pillars with inscriptions, the father of the halife in one of them. Near the one in Mèrdiwenköj, there was also a high small cylindrical pillar, reportedly the grave of a prominent or holy person who had come from elsewhere and had received this place from the Emperor Constantine? These people, it seemed, were not particularly well-read.

In the Bajazid Library there is a ms. which contains the “por[**zib**]traits” of 15 walis,⁹⁰ among whom Hadji Bektaš. According to the mèmur⁹¹ they had been taken out and photographed but everything became too black, thereupon copied by hand.

1 Aug. Meeting with the major? from Anatolia (at present here) Ibrahim Bey, who gave me information about Bektaši in [a] café after [having made] his acquaintance, admitting to be one of them himself, together with c. 50% of the Muslims of Constantinople and c. 80% of the officers, to which latter circumstance, among other things, he ascribes the success of the freedom movement. He took an amber tesbih⁹² from his pocket, saying that he had received it from the dede at Kyrşehir. Bektaši are able to frequent mosque or house of pleasure without qualms, always have wodhu⁹³ before namaz,⁹⁴ their own ibadet⁹⁵ is zikr only, their ‘ilm⁹⁶ is not baṭın,⁹⁷ but haqq.⁹⁸ Monogamy, wedding before baba, afterwards, if needs be, also in a different way before the eyes of the people. A secret binds all. Much priesthood unnecessary; a few babas sufficient: Jedi Kule, Akseraj, Camliğa, Merdivenköj, Rumeli-hisar.⁹⁹ Many went to Kyrše-

89 *dergâh*: “dervish convent.”

90 *veli*: “a holy man, friend of God.”

91 *me`mur*: “official.”

92 *tesbih*: “a string of prayer beads.”

93 *vuzu*: “ritual ablutions.”

94 *namaz*: “prayers.”

95 *ibadet*: “act of worship.”

96 *ilm*: “knowledge, learning.”

97 *batın*: “inward, hidden, spiritual.”

98 *hakk*: “the truth, God.”

99 Places in and near Istanbul, at present spelt as Yedikule, Aksaray, Çamlıca, Merdivenköj and Rumelihisar.

hir, [22a] “Aşığa Bağdad uzak değildir.”¹⁰⁰ Many gradations: real dervishes [are] few. Those exceptionally devoted celebrate with one ear pierced (the left one mostly). The evil spoken of Bektaşis, the officer blamed on the Kyzylbaş,¹⁰¹ who only bear allegiance to Sultan, not to Constitution, Prophet, and morals, who live in incest [*bloedschande*], who count only, but do not weigh, but themselves receive what has been weighed by others, while Bektaşis only learn that one, trading in rice for instance, should be loyal to an extent that one pretends that one has counted, but not weighed, the grains. Many rich and poor are Bektaşi. The former give much, the latter are supported.

5/8. Right on top of Camlyğa, where there is the most beautiful view, somewhat above the seraj of ... Şahzade,¹⁰² son of Abdelaziz, a sjeħ A(h)met, who, after some conversation, revealed himself too to be a Bektaşi, said that it was easy to become one, that very many were so in secret, gizli, and now for the first time dared to come out, [and] that his little house actually was a tekke, not yet completely refurbished. The man was a coffee waiter [*koffieschenker*] etc., had recently been taken in for interrogation twice [22b], being suspected of keeping holy water etc. Like the other Bektaşis, he rejoiced in the relief which the political change had given him. As regards tekkes, he mentioned: Camlyğa (near Bulgurlu), his own on top, Mèrdiwenköj, Jediküle, Ederne Kapy, Ejjüb, Rumeli-hysar, Kastel. The man of Camlyğa had been en route to Brusa¹⁰³ since a few days, and the one of Mèrdiwenköj we saw disembark at Hajderpaşa from the boat which was to take us back to Stambol. He was followed by a brother, apparently serving [and carrying] a big bundle of clothes.

6/8. To Ejjub,¹⁰⁴ where one is only allowed to enter [the] mosque after *abdest*¹⁰⁵ and iki raka namassy.¹⁰⁶ Nice view on Golden Horn and Stambol.

In the morning acquaintance with Nasrollah.¹⁰⁷

Maddahs: Süruri,¹⁰⁸ Soltan Âhmetde,¹⁰⁹ residing Kaba Sakalda, is accus-

100 *aşığa Bağdad uzak değildir*: “for someone in love Baghdad is not far.”

101 *Kızılbaş*: litt. “redhead,” supporter of the Safavid (Shi‘i) Persian dynasty (who originally used to don red caps).

102 This probably means the Beylerbeyi sarayı, situated on the Bosphorus near Çamlıca.

103 Bursa.

104 Eyüb, on the Golden Horn.

105 *abdest*: “canonical ablution.”

106 *iki rek‘at namazı*: “prayers consisting of two complete units of worship with the prescribed postures.”

107 Rıza Nasrullah Tebrizî, bookseller, see the introduction above.

108 For the *meddah* (street performer and storyteller) Sürurî, see the introduction above.

109 “in Sultanahmed,” the quarter surrounding the mosque of the same name, also known as the “Blue Mosque.”

tomed to perform at Kirathane i. Osmanijje¹¹⁰ in Direkler Arasy¹¹¹ during Ramazan and the winter months.

[23a] Mostapha Aški, Der Sa'adet Küçük Aja Sofyaly¹¹² (gave me his visiting card¹¹³ at night) now performed for the first time by way of rehearsal and publicity in kahwe, Abdollah Čauš Kirathanesi, in Čamberli Taš Ğaddesi:¹¹⁴ Merakly Hüsein Ağa ile Tütünĝü Mehmed Bey & Karynyn fendi erkeĝi jendi¹¹⁵ (the wedding of the man who had courted his own disguised wife and, thanks to her, soon afterwards got married with a one-eyed, one-legged etc. [person]). Stick (baston), a cloth, which served sometimes as an efendi-tie, at others as a Laze (Darabzen¹¹⁶) head-cloth, or as turban around [a] fez and hamal-fez¹¹⁷ (for Anatolian etc.), a normal one. Armenians and Jews of various classes and sex, Anatolian, Arnaut (an Alb. butler served moreover as a means to amuse), refined efendi, lady, Greek, drunks. Duration of the 2 hikajàs¹¹⁸ from 92 à 10 to 112 hours. Afterwards [a] hardly understandable concluding formula. Beginning: Dostum ja hak dostum.¹¹⁹

Kadini ?¹²⁰

Safwèt in Üsküdar

[23b] 13 Aug. In Bajzyt there is a kirathanè run by a Muslim. "Merkez kirathanesi" presented the Hijali Šemsi Karagöz. Before the play a crocodile appeared on the screen, rising from the water near a balustrade. During the intermission between the six parças,¹²¹ furthermore, a screen with the picture of (according to caption) "The city of New York" was used. Music by an amateur company behind the screen, before the performance and during the inter-

110 *kiraathane-i Osmaniye*: the "Ottoman coffeehouse."

111 Direkler arası: litt. "between the pillars," as the main thoroughfare of the old town was named; at present Divanyolu and its continuation in a westerly direction.

112 See for the *meddah Aški*, the introduction above; *Der-i saadet Küçük Aya Sofyaly*: 'from [the neighbourhood of] the Small Hagia Sophia in Istanbul.' The "Small Hagia Sophia" is situated at the foot of the hill on which the "Blue Mosque" stands, on the border of the Sea of Marmara.

113 The card, on which the aforementioned addition is printed, is preserved in the manuscript.

114 Çemberlitaş caddesi, Çemberlitaş street; "Çemberlitaş" is the Turkish name for the Pillar of Constantine in Divanyolu, near the covered market.

115 A story entitled *Kadın fendi* is mentioned in Nutku, *Meddahlık*, 107.

116 Trabzon, town on the Black Sea coast, centre of the "Laz," a non-Turcophone ethnic minority.

117 *hammal*: "porter, carrier."

118 *hikaye*: "story."

119 *dostum ya hakk dostum*: "my friend, o God, my friend."

120 *kadın*: "woman."

121 *parça*: "part."

missions, erotic *şarkys*.¹²² At first a continuous fight between Hadjiwad and Karagöz¹²³ and all kinds of insipid jokes, this time however on the initiative of Hadjiwad only about the Constitution, ending with prostration, soedjoed,¹²⁴ before the Sultan, who thereupon exits, applause. As regards other innuendoes, when there was talk of the accumulation of much money, only Abulhuda¹²⁵ [being] in prison was mentioned, no applause. Other figures: an efendi who is invited by a daughter of Hadjiwad to come to her and who thereupon is spied upon and betrayed by Karagöz, but eventually is comically joined in marriage by a number of clerics [*geestelijken*]. A Laz (Trabizonde) woman who appears dancing. A man who is treacherously being joined in marriage with Kara[24a]göz, after 3 ladies have come to watch on his behalf the behaviour [?] of the disguised man. A couple of Chinese who appear dancing etc. Finally some female voices, only audible, among them that of Karagöz' wife who never appeared on stage herself.

At present a brief strike of the tramway and a longer one of porters [*kruiverkers*], furthermore [of] *régie* people; the sale, openly, of smuggled tobacco.¹²⁶

10¹²⁷ Aug. Visit to Eşref of Edirne who lives in Nuri Osmanijje,¹²⁸ formerly serving the army in Syria, at present *falğy* (فالجی),¹²⁹ a popular fortune-teller

122 *şark*: "song."

123 Karagöz and Hacivad are the traditional protagonists of the shadow play. See for a survey of the genre, Erika Glassen, "Das türkische Schattentheater. Ein Spiegel der spätoomanischen Gesellschaft," in *Gesellschaftlicher Umbruch und Historie im Zeitgenössischen Drama der islamitischen Welt*, eds. Johann Christoph Bürgel and Stephan Guth (Beirut: Orient Institut, 1995), 121-137.

124 *sücut*.

125 Sheikh Abulhuda ('Abu l-Huda), a notorious spiritual adviser of Sultan Abdülhamid. Snouck wrote about him in *De Gids*: "One heard people telling everywhere, something which formerly was exclusively vented in secretly distributed pamphlets, that Abul-Hoda, during his youth the keeper of a dancing bear, had only succeeded through trivial jugglery in exploiting the Sultan's superstition and in occupying a place of honour among the latter's spiritual counselors. I do not know to what extent these stories about Aboel-Hoda's former activities are based on the truth, but it is certain that he and many of his colleagues and competitors have foully abused their influence at the palace... The long suppressed bitterness about many cases of injustice blamed on them could express itself freely and speedily, and caused them to descend the stairs of the throne towards the gutter," Snouck Hurgronje, "Herinneringen uit Stambol," 253.

126 See also Snouck's "Herinneringen uit Stambol," 242-243; the state monopoly ("*régie*") on the sale of tobacco was run by Europeans and the preferential treatment of European employees was regarded as an injustice which no longer suited the altered political circumstances.

127 Clearly a mistake for 15 Aug[ust].

128 The quarter around the mosque of the same name, near the covered market.

129 *falç*: "fortune-teller."

using 2 copper spindles each encircled by 4 copper dices with . : . :: . One has to think of any plan whatsoever, a request brought forward, a wish etc. and then throw: the man writes down in his notebook his calculation consisting of all sorts of numbers and connecting curves in red ink, and auspicates as a Delphic oracle, partly with the help of a hairpowder puff [?], and with his free hand. All this for 1 piastre! The man also applies leeches. [24b] There was a lawhè,¹³⁰ a picture hanging on the wall with the whole family of the Prophet and, on top, a bektaşi cap. He was a bektaşi, too! The man was hardly literate, [but] full of conceit because he knew a prayer in which the specialty of each angel, prophet etc. was mentioned (موسى ومكالمته الخ)¹³¹ and he talked much about secrets “Bektaşi sirri gibi,”¹³² as secret as that, [which] for the rest is a proverb. It is said that the former grand vizier, Ferid,¹³³ was a bektaşi.

16 Aug. Death of the recently appointed and arrived Min. of War, Reğeb paşa,¹³⁴ 17 enormous crowd at burial.

Visit to Kel Hasanyň teatrosy, Kadıköj¹³⁵ at the çajryr or maidany.¹³⁶ The chief himself, Kel (bald) Hasan,¹³⁷ is sitting in his small office, selling tickets, and acts the comedian. At first some pieces of Turkish music, partly with şarky, later 3 à 4 musicians Europ. music. A terribly insipid comedy in pseudo-Europ. manner; thereupon some pieces halfway between ballet and café-chantant, female singers without voice, [who] dance as well, and sing Turkish pieces. A sailor with his female [25a] counter-part are very successful because, after a couple of quasi-sailor-songs, they sing some concluding couplets with padişahyn etc. çok jaşa.¹³⁸ Finally a piece, not completely attended by me, called Koroğlu.¹³⁹ A head of sorts gives daughter to foster-son who until then had pretended to be the brother of the girl although they loved each other. The mother, who also loves the boy, tries by bribing their servant Güllü (played by Kel Hasan) to have the affair prevented. Magic medicine given to the man makes him change his plan and both lovers, separated by force, deeply unhap-

130 *Levha*: “picture.”

131 *Musa ve mükalemehi i.a.*: “Moses and his dialogue etc.”

132 *Bektaşî sirri gibi*: “like a Bektaşî secret.”

133 Avlonyalı Mehmed Ferid Paşa, grand vizier from 1903 until 22 July 1908.

134 Receb Paşa (1842-1908), died probably of poisoning, cf. his biography in *Türk Ansiklopedisi* 27 (1978), 254.

135 Kadıköy, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus.

136 *çayır*: “meadow”; *meydan*: “square.”

137 Kel Hasan (1868-1925), cf. Metin And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu. Kukla Karagöz Ortaoyunu* (Ankara: Bilgi yayımevi, 1969), 109.

138 *Padişahım çok yaşa*: “Long live my sultan.”

139 A version of this narrative cycle is found in Pertev N. Boratav, *Türkische Volkserzählungen und die Erzählerkunst* (Taipei: Chinese Association for Folklore, 1975), 363-386.

py. One could easily foresee that everything would turn out well later.

These farces [*draken*] enjoy the greatest interest of all and success is [owed] to the play-acting more than to the play [itself].

In the morning, the Kurdish alim Sa'id Bitlisi was introduced to me; he enjoys the exaggerated reputation here of being more learned by 'ilm wahbi¹⁴⁰ than all other scholars. Dressed in the costume of Kurdish chiefs (not of law scholars), he walks about the streets with a face radiant with hypocrisy and fake modesty [25b] and sits in coffee-houses, all the time listening to himself and forcing others to do the same. He speaks a little Arabic, like foreign softas,¹⁴¹ who only know it from books, and he wrote a Turkish treatise in defense of the existence of God and of Mohammed's mission, in response to what was held to be a question on these matters posed by the Mikado¹⁴² of Japan. He alleges that there are only a few mektebs¹⁴³ etc. in Kurdistan (Wan¹⁴⁴), that he had learned Arabic for only a few months and had only here written something in Turkish for the first time. Looks like between 30-40. The risalè¹⁴⁵ pretends to be semi-rationalistic: Allah addressed the human intelligence in the Qurân; the splitting of the moon symbolic as is the splitting of Mohammed's heart. The Qurân, moreover, not a handbook of Geography etc. but meant to teach the principles of truth to, above all, the Bedouins. The next day I found him in the kawè at de Millet bağçesi¹⁴⁶ near Aja Sofja.

Bektaşis are said to always help each other so that no B. is found to be a beggar. [They] recognise each other by some sort of sign. [They] have a girdle, "mijan-bend" (instead of the mundane kuşak),¹⁴⁷ always a pebble [*kieselsteen* ?].¹⁴⁸ The caps, küle, of the tarikats are called "sikke," to mark the order. They are also called "ğan,"¹⁴⁹ [and they] call someone "imanym"¹⁵⁰ etc. [26a] The son of the baba of Rumeli Hisar had, until a couple of weeks ago, been employed by the censor's office, but [has been] dismissed since. He speaks English,

140 *ilm-i vehbi*: "knowledge imparted by God."

141 *softa*: "student of theology; fanatical fundamentalist."

142 Emperor.

143 *mekteb*: "school."

144 Van.

145 *risale*: "treatise."

146 Millet bağçesi: "Park of the Nation."

147 *miyanbend*, *kuşak*: "girdle."

148 This probably means the *palahenk*, a twelve-pointed stone attached to their girdle, see Nancy Micklewright, "Dervish Images in Photographs and Paintings," in *The Dervish Lodge*, ed. Lifchez, 269-283, 271.

149 *can*: litt. "soul, spirit."

150 *imanum*: litt. "my belief."

among other languages, and claimed (to Macdonald¹⁵¹) to appreciate Ibn Arabi,¹⁵² not Ghazali,¹⁵³ because the latter is too pedantic.

4 Sept. Orta ojunu¹⁵⁴ at Kyz-tepe in Mama-mesire-si [?] chief Hamdi Efendi,¹⁵⁵ who performs for a generally larger public in Direkler arasy during Ramadan and in winter. The performance lasted c. 3-42. Music at first in front of the entrance, later in front of sahne = stage (this time furnished with a bed, not normally used in an orta ojunu – for the circumcision of a son of Hamdi's to be held the next day –): a zorna (سورنا) and a (double) çift, nakkare, half spheres joined together - small drums, beaten with small sticks. Nakkara = more or less the drum used in tekkes under the name of kudüm. These also accompany the dancing of čenggis (called köçek in Anatolia) who dance with a sort of castagnettes (zil or zili maşa) and one of whom demonstrated his skills while dancing and swirling around with cups, glasses (filled with water) weapons etc. In Anatolia these čenggis play at wedding parties before the wedding, one night for the men, another for the women. Sometimes the men and the women, who are watching, are allowed to dance themselves, one at a turn (Anatolia). First the Kawuklu (Hamdi) and the Piškar, the leading actor, performed, the former followed by a servant, [a] more or less disfigured clown (Jamak, here [26b] addressed as son, had zenbil¹⁵⁶ over his shoulder which he later gives to “father” and which the latter eventually hangs in the tent). The piškar in a grand manner and with all kinds of misunderstandings tells the history of Širin en Ferhad (Ferhadla Širin the play is entitled) [guh-i Ferhad kasry Širin,¹⁵⁷ the mountain to be pierced and the castle to be built for Širin].

The men who play women are called zenne (sic), one here was a čingene,¹⁵⁸ another was Širin, yet another one was her mother. The čingene, a figure of fun, was quasi-stepmother of the Kawuklu and finally comes together with him in a tent found by him, čergi (cloth over a couple of sticks). The ludicrous conversation with this gypsy half-mother was completed by a group of gypsies, one of whom (distinguished by the same hunchback as Jamak had been before) with a dog in his lap [?], this servant and he whose dance the stepmother joins.

Later 1, Širin, and 2, mother, arrive and they take position 1 in and 2 next to a small wooden frame which represents her kasr. Ferhad comes on stage and

151 See the introduction above.

152 Muhyiddin b. al-'Arabi (d. 1240).

153 Muhammad al-Ghazali (d. 1111).

154 *orta oyunu*: theatrical representation with a central stage.

155 Kavuklu Hamdi (1841-1911), cf. And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu*, 241.

156 *zenbil*: “basket.”

157 *guh-i Ferhad*: “Ferhad's mountain”; *kasr-ı Öirin*: “Öirin's castle.”

158 *čingene*: “(female) gypsy.”

recites wistful amorous verses, repeatedly ending in ooo and misunderstood by Kawuklu and piškar. [27a] They propose the marriage on his behalf but hear condition of the mountain-piercing. At a distance of c. 10 metres from [the] kasr, there is a pile of branches which represent the Guh, and Ferhad starts working. Succeeds finally. The gypsy lady wants to betray him and communicates to him the death of Širin while offering him a plate of tomatoes (lukma). Ferhad kills her with the hatchet with which he had pierced the mountain. She is carried off by the lamenting group of gypsies and thereby the wedding of Širin is announced.

One side of the plot of land on which the play was being performed opened up to the kawe interior, two with chairs, behind which boxes were occupied, the third with stage with trappings not used now.

[31a] Friday 18 Sept. To the tekke of Nafi, نافع, Baba at Rumeli Hisar. Delightfully situated, but very simple. The son, Mahmud Efendi, speaks English, Arabic, French, learned 1 at Roberts college;¹⁵⁹ [he] is connected with the Dept. of Ma'arif.¹⁶⁰ Father very old; the latter's father was exiled to Anatolia during the period of Mahmud (Sultan), tekke and surroundings destroyed. Later again restored. Near the tekke are the graves of the baba's ancestors and also a separate collection of graves not belonging to the Bektašis. Only c. 9 people live in the tekke, namely poor [people] who find asylum in it, or individuals who come to serve for some time. Some for life, even if they are married. Those who take the vow of celibacy and pierce 1 ear subsequently are few: 2 babas in the surroundings of Constantinople, and not more than 30 dervishes.

Nafi' Baba, with Ali Baba, is the only one of them who is halifè, which is a higher baba rank than sjeich; all, however, are baba. The rank is conferred on the recommendation of the pirs¹⁶¹ by the great man of Kyršehir, at present Faizollah. If a baba dies, the dervishes write with the request to appoint another to accept their subservience.

[32a] Adoption of ordinary people on the recommendation of someone who answers for the novice, in the assembly. If there is someone who protests with reasons, the candidate is rejected. According to Mahmud (whose son, teacher of Turkish at Roberts College, spent his holidays in Switzerland), Hadji Bektaš was expelled from Chorasán because of his mysticism, [and] came to Kyršehir during Sultan Osman and his successor's time in order to continue his work in peace under Turkish authority which adopted such people at that

159 Robert College: academy founded by American missionaries, among whom Christopher R. Robert; at present (since 1971) Boğazici University.

160 *Maarif*: "education."

161 *pir*: "sheikh."

time. He did not write, but only spoke (like Socrates), and his pupils later transmitted aphorisms by him, or, rather, concealed the thoughts received from him into poems. Much of this was kept secret because one was not allowed to print it or feared prosecution anyway. At present, with *hürrijet*,¹⁶² nice treatises will doubtless be published. *Virani baba*¹⁶³ was printed by Persians who were of the opinion that they could do such a thing without permission of the *ma'arif wazaret*,¹⁶⁴ it is badly printed and badly put, actually only a letter from *Virani* to one or more of his pupils. At that time many *Bektašis* were *hurufijeh*,¹⁶⁵ but that has changed since; most have disengaged themselves from that [33a] persuasion, so that *Virani* is no longer regarded as an authority. The main point is and remains knowledge of oneself and therefore of the Origin of Being. External worship is only a means and an instrument, necessary as is external authority (government etc.), but indifferent to the higher [form of] living. Christians and Jews could have been adopted, if only they did not belong to one of the well-known mazhabs but confessed to the original teaching of *Isa* or *Musa*, as *Mohn.* are only adopted if they confess to the private teaching of *Mohd.*, supplemented by the *hikmet*¹⁶⁶ of *Ali. Mohd.* "only" gave *šari'at*,¹⁶⁷ that is, for appearances, *Ali* [gave] *hikmet*, that is the way to oneself - and knowledge of god. An *Ali* inscription, in whose ¹⁶⁸ع the head of a human being and a lion were suspended, is in the reception room, together with family portraits and the usual aphorisms, e.g. in praise of *صبر*,¹⁶⁹ as well as a couple of pictures of houses of worship (probably *Kyršehir*).

Admission happened with *kejfijet*¹⁷⁰ which one would associate with the admission of freemasons, but without intimidation or threats because *hurrijet al-wiğdân*, freedom of mind and thought, are superior to everything. One knows and recognises one another by conversation, helps in need [34a]. From the *tekke*, directions [advances ?] were given to people whose affairs were in decline and later, if possible, returned.

About the *janišeris*, *Mahmud* alleges that they had been aberrant *Bektašis*'s. *H. Bektaš* had taught the sultan to maintain a regularly exercised army, therefore a certain connection between him and soldiers.

162 *hürriyet*: "freedom."

163 *Virani Baba*: author of a *risale* published in 1293 (1876), see *John Kingsley Birge, The Bektašhi Order of Dervishes* (London: Luzac & co., 1937), 80.

164 *vezaret*: "ministry."

165 *hurufiye*: "unorthodox sect with gnostic-kabalistic convictions."

166 *hikmet*: "wisdom."

167 *šariat*: "Islamic law."

168 *ayn*: de first letter of *Ali*'s name.

169 *sabr*: "patience, endurance."

170 *kejfiyet*: "qualification."

Mahmud thought that there should be about 250,000 Bektaşis in the whole of Turkey, that is a lot less than Ali Baba, who thought it half the number of Constantinople alone. By far the majority Albanians, not only those of Monastir and another few districts. Also many in Asia Minor. There is a well-known tekke of the Bektaşis in Cairo; there are some in Arabia, but none belonging to the original population.

Capital sins according to him also: adultery, lying, stealing, دین = ادب = بل , = belly/adultery) tongue (lie) hand (theft).¹⁷¹ Whoever avoids these is a brother welcome to the Bektaşis. Candidates are seldom rejected, but, it appears, unless from well-known milieu.

[35a] Monogamy. Divorce and a new marriage only after the woman has been proved guilty of a capital sin, not because of a lack of love-making. New marriage also after death. People are obedient to the şjari'at rules of (typically Mohammedan thinking) the country, e.g. in regard to marriage and jurisdiction, because that is the way it must be, although it is *zahir*¹⁷² and nothing more. *Fyqh*¹⁷³ is dry and barren and infertile. *tawhid*¹⁷⁴ somewhat less, e.g. the eternity and universal power of God. But *tasavuf*¹⁷⁵ is, properly speaking, everything. Apart from civil marriage, consecration is bestowed upon it in their inner circle.

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171 *din* = e/d/b = *bel, dil, el; din*: "faith"; *bel*: "belly"; *dil*: "tongue"; *el*: "hand."

172 *zahir*: external, apparent.

173 *fikh*: the canon jurisprudence of Islam.

174 *tevhid*: "(declaration of, belief in) the oneness of God."

175 *tasavuf*: "mysticism, becoming a Sufi."

- sellschaft." In *Gesellschaftlicher Umbruch und Historie im Zeitgenössischen Drama der islamitischen Welt*. Edited by Johann Christoph Bürgel and Stephan Guth. Beirut: Orient Institut, 1995.
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Constantinopel.

30

30 Juli 1908 Donderdag; met 'n melodieuze + zeer
 „huilende demische”. Rifa'i's, ^{Utkindar,} Haidarpaba.
 Gewone dikte, waartj Sjeich met buigingen naar Billek
 eerst hups schree in te roepen. Rijnlijke demisjes
 ± 10, meedoende zonder contour 4 à 5, eenige
 nog min of meer. Voor de eigenlijke rij, van een
 draag spricht, twee, die steeds onder het dikken
 reitselden. De Sjeich en zijn secundus gaven stem
 aan het gedruis door stonde in nabijheid der lui
 voor te gaan. Zij besiddes zich de twee voor door dan
 gewone triltant af te doen en vooral tegen 't laatste
 de Sjeich met uitvoerdig geland en eerst gekante
 remte triltant om te draaien. Dikter eerst gittent
 met allengs heftig beweging v. boventijf, vervolgens
 stant met sterke beweging, klankes allengs door om
 ten of gille veraneten. Dan gemiddelding aan riken,
 vooral kinderen: eerst een de boorden negeleget vss gromd,
 daarna de pjen vinger en de Sjeich, een hand door en
 breder vingeronder, stapt om beiden heen en roer, eerst met

FIGURE 14.1 The first page of Snouck Hurgronje's Istanbul Diary (Leiden University Library, Cod.Or 7114, f. 18a).



FIGURE 14.2 Hotel Messeret in Istanbul, summer 1908. Snouck Hurgronje is standing on the left, wearing a fez (Leiden University Library, Or. 12.288 CHS H 1).

۹۵۱

~~مکتوب~~
فردنه العاده بر آلکم

افندم
 انجمنه ۹ اغوستوی افندی تاریخهای اولان مکتوبی کونک منسوخه بر سرورستله ^{۷۵}
 بیاصله نزل که در حاله بولمان احواله شاه اولمسنده
 او عین تاریخه منسوخه دوختور فن افهوسنی طوفینه ایلد مشترکاً کوندر دیکله
 احواله ~~منسوخه~~ قارت پرستالی (بوره ده در عاده بر نامه بولمه
 اولمشکنز ایچون نأسف کونسک طبعی محکمدر چونکه ممالک عثمانیه
 قانون اساسیک اعلانندن سوکره کونسک کونسی واسطه بیله ایچق
 اولمش قانقان بر یو کبی کونسید. هر طرفدن هریت عدالت اخوه
 مساوا سولوش ایستیلیدیور واسکی اشتباه کلا نیکینلنسنده
 کیم ولردن باعا هیب اولمش صوک درجه حفظ ایستیورلر. ه ابونه
 لیستیکون اقام غزته کلا اولمشک بوراده نسر اولمان غزته لردن
 اولمش اولمشندن طولایی جوق اوردنده منکول اولمش اولمان
 معلوماقی کلا باسقه غزته لردن بوله هضمی سزه تامین
 ایه مم فقط لاسک ~~غزته لردن~~ کونسک غزته لردن بوله هضمی سزه کوندر
 قاملیا دیهوجولرکز ایله سزه جوق جوق سلام ایدر مم ودوقته
 فن افهوسنی افندییه ملامی تبلیغ کونسک برجا ایدر مم
 باقمصیته دایم اولمش افندم
 افاضت مع امیه نو این نظام بر محل بی نمایان اولور.
 مع ودر قدیم استباده کیم شوق این کیم لردن باقمه
 صبه اهالی معظوظ دسدر در.

FIGURE 14.3 A draft letter in Turkish by Snouck Hurgronje to Mehmed Hayruddin, Istanbul, 9 August 1908 (Leiden University Library, Or. 8952 A 0526 007).

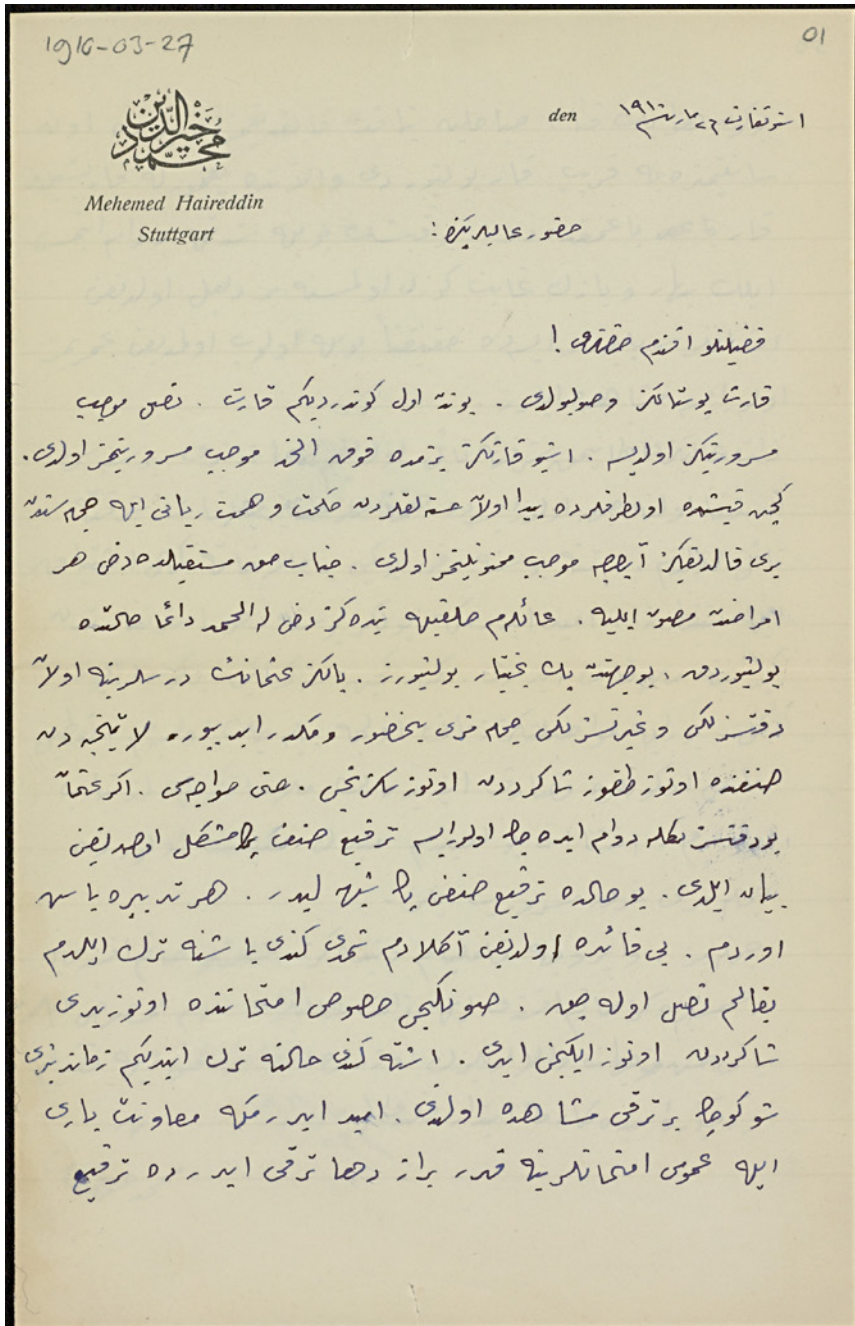


FIGURE 14.4 A letter of Mehmed Hayruddin to Snouck Hurgronje, in which he expresses his concerns about the progress at school of his son Osman, the thriving of his younger son Ali and the bad weather, Stuttgart, 26 March 1910 (Leiden University Library, Or. 8952 A 0528 001).

Snouck Hurgronje and the Indonesian Students in Leiden

Willem Otterspeer

On 13 June 1909 Snouck Hurgronje wrote a letter to his German colleague and friend Theodor Nöldeke in which he discussed what he called “the question of the education of the Indonesians.” We no longer have Nöldeke’s letters so we do not know what issues he raised, but we do know that Snouck did not share his views.

We no longer have to decide whether they should be left freely to enjoy the tree of knowledge, because they have tasted the fruits and acquired a taste for them, and want to have more of them. The question therefore is: will the Government take on and maintain responsibility for their development or allow this evolution to take place in spite of itself, while regarding it with disapproval and imposing restrictions where possible. This last option will undoubtedly result in an increasingly bigger class of intellectual Javanese, who are convinced that their spiritual development conflicts with the will of their guardians/elders, and that they have become complete human beings in spite of the opposition of their guardians. That would be a highly dangerous situation!¹

Snouck expressed his firm conviction to Nöldeke, “acquired in intimate contact with the Javanese and their kinsmen,” that in any event in Indonesia a compromise was possible between Islam and humanism. Nor did he exclude such a possibility for Turkey and Egypt. And he continued:

We currently have some 25 Indonesians in Holland as students at different higher education institutions. They are also starting to join in the discussions about the intellectual future of their fellow countrymen, the more so because most of them are very gifted. My best student is Javanese. It’s quite possible to strike fear into people’s hearts with the spectre

1 P.Sj. van Koningsveld, ed., *Orientalism and Islam: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, 1985), 146-148.

of a class of dissatisfied intellectuals, etc., etc., and I consider it far from impossible that such a class will at some point make itself heard. But we cannot prevent this by putting all kinds of obstacles in the path of their search for knowledge; and this is, moreover, not specific to a native race dominated by foreigners. Even among ourselves every advance in knowledge and cultural development has been accompanied by some initial capers, and many people have shaken their heads in doubt.²

And, finally, Snouck wondered what could be expected of a new Indonesian intelligentsia:

If people say that at some point – after many years – the general spread of the fruits of the tree of knowledge will make Indonesians and their like averse to Western domination, then I reply that nobody has a recipe to prevent this eventuality in a distant future, and that the circumstances may be such that we can be at peace with such an event. Holding on rigidly to what by its very nature is not eternal seems to me to be more damaging than taking proper account of historic probability and preparing for what will in any event be a gradual and peaceable resolution.³

In this essay I want to discuss more deeply the attitude of Snouck Hurgronje towards his students, and I will concentrate on the thirties, the period in which Snouck had to recognise that that “distant future” of his was now much closer than he had suspected in 1909. I will centre my argument around the notes of a meeting that Snouck and his colleague Van Vollenhoven had with the Curators of Leiden University, summoned as they were to dispel the fear felt by these noble gentlemen about Indonesia and above all the Indonesian students in Leiden.

At the end of August 1927 Van Vollenhoven, having just returned to Leiden after a trip related to his chairmanship of the American-Mexican compensation commission, visited the President-Curator of the University, Mr. N.C. de Gijsselaar. De Gijsselaar had announced his intention of resigning his chairmanship of the Curators. Not only had he moved to Wassenaar, but in the interests of greater efficiency in the management of the University, he preferred to make way for a younger incumbent. The idea was that the university would have a proper administrative office, with a proper secretary, a post to which Mr. P.J. Idenberg was appointed in 1928.

² Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam*, 146-148.

³ *Ibid.*, 146-148.

Whether or not this was in the interest of greater efficiency cannot be determined, but De Gijsselaar used the visit of Van Vollenhoven to ask him whether he, preferably with one of his colleagues, would be prepared to inform the Curators verbally about what he called "the affair of the Indonesian students." Van Vollenhoven agreed and the presence of all the Curators in Leiden on 8 October 1927 was employed for a meeting of the five gentlemen with professors Snouck Hurgronje and Van Vollenhoven. The meeting lasted from two to three-thirty, with extensive minutes being taken that were preserved in the Curators' archive. These minutes provide a good picture of what the different parties thought about the changing mentality of the Indonesian students.

1 Curators

Anyone who studies the Board of Curators as it was composed at the time cannot fail to realise that this body represented a careful cross-section of the elite of the Netherlands. As mentioned, the President-Curator was Esquire Nicolaas Charles de Gijsselaar. Coming from an old regent family, after his law studies in Leiden he worked for a while at the family bank. From 1906 to 1913 he was a member of the States' Provincial of South Holland. Via the *Christelijk Historische Unie* (Christian Historical Union) he was also elected as a member of the Upper House. In 1910 he was appointed Mayor of Leiden. De Gijsselaar was a true patrician, "a regent of the old order," an authority who, as he was remembered, "demanded strict obedience and would brook no interference in his own position and authority."⁴

His next curator, Emile Claude Baron Sweerts de Landas Wijborch, was by no means De Gijsselaar's inferior. After his training as an Indian official in Delft, Sweerts had passed through more or less all the different strata of the important and powerful General Secretariat and was even for a brief period a member of the Council of Indonesia. On his return to the Netherlands in 1897 he was offered the position of mayor of Arnhem, even though he had never so much as set eyes on the Municipalities Act. Six years later he became mayor of The Hague. In 1911 he was appointed Queen's Commissioner in South Holland and Curator of Leiden University. He was, if we can believe the In memoriam of his colleague Limburg, "a competent manager, a humane man and a true patriot." As Limburg remembered, "he was someone who might spontaneously request an honour for a simple civil servant whom he had seen working in humble si-

⁴ *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en Rijnland* 30 (1938): 102.

lence, but in the service of the *Res Publica*.”⁵

Sweerts always felt somewhat at a disadvantage in the Board of Curators due to the fact that he was not a true academic, nor was he a lawyer nor a born citizen of Leiden.⁶ Naturally, De Gijsselaar was all these things, as was their colleague Reinvis Feith. After completing his law studies and obtaining his doctorate in Leiden, Feith embarked on a career in the legal profession that in 1913 brought him to the High Court. By 1931 he had become Vice-President and in 1933 President; two years later he was appointed as president of this institution. In 1917 he became Curator of Leiden University. Joseph Limburg, too, was a full-blooded Leiden man, as well as being a legal specialist, who through his membership of the Lower House (1905-1918) and the Provincial Executive of South Holland (1907-1926), eventually became a member of the Council of State (from 1926). He was a permanent member of the Dutch delegation at meetings of the League of Nations, and linked his name to important state commissions: the commission to repair the shortcomings in Dutch civil legislation and that for studying the increasing population of universities and colleges of higher education.⁷

The fifth member of the Board of Curators was without doubt the most influential. His name was *Jonkheer* Charles Joseph Maria Ruijs de Beerenbrouck, also an out-and-out Leiden man, although Roman Catholic and co-founder of student association *Sanctus Augustinus*. From as early as 1899 he was politically active in Maastricht, in 1918 he became the Netherlands' youngest Prime Minister. In fact, he was Curator of Leiden University only between his second and third cabinet offices, from 1926 to 1929, that is during the first Colijn cabinet.⁸

In the persons of these gentlemen, almost the whole political spectrum – apart from the socialists, of course – was represented in the Board of Curators. Catholic and Protestant (Ruijs and De Gijsselaar), conservative and liberal (Sweerts and Limburg). Almost all of them held a conservative attitude. De Gijsselaar was openly conservative, liberal Thorbecke was his *bête noire*, conservative Protestants such as Groen and Lohman his models. “If he exhibited any feelings at all in the political or social field,” writes Van der Pot in his in memoriam, “then these were generally on the ultra-conservative side.”⁹ For Sweerts it

5 *Almanak van het Leidsche Studentencorps* 1929, vol. 115 (Leiden: S.C. van Doesburgh, 1928), 186-189.

6 “Feith, jhr. Rhijnvis,” *Biografisch Woordenboek Nederland*, vol. 1 (Den Haag: 1979), 179-180.

7 *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en Rijnland* 32 (1940): 77-78.

8 “Ruijs de Beerenbrouck, Charles Joseph Maria,” *Biografisch Woordenboek Nederland*, vol. 1 (Den Haag: 1979), 515-517.

9 *Handelingen en Levensberichten van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te*

was not different. And Ruijs remained his whole life a warm advocate of a rightist coalition. We can also deduce, even though we know little of their political preferences, that Feith and Limburg felt most comfortable to the right of centre. They were all socially aware, but from a thorough class consciousness and a strong preference for maintaining the status quo.

The questions posed by the Curators, to which they expected a response from both professors, give a good impression of the developments about which they were concerned. De Gijsselaar himself refrained from taking part in the discussion, but the four other gentlemen outlined specific problems. Sweets, for example, wanted to know "whether the professors were familiar with what was being written in Indonesia in *Merdeka*," and "whether they had ever considered taking action to combat this." Feith wondered "whether the names of the editors could be deduced from the publication." Apparently the anonymity of the authors was a thorn in his side. His colleague Limburg wanted to go a step further. He asked "whether, in reading the publication, the thought had ever occurred of offences committed by the press." And, finally, Ruis wanted to know "whether anything could be achieved by instituting some other advisory council, either at the university or at the Ministry for the Colonies, for example, along the lines of the Institute of Councillors for Students."

2 The Students

The number of Indonesian students studying in Leiden may not have been very great, but even in terms of numbers they were not insignificant. Although the flow of students only developed slowly, and before 1920 there were no more than thirty-nine students (sixteen Indonesians, twenty-three Chinese), the numbers thereafter were considerable. Between 1920 and 1924, no less than sixty Indonesians and twenty-eight Chinese studied in Leiden, and between 1925 and 1929 respectively, forty-one and fifty. In total, up to 1940 some 279 Indonesian and 185 Chinese students were to receive their academic training in Leiden.¹⁰

Leiden, 1941-1942 (Leiden: 1942), 90.

10 Harry A. Poeze, "Indonesians at Leiden University," in *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850-1940*, ed. Willem Otterspeer (Leiden: E.J. Brill 1989), 250-279; the significance of this group is explained in a wealth of detail by Harry Poeze in his book *In het land van de overheerser*, vol. 1. *Indonesiërs in Nederland 1600-1950*. Verhandelingen van het KITLV 100 (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1986) to which I shall subsequently make frequent reference. The book has just one drawback: apart from the summary referred to in this note, there is no English translation available.

The Indonesian students in Leiden included a number who would later occupy important positions, and who were active within a much larger group of young men originating from Indonesia who resided elsewhere in the Netherlands for study or other reasons. Those closest to the hearts of the Leiden professors were, naturally, students such as Djajadiningrat and Gondokoesoemo. Nobleman Hoesein Djajadiningrat came to Leiden in 1905 to study Oriental languages. Snouck had already done a great deal for him during his time in Indonesia, and in Leiden he was to be his *Meisterschüler*: in 1910 he graduated cum laude, a short while later his highly commended submission to a competition organised by Leiden University in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia)* was published a short while later, and in 1913 he obtained his doctorate, again cum laude. When Snouck wrote to Nöldeke that one of his best students was from Java, he was referring to Djajadiningrat.

Gondokoesoemo belonged to a later group. He came in September 1920 and was a student of law. The following June he took his master's examination and a year later, in June 1922, he obtained his doctorate, the first Indonesian to become a doctor in jurisprudence. He studied under Van Vollenhoven, who took the opportunity to laud not only the academic qualities of his student. "Then the speaker's thoughts took flight, rising above both the person and the book," according to the report of the doctoral defence in *De Taak*, "and he pointed out how Leiden University 'itself a product of a nation's struggle for freedom' might also bestow on those who carry her gifts to Indonesia something of that power which made Leiden great." Snouck, who was Rector Magnificus at the time and who by dint of this position chaired the meeting, took the opportunity to express his hope that Leiden would soon be made superfluous through the institution of a legal faculty in Indonesia itself.¹¹

In the meantime, the Leiden student community had divided into a spectrum comprising three predominant hues, thereby accurately replicating the political spectrum of Indonesia itself. In an article entitled "*Stroomingen en partijen in Oost-Indië*" that appeared in May/June 1917 in the left-wing weekly *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer*, Indonesian journalist Soewardi Soerjaningrat characterised *Boedi Otomo*, *Sarekat Islam* and the Indonesian Party/Insulinde as representatives of the liberal, Islamic-democratic and radical-nationalistic movement respectively. However great the differences between them might be, all were focused on independence for Indonesia.¹²

A comparable division is apparent in the mid-thirties among the Indone-

11 Poeze, *In het land van de overheerser*, 117.

12 *Ibid.*, 117.

sian community in the Netherlands. The liberal branch was represented by such well-known students as Noto Soeroto and Poerbatjaraka. Noto Soeroto initially studied law in Leiden (in 1911 he became the first Indonesian to pass the Dutch *kandidaatsexamen*, which is the equivalent of the bachelor's degree), but later adopted an active role as a poet and journalist. Poerbatjaraka was initially an assistant teacher of Javanese, but with the support of Krom and Hazeu he was able to embark on an academic study that was to culminate in a doctorate. Both were convinced of the good sense and the importance of an ethical set of policies, and of an – if not continuous, then nonetheless long-term – association of Indonesia with the Netherlands.¹³

Much more critical noises emanated from the part of language teachers, predecessors of Samsi Sastrowidagda and Dahlan Abdoellah, both appointed in 1918 (and in 1922 succeeded by Poerbatjaraka and Mohamad Zain). Dahlan repatriated in 1924, and Samsi went to study in Rotterdam, where he obtained his doctorate in 1925.¹⁴ They adopted the principle not of association but of “antithesis.” They were confirmed nationalists, who were motivated by political awareness and who strove actively for imminent national independence. Their assumptions were directly in line with those of influential journalist Soewardi Soerjaningrat and the even more influential intellectual Mohammed Hatta.

To the far left of the spectrum were those who were influenced by such communists as Tan Malaka, Darsono, and particularly Semaoen. Precisely which Leiden students were directly under their influence is difficult to determine, as they preferred to keep their activities hidden from the university and their publications anonymous. On 23 September 1927, nonetheless, three Leiden law students were arrested on suspicion of inciting violence. One of them, Ali Sastroamidjojo, was about to take his master's examination in law and his memories of the time are highly informative.

The examination went ahead as planned. On the morning of the examination he was taken in a prison vehicle to Leiden, accompanied by two guards. He was immediately led to the waiting room, Leiden's famous “Sweat Room,” so far a not too unpleasant variant of the traditional elements of the examination. However, in contrast to tradition, there were no guests in the Senate Room. On the other side of the green table Sastroamidjojo encountered only the faculty: Van Vollenhoven, Hazeu, André de la Porte, and Scheltema. There, with his two guards as attendants (*paranimfen*), he underwent a two-hour long examination. “I have to say,” he wrote in his memoirs, “that neither the questions nor

13 On Noto Soeroto in 1924, see Poeze, *In het land van de overheerser*, 192-194.

14 Poeze, *In het land van de overheerser*, 169-170.

the attitude of the professors gave even the slightest indication of my status as a political prisoner. Their attitude and conduct were completely academic. This had a calming effect on me and enabled me to concentrate fully on the examination.”

The communists themselves were less irenic. In an article written at the death of Van Heutsz, Noto Soeroto described the pacifier of Aceh as “a hero, honest and gallant, simple and loyal, and as pure as the driven snow.” His “desire for order and security,” according to Soeroto, is said to have led to the different races being brought closer together and the seed having been sown “for the future consolidation of Indonesia.” This was no longer quite the way we view the situation, and is by no means the viewpoint of the communists, and he was consequently expelled by the then communist-dominated Indonesian Association (*Indonesische Vereeniging*). Sitanala, who defended Noto Soeroto, was also expelled. That the revolution should consume its own offspring, is something Hatta, too, had to experience, albeit later; he was expelled from the same association in 1931, in the meantime renamed *Perhimpunan Indonesia*.

3 Associations and Publications

The same radicalisation can be seen in these associations. The most influential was the *Indische Vereniging* (Indian Association). Founded in 1908, this was initially a very moderate social association in which Hoessein Djajadinigrat and Noto Soeroto played a significant role. But from 1914 the association was run by Ratulangie (not a Leiden student, he followed lectures in mathematics and physics at the University of Amsterdam for a diploma in maths) and expressed much more radical sentiments. The question was no longer, as Ratulangie stated in a brochure on Sarikat Islam, whether Indonesia was ready for independence; the question was at most whether the separation would take place peacefully.¹⁵ The change in the association's name to the Indonesian Association (*Indonesische Vereeniging*), in 1922, was a foreboding of major changes.

The Board that came to office in 1923, with Mohammed Hatta as the driving force, broke definitively with the past and made the previously general, social association into a political organisation. The association was based on radical nationalism, and on a fundamental principle of non-cooperation. The *Gedenkboek 1908-1923* referred to the association as a “political training ground” and the emphasis of the colonies and of the fundamental opposition between ruler

¹⁵ Poeze, *In het land van de overheerser*, 104.

and ruled pervaded almost all the anonymous contributions. The Dutch press reacted with shock and pointed an accusing finger at Leiden University and its "ethical" professors. The *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, in the voice of J.E. Bijlo in any event called for the grant students to be dealt with. This commotion had the undoubted effect of rousing the Leiden Curators from their slumbers.¹⁶

The change of name of the association to *Perhimpoean Indonesia*, in 1925, marked the radicalisation even more clearly. After the agreement reached by Hatta and Semaoen in December 1926, the association became even more strongly subject to communist influence. The adviser to the students, L.C. Westenencq, the successor to Oudemans, advised the native civil servants in so many words not to send their sons to the Netherlands, particularly because of the "disastrous centre" that the association in his estimation was, a place where intolerance and moral pressure were exercised. The association, piqued by this "Dutch morality," responded sharply: "The so-called adviser to students, in the frenzy of his tropical ideas, accustomed as he was to be glorified by *djongos* and *baboes* as their master, believes he has the freedom to do whatever he likes, even in respect of us, which is characteristic of his mentality."¹⁷

A particular element of the Indonesian Association, the Indonesian League of Students (*Indonesisch Verbond van Studeerenden*) that was founded in 1918, underwent the opposite development. Initially, the discussions at the conferences organised by the League were heated, and were pervaded by an attitude of "antithesis." "This 'antithesis' is often the most prominent element," is how the *Indologenblad* commented on the second conference of 1918; "the nationalists have gradually reached a stage in which they are unwilling to see any good at all in anything Dutch."¹⁸

After an initial division into two sections, one political-social-economic and the other literary-artistic, after 1919 the League concentrated mainly on activities related to the latter of these two aspirations. The League became more of a social association, where "association" was spoken of in a spirit of harmony and where ethical-political ideals were predominant. As these ideals became overtaken by current developments, an increasing apathy could be detected within the league, that eventually in 1923 led to the dissolution of the association. However different the course of the Indonesian League might have been from that of the Indonesian Association, the demise of the one and the radicalisation of the other were equally as identical as the acronyms of the two clubs.¹⁹

16 Poeze, *In het land van de overheerser*, 175-179.

17 *Ibid.*, 188-191, 209-220.

18 *Ibid.*, 131.

19 Poeze, *In het land van de overheerser*, 127-134, 157-163; on the Netherlands-Indonesian

The important periodicals in this context paint the same picture of radicalisation. The aim of a journal such as *Bandera Wolanda* (since 1901, Batavia) was primarily to provide learning and knowledge, not politics and conflict. *Bintang Hindia* (1902, Amsterdam), also, the magazine that featured the writings of Abdul Rivai in particular, had a didactical undertone. Rivai was by no means naive, as can be seen from his advice to Indonesian students who wanted to come to the Netherlands: “What’s important is that you should *not* hope to find work in Holland if money is short. This is one hope you should *never* cherish.”²⁰

The magazine *Hindia Poetra*, founded in 1916, was rather more critical. The “liberal tribune” that was behind it blended ethical contributions with appeals for action. The dedication of Soewardi Soerjaningrat in particular meant that the magazine operated at the border between progressive-ethical and national-critical. In an article of 1917, “A Statement of Principle by an Indonesian Nationalist,” he declared that he was fighting for the “complete liberation of our homeland.” He equally stressed that nationalism or national liberation was not an aim in itself, “but a means of achieving a more dignified existence.”²¹

In 1922, due to too limited support and to rising debts, *Hindia Poetra* seemed to suffer a demise – the publication was for a time incorporated into the general student weekly *Minerva* – at the same time that the Indonesian League came to an end. However, with the change of direction of the Indonesian Association in 1923, *Hindia Poetra* was revived. The following year, it changed its name to *Indonesia Merdeka*, ushering in the radicalisation symbolised by the change of name of the Association. The counterpart of *Indonesia Merdeka*, *Oedaya*, published from 1923 by Noto Soeroto, continued to profess support for the association, but all too soon became the touchstone of dissociation among Indonesian students, as the removal of Noto Soeroto in 1924 made clear. *Pandoe Merah*, published from 1924 by the communists, was the third of these well-known publications.²²

4 The Professors

In his response to the questions of the Curators, Van Vollenhoven concentrated primarily on his contacts with law students. He referred to the fact that since 1919, since exemption from the candidates’ examination was granted to gradu-

League, see *Ibid.*, 196-200.

20 *Ibid.*, 143.

21 *Ibid.*, 116.

22 *Ibid.*, 107, 116-9, 162, 176-81, 187, 191, 211.

ates of the Batavia law school, their number had risen sharply. His contacts with these students were initially good; they even visited him regularly at his home. But their attendance at lectures was poor, and by 1922 the contact showed signs of diminishing. Van Vollenhoven tried to discover what lay behind this, but his efforts bore little fruit. In 1923 he arranged a discussion with what he called “two sober-minded Indonesians,” “about the question of what can be done to deflect the thoughts of these students from politics back to the study of law.” The students replied that this would only be successful if it originated “from the circle of Indonesians themselves, and that pressure from professors would be entirely fruitless.” What was clear was that the hastily introduced restrictions to the exemption mentioned, incited feelings of bitterness:

Moreover, their mood became increasingly embittered as a result of numerous utterances in the Dutch press about the policies to be exercised against the Dutch East Indies, utterances that were understood by those studying here as anti-native. At least half the acrimonious articles in their magazines were a reaction to books, writings, and judgments by the Dutch about ethnic policies and ethnic mobility.²³

Snouck was more concrete and addressed the issues at a deeper level. First of all, he reminded them that in his Indonesian period, that is up to 1906, he had been involved with the first efforts to teach a number of young Indonesians. Later, he had seen them in Holland, where he had had close contact with a number of them. In around 1916, this generation was succeeded by a new one, and although some of this group sought him out, encouraged by their parents or advisers, the contact was never as close, and in recent years it had ceased completely. “The very rare young Indonesians who attended lectures in Islam, he knew only by sight from the lecture or faculty room; none of them practised Arabic or Acehese (in their social groups). In his role as a member of the Study Committee of the East and West, too, he had become aware that students no longer felt the need for advice.

The students’ participation in associations had also changed dramatically. The Indonesian Association (Snouck had mistaken the date of this association’s foundation: he put it at “around 1911,” but it was in fact 1908) had invited him to be chairman, and later honorary chairman. The Indonesian League of Students of 1917 (this time Snouck was only one year out) had, according to Snouck, “an open exchange of ideas in which the Indonesian students partici-

23 *Archief van Curatoren, 1878-1953 – Universiteit Leiden (AC3)*, 1.1.2, 1545.

pated in good numbers. After five years, this league came to an end, and the Indonesian Association itself, having undergone several changes of name, rapidly became more militant, also towards moderates among its own countrymen." Snouck also had other groups, a Leiden association of legal scholars, a Netherlands-Indonesian league of youth organisations founded in The Hague, and these were indeed moderate, although in terms of numbers they were not very significant.

He had enjoyed good contacts with the students' adviser – in his case still the former resident Oudemans – but only about the future language officials and all but one of these were Dutch. "This adviser had never spoken about the increasingly acrimonious writings in *Hindia Poetra*, later *Indonesia Merdeka*. His supervision is limited to those students or pupils from different educational institutions who receive a study compensation for their training as a government official in the Dutch East or West Indies."

Snouck had the impression that his door – "whether or not ordered," he did not comment on this – "was being avoided, not," he said,

because of him personally, but because of the wish of the government in the Dutch East Indies to associate with Dutch people only in case of need. You can invite a student to visit, and force advice on him, but Mr Snouck Hurgronje expected nothing further of such unwanted advice than a mere pretence at attention. People should be aware of the fact that what was going on among young Indonesian men in the Netherlands was completely influenced by the wishes, movements and desires on Java itself and elsewhere in the Dutch East Indies. The grievances felt by Indonesian intellectuals against Dutch "dominance", and thus, in truth, against everything Dutch, relate particularly to the following: in Indonesia Mr. Snouck Hurgronje had had many painful experiences in the treatment of native students by senior Indonesian officials, and even in the early years he had had similar experiences in Holland with those who were repatriated. Such conduct also makes it difficult for advisers who might be otherwise inclined, to incite and win trust. The distrust expressed in such strong and unbridled terms in these magazine articles can only be removed if the Indonesians there and here can be convinced that the Dutch truly want to help them move forward.²⁴

As regards the articles themselves: as far as he knew, these were still anonymous. "There was no information to indicate whether they were Leiden arti-

²⁴ Ibid.

cles or whether they were written in Amsterdam (primarily Indonesian medical scholars), Delft, Rotterdam, Breda, Utrecht (until recently the college for veterinary specialists), Wageningen or Deventer.”²⁵

5 Conclusion

The conclusion can be both brief and clear. If there is one thing that can be drawn from the foregoing, it is that the ethical policy was an outdated ambition. Between the increasingly conservative attitude of the Dutch authorities and the increasing radicalisation of the Indonesian intelligentsia, the supporters of this ethical policy found themselves manoeuvred into an isolated position. The ideal of a handful of Leiden professors became a political irrelevance in the face of the obstinacy of those who were in government and the emotions of those who were being governed.

In 1928, in a sharp polemic with Colijn, Snouck made the connection between the nationalistic striving for independence in Indonesia and the striving for political independence of the workers' movement. For him, both were part of the tragedy of colonial policy.

Snouck recognised this tragedy from his own experience. It was for him “the tragedy of the meeting of East and West.” The first company to emerge from this tragedy was called the *Compagnie*, and was formed in the seventeenth century. “The key players deserve our admiration for their inexhaustible energy, but the aim towards which they worked, and the means employed by them were such that, even measuring the rules, facts and gestures by the standards of their time, one often has difficulty in curbing one’s distaste.” He himself had played a role in the tragedy as an academic and government adviser. He may have looked back with distaste, we don’t know. In the 1928 polemic, he drew his conclusions “with calm wisdom.”

In *Heart of Darkness*, Joseph Conrad devotes a passage to what he calls “the conquest of the world.” It was in fact nothing more nor less than the confiscation of the land of those whose appearance was slightly different from our own. Not a pleasant prospect. “What redeems it is the idea only.” Ethical policies, the amalgam of intellectual training and political association, educating an elite and training a reliable corps of government officials had been such an idea for the Leiden professors under the leadership of Van Vollenhoven and Snouck Hurgronje. But it was an outdated concept.

Conrad closes his gruesome story with an observation on the hopelessness

25 Ibid.

of existence. The dark heart of Africa is nothing more than the dark heart within ourselves. Anyone who goes deeply enough into it is in danger of madness. “Destiny, my destiny” he calls out towards the end in a passage that probably sums up his whole oeuvre. “Droll thing life is – that mysterious arrangement of merciless logic for a futile purpose. The most you can hope from it is some knowledge of yourself – that comes too late – a crop of unextinguishable regrets.”

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PART 5

Posthumous Appreciations



Snouck Hurgronje and the Study of Islam

G.W.J. Drewes^{1*}

If the main auditorium of our university had offered sufficient room for this meeting, the stained glass window to the right of the rostrum would have constantly reminded you of Snouck Hurgronje, for there his image appears among those of the greatest among the great in the history of Leiden University.

And although our present generation has grown reluctant to pronounce the epithet 'great', since it has learnt by experience that greatness apparently is the less liable to attack the more distant the past in which it has manifested itself, still, this does not alter the fact that an extraordinary mental stature and an 'extraordinary- bodily' height have this in common: both are recognized at first sight, without any need of a yard-stick.

Such an extraordinary intellectual stature Snouck Hurgronje possessed and there is a special reason to speak about him now, for on the 8th of February last, on the anniversary of the foundation of our university, it was one hundred years earlier that Snouck Hurgronje was born. The sole objection against the commemoration of this fact here in Leiden might be the question whether a general Netherlands commemoration might not have been called for, rather than one in Leiden alone.

Perhaps one cannot expect a uniform answer to this question, for where would we be without our diversities of opinion? But to my mind the only conclusive reply is that as long as Snouck Hurgronje's biography has not been written, it will be impossible to survey the full significance of this extraordinary

¹ Earlier published in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 113, no. 1 (1957): 1-15. Here reproduced in unaltered form, except for the silent correction of a number of typographical mistakes, with bibliographical footnotes added and with the original pagination given between square brackets. Note * is by the author, the other notes were written by Jan Just Witkam in 2010.

* On Febr. 10th Leiden University commemorated the centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's birth on 8th Febr. 1857. The following paper is a translation of the address delivered on the occasion of this centenary in the program of the University-Day Lectures 1957 at the Municipal Audience Hall. Snouck Hurgronje was a prominent member of our Institute for more than 50 years and several times its President. His two volumes on Mecca were published by the Institute, and quite a number of his articles first appeared in the *Bijdragen*. The Committee of the Institute takes a pride in publishing this tribute to the outstanding merits of one of the founders of the science of Islam.

man, let alone to appreciate [2] him at his full value. That his biography does not yet exist is not only owing to the circumstance that the writing of biographies is not our strongest point, as Dutchmen. Its lack is due first and foremost to the fact that those data which are indispensable for a description of Snouck Hurgronje's life and work are as yet only partly at our disposal. For, granting that the history of a scholar's life is the history of his works, even so the life of Snouck Hurgronje was not only the career of a scholar, and his future biographer can therefore never rest content with a portrayal of his life based only on the results of his scholarly work, however impressive the row of its volumes may be.

One single example will make this clear. Among Snouck's writings his great work on the Achehnese, which appeared in two volumes in 1893-1894, occupies a prominent place.² Not only is it incomparably well written, like everything which left Snouck's hands, but also the description of a Muslim people which it provides may be considered as a model for ethnographical studies. But the point one will not learn from it is the share the author had in the policy pursued by the then Netherlands Indies' government towards Achin. Although a great deal of light has been shed over these matters by the writings of General K. van der Maaten³ and H. T. Damsté,⁴ full light will only be thrown upon them when the numerous memoranda and recommendations which Snouck addressed to the Indies' Government on this question have been made public. And what applies to the policy for Achin holds true for many other points of colonial policy. Fortunately, the publication of these dispatches no longer belongs to those pious wishes which are frequently uttered, but whose realization is postponed from year to year. Thanks to the initiative of the Oriental Institute and the cooperation of the National Committee for Netherlands' History, the publication of Snouck's recommendations has been taken in hand and it is particularly gratifying that the first volume of this collection of source-material has just been completed. It has become a book of more than 850 pages and it will probably be followed by two volumes of similar size. It is clear that without consulting these documents it will not be possible to write either the biography of Snouck Hurgronje, nor the history of the former Neth-

2 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*. 2 vols. (Batavia and Leiden: Landsdrukkerij and E.J. Brill, 1893-1895).

3 K. van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh oorlog* (Leiden 1948).

4 Some of these are: H.T. Damsté, "Atjèhsche oorlogspapieren," *IG* 34, no. I (1912): 617-633, 776-792; H.T. Damsté, "Mémoires van een Atjèschen balling," *IG* 38, no. I (1916): 322-335, 426-442, 750-765; continued in *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* 5, no. II (1916): 1177-1189, 1341-1357, 1493-1502; H.T. Damsté, "Hikajat Prang Sabi," *BKI* 84 (1928): 545-609. See also the introduction of G.W.J. Drewes, *Hikajat potjut Muhamat. An Achehnese epic* (The Hague, 1979).

erlands Indies during the 19th and 20th centuries.⁵

Not quite as urgent, but still highly desirable, is a republication of the papers written by Snouck Hurgronje since the completion of the sixth and last volume of his *Verspreide Geschriften* (Collected Writings) in 1926. Here obituary notices of orientalist and newspaper articles on [3] topical subjects and contemporary events occupy the major part. Recent events in the Arab world in many respects give a curious timeliness to several of these writings and it is therefore all the more regrettable that these highly expert contemporary documents have become virtually inaccessible. The biographical notices make fascinating reading for everybody interested in the history of oriental studies, and it would be desirable — although this wish is certain to remain among the *pia vota* — that the extensive correspondence with his colleagues to which these notices bear witness could one day be collected in a Snouck Hurgronje Records Collection, because the future biographer will also hardly be able to do without these letters.

My thesis that we are still unable to survey Snouck Hurgronje's life and work to their full extent has now been sufficiently elucidated, I presume. However, an objection of quite a different nature has been adduced against this commemoration, an objection I shall not pass over. I have been told: 'The people who have organized this public commemoration of Snouck Hurgronje are acting against the spirit of Snouck himself. For, in order to escape all public honour on his death, he had arranged that he was to be buried very quietly and that the announcement of his death was to be published only after his burial.' This may be quite true in itself, but as an argument against the commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of Snouck's birth it is not valid. This is easily demonstrable by reading a quotation from an article of Snouck's own pen: 'Now that an ever growing wave of 'nationalism' rages over our country, as over most others, one is involuntarily led to ask, whether the time has not arrived for the establishment of a society for honouring national merits, beside those innumerable organizations which adorn themselves with the fashionable term 'national'. In that case the 8th May should have a place of honour among the national commemorative days, because on this date fifty-nine years ago a truly great man was born in the Netherlands ...' And when I, after having first looked for my authority in the master's own writings, now continue in the style of the Muslim jurists by adding that this suggestion of Snouck's 'includes more' than what is rejected by my critics as being contrary to the spirit of Snouck, it will be clear that they are in the wrong. (In case you would be curi-

5 E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, 3 vols. ('s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1957-1965).

ous to know the origin of the quotation, — it constitutes the beginning of the article which Snouck Hurgronje devoted to the memory of Cornelis van Vollenhoven in the newspaper *De Telegraaf* of May 3rd, 1933.) [4]

I trust that the restriction, implied in the title of my address, now has your full approval. Also that you will understand that far from feeling any particular scruples, I am on the contrary very happy that the Committee for the University-Day have chosen this subject, because Leiden and Leiden University occupy an important place in Snouck's life. He studied here; in 1880 he presented his thesis at this university; after having obtained his doctor's degree he continued to live here as a teacher at the then municipal foundation for the training of civil servants for the East Indies. Later also he became a lecturer at the university. After an uninterrupted stay of seventeen years in the then Netherlands Indies he returned here in 1906, to succeed before long his teacher De Goeje, in the chair for Arabic. Finally, after his retirement he continued to live in Leiden until his death in 1936, still connected with the university with the special assignment to teach modern Arabic and Achehnese.

This arid record only indicates a few milestones in the life of this scholar; a life so rich and so fruitful as is only given to the very few. Through this life there runs a fixed line and when we wish to indicate this line, we are involuntarily made to think of the title of the address Snouck held on his assumption of the Leiden professorship on January 23rd, 1907, i.e. 'Arabia and the East Indies'.⁶ For besides indicating the subject of that speech, these words may also serve as a concise characterization of the speaker's lifework.

As an Arabist, Snouck Hurgronje selected Islam as the field of his studies right from the beginning, and in this field there were three problems which particularly engaged his attention. The first two have become the central problems in the study of Islam, but it was he who was the first to pose them. They are : 1) In which way was the Islamic system established, and 2) what is the significance of Islam in the daily life of its believers. The third problem, which contains a strong practical element, might be formulated as follows: How should one govern Muslims in order to smooth their way towards modern times and if possible to gain their cooperation in the realization of the ideal of a universal civilization.

It is while seeking a reply to the second question — the significance of Islam for its believers — that Snouck Hurgronje as a Netherlander first and foremost finds the Indonesian Muslims on his way, and the transition from 'Arabia' to 'the East Indies' — and also to active concern with the third problem — is already foreshadowed in his book on Mecca. Next it becomes more clearly pro-

6 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Arabië en Oost-Indië* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1907).

nounced in his study-tour through [5] Java, to be finally settled when in 1891 he declines the Leiden professorship offered to him and enters the service of the then Netherlands Indies' government in an advisory capacity. At that moment the scholar becomes a statesman, as Van Vollenhoven has put it, a statesman 'not according to the current meaning of the term, but in view of the nature, the tendencies and the influence of his many years' work on behalf of the Indies'. This he remained during the third period of his life when he had assumed the Leiden chair for Arabic and Islamic Studies, not only because of his share in the education of civil servants, but also because he was connected with the Colonial Office as an adviser.

Those who are not strangers in Snouck's writings know that the position he had accepted in 1891 absorbed him to such an extent that, beside the book on the Gayō-region which appeared in 1903,⁷ no large work of his pen was published after *The Achehnese*,⁸ although articles, polemics and critical reviews continued to flow in a steady stream. However, a considerable part of these publications is concerned with problems of a practical nature and with Indonesian linguistic and ethnographical matters. Still, in other publications the author moves in the field long familiar to him, and the subjects he treats on these occasions — mostly not in Dutch — remain always important and fascinating, no matter whether he gives a survey of views already pronounced on an earlier occasion or whether he brings up new subjects.

Within the limits of a public address it would not be possible to mention all these contributions to the knowledge of Islam, but this is after all not necessary in order to elucidate Snouck's importance in this field. That is done best of all by a short characterization of his monumental main works of the years between 1880 and 1893, and to these I shall therefore chiefly restrict myself.



An extraordinary caliber was immediately shown by the thesis by means of which he acquired the doctorate in Semitic languages at the age of twenty-three, after six years' study in theology and in letters. The subject of this thesis is 'The Meccan Festival',⁹ the annual ceremonies of the pilgrimage to the house of God performed at Mecca during the last month of the Muslim year, to the sanctuary which is known as the Ka'ba, but the sanctity of which by far outdates Islam. Muslim tradition connects the origin of this place of worship

7 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajöland en zijne bewoners* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1903).

8 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, 2 vols., translated by A.W. O'Sullivan (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1906).

9 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1880).

with Abraham, and it teaches furthermore that the latter's monotheism would [6] have found adherents in Arabia even before the coming of Muhammad; these adherents were the so-called *Hanīfs*, pious persons who led an ascetic life and who had rejected the polytheism of their surroundings. During a long time all this had been considered as local Meccan tradition, although at the beginning of the 'sixties Sprenger had already expressed his doubts on this point and although in 1864 the Leiden professor Dozy had defended the Israelitish origin of the Meccan festival.¹⁰ With a single, sceptically worded sentence the young graduate left this slip in the field of historical criticism for what it was, to confront it with the results of his research, viz. that it was Muhammad who, before adopting the pilgrimage to the Meccan sanctuary into Islam, had ennobled this ancient pagan rite by tracing it back to Abraham. The author continued his study by an extensive description of the actions prescribed for the Meccan festival, his main object being to establish what all these acts and customs might have been like during the heathen period, and what changes their character had undergone due to their adoption into Islam.

The important results of this investigation did not become common property very soon, probably because this thesis, written in Dutch, did not forthwith acquire the international reputation to which it was entitled in view of its qualities, in spite of the fact that it was well received. At least, twelve years later it proved to be still unknown to the author of a new biography of Muhammad, although no less a scholar than Wellhausen in 1887 had written the part of his *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* concerning the Meccan festival closely following Snouck's thesis and mentioning it by name.¹¹ However, when we open Buhl's standard-work on the life of Muhammad — a book which appeared for the first time in Danish in 1903 and which is still authoritative — Snouck's view proves to have been accepted unconditionally.¹² Wensinck who in continuation of Wellhausen's studies concerning Medina in 1908 described Muhammad's action against the Jews in that place, also adopted Snouck's hypothesis in its entirety,¹³ whilst Montgomery Watt who in a recent work again discusses

10 R.P.A. Dozy, *De Israëlieten te Mekka van Davids tijd tot in de vijfde eeuw onzer tijdrekening* (Haarlem: A.C. Kruseman, 1864).

11 J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin: Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1897).

12 F. Buhl, *Muhammeds liv. Med en indledning om forholdene i Arabien för Muhammed's op-træd* (København, 1903).

13 A.J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1908). English translation: *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina*, with an excursus on Muhammad's constitution of Medina by Julius Wellhausen, translated and edited by Wolfgang Behn (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975).

the Medina period in Muhammad's life evidently saw no reason to adopt a different standpoint, in spite of the divergent view maintained some years ago by Beck.¹⁴ Even if at some future date the progress of science might make another reconstruction more acceptable, this need not diminish our admiration for the acumen of a graduate of twenty-three years of age, whose first specimen of scholarly work has dominated the field for such a long time. [7]

Mecca and the study of Muslim law, the two subjects with which he had dealt in his thesis continue to occupy the attention of the young scholar during the following years. The plan to extend his study of Islam to the life in the holy city is sure to have matured at an early date, and beside scholarly zeal it must have been also considerations of a practical nature which led him to see the study of religious law as a primary necessity. For if he wanted to consort with Muslim scholars as one of their own kind, he would have to be first of all well versed in that field of sacred science where many of them were preeminently at home and which during many centuries had been the basis of all Muslim scholarly training, viz. Muslim law. However, guides for the study of this field which had been left untouched by Westerners were not to be found, and all so-called guides proved on closer acquaintance to be false teachers, with one single exception, viz. the masterly essays of his senior contemporary, Ignaz Goldziher of Budapest, as Snouck remarked in 1884.¹⁵ Among his teachers he found little support in his attempts to penetrate into the works on Muslim law; they even advised him strongly against proceeding further in this direction. This is easily understood when we observe the completely different subjects which at that time occupied the interest of the scholars of Arabic. When we restrict ourselves to Holland alone, we see that the brilliant cultural historian Dozy by preference immersed himself in the history of Muslim Spain, whilst De Goeje was mainly occupied in editing historical and geographical works to be found in Arabic literature, publications of source material which maintain his fame as a scholar of Arabic up to the present. However, the Western orientalists considered the writings of the Muslim doctors of law to be nothing but dry-as-dust casuistry. They failed to see that as important a piece of cultural history as Muslim law is only fully revealed to the person who takes the trouble to investigate carefully the structure of this system grown out of the Koran and the tradition, and to study its genesis, its struggle with the practices of daily life and its final completion.

14 W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956).

15 Quotation in "Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg's beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht," *De Indische Gids* 6, no. 1 (1884): 368. Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, vol. 2 (Bonn/Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1923), 65-66.

Research into the foundations of Muslim law, into its contents and its effect — that is the programme which Snouck Hurgronje outlined and which he executed with methodical zeal. He was to prove quite soon the extent in which he had learnt to master this material after only a few years of study. The first proof of his mastery in this field was given in an article which with good reason bore the title ‘New Contributions to the Knowledge of Islam’. For the author’s statements, particularly on the religious tax, the *zakāt*, and on the foundations of [8] Muslim law, all of these were new and had been taken directly from the Arabic sources.¹⁶ This is also the first time that stress was laid on the great importance of the dogma concerning the infallibility of the Muslim community, the *ijmāʿ*, or *consensus*, which, as Snouck was to suggest repeatedly later, might well be called the foundation of foundations, the root of roots. Again a few years later, in 1884, a sensational article by Snouck of more than 150 pages appeared in the periodical *De Indische Gids*, written as a critical review of the third edition of a manual of Muslim law for future civil servants in the East Indies, much used in those days. To an outsider this article was sensational because of the merciless punishment meted out to the author of the manual, leaving not a shred of his ‘usurped reputation’, for he was blamed with ample proof that after having been commissioned to study Islamic Law for more than ten years, he was ‘still unacquainted with the elements of his subject’ and ‘copied popular European books instead of using Arabic sources’. However, the article was no less sensational for the students of Islam because here — one may say: for the first time — the contents of a number of chapters of Muslim law were rendered with razor-edge sharpness, whilst the faultless exactness of the rendering of the Arabic technical terms and the accompanying observations made it abundantly plain that this kind of literature no longer contained any secrets for the author.¹⁷

A great deal of what Snouck Hurgronje put forward here in the form of a running criticism of the manual in question was later systematically adopted in Juynboll’s well-known manual of Islamic Law, first published in Dutch in 1903.¹⁸ This book has become one of the classics in Islamic studies; it has been translated into German and Italian, whilst in Holland it has served as a guide to

16 “Nieuwe bijdragen tot de kennis van den Islām,” *Bijdragen tot de Land-, Taal- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 4e volgrees, deel 6 (1882): 357-421. Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 2 (1923), 1-58.

17 “Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg’s beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht,” *De Indische Gids* 6, no. 1 (1884): 363-434, 737-816. Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 2 (1923), 59-221.

18 Th.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet volgens de leer der Sjaʿfiʿitische school* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1903).

many generations of orientalists and prospective members of the East Indian Civil Service. To put it mildly, it is not an easy book and the majority of the students will undoubtedly have been so preoccupied with the text that they will hardly have looked at the notes providing the authorities for the statements in it. But those who were not frightened off will have observed how much material for Juynboll's book was provided by these very articles, and by Snouck's *Achehnese*.

Thoroughly prepared by his studies for contact with Eastern scholars, Snouck could now start to execute his plan for the penetration of the very heart of the Muslim world. First he stayed during half a year at Jiddah, the forecourt of the Holy of Holies, for in this port which [9] is the gateway and the supply-port of Mecca it is possible to obtain important information concerning conditions in the holy city. The young scholar from Holland — it was in this quality that Snouck Hurgronje stayed at the house of the Netherlands' consul, without any secrecy — of course also needed some time to grow accustomed to the daily use of Arabic, before he ventured on the next step, a step for which beside knowledge and tact a considerable dose of intrepidity was likewise necessary. Snouck Hurgronje never showed any lack of personal courage. Shortly before his arrival in Jiddah the French scholar Huber had been murdered in Arabia and although Snouck had convinced himself beforehand that there existed no further objections against his journey to Mecca, many people would have considered Huber's death as an unfavourable omen.

In the end it was to a certain extent Huber's death which brought about the untimely end of Snouck's stay in Mecca, because the French vice-consul at Jiddah, who had hired a man exiled from Algiers to bring Huber's property which had been left in the interior to Jiddah, had the Paris daily *Le Temps* publish an exciting story concerning its detection. In this story he did not shrink from a lie for his own benefit, viz. by reporting Snouck Hurgronje as one of the persons in pursuit of this property. This story became also known in Mecca and it led to Snouck's expulsion from the holy city after he had lived there for more than five months.

In an article in the daily *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* and in the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* Snouck exposed the machinations of this consular official, but that is all he ever published concerning his personal experiences in Arabia, because he abhorred the popularity of the adventurous travel-story.¹⁹

19 "Aus Arabien," *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 318, 16 November 1885. Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 3 (1923), 1-13. "Mijne reis naar Arabië," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 26 and 27 November 1885.

Even the lecture he gave in Berlin on this journey was not entitled 'Über *meine*', but 'Über *eine* Reise nach Mekka'.²⁰ Among Dutch orientalists there exists a seemingly well-founded tradition according to which somebody once asked Snouck why he had not written a book about his Arabian journey. Snouck is said to have replied — and here 'please imagine the telltale glimmer in his eyes which always announced a *bon mot* — he is said to have replied: 'And then the title should of course have been 'Snooky's mad adventures in Arabia!' No wonder that he characterized Lawrence's *Revolt in the Desert*, much read and exuberantly praised after the first world war, as 'attractive reading for boys'.

When one observes the large number and the great variety of all those writings Snouck Hurgronje published during the years immediately [10] following his return from Arabia, one understands that he had better things to do. For whilst he was working on his great book on Mecca, one article appeared after the other. Some of these are the results of his Arabian journey, like the collection of Meccan proverbs and sayings, with their extensive commentary, which he introduced in an address at the International Congress of Orientalists in Vienna in 1886,²¹ or the fascinating description of the life and the scholarly activities of Seyyid Ahmad ibn Zeni Dahlan, which gives a full-length portrait of this 'rector of Mecca University'.²² His conversations with this scholar on the subject of the Mahdi — highly topical owing to the occurrences in the Sudan — may also have led him to write the historical study on the figure of the Mahdi which he had published slightly earlier. In contrast to a great deal of superficial writing of those days, this publication extensively elucidated the origin and the significance of the belief in the Mahdi, the 'renovator of Muslim religion'.²³

But beside these we also find articles which Snouck Hurgronje, indefatigable critic that he was, had felt forced to write because of the errors and misconceptions or the false pretences of others. One of these is the well-known article

20 "Über eine Reise nach Mekka," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, vol. 14, no. 3 (1887): 138-153 Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 3 (1923), 45-63.

21 "Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten," *Bijdragen tot de Land-, Taal- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 5e volgreeks, deel 1 (1886): 443-576. Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 5 (1925), 1-112. Introduction published as "Arabische Sprichwörter und Redensarten," *Verhandlungen des VII. internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses gehalten in Wien im Jahre 1886* (Wien, 1888), 109-114. Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 5 (1925), 113-119.

22 "Een rector der Mekkaansche universiteit," *Bijdragen tot de Land-, Taal- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 5e volgreeks, deel 2 (1887): 344-404. Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 3 (1923), 65-122.

23 "Der Mahdi," *Revue coloniale internationale*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam 1886), 25-59. Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 1 (1923), 145-181.

in the Dutch periodical *De Gids* of 1886, where the review has developed into a clear — and in his usual way beautifully written — survey of the ideas concerning Islam at which the author had arrived in the course of his studies.²⁴ In later times he twice published similar complete surveys of the whole of Islam: in 1925 his contribution to Bertholet and Lehmann's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* was published,²⁵ whilst earlier, during an American tour in 1914, he had treated the development of Islam in a less formal manner in a series of lectures.²⁶

There is one piece of work of Snouck's, made during the period 1885-1889, which will not be found in the list of his writings, because it was never published. That is his description of a collection of Malay manuscripts in the royal library at Berlin. This catalogue, written in German, was found among Snouck's papers, ready for the press; beside this there proved to exist an even more extensive version in Dutch, which had served as the foundation for the German text.²⁷ Now numerous passages in Snouck's writings show that he was well acquainted with the Malay manuscripts available at Berlin at that time, but hardly anybody of our generation was aware of the existence of this catalogue which must have been prepared during a few weeks' stay at Berlin during the summer of 1888, to be completed shortly afterwards. This is a convincing example of Snouck's enormous energy and [11] no less of his unusual knowledge and reading in a field outside that of his own-studies. His appointment as professor for Malay at Leiden, which reached him in 1891 at Batavia and which was withdrawn at his request, was therefore anything but a speculative nomination.

His most important publication during these years, however, is his book on Mecca which appeared in German in two volumes and which provided a solid foundation to the extensive international reputation he had acquired because of his journey.²⁸ This work is a typical example of Snouck's approach and it

24 "De Islam," *De Gids* 50 (1886), 4e serie, 4e jaargang II, 239-273, 454-498, III, 90-134. Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 1 (1923), 183-294.

25 "Der Islam," Alfred Bertholet and Edvard Lehmann (hrsg.), *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte, begründet von Chantepie de la Saussaye*. Vierte, vollständig neubearbeitete Auflage. 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1925), vol. 1, 648-756.

26 *Mohammedanism. Lectures on Its Origin, Its Religious and Political Growth, and Its Present State* (New York, 1916).

27 *Katalog der malaiischen Handschriften der Königlichen Hofbibliothek in Berlin*, Cod. Or. 8015 der Leidener Universitätsbibliothek (Leiden, 1950). Id., *Katalog der malaiischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin*. Edited with an introduction by E.U. Kratz (Stuttgart, 1989). Snouck Hurgronje's notes in Dutch are kept in Leiden University Library, 'ms Or. 7648.

28 *Mekka*, vol. 1: *Die Stadt und ihre Herren* (The Hague, 1888); *Mekka*, vol. 2: *Aus dem heutigen*

demonstrates clearly his ideal as regards the scientific knowledge of Islam: a complete mastery of the written sources, combined with a comprehensive knowledge of living reality. The first volume of the work contains the history of Mecca up to 1887, partly adapted from formerly unknown Arabic sources which the author had been able to acquire in Mecca; the second volume describes in three detailed chapters public life, home life and the study of scholarly disciplines, whilst the fourth chapter is devoted to the activities of the Indonesians who throughout the year form a numerous group in the cosmopolitan crowds of the holy city. I have never understood why the American Arabist D.B. Macdonald,²⁹ although he praised the book as being 'very full and accurate', still found it 'somewhat dull' compared with Burton's story of his travels, because no epithet is less fitting than the word 'dull', especially for the second volume which sparkles with life. As Snouck writes, he had 'come to know the life of the present-day Muhammedan from personal observation in the coffee-house, the diwan, the mosque and the living-room'. He had observed 'how the motley crowd 'assembled in Mecca refreshing themselves at the source of life of Islam'. He had seen 'the forms which Muslim institutions assume in practical life there, where no Franks can come to snoop and interfere'. On all this he writes in a way which according to my taste is incomparably fascinating and not without a generous dose of his well-known ironical and occasionally biting humour.

The fourth chapter, that on the Indonesians at Mecca, Snouck added to the second volume of his book with a special purpose. Already before his journey to Arabia he had written: 'Islam, this great International of the green banner, is a power which a colonial empire like ours should study seriously and which ought to be treated with great wisdom'.³⁰ Snouck has always shown great zeal for the establishment of an Islam-policy of this kind, a policy based on knowledge and inspired by tact. For this purpose it was also useful to know to what extent Mecca influenced the spiritual life of the Indonesians, rather along [12] the indirect way of the 'Jawa'-colony in that city than by means of direct contact during the pilgrimage. In this way this chapter constitutes as it were a prelude to the investigations in the territory of the then Netherlands Indies for which he was given an opportunity in 1889. At first Snouck was to stay in the

Leben (The Hague, 1889); *Bilderatlas zu Mekka* (The Hague, 1889); *Bilder aus Mekka, mit kurzem erläuterndem Texte* (The Hague, 1889).

29 Duncan B. Macdonald, *The Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), 360.

30 Quotation from "De laatste vermaning van Mohammed aan zijne gemeente, uitgevaardigd in het jaar 1860 n.C., vertaald en toegelicht," *De Indische Gids* vi/2 (1884): 18. Reprinted in *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 1 (1923), 144.

Indies for two years 'for the local study of the institutions of Islam on Java, and, if necessary, likewise in one or more of the Outer Territories'. Due to this commission he was travelling nearly the whole of these two years, first through Western Java up to Pekalongan, then at Buitenzorg (present-day Bogor) and in Banten, and finally in Central Java, in order to get to know persons, views and conditions everywhere and in order to obtain an impression through personal observation of the curious combination Islam had assumed here with traditional popular views and popular customs. The immediate results of this journey were a report on Muhammedan religious jurisdiction³¹ and the thirty-seven articles published in the course of 1891 and 1892 in the Semarang newspaper *De Locomotief*.³² The latter were framed as letters of a retired native district-chief, who has grasped the pen, as it was said in the first letter, in order 'to inform' the European public 'about the things which happen among us, native inhabitants of Java, what we do and what we think'.

We can only be pleased that Snouck could bring himself to publish already something of the results of his journey in this easy narrative way; the many hundreds of pages of travel-notes, which have all been preserved, contain, however, infinitely more, and it is a great pity that other tasks came to claim his attention before he considered his study of Java completed.³³

It so happened that in March 1891 Snouck Hurgronje had entered the regular service of the East Indies' government as adviser for Oriental languages and for Muhammedan law, and the first important task he was given in this new position was the investigation of the religious and political situation in Achin, which was to lead eventually to his great work *The Achehnese*. Within a year's time he had presented his report, and this created such an impression that the Indies' Government ordered him to rewrite and extend the first half, to be issued as a book. The introduction to the first part of this book — the extraordinary qualities of which were already mentioned at the beginning of my address — contains some remarkable sentences which again clearly illustrate Snouck's approach to Islam. There he states: 'To the student who really wants to evaluate the Muhammedan factor in the [13] life of a people, the children's games, the amusements of the adults, profane literature, and the existing fabric of the village and the province are in many respects as important as the books used in religious instruction, the mystic orders which carry on propa-

31 "Rapport over de mohammedaansche godsdienstige rechtspraak," *Adatrechtbundel I* (1911): 201-224. Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 4/1 (1924), 87-110.

32 "Brieven van een wedono-pensioen," appeared in *De Locomotief* between 7 January 1891 and 22 December 1892. Reprinted in *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 4/1 (1924), 113-248.

33 Kept in Leiden University Library as MS Or. 7931 a-f.

ganda in the country, or the position of the doctors of sacred law'.³⁴ For in the life of a people, like in the life of an individual, religious and non-religious elements are bound up inseparably. It is the view-point he propounds again and again: do not think it sufficient to know only the dogma; do not only look at Islam, but observe also the Muslim as an individual and as a member of a community, as a social being, and see what happens to the teachings of Islam in the practice of everyday life. No wonder that this scholar in the field of Islam who showed such a keen eye for local custom became one of the discoverers of customary law. There where his predecessors who had taken Muslim scholastic law as their starting point had only observed 'deviations' from the latter, he found beside a locally varying influence of Islam a usually more important substratum of native *customary law*, or *adat-law*. He was even the first to use the term *adat-law* to indicate those customs which have legal consequences.



What I have brought to your notice in Snouck's writings up to now was mainly concerned with his pioneering views on the subject of the development and the significance of Muslim law, but it should not be forgotten that beside this Snouck Hurgronje always stressed that in Islam it is law and doctrine and mysticism together which constitute the sacred learning. Already in his very first articles on Islam in Indonesia, articles written three years after the presentation of his thesis, he indicated the importance of mysticism for the religious life of the Indonesians, although in popular religion it had greatly degenerated. His article in *De Gids* of 1886 likewise contains an all-round picture of the phenomenon of Muslim mysticism, the final stone of the building of Islam. As a result of his growing familiarity with Indonesian Islam he had come to appreciate more and more the importance of popular mysticism; he discusses it extensively in the second volume of his *Achehnese*, especially the spiritual exercises of the mystical orders which had degenerated into popular amusements. True to his approved method of providing a solid basis for the historical part of his researches, beside describing the present state of affairs, he was also the first to describe the penetration of pantheistic mysticism into [14] Achin and the fight against it, basing himself on the literary sources. This description forms an extremely important paragraph for the history of religious life in Indonesia. Industrious collector of manuscripts that he was, he assembled in the Priangan Regencies, in Central Java and in Northern Sumatra *inter alia* an extensive collection of note-books of the type mostly compiled by the students in the religious schools and during the instruction given by religious teachers. In these notebooks one therefore finds in colourful confusion

³⁴ *De Atjèhers*, deel 1 (Batavia/Leiden, 1893), xii.

fragments of all the sacred disciplines of Islam which the student believed it worth-while to note or to copy, and it goes without saying that mysticism is abundantly represented. The major part of this occasionally rather abstruse material he also worked through personally, as is proved by the notes found in many manuscripts. However, he never proceeded to subject this material to a full discussion, but in a series of doctor's theses written under his direction this field has still been increasingly opened up. Every aspiring young doctor will have felt convinced in his turn, however, that without this very teacher he would have made only a poor showing with his subject.



But this is not only true for these students, nor is it true only for the field of Indonesian Islam. It holds good for all persons engaged in Islamic studies, because in the spirit they all are his pupils. The "German scholar C.H. Becker already expressed this many years ago when he wrote: 'What we call nowadays Islamic studies is the work of Goldziher and of Snouck Hurgronje',³⁵ and he supported this statement by remarking furthermore that, in spite of their great difference in approach, it was the method of formulating the problems as applied by these scholars which made Islamic studies an independent discipline.

It is no mean merit to be one of the two founders of a new scholarly discipline. And, therefore, it is with justifiable pride that Leiden University may count Snouck Hurgronje among its members, and the admiration and respect with which each new generation takes note of his works remain undiminished.

But, does the memorial-window in our main auditorium bear witness only to this, or is this homage, besides being rendered to the scholar, also given to the formidable and indefatigable champion of ideals in human intercourse and human society, ideals which even now are far from being realized? I am thinking in particular of Snouck's masterful [15] address³⁶ on University-Day in 1922 which I had the privilege of hearing as a student. At the end of this address he recalled that on the occasion of the tercentenary celebrations of the university, Matthias de Vries had chosen as his subject *De academia Lugduno-batava, libertatis praesidio*,³⁷ to express the hope that on the occasion of its 400th anniversary, or perhaps much earlier, Leiden University might be honoured not

35 "C.H. Becker, Ígnaz Goldziher," *Der Islam* 12 (1922): 214-222, 214. Reprinted in C.H. Becker, *Vom Werden und Wesen der islamischen Welt. Islamstudien*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1932), 499-513, 499.

36 *De Islâm en het rassenprobleem*. Rede uitgesproken op den 347sten verjaardag der Leidse Hoogeschool, 8 Februari 1922, door den Rector Magnificus (Leiden, 1922).

37 *Oratio de Academia Lugduno-Batava libertatis praesidio*, quam die IX Februarii a. MDCCCLXXIV, magistratu academico decedens habuit Matthias de Vries (Leiden, 1874).

only as the stronghold of liberty, but also as the stronghold of the *caritas generis humani*, love for the whole of mankind. In these words he clearly and concisely formulated the aims of university education which go beyond all our particular disciplines, and to those who have been raised in the Leiden tradition it is no problem: there, in the memorial window, Leiden University honours, besides the outstanding scholar of Islam, no less highly the prophet of an ideal which the University itself serves and wants to serve.

Before long it will be possible to show clearly how Snouck Hurgronje served this ideal and how he can therefore claim the noble title of a truly national figure. On the occasion of the death of his great companion-in-arms, Van Vollenhoven, Snouck Hurgronje wrote that he hoped and trusted that future generations would gratefully see him and his work as both had been. We are filled with the same hope and the same trust as regards his person. May some future commemoration honour Snouck Hurgronje not only for his importance to the study of Islam, but may a later generation then with grateful acknowledgement see the whole of his life's work as it has been.

Leiden.

G.W.J. DREWES.

The Scientific Work of Snouck Hurgronje

*Johannes Pedersen*¹

Address given to the Oosters Genootschap in Nederland on the occasion of the centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's birth* [5]

*Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen:*

It is a great pleasure to me to be the guest of the Oosters Genootschap of which I have been elected an honorary member, an honour which I very much appreciate, and I feel it a privilege to have been invited to speak on this occasion of Professor Snouck Hurgronje, my highly esteemed master and teacher under whose guidance I studied Islamic works for 6 months nearly half a century ago. This invitation has urged me once more to read the writings of the great scholar which I had not re-read since then, and which are now—apart from his major works—collected in the *Verspreide Geschriften* in 6 or rather 7 volumes (1923-27). As many of his papers are written in Dutch it is a happy idea that part of them should now appear in a French and English edition prepared by Professors Bousquet and Schacht. [6]

In an article in a German magazine of 1913 about Dutch Oriental studies (*Verspr. Geschr. VI 373 ff.*), Snouck Hurgronje writes that the aim of Dutch Orientalists from the 16th to the 18th century was to contribute to a better understanding of the Bible and to serve apologetics, but that under the campaign against Islamic heresy a deeper insight into this religion was gained, and that this was to the benefit of those Dutchmen who had commercial relations with Islamic peoples. Thus Reland in his standard work in two volumes of 1705 endeavoured to give an objective description of Islam. In the 19th century Dutch scholars, Snouck says, made outstanding contributions to our knowledge of Islam through model editions of texts and special studies, but they did so without any idea of utilizing their insight in the interest of Moslems belonging to

¹ Late Professor in the University of Copenhagen.

* Earlier separately published by Brill, Leiden 1957. Here reproduced in unaltered form except for the silent correction of a typographical mistake and with the original pagination given between square brackets.

the Netherlands. But, he continues, the younger Holland 'began to draw conclusions from her centuries old connections with the Far East, and began to realize that the peoples who had-come under her tutelage through a policy of exploitation that was now given up, might demand that [7] the guardian now should educate them to a position among the nations corresponding to their capacity' (V.G. VI 378). What Snouck says of Dutch Orientalism is valid for these studies in other European countries as well, but by his last words about the younger Holland he has characterized himself, the motive, the aim and the scope of his studies. By 'the younger Holland' he alludes to himself and his pupils, and in this paper he incidentally indicates how his own work places him in the long series of outstanding Dutch Orientalists who have taken a principal part in the Western world's study of Islam: Scaliger, Erpenius, l'Empereur, Golius in the 17th century, Schultens and Reland in the 18th century, Hamaker, Juynboll, Dozy, De Goeje, Houtsma in the 19th century. This splendid succession is joined by Snouck in the last quarter of the 19th century and he gives the studies a new start.

Snouck started like so many other Orientalists in the faculty of theology. But in 1878 he not only passed his theological examination but also an examination in Semitic philology. Next year he passed his Doctor's examination, and [8] in 1880 his thesis *Het Mekkaansche feest* appeared. Already here we meet the full-grown scholar.

The book begins like an old-fashioned novel: 'In the afternoon of one of the last days of February in the year 632 an immense number of people could be seen moving in the direction of Jathrib (Medina)'. After the description of this assembly - the author tells the excited reader that it was Mohammad, the prophet of Mecca, who was going with his followers to his native town, Mecca, which he had left for Medina 10 years before and conquered 2 years ago. His aim now was to celebrate the pilgrimage and reform it so as to make it conform with his new religion. This is not exactly the ordinary style of Snouck, but it shows that from the beginning he endeavoured to write in a way adapted not only to learned specialists, but also to the general reader.

In this paper Snouck gives a characterization of the Prophet that is important because it stresses the change his character had undergone during the 10 years since he had left Mecca for Medina. The enthusiasm and simplicity of the young Prophet had given way to the calculation of the politician who was not satisfied by faith alone but claimed obedience. This was the premise of the task that lay before him in Mecca. Through a methodical treatment of the sources Snouck shows how Mohammad acted on these lines. I shall mention some few points on which Snouck throws new light by this method. It has always been known that the pilgrimage to Mecca was an old custom. But how

was it possible that Mohammad could take over a cult that was so evidently a cult belonging to old Arabian gods? The Qoran answers this question thus: that the Ka'ba, the well-known sanctuary of Mecca, was built by Abraham and his son Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs, as a place of gatherings and a seat for the religion of Abraham (2, 124 f. 127). Thus it 'should originally have been a place of worship for the revealed religion of which Mohammad claimed to be the last Prophet, and the practice of the heathen Arabs was a later falsification. This view is supported by Sprenger, who in his *Leben und Lehre des Muhammad* asserts that the cult of the Ka'ba had been [10] under the influence of Jews and Christians, and even quotes a tradition according to which there was an image of Christ painted in the Ka'ba (III p. 528). And Dozy, the author of important works on Spanish Arabian History and Literature and of a big and very valuable Arabic Dictionary, had written a work, *De Israelieten te Mekka*, in which he collected a series of Islamic legends and on their authority wrote a whole pre-Islamic Jewish history of Mecca.

Snouck shows that all these legends originated in much later times and were wholly based on the narratives of the Qoran. Thus they had no independent value as historical sources. The pilgrimage which Mohammad made one of the cornerstones of Islamic cult was throughout an old heathen Arabian custom which he appropriated to Islam, above all as a valuable means of consolidating his dominion. And for that purpose Abraham could be of an enormous use to him. Snouck shows in which way this his was done.

In Medina Mohammad had a long and harsh strife with the Jews. As he realized that they refused to acknowledge him as a prophet who [11] continued the revelations of the Jewish prophets, he found in Abraham a prophet of a special character whom he called a *hanif*, a term for pious men who before Mohammad gave up Arab polytheism, and a *muslim*, the denomination in the Qoran of Mohammad's followers. Thus Abraham became not only the father of the Jewish religion, but also the forerunner of Mohammad, and this Abraham manifested in building the Ka'ba together with Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs, as a temple for the same pure religion that was revealed through Mohammad. By this ingenious new construction, pronounced in the Qoran, Mohammad made his religion independent and at the same time stressed that he continued and fulfilled the religion of the father of Jewry and Christianity in combining it with the cult of his Arab ancestors. The rules laid down for the festival in the Qoran then are our best source of knowledge of the heathen Arabian ritual. But, on the other hand, the festival has lost its old meaning: to sanctify the people and their produce by sacrifices and processions in connection with markets in Mecca and its neighbourhood. The rituals are [12] now only accomplished as acts of obedience towards the will of Mohammad's God.

To what degree the ritual became stamped by the Prophet's personality appears clearly from another point which Snouck also made clear. The ritual necessitated, as in so many other old cults, certain abstinences, e.g. between man and woman. The festival consists of ceremonies at the Ka'ba and afterwards in special places outside Mecca. The pilgrim can adopt the state of abstinence for all these ceremonies before entering Mecca, but he may equally well dedicate himself for the two parts (in and outside Mecca), separately, or he may dedicate himself for the first part in Mecca (*'umra*) only, and afterwards 'use the *'umra* for the (whole) pilgrimage' (Sur. 2, 196). Snouck pointed out, on the basis of the traditions (*ḥadīth*), that this confusion is due to the Prophet's breaking the rules of abstinence after the ceremonies in Mecca, after which a revelation confirmed that this was allowed, but must be propitiated by a sacrifice or some days' fast (Sur. 2, 196).

In his book Snouck has thus given an important contribution to the understanding of [13] Muhammad and his personal history, and he has shown what a turning-point the conquest of the Prophet's native town became in the development of Islam as a new independent religion. In an ingenious way Snouck points out how the Qoranic revelations are conditioned by the course of what actually happened. It is of great importance that he inaugurates a new view of the *ḥadīth*, the narratives of the customs (*sunna*) of the oldest Moslem community, especially of the Prophet himself. He observes that the farther we come from the time of the Prophet, the more the *ḥadīth* knows about details of his life. Because the deceased Prophet continued to be the model for the beliefs and behaviour of his followers, necessity created ever new *ḥadīths* about him and often such sayings of the Prophet were created as arguments in the fights between the parties during the earliest centuries of Islamic history. It is amazing that a young man, 23 years old, could produce a work with such mastery of the sources and with such perspicacity and ripeness.

Snouck's first book treats a subject that not only is of great historical importance but still [14] plays a momentous role in our time. The author's interest in that side of Islamic studies appears in an article about Islamic eschatology written in the same year as the publication of his thesis (1880) and published 4 years later in 'De Indische Gids' (1884, V.G. I pp. 125-144). The article was occasioned by pamphlets spread in the Dutch East Indies announcing the near end of the world as prepared by the coming, of the Mahdi who will conquer all unbelievers. The young Snouck already had connections with the Orient and in his pamphlet translated an Arabic publication of this kind which claims to be the relation of words spoken by the Prophet in a dream to the East-Indian author. Snouck gives some comments on this publication with a warning to the colonial powers to study Islam earnestly and to treat its followers with wisdom.

And the next year (1885) he finished another article on the history of the idea of the Mahdi, this time in the German language, and published in 'Revue coloniale' 1886 (V.G. I pp. 145-181).

Snouck calls attention to the fact that nobody during the lifetime of the Prophet [15] thought of his death or of his successors, not even the Prophet himself, and this caused a strife that is felt through the whole history of Islam. The first four caliphs, however, had belonged to Mohammad's closest associates and governed the Moslems with his example as their guidance when no Qoranic prescription could solve the problems. But after them the Umayyad caliphs, descendants of Mohammad's stoutest adversaries, were in pious circles regarded as worldly-minded usurpers, and opposing parties arose, as a rule under a leader who was often called '*mahdī*', i.e. 'the one led on the right way' by God. As none of them succeeded, the hope of a renewer who could recreate the ideal period of the four caliphs was transposed into the future, and further developed by new eschatological ideas introduced from Christianity by the many converts in the conquered countries. Towards the end of the world mankind would be afflicted by wars and other disasters under the dominion of the *dadjjāl*, the Antichrist, but then 'Īsā, i.e. Jesus, would reappear, kill the *dadjjāl* and all unbelievers and declare the substitution of his religion by Islam. [16] There came new strife about the relation between 'Īsā and the old idea of the *mahdī*, and the result was a compromise according to which 'Īsā would become the last of the many predecessors of the Mahdi who would establish the definite restoration of the Islamic dominion as the ideal caliph, and he, too, became a transcendent figure. Now the Mahdi was no more thought of as the opponent of unjust Islamic rulers, but as the definite victor in the fight with the unbelievers.

This reconstruction of the facts which has become as classical as his book on the pilgrimage, shows what a fertile ground these ideas offer for aggressive propaganda against non-Islamic powers, and that is why Snouck wrote his essay. But from a scientific point of view it is of interest to see him again pointing out that sayings ascribed to the Prophet were fabricated as arguments for ideas brought forward by different parties in later Islam. It is this understanding of the big collections of traditions that also made it possible for Goldziher to give his splendid contributions to the investigation of Islamic religion in his *Muhammedanische Studien* of which he dedi- [17] cated the first part to Snouck Hurgronje. By the study of tradition (*hadīth*) Snouck was led to study the Moslem scholars' use of this literature for their study of the law, and in *Het Mekkaansche Feest* he mentions this branch of Moslem studies and some books of this kind which he has used. But he has not found much of interest for his purpose in these books. In 1882, however, he published an extensive article on

Mohammadan law (*Nieuwe bijdragen tot de kennis van den Islam*) in a Dutch periodical (V.G. II pp. 1-58). It is a curious fact that nearly all that he has written on this subject are papers occasioned by publications of other scholars so that they have the form of critical — and as a rule severely critical — reviews. Most of them are written in Dutch, but there are also important papers in German and French (see V.G. II, 456 pages). This gives his treatment of the theme in which he has made his most important contributions to Islamic studies, a certain casual character. But in this way he has not only created a new understanding of the true character of the law and thus of Islam as a whole, but also treated many special questions, and the lucid systematic exposition of Mohammadan law according to the Shāfīcite school given by Juynboll in his handbook is based on Snouck's lectures.

The leading ideas of these works are as follows:

The Arabic word for this subject is *fiqh*, which means 'understanding', 'learning', and Snouck asserts its essential difference from our 'law' or 'jurisprudence' in that it regulates human beings' relations not only to each other but also to God, and its aim is to prescribe how everything is to be done by man from his duties of worship to his meanest action in daily life. Its sources are not a system of laws elaborated logically on basic principles. It is the will of God as revealed through Mohammad. Thus the *fiqh* can only be understood historically.

During the life-time of the Prophet, life was regulated according to Arabian custom and the personal judgment of the Prophet, in certain actual situations by the Qoranic divine revelation. After the Prophet's death those who had authority endeavoured to rule in the spirit of [19] the Prophet, as is already pointed out in the essay on the Mahdi. Thus the custom, *sunna*, of the Prophet appeared as a source beside the word of God, and this *sunna* was gradually formulated in the already mentioned traditions (*ḥadīth*) of whose dubious origin we have heard. This is the beginning of the *fiqh*. As to its further development Snouck emphasizes two things. First, that the scholars who developed their systems kept themselves far from the Umayyad rulers with the result that the systems paid no regard to practical life which gave them an abstract and unreal stamp. Further, that when the discussion between the schools in Mecca and Medina, in Syria and Iraq reached an agreement on a solution, this consensus, called *idjmā'*, was binding for the whole community. Thus consensus becomes a third base (*rukṅ*) of *fiqh* besides Qoran and *sunna*. But when we consider that *idjmā'* (consensus) is conclusive for the interpretation of the Qoran and the fixation of the *sunna* we understand why Snouck can say that it is the most important idea that characterizes the development of Islam, a catholic principle without Pope or Council. As there is no [20] agreement on everything, different schools (*madhāhib*) exist, but only 4 are acknowledged as or-

thodox, and every orthodox Moslem must belong to one of them and follow the decisions of its leaders. On the basis of *idjmā'* the competent scholar of a school (*madhhab*) may use analogy (*qiyās*) and if that is impossible, his best estimate or opinion (*ra'y*). These two are reckoned as the 4th and 5th base of the *fiqh*. Thus Islam became a firm organization with a very conservative structure dominated by the *fiqh*, even if its prescriptions have only had a very limited real validity. But even so Islam has shown its practical instinct in allowing people in certain regions who confess their belief in Allah, as the only God and Mohammad as his Prophet to keep to their inherited customs (*'āda*), a rule which has been of the greatest importance for the expansion of Islam.

The Qoran thus is not a book that everybody can study in order to know what Islam is. It is literally the word of God, therefore untranslatable, and gives the scholar the means of knowing the will of God by the method of the consensus. For ordinary people it is recited [21] for edification and for gaining merit in the eyes of God.

This picture of Islam, then quite new, is now a matter of course to every student of that religion. Here also Goldziher found the same way as Snouck and shaped a similar view in his *Die Zāhiriten* that appeared in 1884. Snouck never tired of repeating this view of Islam when it was neglected in books of other scholars, and in these articles he elucidated a great many details in the *fiqh* system. The new view opened up a new field for investigation, particularly on the oldest development of *ḥadīth* and *idjmā'*, and the picture has later been enriched by more colours and some modifications, not least by the work of the present successor on Snouck's chair in Leyden, Joseph Schacht, but the picture as a whole is unchanged.

Snouck's knowledge of Islam was now so intimate that he was well prepared to experience the greatest event in his scholarly life: the visit to Mecca. Among the few European visitors to that holy centre of Islam which is forbidden to Non-Moslems, Snouck Hurgronje is the only real scholar and, therefore, the [22] only one who could have intercourse with the learned society of the city as one of their own kind. This gives his work on Mecca (in two volumes) a unique value. It is well known how the ungenerous intrigues of a French Vice-Consul put a sudden end to his stay in the city. A masterly article by Snouck in a Munich paper gives the details of this affair. But during the nearly 7 months he spent in Mecca (February-August, 1885) after 5 months' stay in Djidda, Snouck used his time so well that he got a deep knowledge of the city and its life.

His first publication about Mecca was a collection of proverbs with a German translation and a commentary which gave much information of linguistic and sociological character (1886). Two years later volume one of his great work

appeared (1888).

Snouck had succeeded in acquiring some manuscripts without which he could not have written this first volume containing the history of Mecca up to the time of the author. The volume begins with an elaborate description of the town. But the most interesting part is the second volume (1889) in which the in- [23] habitants of the holy city are described in their daily life and at festive times. Only the greatest feast, the annual pilgrimage, is lacking, because his expulsion took place just before its beginning, but, as he once said himself, he would hardly have been able to add anything of interest to his own book on that subject.

It was a unique kind of a population. Its nucleus was the resident community representing the tradition. It was wholly dependent on the pilgrimage, rightly called 'the harvest', but its customs and its character became evident only when this hectic time was over. About them gathered representatives of every Moslem country living together in their own communities but all of them partaking in the urban life with the same aim: to get spiritual profit from the holy city, and perhaps in order to study for some time in the centre of Islam. In so far it was an international society, but it was absolutely closed to the European world of whose unbelieving population the Meccans only spoke with disgust. In many respects the description reminds one of Lane's account of life in Cairo half a century earlier. [24]

By Snouck's time Cairo was changed but Mecca was unaltered. Thus Snouck could describe an open slave-market in Mecca. Family life in Mecca did not show the best of models for an Islamic household. Matrimony was characterized by looseness. Not that polygamy was a common trait, but there was so much more divorce which according to Islamic law takes place at the discretion of the male party only. A Meccan woman, Snouck says, could reckon with one or two dozen marriages. No trust, no respect united husband and wife. This reminds one of the situation in Mecca as it appeared nearly a thousand years earlier in *Kitāb al-aghānī*, the famous 'Book of Songs'. This did not exclude a sincere devotion to religion. It is of interest to see that relations with the dead saints and relatives, played an enormous role in religious life. Visits to the cemetery were regularly paid on certain days, of course by men and women separately. They practised pious exercises such as Qoran recitation at the tombs to get the blessing of the saints and to earn reward for their pious deeds for the benefit of the departed. This side of Islam [25] that gives evidence of the cohesion of the generations is sharply denounced by the present Wahhabi rulers of Mecca. Snouck was the first to make a series of photographs in the forbidden city, and in an atlas attached to his two volumes we can have a view of streets and buildings and of the types of men he met. Like Mecca's learned

men Snouck spent much time in the centre of the city's life, the great mosque with the Ka'ba in the middle. He describes the rites, the studies and the devotions of the Mystic orders and not least the leading persons. He wrote a special article on the director of studies. On the whole he deals very thoroughly with the studies, not because they were outstanding in Mecca, but because they were typically Islamic with *fiqh* as the main subject.

The visit to Mecca was the splendid conclusion of a rich period in Snouck's scientific life, but also an inspiration to take up new tasks. He had learnt what Mecca meant to the unity of Islam, politically as well, and he showed that in many later writings, e.g. in two articles on Pan-Islamism in 1910. Many years later he still had connections with Mecca, and he was [26] never more pleased than when he told about his experiences in that peculiar town.

There was one community in Mecca which interested Snouck more than any others and that was the Indonesian community. To that one he consecrates a whole chapter in his work on Mecca, and in the same year in which the last part of his work appeared (1889) he went to Indonesia.

The 17 years he spent there made a new fertile period in his scholarly life which deserves an independent treatment for which I have no competence. I shall say some few words about its contribution to Islamic studies. In the eighties he had written several essays, of which one has been mentioned here, that give evidence of an intimate knowledge of the languages and the mental condition of these peoples. In the fifth volume of the *Verspreide Geschriften*, which deals with letters and languages, more than half of the 420 pages concern Indonesia, and his papers on administration, social life, etc. fill 850 pages in volume four, and to this must be added his official reports to the Government whose adviser he was: But the most outstanding [27] product of his studies are the two works *De Atjèhers* I-II, 1893-94 (Engl. ed. 1906), and *Het Gajoland en zijne Bewoners*, 1903. Whereas in *Mecca* he described a community in the centre of Islam, he gave in these works a description of two peoples from Islam's border-line, in Sumatra. Their Islamic faith was not less strong than that of the Meccans, but their habits were still determined by their pre-Islamic inheritance. These works, therefore, give an illuminating illustration of the before-mentioned Islamic principle of *'āda*, the importance of which Snouck had stressed in earlier writings. It is a proof of Snouck's gift as an explorer that he could live among these peoples that were inimical towards the Dutch and get an intimate knowledge not only of every aspect of their life but also of all their leading persons.

During his stay in Indonesia he still wrote several articles on questions of *fiqh* and other scientific topics. After his return to Europe as professor in Leyden (1906) he never gave up contact with the living Orient. Often he wrote ar-

ticles on current questions, always with a view to their general importance for [28] Islam. Thus he wrote about the Young Turks' revolution in 1908 which he, by chance, observed on the spot. For this visit he had prepared himself by learning the Turkish language. Further he wrote about the Holy War and the revolt in Arabia in 1915-16, about the Caliphate in 1923-24, and the Palestinian question in 1930. He also wrote about the then inaccessible Hadramaut (in South Arabia), informed about the conditions there by people from that country settled in Indonesia. Many reviews showed his interest in the current learned literature and he also wrote some greater essays on historical topics.

In 1916 he published a book, *Mohammedanism*, containing lectures given in the U.S.A. on Islam's origin, its religious and political growth and its present state, and in 1925 he published a treatise on Islam (in *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, originally edited by de la Saussaye in Leyden).

Thus Snouck Hurgronje laid the foundation of a new view of Islam and its development. He has given a fundamental description of the centre of Islam, and he has given fun [29] damental descriptions of every aspect of life in far off Islamic societies that are of the same importance to ethnologists as to students of Islam. What he has achieved in these three fields of study would be enough for three .great scholars, but in Snouck's work they make a whole.

His vast experience gave Snouck a deep knowledge of human nature and a great personal superiority. During his whole life he nourished an indomitable zeal for truth and justice. He could not forgive lack of character, and nothing was more detestable to him than insincerity in scholars. He was a severe critic of all inaccuracy, his criticism was sharp and penetrating and it can have been no pleasure to have been the object of it. When he put on the garb of the Moslems, it was as a means of understanding them as he implied in a review of the famous English explorer Doughty. It appears clearly from his writings, as it did from his conversation, that Islam could not be his ideal. But his human sympathy included the Moslem peoples and he respected the religion which gave their lives a meaning. He could be impressed by the [30] view of the multitudes in the big mosque of Mecca falling to the ground before their creator, and he often stressed the high ethical pursuit in the Moslem philosopher al-Ghazālī. It was his hope that the contact with European culture would develop this tendency, while the Europeans on their part followed ethical principles in their relations to the Moslems. This ideal was the clue to the whole work of Snouck Hurgronje.

The human sympathy that characterized Snouck also became evident in his intense disposition for friendship. His correspondence with colleagues and friends all over the world was enormous. Among his friends were his old teacher Nöldeke and also Wellhausen, and among the other outstanding orientalis

Ignaz Goldziher, his nearest colleague as a founder of modern Islamic studies. It was interesting to see these two men together: Goldziher, the learned scholar, who was only at home in the study and whose writings united great vision with innumerable details, and Snouck who would rather write without learned notes and who combined the far reaching ideas of the study with an extensive [31] exploration of the far off world. It was always a pleasure to be the guest of Snouck and to listen to his conversation enlivened by his humour. Those who have learnt to know this outstanding personality can never forget him. They will keep him in grateful memory.

Orientalist or Master Spy: The Career of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje

*Peter Hamburger*¹

In the year 2000 a special issue of the Indonesian popular magazine *Forum Keadilan* profiled one hundred individuals judged as having had the greatest impact on twentieth-century Indonesia. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje was one of eight non-Indonesians among them, his profile headed “Orientalist or master spy.” Here, the term “Orientalist” was used in a sense that predated Edward Said, as apolitical scholarship in contrast with the dirty politics of espionage. Nevertheless, the conclusion reached in the article is classic Said. Many Indonesians, it was noted, now regard Snouck Hurgronje as “no more than a polecat” who “infiltrated Islamic circles and stole the ‘secrets’ of the strength of popular resistance to colonial government.”²

The argument in this chapter is that Snouck Hurgronje fits neatly into none of the above categories. His scholarship was often not apolitical and he was involved in intelligence and security work but he was hardly a master spy. He is an especially poor fit for the orientalism that Said redefined as implying service to the political ends of Western imperialism, constructing a Western self-image by reference to a stagnant “Orient,” and presenting a unitary, backward essence of Arab and Islamic cultures.³ Snouck Hurgronje was mostly an oppositional figure within the Dutch colonial system; to read him as “othering” or essentialising Oriental cultures greatly overstates any such effects and mischaracterises the essence of his work. Essentially, it is argued here, the work

1 The author undertook the work which led to this chapter with the support of a Harold White Fellowship at the National Library of Australia in 2007 and 2008.

2 Munawar Chalil, “Snouck Hurgronje: Orientalis atau mata mata ulung,” *Forum Keadilan* 8, no. 40 (2000): 78; “polecat” is my translation of *musang*.

3 Said’s own definitions of orientalism vary and are often lengthy. A précis of his first definition at pp. 2-3 of E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003) is: teaching about, writing about or researching the Orient, which has always implied a style of thought that distinguishes between the West and the non-Western “other,” and usually a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient, “in short ... a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient.” The three-part definition used in this chapter, which I find easier to apply, is drawn from an article critical of Said’s work, K. Windschuttle, “Edward Said’s ‘Orientalism Revisited,’” *The New Criterion* 17, no. 5 (1999).

was part of a liberal project for a modernity that embodied universal norms of interaction within and between peoples.

Argument about the feasibility and desirability of such a modernity continues and this helps to account for continuing interest in Snouck Hurgronje. But, in the absence of a substantial biography, he mostly now appears in the argument as a source of colourful examples of boundaries crossed in a life that mixed scholarship, government administration, intelligence work, a putative conversion to Islam and secret Muslim marriages. The first section of this chapter outlines Snouck Hurgronje's career, placing the colourful examples in a wider context. A shorter second section surveys his thinking within a largely forgotten oppositional strand in colonialism, pointing to the moral dilemmas posed by engagement with an odious system in the hope of achieving a larger good, and perhaps prompting thought about the nature of modernity.

1 The Making of an Orientalist

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje was born on 8 February 1857. His family had deep connections to the Dutch Reformed Church and after high school he entered the theology faculty at Leiden University. However, he chose philology and Semitic languages, the core fields in the emerging discipline of orientalism, for his graduate studies and drifted away from active Christianity. Leiden's theology faculty was highly liberal and questioning but Snouck Hurgronje's connection to the church may also have been weakened by an earlier family scandal. His father, a pastor, had left a pregnant wife and five children to live with his mother, the also-pregnant daughter of another minister.⁴

Snouck Hurgronje's student period was notable not for its beginnings in theology but for his prodigious success and the connections he made. His thesis on the pilgrimage ceremonies in Mecca, based on close study of manuscripts, changed thinking in Western scholarship.⁵ Written under the supervision of

4 The most authoritative summary of Snouck Hurgronje's family background and early life is in Jan Just Witkam, "Inleiding," in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw. Schetsen uit het dagelijks leven*. Vertaald en ingeleid door Jan Just Witkam (Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Atlas, 2007), 15-20.

5 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest* (Leiden: Brill, 1880), available on the website of the *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren* at <http://www.dbnl.org/titels/titel.php?id=snou004mekk01>. This comprises digitised and scanned versions. Note that the version chosen for republication is the original thesis and not the text revised by Snouck Hurgronje for his *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje* (6 vols., edited by Arent Jan Wensinck, vols. 1-5 Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1923-1925; vol. 6 Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1927) vol. 1: *Geschriften betreffende den Islam en zijne Geschiedenis* (1923), 1-124. P.Sj. van Ko-

Michael de Goeje, a giant in the field, it prompted an approach from the great Hungarian orientalist Ignaz Goldziher, who encouraged Snouck Hurgronje to concentrate on Islamic law, a then unfashionable field which Snouck Hurgronje would help move towards the centre of orientalism.⁶ His post-doctoral studies were in Strasburg under Theodor Nöldeke, another of the most prominent orientalists.⁷

On returning to Leiden, Snouck Hurgronje first found employment teaching the elements of Islam at a training institute for the colonial civil service and at the Advanced Military Academy in The Hague.⁸ Here he encountered practical questions of relations between East and West, some of which he took up in academic articles.⁹ He also mastered Islamic law sufficiently to produce a long and brutal dissection of a handbook for official use written by L.W.C. van den Berg, adviser on Oriental languages and Islamic law to the government of the Netherlands East Indies.¹⁰ In routing Van den Berg, a lawyer and colonial official, Snouck Hurgronje showed how orientalist training could contribute to practical administration and policy.

A further opportunity to integrate practice and theory came when the Dutch consul in Jeddah appealed for commercially and politically oriented studies of Arabia. Snouck Hurgronje secured funding from the Colonial ministry and a base at the Jeddah consulate to study the influence of Muslim brotherhoods

ningsveld, "Snouck Hurgronje sebagaimana adanya: Suatu sumbangan kepada penghargaan Orientalistik Negeri Belanda," in *Snouck Hurgronje dan Islam: Delapan Karangan Tentang Hidup dan Karya Seorang Orientalis Zaman Kolonial* (Jakarta: Grimukti Pasaka, 1987), 48-55 and K. Steenbrink, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) en Atjeh," in *Aceh: de verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, ed. Liesbeth Dolk (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2001), 81-82 have commented on important revisions that Snouck Hurgronje made in the 1923 text.

6 Snouck Hurgronje, "Ignaz Goldziher," in *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, vol. 6: *Boekaankondigingen. Verscheidenheden. Registers. Bibliographie* (1927), op. cit., 457-458.

7 Witkam, "Inleiding," op. cit., 19-20.

8 C. Fasseur, *De Indologen: Ambtenaren voor de Oost* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1993), 228.

9 Snouck Hurgronje, "De beteekenis van den islam voor zijne belijders in Oost-Indië," and "Een en ander over het inlandsch onderwijs in de Padangsche Bovenlanden," in *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, vol. 2 (*Geschriften betreffende het Mohammedaansche recht*, 1923) and vol. 4:1 (*Geschriften betreffende den islam in Nederlandsch-Indië*, two parts, 1924), 1-52; see also his letter to Herman Bavinck of 18 April 1882 in J. de Bruijn, ed., *Amicissime: Brieven van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje aan Herman Bavinck, 1878-1921* (Amsterdam: Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme, 1992), 43.

10 Snouck Hurgronje, "Mr L.W.C. van den Berg's beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht," in *Verspreide Geschriften* vol. 2, op. cit., 59-221.

and pan-Islamic sentiment on pilgrims from colonial Indonesia.¹¹ From August 1884 he spent twelve months in Arabia, the last seven in Mecca, then as now closed to all but Muslims. Taking the Muslim name ‘Abd al-Ghaffar and living openly in Mecca as a European convert, Snouck Hurgronje used his knowledge of Islamic texts and law to participate in Muslim life at the centre of the faith. He chose as his teacher the Shafi‘i grand mufti of the great mosque and bought and married an Abyssinian woman slave. With an Arab physician, also named ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, he established the first photographic business in Mecca, navigating with his namesake the intricate channels of power and politics in Mecca to obtain religious and secular approvals.¹²

In August 1885 Snouck Hurgronje was expelled from Mecca, an accidental casualty in a Franco-German contest for an ancient inscription.¹³ But by then he had formed insights about life in Muslim societies, developed techniques for studying cultures, and established contacts and credibility among Muslim scholars that would serve him throughout his career. His book *Mekka* would also win him election to the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science in 1888, when scarcely thirty-one years of age.¹⁴

By then, he was a full-time lecturer at Leiden University with a promising future and a growing reputation in The Hague as an expert on the problems of governing Muslims. He was urging on the minister for the Colonies the need for middle-eastern expertise and a stronger intelligence-gathering capacity at the Jeddah consulate. He secured a job at the consulate for his friend Raden Abu Bakar Djajadiningrat, an Indonesian expatriate in Arabia who had mediated his conversion to Islam and his choice of teacher in Mecca. The conclusion to *Mekka* has been described as seeming “to have been written as an open

11 Witkam, “Inleiding,” op. cit., 25; J. Schmidt, “Pan-Islamism between the Porte, The Hague and Buitenzorg,” in *Through the Legation Window 1876-1926: Four Essays on Dutch-Indian and Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1992) 76; Van Koningsveld, “Orientalistik sebagai ilmu-bantu kolonial: ‘masuk Islamnya’ Snouck Hurgronje,” in *Snouck Hurgronje dan Islam*, op. cit., 68.

12 Witkam, “Inleiding,” op. cit., describes Snouck Hurgronje’s time in Mecca at length and edits his correspondence. Passages concerning the slave incident are at pp. 97-98, and see also C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning. The Moslems of the East-Indian Archipelago*, trans. J.H. Monahan, with an introduction by Jan Just Witkam (Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2007), 121-122.

13 Witkam, “Inleiding,” op. cit., 125-129.

14 The book is *Mekka*, 2 vols., vol. 1: *Die Stadt und ihre Herren* (1888, untranslated) and vol. 2: *Aus dem heutigen Leben* (first published in German in 1889), op. cit.; for election to the Academy, see J. de Bruin and G. Harinck, eds., *Een Leidse vriendschap: de briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinc en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje 1875-1921* (Baarn: Ten Have, 1999), 10.

solicitation for a position in the Netherlands Indies.”¹⁵ It summarised his approach: “one should not estrange the moderate elements by prejudice or ignorant narrow-mindedness, should know the irreconcilable elements, should be aware of every new movement, and possess the means to estimate its importance.”¹⁶ Opportunities to test this soon arose.

In 1887 Snouck Hurgronje had declined a professorship at the training institute for East Indies officials at Delft and had been sounded out for another at a similar new German institute. But when his earlier sparring partner Van den Berg accepted the chair in Delft, he won a Colonial ministry commission for a two-year academic study of Islam in Java while also covering Van den Berg’s former functions. In April 1889 he set out for Southeast Asia.¹⁷

2 Into Government

In the Van-den-Berg role, Snouck Hurgronje was to be consulted by the departments of the colonial state on decisions and actions that might offend the culture or religion of the indigenous population. He could also be assigned specific policy studies and while still in the Netherlands he gained approval for such a study involving travel beyond the Dutch lines in the contested Sumatran territory of Aceh before his government appointment was announced.¹⁸ He proposed to use his Mecca contacts and identity as a Muslim scholar to gain access to the resistance leaders but this mission was aborted at the last minute as too dangerous and likely to jeopardise efforts to win Acehnese submission.¹⁹ Instead, the colonial government assigned him to review the implications of an uprising and massacre of officials and their families led by religious teachers in Banten, West Java, the previous year.²⁰

15 Witkam, “Inleiding,” op. cit., 168ff.

16 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, op. cit., 311.

17 Witkam, “Inleiding,” op. cit., 153-173.

18 E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, vol. 1. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957-1965), contains successive sets of official instructions, beginning with a draft of 23 May 1889.

19 Snouck Hurgronje, “Letter to Governor-General, May 1889,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 1-2; A. Reid, *The Contest for North Sumatra: Atjeh, the Netherlands and Britain 1858-1898* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1969), 271.

20 Snouck Hurgronje, “Letter to Governor-General, 15 August 1892,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 1986-1999; Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions, Course and Sequel. A Case Study of Social Movements in Indonesia* (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), 285, 302.

The Banten uprising had brought the European population of Java to a state that Snouck Hurgronje later described as a “public psychosis.”²¹ Islamic teaching was severely repressed in many places and the colonial army had burned villages and summarily killed suspected rebels. Soon after Snouck Hurgronje arrived seventeen prisoners, some probably innocent, were publicly hanged at the main site of the rebellion. Many suspects were being exiled to remote parts of the archipelago on weak or perjured evidence.²²

Good information eased the psychosis, too late for some of its victims. Contacts resulting from his time in Mecca soon gave Snouck Hurgronje the facts needed to decisively support an end to the harsh measures and mass exiling. Beyond that, he developed an argument for a longer-term policy of close, efficient government oversight that would respect Islam but separate it from secular power.²³ The uprising in Banten, he argued, had not been caused by specific local issues or any general tendencies to fanaticism in Muslim teaching. Rather, fanatics had taken over the “organisational and social” structures of Islam in the region and turned discontent into rebellion. The local administration had failed to notice and block this takeover, failed to prevent acts of religious coercion that accompanied it, and often handled Islamic teachers roughly and tactlessly.²⁴

His academic project overlapped this work, focusing on the interplay in daily life on Java between pre-Islamic practices and customs and still-arriving alternatives in Islamic and modern Western systems. In fieldwork in 1889 and 1890, Snouck Hurgronje immersed himself in local cultures, helped by proficiency in Malay, fast-acquired knowledge of Sundanese and Javanese, and the intermediation of Haji Hasan Mustapa, a contact from Mecca who had also assisted him in Banten.²⁵ No academic monograph resulted but Snouck Hurgronje used his fieldwork in an ambitious attempt to influence Dutch-indigenous relationships. Between January 1891 and December 1892 he published in a progressive colonial newspaper thirty-seven long articles collectively entitled “Letters from a retired *wedono*.” Written in the voice of a Javanese with long experience in the middle ranks of the indigenous civil service, the articles presented local cultures sympathetically to Dutch readers with implied mes-

21 Snouck Hurgronje, “Vergeten Jubilees,” in *Verspreide Geschriften* 4:2, op. cit., 420.

22 Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants Revolt of Banten*, op. cit., 285, 302.

23 Snouck Hurgronje, “Nieuws over Bantam,” in *Verspreide Geschriften* 4:1, op. cit., 255.

24 *Ibid.*, 253-255.

25 Ph. S. van Ronkel, “Aanteekeningen over Islam en folklore in West- en Midden-Java, uit het reisjournaal van Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde* 103 (1942).

sages on the dangers of colonialist arrogance.²⁶

The retired-*wedono* articles drew on more than Snouck Hurgronje's academic fieldwork and short experience as a government adviser. He had also resumed practising Islam among Muslims and married the daughter of a senior Sundanese religious teacher (a breach of the colonial marriage ordinance which he denied to the authorities and kept secret from European society).²⁷ At the end of 1890, established in the Indies and seeing an opportunity emerging in Aceh, he declined an offer of the chair in Malay at Leiden University in favour of a permanent appointment as government adviser, a post he would hold with varying titles and increasing responsibilities until 1906.²⁸

In his routine as adviser, Snouck Hurgronje had little scope to devise or initiate new policies. He primarily responded to matters raised by government agencies and his advice was not always accepted. Sometimes there was suspicion of his motives; his predecessor, Van den Berg, once accused him of bringing the viewpoint of a devout Muslim to a system designed in the interests of Dutch administration.²⁹ Sometimes the problem was what Snouck Hurgronje once described to the governor-general as "the 'quality of persistence' of our state institutions – formerly known to science as sloth."³⁰ He also lost contests for budget priority. But his busy years of case-work resulted in an institutional voice for indigenous interests (as interpreted by sympathetic Dutch officials), the Office of Native Affairs, which was influential to the end of Dutch rule.³¹

26 Snouck Hurgronje, "Brieven van een wedono-pensioen," in *Verspreide Geschriften* 41, op. cit., 111-248.

27 P.Sj. Van Koningsveld, "'Izharu 'l Islam' Snouck Hurgronje segi sejarah kolonial yang dia-baikkan," in *Snouck Hurgronje dan Islam*, op. cit., 220; *Soerabaya Courant*, 9 January 1890.

28 G.W.J. Drewes, "Snouck Hurgronje and the Study of Islam," *Bijdragen tot het Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde* 113 (1957): 5. See also chapter 16 of this volume.

29 Muhamad Hisyam, *Caught Between Three Fires: The Javanese Panghulu under the Dutch Colonial Administration 1882-1942* (Jakarta: Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS), 2001), 62.

30 Snouck Hurgronje, "Memorandum to Governor-General, August 1905," in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 562.

31 This is broadly the assessment of H.J. Benda, in *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation, 1942-1945* (The Hague and Bandung: W. Van Hoeve Ltd, 1958), who writes at p. 21: "Beyond [the limited goal of ending the Aceh War] Snouck's fame derived from the more general improvement in relations between colonial authorities and most Muslim leaders in Indonesia. Especially on Java, a *modus vivendi* came before long to replace the hostility of former times." In his discussion between pages 20 and 31 Benda teases out the paradox of Snouck Hurgronje's success in changing practices in the Indies while failing to change the direction of higher colonial policy. The administrative structure Snouck Hurgronje established is well described in A. Vandenbosch, *The Dutch East Indies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), 37.

Much of the advisory work concerned internal security, assessing events, personalities, and confiscated documents. Snouck Hurgronje was generally moderate and judicious in this, and particularly averse to the system of exiling suspects within the archipelago.³² He also advised on education, advocating access by children of the Indonesian elite to Dutch schools in the Indies and to opportunities to study in the Netherlands.³³ Here he set an example by personally sponsoring the education of two nephews of his Mecca friend Abu Bakar Djajadiningrat.³⁴ Both had stellar careers under the Dutch and the younger, Hosein Djajadiningrat, remained prominent under the Japanese occupation and in the succeeding Republic of Indonesia.³⁵

Another line of routine work concerned the administration of state-funded religious offices and the Muslim courts which had jurisdiction in family, inheritance, and property law. Here Snouck Hurgronje sought honest and efficient administration and better training and pay for indigenous officials.³⁶ He took

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- 32 The sections of Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., concerning Aceh, Gayo and Alas territories (vol. 1); mysticism, magic and *tarekats* (vol. 2); *jimaats* (vol. 2); judgement day (vol. 2) the consulate at Jeddah (vol. 2); Arabs and Turks (vol. 2); the Dutch Embassy in Constantinople (vol. 2); religious studies (vol. 3); *wasiyats* (vol. 3); politico-religious writings and books (vol. 3); rebellious movements and persons considered a threat to peace and order (vol. 3); and diverse political reports (vol. 3) contain numerous advices on security and intelligence issues; for examples of Snouck Hurgronje's reluctant support of exiling in particular cases, see "Memoranda to Director of Justice of 22 July 1904 and 26 February 1905," in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, vol. 3, op. cit., pp. 1958, 1969, and for his general view see "Memorandum of 5 September 1890 to First Government Secretary," 1222.
- 33 Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., contains no section specifically on education policy but Snouck Hurgronje argued for elite education in a variety of forums including in his role on the board of the Gymnasium Willem III in Batavia, his advocacy of opportunities for particular Indonesians, including Hoesein Djajadiningrat (see "Letter to Director of Justice, 19 December 1903," in *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, vol. 2, 1135), op. cit., and Haji Agus Salim, see M.F. Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma Below the Wind* (London & New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 182, and his advice on reforms to the "native" and European administration (see section 4 of vol. 1 of *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*).
- 34 In *Herinneringen van Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat* (Amsterdam: Kolff, 1936), A. Djajadiningrat details Snouck Hurgronje's support; for Hosein Djajadiningrat, see H.A. Suminto, *Politik Islam Pemerintah Hindia Belanda: Het Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaaken 1899-1942* (PhD diss., Fakultas Ushuluddin, Institut Agama Islam, Negeri Syarif, Hidayatul-lah, Jakarta, 1984), 223-224.
- 35 Benda, *Crescent and the Rising Sun*, op. cit., outlines Hosein Djajadiningrat's later career in various sections and notes.
- 36 Sections 11 to 15 of vol. 1 and sections 1, 2 and parts of 3 of vol. 2 of Gobée and Adriaanse,

opportunities to promote egalitarian changes, once advocating benches for pupils in village schools when tendencies of the Javanese to hierarchy and the Dutch to economy would have had them sit on the floor below their teachers.³⁷ He also prompted controversial regulations abolishing feudal marks of honour for Dutch officials.³⁸

Snouck Hurgronje is remembered as well for coining the term “*adat* law” for part of the body of pre-Islamic custom. Other Dutch scholars developed from this an important element of colonial control that, not accidentally, restrained Islamic claims in the political sphere. Although supporting the side effect, Snouck Hurgronje was sceptical of *adat* as part of a modern legal system.³⁹

While this busy programme of general advice smoothed the course of colonial government, Snouck Hurgronje’s Aceh project from 1891 helped to transform what was governed into a unified, modern polity. He had long been interested in the conflict in North Sumatra where the Dutch had invaded Aceh in 1873, and where by 1891 they were lodged in coastal enclaves hoping to bring traditional rulers to submission through pressure from shipping controls and military raids. He had taught Dutch veterans of the conflict at the Advanced Military Academy and in Mecca had met Acehese scholars and pilgrims and become close to the Arab former prime minister and war leader of the country who had accepted exile on a Dutch pension.⁴⁰ This had been the basis of the earlier proposed spying mission. He was well prepared and eager in July 1891 when the colonial government sent him to the Dutch enclaves in Aceh to study the Islamic dimension of its problem.⁴¹

Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936, op. cit. deal with these matters.

- 37 Snouck Hurgronje, “Advice to director of Education, Religion and Industry of 10 September 1896,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 1019-1023.
- 38 J.C. Lamster, *J.B. van Heutsz als Gouverneur Generaal, 1904-1909* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & zoon, ca. 1945), 57; see also Snouck Hurgronje, “Advice of 10 March 1906 to Governor-General,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 1037-1038.
- 39 See, for example, Snouck Hurgronje, “Advice to Director of Justice, 18 April 1893,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936* op. cit., 708-709.
- 40 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, op. cit.; for Snouck Hurgronje’s closeness to the former Acehese prime minister see Witkam, “Inleiding,” op. cit., 37-40 and 114-116.
- 41 Snouck Hurgronje, “Letters to First Government Secretary of 24 March and March no date 1891,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 6-7; P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, 1985), 27.

3 Adventure in Aceh

The study followed Snouck Hurgronje's usual methodology. He recruited a local intermediary, intensively studied the Acehnese language, analysed all available texts, and observed the culture as far as possible from within for seven months.⁴² He then quickly produced a four-volume report to the government. Two volumes, with much added ethnographic data, were published in 1893 and 1894 (with Van den Berg threatening defamation action over comments in the first).⁴³ *De Atjehers*, like *Mekka*, became a classic.⁴⁴

The other volumes of the report remained secret and played on old themes. Fanatics had captured Islamic institutions and these irreconcilable elements needed to be separated from the remainder of the population, which could be won over to modernity. The resistance claimed religious authority, making it hard for the people to cooperate with the Dutch, but perceptions of Dutch weakness also discouraged cooperation.⁴⁵ Government failures added to this. Many indigenous local officials were corrupt and inefficient and army raids outside the enclaves turned assumed into actual enemies through village-burning and indiscriminate killing of non-combatants. The Dutch must cease raiding and move out of their enclaves permanently, striking the resistance bands hard and keeping them on the run, unable to control the population. The people could be won over if they and their culture were treated with respect and if the army controlled movement in their districts and protected non-combatants.⁴⁶ Good intelligence and honest, efficient officials would be essential.

Initially the authorities in Aceh resisted this harsh diagnosis and potentially expensive remedy, preferring a divide-and-rule policy of alliances with Acehnese chiefs. Snouck Hurgronje used his direct access to the governor-general to point to failures and agitate for change. He spied on Dutch activities in Aceh, having his friend Haji Hasan Mustapa appointed to a government-funded religious office there.⁴⁷ When Hasan Mustapa was expelled by local authorities, he

42 P. van 't Veer, *De Atjeh Oorlog* (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 1969), 187.

43 Steenbrink, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje en Atjeh," op. cit.

44 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*. 2 vols. (Batavia and Leiden: Landsdrukkerij and E.J. Brill, 1893-1895) with English translation 1906, trans. A.W. O'Sullivan, (Leiden: Brill, 1906); see also extracts from unpublished reports and related advices in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 47-125.

45 Snouck Hurgronje, "Het Atjeh verslag," in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, vol. 1, op. cit., 62.

46 *Ibid.*, 94-97.

47 Hisyam, *Caught Between Three Fires*, op. cit., 95; see also P.Sj. van Koningsveld, "Kata Pengantar-Nasihah-Nasihah Snouck sebagai Sumber Sejarah Zaman Penjajahan," in *Nasihah-nasihah C. Snouck Hurgronje Semasa Kepegawaianya kepada Pemerintah Hindia Be-*

had him replaced by Muhammad Roesjdi, whose niece he would later marry in a Muslim ceremony, presided over by Hasan Mustapa (and, like his earlier marriage, kept secret from European society).⁴⁸ The complaint of the Dutch governor of Aceh that Snouck Hurgronje was “too much the Mahommedan” to give objective advice is not surprising.⁴⁹ But he remained Dutchman enough to work with an out-of-favour army officer, Major J.B. van Heutsz, on proposals for an aggressive military strategy in Aceh.⁵⁰

Van Heutsz and Snouck Hurgronje were called on in 1896 when the policy of alliances with feudal chiefs collapsed spectacularly and a merciless military action began. Both opposed the indiscriminate brutality of the new approach, which was supported, however, by Snouck Hurgronje’s ubiquitous rival, Van den Berg, who had proposed driving the Acehnese into the mountains and replacing them with a more trustworthy population.⁵¹ Nevertheless, Van Heutsz was given a senior field command and retained it with Snouck Hurgronje’s support through continuing conflict with his superiors. He built an unassailable reputation for winning battles; in March 1898 he and Snouck Hurgronje were given control of a joint military and civil policy in Aceh as the failure of the purely military approach became clear.⁵²

Van Heutsz immediately ordered a strict discrimination between members of the resistance and non-combatants, “tak[ing] the war only to those persons who resist us, weapons in hand ... act[ing] as protectors of all those who are friendly, of the property and the possessions of the population.”⁵³ Army columns became lighter and faster moving and were used to attack and break up larger resistance forces and strongholds while the *Korps Marechaussee*, a very modern looking special force, moved in to dominate the villages and countryside.⁵⁴ Despite a bloody reputation, the *Marechaussee* was highly disciplined and was used for targeted arrests as well as lethal attacks. Snouck Hurgronje’s

landa, 1889-1936 [translation of Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit.] (Jakarta: INIS, 1990), L.

48 Van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje dan Islam*, op. cit., 226; Ayip Rosidi, “Snouck Hurgronje dan H. Hasan Mustapa,” *Kompas*, 22 October 2004 (printed from internet 30 May 2005).

49 Snouck Hurgronje, “Memorandum of 8 March 1896 to Governor-General,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, vol. 1, op. cit., 179.

50 J.C. Lamster, *J.B. van Heutsz* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1942), op. cit., 67-83.

51 L.W.C. van den Berg, “De Atjehers, bespreking van Dr Julius Jacobs,” *De Gids* 4 (1894): 232.

52 J.B. Witte, *J.B. van Heutsz: Leven en legende* (Bussum: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1976), 48-55; Lamster, *J.B. van Heutsz*, op. cit., 83-103.

53 Van ’t Veer, *De Atjeh Oorlog*, op. cit., 106.

54 The task and an indication of the methods of the *Marechaussee* are set out in Snouck Hurgronje, “Undated draft instruction, apparently from April 1898,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 227.

usual precision in language, not squeamishness, explains one clause of their objective: they were to “render harmless” resistance leaders.⁵⁵

Snouck Hurgronje spent much time in the field with the army in 1898 and 1899, directing intelligence operations and holding soldiers to the new strategy. He was so involved in operations that admirers later claimed that he should have been awarded the same military decoration as Van Heutsz rather than the civilian honour he received.⁵⁶ But his writings from this period are not bellicose and he worked to build public and military support for the strategy of discriminating use of force. He wrote anonymously for a Batavia newspaper, vaunting the success of the new approach and contrasting “heroes of mouth and pen,” who urged village-burning, with field soldiers, who knew that this was counterproductive.⁵⁷ (In a later, secret note to the governor-general he was less sanguine, citing excesses by troops out of sight of headquarters and a need once to restrain even Van Heutsz.)⁵⁸

The new approach of targeted rather than indiscriminate brutality bore fruit quickly and at an agreeably low cost in Dutch lives and treasure. But as Aceh was brought to a state of sullen submission, Snouck Hurgronje parted company with Van Heutsz. He opposed a unilateral Van Heutsz decision to establish indirect rule through the sultan when the latter surrendered in January 1903, as well as Van Heutsz’s preferred candidate for governor of Aceh, Colonel G.C.E. van Daalen, whom he condemned as having “a deeply-rooted contempt for all that comprises the native.”⁵⁹ In October 1903 he asked to be relieved of his special duties in Aceh.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, when Van Heutsz became governor-general the following year, Snouck Hurgronje worked well with him. Van Heutsz was prepared, as Snouck Hurgronje recommended, to advance qualified Indonesians in the administration and to increase the opportunities for Indonesians to become qualified. He gave priority to education, albeit more to mass elementary

55 Ibid.

56 For example, K. van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh Oorlog*, vol. 1 (Rotterdam: Oostersch Instituut/Weeber & Verstoep, 1948), 57.

57 Snouck Hurgronje, “De Pedir expeditie,” in *Verspreide Geschriften* 4:1, op.cit., 334-335; see also his pseudonymous article “De excursie te noord- en oostkust van Sumatra en hare gevolgen,” in *Verspreide Geschriften* 4:1, op. cit., 387-415.

58 Snouck Hurgronje, “Memorandum to Governor-General of 2 October 1903,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 329. Note that Van Heutsz’s strong supporter and first serious biographer, also a former *Marechaussee* officer, disputes Snouck Hurgronje’s claim that Van Heutsz inclined towards a serious proposal to burn villages (Lamster, *J.B. van Heutsz*, op. cit., 162).

59 Snouck Hurgronje, “Memorandum of 2 October 1903 to Governor-General,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op.cit., 345.

60 Ibid., 349.

schooling than to Snouck Hurgronje's preference for preparing an elite for national leadership. He shielded a developing vernacular press against the opposition of conservatives.⁶¹ Most important of all, Van Heutsz and Snouck Hurgronje agreed on extending modern, centralised rule across the archipelago.⁶²

This became possible through the methods and the renewed Dutch confidence developed in Aceh; many territories were brought into the Netherlands East Indies between 1904 and 1910, mostly by military force. This "consolidation" was both regularised and shaped by an institution of Snouck Hurgronje's devising, the *korte verklaring*, a contract which converted local rulers from aristocratic ciphers masking indirect Dutch rule into hereditary administrators under explicit direction.⁶³ Colonial Indonesia became a single polity with increasingly modern structures of government.

In 1908 Snouck Hurgronje claimed vindication on Aceh. The sultan had been exiled after secret contacts with foreign powers and resistance had flared under Van Daalen's oppressive governorship (called "Van-Daalism" by a whistle-blower who almost brought Van Heutsz down).⁶⁴ By then Snouck Hurgronje was professor of Arabic at Leiden, having succeeded his old teacher De Goeje in 1906 and arranged for a scholar he had trained to take over his responsibilities in the Indies.⁶⁵ His former post was filled by his students throughout the colonial period⁶⁶ and he continued as a part-time advisor to the Colonial Ministry in The Hague until his death in 1936.

61 H.A. Poeze, "Early Indonesian Emancipation: Abdul Rivai, Van Heutsz and the *Bintang Hindia*," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145, no. 1 (1989): 87-106; see also the treatment of Van Heutsz and the journal *Medan Prijaji* in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Buru Quartet* of novels.

62 The combination of motives and the "ethical" features of the Dutch expansion in colonial Indonesia in the early 1900s are discussed in E. Locher-Scholten, "Dutch Expansion in the Indonesian Archipelago Around 1900 and the Imperialism Debate," in P.H. Kratoska, ed., *South East Asia Colonial History*, vol 2 (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 107-131.

63 Lamster, *J.B. van Heutsz als Gouverneur Generaal*, op. cit., gives an accessible account of the *korte verklaring* that claims a greater share for his subject than is given in most other treatments (pp. 124-125). See also G.J. Resinck, "Neglected Statements," in *Indonesia's History Between the Myths: Essays in Legal History and Historical Theory* (The Hague: Van Hoeve, 1968), 75-106.

64 Snouck Hurgronje summarised these developments in an anonymously published article "Atjeh," in *Verspreide Geschriften* 4:2, op. cit., 125-146, incurring the ire of Van Heutsz, who suspected his authorship (Lamster, *J.B. van Heutsz*, op. cit., 163). See also Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 378-383 for private advice to the minister for the Colonies to the same effect.

65 Snouck Hurgronje, "Letter to Minister for the Colonies, 25 June 1906," in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 1:18.

66 Listed in Suminto, *Politik Islam Pemerintah Hindia Belanda*, op. cit., 169-228.

4 Cassandra in Leiden

From Leiden he advised on issues including cases of civil unrest, the rise of mass political organisations, and the arrival in Java of the Ahmadiyya sect.⁶⁷ He chaired an inquiry into the training of officials for the Dutch colonial civil service, although he considered it should be amalgamated with the parallel “native” bureaucracy to give Indonesians access to higher offices.⁶⁸ He also advised on appointments to, and trained candidates for, the consulate at Jeddah, still a listening post in the contest with pan-Islamism.

Much of Snouck Hurgronje’s security work in the Indies had been against pan-Islamic agitation by expatriate Arabs and Ottoman diplomats. He had argued there, as he continued to do from Leiden, for more and better Dutch intelligence and diplomatic work in the Middle East.⁶⁹ He sought at the same time the repeal of discriminatory regulations against Arabs in the Indies to remove grounds for their discontent and a ban on further Arab immigration to limit the importation of fanaticism.⁷⁰

The 1908 revolution in Turkey inspired Snouck Hurgronje to learn Turkish and spend the summer university vacation in Istanbul, where he was impressed by the new secular tendency.⁷¹ But the hopes thus raised deepened his disillusionment in 1914 when German orientalists, whose integration into the imperialist organisation of their country he had often commended to his own government, prompted Germany to incite an Ottoman-led jihad. He initiated heated public exchanges with his German colleagues, outraged not so much by the risk to Dutch colonial interests as that scholars from a modern nation would “excit[e] the mediaeval fanaticism of Islam against other religions.”⁷²

67 For example, Snouck Hurgronje, “Advices to Minister for the Colonies,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 1876ff., 2000ff., 1108ff.

68 Fasseur, *De Indologen*, op. cit., 390-393.

69 Summarised in J. Schmidt, “Panislamism,” in *Through the Legation Window 1876-1926: Four Essays on Dutch, Dutch-Indian and Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1992), op. cit.

70 Snouck Hurgronje, “Advices to Governor-General of 14 July 1904 and 28 July 1904,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op.cit., puts the superficially conflicting positions (both of which appear in other advices); the issue is discussed in H. de Jonge, “‘Contradictory and Against the Grain,’ Snouck Hurgronje on the Hadramis in the Dutch East Indies (1889-1936),” in H. de Jonge and N. Kaptein, eds., *Transcending Borders: Arabs, Politics, Trade and Islam in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: KITLV, 2002), 219-234.

71 J. Schmidt, *The Joys of Philology: Studies in Ottoman Literature, History and Orientalism (1550-1923)* (Istanbul: Isis, 2003), 154.

72 Snouck Hurgronje, “The Revolt in Arabia,” in *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hur-*

Snouck Hurgronje's publications on pan-Islam were part of the pattern of his later years when he became prominent as a public intellectual but produced no significant new scholarship. A projected ethnography of West Arabia came to nothing, although he organised the first sound recordings made in the region in 1906.⁷³ His surveys of Islam for non-specialist readers stand up well and two have been republished.⁷⁴ He worked for mutual understanding between his country and what became Saudi Arabia. Most significantly, he campaigned for self-government for Indonesia, using a term borrowed from French colonial theory: "associationism."

Under associationism, colonial Indonesia would be developed as quickly as possible to sit equally with the Netherlands under the Dutch crown. Snouck Hurgronje acknowledged that differences of race, skin colour, language, and religion would pose difficulties. He hoped, however, that processes of education and development already under way in the Indies could overcome the differences, despite his concerns about the slowness of those processes and difficulties in implementing new relationships between Dutch and indigenous societies that would be necessary as they proceeded. Progress, he warned, would inevitably continue as an Indonesian elite with modern Western education emerged. The only question would be whether the Dutch would guide the process or forfeit leadership to that elite, which could not be expected to wait much longer.⁷⁵

Dutch colonial policy settled instead on "tutelage" for the Indies into "the unforeseeable future" and Snouck Hurgronje's polemics grew sharper. In 1927 he ferociously attacked a pamphlet on colonial policy by the dominant figure in Dutch politics of the time, Hendrikus Colijn.⁷⁶ By this time the general tone at Leiden University, where Snouck Hurgronje's great contemporary Cornelis van Vollenhoven, a lawyer, was also a strong critic of Dutch colonial policy, had prompted business interests to fund a conservative Faculty of Indology at

gronje, vol. 3: *Geschriften betreffende Arabië en Turkije*, op. cit., 325.

73 P. Kisting, "A Doorway in Time," *Saudi Aramco World* 44, no. 5 (1993); Jan Just Witkam, "The Audio-Visual Dimension: Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's Documentation of the Sights and Sounds of Arabia," workshop "Scholarship in Action, Views on Life and Work of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," Leiden, 16 February 2007.

74 C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Islam," in J. Schacht and G.H. Bousquet, eds., *Selected Works of C. Snouck Hurgronje. Edited in English and French* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957), 1-108; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism: Lectures on Its Origin, Its Religious and Political Growth, and Its Present State* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1916), also available at Project Gutenberg at www.gutenberg.org/etext/10163.

75 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam. Vier Voordrachten* (Leiden: Brill, 1911), 96.

76 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Colijn over Indië* (Amsterdam: Brecht, 1928).

Utrecht University to compete with Leiden for the training of future officials.⁷⁷

Snouck Hurgronje advocated self-government in Indonesia wholly from Leiden and never set foot in Southeast Asia again. A Dutch marriage in 1910 and the birth of a daughter in 1914 effectively precluded a return to Indonesia.⁷⁸ He remained in contact with his second Indonesian wife and five Indonesian children, and provided for them in his will but residence in Batavia would have presented the formidable problem of two families in the same city.

Although defeated on the direction of Dutch colonial policy, Snouck Hurgronje was largely vindicated by events, as he had been on Aceh a generation before. Leaders did emerge in colonial Indonesia who would not wait on “the unforeseeable future” for an end to Dutch control. Despite the establishment of Utrecht’s competing school, Leiden continued to provide most new colonial officials and set the tone for enlightened administration. It remains one of the world’s great centres of Southeast Asian studies long after the demise of Utrecht’s Indology Faculty.

Snouck Hurgronje reached the mandatory retiring age of seventy in February 1927 but continued as a casual lecturer in modern Arabic and Acehnese at Leiden University and an occasional adviser to the government until his death. He died on 26 June 1936 and, as he had instructed, was buried without ceremony, thereby avoiding a final declaration of his religious identity.⁷⁹

5 Thinking about Modernity

Snouck Hurgronje’s death did not end contention about his career, although over the years it has been read in different ways. In the 1930s secular nationalists quoted him in their arguments for independence, Dutch scholar-bureaucrats of the colonial administration emphasised his apolitical scholarship, and those Indonesians whose nationalism drew most on Muslim identity began to criticise his separation of religion from modern politics.⁸⁰ Later, post-colonial-

77 Fasseur, *De Indologen*, op. cit., 421.

78 C.E.G. ten Houte de Lange, *Familiefonds Hurgronje 1767-1992: de nakomelingen van Isaac Hurgronje (1652-1706) en Josina Phoenix (1663-1711) en de geschiedenis van 225 jaren Familiefonds Hurgronje* (Middelburg: Familiefonds Hurgronje, 1992), 328-329.

79 H.T. Damsté, “In Memorium, Dr Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje,” *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* (1936): 455.

80 For secular nationalists, see the eight references in Sukarno, *Indonesia Accuses: Soekarno’s Defence Oration in the Political Trial of 1930*, edited, translated and annotated by R.K. Paget (London: Oxford University Press, 1975); for the colonial bureaucrats, see the fourteen references in A.D.A. de Kat Angelino, *Beleid en Bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 3 vols. (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), in only the last of which does the author deal with

ist thinkers discovered in him a convenient “other” against which to construct their own ostentatious “solidarity with the wretched of the earth,” as W.F. Wertheim concluded his 1972 article on Snouck Hurgronje and Aceh.⁸¹ All these constructions influence present-day Indonesian discourse, although implications of wretchedness are often avoided by emphasising the strength of the institutions created for managing Islam in the colonial state and the skilful use of them by the independence movement in constructing Indonesian national identity. Snouck Hurgronje thus becomes the “master spy” of our title, the defeat of colonialism is *senjata makan tuan*⁸² – “the weapon claiming its master” – and the Islamic strand in Indonesian nationalism gains prominence from having been opposed by a famous and formidable character.

Snouck Hurgronje’s work is given a different nuance in this chapter. First, it is presented as being directed towards a universal modernity rather than Dutch imperial interests or a European need to identify against a backwards “other.” Secondly, his work as an official overshadows his scholarship, which is presented as an entry ticket to government, an instrument for achieving ends through government, and a source of ambiguity in status that gave him more influence than he would have had as an official alone. The government work is seen to insinuate itself into the scholarship, probably prompting him to not say some things and to say other things differently but, more importantly, focusing his attention on questions about whether particular cultural phenomena were consistent with modernity and what to do if they were not. Finally, Snouck Hurgronje’s career is presented, like most, as involving personal ambition and being played out in contention for place as well as over theory.⁸³

the politics espoused by Snouck Hurgronje and others, deeming them “in method as in principle” unable to produce improvement; for Muslims, Benda, *Crescent and the Rising Sun*, op. cit., gives two good examples from Haji Agus Salim and Mohammed Natsir on pp. 209 and 210.

- 81 W.F. Wertheim, “Counter-Insurgency Research at the Turn of the Century: Snouck Hurgronje and the Aceh War,” *Sociologische Gids* 19, no. 5/6 (1972), reprinted in *Dawning of an Asian Dream: Selected Articles on Modernization and Emancipation* (Amsterdam: Antropologisch-Sociologisch Centrum van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1973), 146.
- 82 L. Khuluq, *Strategi Belanda Melumpuhkan Islam: Biografi C. Snouck Hurgronje* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2002) is an extended treatment of this argument with the phrase *senjata makan tuan* appearing at p. viii.
- 83 Burns’s excellent treatment of the legacy of the Dutch “discovery” of *adat* law implies a more dignified and structured progression of cause and effect: “Then during their war of imperial expansion through Aceh (1872-1904) they encountered an Islamic thrust in the native resistance. In reaction to what they called ‘Acehnese insurgency’, the Dutch colonial government summoned the scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, and appointed him as expert adviser on the administration of Islamic affairs. In the course of his investigations Snouck identified certain non-Islamic practices which had the force of law for local

This reading brings out much in Snouck Hurgronje's thought that resonates strongly with the modernity of our own times and makes his work still seem strikingly modern, especially in the light of new attempts to use Islam as a flag to rally the discontented. He can be seen to have grappled with fundamental problems that still endure: whether cultural norms that first developed in the West can be made universal as the core of a single modernity and how to manage interactions between communities with differing cultural norms. In more concrete terms, these embrace arguments about how central to modernity are the rule of law, a generally accepted suite of human rights, representation of citizens in government, a level of freedom in economic exchange, and religious and cultural pluralism. Much in government is still about how citizens of modern states should react to shortfalls in these, both in other states and domestically.

Snouck Hurgronje's choice to engage with and accept the disciplines of government in a discredited system of colonialism partly hides the extent to which modernity was his goal. That obscurity, along with the colonialist taint, was the price of seeking influence in the only way it is properly available to bureaucrats. As he wrote to his theologian friend Herman Bavinck in 1895: "[M]y work consists of labouring at the results of the empirical to augment the knowledge that people can put to daily use. I can do this without coming into conflict with any speculative system and I avoid this [conflict] for preference...."⁸⁴

Much in Snouck Hurgronje's expressed thinking reveals how far his own "speculative system" centred on a developing modernity rather than maintenance of Dutch colonial rule. First, as Harry Benda, one of his eminent successors in the study of Islam in Indonesia observed, Snouck Hurgronje "almost intuitively grasped the concept of 'culture'."⁸⁵ This can be taken further by noting that his emphasis on interactions within and between cultures constructed modernity in cultural terms – as particular norms of interactions beyond family, clan, tribe or nation that enable high levels of production and of autonomy for individuals. In this vein, his retrospective summing up of the fundamental Dutch objective in Aceh was expressed wholly in interactional terms: piracy, slave-raiding and a limited capacity for modern trade affected neighbouring modernity and so "Aceh was to be brought into the comity of civilized states or

communities in Aceh ... It was then the convenient vocation of Van Vollenhoven to serve and preserve the imperial interest by finding content for the concept which Snouck Hurgronje had named." P. Burns, *The Leiden Legacy: Concepts of Law in Indonesia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004), 213.

84 De Bruin and Harinck, *Een Leidse vriendschap*, op. cit., 10.

85 H.J. Benda, "Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan," in D.L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 341.

at least to be rendered innoxious to it.”⁸⁶

Snouck Hurgronje also recognised the power of cultural autonomy. To a degree unusual in his times, he saw the European dominance that resulted from modernity’s birth in the West as fleeting and potentially counterproductive. Thus in 1908:

Without individual experience it is hard to imagine the extent of the disaster for a people to be ruled for a long time by foreigners ... Oriental people as well [as Europeans] prefer their own government, with all its flaws in our eyes, above a foreign one, however earnest it may be in its attempt to enlighten them.⁸⁷

He introduced to the Dutch discourse a proverb from Mecca “Kind over kind, that is grace.”⁸⁸

In this thinking there was room for convergence between the West and the Orient as the cultural norms of modernity evolved. Writing to his friend and former teacher Nöldeke in 1909, after his Turkish sojourn, Snouck Hurgronje expressed “*the firm conviction* [that a] compromise between Islam and humanism is possible in *Indonesia*, and, after my recent experience, I would not dare deny the possibility for Turkey and Egypt.”⁸⁹ By 1914, in a major public lecture, he would say:

86 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, trans. A.W. O’Sullivan (Leiden: Brill, 1906), vii; note that “innocuous” appeared in the 1892 edition of Kalisch’s comprehensive *English-Dutch Dictionary* as the first English equivalent to the Dutch “onschadelijk,” which then as now, would have been better expressed in this context as “harmless.”

87 Quoted in W. Otterspeer, “The Ethical Imperative,” in *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850-1940*, ed. W. Otterspeer (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 228 (Otterspeer’s translation from “De inlandsche bestuursambten, vooral op Java,” in *Verspreide geschriften* 4:2, op. cit., 153).

88 Examples of propagation of the proverb by people associated with Snouck Hurgronje in the context of a preference for increased autonomy of government in colonial Indonesia are: V. Korn, “In memorium Henri Titus Damsté, 28 Januari 1874 - 6 Januari 1955,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 111, no. 2 (1955): 128 (quoting Damsté); G.W.J. Drewes, “Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan (1857-1936),” in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, vol. 2 (Den Haag 1985), printed from internet, 6 March 2004. Locher-Scholten, “Dutch Expansion in the Indonesian Archipelago,” op. cit., 130, cites the saying as evidence of Snouck Hurgronje generally supporting indirect over direct rule, too narrow a reading in my view.

89 Van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke*, op. cit., 147, emphasis in original; Snouck Hurgronje not uncommonly used “Indonesia” and “Indonesian” in private correspondence and published articles while generally adhering to the official usage of “Netherlands India” and “native” in his official advices, a letter to his friend Van der Maaten dealing with this usage is published as an epilogue to Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 2175-2176.

We must leave it to the Mohammedans themselves to reconcile the new ideas which they want with the old ones with which they cannot dispense; but we can help them in adapting their educational system to modern requirements and give them a good example by rejecting the detestable confusion of power and right in politics which lies at the basis of their own canonical law on holy war as well as at the basis of the political practice of modern Western states.⁹⁰

Snouck Hurgronje played down nationality relative to other identities.⁹¹ Meca, where the concept of a universal *umma* of believers was privileged over nationality and race, had been a great formative experience. In Indonesia he lived in cultures for which the borders of polities had been historically fluid and in which modern national identities were only beginning to develop. He was part of the invisible college of orientalists that operated across national borders. All this equipped him to conceive of an “associated” nation of “two geographically far separated but spiritually closely connected sections” with the spiritual connection needing to be developed across boundaries of culture and race.⁹²

Snouck Hurgronje’s thought was not *sui generis*. It built on what many of the Dutch saw as a singular altruism in their colonialism and fell within an oppositionist strand in wider Western thinking about colonialism.⁹³ It anticipated the concept of empires as “sites for intercultural relations,” in Eric Hinderaker’s words, where “negotiated systems” are created by the interactions of peoples and where colonialism can be shaped, challenged or resisted in many ways in the interactions.⁹⁴

The alternatives to associationism were not promising in Snouck Hurgronje’s times. Unilateral Dutch withdrawal from colonial Indonesia was not politically feasible. If it had been, the modernising project there would have been abandoned or handed to others, possibly denying the many benefits of moder-

90 Snouck Hurgronje, “Islam and Modern Thought,” in *Mohammedanism* (New York, 1916).

91 Said, *Orientalism*, op. cit., 372, citing Wertheim, “Counter-Insurgency Research,” op. cit., thinks “immediately” of Snouck Hurgronje as a case where “the scholar’s sense of national identity is simple and clear.” This is completely inconsistent with Snouck Hurgronje’s thinking on associationism.

92 Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam*, op. cit., 85.

93 See Locher-Scholten, “Dutch Expansion in the Indonesian Archipelago,” op. cit., for the Dutch imperialism debate and note Snouck Hurgronje’s use of Joseph Houldsworth Oldham’s *Christianity and the Race Problem* (George H. Doran Company, 1924) in *Colijn over Indië*, op. cit., and his review of Oldham’s work in *Verspreide geschriften* vol. 6, op. cit.

94 As quoted and expounded in F. Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years’ War and the Fate of the Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (London: Faber, 2000), xix.

nity to cultures to which Snouck Hurgronje had become to a significant degree assimilated. Ideologies appealing to faith (among which Snouck Hurgronje counted not only pan-Islam but also communism and the charismatic movements that produced peasant revolts) offered nothing better.⁹⁵ At the same time in another empire, Canada, Australia and New Zealand were successfully engaging in something that looks very like associationism which eventually took them out of empire and into a supranational “Anglosphere.”

The barriers of racism were higher and the institutions of colonialist economic self-interest stronger in the Netherlands East Indies than in the British settler colonies; Snouck Hurgronje lacked the political skills and attributes to surmount them and bring about the change he sought.⁹⁶ Well equipped to operate in the *beamttenstaat*, or bureaucrats’ state, of colonial Indonesia, he was contemptuous of electoral politics and hampered in that sphere by a tendency to ferocity in argument that seemed extreme in even the plain-speaking Dutch culture.⁹⁷ But he was not alone in judging the attempt to be worthwhile. Among his Indonesian and Arab colleagues and friends, the Djajadiningrats, Haji Hasan Mustapa and others not named in this chapter, all substantial in character and intellect, also engaged with Dutch colonialism.⁹⁸ They sought, in Hinderaker’s terms, to shape rather than to challenge or resist colonialism, and they wittingly chose to put modernity ahead of emerging nationalism or subjection of politics to faith.

Snouck Hurgronje’s personal relationships within Muslim cultures provide a fitting note on which to end an account of his career which has said little about his personal and inner lives. The inner tensions were surely as great as the external achievements. To sustain his career, he had to conceal his Muslim marriages, and abandon the last one. He could not practise Islam in front of

95 Snouck Hurgronje, “Letter of 8 May 1927,” in Gobée and Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, op. cit., 2011, included in an editors’ footnote the report of October 1913 to advise the minister for the Colonies on the *Sarekat Islam* movement.

96 Benda, “Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan,” op. cit., 341 and 342, reflecting its author’s personal experience of the death of Dutch colonialism, emphasises Snouck Hurgronje’s political failure, judging him “least successful as a colonial statesman” and a “failure as a colonial administrator” because he was unable to have associationist policies adopted for the Indies.

97 Snouck Hurgronje’s distaste for the “corruption, pretence and lies” of politics is expounded at length in his characteristic style in “Van Deventer’s werk voor Indië,” *Verspreide geschriften* vol. 4, op. cit., 389-409.

98 See J.A. Rohmana, *Surat-surat Haji Hasan Mustapa untuk C. Snouck Hurgronje dalam kurun 1894-1923* (Sleman, Yogyakarta: Octopus Publishing, 2018) who provides a transliteration and translation into Indonesian of Hasan Mustapa’s correspondence with Snouck Hurgronje which illuminates the collegial nature of their relationship.

Europeans but, after Mecca, could not have lived and worked with Muslims if he had become an apostate. Unlike many orientalists, he ventured far beyond the library; unlike the orientalists imagined by Said, his work centred on social reality in the Orient, not usefulness to the West as a distortedly flattering mirror and a tool of oppression.⁹⁹ His work in government confronted him with choices of a type that academics rarely need to make, or at least rarely in a way that has consequences. He made such choices willingly but may have come to wonder how far his chosen evils were the lesser.

Two sides contended in Snouck Hurgronje's personality. A great aptitude for personal interaction which produced many deep, long-lasting friendships and facilitated full and warm participation across cultural boundaries coexisted with a cold, combative intellectualism. The second side predominates in the memory of a character that Jan Just Witkam called (in a sympathetic treatment) "grim ... most often not lacking a measure of fanaticism."¹⁰⁰ The tensions in Snouck Hurgronje's work and life perhaps make the grimness understandable and the sympathy deserved even as they illuminate spectra of issues, motivations and effects in the zones where cultures overlap that are wider than much recent theory allows.

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99 In this I take exception to Said's interpretation of Snouck Hurgronje in *Orientalism*, op. cit., 255-257.

100 Witkam, "Inleiding," op. cit., 178.

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PART 6

Snouck Hurgronje Translated and Annotated



Before Mecca. The Jeddah ‘Diary’ of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 1884–1885

Translated and annotated by Jan Just Witkam

Contents: Introduction – The ‘diary’ that is not a diary – The content of the ‘diary’ – Shipping news – Huber’s murder – Important personal meetings – Translating Snouck Hurgronje’s Jeddah ‘diary’ – Physical description of the Jeddah ‘diary’ – The Jeddah ‘diary’ of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1884–1885) – Glossary – Index – Appendixes (1–7) – The Jeddah portfolio – Manuscript sources and archival materials – Bibliography – Acknowledgements.

1 Introduction

The Jeddah where Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936)¹ arrived on 29 August 1884, was in turmoil. Of course: the pilgrimage was imminent and large numbers of pilgrims, mostly from India and Southeast Asia, were arriving by ship. For the next two months or so their coming and going was on the mind of all those involved in the pilgrimage industry in Jeddah and Mecca. This was the season when an entire year’s income had to be generated. Since 1883, however, there had been another source of turmoil, less visible but certainly as violent and pervasive as the throng of thousands of pilgrims who had to be accommodated from the moment they set foot on the holy grounds of the Ḥiǧāz till they re-embarked and headed home. At that moment, they would have fulfilled their religious duty ‘if they can afford it.’² Indeed, what few of these pilgrims were aware of was the extent to which they were corralled by an invisible fence constructed from a racket of disadvantageous financial agreements. Even some of the consuls, the very persons officially responsible for protecting them

1 See on Snouck Hurgronje’s life Wim van den Doel, *Snouck. Het volkomen geleerdenleven van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2021. See also my summary biography ‘Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje’, in: Coeli Fitzpatrick & Dwayne A. Tunstall (eds), *Orientalist Writers* (= *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 366), Detroit, MI, etc.: Gale, 2012, pp. 148–154. See now also my ‘Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. Lives and afterlives’, in the present volume, pp. 73–113. See my acknowledgments at the end of the present chapter.

2 *Qur’ān* 3:97: *man istaṭā’a ilayhi Sabīlan*.

against all sorts of exactions and extortions, cooperated in a cartel scheme designed to eliminate competition in the provision of services to the pilgrims, thereby inflating prices. Even if his reasoning is a bit impetuous,³ Michael Christopher Low has provided ample information about this monopoly of rigged prices and mentions the names of people involved. Those directly involved called it 'the syndicate'. Some of those who figure include people that Snouck Hurgronje met while in Jeddah, such as the Dutch consul J.A. Kruyt, the Dutch vice-consul and merchant P.N. van der Chijs,⁴ the Indian merchant Hasan Ġawhar and the British dragoman Yūsuf Qudṣī ('Kudzi'). All of them were among the founders of a monopoly that had solicited the cooperation of the *Sharīf* of Mecca and others.⁵

Low's research makes it clear that, forming the background of Snouck Hurgronje's journey to Jeddah and Mecca, three dynamics can be distinguished: the imperial rivalry between the Ottomans and the British in general; the alarming sanitary situation on the shores of the Red Sea; and the fear of Pan-Is-

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- 3 '[...] I personally believe that both the British and Dutch consuls were very much aware that various elements of both consulates were making money and cooperating with the Sharifate's scheme. [...] I doubt that Kruyt could have possibly not known about the system, which was well understood and openly discussed between the Ottomans, British, Dutch, and others. [...] Personal communication from Michael Christopher Low, 7 December 2018.
- 4 See for his house and office the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.15. See for a group portrait of the European expats in Jeddah figure 19.17, below. Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs (pronounce: 'Shays') was a Dutch entrepreneur active in Jeddah and along the Red Sea coast. He was also Dutch vice-consul, and later consul of Sweden and Norway (then still one country) in Jeddah. On Van der Chijs, see Ferry de Goey, *Consuls and the Institutions of Global Capitalism, 1783–1914*. London/New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 57. The 'Register van te Djeddah gevestigde Nederlanders' or 'Matriculair Register' of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah gives the following details about him: Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs, merchant, born 8 May 1855, in Koudekerk, took his own life in Jeddah on 2 October 1889 (National Archive, The Hague, inventory 2.05.53, in No. 129, where 1890 is incorrectly mentioned as his year of demise. The agendas of incoming and outgoing mail correctly have 1889, see *ibid.*, No. 2 (sub 903) and No. 5 (sub 1116 and following), see on the Jeddah archive G.P. de Vries and A.W.E. Daniëls, *Inventaris van het archief van het Nederlandse Consulaat te Djeddah (Turkije / Saoedi-Arabië), 1873–1930, later Nederlandse Gezantschap in Saoedi-Arabië (Djeddah), 1930–1950*, Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 1992, pp. 13, 19).
- 5 Michael Christopher Low describes the cartel extensively in *The Mechanics of Mecca. The Technopolitics of the Late Ottoman Hijaz and the Colonial Hajj*, PhD thesis Columbia University, New York, 2015, chapter 5: 'The Sharif's Share. Pauper Pilgrims, Passports, and the Failed Regulation of Indian Ocean Mobilities', pp. 263–332, and more in particular pp. 315–325. See now also by him *Imperial Mecca. Ottoman Arabia and the Indian Ocean Hajj*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2020. See also Marcel Witlox, 'Met gevaar voor Lijf en Goed. Mekka-gangers uit Nederlands-Indië in de 19e eeuw', in Willy Jansen & Huub de Jonge (eds.), *Islamistische Pelgrimstochten*. Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1991, pp. 24–26.

lamism, which was supposed to radiate from Mecca to the Muslim populations of the colonial powers. Snouck Hurgronje had arrived in Jeddah to investigate that latter theme, but with his brilliant mind he must soon have understood what was going on as well, and possibly also how deeply his two friends, Kruyt and Van der Chijs, were involved.⁶ In this light, his short-lived ambition to succeed Kruyt as consul suddenly also gains a financial dimension.⁷ The diary is completely silent about this price monopoly, but in his book *Mekka* there are indications of cartel-like activities, such as the fencing-off of pilgrims from competitors, one of the more common machinations that pilgrims fell victim to. Yet, there is no mention of the monopoly.⁸ Nor is it described by Snouck Hurgronje in so many words in his history of the rulers of Mecca.⁹ The controversy between the Ottoman governor of the Ḥiğāz, ‘Uthmān Nūrī Pāshā,¹⁰ and his successors, and the *Sharif* of Mecca, ‘Awn al-Rafīq, who was the main stakeholder in the price scam, was largely caused by Turkish attempts to bring an end to this situation. That was not out of a sense of justice, but because the Turks had the feeling that they were not getting their fair share of the bonanza. All this took place between 1883 and 1889, but Snouck Hurgronje never disclosed the full picture. It is true that while writing his ‘diary’ he may not have been fully aware of it, but the same cannot be said in 1885 and 1889, following his expulsion from the Holy City and when he wrote *Mekka*, the book that brought him instant fame. Indeed, the Turkish clean-up of the scheme shortly after 23 August 1889, was one of the circumstances that eventually cost his friend Van der Chijs his life.¹¹

2 The ‘diary’ that is not a diary

Few of the notes that Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje wrote while in Arabia have been preserved. When, early in August 1885, the Turkish governor of the Ḥiğāz ordered him to leave Mecca, and Arabia, there was no time for a tidy departure from the Holy City. Notes, books, photographic equipment and personal pos-

6 See for a group portrait of European expats the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.17.

7 See my ‘Snouck Hurgronje’s Consular Ambitions’, in Jan Loop & Jill Kraye (eds.), *Scholarship between Europe and the Levant. Essays in Honour of Alastair Hamilton*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020, pp. 349–373.

8 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (reprint Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2007), p. 46.

9 *Idem*, *Mekka*, vol. 1, *Die Stadt und ihre Herren*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888, pp. 173 ff.

10 See for his portrait the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.18; see also figure 19.20.

11 Low, *The Mechanics of Mecca*, p. 325.

sessions, not least his pregnant Ethiopian slave woman, were all left behind. His Meccan and Jeddawi friends tried to look after his immediate interests as best they could, and later served as a source or go-between whenever Snouck Hurgronje needed information or objects while writing *Mekka* and other Mecca-related studies back home in Leiden. The idea of writing the two volumes of *Mekka* may only have come to mind after his return to Leiden, perhaps as a panacea for the chagrin about his lost Arabian opportunities. Of the notes that he made in the period between his homecoming in 1885 and the publication of the second volume of *Mekka*, early in 1889, next to nothing has been preserved. Many of his Meccan experiences are reflected in the commentaries that he wrote to his collection of Meccan proverbs.¹² Notes and draft copies of the chapters of his book and the articles that he wrote in the same period were apparently thrown away almost without exception.¹³ Most of what we do know about Snouck Hurgronje's life in his Arabian period, which, for several reasons, he was never very candid about with his contemporaries, is based on his private correspondence with friends. We know that he kept up an intensive correspondence with his mother, but both sides of this exchange must be considered lost as well. A relatively small number of letters to friends and colleagues have, however, been preserved. Most fortunately, many letters exchanged with his friend P.N. van der Chijs (1855–1889) have survived. These letters, more than anything else, enable us to reconstruct Snouck Hurgronje's life in Mecca, almost on a daily basis, and to observe how, later, he wrote the book *Mekka*.¹⁴ Another important informant was the Bantenese *drogman* Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadingrat (1859–c. 1914),¹⁵ a resident of the Ḥiǧāz since 31 October 1873,

12 See my 'Meccan voices. Proverbs and sayings from Mecca Collected and explained by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in the present volume, pp. 753–870.

13 Some disparate notes have been preserved in MS Leiden Or. 7111, and possibly elsewhere in Snouck Hurgronje's huge collection of books and manuscripts as loose inserts, dedications and other notes of Arabian interest. An example is the letter by Raden Aboe Bakar to P.N. van der Chijs of 10 Ġumādā I 1303 (14 February 1886), that I found in MS Leiden Or. 6977. For an analysis of this document see my, 'Copy on demand. Abū Šubbāk in Mecca, 1303/1886', in Anne Regourd (ed.), *The Trade in Papers Marked with non-Latin Characters*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2018, pp. 206–226.

14 I provide a detailed account of Snouck Hurgronje's Arabian period and its direct aftermath in my 'Inleiding' (Introduction) to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw. Schetsen uit het dagelijks leven*. Amsterdam/Antwerp: Atlas, 2007, pp. 7–184. The Van der Chijs correspondence has become available for research after the lifting per 1 January 1997, of the embargo on the part of the Snouck Hurgronje archive that entered the Leiden University Library in 1957 and later. The Van der Chijs letters only arrived in Leiden in 1980, but were deposited under the conditions of the 1957 embargo.

15 Michael Laffan gives his birth year as c. 1854. Early entries of the 'Matriculair Register' of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah state that he was born in Pandeglang on 29 October 1861

who had accompanied him on his journey to Mecca.¹⁶ For the first period of Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Jeddah (29 August 1884 – 21 February 1885), apart from some letters, we also have the Jeddah 'diary', which he wrote between 29 August 1884 and 18 February 1885. This 'diary' is herewith presented in an annotated English translation, the original, of course, being in Dutch.

Snouck Hurgronje must have kept this 'diary' in order to secure his memory, as he was bound to forget many details after landing in Jeddah on 29 August 1884, stepping into an entirely new world. We may assume that much later in life, Snouck Hurgronje either destroyed documents that could shed more light on his Arabian life, or that they were simply lost. Or, we may assume that his widow or daughter discarded materials after his death in 1936. The fact that the correspondence with his mother apparently no longer exists certainly points in this direction, and we can only guess what else has disappeared in the course of time. In particular, the absence of materials dating from his year in Arabia is conspicuous. Not so the Jeddah 'diary', however, although that too was probably never meant to become public.¹⁷

After Snouck Hurgronje's demise on 26 June 1936, the 'diary' came to the library of the University of Leiden as part of his library and papers, which consisted of many printed books, thousands of manuscripts in Oriental languages and abundant archival material. The library's curator of Oriental collections,

and that he had a wife Fatmah and two children in Batavia, one called Islam or Muhammad Islam. However, in the later entries his birth year has been changed to 1859, which I adopt, fully aware that this date cannot be confirmed (National Archive, The Hague, inventory 2.05.53, in No. 129, see De Vries & Daniëls, *Inventaris van het archief van het Nederlandse Consulaat te Djeddah*, p. 19).

- 16 The correspondence from Raden Aboe Bakar to Snouck Hurgronje, 26 letters from between 1885–1912, is now registered as ms Leiden Or. 8952 A 9-A 13. On him, see M. Laffan, 'Raden Aboe Bakar. An introductory note concerning Snouck Hurgronje's informant in Jeddah (1884–1912)', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155/4 (1999), pp. 517–542; Michael F. Laffan, 'Writing from the colonial margin. The letters of Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in: *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 31/91 (2003), pp. 356–380. See also Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, 'Conversion of European Intellectuals to Islam. The Case of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje alias 'Abd al-Ghaffar'', in: Bekim Agai, Umar Ryad, Mehdi Sajid (eds), *Muslims in Interwar Europe. A Transcultural Historical Perspective*. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2016, pp. 88–104, especially pp. 95–96. His portrait: figure 19.10. Reproduction of one of his letters: figure 19.27.
- 17 Personal information from Snouck Hurgronje's daughter, Ms. Christien Liefwinck-Snouck Hurgronje (1914–2014), received in February 1985. She told me that she would have preferred to place the 'diary' in the Snouck Hurgronje papers that arrived in the Leiden Library in 1957 and which were embargoed for 40 years. However, the diary had already entered the library immediately following Snouck Hurgronje's death in 1936, as part of his large manuscript collection; in 1957, it was too late to impose restrictions retrospectively on the use of the 'diary', even if she had known of its existence at the time.

Cornelis van Arendonk (1881–1946), started the job of organizing the enormous amount of material but he must have felt at a loss. He began with the printed books and succeeded in describing most of these in the library's catalogue, through the automated version of which they can still be retrieved.¹⁸ His successor, P. Voorhoeve (1899–1996, curator 1947–1959 with intervals), continued the work, and by the late 1940s the manuscripts were more or less organized by language and registered, though not really described.¹⁹ The Jeddah 'diary' was registered by Voorhoeve in the course of 1947 as Or. 7112 with the title 'Dagboek Djedda'.²⁰ The thin booklet, or rather a pile of loose sheets, had been discovered at some time between 1936 and 1942 among Snouck Hurgronje's papers by the Aceh specialist H.T. Damsté (1874–1955), and he informed Émile Gobée (1881–1954) of its existence. In 1942, Gobée published part of the Dutch text, in fact, two long, narrative passages that are of some ethnographic interest. These describe parts of the 'Āshūrā' celebration at the residence of the Persian consul in Jedda on 29–30 October 1884, and on 7 December 1884, an account is given

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- 18 Personal information from Mr. A.J.W. Huisman (1917–1983), received in 1980. In the early 1940s, Huisman was appointed as Van Arendonk's assistant in sorting out the printed books and described the enormous piles of books that had to be processed. In the period from 1965 to 1980, Huisman was curator of Oriental printed books at the Leiden library. The general catalogue of the Leiden library usually does not indicate the provenance of its collections. The Snouck Hurgronje collection of printed books is presently placed in shelving in the closed stacks, approximately from Nos. 880–900. In preparation for the relocation of the library in 1983 to a new building on Witte Singel, also in Leiden, a considerable number of books from the Snouck Hurgronje collection were placed in other locations in the closed stacks. These are now no longer retrievable as part of the Snouck Hurgronje collection, and an open space within the Snouck Hurgronje collection of printed books was occasionally used to place books without any connection to Snouck Hurgronje. As a rule, all Snouck Hurgronje's books and manuscripts have been provided with a posthumous ex-libris mentioning the provenance, in Dutch, as 'The Legacy of C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1936'. They can still be recognized, but unfortunately, we do not have a complete overview of Snouck Hurgronje's private library of printed books.
- 19 See for a general overview of the Snouck Hurgronje collections in Leiden my, *Honderd jaar Mekka in Leiden: 1885–1985. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling gehouden ter gelegenheid van de honderdste verjaardag van de Mekka-reis van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1885). Archivalia, handschriften, gedrukte boeken, wetenschappelijke notities, foto's en ethnografica*. Leiden (Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit) 1985, pp. 7–9. Since 2019, detailed inventories of the Snouck Hurgronje collections of manuscripts are available through volumes 8 and 9 of my *Inventary of the Oriental manuscripts in Leiden University Library* (<<http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/index.html>>).
- 20 'Inventaris van de Oostersche Handschriften in de Universiteits Bibliotheek te Leiden' (a handwritten inventory now kept in the Special Collections section of the Leiden Library known as the 'Journaal'), p. 141. Ms Leiden Or. 8927 is a typewritten copy of the 'diary' by H.T. Damsté.

of the *Ṣalāt al-Istisqā'*, the ceremony of the rain prayer, near Jeddah.²¹ But once registered in the Leiden library the 'diary' appears to have faded into obscurity. P.Sj. van Koningsveld (1943–2021) was unaware of its existence when, in a lecture before the 'Oosters Genootschap' given on 16 November 1979, he started his polemic against Snouck Hurgronje.²²

Was it really a diary that Snouck Hurgronje was keeping in Jeddah? I think not, even if Snouck Hurgronje himself calls his Jeddah notes a diary on the first page of the document. At best, it means that he intended to write a diary, but, in the end, it became something else. Gobée calls it a 'dagboek', a diary, in his edition of parts of the text and that word is repeated by Voorhoeve in the inventory of the Leiden Oriental manuscripts collection of the Leiden library.

For obvious reasons, Snouck Hurgronje was keeping notes of different sorts, but only part of the text of the 'diary' is an account of daily events or of his state of mind. Snouck Hurgronje did not write down his daily notes in a book intended for that purpose, so in the strict sense of the word, the Jeddah notes do not constitute a diary, nor was it Snouck Hurgronje's intention, as any reader of the 'diary' quickly discovers, to keep a day-to-day account of his experiences. He used loose sheets of lined paper, initially a pile of seven sheets, which he folded once, then he added an extra sheet, and another one, then two sheets, then three sheets, then another two, all of which he folded once. These folded sheets formed six quires of irregular composition, which together constitute what is now called the 'diary'. The sheets in the first quire (a pile of 7 sheets = 14 leaves = 28 pages) were collated at some point in time with three staples, but these had apparently become rusty and were removed, possibly as late as after Snouck Hurgronje's death. The holes of the staples and the rust spots caused by the staples are still visible in this first quire, and these staple marks can be seen as far on in the 'diary' as p. 38, well within the fourth quire. This means that the fourth quire, and probably the subsequent two quires as well, were kept together as one entity. However, a few pages in the middle of the text have been left blank, which could point to a later compilation of loose leaves and notes into one 'diary', but this can also be explained by assuming that Snouck Hur-

21 E. Gobée, 'Uit het dagboek van dr. Snouck Hurgronje te Djeddah 1884–1885', in *Jaarboek Oostersch Instituut. Leiden 1941*, No. 5 (1942), pp. 21–28.

22 This became clear to me when I pointed out to him the existence of the 'diary' in November 1979 following his lecture on 'Snouck Hurgronje as he really was'. In the printed version of his lecture ('Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was. Een bijdrage tot de waardering van de Nederlandse oriëntalistiek', in his *Snouck Hurgronje en de islam*, Leiden n.d. = 1988, pp. 39–80, 241–248 (notes)), Van Koningsveld gives the impression that he was aware of the existence of the 'diary' all along. See on the polemic now Van den Doel, *Snouck*, pp. 536–538.

gronje left them blank for later additions. Another argument in favour of a gradual collation of loose sheets into the booklet, which we now call the 'Jeddah diary', is the fact that elsewhere in the Snouck Hurgronje archives papers are kept that can be regarded as drafts for the texts that eventually came to constitute the 'diary'. So, Snouck Hurgronje must have made a neat copy of at least some of his draft notes, which he did not include in the 'diary' or which he failed to throw away. In addition, notes by Snouck Hurgronje that have been written on exactly the same paper as the 'diary' are known to exist.²³ There is a somewhat irregular page numeration, partly in pencil and partly in ink, but the page numbers are evidently not in Snouck Hurgronje's hand, nor in Voorhoeve's hand for that matter.²⁴ The cardboard binding that now keeps the folded sheets together was possibly added after the Snouck Hurgronje collection had arrived in the Leiden library. With its pasted boards and its half linen back, it makes a modern impression (but this can be deceiving) and there is no handwriting of Snouck Hurgronje on it. The only text on it, inside the front cover, is the Leiden class-mark in the hand of P. Voorhoeve, the posthumous *ex-libris*, a library stamp, and the shelf number, which is in my own hand.

3 The content of the 'diary'

One important issue is not treated in the 'diary' but cannot be ignored. Why was Snouck Hurgronje in Jeddah in the first place? Even if that story has been told and retold, it needs at least some elaboration here. The Dutch government, which had many Muslim subjects in Southeast Asia, needed reliable information about Pan-Islamic activities in the Dutch East Indies, which were thought to emanate from Mecca. Snouck Hurgronje proposed conducting the necessary research in this regard.²⁵ The 'diary' is not explicit about this at all,

23 These are disparate, folded sheets kept in Or. 711, a box containing archival materials and scholarly notes, some by Snouck Hurgronje (including letters from Raden Aboe Bakar and a few autographs of Sayyid Aḥmad Zaynī Dahlān (1817–1886)) and also unrelated notes and letters by other Orientalists, in particular R.P.A. Dozy (1820–1883) and William Wright (1830–1889). See also Ulrike Freitag, 'Der Orientalist und der Mufti. Kulturkontakt im Mekka des 19. Jahrhunderts', in: *Die Welt des Islams* 43/1 (2003), pp. 37–60.

24 Voorhoeve's characteristic handwriting is easily recognizable and ubiquitous in the older Leiden collections. When Émile Gobée (who had been acting Dutch Consul in Jeddah in 1917–1921 and who had himself witnessed an *Istisqā'* ritual in Jeddah on 5 February 1918), in 1942 edited the two passages of the 'diary' he did not refer to page numbers, but this does not mean that they were not there.

25 See my 'Inleiding' to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw*, pp. 25–34.

but the text makes more sense when one knows this.

Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Jeddah can be roughly divided into two periods. First, his stay from 29 August 1884 till the end of the year. In that period, he lived in the building of the Dutch consulate. There, he met with many pilgrims, returning from Mecca (the 'Meccan festival' of 1884 had started late in September), and with a few inhabitants of Jeddah and Mecca. The freedom of habitation and the right of perusal of the consulate's archives that consul J.A. Kruyt had given him ended abruptly with the arrival of Kruyt's successor, consul J.A. de Vicq.²⁶ On 1 January 1885, he moved to an indigenous neighbourhood of Jeddah, where he lived with Raden Aboe Bakar,²⁷ a Bantenese resident of Mecca, whom he had chosen as his companion in his plan to go to Mecca. He must have arrived in Jeddah with such plans, but he needed the period till 1 January 1885, to see whether these were feasible and, when that proved to be the case, to work out the details. He does not seem to have had an exit strategy, but he rented a house in Mecca from 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Ḥammāda till the end of 1302 (9 October 1885).²⁸ His journey from Jeddah to Mecca took place on 21–22 February 1885. The last dated entry in the 'diary' is from 18 February 1885, when the text ends abruptly. It is not clear whether Snouck Hurgronje had taken his 'diary' with him to Mecca. The fact that it has survived may mean that he had left it behind in Jeddah. In the course of his Jeddawi period, Snouck Hurgronje must have increasingly confided in friends and acquaintances about his intention to go to Mecca. Nowhere in the 'diary', however, is this made explicit. Only in an entry of 22 January 1885, does he write that the Ottoman governor of the Ḥiǧāz will welcome him in Mecca when he goes there. His internal monologue about his conversion to Islam can best be read in the three letters that he wrote from Jeddah to his teacher M.J. de Goeje. These have been added below as Appendix 3.

The content of the 'diary' can be roughly divided into four distinct sections:
 – pp. 1–15. A survey of events between 28 August and 30 September 1884, with descriptions of people encountered, etc. These notes were written retro-

26 Kruyt's last entry in the consulate's 'Matriculair Register' dates from 13 January 1885.

27 See also Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam. Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past*. Princeton, NJ/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011, pp. 132 ff. His portrait appears in L. Mols & A. Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2016), p. 8, plate 4 ('In Mekka ansässiger Javane.')

28 The receipt of the rent is preserved as an uncatalogued enclosure in MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 245. It is dated 22 Ġumādā I 1302 / 9 March 1885. See the Arabic text and my Dutch translation of the receipt in my 'Van huurcontract tot boekenlegger. Mekkaanse documenten van Snouck Hurgronje', in: Wim van Anrooij e.a. (eds.), *Om het boek. Cultuurhistorische bespiegelingen over boeken en mensen*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2020, pp. 311–315.

spectively and account for the time that Snouck Hurgronje had fallen ill, some three weeks after his arrival in Jeddah. During or shortly after this indisposition Snouck Hurgronje may have decided to keep notes or write a diary. Here and there, space is left blank for additions that might later prove necessary, and this may also be the reason why pp. 16–17 have been left blank as well.

- pp. 18–47. Various notes written in chronological order (a ‘diary’ therefore) on events between 1 October 1884 and 14 January 1885, with descriptions of people encountered, notes on photography in Jeddah, bibliography, etc. The entries are written sporadically, usually with an interval of several days. The episode of the ‘Āshūrā’ celebration with the Persians is on pp. 26–31. The *Ṣalāt al-Istisqā’* is described on pp. 38–40. The veiled references to Snouck Hurgronje’s circumcision, early in January 1885, are on pp. 43–44.
- pp. 47–54bis. A survey of Indonesian scholars who are living and teaching in Mecca, with detailed information on their personal and professional status, which was information provided by Raden Aboe Bakar. This explains why so many scholars from Banten are mentioned, as that was Raden Aboe Bakar’s own region of origin.
- pp. 54bis–56. Various notes written in chronological order between 16 January and 18 February 1885.

Snouck Hurgronje’s conversion to Islam, about which so much has been written and speculated, is not mentioned in the ‘diary’ other than with a hint about his circumcision. He may have intimated in limited circles of friends in Jeddah, probably from mid-December 1884 onwards, that he had converted and that he would go to Mecca, but he did not explicitly elaborate on the subject in his ‘diary’. Snouck Hurgronje’s ruminations on his conversion to Islam emerge best in his letters to M.J. de Goeje. The ‘diary’ ends abruptly.

4 Shipping news

Snouck Hurgronje lived in the Dutch consulate in Jeddah till the end of 1884, and from there he saw and participated in activities of consular relevance. In the ‘diary’ he mentions a number of ships that arrive in and depart from Jeddah, all for the transport of pilgrims to Southeast Asia. His observations on the Dutch ships concur with the data provided by the shipping register kept in the consulate.²⁹ The pilgrimage festival in Mecca was on 1 October

29 ‘Registers van Nederlandse schepen aangekomen in en vertrokken uit de haven van Jeddah, 1874–1909’, National Archives, The Hague, Inventory 2.05.53, No. 154. P. 21.

1884, and shortly after that date the first pilgrims would be boarding the steamers that were going to bring them home. The diary mentions six ships.

- The MACASSAR ('diary', p. 19), captain de Ridder, arrival on 3 October 1884, departure on 8 October 1884, with 356 pilgrims.
- The TURQUOISE from Suez ('diary', p. 21), not sailing under a Dutch flag, therefore not mentioned in the 'Registers', arrival on 5 October 1884;
- The MADOERA ('diary', p. 25), captain Konig, arrival and departure on 21 October 1884, with 354 pilgrims;
- The GELDERLAND ('diary', p. 25), captain de Gruyter, arrival and departure on 21 October 1884, with 457 pilgrims;
- The TELARTOS ('diary', p. 32), not sailing under a Dutch flag, therefore not mentioned in the 'Registers', departure on 3 November 1884;
- The PADANG ('diary', p. 32), captain Kroger, arrival and departure on 1 November 1884, with 256 pilgrims.

5 Huber's murder

Another important theme developed during the Jeddah period is Snouck Hurgronje's fascination with the murder of Charles Huber (1847–1884), the French explorer killed on 29 July 1884, near Rābigh, a coastal village north of Jeddah.³⁰ It was more than Snouck Hurgronje's insatiable curiosity that led him to collect information on the affair, however. Huber's murder, committed only a short time before Snouck Hurgronje's arrival in Jeddah, was inevitably the talk of the town, but one person in particular, the Algerian Sī 'Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥad-

30 See for his portrait the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.6. For Huber's final exploration of Arabia on the basis of French archival material, see also Hélène Lozachmeur & Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, 'Charles Huber und Julius Euting in Arabien nach französischen, auch heute noch nicht veröffentlichten Dokumenten', in: *Anabases. Traditions et réceptions de l'Antiquité* 12 (2010), pp. 195–200. Huber was buried in Jeddah's European cemetery, grave No. 38 (The Hague, National Archive, inventory 2.05.53, in box 130). Ulrike Freitag, *A History of Jeddah. The Gate to Mecca in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, p. 158: 'A particularly popular grave to visit and to take photos of was that of the French explorer Charles Huber who discovered a famous stele with Aramaic inscriptions in Taymā' and was murdered in July 1884 by Bedouin not far from Jeddah. His remains, or at least parts thereof, are interred in the cemetery.' About Huber and Euting's expedition in 1883–1884 see Helen Louise Pearson, *Relations between Julius Euting and Charles Huber in Arabia*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manchester, 1993. See now also chapter 2 of William Facey, in collaboration with Michael C.A. Macdonald, *Charles Huber. France's Greatest Arabian Explorer. With a Translation of Huber's First Journey Through Central Arabia, 1880–1881*. Forthcoming from Arabian Publishing.

dād, took the lead in this regard.³¹ He had told Snouck Hurgronje that he had been exiled from Algeria to Mecca by the French government because of his involvement in recent political complications in Tunisia (which had been occupied by the French since 12 May 1881), but while reporting this he had been economical with the truth to say the least. Snouck Hurgronje was impressed by the man and believed his stories.³² He should have been more careful since in the end, the encounter between the two men proved to be Snouck Hurgronje's undoing and the indirect cause of his premature departure from Arabia.³³

It is evident that Snouck Hurgronje seriously misjudged Sī 'Azīz's character, for only a small part of the latter's story was true. Sī 'Azīz had nothing to do with the French occupation of Tunisia in 1881, but he may have mentioned it because, at the time, he was probably spying on Tunisians in Mecca on behalf of the French consul in Jeddah.³⁴ Sī 'Azīz was one of the sons of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥaddād. The latter was the *shaykh* of the Raḥmāniyya brotherhood that had become very influential in Kabylia, the Berber part of Algeria, in the early nineteenth century. This brotherhood still plays a significant role today. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥaddād had been vested with the leadership of the brotherhood in 1857. When, in 1871, the mystical brothers joined the revolt of Muḥammad al-Muqrānī (1815–1871) against the French, who in Europe had just been defeated by the Germans, with the Paris Commune revolt as its aftermath, he had at the age of 80 declared 'holy war' against the unbelievers. Al-Muqrānī's revolt was widely supported, possibly because of the fact that Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥaddād had joined in with his brotherhood. Al-Muqrānī, who remains one of Algeria's national heroes, died on the battlefield on 5 May 1871. Subsequently, the revolt lost its momentum and a few months later Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥaddād surrendered to the French. The old mystic was imprisoned in Constantine where he died in 1873. His two sons, Sī 'Azīz and Sī Muḥammad, were caught and brought to justice. Sī Muḥammad was condemned to five years of exile. Sī 'Azīz, who during the revolt had encouraged his father to declare holy war, was sentenced on 19 April 1873 in the *Cour des*

31 See for his portrait the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.5; for a specimen of his handwriting figure 19.25.

32 Jedda 'diary', pp. 12–14.

33 See my introduction to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw*, pp. 35 ff.

34 Tunisia had been invaded by the French in 1881, and, naturally, the French government would wish to be informed about how this conquest was perceived in Mecca. At the time Sī 'Azīz was also spying on pilgrims from Tripoli as becomes clear from his letter to P.N. van der Chijs of Friday 3 October 1884 (in MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 111, see for the text and translation of the letter Appendix 4, letter No. 2, below).

Assises of Constantine to déportation simple.³⁵ Both brothers were deported, together with a large contingent of accomplices, to New Caledonia, till today a French territory in the Southern Pacific and at the time a much-used place of exile. After the bloody repression of the Paris Commune of 1871, many *communards* were sent there as well. Presently descendants of the Algerian Berbers live in New Caledonia and are locally known as the 'Algerians of the Pacific'. The French National Archives in Paris and the Archive of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in La Courneuve contain numerous requests from Si 'Aziz to be granted a pardon, even dating from before his deportation to New Caledonia.³⁶ All these were of no avail, but in April 1881, Si 'Aziz somehow managed to escape from penitential supervision in New Caledonia. In his later correspondence with the French vice-consul in Jeddah he insisted that he had been able to profit from an amnesty. On 1 June of that year, he sent three letters from Sidney to Algeria, it is said, to his family and to the Governor-General of Algeria. In these letters, which were all of a polite tone, he stated that he repented of his participation in the al-Muqrānī revolt and that he wished to be reunited with his family.³⁷ Departing on 10 June 1881 on board a steamer from Sidney he travelled to Suez. There he boarded a ship departing for Jeddah with the idea of performing the pilgrimage, which would take place in late-October and early-November of that same year. On that occasion he settled in Jeddah and Mecca. On 26 January 1882, he made a written submission to the French government. The French translation of the submission was published in a newspaper. From then on Si 'Aziz received a monthly allowance from the French government and had to report regularly to the French consul in Jeddah. He must have become part of the French espionage network in Mecca and Jeddah. His popularity as a leader in the al-Muqrānī revolt may have provided him with the perfect cover for gathering useful information among North African pilgrims. The French, like all other colonial powers, feared the pan-Islamic sentiment that they thought could radiate from Mecca into their colonies and protectorates. In that context, Si 'Aziz's initial mention of a Tunisian connection was not

35 'Déportation simple' meant the removal of a person or a number of persons from one territory to another, where they then were more or less at liberty to live. A more severe sort of deportation was 'déportation en enceinte fortifiée' which involved exile and subsequent imprisonment of the deportee in a fortress with severe limitation of his liberty of movement.

36 Paris, Archives Nationales BB/24/793, dossier 4799; La Courneuve, Centre des Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, 393QO-2651.

37 Louis Tirman, Governor General of Algeria in Algiers, to the French Minister of Justice in Paris, dated Algiers, 10 September 1881 (Archives Nationales BB/24/793, dossier 4799). This refusal was repeated many times as in the coming years Si 'Aziz did not cease to request permission to come back to Algeria.

a coincidence. Spying on the Tunisian pilgrims may indeed have been part of his work in Jeddah in 1884 when he first met Snouck Hurgronje.³⁸ Sī 'Azīz had been silent with Snouck Hurgronje about Huber's alleged travel plans to Mecca as well, where Huber in woman's cloth and veil would pose as Sī 'Azīz's wife. These plans may have been a cover for his wish to go back to Ḥā'il in order to retrieve the Teima stèle, because bringing a visit to Mecca just for the kick of it made no sense in Huber's case.³⁹

While in Mecca and Jeddah, Sī 'Azīz constantly worked to achieve the one and only ambition that he still entertained, namely to return to Algeria and to reunite with his family. For a return to Algeria, he needed the permission of the French authorities and a favourable recommendation from the French consul in Jeddah would certainly help. He would do anything to make himself popular with this official. In the end, it did not work out and he would never see Algeria again. The French Governor-General simply did not wish to have this potential trouble maker back in the colony. He died in Paris in 1895, at the age of 55.

The first meeting between Snouck Hurgronje and Sī 'Azīz had already taken place in September 1884⁴⁰ and the Algerian had, from that first moment, begun weaving a web of intrigue around the young Dutchman. Collecting information about the murder of Charles Huber and discovering the latter's assistant Maḥmūd,⁴¹ the only eye-witness to the murder, may, in the absence of the

38 See Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 267. I gratefully acknowledge the information I received in 2006 from Dr. Nathalie Rodriguez (then in Paris) about Sī 'Azīz's early history. Mr. Pierre Michelin (Paris) in 2019 kindly provided me a huge stash of photographs of documents from French archives concerning Sī 'Azīz's activities after his departure from the Pacific.

39 This is an echo from the French press of the time: 'Ch. Huber was about to undertake the project of going to Mecca, that mysterious town, and the way in which he thought to undertake that journey shows the singular audacity of the man. Clad in woman's dress, his face veiled according to Arab custom, Huber was to penetrate Mecca in the company of an Arab Shaykh of whom he would say to be the female companion. This Shaykh, who had been exiled following the insurrection of 1870, would as a reward be pardoned by the French government', my translation from an article in *Le Matin*, published in Paris, 20 September 1884, from a cutting in the archive of the Société de Géographie, Paris, P. 929 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8450050b/f3.item>> (accessed 1 May 2021). The story is recycled by Snouck Hurgronje in his letter to De Goeje of 11 November 1884 (see Appendix 3, document 2, below), after he had read it in the French or Ottoman press in the Dutch or French consulate in Jeddah.

40 Jeddah 'diary', pp. 12–13.

41 See for Maḥmūd's portrait the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.7; his letter is reproduced there as figure 19.24. Both Snouck Hurgronje, the French consul Félix Jacques de Lostalot de Bachoué, and the editors of Huber's travel notes (Ernest Renan, Barbier de Meynard and Charles Maunoir) call this Maḥmūd a 'servant', '*domestique*', but looking at the letter by Maḥmūd (Appendix 1, below) one can see that he was a literate and educated

French consul, F.J. de Lostalot de Bachoué who was on sick leave in France, have brought Sī ‘Azīz into contact with consul Kruyt, who was temporarily in charge of the French Vice-Consulate in Jeddah. Initially, Sī ‘Azīz may not have understood who exactly Snouck Hurgronje was and perhaps have assumed that he was the new dragoman, interpreter, for the Dutch consulate. In other words, Snouck Hurgronje was, he may have thought, in the same line of business as he himself. The meeting between the two men, which is documented in the Jeddah ‘diary’, was the beginning of a fatal acquaintance that would ultimately lead to Snouck Hurgronje’s expulsion from Mecca and Arabia, almost a year later. For the moment, that fiasco remained hidden in the future, and it had nothing to do with Snouck Hurgronje’s primary task in Jeddah, and later in Mecca, which consisted of monitoring the Jawa communities in the Holy City.

In connection with this, another fatal acquaintance that Snouck Hurgronje made in Jeddah, the French consul Félix Jacques de Lostalot de Bachoué, may be mentioned.⁴² When Snouck Hurgronje arrived in Jeddah on 29 August 1884,

man. He writes his letter in Arabic in an experienced hand, and signs it in Latin script. After reading Charles Huber’s posthumously published *Journal d’un voyage en Arabie (1883–1884)*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891, one cannot call Maḥmūd anything else but Huber’s assistant. Part of the inscriptions found by Huber during his journey were in fact found and copied by Maḥmūd, hardly a domestic duty on a par with the preparation of coffee, another of his duties. Maḥmūd is mentioned in Huber’s travel notes on pp. 165 (*‘mon majordomo’*), 318, 321, 322 (?), 641 (as a copier of inscriptions), 748, 749. Julius Euting (*Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, vol. 1. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1896; vol. 2, edited by Enno Littmann, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1914, Huber’s travel companion in 1883–1884, gives a much more faceted image of Maḥmūd, whom he calls *unser Diener*, ‘our servant’ (vol. 1, pp. 145, 245). For seven pilgrimages Maḥmūd had served as secretary to Muḥammad Sa‘īd Pāshā, the Syrian *Amīr al-Ḥaǧǧ*, ‘leader of the Syrian pilgrimage caravan’ and he had had earlier experiences with the Pāshā’s two predecessors. In that time, he was also known as an interpreter (vol. 1, p. 182). He described in detail the road from Damascus to Mecca, which Euting intended to publish some day (vol. 1, pp. 86–87). About Maḥmūd’s secretarial functions for Euting and Huber see vol. 2, pp. 41, 56–57, 59, 75, 101, 225–226. Maḥmūd’s work as a cook, kitchen help and barber is documented in vol. 2, pp. 80–82, 93, 114, 125, 127, 129, 162, 176 (?), 202, 204. His knowledge of French is mentioned in vol. 2, p. 86, note 2. He dictates poetry about Teima, in vol. 2, p. 203. He is a jocular travelling companion, vol. 1, p. 80; vol. 2, p. 184. A photographic portrait by Snouck Hurgronje of Maḥmūd taken on the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah on 11 October 1884, is in ms Leiden Or. 12.288 P (Nos. 6 and 15; see figure 19.7 below). See now also on Huber and Euting: Pearson, *Relations*, pp. 77, 87, and Facey & Macdonald, *Charles Huber*, chapter 2.

42 There exist minor orthographic variant readings of his name, and sometimes the order of his two personal names is inverted. On the title-page of his thesis, *Zanzibar. Étude sur la constitution physique et médicale de l’île*. Paris: A. Parent, 1876, his name is given as Jacques-Félix de Lostalot-Bachoué, whereas he writes his own name on that same title-page as F.J. de Lostalot (copy with dedication to Snouck Hurgronje, Leiden University Library 896 A 9). See the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.8.

the French Vice-Consulate was largely unattended.⁴³ Consul De Lostalot was in France on sick leave since 26 May 1884, and Edouard Bertrand (1842-?) the *commis du Drogmanat* and the second in command of the Vice-Consulate, was in Aden.⁴⁴ Consul Kruyt therefore looked after the French interests in Jeddah, a task that he had performed before. In fact, on an earlier occasion he had been decorated with a *légion d'honneur* for such caretaking.⁴⁵ Snouck Hurgronje had unlimited access to the files in the Dutch consulate in Jeddah,⁴⁶ and we may assume that with Kruyt's care for the French interests, the affairs of the French vice-consulat may not have remained a complete secret from his prying eyes.

De Lostalot's official life had been quite picturesque.⁴⁷ Born in the Château de Vialer, Garlin, Basses-Pyrénées (now Pyrénées Atlantiques), on 17 October 1842, he entered the military in 1862, and became a medical officer of the French navy in which he served from October 1864 to June 1873. He was attached to the French consulate in Zanzibar between July 1865 and January 1868, where he served with distinction and for which he was awarded the *légion d'honneur*. In these three years in Zanzibar, he founded and directed a hospital.⁴⁸ However, during his time in Zanzibar he contracted a tropical liver disease, from which he never fully recovered. He returned to France for a long period of rest. He left military service in 1875 and in 1876 he established himself as a civilian medical doctor in Nouméa, New Caledonia.⁴⁹ It is tempting to assume that at that time he may have known Sī 'Azīz Ibn al-Ḥaddād. This is not

43 See on the French Vice-Consulate in Jeddah and its role in the European 'great game' Luc Chantre, *Pèlerinages d'empire. Une histoire européenne du pèlerinage à La Mecque*. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2018. <<https://books.openedition.org/psorbonne/39421>> (accessed 30 January 2021). De Lostalot's idea to build a railroad in the Ḥiḡāz is mentioned in chapter 4, No. 37.

44 On 24 April 1884, he was married there to Esther Feldmann <<https://gw.geneanet.org/jle-fondeur?lang=en&n=bertrand&oc=0&p=edouard>> (accessed on 11 July 2020). Bertrand came from a French consular family active in the Levant. His father, Victor Bertrand (1812–1878), had been French consul-general in Aleppo.

45 Letter from F.J. de Lostalot to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jules Ferry (1832–1893), dated Djeddah, 15 April 1884 (Centre des Archives diplomatiques du ministère des Affaires étrangères, La Courneuve, 393QO-2651).

46 'I have free access to the entire archive, bot secret and non-secret, and to all correspondence, both past and present.' Snouck Hurgronje to De Goeje, Jeddah, 8 September 1884, MS Leiden Or. 8952 B 30. Entire letter in English translation in Appendix 3, No. 1, below.

47 Details on his official career mentioned in an enclosure to his letter to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated Paris, 8 March 1880 (original in Centre des Archives diplomatiques du ministère des Affaires étrangères, La Courneuve, 393QO-2651).

48 De Lostalot, *Zanzibar*, p. 15.

49 Statement about De Lostalot's health, issued by the head of Medical Services in Nouméa, dated 30 June 1878, original kept in Centre des Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, La Courneuve, 393QO-2651.

that improbable, as Nouméa was not a big place and the exiled Sī ‘Azīz must have been one of its notable inhabitants. If they had met in Nouméa before, their later cooperation in Arabia in retrieving Huber’s personal possessions and the stele of Teima must be seen under a different light. No details of an earlier meeting between the two are known, however. On 12 January 1878, De Lostalot requested a consular post from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. He did not immediately have an answer but after repeated requests (8 March 1879, and 8 March 1880) he was appointed in Jeddah, which was possibly the unhealthiest post of any consular service, though certainly not a dull place. His eagerness to serve Ernest Renan in obtaining the stele of Teima with its ancient Aramaic inscription can partly be explained by his wish to be transferred to a more agreeable posting. That was to be the city of Rustchuk, now known as Ruse, in Bulgaria, on the right bank of the Danube, which at the time was an important centre of metropolitan allure and an environment that was much more pleasant than Jeddah. In 1889 he was appointed French consul in Wellington, New-Zealand, where he died in 1894. He is not mentioned by name in the ‘diary’, but they first met in Jeddah on 27 October 1884.⁵⁰

6 Important personal meetings

The ‘diary’ mentions two personalities that Snouck Hurgronje met in Jeddah and who were to play a far more positive role in his life than Sī ‘Azīz and De Lostalot. First, there was the young Meccan scholar of Maghribī origin, *Shaykh* ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zawāwī (1850–1924), with whom he remained in contact for many years.⁵¹ Snouck Hurgronje mentions him in *Mekka* several times. When al-Zawāwī himself was expelled from Mecca he travelled around in the Middle East and in South East Asia. He had delicate health and was often to be found near medicinal springs. In the Snouck Hurgronje archives there is a substantial correspondence in Arabic between him and Snouck Hurgronje covering the period 1894–1917.⁵² Already in his Meccan times al-Zawāwī had established good relations with the ruling family in the Arab Sultanate of Pontianak, on Borneo’s West coast. While reading his letters to Snouck Hurgronje, when the latter was adviser to the colonial government in Batavia, I had the

50 ‘Diary’, p. 27.

51 See for his portrait the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.9.

52 According to the Leiden general catalogue, these letters (and other documents) are kept in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive (ms Leiden Or. 8952) as A 1117-A 1127 and D 194 (a fatwa). All are available online. None of these documents dates from the period of 1884–1885.

impression that he was an alternative source of information about what was going on in certain parts of the colony. The two correspondents also maintained contact on scholarly issues. When Snouck Hurgronje first published an article about Islam and the phonograph, al-Zawāwī sent his friend the text of a fatwa that he had issued on the subject.⁵³

A more important acquaintance of Snouck Hurgronje in Jeddah was Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat (c. 1854-c. 1914) of Bantenese origin.⁵⁴ His role in Snouck Hurgronje's life and work should not be underestimated. In a way, he was the positive mirror image of Sī 'Azīz Ibn al-Ḥaddād. They met in Jeddah and from the start Snouck Hurgronje was drawn by Raden Aboe Bakar. Parts of the 'diary', and *Mekka* for that matter, are based on information supplied by him. This is particularly the case with the short biographies of the Indonesian scholars of Mecca in the 'diary'.⁵⁵ When, in September 1884, Snouck Hurgronje wrote of Raden Aboe Bakar 'He will without doubt be of the greatest use to me when he returns to Jeddah for a few days after the *Ḥaǧǧ*',⁵⁶ he could not have known just how great that use would be. From early January 1885, Raden Aboe Bakar and Snouck Hurgronje lived together in Jeddah and on 21–22 February 1885, the pair travelled together from Jeddah to Mecca, where initially they lodged at Raden Aboe Bakar's house. Raden Aboe Bakar was the only person to know the exact circumstances under which Snouck Hurgronje travelled to and lived in Mecca. He was the perfect cover against the always suspicious authorities and probably provided Snouck Hurgronje with introductions to members

53 A draft of the unpublished fatwa was added as an enclosure to al-Zawāwī's letter from Malacca, dated 12 Sha'bān 1326 (8 September 1908), addressed to C. Snouck Hurgronje, who by then had become a professor in Leiden. It is kept in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive in Leiden University Library, MS Or. 8952 A 1127. My edition and annotated translation of this fatwa, 'Written in Wax: Qur'anic Recitational Phonography', has been published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138/4 (2018), pp. 807–820. To the references in that article must be added the fatwa by Rashīd Riḍā on phonography in *al-Manār* of 1907, pp. 609–612 (No. 235), with thanks to Mr. Gabriel Lavin (UCLA), who drew my attention to it.

54 See for his portrait the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.10; a specimen of his handwriting figure 19.27.

55 The information on pp. 46–54 of the 'diary' gives the impression of being the neat version of notes of Raden Aboe Bakar's words, jotted down by Snouck Hurgronje. Chapter 4 of vol. 2 of *Mekka* (1889) has much more extensive information on the Indonesian scholars of Mecca. That material was supplied by Raden Aboe Bakar in writing on Snouck Hurgronje's request. His *Tarāǧim 'Ulamā' al-Ġāwa*, 'Biographies of the scholars from Southeast Asia', in MS Leiden Or. 7111, map 9, consists of 11 pages of densely written text in Raden Aboe Bakar's hand. Snouck Hurgronje received it on 17 December 1887, which means that it was not the direct source of the information in the 'diary'.

56 'Diary', pp. 10–11.

of the Jawa community in Mecca, who were Snouck Hurgronje's primary objects of observation. That Snouck Hurgronje's journey to and subsequent stay in Mecca was a success (except, of course, for the expulsion) was largely thanks to Raden Aboe Bakar. He remained in contact with Snouck Hurgronje after the latter's departure from Arabia. On 13 June 1885, he became officially attached to the Dutch consulate in Jeddah as a *drogman*, and much later he held an honorary position with the Dutch consulate in Mecca. For the next 28 years he kept the Dutch government, and Snouck Hurgronje, informed about the events of the Ḥiǧāz.⁵⁷ He was the guarantee of continuity in the Dutch consulate in Jeddah and the indispensable help to all consuls.

Another, albeit minor theme in the 'diary' is Snouck Hurgronje's polemic with L.W.C. van den Berg (1845–1927).⁵⁸ In 1882–1884, the latter had published the Arabic text, together with a French translation, of the *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn* by al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278).⁵⁹ This was followed, in the same period, by the third edition of Van den Berg's textbook on Islamic law.⁶⁰ According to Snouck Hurgronje, both books were so riddled with faults, mistakes and misconceptions, that he thought it necessary to write a review of no less than 150 pages that did full justice to his polemical capabilities, but much less to Van den Berg's reputation. Paradoxically, Van den Berg's name lives on mainly because of this vitriolic review.⁶¹ The polemic was in full swing while Snouck Hurgronje was in Jeddah, but it had no impact on his plans and activities.

The 'diary' and the ongoing correspondence are not our only source of Snouck Hurgronje's life in Jeddah. He took a number of photographs there,

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- 57 See Laffan, 'Raden Aboe Bakar' (1999) and *id.*, 'Writing from the colonial margin' (2003).
- 58 Between 1878–1887 he was governmental Advisor for Oriental Languages and Muhammadan law.
- 59 منهاج الطالبين *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn. Le guide des zélés croyants. Manuel de jurisprudence musulmane selon le rite de Châfi'i. Texte arabe*, publié par ordre du gouvernement avec traduction et annotations par L.W.C. van den Berg. 3 vols. Batavia: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1882–1884.
- 60 *De beginselen van het Mohammedaansch Recht, volgens de imāms Aboe Hanīfa en Sġāfi'i*. Batavia/The Hague, 1883. It cannot have been of such poor scholarship as Snouck Hurgronje would have us believe, because its structure does not differ very much from that of Th.W. Juynboll's *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet volgens de leer der Sġāfi'itische school* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1903), which is largely based on Snouck Hurgronje's own courses in Islamic Law.
- 61 C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Mr. L.W.C. van den Bergs beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht', in *De Indische Gids* 6 (1884), pp. 363–434, 737–816 (= *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1923), pp. 59–222). When, a few years later, Snouck Hurgronje and Van den Berg were members of an examination committee Snouck Hurgronje privately apologized, in a letter of 7 June 1888, for a number of his scathing remarks. Snouck Hurgronje's draft and Van den Berg's answer are preserved: ms Leiden Or. 8952 A 163.

which now, thanks to the 'diary', can be better dated and more precisely determined. They constitute a visual complement to the texts. Photography was one of Snouck Hurgronje's ambitions in Mecca, and each reference to photography in the 'diary' (and in the correspondence after Snouck Hurgronje's return to Leiden for that matter) is a precious piece of information in the history of photographic exploration of Jeddah and Mecca.⁶²

Another primary source are the original letters, both those that Snouck Hurgronje wrote and those that he received in Jeddah, later in Mecca, and also on his return to Leiden. Much of what is preserved of such correspondence is now kept in the library of Leiden University.

Like all lives, Snouck Hurgronje's was a continuum, and his stays in Jeddah and Mecca were not isolated episodes. Especially in the early years of Snouck Hurgronje's subsequent stay in the Dutch East Indies, which was to last from 1889 to 1906, a number of personalities emerge in the 'diary'. This is especially the case for Snouck Hurgronje's travel notes in Java in the period between 1889 and 1891, a largely unexplored primary source. Interesting as these travel notes may be, they must wait for further research as this introduction to the Jeddah 'diary' is not the appropriate place to even embark on such an enterprise. Suffice it to say here that there is a conspicuous difference between the Jeddah 'diary' (less than 60 pp.) and the Java travel notes (some 1337 pp.) in both size and depth.⁶³

62 See for the portrait of 'Abd al-Ghaffār, *ṭabīb Makka*, the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.16. The photography of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje / *al-Shaykh* 'Abd al-Ghaffār in Jeddah, and later his work together with 'Abd al-Ghaffār *Ṭabīb Makka* in Mecca, the work of 'Abd al-Ghaffār independently, and of other Meccan photographers in the early 1880s, is a complex story that falls outside the scope of this annotation to the Jeddah 'diary'. On the other hand, the 'diary' is an important source for Snouck Hurgronje's photographic endeavours before he went to Mecca. Some research has been done on the early photography of the cities of the Ḥiǧāz. Suffice it to mention here two works with a Leiden connection: F.C. van Leeuwen, D. Oostdam, S.A. Vink, *Dutch Envoys in Arabia, 1880–1950. Photographic impressions*. [Amsterdam]: Royal Tropical Institute, 1999, and Dirry Oostdam & Jan Just Witkam, *West Arabian encounters. Fifty years of Dutch-Arabian relations in images (1885–1935)*. Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum, 2004.

63 MS Leiden Or. 7931 a-f contain Snouck Hurgronje's travel notes in Java. See Ph.S. van Ronkel, 'Aanteekeningen over Islam en Folklore in West- en Midden-Java. Uit het reisjournaal van Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje' in *BKI* 101 (1942), pp. 311–339. Much later in life, in 1908, Snouck Hurgronje visited Istanbul and some of his travel notes have been preserved, see Jan Schmidt, 'Een onbekend dagboekfragment en brieven uit Istanbul van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in: *Sharḥyyāt* 11 (1999), pp. 77–100. On Snouck Hurgronje's notes about Aceh, many of which are preserved as MS Leiden Or. 18.097, see now also Jajang A. Rohmana, 'Colonial Informants and the Acehnese-Dutch War. Haji Hasan Mustapa's response to Teuku Umar's collaboration with the Dutch authorities in the East Indies', in *Indonesia and the Malay World* 49 (2021), pp. 1–19. Notes by Snouck Hurgronje on that

Snouck Hurgronje has a somewhat tortuous, even steganographic style of writing in both his published and unpublished work. It is often as if he wishes his words to be deciphered, not just to be read. Whosoever limits himself to the simple narrative of the 'diary' misses much. In Islamic terminology, one can say that there is a *ẓāhir* and a *bāṭin*, an external and an inner meaning to what he writes. The non-story of the circumcision is simultaneously there and is not there. It floats between the lines. Other works, such as Snouck Hurgronje's collection of Meccan proverbs (yet another under-explored primary source), add information that is dealt with only fragmentarily in the 'diary'.⁶⁴ It is as if Snouck Hurgronje places decoding keywords in his texts, which he assumed to be well-nigh invisible to his readers, but which enabled him to hide things that he did not immediately wish to share with others but which at the same time he would hate to lose. The circumcision, again, is a case in point. He also used other strategies to make his 'diary' virtually unreadable for the uninitiated, or perhaps just for anyone other than himself. The multilingual aspect of the diary is the result of such a strategy. I have left that feature intact in my translation. It is a precaution that travellers often take in order to prevent travelling companions, members of their family or complete outsiders from immediately grasping what is written down.⁶⁵

Jeddah had been, already before Snouck Hurgronje visited it in 1884–1885, a pressure cooker of espionage and moneymaking. The European powers had their consuls in place, to perform their consular tasks, of course. However, all these powers also had Muslim subjects, and Mecca, prohibited to the Christian consuls, rightly or wrongly was considered the centre of Pan-Islamism, or, Islamic fanaticism as it was called at the time. Intelligence and 'useful information' were in constant demand, often with more than one interested recipient. With the wisdom of hindsight, we can see that during his Jeddah period, Snouck Hurgronje already courted the danger that was inherent in his stay in

subject can also be found in ms Leiden Or. 8952 A 436–444, the letters from J.B. van Heutsz (1851–1924).

64 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten. Gesammelt und erläutert*. Herausgegeben als Festgabe zum VIIten Internat. Orientalistencongresse in Wien [...]. Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1886. See my translation and annotation 'Meccan voices.'

65 I have described similar strategies by E.G. Browne, who actually went much further than Snouck Hurgronje in this regard in the private journal that he kept during his journey to Persia in 1887–1888. Browne, I tend to think, wished to spare his mother and sister certain raw details of some of his travel experiences, and therefore went to greater lengths than Snouck Hurgronje with his encryption. See my 'Edward Granville Browne amongst the Qalandars', in: Robert Hillenbrand, A.C.S. Peacock and Firuza Abdullaeva, (eds), *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran. Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia. Studies in Honour of Charles Meville*. London, etc. (I.B. Tauris) 2013, pp. 218–230.

Mecca and Jeddah. Indeed, in August 1885, it would cause his expulsion from the Holy City and from Arabia for an entirely unrelated reason. I will not go into detail about this personal catastrophe for Snouck here. My purpose is to make the 'diary' available and understandable to an interested international readership, thus amassing building blocks for a history of the Arabian episode in Snouck Hurgronje's life. The story of that entire episode needs much more research.

Or does it? On 9 November 2017, a full-fledged biography of Snouck Hurgronje was launched on the Dutch book market.⁶⁶ The author, Philip Dröge, is a publicist and professional ghost writer,⁶⁷ who has taken up as many picturesque details of Snouck Hurgronje's life as he could find and concocted a stunning biography out of them. The work stands out for its uncritical, sloppy and fantastical use of the sources. Unhindered by knowledge or even the slightest historical empathy, he gives his own eye-witness account of the life of his hero. If anything, the book is the Hollywood script of Snouck Hurgronje's life.⁶⁸

One example may suffice to show that I am not exaggerating out of mere *jalousie de métier*. The reader of the Jeddah 'diary' will see how discreetly Snouck Hurgronje alludes to his own circumcision, but nowhere in the 'diary' nor anywhere else does he mention that he has been circumcised. For Dröge, this is apparently such a sensational moment that he devotes most of his prologue to it, which begins as follows:⁶⁹

Jeddah, beginning of January 1885.

His expression is worried when the lean twenty-something pulls up his jellaba. His underwear is already on the ground, still around his ankles.

The Arab barber opposite him looks him up and down, like a carpenter or craftsman, and nods approvingly. Of course, he can do the small operation here on the spot. He has done it often, if not hundreds of times, usually on children. However, age is not so important. A good barber also does adult blokes if necessary, and Muḥammad is one of the best in the city of Jeddah.

His young customer, a European with a pointed face and piercing look, nods nervously. He opts to go ahead with the treatment. So, the expert

66 Philip Dröge, *Pelgrim. Leven en reizen van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje*. Houten/Antwerpen: Uitgeverij Unieboek/Het Spectrum BV, 2017. The dust jacket adds: 'Wetenschapper, spion, avonturier' (scholar, spy, adventurer).

67 As mentioned on his website <www.philipdroge.nl> (accessed on 10 November 2017).

68 Van den Doel, *Snouck*, ignores Dröge's work altogether, although he mentions it in his bibliography (p. 609).

69 My translation from Dröge, *Pelgrim*, pp. 9–11.

starts his job and picks up a metal U-shaped clamp from his tool bag. It is an *'udda*, he explains, because this Westerner, he has observed, is a very curious person and he understands Arabic very well.

Then the barber squats and begins. He takes the foreskin of the European between his thumb and index finger and pulls the elastic skin with force towards himself. When the skin is well stretched, the barber places the *'udda* crosswise. The little clamp separates the loose foreskin from the more substantial part of the dick.

Then, he picks up his sharpest knife, the same knife with which he also shaves beards and opens up boils. With a certainty based on experience, the barber places the cutting edge just before the *'udda*. With a quick and powerful move, he separates the man from his foreskin.

This causes an intense sensation of pain for Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. His heart pounds, he gasps for air, sweat drips down his back. He looks down and sees the barber wrapping a strip of textile around his penis to close up the wound. The blood soaks through it and large, red stains become visible.

After about a minute, the barber removes the bandage and covers the wound thickly with ointment. Part of its healing property comes from St. John's wort, which he tells Christiaan in order to distract him. It is a plant that alleviates the pain. Just like all his colleagues he has his own secret recipe for medicinal ointments. Part of the ingredients are vegetal, but pulverized carbon is used for its antiseptic properties, and also minerals to stop the bleeding.

Then he applies a bandage with a small opening at the end, for practical reasons. That must keep the wound closed for the time being. It will take about a week for everything to heal, then the bandages can be removed. Muḥammad's work is done. He receives a few coins and can go.

Christiaan looks down, to the bloody bandages between his thighs that are the proof of the entirely superfluous operation that he has just undergone. Medically superfluous, yes, but the circumcision serves another, in fact very important purpose.

Despite its minimal size, the little piece of skin that was just removed from his body was an important impediment to the realization of the great plans that the young Dutchman has been entertaining. Even more so, because if he had remained uncircumcised it could have soon become lethal for him. Christiaan is about to make a journey, as historical as it is dangerous, to a place where foreskins are forbidden. He wants to go to Mecca. [...].

It is a remarkable feat of visionary close-reading that Dröge performs for his readers, because the one and only source for this bloody scene is the short entry in Snouck Hurgronje's 'diary' for 5 January 1885, in which Snouck Hurgronje's circumcision is not even explicitly referred to. It reads:⁷⁰

Important visit by *Sayyid* Muḥammad Muzayyin. [...] For circumcision, that is performed here at very different ages (approximately between forty days and ten years), one uses, as I was told by the *muzayyin*, small iron tongs: \beth , *'udda*, with which the *preputium* is squeezed, and a razor blade. For the wound, one uses a *marham* (people here say: *الدراهم كالمراهم تجير: ألم الكسير*), which is a material that staunches the bleeding and heals the wound. Our friend claimed that personally he uses *talyūn*, which he says is called cantarion (or something like that) in the European pharmacopoeia. It is spread out on a piece of cloth and with this the wound is bandaged. After that, *darūr* is to allow it to dry. For this, there are different mixtures, all pounded into a fine powder: *حارة* and *باردة* varieties are distinguished.

And that is all. In one stroke, Dröge makes Snouck Hurgronje's *preputium* the centre of his argument, and his evocative style could have aroused the jealousy of the erudite Vatican librarian Leo Allatius, another foreskin worshipper.⁷¹ Now, we also have Snouck Hurgronje's foreskin that, if we follow Dröge with a bit of malice, changed the course of history. But Dröge's phantasmagoria is simply wrong. Snouck Hurgronje did not let himself be circumcised in order to gain entry into Mecca. Even if he tells us that he had to show the healing wound of the circumcision upon first entering the Holy City, the ultimate purpose of the operation was to be able to cohabit in Mecca with a woman. For this, the circumcision was a *conditio sine qua non*. A sexual relationship with a *Muslima* would, apart from evidently providing pleasure, give Snouck Hurgronje the possibility of leading a normal life in Mecca. On the sexual dimension of Snouck Hurgronje's life, Dröge adopts a moralistic position and turns his biog-

70 Here quoted without my annotation. The full annotated text can be read on pp. 43–44 of the Jeddah 'diary'.

71 Wikipedia: Leo Allatius (1586–1669). Most of his books and treatises are now forgotten, but one of his unpublished texts, *De Praeputio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Diatriba* ('A Discussion on the Foreskin of Our Lord Jesus Christ') is certainly not. In 1666, Robert Hooke (1635–1703) drew the shadows that were cast by the rings on the planet Saturn and by the planet on the rings. Allatius gave this extra meaning by coming up with the bold hypothesis that the rings were in fact the Holy Foreskin in the sky.

raphee into a sex-obsessed personality and worse.⁷² Dröge's 'biography' is a curious mix of fantasies, odd facts and ahistoric readings of works by myself and others.⁷³ The Dutch reading public was not fooled by Dröge's rambling sensationalism, and the book was eclipsed as suddenly as it had come into orbit.

7 Translating Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah 'diary'

In the following, I present a complete annotated translation into English of Snouck Hurgronje's 'Jeddah diary'. As Snouck Hurgronje wrote his notes purely for himself, the 'diary' is not always easy to reproduce in another language. I have had to make choices in this regard. First, there is the telegraphic style of the Dutch text, sometimes verging on the stenographic. I have turned this into a readable text in English, which is not always of literary beauty, but, then, the Dutch text was not meant to be a literary masterpiece either, certainly not of the eloquence that we know Snouck Hurgronje was capable of. Apparent mistakes or duplications have generally been silently corrected in the translation. For the English text, I have deviated from Snouck Hurgronje's transliteration system and used a more modern one. Snouck Hurgronje often placed words or phrases in Arabic script within his Dutch text, for referring to objects, titles, names or for giving quotations – and no doubt with the intention of blocking indiscreet views. These words and phrases in Arabic I have maintained in the body of the English text in an attempt to at least preserve that feature of the 'diary's' style. They are always transcribed and translated in a footnote. I have not explained the numerous foreign words, mostly of Arabic and Malay origin, with which the text abounds, in footnotes. Rather I have collated them together in a glossary, which follows the translation. After the glossary comes an index, which refers to the pages of the manuscript of the 'diary'. These page numbers have been given in my English translation of the 'diary' between square brackets.

Quite some time has passed since I first started working on the 'Jeddah diary'. Ever since I first rediscovered it, in the mid-1970s, I have been thinking of how best to present this interesting little text in print. I produced my first tran-

72 Dröge, *Pelgrim*, pp. 82–83, 90–93. Dröge, *Pelgrim*, p. 324, diagnoses Snouck Hurgronje with a 'borderline personality disorder', which he supports with arguments of the sort that come straight from the columns of any woman's weekly.

73 Dirk Vlasblom, 'De "witte hadji", Snouck als avonturier, in *NRC/Handelsblad* of 2 February 2018, p. C 11, a review of Dröge's *Pelgrim*, mentions Dröge's unreferenced dependence on my earlier work.

script of the Dutch text on my IBM electric typewriter. The passage of time and the advance of technology were on my side. In the second half of the 1980s, with the arrival of the word processor Multi-Lingual Scholar® (MLS) from Gamma Productions, it suddenly became possible, well ahead of the advent of UNICODE, to produce all sorts of scholarly diacritics on a PC, and to simultaneously type in five different alphabets in two writing directions. This, I believe, has encouraged me in many ways to write and publish.⁷⁴ I had intended to publish the Dutch text of the 'diary', together with a number of letters to and from Snouck Hurgronje in the period that was covered by the 'diary'. I had given it 'Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah days' as a working title. By opting for 'Jeddah days', as opposed to 'Mecca days', I wanted to show how Snouck Hurgronje prepared his journey to Mecca, an episode in his life about which much has been written. The Jeddah period has often been eclipsed by all the attention that has been given to Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Mecca and his subsequent publications on the Forbidden City of Islam. The present study is more modest in scope, as I concentrate on the 'diary'.

At that same time, 1985, I organized the exhibition 'Honderd jaar Mekka in Leiden. 1885–1985' ('A hundred years of Mecca in Leiden, 1885–1985') in the Leiden library in order to commemorate the first centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's journey to Mecca. Bringing together the documentary and the ethnographic dimensions of Snouck Hurgronje's journey to Jeddah and Mecca and its aftermath, as I had done in 1985, proved so successful a formula that two young Leiden scholars borrowed the idea for their splendidly illustrated study some three decades later.⁷⁵

For several unrelated reasons, nothing came of my plans to publish something like 'Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah days', and eventually my transcript of the Dutch version of the 'diary' was lost. I retyped it in the course of November 2005, now in Microsoft WORD. That software had, by then, at least as many features as MLS, which had become obsolete in the late 1990s. In the mid-1990s, I had already translated the Dutch transcript into English, not only for the obvious advantage of a wider readership, but also for a practical reason: to avoid difficulties concerning the 19th-century orthography of Snouck Hurgronje's Dutch text, the details of which I did not wish to master. I then provided the English translation with a glossary and an index. Although it was by then a publishable text, again other work and priorities presented themselves to me

74 To name but two examples: thanks to MLS I was finally able to complete and publish my PhD thesis on Ibn al-Akfānī in 1989. I also used MLS for the editorial work on the journal *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, which I published between 1986–1993.

75 Mols & Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*.

and eventually nothing came of it.

After the Dutch public's positive response to the Snouck Hurgronje Memorial Day in February 2007 and the publication in the same year of my Dutch translation of the second volume of Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka*, I decided to publish the 'diary' as part of a larger project of source publications in relation to Snouck Hurgronje's life and work, but I first had to retrieve my old texts. With some nostalgia, I reconstructed an MLS production line, working under the DOS emulation of Windows 95, all with equipment from the early 1990s, and I was able to salvage at least the English translation of the 'diary' together with its glossary and index. I subjected the print of the MLS document to Optical Character Recognition and the product of that lies at the basis of the translation, glossary and index that are presented here. I have greatly benefited from presenting the translation only now, and not fifteen years earlier. The delay allowed me to acquire the wisdom that comes with age, and I profited from other exploratory work on aspects of Snouck Hurgronje's life and work done by myself and others.

8 Physical description of the 'Jeddah 'diary'

The Jeddah 'diary' is registered in Leiden University Library as MS Or. 7112. The 'diary' apparently never had a title page. The Dutch text was written by Christian Snouck Hurgronje in ink, on 64 pages of machine-made, lined paper measuring 27.1 x 21.2 cm. The lineation of usually 33 lines to the page is part of the structure of the paper, in the same way as a watermark; not all lines are always used for the writing of the text; a margin of usually c. 6.7 cm was made by vertically folding the paper. The usual width of the text is therefore 14.4 cm. The composition of the quires is: VII (26), I (30), I (34), II (41), III (53), II (56 + 3). The page numbering shows several irregularities. There are two unnumbered blank pages at the beginning, pp. 1–34 numbered in pencil; pp. 16–17 are blank; pp. 35–56 are numbered in ink; p. 35 is numbered twice: p. 35, p. 35 bis; p. 54 is not numbered. Then follow two unnumbered pages, which I refer to as p. 54bis, p. 54ter, which are followed by pp. 55–56. These are followed by three unnumbered blank pages. The leaves are bound together in a half-linen binding, with a green back and pasted boards of green-grey colour, with ochre flyleaves. This binding may, or may not, have been placed around the 'diary' after its arrival in the Leiden Library.

Snouck Hurgronje and consul Kruyt travelled together from Amsterdam on the steamship PRINS HENDRIK of the Stoomvaart Maatschappij Nederland ('Netherlands Royal Mail Line') under captain S. Turfboer. They departed on 6

August 1884.⁷⁶ The PRINS HENDRIK was bound for Batavia via Marseille but would not, it seems, stop at Jeddah. The ships of the Stoomvaart Maatschappij Nederland usually collected passengers in a number of ports on the way, such as Southampton, Lisbon, Tangier, Algiers and Genoa, and then proceeded via Egypt, Colombo, Sabang (the most Northern tip of Sumatra), via Singapore to Java, and occasionally transported freight to smaller ports in the Dutch East Indies. If my guess is correct, Kruyt and Snouck Hurgronje disembarked in Egypt (which was their destination according to the published passenger lists),⁷⁷ possibly in Suez, and from there they may have continued their journey to Jeddah on board a ship of the Austrian Lloyd, whose agent Gallimberti⁷⁸ they met upon arrival in Jeddah, or of the Khedivial Postal Service that connected Suez and Jeddah.

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- 76 A Stoomvaart-Maatschappij Nederland advertisement for its service, every ten days, connecting Amsterdam to the Dutch East Indies, *Het Nieuws van den Dag* of 8 July 1884. Dröge, *Pelgrim*, pp. 31–39, gives a vivid account of the arrival of the PRINS HENDRIK in Jeddah. The advertisement of Stoomvaart-Maatschappij Nederland in *het Nieuws van den Dag* of 7 July 1884, (second page, as in Dröge, *Pelgrim*, p. 314), does not mention Jeddah as destination, but that in itself is not an indication that the ship did not stop there. The ‘Registers van Nederlandse schepen aangekomen in en vertrokken uit de haven van Djeddah, 1874–1909’ (National Archive, The Hague, inventory 2.05.53, in No. 154, see De Vries & Daniëls, *Inventaris van het archief van het Nederlandse Consulaat te Djeddah*, p. 21), however, do not mention the arrival of the PRINS HENDRIK on or around 29 August 1884, so Kruyt and Snouck Hurgronje may have arrived in Jeddah on board a ship sailing from another harbour such as Suez, or under a flag other than a Dutch one. Van den Doel, *Snouck*, p. 53, also lets the PRINS HENDRIK arrive in Jeddah.
- 77 The passenger list, or an abstract thereof, was published in the Dutch newspapers, e.g. *Nieuws van de Dag* of 7 August 1884. The Dutch Indian press copied the list a month later, e.g. *De Locomotief* of Semarang of 9 September 1884. Dröge, *Pelgrim*, pp. 31–39, has a long story about the PRINS HENDRIK anchoring off Jeddah.
- 78 Napoleon Gallimberti. Snouck Hurgronje writes his name as Galimberti, but in the printed *Consulaire Verslagen en Berichten* (published on behalf of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs by J.H. de Bussy of Amsterdam) and in the ledgers of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah his name is always given as Gallimberti.

[The Jeddah 'diary' of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1884–1885)]⁷⁹

[1] 29 September till 1 October [1884]

Notes on the first month of my stay in Jeddah, followed thereafter by a diary.⁸⁰

On 28 August Mr. Kruyt⁸¹ and I arrived after a successful journey of twenty-two days, first in Abū Sa'd,⁸² where Dr. Stiepovich⁸³ lodged us temporarily, and the next day, in the afternoon, in Jeddah. In the first weeks, I found little opportunity to make regular notes, owing to the pressure of unpacking, making visits, and receiving guests. After that, on 17 September, I fell ill and was confined to my bed, and only now am I beginning to recover and to regain my strength. Some of my experiences and the acquaintances I have made during the previous period may be mentioned here.

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- 79 An effort has been made to find references for names of persons and places. When such a reference is lacking it simply means that I have been unsuccessful in finding a meaningful reference. Commonly known names, such as Mecca and Jeddah have, of course, not been referenced.
- 80 This heading is written in the margin of p. 1. See the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.11.
- 81 Johannes Adrianus Kruyt (1841–1927), Dutch consul in Jeddah from 1878 till early 1885. After Jeddah, he was posted in Penang. In Jeddah he was succeeded from early 1885 onwards as consul by Joan Adriaan de Vicq (1857–1899). Kruyt can be seen on the group portrait that Snouck Hurgronje took in 1884. See my 'Inleiding' to *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw*, ill. 2, opposite p. 64. For a full survey of Dutch consuls in Jeddah see De Vries & Daniëls, *Inventaris van het archief van het Nederlandse Consulaat te Djeddah*, p. 8.
- 82 Island off the coast of West Arabia, south of Jeddah, north of al-Qunfudha, used to quarantine more affluent pilgrims and out-of-season travellers. See Robert Koch & Georg Gaffky, *Bericht über die Thätigkeit der zur Erforschung der Cholera im Jahre 1883 nach Egypten und Indien entstandenen Kommission*. Berlin: Julius Springer, 1887, p. 120, and Tafel 10, at the end.
- 83 Stiepovich: Snouck Hurgronje writes his name as Stiepovitch. Dr. Stiepovich is mentioned as the Secretary of the Commission of Hygiene for the Hedjaz in 1896. 'Arabia. Report of the commission of hygiene for the Hedjaz', in: *Public Health Reports (1896–1970)*, vol. 11, No. 1 (3 January 1896), pp. 12–15. George Stiepovich, born on March 22, 1850, in Chios (then in Turkey), studied medicine in Paris, where he received his doctorate in 1879. <<http://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/histoire/biographies/?cle=26517>> (consulted on 20 August 2017). He is mentioned in the Ottoman state almanac *Hiğâz Wilâyatı Sâlnâması* 3 (1305/1887–8), p. 209: 'Monsieur Istiwîğ'. His function is described as *Abū Sa'd wa-Wâşıta Tahaffüzkhânasi Tabîbi*, 'Medical Doctor in the Quarantine Centre of Abū Sa'd and Wâşıta', in the official rank of M 4. For health issues in relation to the pilgrimage in general see William R. Roff, 'Sanitation and Security. The Imperial Powers and the Hajj in the Nineteenth Century', chapter 14 in his *Studies on Islam and Society in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: nus, 2009, pp. 283–307 (reprint of an article published in 1982).

I have not seen very much of the town itself. Only when we arrived and shortly after, when we visited the *Qā'im-maqām*⁸⁴ on the occasion of the birthday of the Sultan,⁸⁵ and again when I made some visits, did I have occasion to see the *bāzār*, which offers any newcomer to Oriental countries a most impressive spectacle. Before my indisposition, we took several strolls outside the Medina gate, though we never went very far. Apart from the preliminary settling of my affairs and performing some photographic experiments, I have spent most of my time making new acquaintances among the inhabitants of Jeddah and also among those who have come from Mecca and are now residing here for the time being. I mention here some information on these new acquaintances, not necessarily in any logical order.

I can remain silent about the Europeans, the English consul Jago,⁸⁶ the doctors Stamatiadès⁸⁷ and Stieпович, the employee of the Austrian Lloyd⁸⁸ Gallimberti, the merchant [2] Stross,⁸⁹ the commercial employee Long, my compatriots and commensals Van der Chijs, ter Meulen, Stijnis and Metzler, who arrived later.⁹⁰ I will mention briefly the employees of the consulate: the *qaw-*

84 Tawfīq Pāshā. With his rank (*Mīr al-Umarā'*, civil governor, pasha of the lowest grade) in the Ottoman hierarchy, he is mentioned in the Ottoman almanac for the *Ḥiḡāz* for 1303/1885–6 as 'Jeddah Sanḡāghī Qā'immaqāmi Tawfīq Pāshā', 'The *Qā'im-maqām* of the *Sanḡāq* of Jeddah, Tawfīq Pāshā'. A *Sanḡāq* is a sub-division of a province, *Ḥiḡāz Wilāyati Sālnāmasī* 2, p. 98. See his portrait in the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.2.

85 The birthday of the Ottoman Sultan Abdūlhamīd II (1842–1918) was celebrated on 21 September 1884.

86 Thomas S. Jago, an old hand in the British consular service who held many postings in the Ottoman Empire.

87 Stamatiadès, another medical officer of the quarantine services in the Red Sea. He is mentioned by name in C. Stékoulis, *Le pèlerinage de la Mecque et le choléra au Hedjaz*. Constantinople: Castro, 1883, p. 46. He was in Ottoman service as the head of Jeddah Quarantine Directorate. He is mentioned in the Ottoman almanac *Ḥiḡāz Wilāyati Sālnāmasī* 3 (1305/1887–8), p. 209: *Inspaktūr Astimāṭiyādī Efendī*, in the rank of *Thānīya*, 'second grade'.

88 The Österreichische Lloyd (1833–1921) with its head office in Trieste was one of the large shipping companies active in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and beyond. Mr. Gallimberti is mentioned as an agent of the Austrian Lloyd in the Ottoman almanacs *Ḥiḡāz Wilāyati Sālnāmasī* 4 (1306/1888–9), p. 254: 'Nimča Wāpūrlari Āḡantasi Monsieur Ghālīmbartī'; and *ibid.*, 5 (1309/1891–2), p. 268: 'Monsieur Ghālīmbartī, Nimča Wāpūrlari Āḡantasi'.

89 He may be the Austrian merchant (of Czech origin) Ludwig Stross (c. 1851–1913), who, while established in Jeddah and occasionally travelling along the coast of the Red Sea, wrote on Yemeni affairs ('Zustände in Jemen') in *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 40 (1881), pp. 119–121, 135–137; and about the Asir region in *Globus* 41 (1882), pp. 330–331. Gallimberti and Stross are mentioned by Rudolf Agstner, *Von Kaisern, Konsuln und Kaufleuten*. Vol. 2. *Die k. (u.) k. Konsulate in Arabien, Lateinamerika, Lettland, London und Serbien*. Wien: Lit Verlag, 2012, pp. 30, 41–42.

90 Snouck Hurgronje writes 'Termeulen', instead of 'ter Meulen' and 'Metzlar' instead of

wās Husayn,⁹¹ the *kātib Shaykh* ‘Alī (who also acts as *imām* of the mosque here, and consequently bears the visible sign (سجدة)⁹² on his forehead, the porter Naṣīb, the cook Faraḡ (usually called Verrek),⁹³ the servants Ismā‘il and Muḥammad. After he had run away, the latter was replaced by the black Sayyid. Finally, I should mention my own speedy and efficient Circassian servant Khurshīd.

No later than the very first day, I made the acquaintance of Yūsuf Qudsi⁹⁴ (that is ‘from Jerusalem’), the renegade dragoman of the English consulate. He is the walking newspaper of Jeddah who seems to have little real cultivation or knowledge, but who seems to be a fund of shrewdness and have good insight into the human character. This naïve and vain man, whose Islam has no deep dwelling place in his heart, nevertheless seems to enjoy considerable influence with the *Sharīf* of Mecca⁹⁵ and the *Wālī* of the Ḥiḡāz.⁹⁶ He goes to Mecca on all

‘Metzler’. I follow the orthography of these names as they are given in the ‘Matriculair Register’ of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah on the page signed by consul J.A. Kruyt on 13 January 1885. That register mentions Philip Stijnis (born in Sliedrecht, 4 September 1855, employed in the Dutch consulate), Pieter Paul ter Meulen (born in Zwolle, 23 February 1859, employed by the company of P.N. van der Chijs, later transferred to Elmina on the West African coast) and Frederik Lodewijk Adolf Metzler (born in Amsterdam, 31 March 1853, equally employed by the company of P.N. van der Chijs). Snouck Hurgronje is mentioned on the same page (National Archive, The Hague, inventory 2.05.53, in box 129; see de Vries and Daniëls, *Inventaris van het archief van het Nederlandse Consulaat te Djeddah*, p. 19). Stijnis and Ter Meulen can be seen on the group portrait that Snouck Hurgronje took in 1884. See my ‘Inleiding’ to *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw*, ill. 2, opposite p. 64.

91 He can also be seen on the group portrait that Snouck Hurgronje took in 1884. See my ‘Inleiding’ to *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw*, ill. 2, opposite p. 64.

92 *Sajda*, the prostration during the ritual prayer. Here is meant the *zabiba*, ‘raisin’, the spot on the forehead caused by the regular hitting of the forehead on the ground during the prostration.

93 Snouck Hurgronje writes his name as ‘Fāredj’. The alternative pronunciation is a pun, as ‘Verrek’ is the colloquial Egyptian pronunciation of the name Faraḡ, while in colloquial Dutch it means something like ‘damn you!’.

94 His portrait by Snouck Hurgronje is reproduced in Luitgard Mols & Arnoud Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*, p. 143, after Leiden Or. 26.403, No. 31. See also the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.1.

95 He is mentioned, with his rank in the Ottoman hierarchy (*Wazīr*) and his decorations, together with the names of the members of his State Council (*Shūrā-yi Dawlat*), in the Ottoman almanac for the Ḥiḡāz for 1303/1885–6 as *Amīr Makka-yi Mukarrama Sharīf* ‘Awn al-Rafīq *Pāshā*, ‘Ruler of the Honoured Mecca, *Sharīf* ‘Awn al-Rafīq *Pāshā*, *Ḥiḡāz Wilāyatī Sālnāmasī*. Second edition, p. 58. He ruled under Ottoman suzerainty in the period 1882–1905. His portrait is in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka* (1888), plate VII.

96 He is mentioned, with his military rank (*Mushīr*) and his decorations, in the Ottoman state almanac for the Ḥiḡāz for 1301/1883–4 as *Wālī-yi Wilāyat. Shaykh al-Ḥaram al-Makkī*

important occasions, just as now during the *Ḥaǧǧ*, especially in order to have a look at things from the English and, more generally, the European perspective, and to report back afterwards. Under normal circumstances, he visits the Dutch consulate several times a day in order to acquire new information and to offer some of the same.

[3] At the same time as I met him, I also made the acquaintance of the so-called Anglo-Indian doctor ‘Abd al-Razzāq,⁹⁷ but subsequently I have not seen the doctor again. The reason for the appointment of this indigenous doctor to the English consulate is not entirely medical or sanitary in nature. He too regularly visits Mecca on certain occasions and once he wrote an extensive account of the *Ḥaǧǧ* in English. His extreme deafness naturally makes intercourse with him very difficult.

Soon, the Ğawhar family, that is Ḥasan, his brother Muḥammad (more developed intellectually and morally), and the well-educated young son of the former, ‘Alī, all of Anglo-Indian descent, came to pay their respects shortly after our arrival, and not much later we reciprocated by visiting them. Especially the acquaintance with ‘Alī, who possesses some knowledge and books, will be useful to me. Like most people here, they are merchants, whenever the occasion presents itself. However, through a conjunction of circumstances they have suffered a reversal of fortune, as have most of their colleagues in Jeddah, for which they lay the principal blame on the stringent quarantine measures. Many of them are now simply consuming their capital or have already come to the end of it.

[4] ‘Alī Ğawhar will bring me into contact with a certain *Shaykh* Muḥammad Murād, one of the few scholars of any significance in Jeddah. At the moment, he seems to be engaged in business as well, and he is not at all averse to contact with Europeans. The case seems to be entirely different with the most famous *faqīh* here, Bā Ṣabrayn, who had earlier been mentioned to me by Amīn

‘Uthmān Nūrī Pāshā, ‘Governor of the Province. Head of the Meccan Sanctuary, ‘Uthmān Nūrī Pāshā, *Ḥiǧāz Wilāyatī Sālnāmasī*. First edition, p. 82; in different functions also on pp. 71, 74; also in the second edition of the *Sālnāma* (1303/1885–6), pp. 59, 67. He served as governor in the period from 1882 to 1886. His portrait is in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka* (1888), plate VIII.

97 He would become acting consul in 1891. See on his espionage and other activities in Mecca and Jeddah also Michael Christopher Low, ‘Empire and the Hajj. Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865–1908’, in *Journal of Middle East Studies* 40/2 (May, 2008), pp. 269–290, especially pp. 283–285; *id.*, ‘Ottoman Infrastructures of the Saudi Hydro-State. The Technopolitics of Pilgrimage and Potable Water in the Hijaz’, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57/4 (2015), pp. 942–974. Being a medical doctor, it was he who performed the autopsy on Van der Chijs on 2 October 1889, and wrote his report of it a few days later. Abdur Razzack/‘Abd al-Razzāq was murdered in Jeddah on 31 May 1895.

al-Madanī⁹⁸ as the author of a commentary. At present, he seems to be out of town, but he has the reputation of being very fanatical and of not wishing to have anything to do with *kāfirs*.

At the same time as I met Muḥammad Ğawhar, I also met a certain ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Baghlaf.⁹⁹ Although he is not lacking a good education and seems to command some respect, he gives the impression of being rather insignificant and somewhat ‘out of his depth’.¹⁰⁰

When the well-known *Mudabbir al-Mulk* of Aceh, Ḥabīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir,¹⁰¹ returned from his journey to Egypt and Syria, allegedly in order to perform the *Ḥaġġ*, he came to visit us dressed in *iḥrām*, shortly after we had arrived. In spite of his endless vanity, [5] his fawning attitude and his somewhat peculiar outward appearance, which was rendered even stranger by his hair and beard, which were dyed pitch black, he made a not unpleasant and certainly interesting impression on me. He is a very well-read and erudite person, and certainly not without a sharp mind. He seemed to find it pleasant, not to mention remarkable, to meet a European who had taken some pains to learn ‘the science’. This transpired in particular during a conversation about a نصيحة¹⁰² concerning the Aceh question, which he said he would gladly write for the Dutch East Indian government, on whose rice he had been feeding himself for the last five years.¹⁰³ He understood that the Acehnese, staunch Mus-

98 Amīn al-Madanī (d. 1898) was the learned bookseller and pamphleteer from Medina, who had come to the Colonial Exhibition in Amsterdam in 1883 and attended the Orientalist Congress in Leiden in the same year. Snouck Hurgronje translated his impressions of the congress into Dutch: *Het Leidsche Orientalistencongres. Indrukken van een Arabisch congreslid* as a separate booklet (Leiden 1883, also in: VG 6 [Bonn, 1927], pp. 240–272). At the time, his manuscript collection was acquired by the Library of the University of Leiden (see Carlo Landberg, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes provenant d'une bibliothèque privée à El-Medina et appartenant à la Maison E.J. Brill*, Leiden, 1883). His portrait by the Leiden photographer Jan Goedeljee in Mols & Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*, p. 11, plate 8.

99 Snouck Hurgronje writes his name in the ‘diary’ as ‘Ba-gëlëff’. Members of the Baghlaf family were and are merchants in Jeddah and elsewhere in Saudi Arabia.

100 ‘Out of his depth’: Snouck Hurgronje uses the Dutch word ‘verdrongen’ between quotation marks. I am not sure what this means in this context, maybe something like ‘forlorn’ or ‘overwhelmed’.

101 See for his portrait the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.14; for a specimen of his handwriting and a print of his seal, figure 19.26. Ḥabīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir (1833–1896), a Ḥaḍramī adventurer who had been pensioned off to Mecca by the Dutch government in exchange for his surrender at Aceh (Laffan, *Making*, p. 132). He is mentioned frequently by Snouck Hurgronje, see the references in *Verspreide Geschriften* 6 (1927), p. 505, and in the archive of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah. See for a group portrait of Acehnese pilgrims the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.22.

102 *Naṣiḥa*, a juridical or political recommendation, usually urgent or binding.

103 Several signed and sealed receipts of his monthly allowance of one thousand *riyāl Ğāwī*

lims as they were, would be content if their entire internal government were regulated by a believer, albeit it under the supervision of the Dutch government. By this he meant a نظارة الداخلية¹⁰⁴, which was to be under a Muslim, who 1° would not have the title of Sultan or King, but rather that of Vizir or *Mudab-bir al-Mulk* in order to leave the supremacy of the Dutch government unimpaired; 2° who would not be Acehnese by birth, in order not to arouse envy; and 3° for which function Ḥabīb would be the ideal person, a fact that emerged with ever more clarity as the conversation progressed. This vizir would be established in Kota Raja¹⁰⁵ and by connecting this place with Oleh-leh (the residence of the government)¹⁰⁶ with a railway line, there would be no danger of defection and the like. Under such circumstances, the population would increasingly adjust itself to a more orderly life and exchange its weapons for the plough. Soon, order and concord would reign. [6] When I pointed out to him the un-Islamic character of such a 'vizirate of *kāfirs*', he found a clever way out by using the أحكام الضرورات¹⁰⁷, which had to be applied here because of the victory of the Christians. In this regard, he quoted a text by a certain Ardabīlī¹⁰⁸ that was particularly apt in such a situation. And when I remarked that, from the Islamic perspective, such a situation would always be temporary and transitional, not something that, when conditions improved, one could permanently acquiesce, he simply answered: 'And how could it be otherwise? Who does not wish to have the upper hand if he can?'

He would write down his opinions and propositions in Arabic, so that I could translate them, and they could be brought to the attention of the government. So far, however, he has failed to fulfill his plan.¹⁰⁹

One day, after his visit, I visited him in the house of his host, Bā Hārūn, the chief of the *sayyids* here in Jeddah, where Ḥabīb showed me with great pride his family's pedigree, which went all the way back to the Prophet. We soon engaged in a theological discussion, joined by the young Muḥammad al-

from the Dutch consulate in Jeddah are kept in MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 1112.

104 *Niẓārat al-Dākhilīyya*, Ministry of the Interior. In the margin Snouck Hurgronje wrote: 'See the letter which Ḥabīb wrote later and which is now in my possession.' (in MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 1112).

105 Present-day Banda Aceh.

106 The Dutch defensive perimeter around Kutaraja, see Robert Cribb, *Digital Atlas of Indonesian History*, 2010 <<https://www.indonesianhistory.info/places/oleh-leh.html>> (consulted on 9 August 2017).

107 *Aḥkām al-Ḍarūrāt*, extraordinary rules to be applied in case of an emergency.

108 Not identified. He may be the Shī'ite jurist Ḥamad b. Muḥammad Ardabīlī (d. 993/1585).

109 See Appendix 5, below, for the letter and the memoir, which are dated 8 Muḥarram 1303 (28 October 1884).

Mashshāt,¹¹⁰ during which I was constantly asked the following question. If I was thinking in such and such a way, what might keep me from converting to Islam, and was I not [7] afraid that, with studies such as mine, ‘my feet would start to shake’? There was also some discussion about mysticism and whether or not *Kashf* was possible without the specific *Nūr Muḥammad*.

In addition to my acquaintance with Bā Hārūn, who showed me some manuscripts, I have also become acquainted, through Ḥabīb as I have already said, with Muḥammad al-Mashshāt, whom I later visited at his home and whom I received subsequently at my house. His father, who has been seriously ill for three years, appears to have been a very civilized and erudite man in his good days. He showed me quite a nice library, which he possessed a catalogue for, and to which he promised me free access. Other points of contact were, from my point of view, the circumstance that this family looks after the interests of Amīn al-Madanī in Jeddah, and also that he had as guests in his house, Sayyid Ğa‘far, the nephew of the Sultan of Pontianak¹¹¹ and his cousin Sayyid Sālīm, who paid a visit here to the consulate together. Sayyid Ğa‘far was full of interest for my photographic equipment. [8] Al-Mashshāt told me that he intended to visit the forthcoming Congress of Orientalists,¹¹² and he was very much inclined to exchange thoughts about theological and European affairs. He is a member of the *Maḡlis al-Tamyīz*¹¹³ here in Jeddah.

Of the aforementioned Malay of half-Arab descent [...],¹¹⁴ Sayyid Sālīm, who has spent most of his life, from his earliest days, in the Hadhramaut, seemed to me a very zealous Muslim. He had read Amīn al-Madanī’s *fatwā* on the veneration of hairs¹¹⁵ with special interest and he declared to me that this *fatwā* must

110 Evidently a Jeddah notable. He is mentioned in the Ottoman state almanac *Hiḡāz Wilāyati Sālnāmasī*, vol. 1 (1301/1884), p. 127 (as member of the *Maḡlis-i Tamyīz*), and the same *Sālnāma*, vol. 2 (1303/1886), p. 99 (as member of the *Tiḡārat Maḡkamasi*, the ‘Court of Commerce’. A letter in Arabic from Muḥammad b. Aḡmad al-Mashshāt, dated Jeddah, 17 Shawwāl 1302 (30 July 1885), to Snouck Hurgronje, then still in Mecca, is in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive, MS Leiden Or. 8952 D 95 (see the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.29).

111 See for his portrait the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.4. Pontianak was at the time an autonomous Arab Sultanate on the West coast of Borneo/Kalimantan. It was established in 1772 and had recognized Dutch suzerainty.

112 The 7th Orientalist Congress would be held in Vienna in 1886. Snouck Hurgronje would distribute copies of his collection of Meccan proverbs there as a gift to the participants. See now also my translation and annotation ‘Meccan voices. Proverbs and sayings from Mecca collected and explained by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje’, in the present volume.

113 A body concerned with juridical matters, set up by the Turkish government. See C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. 1 (1888), 171. The *Hiḡāz Wilāyati Sālnāmasī*, vol. 1 (1301/1884), p. 127, mentions the membership of Muḥammad al-Mashshāt.

114 Blank space of almost four lines.

115 See Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 308–309 about the Pontianak colony

be especially directed against a certain *Shaykh* مطهر¹¹⁶ in Medina who was the owner of hairs of Muḥammad, which had allegedly been transmitted by inheritance from generation to generation in his family, and which countless people visited in order that they may derive *barakat* from them. When I encountered Sālim later with al-Mashshāṭ he had in the meantime taken to wearing the *iḥrām*. During my visit there he departed for Mecca, together with his cousin Ġa'far, who for the time being had dispensed with the *iḥrām*. Sālim told me that he spent his whole time in Mecca devoting himself to sacred studies.

[9] Sayyid Ġa'far has been in Mecca for several years for the same purpose but, as he spent his youth in Pontianak, here, as he told me, he has had to start from the very beginning, so his progress is not yet very conspicuous. His quite considerable religious zeal is perhaps evident from his answer to my question 'What about the *madrasas* in Pontianak and what is being taught there?' 'In Pontianak, as in the whole of the East Indies, nothing much of importance is being done in terms of the sciences. There are no 'ulamā'. The *dawla* (Netherlands) does not admit them because it is afraid of them and therefore travelling scholars choose a different terrain for their activities.' When I replied that this policy of non-admittance was only applied when there were well-founded arguments in favour of the idea that there were other, secondary motives that made these 'scholars' direct their feet to the Indies, his half-hearted or insincere answer was: 'Maybe.'

In the meantime, Ġa'far hoped to be able to come to Jeddah soon after the *Ḥaġġ* in order to continue to practice in photography, so that he might be able to take photographs of the most desired things in Mecca and surroundings.

[10] Raden Aboe Bakar alias¹¹⁷, who has already applied himself to the sacred sciences in Mecca for five years, is the most easy-going personality of all

in Mecca and the Zawāwī family, and about Amīn al-Madani's fatwa against the veneration of hairs of the Prophet Muḥammad. This fatwa is also mentioned in Snouck Hurgronje's introduction and translation of [Amīn al-Madani], *Het Leidsche Orientalistencongres. Indrukken van een Arabisch Congreslid*. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1883, pp. 4–5 (= VG 6 (1927), pp. 243–272, especially pp. 245–246). The printed text of the fatwa that once must have been in Snouck Hurgronje's possession does not seem to have been preserved in the Snouck Hurgronje collections in Leiden.

116 Maṭṭhar, the *shaykh*'s name, which in full is Muḥammad Maṭṭhar (p. 34 of the 'diary').

117 Blank space in the manuscript. Maybe it is meant to be 'Bakr al-Rāden' in Arabic script, as that is the signature under Raden Aboe Bakar's early letters to Snouck Hurgronje. It is also possible that a secret name was mentioned here. Could he have been the mysterious 'Pilgrim X' who is sometimes mentioned on Meccan material in the Snouck Hurgronje collection, from the time that he collected useful information for the Dutch authorities? On 'Pilgrim X', see also my 'The Islamic Pilgrimage in the Manuscript Literatures of Southeast Asia', in Venetia Porter & Liana Saif (eds), *The Hajj: Collected Essays*. London: The British Library, 2013, pp. 214–223, especially pp. 220 and 223, note 49.

those whom I have met here. With the prospect of moral support for obtaining a governmental appointment (his father was, and his brother is, *regent* of Pandeglang), he is inclined to collect all imaginable data, to offer information, and to help. He has already procured an important number of books from Mecca for me,¹¹⁸ among which are several that deal with the Naqshbandiyya order, and he has communicated to me everything he knows about the organization of education in *al-Masġid al-Ĥarām*.¹¹⁹ Without being extraordinarily learned or particularly clever, he has apparently profited from a fairly good education, and he applies himself with a particular predilection and zeal to the obtaining of practical ‘useful knowledge’.¹²⁰ He will without doubt be of the greatest use to me when [11] he returns to Jeddah for a few days after the *Ĥaġġ*.

Shaykh ‘Abdallāh al-Zawāwī,¹²¹ who is *Mudarris* in *al-Masġid al-Ĥarām* and the teacher of both Aboe Bakar and Sayyid Ġa’far, is of Maghribī descent but was born and raised in Mecca. He seems to come to Jeddah from time to time for a while because of his health, as he needs moist air, and also to take care of his affairs. This is why he has also been here for some time, before the *ĥaġġ*, and in the same house as Sayyid Ġa’far and Sayyid Sālīm, namely the house of al-Mashshāt. Ġa’far promised to introduce him to me, and indeed they came to visit me accompanied by al-Mashshāt on Sunday, 14 September, when I was trying, albeit to no avail, to take photographs from the Austrian consulate of the passing *maĥmal*. So, they came to that building and we spoke together for a short while. The same day, in the afternoon, I reciprocated their visit and the following morning they came to our place by appointment in order to make a deeper acquaintance with my books, my curios, and my *معارف*.¹²² In order to learn more about the latter, the *Shaykh* subjected me to a sort of examination. He was very much interested [12] in the European editions of Arabic texts, of which he noted down several titles, while he expressed his surprise that these were not being offered for sale, at a cheaper price, in the Orient. Later, he would return in order to familiarize himself more with my affairs. I had hoped to be able to take a portrait of the fairly young *Shaykh*,¹²³ whose father has also been

118 A list of books received from Aboe Bakar in December 1885 is preserved as MS Leiden Or. 7111, map 12, pp. 3–4, but that cannot be the list of books referred to here.

119 *al-Masġid al-Ĥarām*, the Great Mosque of Mecca. That education would become the subject of Chapter 3 of Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. 2, pp. 200–294.

120 These two words thus in English in the Dutch text.

121 See also the portrait said to be of *Shaykh* ‘Abdallāh al-Zawāwī and taken in 1884 in Jeddah (MS Leiden Or. 12.288 A 1 / MS Leiden Or. 12.288 P, No. 21), reproduced in: Mols & Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*, pp. 26–27. Al-Zawāwī’s portrait as an old man *ibid.*, p. 27. See on al-Zawāwī’s first encounter with Snouck Hurgronje the Jeddah ‘diary’, p. 11. See also Van Koningsveld, ‘Conversion of European Intellectuals to Islam’, pp. 93–95.

122 *Ma’ārif*, culture, general knowledge.

123 The portrait was eventually taken: MS Leiden Or. 12.288 A 1, reproduction in Mols & Vro-

a *Mudarris* in Mecca. Unfortunately, however, my illness intervened and so he was only able to say goodbye in writing, to which he added, at my request, several short lines of poetry which he wrote down in my poetry album.¹²⁴

Sī ‘Azīz b. *Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, who had been exiled from Algeria to Mecca by the French government because of his involvement in recent political complications in Tunisia, had already come [13] to pay his respects soon after our arrival. Outwardly, he gives the impression of the greatest sincerity with pleasant manners. Apparently, he is exerting himself in every imaginable way to make himself as meritorious and as agreeable as possible to the French government, so that it may pardon him, and he seems indeed to have a chance of being pardoned. Lately, all his attention is directed towards playing an influential role in finding out who murdered Dr. Huber, or at least towards collecting more detailed information about the murder. As, owing to the absence of the consul and the vice-consul, and because of the death of the *gérant* Huber, the French consulate is now almost deserted, he continuously turns to the Dutch consulate with his advice and his plans. Now he has had the good fortune to discover Huber’s servant among the *Ḥāǧǧī*’s from Ḥā’il, and he has been able to bring him to his house, where, for the time being, he is secretly keeping him prisoner, while he awaits further instructions from the French government on how to proceed. As the French consular affairs have several times been taken care of by the Dutch Consul, he highly appreciates the latter’s esteem and often professes his willingness to be of service.

Recently, he sent a copy, which had been destined for Huber, of a list and a brief history of the *Sharīfs* who had ruled Mecca from the beginning until now. I have not yet had the occasion to assess the scholarly value of this [14] document more accurately, as it arrived during my illness.¹²⁵

Shortly before I fell ill, I made the acquaintance of al-Bassām, which is his family name; his personal name is Ṣāliḥ.¹²⁶ Owing to the ineptness of the servants, it was not clear to me that the man who found me busy with photography had come to pay *me* a visit. So, I spoke to him in the garden rather nonchalantly, after which he seemed to think that his visit had been less than convenient. So, he went away and now he has gone to perform the *Ḥaǧǧ*. He

lijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*, p. 26.

124 No such album seems to be preserved in the Snouck Hurgronje collections in the Leiden Library.

125 I have not found such a document in the Snouck Hurgronje collection.

126 Snouck Hurgronje writes his family name without using an article. Three letters in Arabic from Ṣāliḥ al-Bassām written in 1885–1886 to Snouck Hurgronje are preserved in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive, MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 117 (see the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.30).

originates from ‘Unayza¹²⁷ and is therefore one of Ibn Rashīd’s subjects.¹²⁸ He travels a lot for commercial affairs. It was his family who in particular helped Huber to proceed on his travels and he himself escorted Huber here to Jeddah before his last journey, which ended in such an unfortunate way.¹²⁹

Among other things, he told me that Ibn Rashīd’s subjects are not Wahhābīs¹³⁰ but Ḥanbalīs.¹³¹ [15] That the former are only found more to the south in Naǧd, in Dirāya¹³² and al-Riyād, and that whenever they travel outside their territory they pose as Ḥanbalīs out of fear of others. I am still more or less in the dark about the extent to which this applies to Ibn Rashīd’s subjects, or at least to some of them. If I remember rightly, Amīn told me that nearly all the subjects of Ibn Rashīd are Wahhābīs and that they are highly esteemed as such in Medina. Here, civilized Muslims do not wish to hear any good of Wahhābīs. The latter explain the Qur’ān and Tradition according to their own views, which are not enlightened by *taqlīd*, and they pronounce those who do not think according to their doctrine to be *kāfir*. And: *من كفر مسلما فهو كافر*¹³³ said al-Mashshāt, which was also the gist of what al-Bassām said.

[18]¹³⁴ 1 October [1884].

The day before yesterday mail arrived: letters from Wilken¹³⁵ and Bosch,¹³⁶ issues of the *Spectator*,¹³⁷ and the German translation of Wilken’s ‘Matriarchaat

127 ‘Unayza, name of a tribe or of the area in which the tribe lives, in Naǧd.

128 Muhammad b. Rashīd, the Rashīdī *Amīr* ruling over parts of Northern and Central Arabia from 1289–1315/1872–1897.

129 Huber arrived in Jeddah on 19 June 1884. He described his final stretch, from Mecca (in fact the al-Sēl valley on the boundary of the holy territory) to Jeddah in his *Journal d’un voyage en Arabie* (1883–1884), pp. 744–751. Ṣāliḥ al-Bassām is mentioned in the *Journal* on pp. 634, 650, 709–710.

130 Followers of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (1703–1792).

131 Followers of the law school founded by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855).

132 The small town of Dir‘iyya, the famous capital of the Wahhābīs, North-West from al-Riyād, was destroyed by the Egyptian army under Ibrāhīm Pāshā in 1818. It is presently being converted into an archaeological-religious theme park.

133 *Man kaffara Musliman fa-huwa Kāfir*, ‘he who declares a Muslim to be a *Kāfir* is a *Kāfir* himself’. This expression in its literal form is not a canonical Tradition.

134 Pp. 16–17 are blank in the manuscript of the ‘diary’.

135 George Alexander Wilken (1847–1891), was a former Dutch colonial official. In 1881 he was appointed lecturer in the Institute for the Education of Colonial Officials in Leiden (P.A. van der Lith being the Institute’s director), in 1885 followed by a professorship in Leiden as P.J. Veth’s successor. His scholarly interests concentrated on the ethnography of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago.

136 Could he be Janus Bosch Hzn, who, at the age of 20, registered as a theology student in Leiden on 24 January 1873 (W.N. du Rieu, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV* [...]). The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875, col. 1430)?

137 *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, a Dutch literary and political weekly that was published in

bij de Arabieren'.¹³⁸ Nothing from home, just like the last time. Yesterday, great *Ḥaġġ*-day. At several locations in town some Turkish swings with girls and boys in them. Sweets (pies, beans, candies, dates) were sold nearby.¹³⁹ Also, dances (war dances and also a sort of can-can) by negro slaves here and there.¹⁴⁰ Beautifully clad children with gold-embroidered clothes and gilded amulet containers hanging from their necks or waists, walk through town and that is it. The صلاة العيد¹⁴¹ was in the مسجد الشافعي.¹⁴² Most people have gone to perform the *Ḥaġġ*, however. That is why this feast here is of much less significance than the end of the Fast. During the day, we let ourselves be bored by a ritual of *zār*, exorcism, which was performed in the neighbourhood. In the evening, a Turkish woman, who is married to the son of our neighbour Muḥtasib (the son of the Muḥtasib who had died as a result of the massacre of 1858)¹⁴³ and who lives on

Arnhem and The Hague between 1860 and 1908. Every week it had eight pages with news on science, literature, art and politics. The last page had advertisements from publishing houses, and every week a lithographed caricature was added. There was never a contribution of Arabian or Islamological relevance in any of the issues that appeared during Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah and Mecca days. On this weekly, see Nop Maas, *De Nederlandse Spectator. Schetsen uit het letterkundig leven van de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw*. Met medewerking van Frank Engering. Utrecht/Antwerpen: Veen, 1986.

- 138 G.A. Wilken, *Das Patriarchat (Mutterrecht) bei den alten Arabern*, Leipzig 1884. It is the German translation of Wilken's *Het matriarchaat bij de oude Arabieren* that appeared in Amsterdam in the same year.
- 139 The photograph of a sweet seller from Jeddah (*Bilder-Atlas* (1888), No. xxiv) could have been taken on this occasion.
- 140 See for a group portrait of black musicians the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.23.
- 141 *Ṣalāt al-ʿĪd*, the collective prayer at the occasion of the Feast of the Sacrifice.
- 142 *Masġid al-Shāfiʿī*, the mosque of al-Shāfiʿī. In Jeddah, this mosque is situated in the al-Mazlūm quarter.
- 143 On 15 June 1858, a number of Christian residents of Jeddah were massacred, including the French and British consuls, and several of their protégés and personnel. ʿAbdallāh al-Muḥtasib was one of the ringleaders. He was beheaded on 12 January 1859, see Isabel Burton, *Arabia, Egypt, India. A Narrative of Travel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012 (first edition 1879), pp. 88 ff.; and Isabel Burton, *The Life of Captain Sir Richard F. Burton*. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1893, vol. 2, p. 516. He is also mentioned, though in less detail, by Aḥmad Zayni Daḥlān, *Khulāṣat al-Kalām fī Bayān Umarāʾ al-Balad al-Ḥarām*. Miṣr: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Khayriyya 1305 (1888), in the chapter *Dhikr Fitnat Ġidda Sanat 1274*, pp. 321–323. See also C. Snouck Hurgronje's Dutch translation of Daḥlān's passage on the massacre in: 'Een rector der Mekkaansche Universiteit' in: *BKI* 1887, pp. 344–404, esp. pp. 381–389 = *VG* III, pp. 65–122, esp. pp. 102–109. At the end of his article, Snouck Hurgronje quotes the Arabic passage from Daḥlān's *Khulāṣa* from his own manuscript of that text (now MS Leiden Or. 6977). Snouck Hurgronje's outline in Dutch of the work is now MS Leiden Or. 7110. See on the event also W.L. Ochsenwald, 'The Jidda Massacre of 1858', in *Middle Eastern Studies* 13/3 (1977), pp. 314–326, and recently Ulrike Freitag, 'Symbolic Politics and Urban Violence in Late Ottoman Jeddah', in Ulrike Freitag, Nelida Fuccaro, Claudia Ghrawi and Nora Lafi (eds), *Urban Violence in the Middle East. Changing*

the second floor of a neighbouring house, held a party. She treated a number of her friends to music (drums and singing by two apparently famous singers). As they were sitting, unveiled, with windows open in a room with the lights on, we had an excellent view of this from the office of the consul, with our lamps unlit. The music, the words of which seemed to greatly amuse the women present, [19] lasted deep into the night.

Although I had not completely recovered, yesterday I took my first walk after my indisposition, in order to see at least something of the feast. I walked through the town, till outside the wall, through the Mecca gate. Here, we drank coffee in the last coffeehouse on the road and we returned home via the garden of Ḥāmid, etc., through the Medina gate.

Today, I sent letters to Aboe Bakar (thanking him for the books that he had sent) and to Sī 'Azīz (the same, for sending the 'History of the Sharīfs').

4 October [1884].

Yesterday, the MACASSAR arrived from Holland to anchor a few days offshore, and then to go on to the Indies with pilgrims. It brought no letters.

M. Bertrand, the dragoman of the French consulate, who is now also its *gérant*, has returned from Aden. He sent a telegram to Mecca, to the *Wālī*, requesting him to send Maḥmūd, Huber's servant, to Jeddah, and he also informed Sī 'Azīz by telegram of the steps he had taken. I drafted the telegram to be sent to the *Wālī*:

بامر دولتي بتاريخه استلمت قنصلات فرنسا واخبرت بان محمود خادم الخواجه هوير
المقتول قريبا من رابع الآن في مكة //////////////// عند سي اعزيز بن الحداد وارجو من
جنابكم ان ترسلوه وكل حوايجه الى جده مع ضابطة وكتابا الرسمي سيتبع بلا تأخير¹⁴⁴

Today, the Dutch consul received a letter from Sī 'Azīz stating that he would send Maḥmūd to Jeddah for interrogation this coming Sunday¹⁴⁵ [20] under the escort of Ḥāḡḡ 'Alī (of course, he knew nothing of the telegram yet), the sooner the better, since the *qawwās* of the French consulate, Amīn, who was in

Cityscapes in the Transition from Empire to Nation State. New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2015, pp. 111–138. See for the son's portrait the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.3.

144 'By order of my government I have taken possession of the consulate of France. I have been informed that Maḥmūd, the servant of Mr Huber, who was murdered near Rābigh, is at present staying in Mecca //////////////// with Sī 'Azīz b. al-Ḥaddād. I request that you send him and all his belongings under police escort to Jeddah. Our official letter to this effect will follow without delay.'

145 Sunday 5 October 1884.

Mecca right now, was hampering everything *Ḥāǧǧ* ‘Alī undertook. For this, he was to lodge a detailed formal complaint against that man.¹⁴⁶

According to what Sī ‘Azīz wrote, the *Wālī* of the Ḥiǧāz had summoned the chief of Ibn Rashīd’s pilgrimage caravan and told him that, under the circumstances, murdering a Frank such as Huber was an act of merit, and that to admit people such as Huber to these countries, as Ibn Rashīd had done, was very wrong, since these people simply surveyed everything in order to take possession of all they thought fit to seize. The said chief had been somewhat frightened by this and he wanted to take back a letter from Ibn Rashīd to the French consulate, which contained a communication about the death of Huber, including the expression of his opinion that this was a matter of *اولاد الحرام*¹⁴⁷ and also a message of condolence. That letter was carried by Maḥmūd, and the chief no longer wanted it to be delivered to its destination for fear of the Turks. In the meantime, Sī ‘Azīz had already confiscated this letter and so Maḥmūd could state that he was not in a position to give it back.

Together with, and enclosed in, this letter from Ibn Rashīd to the French consulate, Sī ‘Azīz also sent a letter written by Maḥmūd himself,¹⁴⁸ [21] stating that he did not dare to reveal anything in Mecca for fear of the Turks, but that he would come to the Dutch consulate on the coming Sunday, where he would be prepared to communicate all he knew, both secret or public, about Huber’s end. ‘Azīz also said that he was afraid that Maḥmūd would flee, should everything drag on too long, as he was being exhorted to do by some of his friends and by the Turks. This was why he had recommended that *Ḥāǧǧ* ‘Alī accompany him, not to let him out of his sight and to constantly keep an eye on him. Fearing that the telegram that had been sent to the *Wālī* yesterday would spoil this fortunate turn of affairs, Bertrand sent Sī ‘Azīz a telegram today telling him to do all he could to get Maḥmūd here at the appointed time.

146 The complaint concerned an otherwise unimportant quarrel between two protégés of the French consulate. See the text of the complaint as part of the letter from Sī ‘Azīz dated Mecca, Friday 3 October 1884, to the Consul-General of Holland in Jeddah, Appendix 4, MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 111, letter No. 2, below.

147 *Awlād al-Ḥarām*, literally ‘evil-doers’, ‘bastards’. However, in Snouck Hurgronje’s letter to Th. Nöldeke of Jeddah, 25 October 1884, the term seems to mean ‘those who have their occupation in Mecca’s great mosque’ (P.Sj. van Koningsveld (ed.), *Orientalism and Islam. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke from the Tübingen University Library*. Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1985, p. 5).

148 The letter, in ungrammatical Arabic, is preserved in MS Leiden Or. 7111, folder 20. See the text and translation in Appendix 1, below. Reproduction of the original letter: figure 19.24.

5 October [1884].

The TURQUOISE arrived from Suez carrying the mail via Brindisi, bringing letters from Mama,¹⁴⁹ Brutel de la Rivière,¹⁵⁰ Romburgh,¹⁵¹ *Weekblad van het Recht*,¹⁵² sent from the Indies with excerpts of my criticism of Van den Berg,¹⁵³ two issues of the *Spectator*, one volume of Ṭabari,¹⁵⁴ portraits of myself.

In the morning, visit from Mr. Bertrand, in anticipation of the arrival of Huber's servant Maḥmūd under the escort of Ḥāǧǧ 'Alī and probably sent only upon the instigation of 'Azīz. 'Azīz himself will come here next Saturday, 11 October. Bertrand wanted Maḥmūd to deposit an extensive sworn statement concerning [22] the sad event that he had witnessed. According to his communications so far, Huber's guide (خويه)¹⁵⁵ was the culprit. Under false pretexts he

149 Anna Maria Snouck Hurgronje, *née* De Visser (1819–1892).

150 Guiliam Johannes Brutel de la Rivière (1855–1923), long-standing friend of Snouck Hurgronje and co-student in theology. He is mentioned in Du Rieu, *Album*, col. 1432, as having registered at the age of 17 as a student of theology on 23 September 1873. Snouck Hurgronje registered on 18 September of the same year, also at the age of 17 (Du Rieu, *Album*, col. 1435). In later life, Brutel de la Rivière became a protestant minister at several places in the Netherlands, and from 1911 onwards he was a minister in the prisons of Scheveningen and The Hague.

151 Pieter van Romburgh (1855–1945), chemist and lifelong friend of Snouck Hurgronje. They led more or less parallel lives (Netherlands, Dutch East-Indies, Netherlands).

152 The *Indisch Weekblad van het Regt*, which was published in Batavia, of Monday, 28 July 1884 (Year 22 (1884)), had on its front page (p. 117) an unsigned article about Muhammadan law and *adat*, which refers to Snouck Hurgronje's review of L.W.C. van den Berg's *De beginselen van het Moḥammedaansche recht, volgens de imām's Aboe Ḥanīfat en Sǧāfī'*. Third edition, Batavia (Ernst) / 's-Gravenhage (Nijhoff) 1883. The author of the article does not treat Snouck Hurgronje's polemic with Van den Berg, but contributes to the discussion on dualism in law in the colony, on which subject see A.D.A. de Kat Angelino, *Colonial Policy*. Abridged translation from the Dutch by G.J. Renier. Volume 2. *The Dutch East Indies*. The Hague (Martinus Nijhoff) 1931, pp. 166, 170.

153 'Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg's beoefening van het mohammedaansche recht' in *Indische Gids* VI/1 (1884), pp. 363–434, 737–816, also in *VG* II (1923), pp. 59–222.

154 A volume of al-Ṭabari's *Ta'riḫ al-Rusul wal-Mulūk* in the Leiden edition supervised by M.J. de Goeje. Snouck Hurgronje had several volumes of the Leiden edition with him in Jeddah, and later in Mecca, and seems to have lost all of them on his expulsion. Some, however, seem to have been sent back to him in March 1886 (see MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 245, the letter to Abū Aḥmad). See my 'Van huurcontract tot boekenlegger. Mekkaanse documenten van Snouck Hurgronje', in: Wim van Anrooij e.a. (eds.), *Om het boek. Cultuurhistorische bespiegelingen over boeken en mensen*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2020, pp. 311–315.

155 Apparently *Khawīh*. The word *Khawī*, pl. *Khwaya*, 'travel companion'. See Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Ḥwala Bedouins*. New York: The American Geographical Society, 1928, pp. 440–441: 'The ḥawi or companion who protects travellers', with an example that is not very different from the case of Huber; P. Marcel Kurpershoek, *Oral Poetry and Narratives from Central Arabia*. II. *The Story of a Desert Knight* [...]. Leiden, etc.: E.J. Brill, 1995, Glossary, s.v. (p. 355) gives an occurrence of the term.

had detached Huber for a few moments from the company in order to rob him of his money (estimated at three hundred dollars),¹⁵⁶ and then shot him with a pistol.¹⁵⁷

9 October [1884].

On 7 October Mr. Kruyt, Mr van der Chijs and myself went on a *Sunbuk* beyond the reef in order to lunch aboard the *MACASSAR* (Captain de Ridder). The captain and two passengers came back with us, making the warm journey from the outer sea, in order to have dinner and to stay for the night with us. Yesterday, the *MACASSAR* departed, the first of sixteen ships waiting offshore for pilgrims, carrying 340 and something *Ḥāǧǧīs*. Yesterday evening, accompanied by Mr. Stijnis, I walked through the *Bāzār* in order to look at the throng of *Ḥāǧǧīs* of all nations, and at the competition between the brokers (Mardrus, agent of an Egyptian company,¹⁵⁸ the Austrian Lloyd, Oswald,¹⁵⁹ etc.). After sunset, we ended the walk by going to the coffeehouse in the alley of the blacksmiths, near our house, in order to listen to an Arab storyteller. Our presence did not seem to irritate anyone. However, as we had arrived in the middle of the story, the storyline escaped me, but I could understand some words and isolated pleasantries.

[23] 16 October [1884].

Last Friday, 10 October, we received mail with letters from Mama, from Goldziher,¹⁶⁰ and a few newspapers. On Saturday, 11 October, we were able to send our letters in reply to those that just had been received (mine to Mama, to Wilken, and the review of Wilken's *Matriarchat* for the *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*).¹⁶¹

156 Maria Theresia dollar, probably, also referred to as *riyāl*.

157 Maḥmūd's statement was sent to Paris, where, a few years later, it appeared in the *aver-tissement* by Ernest Renan, Barbier de Meynard and Charles Maunoir in Huber, *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie* (1883–1884), p. vi.

158 Mardrus: Snouck Hurgronje writes his name as *Madrūs*. He is the *Niqūla Mārdirūs* (= Mardrus) Efendi, agent of the Khedivial Postal Service, who is mentioned in the Ottoman almanac *Ḥijāz Wilāyati Sālnāması* 3 (1305/1887–8), p. 209: 'Pūsta-yi Khidīwī Aǧantasi', with the rank *Thālitha*, 'third degree', in the Ottoman official hierarchy. The company maintained a regular connection between Suez and Jeddah.

159 J.S. Oswald, Lloyd's agent in Jeddah, another stakeholder in the syndicate, see Low, *The Mechanics of Mecca*, p. 316.

160 Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), Hungarian Islamologist and lifelong friend of Snouck Hurgronje. Very few of Goldziher's letters to Snouck Hurgronje have been preserved. Most were burned during World War II in Budapest (personal information from Dr. István Ormos in Budapest, 21 September 2018).

161 Snouck Hurgronje's review appeared in *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* of 3 January 1885, No. 1, col. 5. Also in *VG* 6 (1927), pp. 34–35.

During the past week, I took photographs of Si 'Azīz with his slave¹⁶², of Maḥmūd (Huber's servant), three dervishes from Bukhārā,¹⁶³ two Ḥāǧǧīs from Baghdad,¹⁶⁴ two from Palembang,¹⁶⁵ groups of Ḥāǧǧīs from Banten, Batavia, Pekalongan, the Lampungs (three of them with *Shaykhs* or *Wakils*), also two people from Zanzibar who had come here by accident,¹⁶⁶ and of two *radhens* from Sukapura (brothers).¹⁶⁷

On 14 October, we once more received mail with letters for me from Mama, Kleyn,¹⁶⁸ a postcard from Wilken accompanying the 'Apology' by Van den Berg¹⁶⁹ and issues of the *Spectator*.

One of the above-mentioned *radhen* would try to send me *pēsantren* textbooks from Sukapura, and on more than one occasion I spoke with other Ḥāǧǧīs on several matters. This afternoon I am expecting two *radhen* from Cianjur, Prince Nūr of Bacan with his cousin and the *imām* who has accompanied him on the Ḥaǧǧ, ¹⁷⁰ for the ordinary Thursday rice table.

It should also be mentioned that in recent days I have met the very young Raden Mas Sumadio, the grandson of the now retired *regent* of Semarang, who had come here with the intention of settling in Mecca to study, but who had been summoned back home because of the death of his father. Later, he will return here, and, in the meantime, he will [24] collect some information for me in Semarang.

22 October [1884].

Mention must also be made of the fact that during the busy Ḥāǧǧī days, half of which have now passed, that I have met the *Sharīfa* who is married to a *shaykh* of our Ḥāǧǧīs. She is an intriguer and an insolent woman, who immediately wished to argue with me about religious matters.

Our friends from Bacan have come today to say goodbye and the princes

162 Their portrait: figure 19.5, below.

163 Portrait of two of them possibly in *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), plate XXIII, lower row, right.

164 Their portrait probably in *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), plate XX, lower row, right.

165 Their portrait possibly in *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), plate XXXIII.

166 Their portrait probably in *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), plate XX, lower row, left.

167 Their portrait possibly in *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), plate XIX, upper row, left.

168 Hendrik Gerrit Kleyn (1859–1896), a study friend of Snouck Hurgronje in theology, and a Syriologist. See F. Pijper, 'Levensbericht van Hendrik Gerrit Kleyn', in: *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* 1897, pp. 156–189. Kleyn is mentioned in Abraham Kuenen's letter to Snouck Hurgronje of 7 November 1884 (ms Leiden Or. 8952 A: 570, 3).

169 L.W.C. van den Berg, 'Zelfverdediging', in *Indische Gids*, October 1884/II, pp. 524–537.

170 Prince Nūr and his two companions are probably in the portrait in *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), plate XXXI = Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.21.

promised to send me books about the old traditions of Bacan, Ternate, etc., and the *imām* promised to send me some Malay *fiqh* books that are in use there. The *Imām* Aḥmad also gave me a list of the most important books that are used in religious education in Bacan and Ternate.¹⁷¹ He told me that in former days Ternate was a better place to acquire religious knowledge than Bacan, where most people only knew Islam by three features: *bersunat, jangan makan babi,* and *istinja*.¹⁷² Should there be an occasion to learn, this mostly depended on whether or not an educated person was available. He himself is not very learned but has received a reasonably good education in Ternate from an Arab and is now, in turn, himself the teacher of the princes of Bacan.

In the mosques of Ternate and Bacan (and I believe also of Tidore) there are four *imāms*, about twenty *khatibs* and more *mudims* as these are called there, and there are also *marbūts*. According to what the *imām* told me, this organization is an old one, [25] in order to conform to *al-Masǧid al-Ḥarām*. That is precisely why there is this number of four *imāms*, although there is only one *madhhab*. The *imāms* divide the work between them (فرايض, طلاق, نكاح etc.)¹⁷³ and they fall under the authority of a قاضي¹⁷⁴ to which position the oldest of the four *imāms* is usually promoted in case of demise, etc., whereafter a fourth, most junior, *imām* is elected. The *imāms* usually do not occupy themselves with teaching. My informant only knew the titles of a few books, usually without the name of the author, and he lacked any notion about the period in which the book had been written and so on. The uncle of the princes, who had accompanied Bernstein¹⁷⁵ and Von Rosenberg¹⁷⁶ on their travels, appeared to be a very receptive and quite energetic man. The prince himself is a somewhat insignificant man, according to his teacher — who seems to be right in this — rather lazy but otherwise very polite and well educated.

171 The list, which is written in Malay, has been preserved in MS Leiden Or. 7111, folder 11. It is edited and translated as Appendix 2, below.

172 'Circumcision, the prohibition of eating pork meat and the way one should cleanse oneself after defecation'.

173 *Nikāḥ, ṭalāq, farā'īd*, 'marriage, repudiation (of a wife), succession'.

174 *Qāḍī*, 'judge'.

175 Written in the 'diary' as Berensteyn. Snouck Hurgronje must have meant Heinrich Agathon Bernstein (1828–1865), a German ornithologist and explorer of the Moluccas and beyond, who was in the service of the Dutch colonial government. On him, see also S.C.J.W. van Musschenbroek, 'Dagboek van Dr. H.A. Bernstein's laatste reis van Ternate naar Nieuw-Guinea, Salawati en Batanta, 17 October 1864 - 19 April 1865', in *BKI* 31 (1883), pp. 1–258.

176 Hermann von Rosenberg (1817–1888) was a cartographer and naturalist in the service of the Dutch colonial government. In that capacity, he participated in many expeditions, about which he has written.

Yesterday, the MADOERA and the GELDERLAND arrived here and departed the same day with a load of *Ḥāḡḡīs*. The MADOERA brought my case with photographic lamps and some mail, namely Bavinck's piece about Saussaye¹⁷⁷ and two volumes of *ZDMG*.¹⁷⁸ Today, the Egyptian mail¹⁷⁹ came in with a letter from Mama, also one from Romburgh, from Nöldeke,¹⁸⁰ with Wellhausen's *Hūdālitēn*,¹⁸¹ and a letter from Marie and Jakob.¹⁸²

Speaking with several more or less distinguished *Ḥāḡḡīs*, I was repeatedly confirmed in my opinion, namely that everywhere, and specifically in West Java, *Ḥū*¹⁸³ is learned first, and then *Fiqh* and *Kalām* (or vice versa). Even today I was told this by the former *panghulu* of Serang, who had previously spent a long time in Mecca, and who has now been in Mecca once more, for a year, aspiring to become a *panghulu* again.

[26] 27 October [1884].


Nothing much important to tell, except my meeting with the French consul¹⁸⁴ and his family, the acquisition of some new group photographs, and conversa-

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- 177 H. Bavinck, *De theologie van Prof. Dr. Daniel Chantepie de la Saussaye. Bijdrage tot de kennis der ethische theologie*. Leiden: D. Donner, 1884.
- 178 *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. This must have been issues of year 38 (1884). For a table of contents of that year see <<http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/dmg/periodical/structure/32214>> (accessed on 1 December 2017).
- 179 The Khedivial Postal Service in Jeddah, managed by Mr. Mardrus, who is mentioned on p. 23 of the 'diary'.
- 180 Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930), German Orientalist and lifelong friend of Snouck Hurgronje. The latter had studied with him in Strasbourg for some time in the early 1880s.
- 181 Possibly this refers to J. Wellhausen, 'Zu den Hūdālitēnliedern', in *ZDMG* 39 (1885), pp. 104–106, the offprint of which may have been available already late in 1884.
- 182 The use of the personal names points to a family relationship. 'Marie and Jakob' are mother and son, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's sister Anna Maria de Visser ('Marie' 1849–1931) and her son Jacob Julianus Cramer (* 1875, whose husband/father was Nicolaas Johannes ['Jaap'] Cramer (1838–1904)). Snouck Hurgronje's other nephew in this family was Dirk Johannes Cramer, born 24 July 1872, died (murdered or by suicide?) in Pulau Penang on 8 September 1902 (information taken from a photograph of his tombstone in the possession of Mr. Matthijs Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden).
- 183 *Naḥw*, Arabic grammar, syntax more specifically.
- 184 This is, it seems, the first reference by Snouck Hurgronje to the French vice-consul, Félix Jacques de Lostalot de Bachoué (1842–1894), who took up his post in Jeddah in 1882, but in the autumn of 1884 was on sick leave in France and who arrived in Jeddah on or shortly before 24 October 1884. On that date he wrote to Charles Maunoir, *Sécretaire Général de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, in Paris, telling that he had just arrived in Jeddah: 'Je suis arrivé à Djeddah, à temps je l'espère, pour déjouer les machinations des allemands cherchant à s'emparer des documents et valeurs scientifiques laissés par notre pauvre compatriote et ami Charles Huber' (MS Paris, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Archive Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, G06).

tions with different *shaykhs* of the Javanese, among whom the intelligent Ahmad Lampung,¹⁸⁵ who was particularly interested to know more about my belief after all my studies.

Today, there was the mail, with a letter from Mama, enclosed therein an offprint of my review of Ludolf Krehl's *Das Leben des Muhammad*¹⁸⁶ and also issues of the *Spectator*.

2 November [1884].

On 29 October I learned that the prominent Persians living here in Jeddah and some well-to-do *Hāǧǧīs* of that nationality, among them a rich merchant from Bushire who is staying with Mūsā Baghdādī,¹⁸⁷ were donating money in order to hold some festivities in honour of the Shi'ite saints. There have probably been *Dhikrs* every evening since 1st Muḥarram in the house of *Sayyid* Mukhtār. Part of this house, which is the same house as that where the French consul was murdered on 15 June 1858, is used by Mukhtār as a *wikāla* for Persian *Hāǧǧīs*. This year, there were very few of them (possibly around sixty), since the Shah had forbidden his subjects to perform the *Hāǧǧ* because of the lack of security and the exactions. The poor *Hāǧǧīs* lodged here at a low price and some other poor Persians living here in Jeddah are the most important actors in this religious ceremony. After we had ascertained that we would be received well, Mr. van der Chijs, Mr. Metzler and I went to the said house at around 7:30 hrs on the eve of the tenth of Muḥarram (that is to say, in the night between 9th and 10th Muḥarram). There, we found a number of Persian and foreign spectators, and also (in the front row) the Persian consul with his retinue, sitting *mutatis mutandis* as we would sit in a small musical comedy theatre. The elevated part of the forecourt of the house, around which were placed [27] the usual divans, had been masked in such a way, mostly with pieces of black cloth in front of the divans and the windows, that it looked rather like a stage. At the  back, there was a sort of pulpit similarly draped, made out of chests of rough wood.

A bit more than twenty adult men and some seven or eight children were sitting, in no particular order, more or less in a circle. Some had entirely bare torsos, others had only part of their chest bare. We arrived late, and the performance was already halfway through or almost at its end. Under the guidance

185 See on him, Snouck, *Mekka* (1931), pp. 259–261. His portrait in Laffan, *Making*, p. 135, after Leiden Or. 18.097 S 67, No. 17.

186 Appeared in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* of 11 October 1884, No. 41, col. 1508. Also in *VG*, VI (1927), pp. 32–33.

187 See for a photo of his house on the sea shore the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.19.

sometimes of one person, and sometimes of someone else, several monotonous litanies in Persian were sung in honour of the شهداء¹⁸⁸ with a recurrent refrain. During the droning, the 'performers' hit themselves on the chest in time with the rhythm of the singing. Some did this with force, as one could hear from the sound of the impact and see from the blue marks on their chest. Others, and particularly those who were sitting on the outer side of the circle, did it more *pro forma*. The children did this apparently without any devotion and were glad that they were allowed to participate with the adults. They looked around curiously, and now and then, following the adults' example, they encouraged one another to shout more loudly and hit harder. Some were streaming with perspiration. Every now and then the litanies were alternated with random shouts of the names of 'Ali, Ḥusayn, and Ḥasan. There was also a performance by a rather neatly dressed *rawḍa-khwān*, who gave a speech with a yelping voice, some passages of which were answered by a refrain from the audience. This man was standing behind the aforementioned pulpit. Between the acts [28] sorbets were served, also to us, who were the only Europeans among the foreign spectators. When we entered, we were immediately given very good places. But soon the whole thing was over, and we went back home, after *Sayyid Mukhtār* had told us that the performance would start again the next morning at one o'clock (Arabian time). I went there on 10 Muḥarram [1302], Thursday 30 October [1884], at seven o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Ḥusayn.¹⁸⁹ Apparently the 'performers' were not yet available, and everything looked rather dirty. Pigeons, chickens, and half-naked Persians jostled with one another. *Sayyid Mukhtār* was leisurely performing his toilette, abusing people left and right, and thrashing with his stick people and children in the street who tried to witness the spectacle in a way that he thought inappropriate. As not everybody was prepared to let themselves be treated in this way, the first, rather private and disorderly litanies sung by the people on the stage (the same as the previous night) alternated with, and were shouted down by, highly impious brawls that were not allayed, even when several *askaris* came to draw a cordon around the door and blocked the way to everyone who did not find favour in *Mukhtār's* eyes. It was clear that the arduous exercises were not performed by everybody in an equally wholehearted way. Not only did some people wander languidly and slowly onto the stage, but from time to time *Sayyid Mukhtār* grasped one of them by the arm and had to exert some force in order to make them co-operate. He was probably in the position to do this because the money that the performers received from the pockets of their rich

188 *Shuhadā'*, the (Shi'ite) martyrs.

189 The *Qawwās*, guard, of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah.

co-Shi'ites passed through his hands. One person was impossible to stimulate to move and excused himself with a wailing voice انا وجعان.¹⁹⁰ At approximately nine o'clock, the swelling of the audience and [29] the gradually more favourable attitude of Mukhtār clearly showed that the actual performance was about to begin. The windows of the upper storeys were increasingly crowded with female figures who looked down on the forecourt from above. Finally, the *Qā'im-maqām* with his young son, the Persian consul with his retinue, and several distinguished Persians came in. They took their places on the left side of the stage on the divan. I had been given the place where the Persian consul had been sitting the previous night, that is to say right in front of the stage. Again, the *Rawḍa-khwān* delivered a recitation that was alternated with general wailings. The 'performers' howled the loudest, and some whined and shouted so loudly that one was not sure whether they laughed or cried. The *Rawḍa-khwān* whipped up these emotions with his wailing voice, a handkerchief, and a few tears. Otherwise, there were the same exercises as the previous night. There were moments when the bravest shouters stood in the middle of the circle, facing one another, and trying to hit themselves on the chest harder than their opponent, with one or both hands. At one point, the *Rawḍa-khwān* set the example, but only hit himself very carefully. Mostly he was sitting on a bench with his back turned to the stage, next to the far from pious 'Alī Bey (the Persian vice-consul) and the merchant from Bushire. All Persians among the spectators felt themselves more or less obliged to show sadness. 'Alī Bey only occasionally held his handkerchief to his face. Most of the others, however, were sobbing loudly behind their handkerchiefs during the recitations of the *rawḍa-khwān*, especially upon hearing the moving passages. It was indeed a comical sight to see the fat and stolid Persian consul with his black cap on his head, sobbing behind his handkerchief and his entire body shaking mightily. [30] The most absurd spectacle, however, was given by the *Qā'im-maqām* who was sitting in the place of honour. With the others, he was sobbing out of politeness, produced a few real tears, and then blew his nose in a highly indecent way. Between the acts, the audience was offered, in a most unsavoury way, coffee and sorbet that was ladled from a large bowl into a very limited number of glasses. This did not prevent *all* partaking of it. Favoured guests received a *nar-guileh* for smoking.

Some of the distinguished Persians who were present joined the performers for a short while in order to participate very sedately in their exercise while sitting in the outer circle. Otherwise, the participation in the ceremony of most of the audience was limited to a very soft beating of their left breast with their

190 *Anā Waǧʿān*, 'I am in pain', 'I am ill'.

right hand to the rhythm of the music, whilst at the same time conversing with one another on apparently worldly topics. Sayyid Mukhtār beat his own breast in the same way while standing in the doorway, keeping a watchful eye to the left and to the right and occasionally issuing orders.

As expected, the most important part was still to come. Before the beginning of the ceremony it had been announced that the customary cutting of the breasts with sabres by the sad people would take place this time as well. There was only some uncertainty about whether this would take place in *Sayyid* Mukhtār's house or that of another Persian, whither one should remove oneself first. People were walking to and fro with sabres, to the stage and back again, and one could have expected that this part could be seen here as well. But suddenly a loud quarrel flared up between some of the Persians, during which *Sayyid* Mukhtār's voice was heard above all the others. The quarrel was precisely about the question of whether [31] the exercise would be continued in his house (which he certainly wished to happen because of the honour and advantages pertaining to it), or somewhere else. Finally, the dispute was solved when the *Qā'im-maqām*, apparently in agreement with the Persian consul, forbade the cutting for fear of accidents. It appears that the entire ceremony was actually forbidden in Jeddah a long time ago, and that it was only held in secret till after the Russian-Turkish war.¹⁹¹

I do not know whether there are other activities in honour of Ḥusayn among the Persians who live here. Mardrus had told me that on the evening before 10 Muḥarram, there would be ceremonies in the house of Mūsā Baghdādī (where the merchant from Bushire was staying), access to which would be difficult. We made enquiries but received the answer that an ordinary *mawlid sunnī* (here this is each *قراءة*¹⁹² or something similar performed in honour or remembrance of a special person or matter) would take place. Some sort of *mawlid* is possible; a *sunnī* one, however, is highly improbable, especially as the prominent Persians formally hide the fact that they are *روافض*¹⁹³. The *Sunnīs* here in town do not seem to be concerned at all about the tenth of Muḥarram.

When I interrogated our servant Sa'īd today, I learned from him that there is a great feast marking the end of the month Ṣafar. This month is considered to be a *شهر ثقيل*¹⁹⁴ in which all sorts of illnesses, calamities and the like occur, so people feel grateful when that month is over. On the last night of that month

191 This is probably a reference to the war that was fought in 1877–1878.

192 *Qirāya*, reading, recitation.

193 *Rawāfiḍ*, Rafidites, a Shi'ite sect, also used by Sunnis as a term to denote all Shi'ites. At the same time, the word has the pejorative connotation of 'heretics'.

194 *Shahr Thaḳīl*, a heavy month.

people give *mawlid*s, *qirā'as*, etc., [32] and they attach particular value to vegetables, grass, fodder, etc., that have been cut or picked on that day. Many go to the villages in the vicinity. Could there be a connection with the popular rhyme *إذا انسَلخ صفر*¹⁹⁵ etc. dating from the time of the *جاهلية*?¹⁹⁶

That same evening, when I went to the Muḥarram festivity, I had a visit from Šālīḥ al-Bassām who had returned from Mecca and who is staying here for some time for his commercial affairs. He also gave me *عن محمود*¹⁹⁷ the same account of Huber's death that I already knew, and he told me that he had emphatically advised him against the journey as long as the *قافلة*¹⁹⁸ of Ibn Rashīd had not arrived, so that he would be able to return with it. The opinion about the Wahhābīs, which I quoted on p. 15 above, does not seem to be generally accepted. Many people, both the unlearned and the somewhat more literate such as *Shaykh* 'Alī, would be reluctant to declare them *kāfir*, although they do accept the above-mentioned reasoning as valid.

These past few days, apart from several other *Ḥāḡḡī*'s, etc., who wanted to depart with the TELARTOS (tomorrow) and the PADANG (yesterday), I made the acquaintance of *Ḥāḡḡī* 'Umar Garut, *shaykh* in Mecca, who had first lived more than twenty years in Palembang, then thirty years in the Preanger, and finally seven years here. He has been singled out as a dangerous man by the Dutch-Indies government (Holle),¹⁹⁹ and he did not make an unfavourable impression on me. The only thing was that he was somewhat flattering and submissive for a Malay. Now he wishes to go to Java for one year for reasons of commerce and to return here at the approach of the 'season' of the *sanat akbar*.²⁰⁰ [33] With his son, 'Abd al-Qādir, whom he brought with him, he has

195 *Idhā insalakha Šafar*, 'when the month of Šafar has come to an end ...' The full saying is quoted by A.J. Wensinck in his article 'Šafar' as reprinted in *Et²*, vol. 8 (1995), pp. 764–765.

196 *Ġāhilīyya*, 'the time of ignorance', the pre-Islamic period.

197 *'An Maḥmūd*, 'on the authority of Maḥmūd' (Huber's servant/assistant).

198 *Qāfila*, 'caravan'.

199 Karel Frederik Holle (1829–1896) since 27 December 1871, was 'Adviseur-honorair voor Inlandsche Zaken' (Honorary Adviser for Native Affairs) to the Dutch-Indian government (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch Indië* 1884, vol. 2, p. 141). See his biography by Tom van den Berge in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, vol. 5. The Hague, 2002, where Holle's first name is incorrectly written as Carel. The oldest known letter from Holle to Snouck Hurgronje, dated 9 June 1885 when the latter was still in Mecca, is preserved in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive, MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 452.

200 *Sanat Akbar*, 'the greater year', or *Ḥāḡḡ Akbar*, 'the greater pilgrimage', is the year in which the *Wuqūf* in 'Arafa (9 Dhū al-Ḥiḡḡa) falls on a Friday. Such a pilgrimage would attract more pilgrims than usual, and the Dutch consulate in Jeddah kept a calendar for such years (e.g. National Archive, The Hague, inventory 2.05.53, box 133, containing the Consular Reports for 1872–1924), in which more pilgrims than usual would be expected. In the present years, these would be 1885, 1888, 1893, 1896, etc.

travelled to Cairo, Jerusalem and Constantinople, mostly, as it transpires, in order to visit holy places. However, apart from being a *shaykh*, he is also a merchant. Though without much learning, ‘Umar could nevertheless tell me something about education in Palembang. Normally, this seems to consist of the same three parts as in the Moluccas: *Tawhīd*, *Fiqh*, and *Taṣawwuf*, mostly from books in Malay, but, *opportunitate data*, also after earlier *نحو*-studies,²⁰¹ that were learned from a book in Arabic.

Everywhere in the villages are *masjīds*.²⁰² In former times they provided teaching, now only when they are ‘far from the eyes of the government’, since it has forbidden this. Wherever there is governmental control, the teaching is being done in the houses of the *mu‘allims*, where this was done in former times as well. If one is to believe the accounts of *Ḥāǧǧī* ‘Umar and his companions, the current *Resident* of Palembang²⁰³ goes to foolish lengths in order to prevent fanaticism. For instance, the book *Sabīl al-Muhtadīna* is in use for the teaching of *fiqh* here, and also in the Moluccas, and here as well its title is shortened to *Sabilal*. According to *Ḥāǧǧī* ‘Umar and others, the *Resident* has forbidden this book because of its title (thinking of ‘*prang sabil*’).²⁰⁴ *Ḥāǧǧī* ‘Umar’s accounts were supplemented and confirmed by *Ḥāǧǧī* Muḥammad Munīr b. Ibrāhīm al-Iṣḥāqī, a kinsman of his, whom he brought with him today. The latter is going with him to Palembang but does not seem to intend to stay there very long, since he is leaving his entire family behind here. He has studied in Mecca for fifteen years and seems to be in business as well, and for that reason he now has to go to Palembang too. There he wishes, *opportunitate data*, to teach as well. To do this in this residency nowadays one needs [34] to have a permit from the *Resident*, which he has already obtained, I believe. He made a very good impression on me, being somewhat proud of the fairly sound knowledge that he had acquired in Mecca, open and honest in his manner of speaking. He promised to procure me all the information from Palembang about education and the organization of the mosques, and also that tonight he would write down, and bring tomorrow, a list of all *mudarrisīn* in Mecca, mentioning the subjects in which they excel and the reputation they enjoy. He told

201 *Naḥw*, Arabic grammar, more specifically syntax.

202 *Masjīd*, ‘mosque’.

203 G.J. du Cloux had been resident of Palembang since 6 February 1883 and remained in function for four years, see *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlansch-Indië*. 1884. Tweede gedeelte: Kalender en Personalia. Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, p. 186, and likewise in the editions of subsequent years.

204 *Ḥikāyat prang sabil* is the generic name of a text on holy war, and considered to be subversive by the Dutch.

me that after ²⁰⁵صبح and ²⁰⁶مغرب only *fiqh* is taught, other subjects also at other hours, and after ²⁰⁷آلات especially ²⁰⁸عشاء. On Tuesday, there are no lessons because Abū Ḥanīfa died on a Tuesday, and on Friday there are no lessons because of the importance of that day. But since the ²⁰⁹طلاب are not satisfied with this, lessons in the ²¹⁰آلات are given on that day, for instance in ²¹¹منطق, بيان and the like.

Apart from the *Sabilal* by Muḥammad Arshad from Banjarmasin,²¹² the principal works in use in Palembang were the ²¹³هداية السالكين a commentary in Malay on al-Ghazzālī's *Bidāya*, which contains just about everything needed concerning ²¹⁴تصوف and فقه, توحيد. The same author [Muḥammad Arshad from Banjarmasin], who wrote in 1192 AH (1778–1779), also compiled larger works on the same subjects.

Both the above-mentioned men from Palembang belong to the Naqshbandiyya order, with which they became acquainted in Medina through Muḥammad Maṭṭhar (who is of Hindustani origin). They knew nothing about the hairs of the Prophet that he was displaying, or at least they pretended not to know. The said *ṭarīqa* was, according to what they told me, now more widely spread in Palembang than the Sāmāniyya, which was better known there in former days. The government has now allegedly forbidden the *ṭarīqa*.

[35] 7 November [1884].

On 4 November I sent letters to Mama, Nöldeke, Goldziher, and Wilken (with enclosed therein my response to Van den Berg for the *Indische Gids*).²¹⁵ Apart from several fairly well-educated *Hāḡḡīs*, I became acquainted, yesterday, 6 November, with *Shaykh* Ḥusayn al-Baqarī, of Egyptian descent, who is living here. He requested a consular recommendation for a stay in the Dutch East Indies, some of the main centres of which he already had visited (Batavia, Surabaya, Banjar, Padang, Aceh, etc.). As to the purpose of the journey he was now in-

205 *Ṣubḥ*, 'morning prayer'.

206 *Maghrib*, prayer right after sunset.

207 *Ālāt*, 'auxiliary sciences'.

208 *'Ishā'*, 'evening prayer'.

209 *Ṭullāb*, 'students'.

210 *Ālāt*, 'auxiliary sciences'.

211 *Bayān*, 'rhetorics'; *manṭiq*, 'logic'.

212 Arshad al-Banjari (1710–1812), whose *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn* was printed in as early as 1275/1858–9.

213 *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, book title.

214 *Tawḥīd* ('theology'), *Fiqh* ('law') and *Taṣawwuf* ('mysticism').

215 'Zelfverdediging of zelfverlaging?', which was published in *Indische Gids* 1885/1, pp. 95–100, and also in *VG* vol. 2 (1923), pp. 223–230.

tending to make, he gave تفرّج²¹⁶ as he had done for the purpose of his previous travels. What he added to that led me to assume that he used his knowledge of طريقة الشاذلية²¹⁷ to be visited by people who wish to study or had already studied something of that *ṭarīqa*, and to receive gifts from them for his spiritual help. Earlier he had been denied access to the interior with his Turkish passport and he had been told that a consular recommendation would be much more useful to him. Now, he gave as referees for information concerning himself, among other names Banāḡī,²¹⁸ who knew little of him but what he did know was good, and who explained to us the purpose of his travels as was mentioned before. ‘This is,’ said the old Banāḡī, ‘approximately the same thing as the تبرك²¹⁹ in Christian countries by travelling رهبان.²²⁰ *Shaykh* Ḥusayn seemed to be a very tolerant man and said that higher insight, through which

216 *Tafarruġ*, ‘pleasure’, ‘looking around’.

217 <al>-*Ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya*, ‘the Shadhiliyya mystical brotherhood’.

218 This may have been Yūsuf b. Aḥmad Banāḡī. The name Banāḡī is also written Bānāḡa. Yūsuf had at least two sons: Muḥammad, of whom a letter to Yūsuf Qudṣī has been preserved (ms Leiden Or. 8952, uncatalogued enclosure in A 245). Yūsuf’s son ‘Abdallāh (1270–1344/1853–1925) was an internationally operating jeweller (Manṣūr al-‘Assāf, ‘‘Abdallāh Bānāḡa, *Tāġīr al-Muḡawharāt*’, in the newspaper *al-Riyāḍ* of 17 Rabī’ I 1434/16 December 2016 [<http://www.alriyadh.com/1555312>] (accessed 12 February 2017)). Yūsuf was a wealthy Jeddawi merchant, and an acquaintance of Van der Chijs. He is mentioned twice in a letter from Si ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, dated Mecca, on a Wednesday in Rabī’ II 1302 (between Wednesday 21 January and Wednesday 11 February 1885), to ‘Abd al-Ghaffār (Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje) in Jeddah as someone who might be willing to let his beautiful Meccan house near the Great Mosque to Snouck Hurgronje (see Appendix 4, ms Leiden Or. 8952 A 111, letter No. 7, below). That house, the Qaṣr Banāḡī or Qaṣr Bānāḡa as it was sometimes called, is the large house near the Ḥaram. A lithograph exists (made after a failed photograph) in which the house is shown. In front of it one can see the Ottoman governor ‘Uthmān Nūri Pāshā walking, heading the crowd that brings the Egyptian *maḥmal* to Mecca. Snouck Hurgronje published the image in his *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), No. V (caption: ‘Othman Pascha mit dem egyptischen Maḥmal.’). That image is discussed by Arnold Vrolijk, ‘An Early Photograph of the Egyptian Mahmal in Mecca. Reflections on Intellectual Property and Modernity in the Work of C. Snouck Hurgronje’, in: Venetia Porter & Liana Saif (eds), *The Hajj: Collected Essays*. London: The British Museum Press, 2013, pp. 206–213. Vrolijk calls the house the residence of governor ‘Uthmān Nūri Pāshā. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad Banāḡī is mentioned in connection with the Jeddah massacre of 1858 (Isabel Burton, *The Life of Captain Sir Richard F. Burton*, vol. 2, p. 516; Ochsenwald, ‘The Jidda Massacre’, p. 321. Freitag, ‘Symbolic Politics’, p. 123, who writes his name as Yusuf Ba Naja. In the ledgers of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah he is called Banazi (National Archive, The Hague, inventory 2.05.53, file 2, letter No. 609). According to Mirza & Shawush, *Atlas*, p. 86, ‘Abdallāh Bānāḡa purchased the house in 1301/1884.

219 *Tabarruk*, ‘to ask for blessing’.

220 *Ruhbān*, ‘monks’.

also the *موحدین*²²¹ among the Christians are considered to be on the right path, and according to which, for instance, photography is considered to be permitted, is there by virtue of the *علوم الباطن*.²²² In his eyes, the *صوفية*²²³ were fairly liberal-minded. Perfect knowledge of Allah was not to be attained in the other world or in this one, and he did not distinguish between these two. [35bis] He considered travelling, the looking at other countries and peoples as a means of attaining knowledge of the creation and thereby also of the creator.

Today, among the returning *Ḥağğīs*, Sulṭān Manṣūr and several others from Moko-moko and Indrapura came here.²²⁴ The former seemed to be an educated man. Another man, who has now performed the *Ḥağğ* for the third time, who in former days, after his first *Ḥağğ*, had lived for two years in Mecca, and who, for several years before that first *Ḥağğ*, had been a *khaṭīb* and was now *guru ṭarīqa* (Naqshbandiyya), knew a little bit more, but still not much. I got the impression that people out there think that in the *ṭarīqa* they have the highest that is attainable, and that *if necessary*, they may even neglect the other sciences for this, however highly these may be esteemed. But at the same time in the *surans* and *madrasas* (*mendarásah*; two in Moko-moko), *Fiqh* and *Tawhīd* are being taught from books in Malay, for instance the *Sabilal*, the *بداية*,²²⁵ the *Minhāğ*,²²⁶ the *Sīpat duapuluh*,²²⁷ the *Ḥikam*²²⁸ (commentary thereon), etc. Some also occupy themselves with *Naḥw* and then they use books in Arabic. It is peculiar that, although the only *madhhab* is Shāfi'ī, here in the two great mosques (e.g. in Indrapura = Pasar Halang and in Moko-moko) there is also one *kali* in charge, with four *imāms* under him, and two or more *khaṭībs* and *bilāls*. The latter also receive the *ṣadaqas* and distribute these among *qui de droit*. The number of four *imāms* is an ancient institution, just as in the Mollucas. Our *shaykh* did not seem to be aware of any imitation of the Meccan sanctuary. The *ṭarīqa Shādhiliyya* and *Sāmāniyya* were also known in these districts and were followed by many.

There is a peculiar *adat* there, namely that all *mokims* [36] *مقيم* = *anaq negeri* have to attend the Friday prayer regularly. If they do not do this, they are punished, *dihukum*, by the head of the *negeri* and the *hukum* consists of the obligation to give a treat of *korré*, small biscuits, the size of a finger, after a *ṣalāt al-*

221 *Muwaḥhidīn*, 'those who confess to the one-ness of God'.

222 *ʿUlūm al-Bāṭīn*, the esoteric sciences.

223 *Ṣūfīyya*, Sufis, mystics.

224 A double portrait of pilgrims from Moko-moko and Indrapura in *Bilder-Atlas*, plate XXIII, lower row, left.

225 *Bidāya*, apparently the work *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* by al-Ghazzālī is meant here.

226 *Mīnhāğ al-Ṭālibīn* by al-Nawawī.

227 *Sīpat duapuluh*, the Malay version of the Arabic *Umm al-Barāhīn* by al-Sanūsī.

228 The mystical sayings by Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309), *GAL G II*, 117.

ğum'a.

A *mendarasah* in Moko-moko and Indrapura = *suran* (in the Padang mountains) = *langgat* (in Javanese) is a small building where people usually perform the ordinary *şalāts*, where *dikir* is performed, and where occasionally education is offered, although this is also done at home.

The meals on different occasions such as marriage, circumcision, the return of the *Hāğğīs*, etc., are called *kenduri*. For these, specific people are invited, rice, etc., is eaten, and the host gives *şadaqas* consisting of small amounts of money to all present.

Marriages are contracted and dissolved by the *kali*, and without keeping records of this, he supervises all these things.

16 November [1884].

As I have devoted much time in the past few days to photography, both with the making of new negatives (among others of the Javanese woman, Zobaidah)²²⁹ and the making of prints, I have made only a few new acquaintances. On several occasions I spoke with Şālih al-Bassām and with another al-Bassām (),²³⁰ who promised to bring me *dāvāns* of modern *qaşīdas* from Nağd²³¹ and to give me all the desired information about Nağd. Once, he brought Doughty's map²³² and on the map drawn by Kiepert²³³ he found many names that did not exist. This was especially the case in the neighbourhood of Hā'il, a three-day's journey from where the al-Bassām family lives (in 'Unayza). He, too, repeated that [37] there were objections to travelling to Nağd from *here* at this time, since one had to travel through purely Turkish territory, and that the *dawla* very

229 Her portrait possibly in *Bilder-Atlas* (1888) plate XIX, bottom row, right.

230 Blank in the manuscript.

231 See MS Leiden Or. 7121, a collection of 'modern' Nağdī poetry, on the cover of which Snouck Hurgronje has written 'Gedichten van Nedjd-dichters onzer dagen, ontvangen van Çalih Bassām 14 December 1885 ...'

232 There are at least two maps by the British explorer Charles M. Doughty (1843–1926) possible here: *A Sketch Map Itinerarium of part of North Western Arabia and Negd* by Charles M. Doughty (presented to R.G.S. September 1883), Cambridge University Press / Stanford's Geographical Establishment <<http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agdm/id/4609/>> (accessed 12 November 2017), of which several versions exist; and *A Map of North Western Arabia and Nejd*, by Charles M. Doughty, [London, Edward Stanford for the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*] 1884. The copy of the American Geographical Society, No. 4181, is available on the internet: <<https://www.wdl.org/en/item/15042/view/1/1/>> (accessed 12 November 2017).

233 In 1881–1882, the German cartographer Richard Kiepert (1846–1915) published several maps of parts of the Arabian Peninsula based on Doughty's maps, in *Globus. Illustrirte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 39 (1881), pp. 9, 25; 40 (1881), p. 39; 41 (1882), opposite p. 216. See Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient. British Maps and the Making of the Middle East, 1854–1921*. Chicago, IL/London: The University of Chicago Press, 2017, p. 128.

much resented someone from Europe being escorted there without its explicit authorization. However, he considered it *always* dangerous to journey with a small caravan and going there with a large one in these days not without danger either, the bedouins being more rapacious than ever because they have not received the usual supplies of grain from the Turkish government. And indeed, only in the last few days, all sorts of reports about the dangers to which the ordinary caravans of Indians and Javanese were exposed on their way between Medina and Mecca arrived here.

Sāliḥ al-Bassām was absolutely delighted when he laid eyes on the *Dīwān* of Muslim b. al-Walīd,²³⁴ from which he has long known many verses by heart, but of which he had never yet seen a copy.²³⁵ He immediately requested that I order a copy for him.²³⁶

On 11 November I received letters from Mama of 17, 21, 27 and 30 October, and also from Van der Lith,²³⁷ Socin,²³⁸ De Goeje, Houtsma, and a postcard from the editor of the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* concerning my review of Wilken's book, which is in print. Today, I sent letters to Mama (with a portrait of Khurshīd), to De Goeje, Kleyn, Goedeljee,²³⁹ Wellhausen,²⁴⁰ Bavinck.

234 The poet Muslim b. al-Walīd lived in Baghdad. He died in Ġurġān, Iran, in 208/823, cf. Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 2. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975, pp. 528–529.

235 This must have been the edition by M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1875) that is based on MS Leiden Or. 888.

236 See Appendix 3, below, Snouck Hurgronje's letter to M.J. de Goeje of 11 November 1884.

237 Pieter Antonie van der Lith (1844–1901). At the time when Snouck Hurgronje wrote his 'diary', he was professor of Colonial (= Islamic) Law in the University of Leiden. His address in Leiden was Rapenburg 61, the house that Snouck Hurgronje would purchase and live in from 1919 onwards. Van der Lith was advising Snouck Hurgronje about the latter's plans to become Dutch consul in Jeddah, as Kruyt's successor. In the end nothing came of this, and Van der Lith had been doubtful about it from the beginning. Van der Lith's letter to Snouck Hurgronje in Jeddah used to be preserved in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive, MS Leiden Or. 8952, s.v. Van der Lith, where I have consulted it before 2007, as far as I can remember. One letter by Van der Lith, dated 12 December 1884, is mentioned in the Leiden catalogue but incorrectly identified as a letter by M.J. de Goeje. It is kept together with De Goeje's letters to Snouck Hurgronje, MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 360, Nos. 18–25 (online available). The recent rearrangement of the Snouck Hurgronje archive (MS Leiden Or. 8952) does not show other Van der Lith documents, and maybe there were never any. See now also about Van der Lith's correspondence my 'Snouck Hurgronje's Consular Ambitions', pp. 352–355.

238 Albert Socin, Swiss Orientalist (1844–1899).

239 Jan Goedeljee (1824–1905), the Leiden photographer who initiated Snouck Hurgronje in the art of photography. He is the author of a booklet *Raadgevingen bij het fotografheeren* ('Counsels about photography'), Leiden 1880. In it, he instructs his clients for portrait photography on how to sit in front of the camera, and to have complete trust in the skills of the photographer.

240 Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), German Orientalist and biblical scholar.

30 November [1884].

About ten days ago I received letters from Bosch and Van der Kemp,²⁴¹ and on the 25th letters from Mama of 6 November (Breda) and 13 November (Rotterdam), from Professor Kuenen,²⁴² Wilken, Brünnow,²⁴³ and Van der Kemp. Lately, I have taken photographs of several *Ḥāḡḡīs*. Sayyid Ġa'far was here for five days for the purpose of learning the dry-plate method and to measure my instrument, so that he could try to take photographs in Mecca. [38] As a present he brought me the *اصول الاولياء*²⁴⁴ and he would try to collect information concerning the function of *al-Masġid al-Ḥarām* as a university in the same way as Aboe Bakar does. A few days ago, I received as a farewell present from *Shaykh* Ḥusayn al-Baqarī, before his journey to the East Indies, a manuscript of *تنوير تنوير الاحزاب الشاذلية* by Ḥaqqī.²⁴⁵

2 December [1884].

Letters sent to Mama and Professor J. van Leeuwen.²⁴⁶ A few days ago, I received from Khurshīd a copy of the writing from Medina that contains Muḥammad's last admonition to his community, which has actually been distributed from there.²⁴⁷ Khurshīd obtained it from an opium smoker who had brought it home from his *ziyāra* to Medina. Today, Aboe Bakar arrived from Mecca. He

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- 241 He is possibly Pieter Hendrik van der Kemp (1845–1921), director of 'Education, Religion and Industry' (Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid) in the colonial administration in Batavia.
- 242 Abraham Kuenen (1828–1891), professor of Theology in the University of Leiden. He was one of the protagonists on the 'Modern Theology' and was on friendly personal terms with both Snouck Hurgronje and his mother. This must be Kuenen's letter of 7 November 1884 (MS Leiden Or. 8952 A: 570, 1–6, online available).
- 243 Rudolf-Ernst Brünnow (1858–1917), German Orientalist.
- 244 *Uṣūl al-Awliyā'*, apparently the work *Ġāmi' al-Uṣūl fil-Awliyā'* by the Naqshbandī author Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-Kumushkhānawī (died c. 1893), Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1949, p. 489. The copy in Leiden University Library, printed in Cairo in 1287/1870 [865 D 14], is not part of the Snouck Hurgronje collection.
- 245 *Tanwīr al-Talqīhāt fi Adhkār Ūlī al-Aḥzāb al-Shādhiliyya*. This is now MS Leiden Or. 7011, cf. Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, p. 367, who mentions the author as Abū Bakr b. al-Qāḍī Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Kālikūṭī, a late 19th-century scholar (*GAL* S II, 823). Snouck Hurgronje's identification of the author as al-Ḥaqqī is based on his misreading of the word *al-ḥaqīr* on the title-page, f. 9a.
- 246 Jan van Leeuwen (1850–1924), who was appointed professor of Greek at Leiden University on 17 August 1884.
- 247 *Waṣīyyat Rasūl Allāh*. See the references to the manuscripts of this text that were in the possession of Snouck Hurgronje: P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts* (Leiden 1980), p. 400. Snouck Hurgronje had translated and annotated a similar text already before he departed to Arabia, see *VG* I, 125–144.

will stay here for the time being in order to impart information about the تدریس²⁴⁸ in *al-Masğid al-Ḥarām*.

7 December [1884].

Read Malay for a few days with Aboe Bakar, spoke about Islam, and also took some photographs. Today, yesterday, and the day before yesterday there was a صلاة الاستسقاء²⁴⁹ in the great plain near the Mecca gate, behind the former *marabba*²⁵⁰ of 'Umar Naşif, which usually happens every year after a previous announcement, when rain holds off for a long time. The first day I only heard about it when it was over already. On 6 December, however, I went out with Khurshid. Mr. Kruyt accompanied us for a while, but later on he left us. First, I remained watching from above, near the said *marabba*, and saw how the small bunch of people waiting in front of the hills lying in the direction of Mecca, which surround the plain, gradually swelled in number. In front of those seated, a small, raised platform had been constructed in the form of an auxiliary *minbar*. Little by little more and more people dressed in Friday clothing came from the direction of the town. [39] Processions of *dhikr*-shouting and jumping schoolchildren, with between one and three of them carrying banners for each group (banners of different colours, especially red and green); also, the small group of dervishes of Aḥmad Badawī arrived in a relatively orderly way reciting *dhikr* formulas, with three banners and some sort of drum (*ṭabl*). In the meantime, the sun was rising, and a man with a big staff positioned himself on the hills opposite the assembled congregation, with his back to Mecca, while he shouted repeatedly with a loud voice '*ṣalātun ḡāmi'a*' and sometimes '*ṣalātun ḡāmi'at al-ṣalāḥ!*'²⁵¹ In terms of the authorities, I only noticed the Chief of the Customs, who, however, riding on horseback arrived much too late. About one hour after sunrise the *ṣalāt* started. It only lasted a short time and when it was over, many dispersed, while some ranged themselves around the temporary *minbar* and listened to the *khuṭba*. I could observe all from fairly close by, since Raden Aboe Bakar, together with a friend and servant, had caught up with me and now accompanied me. Nobody took the slightest notice of me, not even the schoolchildren, who kept on singing and shouting between some of the rows of the pious, even during the *ṣalāt*.

Should rain hold off, people perform the ceremony on three consecutive days, and this was what happened now as well. Early in the morning of 7 De-

248 *Tadrīs*, education, teaching.

249 *Ṣalāt al-Istisqā'*, a ritual prayer to invoke the coming of rain.

250 *Murabba'*, square.

251 'A collective prayer'; 'a collective prayer bringing salvation'.

ember, I went back with Metzler and Mr. Kruyt (who returned home, however, after having cast a glance from above onto the plain) to the same place. The assembled crowd was even bigger than the previous day and just as the day before, there were also donkeys, mules, horses, and camels present on a separate part of the plain. We were not accompanied by Muslim friends, but *Shaykh* 'Alī had assured me that nobody would take offence from my presence.

[40] For quite a while we were standing relatively close to the ceremony, when Abū Nağla, some kind of policeman from the Municipal Sanitary Department, came walking towards us waving with his arms and said: *روحوا*²⁵² and the like. I asked him whether this order came from the *Qā'im-maqām* (who was also present) and, if so, that I would not go away unless he came to tell me that himself. 'What do you want, then?' 'To be present at the *Ṣalāt al-Istisqā'*, which I am entitled to be.' Abū Nağla answered: *هذا كلام بلقي انت تعرف اشكل مني* *ولاكن انا خايف من الشبايك*²⁵³ Without quite catching the last word I answered: *انا ما اخاف الشبايك*²⁵⁴ which I later understood to mean that I was not afraid of the rabble. *طيب*²⁵⁵ said Abū Nağla, and with his stick he immediately chased away the crowd that he had caused to gradually gather around us. It must have been because of the attention that we had received from Abū Nağla that we were subsequently given an ovation by some of the schoolchildren. A number of children gathered around us and when we slowly began to withdraw, they commenced a loud song that I did not understand. The ovation was fairly innocent, however, since the children with their continuous shouting followed us only from a distance. Finally, Abū Nağla came with his stick and chased them away in next to no time. The majority of the children seemed to have a better education than this despicable specimen of the sort of people who are entrusted here with upholding law and order.

In the course of the week I also took photographs of three Ambonese, one of whom has now been studying in Mecca for about six or seven years, whereas the others had now only come for the *Ḥağğ*.²⁵⁶ They seemed elated by [41] my familiarity with Muhammadan literature and the one who lives here told me a few things about the organization of Muslim educational and religious matters in Ambon. Nearly every *kampong* has a mosque with one *imām*, two *khaṭībs*,²⁵⁷

252 *Rūhū!* 'go away!'

253 *Hādhā kalām bil-qīyy anta ta'raf ashkal minnī wa-lākin anā khāyif min al-shabāyik*, 'These are words of nonsense, as you know better than I do, but I am afraid of difficulties.'

254 *Anā mā akhāf al-shabāyik*, 'I am not afraid of difficulties.'

255 *Ṭayyib*, 'Good'.

256 They may feature in the group portrait in *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), plate xxx.

257 Open space, number not added.

modims and several *saras* (شع)²⁵⁸ or *bilāls*. The latter refers to those people who keep the lamps of the mosque and other objects in working order, whereas the *marbūṭ* takes care of the sweeping of the mosque. In the town of Ambon there are two *imāms*. All those people who belong to the mosque here are collectively called *panghulu*. As a rule, education takes place *inside the mosque* but may also take place in the homes of the teachers.

22 December [1884]

On 10 December received letters from Mama (Rotterdam, 21 November; Leiden, 28 November), Dr. Voortman,²⁵⁹ Cramer v Bn,²⁶⁰ Holle (with Arabic and Malay booklets from Sayyid ‘Uthmān of Batavia),²⁶¹ and on 13 December from Prof. Euting²⁶² and from Daendels from Batavia (about my photography chest).²⁶³ Yesterday, letters sent to Brutel de la Rivière, Mama, Euting, Mrs Page,²⁶⁴ Van der Lith (and previously, on a special occasion one letter to Van der Kemp). Had many meetings with Sayyid ‘Abdallāh al-‘Aṭṭās,²⁶⁵ Aboe Bakar (daily), the

258 *Shar‘*, Islamic law, but apparently used here in a Malay context in the derived meaning of mosque attendant.

259 Not identified.

260 Cornelis Theodorus Cramer von Baumgarten (1854–1930), who had studied theology in Leiden, an early friend of Snouck Hurgronje. Later in life he became a protestant minister in the city of Hoorn.

261 Sayyid ‘Uthmān, Islamic scholar in Batavia. On him, see Nico J.G. Kaptein, *Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age in the Netherlands East Indies. A Biography of Sayyid ‘Uthman (1822–1914)*. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2014; Van Koningsveld, ‘Conversion of European Intellectuals to Islam’, pp. 98–100.

262 Julius Euting (1839–1913), German Orientalist and explorer; companion of Charles Huber on his second journey to Teima. This letter does not seem to be preserved. A letter in German from Euting in Strasbourg to Snouck Hurgronje in Mecca, dated Strassburg i/E, 28 March 1885, is Ms Leiden Or. 8952 A 290.

263 This may be a reference to Messrs. J. Daendels & Co. in Batavia, agents for the Stoomvaart Maatschappij Nederland and the Koninklijke Paketvaart-Maatschappij. Why Snouck Hurgronje would receive a letter from this firm about his photography chest is not clear. According to p. 25 of the ‘diary’, part of Snouck Hurgronje’s photographic equipment had been delivered by the MADOERA on 21 October 1884. Would some of Snouck Hurgronje’s luggage nevertheless have been left aboard the PRINS HENDRIK?

264 Unidentified. She cannot be an employee of Woodbury & Page, the photography firm in Batavia (personal information from Steven Wachlin of 11 September 2017). A remote and unlikely possibility, without any context, could be that she was a relative of the British vice-consul Stephen Page who was killed in the Jeddah massacre of 1858. However, the Dutch National Archive in The Hague, Jeddah Consulate (Inventory 2–05–53), box 49 (correspondence 1889), document No. 903, dated 2 October 1889, mentions a Mr. Frederic Ernest Page, an inhabitant of Jeddah, who was a witness in the finding of the lifeless body of P.N. van der Chijs. The connection remains unclear anyway.

265 *Al-Sayyid* ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alawī al-‘Aṭṭās (1834–1929). A letter from him, dated 28 Šafar 1302 (17 December 1884) from Jeddah, to *al-Shaykh* ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Rāḍi in Mecca,

Javanese scholar Muğtabā,²⁶⁶ the *Shaykh* Arshad Banten,²⁶⁷ etc. In the meantime, the first and last-mentioned have left aboard the SOERABAJA, with plans to return in the future. Al-‘Aṭṭās seemed to me a bit timid and fawning, but as soon as he dared to speak out, his conversation was worthwhile. He told me that Van den Berg had hired a not very learned Arab as an assistant for the تصحيح.²⁶⁸

[42] Wednesday, 16 December, was the last Wednesday of the month Ṣafar, which is considered here and elsewhere (as far East as Singapore, as I have heard) as a special day. There is no certain explanation from what this derives. There are pieces of poetry that mention, among the seven unhappy days on which one should not conclude transactions, dig a well, etc., the last Wednesday of each month. Now, some people here contend that, generally speaking, the month Ṣafar is a difficult month (شهر ثقيل)²⁶⁹ and that all sorts of small mishaps in that month will have big consequences, so that one has to spend the very unhappiest day, that is the last Wednesday of that month, in an appropriately serious and fearful mood. They consider the fairly general merrymaking in which people indulge on that day to be a wrong بدعة.²⁷⁰ If others are asked why that day is celebrated in such a cheerful way, the answer is that when they have survived it without a scratch, people rejoice in the approaching end of that ‘difficult month’. In fact, many people are already out of town early in the morning. The better-off live in tents that have been specially erected in the open for that purpose, either on the plain or in the village of Nuzla.²⁷¹

is MS Leiden Or. 8952 A: 88, No. 1, see Appendix 7, below; see also the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.28. Snouck Hurgronje’s imminent conversion to Islam is treated in it, and the addressee is asked to introduce Snouck Hurgronje to his friends, both scholars and poets in Mecca.

266 On him, see ‘diary’, pp. 53, 54, below.

267 He is the Muḥammad Arshad (Moehammad Arsjad/Arsad), who is mentioned in Snouck Hurgronje’s *Vergeten Jubilé’s* (VG, 4/2 (1924), pp. 415–436). See his two letters of 1341–1342/1923, his portrait, and an old letter from Snouck Hurgronje to him dated 20 November 1889, in MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 81. He should not be confused with Arshad b. ‘Alwān of Serang or *Shaykh* Arshad Banten (1854–1934), another victim of the Cilegon repression, who died in exile in Manado, on whom see Laffan, *Making*, pp. 135, 142, 220, 226. See on the latter in the ‘Jeddah diary’, pp. 49–50, below.

268 *Taṣḥīḥ*, the editing, here of the Arabic text of the *Minhāj al-Ṭalībīn*, which had been the object of Snouck Hurgronje’s scathing review.

269 *Shahr Thaḳīl*, heavy month.

270 *Bid’a*, innovation.

271 Nuzla is a halting place some eight kilometres Southeast of Jeddah’s old city (‘al-Balad’) on the Road to Mecca. It is mentioned by Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī, *al-Rihla al-Ḥiḡāziyya li-Walī al-Nī‘am al-Ḥāḡḡ ‘Abbās Ḥilmī Bāshā al-Thānī Khidw Miṣr*. Cairo²: al-Maṭba‘a al-Ġamāliyya, 1329/1911, main text, pp. 18–19: ‘The depression of Nuzla is a collection of huts in which Bedouins live. There are large public cabins that they call *Qahāwī*, coffee houses, where pilgrims can take a rest, if they wish, and especially those who ride

Children and adults sometimes race each other on monkeys, horses and camels. Everybody wears their best clothes. People eat well, especially fresh vegetables, and they go out for a walk during the day. Some pious of dubious belief indulge in drinking on this occasion. Many spend the night in the open in the company of their entire family. When we went out for a walk in the afternoon, a few hours before sunset, outside the Medina gate, and later outside the Meca Gate, in the direction of Nuzla, we were able to observe all this and we saw that a great number of women and slaves with luggage for the night (*shīshas*, beds, etc.) [43] were moving in the direction of the village.

31 December [1884].²⁷²

On 29 December the mail brought me letters from Mama, De Goeje (with enclosed the advice of Van der Lith),²⁷³ issues of the *Spectator*, and also the receipt for the chest that had been sent to me by Mama. Yesterday, I sent letters to Mama, De Goeje, Holle, Wilken, Nöldeke and booklets to Mr. Bogaert.²⁷⁴ With a previous mail (23 December) I received letters from Wilken, Mama (2), Goldziher, Wellhausen. Yesterday was 12 Rabī' al-Awwal.²⁷⁵ Actually, the *mawlid* is celebrated more on the day preceding it, but without much ado. A dervish procession with tamtam through town, everywhere *mushabbak* مشبك, a crispy pastry with honey inside, thick threads of which are wound through one another in different shapes. At night, illumination of the two Turkish men-of-war, the office of the *Qā'im-maqām*, and the barracks. Also, in the evening after the

donkeys or camels, as there is everything one may need, such as bread, cheese, dates, fruits, coffee and tobacco. Near it are wide open spaces surrounded by fences made of palm branches to which the pilgrims can attach their camels and beasts. Most caravans spend the night there.' For modern Nuzla, see Abdulla Difalla, *Jeddah's Slum Areas. The Attempt to Redevelop al-Nuzla al-Yamaniya*. Muncie, Indiana, July 2015, pp. 34 ff., where al-Batanūnī is quoted, albeit in a somewhat garbled way.

272 See the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.12.

273 In a note to M.J. de Goeje, Van der Lith had advised against Snouck Hurgronje's plans to try to be appointed Dutch consul in Jeddah, as a successor to consul J.A. Kruyt. In the Leiden library catalogue Van der Lith's note is incorrectly identified as a letter by M.J. de Goeje and kept together with De Goeje's letters to Snouck Hurgronje, MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 360, Nos. 18–25. See my 'Snouck Hurgronje's consular ambitions', pp. 352–355.

274 A Mr. C.H. Bogaert had been a passenger on board the PRINS HENDRIK with which consul Kruyt and Snouck Hurgronje travelled from Amsterdam to an Egyptian port, possibly Suez, according to the passenger list in *Nieuws van de Dag* of 6 August 1884. He was Charles Henri Bogaert (1835–1892), an officer in the Dutch naval forces in the East Indies ('kapitein-ter-zee' which is the naval equivalent of colonel in the army), (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch Indië* 1885, vol. 2, p. 503). In 1884–1885, he was commander of the Dutch navy in the waters around Aceh (*NNBW*, vol. 5, cols. 41–42), with which the Netherlands were then at war. It is not known which booklets Snouck Hurgronje sent him.

275 The birthday of the Prophet Muhammad.

Maghrib, recitation of *Mawlid* in the official Ḥanafī mosque, which is frequented by civil servants, after the *Ishā*²⁷⁶ in other mosques, just as people like it. In the Ḥanafī mosque the recitation is done sitting on a *Dikka*, elsewhere simply by sitting on the ground. Except for the pastry there is nothing much more of the feast in evidence in town other than beautifully dressed children and here and there a common *Mawlid* where all sing ‘yā *Marḥabā!*, where is to be filled in with the different epithets of Muḥammad.

2 January [1885].

Night of 1 to 2 January first night in new house. From now on Aboe Bakar will keep me company.

4 January [1885].

Night of 3 to 4 January, heavy thunder with much rain.

5 January [1885].

Important visit by *Sayyid* Muḥammad Muzayyin.²⁷⁷ In the evening there was mail with letters from Mama, Romburgh, Goedeljee, Bavinck, a postcard from Nöldeke, article about *qāt*,²⁷⁸ [44]²⁷⁹ and the ‘Studenten Almanak’.²⁸⁰

For circumcision, which is performed here at very different ages (approximately between forty days and ten years), I was told by the *muzayyin* that one uses small iron tongs: ⊃ , *Udda*, with which the preputium is squeezed, and a razor blade. For the wound, one uses a *Marham* (people here say: الدرهم كالمراهم),²⁸¹ which is a material that staunches the bleeding and heals the

276 *Ishā*, evening prayer.

277 The word *Muzayyin* in the Dutch text is written with a capital, as a proper name, but later it becomes clear that this visitor is also a *muzayyin*, a barber by profession.

278 Not identified.

279 See the Jeddah portfolio (below), figure 19.13.

280 *Almanak van het Leidsche Studentencorps voor het jaar 1885*. (year 71). Leiden [1884]. The space for Snouck Hurgronje’s course on ‘religious laws, etc.’ at 13:00 hrs on Mondays and Tuesdays for the first-year students is left blank (p. 142), as he is now absent from Leiden. Prof. P.A. van der Lith has taken over these courses in the ‘Gemeente-Inrichting voor de Opleiding van Oost-Indische Ambtenaren’, but on Monday and Wednesday morning at 9:00 hrs. On p. 349 of the Almanak of 1885 there is a resumé of Snouck Hurgronje’s course as it was given in the previous year. The anonymous reporter somewhat despairingly expresses the wish that the different subjects not be treated in such an extensive way.

281 *Al-darāḥim kal-marāḥim taḡburu alam al-kasīr*, ‘dirhams are like ointment, they heal the pain of the fractured bone.’ The same saying is given by Snouck Hurgronje in his *Mekkanische Sprichwörter and Redensarten* (Haag, Martinus Nijhoff, 1886) pp. 102–103 (No. 68) = *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie V/1* (1886), pp. 443–576, = *VG* 5 (1925), pp. 1–112, (No. 68). There he gives the correct spelling *marāḥim*, ointment, which is followed here instead of ‘*marāḥim*’ in the Dutch text of the ‘diary’. See my

wound. Our friend claimed that, personally, he uses *talyūn*, which he says is called cantarion (or something like that)²⁸² in the European pharmacopoeia. It is spread out on a piece of cloth and with this the wound is bandaged. After that, *darūr*²⁸³ is used to allow it to dry. There are different mixtures for this, all pounded into a fine powder: حارة²⁸⁴ and باردة²⁸⁴ and different varieties are distinguished.²⁸⁵

10 January [1885].

Since the arrival of the Pasha²⁸⁶ on 6 January every day [there are] big musical entertainments. He himself receives guests and lives in the house of Waḥdāna,²⁸⁷ a rich Hindī merchant from Mecca. All authorities visit him. The consuls have already had return visits. In the evenings, and sometimes during the daytime as well, ovations and festivities. Illumination of the *Sūq*. The ovations by the inhabitants are given per حارة²⁸⁸ and apparently organized by the *Shaykh al-Ḥāra*, possibly in consultation with others. One of these ovations gave rise to a quarrel between the *Awlād al-Ḥāra* of the Maḍlūm and those of the Yaman, which ended, as usual, in a violent fight. Askaris were whipped up from various corners and at around eleven o'clock the crowd was dispersed, whereas under

'Meccan voices', in this volume. For *marham*, pl. *marāhim*, see Manfred Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*. Leiden/Köln: E.J. Brill, 1970, p. 297.

282 *Talyūn* and cantarion are, etymologically speaking, the same word. St. John's wort, as cantarion is known in popular medicine, is a well-known medicine against infections, among other things.

283 Possibly *Dharūr*, powdery substance (Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire* (1860), s.v.). See also Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, p. 297.

284 *Ḥār*, hot, and *Bārid*, cold, are Galenic properties of medicaments.

285 This juxtaposition in the entry for 5 January 1885, of the visit of Muḥammad Muzayyin and of the treatment of wounds, is the only reference in the 'diary', or elsewhere for that matter, from which one could conclude that Snouck Hurgronje had been through a circumcision himself. Ulrike Freitag writes about the present passage: 'Snouck Hurgronje gives a good description of circumcision in his diary, probably based on his own observation.' (Ulrike Freitag, *A History of Jeddah*, p. 168, Note 43). There is a reference to a performer of the circumcision in Snouck Hurgronje's letter, dated Mecca, 9 Ğumādā I, 1302 (24 February 1885), to P.N. van der Chijs in Jeddah, the complete text of which I have given in my introduction to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende-eeuw*. (2007), pp. 89–90.

286 The Ottoman governor (*Wālī*) of the province of the Ḥiġāz, 'Uthmān Nūrī Pāshā, who was governor between 1882–1886. His portrait in *Bilder-Atlas* (1888) No. VIII, and figure 19.18 (below).

287 'Abd al-Wāḥid Waḥdāna, a merchant originally from Calcutta (Seema Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire*. Cambridge, Mass/London: Harvard University Press, 2015, p. 147).

288 *Ḥāra*, quarter.

different circumstances the merrymaking lasts till deep into the night. A few days before, there had already been a fight between Maḍlūm and our quarter (Shām). Some of the ringleaders who had been brought before the *Qā'im-ma-qām*, were personally thrashed by him in front of his house, [45] and under blows from the sticks they were led to prison by the askaris. The main reason for the fights over the ovations is envy. Each حارة²⁸⁹ has its own *maḥmal*, which is carried by four men, and creates its own fantasia, for instance a Pasha, a *qāḍī*, etc., all presented by people from the neighbourhood. They come to present their *Salām* at the house where the real Pasha has taken up residence. When the *maḥmal* of one district is distinctly more beautiful than that of another, a mere spark suffices to ignite the fire. The *proxima causa* of the quarrel between Yaman and Maḍlūm was that a member of one district had joined behind the banner of the other, and then had been chased away in an extremely rude manner. There is a lot of competition and showing off in these matters. Yesterday evening, it was the turn of the *maḥmal* of the Shām district. On the occasion of their procession they had ordered the preparation of sweetmeats to a value of three hundred dollars, which they handed out. Some of these turned up in the consulate and Kruyt sent them to me. A saucer with a round lid both made of white sugar that had a slightly calcareous taste.



On the lid there were three compartments, in which were written in a script of red sugar syrup the words تبارك الله وحسي الله، ما شاء الله.²⁹⁰ The saucer contained lumps of candy (*nabāt*).

Regrettably, I could see nothing of the *maḥmal* processions. Yesterday, the Pasha proceeded with musical accompaniment to the (Ḥanafi) mosque and in a space partitioned off by railings he participated in the ceremony, together with the *Qā'im-ma-qām*. Afterwards, the *khaṭīb* received a robe of honour from him.

Today, I received mail from an English ship (apparently left behind from a previous mail): two issues of the *Spectator* and an offprint of Nöldeke's review [46] of Wilken's *Matriarchat*.²⁹¹

14 January [1885].

Letter sent to Mama.

289 *Ḥāra*, quarter.

290 *Mā shā'a Allāh*, 'whatever God wishes'; *Ḥasbī Allāh*, 'my reckoning is upon God'; *tabāraka Allāh*, 'God bless'.

291 In *Literarisch-kritische Beilage* of the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 10 (1884), pp. 301 ff.

Information received from Aboe Bakar on 14 January and the days following.²⁹²

Shaykh Muḥammad Nawawī,²⁹³ no longer young, comes from the district of Tanara (Banten). His father was ‘Umar,²⁹⁴ district *panghulu* and also somewhat learned. Muḥammad, who is married to a woman of his own country, would like to take a second wife, but does not dare to do so for fear of his better half. Studied with his father, in Purwakarta²⁹⁵ (Krawang), where in former days there were famous *pěsantrèns*, and after that in Mecca.

He has the reputation for being knowledgeable in all the sciences. Teaches mostly *Fiqh*, also *Naḥw*, *Uṣūl*, *Taṣawwuf*, even *Ḥadīth*, in his house, in the mornings till noon. At other times, only to special friends and on request. Number of pupils: around one hundred, from all parts of Java. When Malay people and the like come to his lessons, they come at a different time because then a translation is given in their language. For the former he provides a translation into Javanese, the language they all sufficiently understand. The explanation is also given in the Javanese language. His own principal *Shaykh* seems to have been the Egyptian Yūsuf al-Simbilāwaynī,²⁹⁶ but he had other teachers as well. He still followed lessons from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd²⁹⁷ despite already being a learned man. He has written numerous works such as a شرح فتح المعين, which is called نهاية الزين²⁹⁸, شرح التقريب,²⁹⁹ etc., etc., all in Arabic, which have been published

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- 292 The following information is probably based on oral communication received from Raden Aboe Bakar, otherwise Snouck Hurgronje would not have written it down. Much later, on 17 December 1887, Snouck Hurgronje received from Raden Aboe Bakar a written survey on the antecedents of the Indonesian scholars in Mecca, *Tarāḡim ‘Ulamā’ al-Ġāwa* (Ms Leiden Or. 7111, folder 9). He used that information for the final chapter of volume 2 of *Mekka* (1889). See *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 278 ff.
- 293 Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Nawawī al-Bantenī (1813–1897), the author of many books, some of which are still in print and in use in Indonesia. On him, see also Brockelmann, *GAL S 11*, 813–814; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 287, 289.
- 294 ‘Umar b. ‘Arabī, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, p. 287.
- 295 Originally written as ‘Pulakarta’ by Snouck Hurgronje, and with an interlinear correction into ‘Purwakarta’, which is the spelling that Snouck Hurgronje uses in his *Mekka in the latter part* (2007).
- 296 Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Simbilāwaynī al-Sharqāwī al-Makkī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 1285/1869, information taken from the site <<http://makkah.org.sa/>> accessed on 31 January 2021). See also Brockelmann, *GAL S 11*, 628, where the *nisba* is given as al-Sunbulawī.
- 297 ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Dāghistānī, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 289, 305; Laffan, *Making*, p. 63.
- 298 The *Fath al-Mu‘īn*, which was written in 982/1574 by Zayn al-Dīn b. Ghazzāl b. Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Alī al-Malaybārī (*GAL S 11*, 604) is a commentary on this author’s own *Qurraṭ al-‘Ayn*, a short text on Shafi‘ite Islamic law. Strictly speaking, the work by Nawawī, *Nihāyat al-Zīn*, is, therefore, a gloss, of which the full title is *Nihāyat al-Zīn fī Irshād al-Mubtadi‘īn*. It was printed in Cairo in 1298/1881 [Leiden library 865 B 18].
- 299 *Sharḥ al-Taqrīb*, ‘Commentary on *al-Taqrīb*. *Al-Taqrīb* is the short text on Shafi‘ite Islamic

in Egypt. He seems to be a collaborator on the Arabic-Malay Dictionary for which Sayyid ‘Abdallāh al-‘Aṭṭās³⁰⁰ is exerting himself.

During his absence (in Medina), his family purchased a *Taqrīr* of Ḥaǧǧī *Shaykh* in his name. Notwithstanding the fact that he does not hold with such things and that he remains aloof from these things altogether, the business is being continued in his name by his brother, his son-in-law, etc. He has been a *Shaykh*, or at least is called one, for about five to seven years.

The teaching is done without money changing hands, nor are there fixed or anticipated gifts from pupils. Except for his commercial affairs, which are conducted by his sons, he lives off the gifts from people who [47] honour the sacred sciences and those who practise them. For instance, from former pupils or people who, without practicing any science, perform the Ḥaǧǧ and who have money from commercial transactions or a pension. That is how he sometimes gets a house, etc.

In normal life, outside his teaching, his Arabic is not as فصیح³⁰¹ as that of some of his compatriots. At *Mawlids* and the like he often acts as *Imām*. On Tuesday, Friday and Sunday³⁰² he also receives folk from Batavia who are given instruction in Malay.

Aḥmad Marzūqī,³⁰³ also from Tanara (Banten), cousin³⁰⁴ of Nawawī, also studied in Pulakarta³⁰⁵ and in Mecca with more *Shaykhs* than in Mecca,³⁰⁶ including Nawawī, Ḥasabullāh,³⁰⁷ etc. Age about forty years, has already been in Mecca for a very long time. Used to travel for business (books, cotton, etc.) to

law by Abū Shuǧā‘ al-İṣfahānī (d. after 500/1106), *GAL* G I, 392. Nawawī’s commentary is possibly the *Tawshīh ‘alā Ibn Qāsim. Qūt al-Ḥabīb al-Gharīb*. As Ibn Qāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1512) with his *Fath al-Qarīb al-Muǧīb* is a commentator of *al-Taqrīb*, the *Tawshīh* is, strictly speaking, not a commentary but a gloss.

300 I am not sure that this dictionary was ever published. The author is most probably ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alawī b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Aṭṭās (1834–1929), who lived in Batavia in about 1890; see for work by him e.g. MS Leiden Or. 7013, a small collection of texts that has Snouck Hurgronje as last provenance. Snouck Hurgronje met him in Jeddah, see ‘diary’, p. 41. His recommendation letter of 28 Šafar (?) 1302 (17 December 1884) to introduce Snouck Hurgronje with his friends in Mecca is MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 88 (1). It is published and translated hereunder as Appendix 7.

301 *Fašīh*, eloquent, fluent according to the rules of literary Arabic.

302 The words ‘and Sunday’ are not clear in the Dutch text of the manuscript: ‘en zoo’.

303 See Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, p. 293; Laffan, *Making*, p. 56.

304 Or ‘nephew’, as the Dutch language does not distinguish between ‘nephew’ and ‘cousin’.

305 Purwakarta in Banten.

306 ‘than in Mecca’: meaning not clear. The Dutch text has ‘dan Mekka’.

307 Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd Ḥasabullāh al-Shāfi‘ī, author of several works on Shafi‘ite law, see *GAL* S II, 813; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 190–191.

Bali, Java, and Singapore, but he no longer does that, it seems, because of a setback in business. Poorer than Nawawī but scrapes up a living in the same way as the former, from gifts that are sent to him from Java. The scope of his learning approximates that of Nawawī, *مستغرق في الفنون*.³⁰⁸ Both are considered by the Arabs to be scholars in their *علوم*.³⁰⁹ Lives very simply. Has the reputation of being very shy and modest. If someone asks him a *mas'ala*³¹⁰ and he does not know that person, he simply answers *والله اعلم*,³¹¹ perhaps thinking that he is just being tested. When someone knows him well, his learning makes its presence felt. His daily language is more *Faṣīḥ* than that of *Shaykh* Nawawī. The hours of his teaching (more than those of Nawawī because his space is more limited) are in the morning from between nine o'clock and nine-thirty till almost twelve o'clock, noon. And also, after the different [48] *Waqts*³¹² of the *Ṣalāts*, except *Ishā'*. Twenty to thirty pupils, who also study with Nawawī, for instance by reading one book with the one, another book with the other, as in the mornings (which is a fixed time for teaching *وقت الملازمة*)³¹³ for both of them, *Shaykh* Nawawī reads three or four different books consecutively, and some students only wish to follow this and others only that book. His wife is of his own people, previously had [wives from] elsewhere as well. No *Ta'lif*.³¹⁴ Very modest, except when teaching, does not even want to act as an *Imām* in ceremonies.

Formerly Nawawī has tried to dissuade him from his commercial travels so that he would live exclusively in Mecca for the holy science. As long as business was booming, he was of the opinion that the *رزقي على الله*³¹⁵ should not be exaggerated. Also teaches in Malay, better than Nawawī, since he translates into high Malay.

Aḥmad Ğaha, from the Anyar division, Banten.³¹⁶ Probably about twelve years in Mecca, approximately thirty years old, married to a Javanese woman. No commercial activities, lives from money sent by family and from other gifts from patrons of science. Picked up most of his learning in Mecca. Teaches in

308 *Mustaghriq fil-Funūn*, immersed in learning.

309 *Ulūm*, sciences.

310 *Mas'ala*, 'question, scholarly question'.

311 *Wallāhu a'lam*, 'and God knows best'.

312 *Waqṭ*, '(prescribed) moment'.

313 *Waqṭ al-Mulāzama*, 'the time for studying (with a teacher)'.

314 *Ta'lif*, 'writing', 'compilation'. 'No *Ta'lif*' means that he is a scholar who reads, without being an author of books.

315 *Rizqī 'alā Allāh*, 'my subsistence is provided by God'.

316 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 295–296.

Javanese, not in Malay, same subjects as the previous two, whose pupil he is. He also studied with Muṣṭafā ‘Afifī³¹⁷ and others. Slightly inferior to Marzūqī in knowledge. Twenty to thirty pupils and same teaching hours as Marzūqī. His pupils all go to Nawawī’s lessons as well. He himself follows the lessons of Muṣṭafā ‘Afifī in the *Masjid* and therefore he has little spare time. No *Ta’līf*. Less accustomed to acting as an *Imām* during *Mawlid*s and the like.

[49] *Tubagus Sayyid* Ismā‘īl Banten,³¹⁸ from *negri* Banten, family of former Sultans, studied with his learned father, in Pulakarta³¹⁹ and Mecca. His sister is married to a *regent*, father of wife was *regent* in the English period. First wife from Banten, also an Arab wife, now one from Serang (Banten). Age approximately the same as Nawawī. In former times used to travel to and fro, between there and Mecca, etc. Now has been established in Mecca for about eight years. Is honoured as much as Nawawī, which must, however, also be due to his descent, age, etc. Lives from the rent of three houses donated to him by family, also has gardens in Java. He does not teach the *الآلات* علوم.³²⁰ Of these he only knows enough for his own use, other sciences he knows better. Around forty pupils, who also follow lessons from Nawawī, *Fiqh*, *Uṣūl*, *Taṣawwuf*. Makes mistakes with *hada* and *hadhihi*, while teaching small children in *نحو*³²¹, which he understands to denote a difference in distance.³²²

From nine to ten o’clock, and after the *Zuhr* (two to three o’clock) are his only hours of teaching. He himself follows lessons with *Shaykh* ‘Umar Shām, and formerly also those of *Sayyid* Qutbī (Ḥanafī), who is now dead.

Besides these, there are *Muta‘allims*³²³ from Banten, who are considered to be fairly learned, to the extent that they can dispute with scholars, ask questions, and even educate children.

Arshad from Tanara, related to *Shaykh* Nawawī and formerly also his brother-in-law, about thirty years old, already studied in Java with *Shaykh* Nawawī and with *Shaykh* Sam‘ūn (Pandeglang, who has already died)³²⁴ [50] in *fiqh*,

317 Mentioned several times in Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, see index, but without further details, the same goes for Laffan, *Making*, p. 147.

318 Marginal note by the author: ‘The Javanese call Sayyid Tubagus Sayyida Ratu.’ Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 293–294.

319 Purwakarta in Banten.

320 *Ulūm al-Ālāt*, ‘auxiliary or introductory sciences’.

321 *Naḥw*, Arabic grammar in general, more specifically syntax.

322 The difference between the demonstrative pronouns *hādihā* and *hādhihi* is one of gender, not of distance.

323 *Muta‘allim*, ‘student’, ‘someone who has learned’.

324 Laffan, *Making*, p. 142.

uṣūl, etc., just like *Shaykh* Nawawī. He is a member of the *priesterraad*³²⁵ in Serang. In Mecca now already for three consecutive years (formerly many journeys to and fro). Studies with Nawawī and Arab scholars, and after the *Maghrib* he himself teaches *Naḥw*, but only to those who do not know much, for instance *Radèn Ṣāliḥ*.³²⁶

‘Aydarūs from Caringin (Banten), studied a great deal in Java with Sam‘ūn in Pandeglang (a *pěsantrèn* near the *negri* in *desa* Kadu Marna). After travelling to and fro, now some six to seven years in Mecca, age about thirty-five years. Has read a lot of *Ḥadīth* and *Taṣawwuf*. Studies with Nawawī and Arab scholars and teaches, for instance some ten children and old people.³²⁷

Sarman (district Cimanuk, Pandeglang) about thirty years old, some seven years in Mecca, married to an Arab woman of fairly considerable age, eschews merrymaking, lives at his family’s expense, studies, and he himself teaches young children.

Scholars active in Banten itself:

Bakr,³²⁸ Pontang, district Tanara, arrived in Mecca a long time ago, probably some twenty years or so, very experienced in the sciences, *kiai* of a *pěsantrèn*, but often absent, like other *kiais*, in pursuit of his commercial activities, and then replaced by his substitute, *kalipa*.³²⁹ In most *pěsantrèns* there are around sixty *murīds* at most (in the old days there were larger ones). Most *kiais* are merchants as well. When a person from a *desa* wants to study, for instance with Bakr, he is usually followed by some fellow-villagers, mostly children, 1° in order to learn from him (who must already know something in order to be able to profit from the *Shaykh*) in the *pěsantrèn*, and 2° in order to serve him and to serve the *kiai* when he orders them to do so. This type of children’s teacher is called *kepala murid*, in Sundanese *kòkòlòt pondoq*, in Javanese *lurah pondoq*.

325 Priesterraad: religious court.

326 Muḥammad Arshad b. ‘Alwān of Serang, or *Shaykh* Arshad Banten (1854–1934), a victim of the Cilegon repression, who died in exile in Manado, on whom see Laffan, *Making*, pp. 135, 142, 220, 226; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, p. 295. He should not be confused with his namesake whom Snouck Hurgronje already met in Jeddah, and who would become the subject of *Vergeten Jubilé’s*.

327 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 301–302.

328 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 293–294, n. 60: ‘Sheikh Abu Bakar, who also studied in Mekka twenty years ago, and since then has himself had a big school in Pontang (Banten).’

329 The word *kalipa* has been struck through and replaced by ‘plaatsvervanger’, either term meaning ‘substitute’.

When, for instance, in a *pěsantrèn* (in the Sundanese language of Banten only the word *pondoq* is used) there are some sixty *santris*, there are possibly ten to fifteen of them who receive lessons from the *kiai* himself. That is to say, the others listen as well, but they do not profit very much from the lessons. [51] Bakr is already quite old, studied in Banten and in Mecca, has had an Arab wife, has the reputation of being as learned as Marzūqī. The *santris* usually do not spend longer than six months in a *pěsantrèn*. However, some do go to different *pěsantrèns* consecutively within one residency, and a few go for a longer period to more distant schools. Many return to their old *pěsantrèn* for yet another year, after having visited home for eight to ten days. Usually they do not go for a longer period. There are seldom *waqf-sawas* near a *pěsantrèn*. Altogether, they only study about half of the year. Usually, the education starts with صرف³³⁰ (a book that they call there تصرفاً, فعل يفعل, etc.)³³¹ and then a simple book like *Sittin*³³² is read with the beginners. Sometimes they start with one of these very simple *fiqh* textbooks, and only learn its meaning in order to study صرف³³³ etc., at a later stage). In the *desas* where there are no *pěsantrèn* they usually only learn باج Qur'ān³³⁴ from someone who is able and willing to do so, usually no more than that. This is, however, seldom taught in *pěsantrèns*. In Banten, the epithet *santri* does not persist when a person has become an established *desa*-man with a family.

‘Uthmān, some thirty years old, *panghulu* in the district Undar-andir (Serang),³³⁵ has studied in Java and in Mecca, a sound scholar just like Bakr. Whenever such a person is fulfilling his function as a *panghulu*, he is temporarily absent from his post as *kiai pěsantrèn*. He is then replaced by, for instance, one of the *kòkòlòts* who is suitable for this. This is for the children only, however. Then the other *kòkòlòts* have a few days off. ‘Uthmān studied in Mecca for around eight years. Since he has become a *panghulu* he has more work and because of that fewer pupils.

330 *Şarf*; Arabic grammar, more specifically morphology.

331 *Taşrifan*, apparently the title of a textbook on Arabic morphology; *fa'ala, yaf'alu*, example of the conjugation of the verb in the common paradigm of the Arabic grammarians.

332 Possibly the *Sittin Mas'ala*, the 'Sixty Questions', a beginner's text book on Islamic law that was in wide use in Indonesia. Its author is Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zāhid (d. 819/1416), *GAL* S II, 112.

333 *Şarf*; Arabic grammar, more specifically morphology.

334 *Baca Quran*, reciting the Qur'ān.

335 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 293–294, n. 60.

Muḥammad Qāšid, *desa* Beji, division Cilegon, Serang. Studied in Java and Mecca, sound scholar, about thirty years old, studied approximately six years in Mecca. Some fifty to sixty pupils.³³⁶

Muḥammad al-Shādhilī,³³⁷ from Serang itself, son of a former *wedana*³³⁸ [52] of Cirewas, about thirty years old, studied in Java and around five years in Mecca, a sound scholar. Once the *regent* wanted to borrow a *fīrāsh* from the *masǧid* for a *mawlid* in his house. The *panghulu* said: 'All right!' but al-Shādhilī said: '*Ḥarām!*' because it is a *waqf*. Then the *regent* did not dare to do it. He is a *ḥalwāh*,³³⁹ does not smoke tobacco. Is well acquainted with Aboe Bakar. Also has many pupils. For instance, he teaches the children of the *negri* how to *sembahyang* like soldiers being drilled. Later, these mostly take their education in a *pēsantren*.

Maḥmūd Terate (the name of his *desa*), division Cilegon, Serang.³⁴⁰ He is also *kiai* (a title used without further addition by the heads of a *pēsantren*), was in Mecca for around twelve years, is only some twenty-five years old. Roughly as learned as Qāšid.

Sumbawa: *Shaykh* Zayn al-Dīn Sumbawa, about forty years old, spent a very long time in Mecca. Level of knowledge about that of Marzūqī, his Arabic more *Faṣīḥ* than that of Nawawī. His pupils are Malay (for instance from Deli, Lampung, Banjar, etc.). Teaches in the mornings in *al-Masǧid al-Ḥarām*, and in addition to that also at home. In the *Masǧid* he teaches in Arabic (many Arabs also listen to him), and sometimes he gives a Malay translation. Is considered to be a fairly distinguished person.³⁴¹

Umar Sumbawa only teaches at home. He has an Arab wife, has already lived in Mecca for quite a while, about thirty years old, knowledge roughly the same level as Zayn, also teaches all subjects.³⁴²

336 *Ibid.*: '[...] Hajji Muhammed Qasid in Bêdji (Tjilegon). This Qasid, also called Wasid, was the ringleader of the recent riots in Tjilegon.'

337 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 293–294, n. 60, writes his name the Indonesian way as Sadili.

338 A *wedono* is the indigenous head of a district that forms a subdivision of a Regency (Kaptein, *Sayyid Osman*, p. 121, n. 50).

339 *Zāhid*, ascete.

340 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 293–294, n. 60: 'Hajji Mahmud in Terate', without further details.

341 Laffan, *Making*, pp. 33, 178; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 305–306.

342 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, p. 306.

Garut: *Shaykh* Muḥammad Garut, already fairly old, in former times he used to teach at home in all فنون.³⁴³ Used to travel to and fro, now around ten to twelve years in Mecca, was already a teacher in Java before he came to Mecca for the first time. In Mecca he offers lessons to Sundanese and Javanese. He also taught [53] *Ṭarīqa* at quite an early stage, for about four years almost exclusively so. Has around sixty to seventy pupils for *Ṭarīqa*, whose *Shaykh* he is. Lives off family and from gifts.³⁴⁴

Ḥasan Muṣṭafā,³⁴⁵ about thirty years old, about twelve years in Mecca. In Java he was a pupil of Muḥammad Garut, in Mecca of many teachers, including Muṣṭafā ‘Afifi; very experienced in several subjects, author of *Fiqh* textbooks in Arabic, one of which has been printed in Cairo, also of a work on عروض.³⁴⁶ Teaches at home between صبح and ظهر,³⁴⁷ otherwise according to the occasion. His pupils are Javanese, possibly around thirty. He himself sometimes comes to listen to the lessons of Nawawī and some others, but not often, due to his many occupations. Lives mainly at his family’s expense.

Batavia: *Shaykh* Ğunayd,³⁴⁸ more than sixty years old. Lived a very long time in Mecca, is as learned as Nawawī, but not a *Mu‘allif*. Is now retired, gives a single lesson per day and his voice is difficult to understand because of his advanced age. Nawawī himself addresses him as *tuan guru* (also because of his great age). Lives mainly from gifts from the Indies and Mecca and probably receives some *Ḥabb* through friends in the *Ḥukūma*. His lessons are in Arabic and Malay, as is the custom of the Batavians.

343 *Funūn*, disciplines.

344 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 286–287; Laffan, *Making*, pp. 149, 152–153

345 *Ḥāġġī* Ḥasan Muṣṭafā (1852–1930). Laffan, *Making*, who doubts that Snouck Hurgronje and Muṣṭafā met in Mecca, mentions him at several instances, see Laffan’s index s.v. On Muṣṭafā, see also Van Koningsveld, ‘Conversion of European Intellectuals to Islam’, pp. 96–98, where his year of birth is given as 1845. In an Indonesian context his name is written as Hasan Mustapa, or variants thereof. Later, he would accompany Snouck Hurgronje on his journeys through Java in 1889–1891. During the Aceh war, when he was head-*panghulu* of Kota Raja, he kept up an extensive correspondence with Snouck Hurgronje (kept in MS Leiden Or. 18.097). See also Rohmana, ‘Colonial Informants’ (2021), *passim*.

346 *‘Arūd*, Arabic metres, prosody.

347 *Ṣubḥ* and *Ḍuhr*, ‘morning prayer’ and ‘noon prayer’, respectively.

348 Laffan, *Making*, index s.v., calls him Junayd Batawi; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 281–282.

Muğtabā,³⁴⁹ son-in-law of Ğunayd, whose daughter he married. Studied in Batavia and (more so) in Mecca with Ğunayd and Arab scholars. Is about thirty years old, spent a long time in Mecca, but travelled to and fro, for business (he only trades in Java, for instance in books, etc.) and for his (small) landed property. He has a *Wakīl* there and also a wife. Also receives money from family and admirers. Knowledgeable in all disciplines. His pupils: Batavians and also other Malay. He teaches in *al-Masǧid al-Ḥarām* and at home. [54] Early in the morning he studies himself in the *masǧid* and then, after the meal, at around 10:30 hrs, he teaches there (*Fiqh* and *Naḥw*); lessons at his home at various hours. Maybe in the mosque because at home he does not have enough space for many people. The level of his knowledge is about the same as that of Aḥmad Ğaha.

Asʿad b. Ğunayd (son of the aforementioned Ğunayd), born in Mecca, about thirty-five years old, has always stayed in Mecca, learned from his father and from Arab scholars. Teaches in the *Masǧid* and at home. Is of about the same level as Muğtabā. No longer follows lessons, teaches early in the morning in the *Masǧid*. After *Zuhr* or *ʿAṣr* also at home. Usually his pupils are also pupils of Muğtabā.³⁵⁰

Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Ğunayd, about forty years old, brother of the last-mentioned, somewhat more learned than his sibling. Went to Batavia about four years ago and has died since then, it is said.³⁵¹

ʿAbd al-Shakūr Surabaya,³⁵² as learned as Nawawī and Ğunayd. Does not care for worldly matters, but nevertheless has grown rich from the gifts of many admirers. Nawawī respects him as his senior in knowledge. His wife is a daughter³⁵³ of the Arab scholar *Sayyid* Bakrī. He is also *Ḥāǧǧī Shaykh* but without caring very much for the advantages and without concerning himself very much with the affairs of the *Ḥāǧǧīs*.³⁵⁴ The *Ḥāǧǧīs* therefore take him as their

349 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, pp. 282–283. Laffan, *Making*, pp. 135, 148.

350 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, p. 282.

351 *Ibid.*, where his name is given as Saʿīd only.

352 *Ibid.*, pp. 303–305; Laffan, *Making*, index s.v.

353 In view of subsequent information this is not clear. Here she is the daughter and a few lines further down she seems to be the sister of Sayyid Bakrī.

354 A letter written by him, or on his behalf, as a pilgrim *shaykh* to the Dutch consulate in Jeddah on 26 Rabīʿ II 1307 (20 December 1889) is kept in ms Leiden Or. 8952 A 3.

shaykh للتبرك³⁵⁵ but they pay house rent and other expenses themselves, تكريماً³⁵⁶ but nevertheless give him *bakhshīsh* if they are able to do so. Is already well over fifty years old, has been living in Mecca from his earliest youth, has an Arab wife. His wife is a daughter of *Sayyid* Shaṭṭā, whose son is the well-known scholar, *Sayyid* Bakrī.³⁵⁷ He teaches only [54bis] at home, at present mainly *Taṣawwuf*, formerly all subjects. Nawawī addresses him as *tuan guru*, but he is possibly not as learned as Nawawī himself. His pupils are Javanese, and he translates some of his lessons into Javanese. He knows Arabic better than Javanese, however.

16 January [1885].

Letters received from Mama (sent 29 December), Brill, postcard from v. B., *Indische Gids*.

Visit from Ismā'īl Āghā,³⁵⁸ the *Qāḍī* of Jeddah and two others, on behalf of the *Wālī*. Yesterday, a visit from Muḥammad al-Mashshāṭ.

ho haya ho ha - al-Ka'ba banauha - wasīdī sāfar Mekka - 'abbilū (عبي له) zam-bīl ka'ka - wal-ka'k ḡūw' al-mikhzan - wal-mikhzan mā loh moftāḥ - wal-moftāḥ 'end en-neḡḡār - wan-neḡḡār yibgā loh fulūs - wal-fulūs 'end es-sultān - was-sultān yibgā loh shawrā - wash-shawrā 'end aṣ-ṣoghār - waṣ-ṣoghār yibgā lèbèn - wal-lèbèn 'end al-baqar - wal-baqar yibgā loh ḥashīsh - wal-ḥashīsh fōq el-ḡabal - wal-ḡabal yibgā loh maṭar - yā maṭar ḥotti - binte okhti ḡābat walad - sammāto 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad.

Ho haya ho ha - They have built the Ka'ba - My master left for Mecca - Fill for him a basket with cookies - And the cookies are in the larder - And there is no key to the larder - And the key is with the carpenter - And the carpenter needs to get money - And the money is with the Sultan - And the Sultan needs to get good counsel - And good counsel is with the children - And the children need to get milk - And the milk is with the cow - And the cow needs to get the grass - And the grass is on the mountain - And the mountain needs to get rain - O rain, come on, come on - The daughter of my sister got a son - She named him 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad.

355 *Lil-tabarruk*, 'for the blessing'.

356 *Takrīman lahu*, 'in his honour', 'out of respect for him'.

357 Brockelmann, *GAL* S II, 811–812: Abū Bakr 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad Shaṭṭā al-Bakrī al-Dimyāṭī. Anne K. Bang, *Islamic Sufi Networks in the Western Indian Ocean (c. 1880–1940). Ripples of Reform*. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2014, p. 27, gives his name as Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Shaṭṭā; see also Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part*, p. 201.

358 His name is not found in the Ottoman state almanac *Hiḡāz Wilāyatī Sālnāmasī* of 1301/1884 and 1303/1886.

A lullaby communicated to me by Aboe Bakar.³⁵⁹ I also learned from him that Arab women in childbed dread a being similar to the one that is warded off in the East Indies under the name of Pontianak or Kuntianak. They call this being *umm aṣ-ṣibyān*, 'the mother of the boys' or 'of the children', because it is forever after them. Its appearance: a bird cleaving the air while it holds its wings vertically.

[54ter] *22 January [1885].*

On Friday, 16 January, a visit from Ismā'īl Efendi (also called Āghā), the *Qāḍī* of Jeddah, the dragoman of the *Wālī*, etc., in order to greet me on behalf of the *Wālī* and to say that my visit would honour the Pasha. On Sunday, a visit to the Pasha in the house of Waḥdāna. Pasha was very friendly, not very busy, as usual for that matter, invites me to consider, if my plans to go to Mecca go ahead, travelling as his guest. Shows me badly taken photographs of himself and would like to have better ones. On 21 January, after having been announced by servants, he came accompanied by his retinue (dragoman, other attendants, son of Waḥdāna, officers, etc.) to pay me a return visit in my home, and later in the consulate building in order to be photographed. Everything seems to have made a favourable impression on His Excellency.

Received on 21 January: letter from Mama and catalogue with periodical and newspaper, everything sent on 3 January, and an issue of the *Spectator*, sent on 7 January.

Today, Raden Aboe Bakar left, and I had a visit from Aḥmad al-Mashshāṭ, whom I had never met before, from his two sons, from Muḥammad Ġawhar, and from an unknown person, probably a servant of al-Mashshāṭ's, who spoke with difficulty, but readily and busily. Today, the Pasha and his retinue left. His visit to me had been postponed till the day after that originally fixed for the visit because of an attack of bilious fever, which fortunately was soon overcome.

23 January [1885].

Sayyid Muḥammad Muzayyin tells me, among other things, that apart from an improper way of life and the change of air the indisposition that afflicts people here and in Mecca is ascribed to above all to a change in the water. In these parts, people usually take the precaution of chewing onions when they change their abode, and before they drink anything from the new place, which, they

359 The text of this *Mekkanisches Wiegenlied* ('Meccan lullaby') was produced, with a German translation, by Snouck Hurgronje in *Mekka*, vol. 2 (1889), p. 199. Snouck Hurgronje did not include it in the English translation of vol. 2 of *Mekka* of 1931.

think, averts the greatest danger. However, when one arrives in Mecca, where one usually [55] goes straight to the *Masġid*, the smell of onions is *Makrūh*, so this is ruled out. But fortunately, one has Zemzem water here. If one drinks of it, and calls Allah's name as much as possible, then all this no longer matters, and it is even more helpful than onions. However, while travelling from here to Mecca, one uses onions before drinking, even at Ḥadda.³⁶⁰

29 January [1885].

Yesterday, mail received: letters from Mama (two, sent on 9 January), De Goeje and Bosch.

The *pontianak* of the Malay, or at least the *جنّ*,³⁶¹ which here plays approximately the same role, is called here *أم الصبيان*³⁶² and presents itself in all sorts of guises. She is especially greedy for the lives of young children and is considered to be the cause of miscarriages. Sulaymān,³⁶³ who spoke with her, was able to coax out of her the names of Allāh, to which she has to yield. These are given in some books about *fā'idas*, and they are successfully put under the pillow of women, etc.

Several *fā'idas* that are used here can be found in the *Kitāb Alif Bā' Tā'*,³⁶⁴ which is a sort of Book of Animals, which teaches the use of each animal for man. For instance, rabbit droppings wrapped up in a piece of cloth and worn by a woman on her breast is an amulet against conception. Those hoping for a male child should kill and eat a young buck rabbit that has suckled its mother's milk (or the milk that is found in it drunk by a woman?). For a female child, the same is done with a young doe rabbit.

Each *Ḥirfa* has its own *Shaykh* here, who is elected by the members and whose election has to be approved by the *Ḥukūma*. That is to say: for everything that has to do with commerce and the market, this has to be done by the *Muḥtasib*, for everything in connection with religion, etc. (*Mu'adhdhins*, *Khaṭibs*, etc.), by the *Qādī*. If something, which is not as it should be, happens because of, or owing to one of the members of the *Ḥirfa*, the *Ḥukūma* address-

360 Village on the road from Jeddah to Mecca.

361 *Ġinn*, jinn, demon.

362 *Umm al-Šibyān*, 'the mother of the boys', a baby-snatching demon.

363 King Sulaymān, King Solomon.

364 An Arabic book with this title does not seem to exist. It is possible that Snouck Hurgronje is referring to any alphabetically arranged compilation, and then the title could mean 'Book of A, B, C'. Arabic animal books are often alphabetically arranged such as al-Damīrī's zoological encyclopedia, in which a similar amulet is indeed mentioned (*Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrā*, ed. Ibrāhīm Šāliḥ, Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 1426/2005, vol. 1, p. 103 (s.v. *al-Arnab*, the hare, the rabbit)).

es itself to the *Shaykh*, who notifies the *Hukūma* of his colleagues' misdemeanors whenever he sees fit. There is even a *Shaykh Ahl al-Adhkār*,³⁶⁵ [56] who at present is Sayyid Muḥammad Muzayyin. In former times, there was an *Imtiḥān* before one could join a *Hirfa*, but now this seems to have been substituted by the practice of an already well-known member of the *Hirfa* vouching for the candidate's ability before the *Shaykh*.

5 February [1885].

Sent on 31 January: letters to Mama, Kuenen, Goldziher, Kruyt, Cramer v. B. Received on 2 February, letters from Mama (two, one of which contained the answers to my questions by A.V. van Os³⁶⁶), De Goeje, Bosch, postcard from Wilken, offprint of Nöldeke (review Kautzsch),³⁶⁷ offprints of my rejoinder to Van den Berg.³⁶⁸ Sent on 5 February, letter to Mama.

18 February [1885].

The title of one of the books frequently used to derive *Fā'idās* against illnesses, danger, catastrophes or to destroy an enemy with quotations from the Qur'an, *Du'ās*, with exorcized ropes or strings, with or without medicine is: *کتاب مجربات*,³⁶⁹ *أحمد الدبري المسمى بفتح الملك المجيد لنفع العبيد وبهامشه كتاب مجربات الشيخ السنوسي*, first edition, Miṣr 1290 (127 pp.). A brother of Aḥmad al-Mashshāt told me, however, that this does not help very much by itself. The important thing is which

365 *Ahl al-Adhkār*, 'people who recite at *Dhikr* sessions'.

366 A.V. van Os (not to be confounded with V.A. van Os) was a member of the staff of the governor of Sumatra's West Coast. He is mentioned in *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch Indië* of 1883 (vol. 2, p. 514) and in the same of 1884 (vol. 2, p. 545) as being absent or on leave. In later editions of the *Regeeringsalmanak* (1885, vol. 2, p. 226; 1886, vol. 2, p. 235) he is mentioned as 'controleur' 2nd class in Sumatra's West Coast. Snouck Hurgronje's questions are not preserved. His presence in Leiden, at least in 1882, is attested by a letter in Malay from [Hadji Abdoel Gani] Radja Mankoeta to A.V. van Os, dated Pajacomboh, 13 June 1882 (now Ms Leiden Or. 27.674).

367 What is probably meant here is Th. Nöldeke's review of E. Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen mit einer kritische Erörterung der aramäischen Wörter im Neuen Testament* (Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1884), in: *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1884/26, pp. 1014–1023.

368 'Zelfverdediging of zelfverlaging?', in *Indische Gids* VII/1 (1885), pp. 95–100; also in *VG* vol. 2 (1923), pp. 223–230.

369 *Kitāb Muḡarrabāt Aḥmad al-Diyarbī, al-musammā bi-Faṭḥ al-Malik al-Maḡīd li-Naf' al-'Abād, wa-bi-hāmishihī Kitāb Muḡarrabāt al-Shaykh al-Sanūsī*. See Brockelmann, *GAL* S II, 445, for Aḥmad al-Dayrabī (thus written by Brockelmann, died 1151/1738), and *GAL* S II, 356, No. XIII, for Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (died c. 892/1486). The full title of al-Sanūsī's work is *Kitāb al-Muḡhallā bil-Muḡarrabāt*. The two texts are usually printed together in one volume.

Shaykh reads onto the strings, etc. He had *iğāzas* for some such things. For a Javanese man, whose marriage had remained childless, he had exorcized such a string, which his wife then tied around her belly. A year later they had a child and our exorcist received one hundred *riyāl*.

I saw in Aḥmad al-Mashshāṭ's library a manuscript with the title: هذا ديوان نابغة أقرانه وقرنه الجامع بين كل مستحسن وحسنه محمد بن المرحوم خليل السمرجي غفر الله له وللمسلمين امين امين امين.³⁷⁰

[End of the 'diary']

370 'This is the *Dīwān* of the genius of his peers and his era, he who combines between every commendable and good deed, Muḥammad, the son of the late Khalīl al-Samarḡī, may God grant forgiveness to him and to the Muslims, amen, amen, amen.' *GAL* S 11, 511 mentions the author (died end 12th century AH) with reference to a manuscript of the *Dīwān*, which since 1900 is kept in Princeton University Library (MS 93H, cf. Ph.K. Hitti (and others), *Descriptive Catalog ...* (Princeton 1938), pp. 52–53, No. 132.

Glossary

Many explanations of Arabic words are derived from Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)*. Edited by J. Milton Cowan. Fourth Edition. Urbana, Ill.: Spoken Languages Services, Inc., 1994. Neither the Arabic article *al-*, nor the diacritics are considered in the alphabetization.

- ʿadat, adat* custom (Arabic, Malay)
aḥkām al-darūrāt extraordinary rules to be applied in case of an emergency
aḥl al-adhkār people who recite at *dhikr* sessions
ālāt auxiliary sciences
ʿan Maḥmūd 'on the authority of Maḥmūd'
anā waǧʿān I am in pain, I am ill
anaq negeri (the) inhabitants of a place (Malay)
ʿarūd Arabic metres, prosody
askari policeman, soldier
awlād al-ḥāra the inhabitants of the neighbourhood
awlād al-ḥarām evil-doers, bastards
baca Quran reciting the Qurʿān (Malay)
bakhshīsh small gift, tip, gratuity
bayān rhetorics
bārīda cold (as a Galenic property of a medicine)
bāzār market area
bersunat circumcision (Malay)
bidʿa innovation (i.e. in contrast with tradition)
bilāl announcer of the hour of prayer
darūr possibly: *dharūr*, powdery substance used for drying
darūra necessity, emergency
dawla government, state
dervish member of a mystical brotherhood
desa village (Malay)
dhikr collective liturgical exercises of Sufi orders, consisting of incessant repetition of certain words or formulas in praise of God, often accompanied by music and dancing (Wehr)
dihukum to be punished (Malay)
dikīr *dhikr* (see above)
dikka bench
dīwān collection of poetry
dragoman interpreter
drogman = *dragoman*
duʿāʾ prayer
fāʿīda short magical text, amulet
faqīh jurispudent
farāʿīd (law of) succession, hereditary portions
faṣīḥ eloquent, fluent according to the rules of literary Arabic
fatwā juridical advice
fiqh Islamic law
fīrāsh carpet
funūn disciplines
ǧāhiliyya the pre-Islamic period
gérant acting manager
ǧinn jinn, demon
guru teacher (Malay)
ḥabb grain (in the sense of livelihood)
ḥadīth tradition (about the Prophet Muḥammad)
ḥaǧǧ pilgrimage
ḥaǧǧī pilgrim
Ḥanbalī adherent of the law school of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855)
ḥāra quarter, neighbourhood
ḥarām forbidden (a category in Islamic law)
ḥārra hot (as a Galenic property of a medicine)
ḥasbī Allāh my reckoning is upon God
ḥīrfa occupation, handicraft, guild
hukum punishment (Malay)
ḥukūma government, authorities
al-ʿīd the feast, here the feast of the sacrifice concluding the pilgrimage in 1884
idhā insalaka Ṣafar 'when the month of Ṣafar has come to an end ...' (song text)
iǧāza diploma, permit to teach
iḥrām garment of the Mecca pilgrim

- imām* prayer leader
- imtihān* examination
- 'ishā'* evening prayer
- istinja, istingā'* cleansing one's behind after defecation (Malay, Arabic)
- jangan makan babi* interdiction to eat pork meat (Malay)
- kāfir* unbeliever
- kalām* theology
- kali* the head imam of a mosque (Malay), = Arabic *qāḍī*
- kalipa* substitute (Malay) = Arabic *khalīfa*
- kampong* village (Malay)
- kashf* disclosure, unveiling
- kātib* scribe, secretary
- kenduri* the meals on different occasions such as marriage, circumcision, the return of the pilgrims, etc. (Malay)
- kepala murid* 'head of students', children's teacher (Malay)
- khaṭīb* preacher, lower mosque personnel
- khuṭba* sermon
- khwiḥ* travel companion (Arabic)
- kiai* teacher, expert on Islam (Javanese)
- kòkòlòt pondoq* teacher at a *pēsantren* (Sundanese)
- korré* small biscuits, the size of a finger (Malay)
- kuntianak* child-snatching demon = *pontianak* (Malay)
- langgat* small building in which people usually perform the ordinary *ṣalāts*, where *dikir* is performed, and where occasionally education is offered (Javanese)
- lil-tabarruk* for the blessing
- lurah pondoq* teacher or head at a *pēsantren* (Malay)
- ma'ārif* culture, general knowledge
- madhhab* school of law, way of thinking
- madīna* town
- maghrib* prayer right after sunset
- maḥmal* ornate litter that is carried around; the richly decorated litter sent by Islamic rulers to Mecca as an emblem of their independence, at the time of the *Ḥaġġ*
- makrūh* reprehensible, frowned upon (a category in Islamic law)
- manṭiq* logic
- marabba* square (classical Arabic: *murabba'*)
- marbūt* member of the lower mosque personnel, sweeper (Indonesia)
- marḥabā* welcome
- marham* wound-healing powder
- masġid* mosque
- al-Masġid al-Ḥarām* The Forbidden Mosque, the Sacred Mosque; the Great Mosque of Mecca
- mā shā'a Allāh* whatever God wishes
- mawlid* ceremony in which a religious text is recited
- mendarasah* small building in which people usually perform the ordinary *ṣalāts*, where *dikir* is performed, and where occasionally education is offered (Malay) = *madrassa*
- minbar* pulpit
- mokim* inhabitant (Arabic: *muqīm*)
- mu'allim* teacher
- Mudabbir al-Mulk* 'the organizer of the reign', *vizir*, minister (honorific title)
- mudarris* teacher, professor
- mudim* announcer of the hour of prayer (Malay, from Arabic *mu'adhḥin*)
- muhtasib* inspector of the market
- murid* student (Malay word of Arabic origin: *murīd*)
- mushabbak* crispy pastry with honey inside
- mustaghriq fil-funūn* absorbed in scholarly disciplines
- muta'allim* student, someone who has learned
- muwahḥidīn* those who confess to the one-ness of God
- muzayyin* a barber, who also performs minor surgery
- nabāt* candy
- naḥw* Arabic grammar, syntax more specifically
- narguileh* waterpipe
- naṣiḥa* a juridical or political recommendation, usually urgent or binding
- negeri, negri* place, town (Malay)
- nikāḥ* marriage

- Nizārat al-Dākhiliyya* Ministry of the Interior
- Nūr Muḥammad* 'the Light of Muḥammad' (a mystical notion)
- opportunitate data* when the opportunity presents itself
- panghulu* Muslim dignitary, mosque attendant (in governmental service, Dutch East Indies)
- pēsantrèn* Muslim boarding school (Dutch East Indies)
- pondoq* pēsantrèn
- pontianak* child-snatching demon = *kuntianak*
- prang sabil* holy war
- priesterraad* indigenous court (Dutch East Indies)
- proxima causa* the immediate cause
- qā'im-maqām* burgomaster
- qāḍī* judge
- qāfila* caravan
- qaṣīda* poem, ode
- qawwās* consular guard
- qirāya, qirā'ā* reading, recitation
- qui de droit* who has a right to it
- raden* prince, someone of noble descent (Dutch East Indies), also written as *radhen*
- radhen* = *raden*
- Rawāfiḍ* Rafidites, a Shi'ite sect, also used by Sunnis as a term to denote all Shi'ites. The word has the connotation of heretics.
- rawḍa-khwān* reciter of religious poetry (Persian)
- regent* regent, the indigenous authority in the colonial context of the Dutch East Indies
- resident* resident, the Dutch authority in the colonial context of the Dutch East Indies
- riyāl* *riyāl*, rial, a monetary unit
- rizqī 'alā Allāh* my subsistence is provided by God
- ruhbān* monks
- rūhū!* go away!
- sadaqa* gift
- sağda* prostration, mark on the forehead due to regular prostration
- salām* greeting
- ṣalāt* ritual prayer
- ṣalātun ĵāmi'a* a collective prayer
- ṣalātun ĵāmi'at al-ṣalāh* a collective prayer bringing salvation
- ṣalāt al-ĵum'a* Friday prayer
- ṣalāt al-'id* the collective prayer at the occasion of the Feast (of Sacrifice)
- ṣalāt al-istisqā'* the ritual prayer performed in order to invoke the coming of rain
- sanat akbar* 'the great year', the year in which the *Wuqūf* in 'Arafa (9 Dhū al-Ḥiġġa) falls on a Friday, also called *Ḥaġġ Akbar*. Such a pilgrimage would attract more pilgrims than usual.
- santri* student in a *pēsantrèn*
- sara* mosque attendant (Malay, from Arabic *shar'*, 'Islamic law')
- ṣarf* Arabic grammar, more specifically morphology
- sayyid* descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad through his grandson al-Ḥusayn
- sembahyang* ritual prayer (Malay, *ṣalāt* in Arabic)
- shabāyik* rabble (?)
- shahr thaqūl* a difficult month
- sharīf* descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad through his grandson al-Ḥasan
- sharīfa* feminine of *sharīf*
- shaykh* leader of a group of pilgrims, often assisted by a *wakīl*
- shaykh al-ḥāra* head of the neighbourhood
- shīsha* waterpipe
- shuhadā'* (Shi'ite) martyrs
- ṣubḥ* morning prayer
- ṣūfiyya* Sufis, mystics
- sunbuk* barge, small boat
- sunnī* customary, as sanctioned by tradition
- sūq* market
- suran* small building in which people usually perform the ordinary *ṣalāts*, where *dikir* is performed, and where occasionally education is offered (Malay)
- tabāraka Allāh* God bless
- tabarruk* to ask for blessing

- ṭabl* drum
tadrīs teaching
tafarruġ pleasure, looking around, tourism
takrīman lahu in his honour, out of respect for him
ṭalāq repudiation of a wife, divorce
ta'lif compilation, writing (of a book)
ta'yūn *cantaron* (wound healing substance), St. John's wort
taqlīd to follow conventions thought out by later scholars
taqrīr permit
ṭarīqa mystical brotherhood
taṣawwuf mysticism
taṣṣūḥ editing, correcting
tawḥīd creed, doctrine that God is one
ṭayyib good
tuan guru Mr. teacher (a polite way of addressing)
tullāb students
'udda tong, squeezing instrument
'ulamā' scholars, jurists
'ulūm sciences
'ulūm al-ālāt auxiliary sciences
'ulūm al-bāṭin the esoteric sciences
- umm as-ṣibyān* 'the mother of the children', a child-snatching demon (*kuntianak*, *pontianak*)
uṣūl theory (of Islamic law)
Wahhābī follower of the teachings of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1791)
wakīl leader of a group of pilgrims, helper of a *shaykh*, leader of a group of pilgrims, *wakīl*; agent
wālī governor
wallāhu a'lam and God knows best
waqf charity
waqf sawa rice field given as charity
waqt time (of prayer)
waqt al-mulāzama the time for studying (with a teacher)
wedana, wedono indigenous official, in colonial times (Dutch East-Indies)
wikāla resthouse, place of lodging
zāhid ascete
zār exorcism
zīyāra visit, more in particular to the grave of the Prophet Muḥammad in Medina
zuhr noon, ritual prayer performed at noon

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Appendixes

For a better understanding of the Jeddah 'diary' and its historical context it seemed useful to add a few contemporary documents. Some can even be read as a complement to the text of the 'diary'. If they are not in Dutch, they are presented here in both the original version and in English translation. Documents originally written in Dutch are presented here in an English translation only. These are:

Appendix 1. A letter by Maḥmūd, Charles Huber's servant of 4 October 1884.

Appendix 2. A list of the most important Islamic textbooks in use in the Moluccas, made by Imām Aḥmad of Bacan, October 1884, in Jeddah.

Appendix 3. Three letters by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje from Jeddah to M.J. de Goeje in Leiden, sent between 8 September 1884, and 30 December 1884.

Appendix 4. Nine letters by Sī 'Azīz b. al-Ḥaddād, sent between 21 September 1884, and 31 August 1885.

Appendix 5. Documents from Ḥabīb 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir of 28 October 1884.

Appendix 6. Specimen from the correspondence of Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat (letter from Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, dated 5 February 1885).

Appendix 7. Recommendation letter for Snouck Hurgronje by 'Abdallāh al-'Atṭās of 17 December 1884.

Appendix 1.

The letter of Maḥmūd, Charles Huber's servant, to the French and Dutch consulates in Jeddah kept in MS Leiden Or. 7111, map 20, dated 13 Dhū al-Ḥiġġa 1301 (4 October 1884). The Arabic text has been transcribed here as diplomatically as possible, but without the few vowels it displays. These are largely redundant for understanding the text. Sender's portrait: figure 19.7. Reproduction of the original letter: figure 19.24.

الله |

لجانب معالي دولت فرانس الفخيمة |

سني المهمم بهي المكارم والشيم حضرت نجر الأماجد العظام قنصول جنرال دولة هولنده الفخيمه
دام بقاءه |

معروض عبدكم افندم اننا نهار سته من شهر ذلحجه دخلنا الى مكّه ونزلنا في بيت الشيخ عزيز
الحداد لاجل ما نشرف | في لثم اقدامكم في جدّه وتوضيح امرنا الذي جرا علينا من اوله الي اخره
وكان وقت الحاج مدارك استقمنا الي ان خالص | الحاج وانشالله نهار السبت ليلة الاحد نتوجه
من مكّه الي بين اياديكم حيث لم حصل لنا قبل حضور وعندما حصلت لنا | الفرصه حضرنا لاجل
هذه الدعوه ونعرض لكم جميع ما حدث ولم نحنا قادرين نظهر حالنا في مكّه خوفا من دولت
الترك | لان بلغنا خبر من بعد الاحباب ان دولت الترك لم لها اشتها في ان نظهر وكل مرامهم
عدم ظهورنا وان ظهرنا لهم | يفشى علينا من بعد الأمور واما انشالله تعالى نحضر بين اياديكم بدون
ان يكون الي الترك علم فينا واذا | بلغنا السلامه ووصلنا عندكم لم نخاف من دولت الترك ويظهر
لكم ظاهر الأمر وباطنه واننا ممنونين من | الشيخ عزيز غايه حيث انه عند ما حضرنا الي عنده

انسرّ (?) من توضيح ذلك الأمر وحصل لنا من جنابه مساعدته | كليه في ذلك الخصوص واما
اذا كان بلغكم اخبار من الغير فلا تصرّو عليها لأن عند حضورنا تفهموا جميع الصافي | هذه مالدم
اعراض لبسامة المكارم ودام الله بقاءكم افندم بتاريخ ١٣ ذلحجه سنه ١٣٠١ |

را- | عبدكم محمود

Mahmoud

Allāh

To His Excellency [the Consul] of the Splendid Government of France

Dear Sir of Elevated Ambitions, of Splendid Character and Qualities, Pride of the Great Distinguished Personalities, Consul-General of the Splendid Government of Holland, May God give you a long life.

Sir, your servant lets you know that on day 6 of the month Dhū al-Ḥiḡḡa [1301] (Saturday, 27 September 1884) we entered Mecca and took up residence in the house of Shaykh 'Azīz al-Ḥaddād in order to have the honour of kissing your feet in Jeddah, and to explain what had happened to us from beginning to end. It was the time of the pilgrimage and we stayed there, without interruption, till the end of the pilgrimage. If God wishes, we will, on Saturday evening, Sunday eve, come from Mecca to Jeddah in order to present ourselves before you, which has never happened before. If we have the opportunity, we will attend as a result of this invitation and we will present to you everything that has happened. We are unable to make our presence in Mecca known for fear of the Turkish authorities, as we received information from a friend that the Turkish authorities do not wish us to present ourselves. All they desire is that we do not present ourselves. If we would present ourselves to them, we would be placed under arrest for several reasons. God willing, we will present ourselves before you without the Turks knowing of us, and when we have reached safety, we will come to you without fear of the Turkish authorities. Then, the matter will be presented to you inside and out. We are most grateful to Shaykh 'Azīz, as when we stayed with him, he kindly made that clear to us. We have received full help from this gentleman in this respect. If you receive news from others, then do not draw conclusions from that, because when we are with you you will understand everything very well.

This (?) noble character and may God give you a long life, Sir.

On the date 13 Dhū al-Ḥiḡḡa 1301 (Saturday, 27 September 1884)

... (?) Your servant Maḥmūd.

Appendix 2.

'List of the most important Islamic text books in use in the Moluccas, made by Imām Aḥmad of Bacan (his portrait: figure 19.21), October 1884, in Jeddah', MS Leiden Or. 7111, in map 11.

- Shuġā' al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 500/1106), see *GAL G I*, 392.
- Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*: *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn*, a Malay adaptation by 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (d. after 1203/1788) of the Arabic theological work *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* by al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111).
- Īdāh al-Lubāb*: It is possible that this title of a text on marriage refers to the Malay *Īdāh al-Bāb (li-Murīd al-Nikāh bil-Ṣawāb)* by Daud b. Abdullah of Patani (Mecca, first half of the 19th century) which is attested in MS Leiden Or. 3200 (2), or a similar work.
- Ḥyā' Ulūm al-Dīn*. The great Arabic encyclopedia of Islamic sciences (as Snouck Hurgronje used to call it) by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111). See *GAL G I*, 422.
- Masā'il al-Muhtadī*: the anonymous Malay catechism *Masā'il al-Muhtadī li-Ikhwān al-Muhtadī*.
- Mir'āt al-Ṭullāb*: *Mir'āt al-Ṭullāb fī Tashīl Ma'rīfat al-Aḥkām al-Shar'īyya lil-Mālik al-Wahhāb*, a selection of chapters from Islamic law in Malay, compiled by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf b. 'Alī from Singkel (d. after 1693).
- Mufīd*: *al-Mufīd*, the anonymous commentary in Arabic on *Umm al-Barāhīn*, the Arabic compendium on religious doctrine by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486), see *GAL G II*, 250.
- Muḥarrar*: Arabic textbook on Islamic Law according to the school of al-Shāfi'ī by 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfi'ī (d. 623/1226), see *GAL G I*, 393.
- Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*: *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn lil-Tafaqquh fī Amr al-Dīn*, a Malay work on Islamic law by Muḥammad Arshad b. 'Abdallāh al-Bukhārī from Banjar (1193/1779).
- Safīna*: possibly *Safīnat al-Naġā' fī Uṣūl al-Dīn wal-Fiqh*, a work on theology and Islamic Law by Sālim b. Samīr al-Khuḍrī (Ḥaḍrī? lived 1277/1860). See *GAL S II*, 812.
- Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*: the Malay work on Islamic law by Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (1044/1634–5).
- Sittīn*: *al-Sittīn Mas'ala fil-Fiqh*, an Arabic compendium on Islamic Law according to the school of al-Shāfi'ī by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zāhid (d. 819/1416), see *GAL S II*, 112. It is also known by several other titles.
- Tilimsānī*: Possibly the Arabic commentary by Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Tilimsānī (lived 897/1492) on the *Umm al-Barāhīn*. The commentary has no title.
- Tuḥfa*: Possibly the Arabic *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāġ* by Ibn Ḥaġar al-Haythamī (d. 973/1565), which is a commentary on *Minhāġ al-Ṭālibīn*, the abstract by al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278) of *al-Muḥarrar* by al-Rāfi'ī (d. 623/1226). See *GAL G I*, 393.
- Umm al-Barāhīn*: Arabic creed by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486), see *GAL G II*, 250.

Appendix 3.

Three letters by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje from Jeddah to his teacher M.J. de Goeje in Leiden in my English translation. These letters can be considered as a complement to the Jeddah 'diary'. They describe events, some of which are also mentioned in the 'diary', but in a more coherent way. They are also much more explicit than the 'diary' regarding Snouck Hurgronje's plans to visit Mecca and the necessity to convert to Islam, a subject that is almost entirely absent in the 'diary'. This is not surprising, because the diary is a monologue and the correspondence is a dialogue. Snouck Hurgronje's outward adherence to Islam, as he calls his *Izhār al-Islām*, has been extensively treated by P.S. van Koningsveld,³⁷² but he could not yet use Snouck Hurgronje's letters to De Goeje because they were embargoed till 1997. Snouck Hurgronje's letter of 30 December 1884 is particularly revealing. It starts with Snouck Hurgronje reviewing his options for a visit to Mecca, while by the end of the letter it is clear that he had already decided to go there – something that we also know already from other sources. In fact, Snouck Hurgronje had already made this decision in mid-December 1884 when he announced his plan to convert to Islam among his friends in Jeddah. The letter to De Goeje gives his motives, albeit with some hindsight.

At least three letters from Snouck Hurgronje to De Goeje appear to have been preserved and are now in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive in the Leiden library. They are dated respectively 8 September, 11 November and 30 December 1884. The same archive has a few letters by De Goeje to Snouck Hurgronje. First, there is a letter of 6 September (not mentioned in the 'diary' and Snouck Hurgronje's answer, if there was any, may have been lost),³⁷³ a letter of 26 October 1884 (to which Snouck Hurgronje's letter of 11 November 1884, see below, is the answer).³⁷⁴ Van der Lith's note of 12 December 1884, is preserved as well (mentioned in Snouck Hurgronje's letter of 30 December 1884, to De Goeje).³⁷⁵

372 Snouck Hurgronje's first use of the term *Izhār al-Islām* seems to date from 17 December 1884. See on the question of the veracity of his conversion P.Sj. van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje's "Izhaar oel-Islam". Een veronachtzaam aspect van de koloniale geschiedenis', in: *id.*, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam. Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk*. Leiden (Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom) no date [1988], pp. 143–202. And again in 2016: Van Koningsveld, 'Conversion of European Intellectuals to Islam', pp. 92–93. Van Koningsveld's methodological mistake in this matter is that he assumes that Snouck Hurgronje's statements to his European colleagues must be true. Already in his letter to De Goeje of 8 September 1884, Snouck Hurgronje writes that 'putting the turban on my head for a while' would give him access to Mecca. Is it a confession? We simply cannot know, as has always been my position on this.

373 MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 360, Nos. 9–11.

374 *Ibid.*, Nos. 12–17.

375 In the Leiden catalogue incorrectly identified as a letter by M.J. de Goeje and kept togeth-

De Goeje's letters of 9 January and 19 January 1885, are responses to Snouck Hurgronje's letter of 30 December 1884.³⁷⁶

The correspondence between Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje from Jeddah and Mecca with his mother, Anna Maria Snouck Hurgronje-de Visser, mostly in Leiden, is not preserved in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive in the Leiden library. However, there is a short series of letters from Ms. Snouck Hurgronje-de Visser to M.J. de Goeje that also covers the Jeddah and Mecca period.³⁷⁷ Occasionally it contains brief, literal quotations from Snouck Hurgronje's letters to his mother. Ms. Snouck Hurgronje's letters have not been quoted below, as they add little or nothing to what Snouck Hurgronje also wrote to M.J. de Goeje.

1. Translation of the letter in Dutch from C. Snouck Hurgronje in Jeddah to M.J. de Goeje in Leiden, dated 8 September 1884.

One sheet of paper, folded once, 4 pp. With envelope, addressed to 'Prof. Dr. M.J. de Goeje | Leiden | Hollande'. Postmark of arrival in Leiden: 22 September 1884, and several other postmarks on either side of the envelope. MS Leiden Or. 8952 B: 30, 007–011 (online available).

Jeddah, 8 September 1884

Highly esteemed friend,

For ten days now, I have been at my destination. I have written home about most of my experiences during and shortly after the trip, and the preciousness of time, which is all the more pressing because of the heat, obliges me to refer to that correspondence. Nevertheless, I did not wish to let the second mail depart from here without having given you a sign of life and having told you some details.

In the short time since my presence here I have made a few interesting and useful acquaintances. It is only because I have been busy settling in here, and because of the acclimatization, that I have been unable to reciprocate their visits, sometimes even their repeated visits. Si 'Azīz, the Algerian exile; Raden Aboe Bakar, a very civilized son of a regent studying in Mecca for the past five years; Ḥabīb 'Abd al-Raḥmān, very interesting, learned, friendly and lively, but with a character difficult to fully fathom; and a few more individuals, who are already searching in Mecca for an answer to several questions that I have asked.

er with De Goeje's letters to Snouck Hurgronje, MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 360, Nos. 18–25.

376 MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 361, Nos. 1–3 and Nos. 4–6 respectively.

377 In chronological order: MS Leiden Or. 8952 C 20.1, Nos. 12–13; MS Leiden Or. 8952 C 20.2, Nos. 2–5; MS Leiden Or. 8952 C 20.1, Nos. 2–6.

The English consular dragoman Yūsuf Qudṣī, who has become a Muslim for material reasons and who has great influence; several merchants here with whom I have come into contact through Van der Chijs (among whom are also agents and good friends of Amīn al-Madanī), are prepared to offer their services in all sorts of ways; and the son of one of the merchants here, a young man of some culture, wishes to bring me into contact with *Shaykh* Muḥammad Murād, who is considered one of the most learned individuals among the people in Jeddah. The most learned person, Bā Ṣabrayn, seems to be too fanatical to fraternise with unbelievers, and at present he is temporarily absent, anyway.

People seem to think more favourably about Amīn al-Madanī than Landberg [has told us]. That he really comes from Medina and that this is not a false provenance, as Don Carlos alleged,³⁷⁸ is a fact. Another fact is that some of the books that were said 'to be totally sold out in the Orient' can be had cheaply in Mecca and through everybody's intermediary, among other things the *Ihyā' Ulūm al-Dīn* by al-Ghazzālī, which I ordered for myself.

While speaking with many civilized Muhammadans here (among whom Ḥabīb, 'Aziz, Aboe Bakar) it struck me that, whenever Mecca became the subject of conversation, people asked me without any reservation whether I was not going to have a look there, and that they only fell silent when it dawned upon them that I would not know how to do that. I had a candid conversation about this with Yūsuf Qudṣī, who owns a house in Mecca. According to him, nothing would have been easier than to go to Mecca with him, without any disguise, if only I had not been known before in Jeddah, and on condition that some preparatory measures had been taken. Even now he did not think it impossible, but nevertheless very difficult. It would, of course, cost too much time to go into deeper detail about this. But altogether, over recent days, I have [been thinking] very much about an undisguised visit to Mecca for the period of a few months, since *there* one can easily find what *here* can only be rummaged with a lot of trouble. Once having arrived in Mecca in secret I would not, unless I wished to be reckless, see very much and here even less. By putting the turban on my head for a while and pronouncing the *Shahāda* I will obtain

378 Carlo Landberg (1848–1924) was a Swedish orientalist. In 1883, he first introduced Amīn al-Madanī to the Leiden orientalists. He was an important intermediary in the sale of Arabic manuscripts. Collections that somehow carry his name have ended up in Leiden, Berlin, Tübingen and in the United States. Snouck Hurgronje nicknames him Don Carlo because of his aristocratic airs. In addition, Landberg had become rich through a good marriage. After his return from Mecca, Snouck Hurgronje would engage in a heated polemic against Landberg 'Dr. C. Landberg's "Studien" geprüft', which was published in Leiden (E.J. Brill) in 1887 (*VG* 5, pp. 121–144). See for more details about this my 'Meccan voices', in the present volume.

free entrance to *al-Masğid al-Ḥarām* and the very learned *Shaykhs* who teach there, some of whom are quite tolerant. However, I must ask you emphatically to speak to *nobody* whomsoever about this plan.

The pleasant encounters here include my meeting with the young polyglot, a Dutch East Indian subject of half-Turkish descent (but not a son of the Turkish consul),³⁷⁹ who visited you in Leiden, and who, after a stay of some time in Constantinople, came to visit a relative in Mecca. Together with him there travelled an older blood relative of his, someone of Arabian descent, but born and educated in the Indies, whose mother tongue is Malay, but who later learned Arabic and English. He was very experienced in the علوم الدين³⁸⁰ and for the purpose of improving his mind he had translated Arabic works into Malay. He promised to give any assistance that we might require from him in Mecca. I am staying in the consulate as pleasantly as the difficult and enervating climate permits. I have free access to the entire archive, both secret and non-secret, and to all correspondence, both past and present. Yesterday, we received letters about the murder of Huber near Rabigh. The miserable incident all seems to have been Huber's own fault.

With cordial greetings to you and your family, and to other friends, I am yours with my highest esteem,

C. Snouck Hurgronje

2. Translation of the letter in Dutch from C. Snouck Hurgronje in Jeddah to M.J. de Goeje in Leiden, dated 11 November 1884.

Two sheets of paper, folded once, 8 pp., text on pp. 1–7. MS Leiden Or. 8952 B: 30, 012–015 (available online).

Jeddah, 11 November 1884

Highly esteemed friend,

Today, the mailboat brought with its arrival the pleasure of your letter of 26 October [1884], and since tomorrow another mail will leave from here, I avail myself of the opportunity to immediately let you hear something from me. General information concerning my health, way of life, etc., you will hear from my mother. My work, which I resumed after my recovery, was of varied nature. In the past few weeks, several thousand East Indian *Ḥāğğīs*, in daily groups of between twenty and two hundred, arrived here in order to have their passes

379 Not identified.

380 *Ulūm al-Dīn*, 'religious sciences'.

provided with a visa, and then to depart from here on the first possible occasion. Of course, the opportunity of a conversation with those who ardently long to return home is not as great as it will be with the groups that ان شاء الله³⁸¹ will arrive next year. Nevertheless, I could profit quite well from some of the most educated among them, who stayed a few days in Jeddah, and I learned new things from them. Besides, I took several group portraits of pilgrims from different parts of the Archipelago. Several of our subjects, who have already been living in Mecca and intend to stay there for the time being, are now assiduously active in my interests collecting books and information. And I can say that Arabs who depart to the East Indies and others, with whom I have become acquainted here, are not at all reluctant to share what they know with me. As soon as they become candid and outspoken, they express their amazement about the fact that someone who is neither a Muslim, nor intends to become one, has so much studied the علوم الدين³⁸² and many plainly ask: ايش ينفع?³⁸³ All learning has a purpose and with these people no *good* purpose is conceivable other than اسلام.³⁸⁴ This adds to the other considerations that I already wrote to you about³⁸⁵ and that made me incline to اظهار الاسلام.³⁸⁶ There is no danger in this. A secret visit to Mecca has long been impossible because so many indigenous people know me, but if that were not the case there would be no danger in such a visit. There are hundreds of Muslims here who are more fair-haired than me. They are of both Arab descent, from Circassian mothers, and of Turkish descent, and more than one Muslim would take me, in my European clothes with a *Ṭarbūsh* on my head, with him with pleasure and on his responsibility *on condition* that nobody knew me yet. When I convert to Islam here, however, then many a Muslim will understand that this is a means to enter those institutions of worship and education that are otherwise closed to the Frank. However, they do not think this in any way peculiar, while the others either believe that the conversion is من القلب,³⁸⁷ or say الحكم بالظاهر ولا يعرف³⁸⁸ الباطن الا الله سبحانه وتعالى. Many of my indigenous friends would not at all be surprised by my conversion.

Mama can tell you more about some of my most important acquaintances

381 *In shā'a Allāh*, 'God willing'.

382 *Ulūm al-Dīn*, religious sciences.

383 *Ēsh yanfa?* 'what is the use of it?'

384 *Islām*, 'Islam'.

385 This letter seems to be lost.

386 *Izhār al-Islām*, 'the outwardly showing of Islam'.

387 *Mīn al-Qalb*, 'from the heart'.

388 *Al-Ḥukm bil-Zāhir wa-lā ya'raf al-Bāṭin illā Allāh subhānahu wa-ta'ālā*, 'the rule is the outward show, and only God Almighty knows what is in their hearts'.

with Arab *shaykhs* and East Indian *Ḥāḡḡīs*. Lack of time obliges me to write to you about a few subjects in particular. Three days away from Ḥā'il there live the Awlād al-Bassām, a large family some members of which are high-born merchants who spend part of the year in Jeddah and who conclude important transactions with our Van der Chijs. They know Doughty, Blunt, Huber,³⁸⁹ etc., and they are decent and enlightened people, yet of undoubtful religious persuasion, and subjects and sympathisers of Ibn Rashīd. I became acquainted with two of them and they can be useful to me in any way possible. The one who left me with the most pleasant impression is the person who guided Huber here in the قافلة³⁹⁰ of Ibn Rashīd on his penultimate journey. Huber not only seems to have had problems with Euting, the nature of which are unknown to me, but also difficulties with the French government about his collaboration with Euting, who is a German. These reprimands had the effect of imbuing in him a feverish desire to create an occasion once more, but now independently, to go exploring and discover things that he could call his entirely. It is true that going on pilgrimage disguised as a woman has been one of the plans that he made here, although he never turned them into reality. While he was here, in the absence of the French consul and of the acting vice-consul of the consulate, he could not liberate himself from this idea, and he made plans for a journey in the direction of Medina in order to look for inscriptions. For the moment, everybody has advised him against this. The Turkish authorities had formally forbidden it and put him under surveillance, while he walked around town in Bedouin dress. Šāliḥ al-Bassām (the friend about whom I just wrote) offered to help him safely make the journey *later on* together with the great قافلة³⁹¹ of Ibn Rashīd, but he had no patience. During the night he left secretly, together with his servant Maḥmūd, who is a Syrian, and with two Bedouin guides. Three days later, his corpse was lying on the ground near Rābiḡh and a few weeks after that people first heard about it. That is all one knows of the matter so far, and Maḥmūd is the only source of information. Before the departure, the two guides had already caused an unpleasant dispute about money with Huber, and he had scolded them quite severely, as was his habit.

389 Charles M. Doughty (1843–1926), the Arabian explorer; Lady Anne Blunt (1837–1917), author of among other things *A pilgrimage to Nejd, the cradle of the Arab race. A visit to the court of the Arab emir and "our Persian campaign"*, London (Murray) 1881; Charles Huber (1847–1884) the French explorer of Alsatian descent who had been murdered a month before Snouck Hurgronje's arrival in Jeddah.

390 *Qāfila*, 'caravan'. Apparently Šāliḥ al-Bassām, who is mentioned at several places in Charles Huber, *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie (1883–1884)*, pp. 634, 650, 709, 710.

391 *Qāfila*, 'caravan'.

Near Rābigh they had (all what follows is *عن محمود*)³⁹² drawn his attention to a location, off the main road, where there were ruins and inscriptions. Quickly, the three men went ahead while Maḥmūd slowly followed suit with the luggage camel. Somewhat later Maḥmūd overtook them, found Huber bathing in his blood, and was forced into submission by the bedouins who threatened him with the same fate. He invoked all saints in order to have *امان*³⁹³ and eventually received it. Huber's luggage was unpacked and the bedouins appropriated everything they could use. Together, they continued on their way to Medina. On the way there, they had the idea to write a letter to Ibn Rashīd, signed with Huber's seal, in which the latter asked to have the possessions that he had left in Ḥā'il. Maḥmūd was supposed to go there with the letter and then come back to share the loot with his two 'friends'. However, before they arrived in Medina, they encountered horsemen of Ibn Rashīd. The bedouins fled, but Maḥmūd joined them and travelled with them to Ḥā'il in order to tell the sad story. He came to Mecca with the pilgrim caravan of Ḥā'il and brought with him a letter of sincere condolences from Ibn Rashīd to the French consulate. After that he came to Jeddah, where he presently has taken up residence in the French consulate.³⁹⁴ During the gathering of this information, the French consulate was wholly or partly unoccupied, and the correspondence with Mecca about these things was partly done by me, and I was able to follow all of it with my own eyes, anyway. Also, Si 'Aziz, the Algerian exile, was very active in this. One thing in particular has become very clear, namely that the Turkish authorities of the Ḥiḡāz were actually quite happy with the way this had turned out, and that they had long been irritated by the facilities that Ibn Rashīd offered the Europeans. The latter received, so I was told by al-Bassām and others, a letter from the *والى الحجاز*³⁹⁵ couched in very harsh terms. Even if he does not let himself be influenced by this, and visitors coming from the Syrian side will always be very welcome, the matter is serious enough to create the effect that al-Bassām for the moment would not dare take a European under his protection within the great caravan *departing from the Ḥiḡāz* to Ḥā'il without the explicit permission of the *دولة*³⁹⁶ here. Such permission would now certainly be refused, and the stupid Turks would smilingly invoke the sad example of Huber and their lack of authority here, even if the al-Bassām family guaranteed someone's safety

392 *'an Maḥmūd*, 'with Maḥmūd as source'.

393 *Amān*, 'safety'.

394 The story is also told by Ernest Renan, Barbier de Meynard and Charles Maunoir in their *avertissement* to Charles Huber, *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie (1883-1884)*, p. vi. That account is also ultimately based on Maḥmūd's story.

395 *Wālī al-Ḥiḡāz*, 'the Governor of the Ḥiḡāz'.

396 *Dawla*, 'government'.

when they travel together with him and if the Sublime Porte does not come up with any impediments. Part of the great angry world considers those who poisoned Midhet Pasha³⁹⁷ guilty of the cruelty of Huber's guides. The French consul, who returned to Jeddah a few weeks ago, continues the investigation and hopes that the murderers will be found, convicted and given an exemplary punishment.

The aforesaid Şāliḥ al-Bassām will bring me modern poetry from Nağd and if possible, also information about old manuscripts. He himself hopes, before he returns home, to be able to order, through my intermediary, some of the Arabic books that were printed in Leiden, and of these he would prefer to receive a copy of the *Dīwān* of Muslim Ibn al-Walid as soon as possible. He ordered it already with me, irrespective of the cost, as he has, from his early youth onwards, known many of the poems by heart, but he had never seen the entire *Dīwān*, either in manuscript form, or as a printed book. When I showed him my copy, he was overcome with joy and did not stop reciting from it. I now wish to give him a copy as a present to thank him for his efforts on my behalf. Writing to Brill's seems useless if, as in this case, things have to be done quickly. Although my time is more than occupied, more than two months ago I sent them, *at their request*, information about the Meccan book market, but I have not received from them even a single line of answer. May I ask your intervention for the *Dīwān* of Walid? Exhortations for quick action, orally, by you, could lead to a copy being expedited. Al-Bassām would also like to own a printed copy of the *Dīwān* of Ġarīr. He had sold a manuscript fragment of that text to Amīn al-Madanī, who seemed to enjoy a good reputation with him. Has that also entered the collection in Leiden? Other books that al-Bassām wished to purchase he will indicate later and for those I will settle the account.

After a while, I have developed a good relationship with the Dutch colony here (the most numerous among the Europeans). Especially Kruyt and Van der Chijs are excellent people, from whom I get everything that I could wish. Van der Chijs is the great European merchant, cargo and shipping agent here, and because of his practical experience he is of great service, both to me and to the consulate. What a pity that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not inclined to make him consul on the occasion of Kruyt's transfer in the near future. Although there seems to be a general objection to appoint anyone other than 'consuls de carrière', there seems to be, according to Kruyt, some possibility for myself, if certain people would make an effort. Frankly speaking, I would love to have a job here for a few years, because it would leave me ample time for

397 This refers to the death of the Ottoman statesman Midhet Pāshā (1822–1883), who while imprisoned in al-Ṭā'if, had been killed by the governor of the Ḥiğāz, 'Uthmān Nūrī Pāshā on 26 April 1883.

interesting Oriental studies of the most diverse nature.³⁹⁸ From one branch of learning one steps into the other. Commercial and shipping interests here do not need a consular appointment. Outside the months of the pilgrimage there is little office work and *during* these months the work literally coincides with the study of Islam in the Dutch East Indies.

Yūsuf Qudsī is a renegade of great influence here, but a personality entirely different from I. al-Khālidi.³⁹⁹ I have to finish now. With cordial greetings to Madame de Goeje, and whenever there is an occasion, also to friends, I am yours with my highest esteem,

Your friend

C. Snouck Hurgronje

Mr. Kruyt sends you his friendly greetings. It is probably superfluous, but because of the way I was informed about Huber's story, I would like to ask for your prudence in the dissemination of these اخبار.⁴⁰⁰ Five books with his notes, brought from Nağd, have been sent by the French consulate to Paris.⁴⁰¹ According to Maḥmūd, all his writings that he carried with him on his last journey, and that were taken by him from Jeddah, and also some books that he had borrowed from others, were burned by the two bedouins.

3. Translation of the letter in Dutch from C. Snouck Hurgronje in Jeddah to M.J. de Goeje in Leiden, dated 30 December 1884.

Two sheets of paper, folded once, 8 pp., text on pp. 1–7. Kept in an envelope, addressed to 'Prof Dr. M.J. de Goeje | Leiden | Hollande'. Postmark of receipt in Leiden on 12 January 1885. MS Leiden Or. 8952 B: 30, 016–021 (online available).

Jeddah, 30 December 1884

Highly esteemed friend,

Many thanks for your letter sent on 12 December, which arrived here yesterday. More than other times, I felt, after having read what you wrote and Van der

398 See on this subject my 'Snouck Hurgronje's consular ambitions'.

399 He may be Ismā'il al-Khālidi, a pilgrim *Shaykh* and known in that capacity at the Dutch consulate in Jeddah. In the Snouck Hurgronje Archive in Leiden there are three letters by him to the Dutch consul in Jeddah, dated Ṣafar 1307 (27 September–25 October 1889), 7 Ṣafar 1307 (23 October 1889) and 16 Rabī' 1 1307 (10 November 1889), see MS Leiden Or. 8952 D: 75, available online. In the ledgers of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah his name is written as Chalidi (National Archive, Inventory No. 20.05.53, e.g. folder 2 (document No. 930), De Vries & Daniëls, *Inventaris* (1992), p. 13).

400 *Akḥbār*, 'news'.

401 The notebooks were posthumously published as Charles Huber, *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie (1883–1884)*.

Lith's considerations, that notwithstanding steam and electricity there exists something like *distance*. How very much I would like to speak with you for an hour or so about the subjects that have arisen between us. How much could then have been clarified and how difficult such an exchange is from afar. The question of the consul has been decided since your letter. A young expert in law⁴⁰² without knowledge of Arabic or Malay, or of the Indies or Islam, will take Kruyt's task upon his shoulders and will certainly spend more time than he in gaining some understanding of the complex type of commerce and shipping that is normal here and in comprehending the pilgrims, albeit only through the intermediary of others. The pilgrims close up if they cannot speak *directly* with someone or when the person in question does not understand more than half a word. We will see how De Vicq fares here with his knowledge taken from a few consular reports. From now on, my address is c/o Mr. P.N. van der Chijs in Jeddah. I have not lost hope of another chance at a later point in time, although I have to admit that Van der Lith's remark about the traditions of Foreign Affairs is completely true. The many things that I have seen in the archive of our consulate corroborate that impression.

More fruitful than a conversation about the consulate, which is lost right now, would without doubt be an exchange about *اظهار الاسلام*,⁴⁰³ which, in the eyes of many people, is a horror. The usefulness of a moderate *اظهار*,⁴⁰⁴ which would imply seeking out the company of Europeans less, to take care of certain outward details, etc., is evident. Even here in Jeddah, from the beginning I have had experience with people, who while being attracted by my notoriety and my interest in *علوم الدين*,⁴⁰⁵ continue to speak without reluctance, but shut up as if correcting an error when they hear something coming from my mouth that sounds too Frankish. They would soon start to ask what one thinks about this or that, and then accommodation is the only profitable strategy. There are *really many* people who, the more someone knows about Islam, the less they understand why he *is not* a Muslim. No wonder people who follow, just like the *عوام*,⁴⁰⁶ the ways of their fathers, are Christians or Jews. One, however, who knows Allāh's clear wish very well, cannot but be a Muslim otherwise he is the product of manipulation by Satan. *العلم بغير اعمال ايش فايده*?⁴⁰⁷ is what one hears all the time. As to these *اعمال*,⁴⁰⁸ very little is required, hardly anything in fact,

402 J.A. de Vicq (1857–1899) was Kruyt's successor as consul in Jeddah.

403 *Izhār al-Islām*, 'the outwardly showing of Islam'.

404 *Izhār*, 'the outwardly showing'.

405 *Ulūm al-Dīn*, religious sciences.

406 *Awāmm*, 'common people'.

407 *al-'Ilm bi-ghayr A'māl ēsh Fā'ida?* 'Knowledge without works, to what does it serve?'

408 *A'māl*, 'works'.

on condition that the external acknowledgement of the duty remains intact. This has led to the situation that many people with whom I have social intercourse on a daily basis, consider me as a co-religionary, who omits what is *ḥarām* (even the شراب),⁴⁰⁹ but who has remained weak in the أداء الفروض.⁴¹⁰ They find reason to be happy with me, even under these conditions, and all reservations disappear.

For a visit to Mecca, only the fulfillment of some more external duties is required. That it is not permitted to enquire after someone's state of mind or inner conviction is an integral part of the practice of life. Nobody would entertain such a thought. Also, before reading your letter I have not dissimulated the objections that can or possibly will be made against this temporary accommodation. That is why I asked for secrecy, and that is *not* impossible. As far as the Muslims themselves are concerned, they find it the most natural thing in the world that a European, even if his heart is open to the truth, does not reveal this to his رفقاء,⁴¹¹ and no Muslim will act against him in this. They imagine the objections, if someone's orthodoxy is known in Europe, *much worse* than they really are. As far as the Europeans here are concerned: one after another of those who know the Muslim East very well, expressed his amazement to me that I might lose such a beautiful and simple opportunity to get to know Mecca. Even Muslims who did *not consider* me as a brother in the faith have said more than once that they found it strange that I believed visiting the Holy City to be fraught with difficulties. If you did not know the أركان الإسلام,⁴¹² so they said, or if you were as ignorant about *Ḥaǧǧ* and *Umra* as most pilgrims, then the case would be different, but now the *Ṭarbūsh* and a group of friends in Mecca is a sufficient defence. In particular, the English consul Jago who has seen his hair turn grey in the Oriental service, his Muslim dragoman Yūsuf Efendī, the Algerian Sī 'Azīz, many Javanese, etc., said this to me more than once and argued against all my objections by saying: الحكم بالظاهر بس.⁴¹³ Everybody here finds a journey by me to Mecca such a natural thing that no attention is paid to the special way in which this should be prepared, and that no mention needs to be made of the fact itself. It goes without saying, however, that my stay in Mecca will later be widely known. In order not to irritate the narrow-minded thinkers, I will just place the truth up front by saying that a visit to the Holy City creates less problems than many people in Europe imag-

409 *Sharāb*, 'wine', 'alcoholic drink'.

410 *Adā' al-Furūd*, 'the fulfilment of religious duties'.

411 *Ruḥqā'*, 'friends'.

412 *Arkān al-Islām*, 'the pillars of Islam'.

413 *al-Ḥukm bil-Zāhir bas*, 'everything is judged by its outward appearance, and that is it'.

ine, and also that I have taken my measures, the details of which are nobody's business. Do I think, then, that I will make such important discoveries in Mecca? Yes and no. I will not go after hidden inscriptions, and small changes in buildings and institutions and the like, which have been carried out since Burton's visit⁴¹⁴ are not worth a *special* effort. But in my eyes the most important thing, or at least as important, is what earlier visitors to Mecca have neglected to look at, because they were not prepared to see it. Thousands of pilgrims stay several months, hundreds of them even stay several years in Mecca in order to acquire the sciences, which they later spread in their own country. What and how they learn there I might find out quite well here in Jeddah by asking and searching but witnessing with one's own eyes and ears is of course preferable for more than one reason. Besides, we must keep in mind that Muslim governance, Muslim society, the *adat.*, etc., the free expression of Muslim thinking, is nowhere else so active beyond European control, and nowhere else, therefore, more worthwhile studying than in the two holy cities of Islam. Reason enough, irrespective of my preference to acquaint myself better with Mecca because of my earlier research on the Meccan tradition,⁴¹⁵ to regret all my life and to reproach myself for ever, were I to let the opportunity slip away that is now being offered to me with such facility, and that I will probably never encounter again.

Those who, either in the Netherlands or elsewhere, would be annoyed by the idea of *اظهار الاسلام*,⁴¹⁶ are either people who are totally ignorant of Arabian or Muslim affairs, or who also know that there are various ways of becoming acquainted with Mecca, ways that have been used before. May the way that I have chosen remain unknown to them, and even if servile minds inform them about it, it should remain no more than a rumour. They will not know it from me, nor, I hope, from my friends. That is why I wrote to nobody else about it except to you, to Van der Lith and to Wilken. I accept the possibility that there

414 Richard Burton (1821–1890) visited Mecca in 1853 in disguise under the name of Hájj Abdullah and then published his *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans 1855–1856 (3 vols). Modern critical historiography, however, doubts whether he really visited Mecca at all. His verifiable lies about his own exploits are simply too numerous to make his story about having visited Mecca credible. See Robert Irwin, 'Arabist and Consul in Damascus: Sir Richard Burton and the Problematic Nature of His Translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*', in: Boris Liebrecht & Christoph Rauch (eds.), *Manuscripts, Politics and Oriental Studies: Life and Collections of Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1815–1905) in context*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2019, pp. 420–432.

415 Reference to Snouck Hurgronje's doctoral dissertation *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1880 (= VG 1 (1923), pp. 1–124).

416 *Izhār al-Islām*, 'the outwardly showing of Islam'.

are people who, when they are in the position to do so, would be glad to exploit such a rumour against me. First, that opportunity can be reduced to the very minimum. Second, the *mere possibility* that I might encounter difficulties if I tried to obtain an as yet entirely uncertain position here in Jeddah, would be a weak argument for missing the most splendid opportunity to get to know Islam in a practical way which very few will have the good luck to be offered. It would break down my mental health permanently. If, in Allah's high council, the worst decision has been taken concerning me and if I am to be reproached for treading in the footsteps of Burckhardt⁴¹⁷ and Burton in order to do what they have failed to do – then there stands against the chances of employment in Europe, which for the moment are uncertain, the certain prospect in the Oriental world, where someone who knows Islam and Muslims will always find paid work that provides him both with his bread and an ample opportunity to study. To alienate myself from scholarly activity is the very last thing I should do or wish to do.

My previous letter to you already dates from a few weeks ago, now I am writing in response to what you wrote to me. Of course, I have not been idle in the meantime. The intimate relationships that I have established with several believers have resulted in my becoming ever more accepted among them. When I move in a few days from now to another house, I will almost only see people around me who are believers themselves and who have no doubts about my belief, nor will they be asking questions about it. The arrangement of my new dwelling, the absence of all that they find unpleasant in a European environment, my study and my very limited contacts with Europeans, all these are sufficient for them. And has Lane⁴¹⁸ ever been reproached for doing exactly the same thing fifty years ago in Cairo? He too, and that is a fact, was generally considered to be a *Muslim*, both because of his abstinence on the one hand, and because of his accommodation on the other. Without these, his *Manners*

417 John Lewis Burckhardt (1784–1817) was a Swiss traveller, geographer and orientalist. From 9 September 1814 onwards, he visited Mecca. His account of his visit is in his posthumously published travelogue (edited by William Ouseley) *Travels in Arabia comprehending an Account of those Territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans Regard as Sacred*. London: Henry Colburn, 1829, vol. 1, pp. 158 ff.

418 Edward William Lane (1801–1876) lived for several years, from 1825 onwards, as a Muslim in Cairo. His *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians Written in Egypt during the Years 1833, -34, and -35, Partly from Notes made During a Former Visit to that Country in the Years 1825, -26, -27, and -28*, was published in London in 1836. Snouck Hurgronje owned a copy of the 5th edition of this work (edited by Edward Stanley Poole, London: John Murray, 1860). On p. xv of his Author's Preface, Lane explains how he has acquired the trust of his Muslim friends. In general, the influence of Lane's example on Snouck Hurgronje can hardly be underestimated.

and Customs would never have been written. The only thing is that his prudence led him to communicate this 'transition' to his English and other European readers in such circumspect terms than one can only understand it by reading between the lines and with knowledge of local conditions. The believers around me would be very much amazed if I did not perform the pilgrimage and also if I did not go to Mecca لطلب العلم⁴¹⁹ for a while. If there are no momentous events, it is not improbable that a possible response from you to this letter will be the last letter that still finds me in Jeddah. Whatever arrives later will be forwarded by Mr. van der Chijs to Mecca, but the former will happen only if you answer me immediately or very soon after the arrival of this, my letter.

The situation with the 'Indian Institution'⁴²⁰ seems to be in jeopardy again, judging from what you tell me. If Juynboll⁴²¹ is unable to continue his courses because of his bad health, then people, or at least the man in Delft who is in charge (Spanjaard),⁴²² are very favourably inclined towards me. But will this really turn out to be the case? I may not count on that, of course. In Amsterdam, people are not at all in the mood to increase expenditure on higher education, nor is the government. It means that my position for the moment is far from safe, and that is also why I envisage the possibility of looking for something useful or necessary in these countries. I would very much appreciate learning more from you when the fate of the Institution has been decided upon, either for the time being, or permanently.

I will not lose sight of your wishes concerning geographical works. In Mecca, I hope to be able to see whatever has survived the test of time in the *Waqf* libraries. If there is something really important then I hope to be able to copy it or at least to note down the title so that later on copies can be provided through the intermediary of friends.

Thank you very much for your efforts with the *Dīwān* of Muslim. Šāliḥ al-Bassām will be really glad when he has the book in his possession. He has also promised to be active in the Nejd on behalf of Euting. The case of Huber remains as it is, unless it deteriorates as a result of the stupid stubbornness of the French consul here or of his inept interventions with the Turkish authorities.

Today, we celebrate the *Mawlid al-Nabī* and in a few days from now we can

419 *Li-Ṭalab al-ʿIlm*, 'in search of science', 'in order to study'.

420 The 'Instelling van onderwijs in de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië', the Delft-based municipal institute for the education of East Indies functionaries (1864–1901).

421 Abraham Wilhelm Theodorus Juynboll (1833–1887), professor of Islamic Law at the Delft Institution.

422 Jacques Spanjaard (1846–1910), since 6 July 1872, professor in the 'Staatsinstellingen van Nederlandsch-Indië', in the Delft Institution.

expect the visit of the ⁴²³ والى الحجاز، ʿUthmān Pasha, who will probably stay in Jeddah for a few weeks. I hope to meet him and to make a photographic portrait of him. I have already been able to do so with the *Qāʾim-maqām* here and his children.

Tomorrow, the mail closes, which occasions me to write these lines to you in all haste. With cordial greetings to you and your family I remain, with the highest esteem,

Your friend,
C. Snouck Hurgronje

Appendix 4.

The letters of Sī ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥaddād. Several letters by Sī ʿAzīz, both in Arabic and French translation, are kept in the French National Archive (Archives Nationales BB/24/793, dossier 4799). As these have no direct relevance to Snouck Hurgronje's 'diary' nor to the period it covers, these have not been included here.

1. Letter in Arabic from Sī ʿAzīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, dated Mecca, 21 September 1884, to the Consul-General of Holland in Jeddah [J.A. Kruyt]. Original illustrated in figure 19.25.

One sheet, text on one side only, autograph. In MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 111. On the verso Snouck Hurgronje has written: 'Van Si Azīz 21 Sep^{tr} 1884 (Dzoelhiddja) | over zaak-Huber'.

الحمد لله وحده من مكة المكرمة الى جده
 حضرة الحبيب سيد القونص جنرال دولة هولانده بجد السلام عليك غاية السلام
 ان كنت بخير فالحمد لله
 اما بعد ليكون في علمك ان حاكم رابع التركي له عشرة ايام من يوم وصل الى مكة وانا نبحت من
 يسمع منه حقيقة نواجه هوبر فرسلت له واحدا من اصحابي تركي يعرفه يسأله عن قتل هوبر
 فاخبره انه لم يسمع بموته الا بعد ثمانية ايام وبعد ما سمع بقتله ركب هو وخياله الى محل قتله
 فوجده قتيلا والطيور والوحوش اكلوا نصفه واعضائه مفترقة من اكل الطيور والوحوش وتركه
 على حاله ورجع الى رابع ويخبر ان خديمه الذي معه شاركا في قتله ولم يمت خديمه قتله جميعا
 هو والبدوي الذي اخذه من جده -
 والوالى من يوم وصوله من الطائف اجتمعت معه اربعة مرات واكلت معه ولم يذكر لي قضية

⁴²³ *Wālī al-Ḥiḡāz*, 'the Governor of the Ḥiḡāz'.

هو بر وانا كذلك لم نساله عليه ولا فهمت منه ////////////// ناسيا او معتمدا والغالب ناسيا لاني
بينه محبة

والشريف وصل الى مكة اول امسى ليلا
والقافلة الاولى وصلت يوم امسى من المدينة يخبرون ان الشريف المرسل مع عده من الخياله
يدقون المحمل الشامى قتلوله البدو وقبل وصوله الى المدينة بيوم ونصف واما الحاج لم يحصل لهم
في طريقهم خلاف

وكانت عادة امير مكة يرسل دائما خيالة وشريف معهم الى المدينة يدقون المحمل هناك يقدمون
معه الى مكة في كل سنة هذه عادتهم

ها انى رسلت لك جريدة اسماء الشرفاء المتولين اماره مكة وقد طلبها منى حظرة الخواجه الترجمان
الذي قدم معك بعد سلامى عليه كثير السلام

وبعد نقلها يرسلها لنا ولا تعطوها لاحد

وتخبرنى بجواب على ما سمعت عن قدوم القونص ودمت

وفيه كفاية والسلام من كاتبه اعزير بن الشيخ الحداد

في ٢١ سبتمبر سنه ١٨٨٤

وعند وصول امير ركب الحاج ابن ارشيد تتعرف به ونخبره على هو بر وعلى خديمه ان وجدوه
يمسكوه ونخبرك بما نسمع منه بعد اجتماعى معه ان شاء الله اعزير

Praise be to God alone.

From Mecca the Honoured to Jeddah.

To His Excellency the beloved Consul-General of the government of Hol-
land in Jeddah. Many greetings to you.

To the point. May it come to your attention that the Turkish governor of Rābigh arrived ten days ago in Mecca. We have tried to hear from him the true facts about Mr. Huber. I sent one of my friends to him, a Turk who knows him, to enquire after the murder of Mr. Huber. He told the man that he only heard about Huber's death after eight days. After he had heard about the murder he had ridden together with his cavalry to the place of Huber's murder and there he found him, murdered, while the birds and wild animals had eaten half of his body. His limbs were lying spread out because the birds and wild animals had eaten from them. He left him in this state and went back to Rābigh and reported that the servant whom Huber had with him had shared his fate. The servant had not died as they killed them all, he and the bedouin whom he had taken with him from Jeddah.

On the day that the *Wālī* arrived from al-Ṭā'if I spoke with him four times. I had a meal with him, but he did not mention the case of Huber to me, neither

did I ask after Huber. I did not understand whether he had forgotten about it or whether he purposely did not speak of it, I think he just forgot, because we are friends.

The *Sharīf* arrived in Mecca, yesterday at nightfall.

The first caravan arrived yesterday from Medina. They reported that the *Sharīf* who was sent with some cavalry in order to bring in the Syrian *maḥmal* had been killed by the bedouins, one and a half days before his [expected] arrival in Medina, but the pilgrims had had no problems on their way.

It was the habit of the *Amīr* of Mecca always to send cavalry and a *sharīf* with them to Medina in order to go and fetch the *maḥmal* there and to bring it to Mecca every year, as was their habit.

I have sent a list with the names of the *Sharīfs* who were *Amīr* of Mecca because that had been requested of me by the gentleman, the dragoman, who has come together with you,⁴²⁴ after I conveyed him many greetings.

After he has copied it, he must send it back to us and not give it to anybody.

Please, let me know about the consul's arrival.⁴²⁵ I wish you a long life.

Enough for now, and greetings from the writer of this, 'Azīz bin *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, on 24 September 1884.

[in the margin:]

Upon the arrival of the *Amīr* of the pilgrim caravan of Ibn Rashīd we will be informed about this, and we will let him know about Huber and his servant. If they find him, they must detain him. We will report to you what we hear about this after I have conferred with him, if God wills. 'Azīz.

Remarks: Sometimes Sī 'Azīz writes according to his Maghribī pronunciation of classical Arabic, *خديمه* = *khādīmu* (shift of long and short vowels); *ارشيد*, *اعزيز* = in classical Arabic to be read as 'Azīz and Rashīd respectively. The Maghribī pronunciation is sometimes with elision of the vowel of the first syllable, whereby a cluster of two consonants at the beginning of the word is created. That is easier pronounced when a short vowel is placed in front of the word: 'zīz → ə'zīz; rshīd → ərshīd.

2. Letter in Arabic from Sī 'Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, dated Mecca, Friday 3 October 1884, to the Consul-General of Holland in Jeddah. On pp. 3–4 is an account on the 'questionable' behaviour of Amīn, the *qawwās* of the French consulate in Jeddah. The second *Ḥabīb*, friend, mentioned at the beginning of

424 Apparently a reference to Snouck Hurgronje. The list of the rulers of Mecca is mentioned on p. 13 of the 'diary', where it becomes clear that it had been made for Huber.

425 'Consul' may refer to the French vice-consul F.J. de Lostalot de Bachoué.

the letter, is apparently Snouck Hurgronje.

– One sheet of paper, 4 pp., 28.2 x 22.9 cm, text on pp. 1–4, written in ink, autograph. Snouck Hurgronje has written on p. 4: ‘Van Si Aziz 3 October 1884’. In MS Leiden Or. 8952 A III.

الحمد لله وحده

كتب من مكة الى جده يوم الجمعة في ٣ اكتوبر سنة ١٨٨٤

الى المعظم الارفع الحبيب سيد قونص جنرال دولة هولانده بجد السلام عليك غاية السلام
اما بعد تلاقيت مع محب الجميع يوسف افندي البارحه وقت العشاء فسلمت منه ثلاثة كتب
وردت اليه من طرفكم وفهمت ما فيها

اما جواب الحبيب الذي نازلا عندك بعد ثلاثة ايام نخبره بجواب على مراده

واما جوابك لاجل الحاج قد كلمني يوسف ها انا نبليج جهدي الى ان هولاء الحجاج كلهم من
اطرابلس ولم يكونوا من وطن الجزائر ولو كانوا من بلادنا لكنت جوبتكم بنعم من غير مشاورتهم
وحيث كانوا بعيدين على بلادنا ولا نعرفهم ولا يعرفوني يحتاج لنا نكلهم وان شاء الله نحصل

منهم الفايده ولاكن بعضهم يقدمون الى الزيارة هذه الايام وبعضهم قدموا سابقا

واما جوابك على ارسال خديم نخواجه هوبر فجزاك خيرا لاني خايفا منه يهرب لانه تلاقا مع كثير
من اهل الشام والترك وكلهم يشيرون عليه بعدم قدومه الى جده وعدم قبول كلامي
وصرت خايفا منه وربما نرسل معه الحاج على اذا خرج من عندي وينام معه وخصوصا امين
القواس مثلهم سنذكره في محله وحده ومع اني دائما نونسه ونقول له اذا وصلت الى قونص
افرانصه تاخذ دراهمك وحوايحك التي نهبها لك مع حوايج عمك لانه قال خدمت على هوبر
ثلاثة عشر شهر في كل شهر بمائة ونحسين فرنك وفي كل شهر يدفعها له والاكل والكسوة
من عند عمه ونهبها له البدو مع قتل هوبر

فاعودته ان كنت صادقا في كلامك وافعالك ودولة افرانصه تاخذها من دولة الترك او تدفعها
لك من عندها ولا تضيع خدمتك من غير شك وان كذبت مع دولة افرانصه وختت عمك تضيع
انت بنفسك اينما تكونوا تقع في يدها طالت الايام او قصرت

ونخبرك ثانيا وجدت عنده جوابا مكتوبا من عند ابن ارشيد ولا عرفت صحيحا من عند ابن
ارشيد او زوره هو من نفسه مكتوبا الى القونص وفتحته وقراته يذكر فيه تاسفه على قتل هوبر
وذكر انه امر المذكور بالقدوم اليكم يخبركم على قتله

ها هو جوابه رسلته داخل جوابنا هذا ونخبرك ايضا

سمعت ان الوالى ارسل الى امير ركب الحجاج بن ارشيد حضره عنده

فقال له ان الباب العالى غضبان على امير ابن ارشيد لاجل غفلته على الافرنج يدخلون بلاد

وهم ممنوعين بالدخول الى هذه البلاد فكيف هو يتركهم يدخلون بلاده ويعرفون بلاده وهذه الحاجة لا تليق به ودولة الترك لا يوافقها هذا الامر فقال له واما قتل صاحبه في // // // // جهة رابع من قتله فعل خيرا ومزية ولو كانوا العرب يردون بالهم دائما مثل هذا كل من وجدوه من امثال هذا يقتلوه لكانوا فعلوا خيرا لانهم يعدون نفوسهم شطار يدخلون هذه البلاد ياخذون اخبارها ويعرفون عدد اناسها وطروقها وسواحلها وجبالها ووقت ما يجدون فرصة يدخلوها يملكون بها

وسمعت من خديم هوير ان امير ركب ابن ارشيد بعد ملاقاته مع الوالى ارسل اليه ابي الى خديم المذكور يطلب منه عدم اضراره وعدم قدومه الى جده وطلب منه جواب ابن ارشيد المكتوب الى القونص يرده له مخافة سمع به دولة الترك لان الوالى اوصاه فلا يخبر احدا انه وصل اليه هوير يعنى وصل الى بن ارشيد

فاجابه الخديم ان الجواب خرج من يدي ولا تقدر على رده ونخبرك قد امرت الخديم بكتابة الجواب بنفسه اليكم على ما في مراده ها هو مع جوابنا وهو يصبح عندهم صبيحة الاحد صحبة الحاج على ان شاء الله ودمتم والسلام من كاتبه اعزير بن الشيخ الحداد نطلب منك الجواب على وصول هذا الجواب وعلى وصول الوكيل اولا

هذه الورقة بالخصوص امين القواس

من مكة في اكتوبر

نشكي لكم عليه لما تلاقينا مع خديم لنواجه هوير ولم ترد اخباره ولا كن لما سكن في بيت قريبة الى بيتي سمع لحبيبه فدخل عليه واوصيته بكتمان السر كما اشرت لكم سابقا في جواب وفي ايامنا نحن في عرفات تكلم مع الخديم وقال له فلا تصدق كلام سى اعزير لانه يكذب عليك ويريد ارسالك الى جد لاجل دولة افرانصه تسرحه ويربح مزية بك ويقول الى القونص هو الذي مسكنك ولا عندك مزية مع القونص فتصير في هلاك مع القونص وفي يومنا هذا ايضا توجه مع الخديم فقال له ان سمعت الى كلامي فلا تتضر الى كلام فلان ان شئت نقدم جميعا عشية اليوم انا واياك ولا تعلمه وتغيرت من كلامه هذا

وبقيت متحيرا من هذا القواس ولا عرفته قواس قونص افرانصيا او عدوه او وكيل قونص افرانصه من تكليفه ودخوله في امور قونصلت شهادته ايام كنت بجدة

ورد تلغراف من عند المنستر الى قونص افرانصه بجدة فاخذ معه خاتم القونصلت وقدم الى بيت تلغراف وطلبه وقال له نعطي لك خط يدي بطابع قونصلت فابا على دفعه اليه وبعده ورد تلغراف من الشام من عند القونص مكتوب الى قونص افرانصه بجدة يطلب خبر هوير فاخذه

القواس امين وفتحته فاجابه بتلغراف
وبعده بلغني لما جاء مادروس من صفرة دخل الى قونصلت ودفع له القواس امين الكتب
المكتوبة من افرانصه الى قونص جد وفتحها وقراها مادروس ولا عرفت هذا التكليف منهم
يلعبون على قونصلت افرانصه او جعلوا قونصلت مسخرة مع هولاء الاثنان بلادهم مصر اخذها
لقنيز (٩) بالكذب وهم يلعبون على ويكذبون على قونصلت افرانصه ونحن بعرب وطن الجزائر
اقرب لدولة افرانصه من عرب مصر وغيرها ان كان الامر بالسان وعند ظني القونصلت لا
يتقرب احدا اليه الا بالخدمة واما حوايج موسي دلصطل قونص التي تركها في بيته واوصاه هو
على حفصها من يوم ذهاب القونص وهو يفرش فراشات القونص في بيته وخصوصا ايام تزويجه
حوايج القونص كلها حملها الى بيته مثل الفراشات والسحون وغير ذلك وبقوا عنده ايام كثيرة
لما وصلت الى جد اخبرني القواس الثاني ان امين اخذ فراشات القونص فرشوه في بيته ولا
زالوا عنده الى اليوم

ونرج من حضرة قونصلت افرانصه البحث في امر هذا الرجل القواس الذي لم يعرف مكانه
يفضح سر قونصلت ويفرط في حوايج القونص // وفي معرفتي لا يصلح قواس ولا يحق
لقونصت افرانصه تقبله خدام والسلام كاتبه اعزير بن الشيخ الحداد
وكذلك خديم تلواجه هوبر قبل صفر هوبر وبعد صفر القونص دلصطل شهدوا له خيانات على
قول خديم المذكور

نرج منكم تسالوه وتقابلوه مع امين القواس على ما ذكرت من خصوصه ومن خصوص الحوايج
القونص يضر لكم والسلام

Praise be to God alone.

Written from Mecca to Jeddah on Friday, 3 October of the year 1884.

To the most honoured friend, Mr. Consul-General of the government of Hol-
land in Jeddah, may peace be upon you, all peace.

Now to the point. Yesterday, at the time of the evening prayer I met our mutual friend Yūsuf Efendī,⁴²⁶ and I received three letters from him that had arrived from you to him, and I have understood their content.

Regarding the letter of the friend who is staying with you,⁴²⁷ we will send him a letter as he wishes, within three days from now.

Regarding your letter about the pilgrims, about whom Yūsuf has spoken to me, we have tried to let you know that all these pilgrims come from Tripoli, and that they do not originate from the fatherland Algeria. If they had been from our country, I would have answered you 'yes' without consulting you further.

426 Apparently Yūsuf Qudṣī, the dragoman of the British consulate.

427 Apparently Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.

Now that they come from far away, from our country, we can get to know them without their knowing me. We just need to speak to them. God willing, we can profit from them, but some of them will continue their journey to Medina in the coming days, whereas some have already gone there.

Regarding your letter saying that you will send the servant of Mr. Huber, God may reward you, because I feared that he would flee because he has met many Syrians and Turks, who all give him instructions not to go to Jeddah and not to listen to my words. I have begun to be afraid for him, and maybe we can send *al-Ḥāǧǧ* 'Alī together with him when he leaves my house. He can spend the night with him, and particularly Amīn the consulate guard is like them. We will mention him separately, although we have always treated him kindly, and we say to him 'if you come with the consul of France you will take your dirhams and your possessions, which they have taken away from you together with the possessions of your uncle, because he has said 'you have served Huber thirteen months, for a monthly salary of one hundred and fifty francs, every month to be paid to you, plus the costs of food and clothing from his uncle, which the bedouin robbed him of when they killed Huber.

Then, I would have it returned to you if you would be truthful in your words and your deeds and the French government would have received it back from the Turkish government or would have paid it to you from its own means, and without doubt it would not have made your service futile. However, if you had lied to the French government and cheated on your uncle, you would have lost it through your own fault, wherever you are, and whenever, in the long- or short term, you got it in your hands.'

Secondly, we inform you that I found with him a letter from Ibn Rashīd, and I am not sure whether it is genuinely from Ibn Rashīd or whether he counterfeited it. It is directed to the consul. I opened it and I read it. It says that he regretted learning about the murder of Huber, and that he had ordered the said person to come to you in order to tell you about his murder.

Herewith, then, his letter, which I send enclosed with this letter.

We also inform you that I have heard that the governor has sent a letter to the leader of Ibn Rashīd's caravan summoning his presence. He has told him that the Sublime Porte was angry at Ibn Rashīd because he had, against the orders given to him, permitted the Franks to enter his country, whereas it was forbidden to them to enter this country. How was it possible that he permitted them to enter his country and to gather information about his country? That is something inappropriate, and the Turkish government disagrees with this.

And he said to him that the murder of his friend near Rābigh, was a good and excellent thing. If the Arabs were always willing to do this with whomever they found, namely to kill them, then they would be acting well, and they

would be considered wise people. Foreigners enter this country to gather information about it, to get to know the inhabitants, the roads, the coast and the mountains, but the moment they see an opportunity they come in in order to take possession of it.

I heard from Huber's servant that the leader of Ibn Rashīd's caravan, having met with the governor, sent for him, that is, for the aforesaid servant, in order to tell him that he should remain invisible and not come to Jeddah. He asked him for the letter that Ibn Rashīd had written to the consul, to give that to him, because he feared that the Turks would find out about it, because the governor had instructed him to tell nobody that Huber had arrived with him, namely that he had arrived with Ibn Rashīd.

The servant responded that he had lost the letter and that he could not give it back to him.

We report to you that I asked the servant to write a letter to you himself, explaining what he wished to do with our letter, and that *al-Ḥāḡḡ* 'Alī will come to you this Sunday morning, God willing.

May you be granted a long life. Greetings from the writer [of these lines] 'Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād.

We request from you a confirmation of receipt of this letter, and firstly of the arrival of the assistant of the pilgrim *Shaykh*.

This leaf concerns the consular guard Amīn.

From Mecca, October.

We complain to you about him for the treatment that we received together with the servant of Mr. Huber, and because we did not hear from him, although he lived in a house near mine. He heard from his friend and thereupon he entered with him. I instructed him to keep the secret as I had indicated earlier to you in a letter.

These days that we are in 'Arafāt, he spoke with the servant and said to him 'Do not believe the words of Sī 'Azīz, because he lies to you and wishes to send you to Jeddah because the French government protects him and seeks an advantage from you, and he will tell the consul that it was he who gave you shelter, so that there is nothing to be gained from the consul, and that will badly affect your position with the consul. This day, he came to the servant and told him: If you listen to my words and you do not heed the words of so-and-so, we will, if you wish, go there together at the time of the evening prayer, you and I, without your telling him and without your changing anything in his words.'

I remained in a state of perplexity about this consular guard, and I no longer knew whether he was the guard of the consulate of France or its enemy; whether or not he was the agent of the consulate of France in view of his bothering

and interfering in the affairs of the consulate, as I witnessed when I was in Jeddah.

A telegram arrived from the minister to the consul of France in Jeddah. Thereupon, he took with him the seal of the consulate, went to the telegraph office and asked to have the telegram, saying we will sign for it with the seal of the consulate, but the man refused to give it to him. Later, a telegram came from Damascus from the consul there, destined for the consul of France in Jeddah, where the former requested news about Huber. Amīn, the consular guard, took the telegram, opened it, and answered it with a telegram.

Later, I heard that when Mardrus returned from his journey, he entered the consulate, whereupon the consular guard Amīn gave him the letters from France to the consul in Jeddah. Mardrus opened these and read them. I had no idea what their business there was, playing around with the consulate of France or whether the consulate was being ridiculed by these two men. Their land is Egypt, which is consumed by lies (?), whereas they are playing with and lying about the consulate of France. We are Arabs from the fatherland of Algeria and are much closer to the government of France than the Arabs from Egypt and other countries, when it comes to a matter of language (?). I had thought that nobody would approach the consulate, other than to render a service. With respect to the property of monsieur De Lostalot, the consul, which he had left behind in his house and about which he had left instructions from the day of the consul's, [well, the guard's] departure, he had spread out the consul's carpets in his house, specifically because he had a marriage celebration there. He carried all the consul's property, carpets, dishes and the like to his house, where they remained for many days. When I arrived in Jeddah, the second guard told me that Amīn had taken the carpets of the consul, spread these out in his house, where they remain till today.

We request from the honoured consulate of France that it investigate the question of this man, the consular guard, who does not know his place, who is indiscreet with the secrets of the consulate and who disposes of the possessions of the consul. In my opinion, he is not a good guard and the consulate of France should not employ such people.

Greetings from the writer [of these lines] 'Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād.

Likewise, from the servant of Mr. Huber prior to Huber's journey and after the journey of consul De Lostalot. They are witnesses to the lies that have been told about the aforesaid servant.

We request from you that you ask for him, and that you meet with him, together with the consular guard Amīn, concerning all I have told you about him, and about the possessions of the consul, so that it becomes clear to you. Greetings.

[Snouck Hurgronje has written on the lower part of the paper: 'Van Si Aziz 3 October 1884']

3. Letter in Arabic from Si 'Aziz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, dated Mecca, 7 Ṣafar 1302 (26 November 1884), to the Consul-General of Holland in Jeddah. The *Faqīh* mentioned in the text is apparently Snouck Hurgronje.

– One sheet of paper, 2 pp., 28.4 x 22.2 cm, text on p. 1, written in ink, autograph. Snouck Hurgronje has written on the reverse of the letter: '7 ṣafar 1302. van Si Aziz over boeken'. In MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 111.

الحمد لله وحده
المعظم حضرة قونص جنرال هولاند يجد السلام عليك
ويعد من يوم وصلت الى مكة وانا كل يوم نرسل الى صاحب الكتب على تمام الجريده سوى
اليوم اخذتها منه
نعم هذه جريده الكتب التي عنده كلها بخط القلم ان كان لكم مرغوب في شرايها كلها او بعضها
فارسلوا لي جريده مطلوبكم نشترها لكم ونرسلها لكم ونطلب من الفقيه بعد سلامنا عليه كثير
السلام
يرسل لنا ما تركت عنده مع عدة من //// من تصويرتنا لكي نرسلها الى بلادنا
وهذه الجريده تردوها لنا لكي نردها لصاحبها وما اعجبكم فشيروا عليه بقلم الرصاص مع جواب
من عندكم والسلام من كاتبه اعزير بن الشيخ الحداد
في ٧ صفر سنه ١٣٠٢

Praise be to God alone.

To the honoured Consul-General of Holland, peace be upon you.

And further. From the day that I arrived in Mecca, I have sent messages on a daily basis to the owner of the books that are on the list, but today I received them from him.

Yes, with respect to this list, all the books that are with him are manuscripts. If you wish to buy all of them or some of them, then send a list of the titles you wish to acquire so that we can purchase them for you and send them to you.

We requested from the *Faqīh*,⁴²⁸ after having sent him many greetings, that he sends us what I have left with him, together with some copies of our portrait so that we can send these to our country.

Send the list back to us so that we can return it to the owner of the books. What is of your liking, please indicate it in pencil, with a letter from you.

428 Apparently Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. See for the making of the portrait of Si 'Aziz with his slave p. 23 of the 'diary' and for the portrait see figure 19.5.

Greetings from the writer [of these lines] ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād.
7 Šafar of the year 1302.

4. Letter in Arabic from Sī ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, dated Mecca, 4 December 1884, to *Sayyid al-Faqīh* (mister the *faqīh* (Mr. Scholar) = C. Snouck Hurgronje) in Jeddah.

– One sheet of paper, 4 pp., 20.9 x 13.4 cm, text on p. 1, written in ink, autograph. Snouck Hurgronje has written on the letter: ‘4 December 1884. Van Si Aziz over boeken’. On one of the blank pages someone has copied the first words of the letter with aniline pencil. In MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 111.

الحمد لله وحده
من مكة
الى الحبيب الاديب سيد الفقيه
السلام عليك غاية السلام اما بعد بلغت لنا ما رسلت لنا كثر الله خيرك واما ما طلبت من نقل
الدقتر كن هنيئا ان شاء الله يحصل مرادك عن قريب وسلم لنا كثيرا على محب الجميع حضرة
قونص جنرال وفيه كفايه
والسلام من كاتبه اعزيز بن الشيخ الحداد
في ٤ دسامبر سنه ١٨٨٤

Praise be to God alone.

From Mecca.

To the learned friend, mister the *faqīh*.

Many greetings to you.

What you sent to us has arrived, may God increase your well-being. As to your request for a copy of the list, please, may your health continue, soon what you have asked will be done. Send many greetings to our common friend, his excellency the Consul-General. That is it for now.

Greetings from the writer [of these lines] ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād.

On 4 December of the year 1884.

5. Letter in Arabic from Sī ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, dated Mecca, in Rabīʿ 1 1302 (between 19 December 1884 and 17 January 1885), to Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh Efendī (= C. Snouck Hurgronje) in Jeddah.

– One sheet of paper, 2 pp., 28.7 x 22.8 cm, text on p. 1, written in ink, autograph. With an envelope on which sender has written: *الى حضرة العالم الذي عند حضرة* ‘To the scholar who lives with the Consul-General of Holland, God willing.’ Snouck Hurgronje has written on the envelope: ‘Rabīʿ 1 302’. In Or. 8952 A 111.

الحمد لله وحده
من مكة المكرمة

في شهر ربيع الاول سنة ١٣٠٢

الى حضرة الحبيب الشيخ محمد بن عبدالله افندي السلام عليك غاية ان كنت بخير فالحمد لله
اما بعد بلغني اعز جوابك وفهمت ما شرحت فيه فالحمد لله على دخولك في الاسلام وقد لحقني
الفرح كثيرا من فعلك هذا كما اولا احباب والان صرنا اخوانا ولا يخفا حضرتك ما قال الله
في القرآن ان الدين عند الله الاسلام وغير ذلك كثيرة ومن الحديث كثيرة وحمدت الله تعالى
على تحصيل تعبك الذي تعبت في المدارس عن تعليم علم الدين والفقه ولا يخفا حضرتك لو لا
دخولك في الاسلام تنتفع به او تعمل به او ببعضه لكنت خدمتك وتعبك على تعليم علم الدين
كالعدم والان فالحمد لله هذا كله من بركات علم الشريف -

واما قولك عن مساعدة اياك نعم الحبيب اني فارحا لمساعدتك وان قدمت الى مكة وقت الحج
تنزل عندي ونقدم جميعا الى عمره والى عرفه ونعرفك باخيار علماء مكة المكرمة وتزور محل
الزيارات وترجع سالما ان شاء الله -

واما قولك فلا نعلم باسلامك جرائك الذي يسكن بجد ولا يخصني ذلك ولا نعلمهم
ونخبرك قد علمت حضرة سعادة الوالي باسلامك وفرح كثيرا وسبب علمي كنت اولا اخبرته
عليك لانك تعرف تصور ورغبته يصور نفسه عندك فاعدني بذلك عند حضوره بجد ولما جاء
جوابك اخبرته قلت له حبيبي الذي كنت اخبرتك عليه بجد يصورك وهو نصراني واليوم صار
مسلمنا واحنا في الاسلام فتصير تصويرتك على يد مسلما ففرح الوالي بذلك فقال الان بلا شك
نصور نفسى عنده ان شاء الله -

واما قولك على عدم نقل اسماء الكتب المذكوره سابقا نعم الحبيب اني كنت تكلمت مع واحدا
من الكتاب الذي نعرفه صادقا فاعدني تكون بدايته في النقل في شهر ربيع الثاني لانه بيده كتابا
ينسخ فيه باجرة ولا يقدر على تركه قبل اتمامه واتمامه يكون في اء اخر شهرنا ولما جاء خبرك هذا
فالحمد لله نبطله ولا يتعب -

ونخبرك حضره الوالي يكون بجد الله اعلم في مدة ثمانية ايام او عشرة وانت لا بد منك تقابله
فاسأله علي وهو يفهم انك صاحبنا قل الشيخ عبد العزيز المغربي بخير في مكة
فاني سميتك ب محمد بن عبدالله لما اخترت الاسلام اخترنا لك اسم من اسماء محمد صلى الله عليه
وسلم

والسلام من كاتبه اعز بن الشيخ الحداد

(واسمى عند الترك الشيخ عبد العزيز المغربي الجزائري) وان سألت الوالي علي فاسأله بهذا الاسم)

Praise be to God alone.

From Mecca the Honoured.

In the month Rabī' I 1302.

To the friend *Shaykh* Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh Efendī, many greetings to you. If you are doing well, praise be to God.

To the point. Your most noble letter arrived with me and I have understood what you have explained in it. Praise be to God for your entry into Islam. I have joyced about what you have done. First, we were friends, now we have become brothers. It cannot be hidden from you that God has said in the *Qur'ān*: 'Religion with God is Islam,'⁴²⁹ and many other things, just as many things in the *Ḥadīth*. I have praised God Almighty for all the hard work and study that you have done in the schools concerning education in theology and Islamic law. It cannot be hidden from you that without your entering Islam with all the profit, or with part of the profit, that you have from it, all your teaching work in theology would have been in vain. Now, thanks to God, all this comes from the blessings of the noble science.

Regarding your request to help you, yes, my friend, I will be glad to help you. When you come to Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage, you can stay in my house. Together we will perform the 'Umra, go to 'Arafa, and we will make you acquainted with the best scholars of Mecca the Honoured, and you will visit the place of the visits, and you will come back in good health, God willing.

Regarding your request, we will not tell your neighbours in Jeddah about your conversion to Islam. It is not our business and we do not know them.

We herewith inform you that I have told his Excellency the Governor about your conversion to Islam. He was overcome with joy. The reason why I told him was first because you know how to take photos and he would very much like to have a photographic portrait of himself by you. That is what he promised to do when he would be in Jeddah. When your letter came, I informed him and told him: 'My friend, about whom I have spoken to you in Jeddah, will take a photograph of you. He is a Christian, but today he has become a Muslim, and a brother in Islam to us, and your portrait will be made by a Muslim.' The governor was very glad about that and answered: 'No doubt we will have a portrait made by him, God willing.'

Regarding your request about copying the titles of the books you mentioned earlier: Yes, my friend, I have spoken with one of the copyists whom we know to be honest. He promised me to begin copying in the month Rabī' II, because he is now busy copying a book for a fee, and he cannot interrupt that work before he has completed it, and the completion of it will be at the end of this

429 *Qur'ān* 3:19.

month. When this message from you arrived, praise be to God, we determined not to withhold him from nor overload him with work.

We report to you that his Excellency the Governor will be, but God knows best, in Jeddah in eight or ten days from now. You will most certainly meet him. Ask him about me and then he will understand that you are our friend. Tell him: ‘*al-Shaykh* ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Maghribī is doing well in Mecca.’

I have given you the name Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh. When you chose to be a Muslim, we chose for you one of the names of [the Prophet] Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace.

Greetings from the writer [of these lines] ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād.

(Among the Turks my name is *al-Shaykh* ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Maghribī al-Ġazā-yirī. When you ask the governor about me, please, mention me by this name).

6. Letter in Arabic from Sī ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, dated 1 January 1885, to Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh (= C. Snouck Hurgronje) in Jeddah.

– One sheet of paper, 2 pp., 28.6 x 22.8 cm, text on p. 1, written in ink, autograph. With envelope: *الى حضرة العالم* ‘To the scholar’. Snouck Hurgronje has written on the envelope: ‘Nieuwjaarswensch 1 Jan 85’. In MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 112.

الحمد لله وحده
في ١ جانفي سنة ١٨٨٥
الى حضرة الحبيب العالم الشيخ محمد بن عبدالله السلام عليك غاية
اما بعد برك الله لك في هذا العام الجديد وجعل لك كل خير جديد ان شاء الله والسلام من
كاتبه اعز يز بن الشيخ الحداد

Praise be to God alone.

1 January of the year 1885.

To the honoured and learned friend *al-Shaykh* Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh, with many greetings.

To the point. May God bless you in this new year and may he make all good things well again, God willing. Greetings from the writer [of these lines] ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād.

7. Letter in Arabic from Sī ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, dated Mecca, on a Wednesday in Rabī‘ 11 1302 (between Wednesday 21 January and Wednesday 11 February 1885), to ‘Abd al-Ghaffār (= C. Snouck Hurgronje) in Jeddah. The sender has written ‘the year 1303’, but on the verso side Snouck Hurgronje has dated the letter as 1302. This is better suited to the content and chronology of

Snouck Hurgronje's visit to Mecca. It should be noted that Snouck Hurgronje only departed from Jeddah to Mecca on 21 February 1885.

– One sheet of paper, 4 pp., 25.7 x 20.6 cm, text on pp. 1–2, written in ink, autograph. Sender has written on the envelope: الى الحبيب عبد الغفار افندي قريبا الى بيت قونص هولامده بجد 'To the friend 'Abd al-Ghaffār Efendī, near the house of the Consul of Holland in Jeddah'. Snouck Hurgronje has written on the reverse: 'Van Si Aziz uit Mekka. Rabī 11 302'. In Or. 8952 A 112.

الحمد لله وحده

من مكة المكرمة كتب يوم الاربع في ربيع الثاني سنة ١٣٠٣
الى حضرة الحبيب عبد الغفار افندي السلام عليك غاية السلام ان كنت بخير فالحمد لله
اما بعد بلغني جوابك الاعز وفهمت ما فيه وكذا بلغني سلامك مع ابو بكر الجاوي
اول ما استفتدت من الجميع عافيتك فالحمد لله وكذا حسن المقابلة مع الوالى
واما قولك عن كراء البيت ومعرفتك مع علماء مكة
نعم الاخ تنصحك نصح المومن لاختيه المومن ///

اول كل شيء لما تعزم عن القدوم الى مكة فلا تتكلف بكراء البيت قبل وصولك الى مكة اول
وصولك نزولك عندي وان لم تنزل عندي نغضب عليك وبعد ثلاثة ايام وانت عندي ننظر لك
بيتا على مطلوبك وقدر دراهمك من غير تعب ولا مشقة وبيتي فاحسبها بيتك واما قولك نعرفك
مع علماء مكة فلا يحتاج ذلك لانهم اصحاب حب الرقيب ان كنت صاحب مال كل الناس
تحبك وتحب معرفتك وان كنت فقيرا فلا يعرفك احدا وبالزيادة يسوك في غيابتك وينسبون
اسلامك لاجل رايتك الكعبة ومكة الخ

وان كنت في تديري ومشورتي ان توجهت الى هنا الة التي تصور بها تحملها داخل الصنادق
ولا يعرفها احدا ما هي وبعد وصولك بمدة ايام يكون خروجها باذن الوالى ومع هذا كله لا يكون
بعلم الناس كلها الا الخواص يحبون ياخذون تصويرتهم يتوجه اليك الى بيتك وتجعل لهم قانونا
ترجح مصروفك منهم مع العز والرفعة وقد كلمت بعض الناس عليك ولا يخفناك هذه البلاد يحبون
الغريب لاجل مصالحهم فيه ولا يرح منهم الغريب الا بحرفة واما قولك على معرفتك العلماء عالما
واحدا يكفيك ويعرفك بغيره

بعد وصولك ننظر عالما عارفا تجتمع معه وتتعرف به وان انعمت عليه بشيء يفرح به ويكون العالم
من علماء المذهب الذي يوافق مذهبك

وقد اخبرني ابو بكر الجاوي انه اشار عليك تطلب بيت بناجي بواسطة بندرسايس نعم الحبيب ان
بيت بناجي غاية ما يكون كبيرة عاليه تكشف عن الكعبة والحرم كله قربه الى الحرم وقرية

الى بيت الوالى واذا سكنت فيها نخاف عليك من القيل والقال ويفهم عليك اهل البلاد والوالى انك قدمت الى تصويرة مكة ولاجل ذلك اخوانك اعانوك وطلبوا لك البيت من بناجي وهذا البيت كانوا احسن منها بعد وصولك تنظر لك بيت بعيدة عن الحرم بالكليه تبعد الشبهة على نفسك وبعده تتعرف بكبراء الحكومة وكبراء البلاد وبعد معرفتك بهم وان نعرفك بهم ان شاء الله مع مجالستك الوالى ساعة بعد ساعة تنال مرادك

المهندس له بيت على حيطى الحرم وناظر الحرم بيته مثله واذا حصلت لك المعرفة بهم يطلب منك التصوير والغالب الوالى يامر بك بتصويرة الحرم لاجل ارسلها الى الباب العالى انا نتكلف بهذا الامر

وهذا ما ضهر لى وانت تعرف -

وان عزمتم عن القدوم ان اردت يتوجه معك وكلي الحاج على يتوجه مك⁴³⁰ لانه يعرف البلاد وتخبرنى بجواب على ما ضهر لك بما اشرت وعلى يوم خروجك من جده
واما المطوف فلا تتكلم مع احد يكون مطوفك مطوفى احسن لكي لا نفترق ايام الحج لان الحاج يتوجهون مع المطوفين الذين اتخذوهم اول وصولهم الى مكة
ومع هذا كله المطوفين كلهم بالطمع لاكن هذا المطوف الذي انا عنده خيرا من كثير المطوفين
(اسمه الشيخ يحيى بوسناق)

ونطلب منك تعمل مزيه تطلب من عند الخواجه بندرسايس يكتب لنا اسمه واسم وكيل بابورات افرانصه بمرسله لكي نرسلهم الى الجزائر يرسلوا على اسمهم وفي بابوراتهم ما يحتاج واذا كتب لك اسمه واسم صاحبه

نطلب منك ثانيا تكتبهم على ثلاثة مرات يعنى على ثلاثة ورقات كل ورقة فيه اسم بندرسايس وصاحبه في ورقة واحدة واسم كبنيتهما لاجل ارسال الاوراق الى ثلاثة احباب في الجزائر كل واحد ورقة وحده ونرج منك ارسالهم بكره او بعده ولو ثقلت عليك بهذا الطلب نرج منك العذر والسلام كاتبه اعزير بن الشيخ الحداد

Praise be to God alone.

From Mecca the Honoured, written on Wednesday in Rabīʿ II 1303 [read: 1302]

To the honoured friend 'Abd al-Ghaffār Efendī, many greetings. If you are doing well, thanks be to God.

430 Thus written, but read *ma'aka*.

To the point. Your most noble letter has arrived with me and I have understood its content, and also your greeting and that of Abū Bakr al-Ġāwī⁴³¹ has reached me.

The first thing that I learned of all this is that you are doing well, so praise be to God, and also the good news about your encounter with the governor.

Regarding your question about renting a house and getting acquainted with the scholars of Mecca, yes, my brother, we will give you advice in the way the true believer advises his brother the true believer.

The first thing, when you decide to come to Mecca, is that you should not give yourself any trouble in renting a house before you arrive. As soon as you have arrived, you will settle in my house, and if you do not settle with me, we will be angry with you. When you have stayed a day or three with me, we will go and look for a house for you according to your wishes and according to what you can spend. All this without worry or hardship, and you should consider my house yours.

Regarding your question about becoming acquainted with the scholars of Mecca, that is not necessary. They are friends in the same way as a guardian is your friend. If you have money, all people love you and they will love to make your acquaintance. When you are poor, then nobody will want to know you, and they will talk badly about you in your absence, and they will attribute your conversion to Islam to your wish to see the Ka'ba, to see Mecca, etc.

If you follow my advice and my counsel: if you send here the instrument with which you make photographs, then have it carried in boxes without anyone knowing about it. A few days after your arrival they can be taken out, with permission of the governor. Thus, nobody will know about it, except a few people of high standing, who would like to be photographed and who will come to your house. There you honourably and nobly can impose a tariff on them so that your expenses are paid for with profit. I already spoke with a few people about you, and it cannot be hidden from you that, in this country, they love the foreigner because they can take advantage of him, whereas the foreigner does not profit from them, unless if he knows a craft. As to your request to become acquainted with the scholars, one scholar is sufficient for you, and he will make you acquainted with the others.

When you have arrived here, we will look for a knowledgeable scholar, whom you can meet with and whom you can get to know. When you have given him a small gift, he will be pleased with you, and he must be a scholar of the law school that you prefer. Abū Bakr al-Ġāwī told me that he had told you to ask via Van der Chijs to live in the house of Banāġī. Yes, my friend, the house of

431 Raden Aboe Bakar.

Banāǧī is very great and high. It overlooks the Ka'ba and the whole Ḥaram, it is near the Ḥaram and near the house of the governor. If you live there, we fear what people will say about you. The people here and the governor will understand that you have come to take photos of Mecca. Because of that, your brothers have helped you and have asked for the house of Banāǧī.⁴³² There are better houses than that.⁴³³ After your arrival you should look for a house far away from the Ḥaram, so that you remove any doubts people may have about you. Afterwards you will be in contact with the great people of the government and the important people of the country. When you have got to know them, and after we have introduced you to them, God willing, when the governor has sat a few hours with you, you will attain what you wish.

The engineer⁴³⁴ has a house near the walls of the Ḥaram, and the house of the Supervisor of the Ḥaram⁴³⁵ is like that. If you have got to know them, they may ask for a portrait, and especially the governor will order you to take a photograph of the Ḥaram in order to send this to the Sublime Porte. We will take upon us to organize this for you. This, it seems to me, is what you should know.

When you have decided to come here, you can, if you wish, let my agent, *al-Ḥāǧǧ* 'Alī, accompany you, because he knows the land.

Let me know by letter what you think about my advice and about the day on which you wish to depart from Jeddah.

Concerning the pilgrim guide, do not speak about this with anybody, so that your guide is my guide. It is better that we do not separate during the days of the pilgrimage because the pilgrims go together with the guides whom they have chosen upon their arrival in Mecca.

Remember with all this that all guides are greedy, but this guide with whom I am better than many other guides. His name is *al-Shaykh* Yaḥyā Būsnaq.

We request from you that you ask Mr. Van der Chijs a favour, namely that he write his name for us and also the name of the shipping agent for France in

432 See p. 35 of the 'diary' and the annotation there.

433 In fact, 'Abd al-Ghaffār / Snouck Hurgronje was already in contact with a house owner in Mecca, 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Ḥammāda (his letter dated 2 RN (Rabī Nabawī) 1302 (20 December 1884)). The receipt of fifty *riyāl* for the rent of a house in Mecca between 22 Ḡumādā I [1302] (9 March 1885) and the end of 1302 AH (9 October 1885) is preserved as well (either document as an uncatalogued enclosure to MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 245). The end of 1302 AH implies a short period after the pilgrimage ceremony of that year. In MS Leiden Or. 18.097 S 32 an empty envelope is preserved with Snouck Hurgronje as addressee in Mecca. His domicile is given as 'in the house of 'Abdallāh Ḥammāda in Süq al-Layl: الله الى مكة المشرفة | الجناب المكرم المحترم الامجد الشيخ عبد الغفار افندي | في بيت عبدالله حماده بسوق الليل | دام محترم

434 Not identified, possibly the Ottoman *ra'īs sarmuhandīs* colonel (*mīrālāy*) Şādiq Bey, see *Ḥiǧāz Sālnāmasi* 2 (1303/1886), pp. 63, 64.

435 Not identified, the *Sālnāmas* do not mention this function.

Marseille, so that we can send them [something] to Algiers, and they can send what is necessary under their name and on their steamers. When he has written his name and the name of his friend, we ask you in addition to please write these names three times, that is, on three sheets of paper. On each leaf must be the name of Van der Chijs and that of his friend on one leaf, and the name of their companies, because the papers must be sent to three friends in Algeria, each one on one sheet of paper.

We request from you that you send these tomorrow or after and if this request is too difficult for you, please send me an apology. Greetings.

The writer [of these lines] 'Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād.

8. Letter in Arabic from Sī 'Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, dated Mecca, 17 Rabī' II 1302 (3 February 1885), to 'Abd al-Ghaffār Efendi (= C. Snouck Hurgronje) in Jeddah. Apparently Snouck Hurgronje had written Sī 'Azīz that he already had an arrangement with Raden Aboe Bakar for his accommodation in Mecca.

– One sheet of paper, 4 pp., 20.9 x 13.1 cm, text on p. 1, written in ink, autograph. In MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 112.

الحمد لله وحده
من مكة المكرمة
الى اخينا في الله والدين عبد الغفار افندي السلام عليك غاية السلام ان كنت بخير فالحمد لله
اما بعد بلغني اعز جوابك وفهمت ما شرحت فيه
اما ما ذكرت كله عن الصواب برك الله فيك وكن على كلمة واحدة من اوعده فلا تخالف
وعدك مع الاخ ابو بكر رجلا من الصادقين وكنت تكلمت معه واخبرته بجميع ما كتبت لك
فاجبه الحال فقال لي تدبيرك احسن اما نزولك عند ابو بكر لما اوعده لا بأس كانه عندي وانا
من جانب المحبة التي بيني وبينك وحضرة قونص جنرال طلبت نزولك عندي وانت تعرف واما
ءالة الخدمة والاحسن تأخرها الى ان يكون الطلب فاطلبها من جد ويكون ارسالها بواسطة الوالى
لاجل الامانة في الطريق ولاجل امانتك انت يفهم عليك انك قادم لاجل الدين فقط واما
الاوراق التي رسلت على حسب المطلوب برك الله فيك والسلام من كاتبه اعزير بن الشيخ
الحداد

في ١٧ ربيع الثاني سنة ١٣٠٢

[In the margin:]

وان كانت لك حاجة خدمه عرفني نفوز بها

Praise be to God alone

From Mecca the Honoured

To our brother in God and the religion ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Efendī. Many greetings to you. If you are doing well, praise be to God.

To the point. Your most noble letter has arrived with me, and I have understood what you have explained in it.

Everything that you have mentioned is correct, thank you very much for that. Keep to your word with the person to whom you have made a promise, and do not act contrary to your promise to brother Abū Bakr. He is a truthful man. I have spoken with him and I have told him everything that I have written to you, and he was very glad about this. He said to me: ‘Your plan is better, but there is no objection if you stay with Abū Bakr after you have promised him to do so. It is the same as if it were with me. I was doing this because of the love that exists between me and you and the Consul-General. Therefore, I had asked you to come and stay with me, as you know. Regarding the instrument of the work,⁴³⁶ it is better to delay that till you need it, and then ask for it to be brought from Jeddah. It can be sent through the governor because of the safety of the road, and for your own safety. He understands that you are coming purely for the religion. Regarding the sheets of paper that you have sent, as I had requested, thank you very much.

Greetings from the writer [of these lines] ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād,

On 17 Rabī‘ 11 of the year 1302.

[in the margin:]

When you need a service, let me know and we will provide it.

9. Letter in Arabic from Sī ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, dated Mecca 20 Dhū al-Qa‘da 1302 (Monday, 31 August 1885), to *al-Shaykh* ‘Abd al-Ghaffār (= C. Snouck Hurgronje) in Jeddah. Mentioned earlier in *Honderd jaar Mekka in Leiden*, No. 55 (p. 33).

The long gap in time between the present letter and the previous one may be explained by the fact that Sī ‘Azīz had in the meantime been employed by the French Consul F.J. de Lostalot de Bachoué to fetch the inscription that Charles Huber had left in Ḥā’il.

– One sheet of paper, 4 pp., 25.7 x 20.6 cm, text on p. 1, written in ink, autograph. With envelope, addressee: بيد الشيخ عبد الغفار ‘To be delivered to *al-Shaykh* ‘Abd al-Ghaffār’. MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 112.

⁴³⁶ The photographic equipment.

الحمد لله وحده

مكة المكرمة

الى حضرة الحبيب الشيخ عبد الغفار السلام عليكم

اما بعد بلغني جوابك وفهمت ما فيه ان ما ذكرت من جانب اسماعيل ءاغه وغيره [ليس صحيح
فصح ان الامر انخ] ان الامر وقع من غير شك وصار كلامي عند الوالى واما من جانب الصدق

الوالى صدق بهذا الكلام او كذب لا نعلم

واما ما بلغني الوالى لا علم له بالجديدة الا من كتابتك له فاجابك بخبر جوابك لان الاول لا يقدر
يذكره واما الناس السبب من الاول لان الناس لما مات وجدوا له طريق للسبب باي وجه عند
الوالى وخصوصا عند كشف اوراقه فهموها كما شاءوا وان قلنا ما اجابك به هو الصدق وهو
السبب وهذا لا يكون ابدا لانك اشهرت اسلامك وعلما مكة يشهدون باسلامك واذا فعلت ذنبا
يجثون عليك ويعاقبك ولا يحكمون عليك بالخروج من مكة على حاجة لا تضرو ولا

تنفع الدولة العاليه والله اعلم

اما قولك نكتب لك ورقة ضد قونص افرانصه نعم الحبيب انت عارف لا ترضا لى بالضرر لان
دولة افرانصه تاكل منها معاشى فكيف نشهد حق او باطل على قونص دولة افرانصه لاكن بعد
ملاقاتى مع الوالى ان سألنى نخبره بما في علمي واما الكتابة لا تقدر -

ونخبرك ان عزمتم على بيع القوارير التي فيها الاكل فاخبرني على قيمتهم واسماء ما فيها من
الماكولات نشترها وفيه كفايه

والسلام ختام من كاتبه اعزير بن الشيخ الحداد

في ٢٠ ذي القعدة سنة ١٣٠٢

Praise be to God alone

[From] Mecca the Honoured.

To the excellent friend *al-Shaykh* 'Abd al-Ghaffār, greetings to you.

To the point. Your letter has arrived with me and I have understood its content. What you heard from Ismā'īl Āgha⁴³⁷ and others is not correct. It is correct that the matter has happened, that is beyond doubt. My word has gone to the governor, but in truth, whether the governor believed it or not, that we do not know.

What I have heard: the governor has no news other than your letter to him, and he has responded to the news of your letter, because the first [letter?]

437 The *qāḍī* of Jeddah. He is mentioned in the 'diary', pp. 53bis, 53ter.

could not mention it. Concerning the people, the revilement always comes first. When a man dies, they will find a way to revile him with the governor in some way or other. Especially when the papers become known, they will interpret these as they wish. When we say of the answer that he sent you that this is the truth and that is not true, well this is not always like that, because you were open about your conversion to Islam, while the scholars of Mecca testified to your conversion to Islam. If you have committed a sin, they will investigate you and punish you, but they will not sentence you to leave Mecca for something that the Sublime Porte finds no harm or profit in, and God knows best.

As to your request that we write a note to you against the consul of France, yes, my friend, you know that you will not harm me, because I get my pension from the French government, so how can I testify in favour or against the consul of France? After I met with the governor, he asked me to tell him my thoughts, but in writing, that we cannot do. I herewith tell you that I agree to your selling the flasks that contain the food. So, please, let me know how much they cost, and what is the name of the foodstuffs they contain, so that we can buy these. That is all for now. With at the end [of the letter] greetings from the writer [of these lines] ‘Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, on 20 Dhū al-Qa‘da of the year 1302.

Appendix 5.

Documents from Ḥabīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir. The Ḥabīb had visited Snouck Hurgronje in the first half of September 1884 (‘diary’, pp. 4–7) and promised to send him his ideas about how Aceh should be governed. Apparently, Snouck Hurgronje had to remind him to send him the promised note on the future government of Aceh, which then arrived late in October 1884. His portrait: figure 19.14 below.

1. Letter in Arabic from Ḥabīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir, dated Jeddah 8 Muḥarram 1302 [28 October 1884] to the Consul-General of Holland in Jeddah. – One sheet of paper (with a blind stamp in Arabic script: *athar-i ḡadīd-i ‘ahd-i humāyūn*), 4 pp., 23.4 x 15 cm, text on p. 1, written in ink, expert *ruq‘a* script, possibly not an autograph but by a professional scribe; provided with sender’s seal, dated 1295 [1878]. Snouck Hurgronje has written on p. 4: ‘Brief v. Habieb Abdoelrahman’. In MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 1112 (online, where the date is incorrectly given as 14 September 1888). The original letter is reproduced below as figure 19.26.

الله

جناب محبنا عزيز المقام ذى الاحتشام حضرة قونسل جنوزال دولة ولنده بجده دام
بعد فريد الاشتياق والاستفسار عن عزيز خاطرکم على الدوام لقد اسرني ورود کتابکم المسر بدوام
ملاحظتکم لهذا المخلص بتاكيد المحبه والموده ولا كان تاخر الجواب الا لسبب عذر قلة نشاطنا
لكن بفضل الله لما حصل النشاط بادرتہ بتحرير تلك المواد انما ذا كرنا کم بها سابقا ومع ذلك اذا
رايتم مناسباً فهو والا تؤمل ان تخطرونا بما هو الاولى والانسب لاننا مشترکين في هذه المقاصد
الخيرية ليحصل النفع لاهالي تلك الجهة وتحصل مقاصد او لدوله في صلاحهم فبناءً على ذلك
نرجو منکم ان تبدولنا افکارکم بعد اطلاعکم عليه لان مبادرة الافکار من خلوص المحبة بين المحبين
كما هو معلومکم بخصوص ذلك ولتاكيد روابط الوداد المستمر

حرره بتاريخ ٨ محرم سنة ٣٠٢

عبد الرحمن الزاهر

[text on seal:]

| حبيب | عبد الرحمن الزاهر | مدير الملك | كورنمين اچيه | سنة ١٢٩٥ |

Allāh.

To our noble and respected friend, the Consul-General of the government of Holland in Jeddah, may his life be long-lasting.

After a unique expression of love and questions after your permanent well-being, I am happy about the arrival of your letter of long-lasting joy, and your remarks to the sincere undersigned that confirm love and friendship. The letter is only delayed by the excuse of our lack of action, but with the grace of God, when there was an opportunity, I grasped it to write the articles below, about which we spoke to you earlier. If, that notwithstanding, you find this appropriate, then that is that, and if not, then we hope that you will tell us what it is more appropriate and to the point, because we participate in these public ambitions so that there is a profit for the inhabitants of this region, and that the ambitions or the government work towards their prosperity. On the basis of this, we ask you that you to let us know your thoughts after you have studied this, because giving an opinion quickly belongs to the sincere love between lovers, as is well-known to you concerning this matter and the conformation of the bonds of permanent love.

Thus written on 8 Muḥarram of the year <1>302.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir.

[text on seal]

Ḥabīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir, the ruler of the government of Aceh, year 1295.

2. Memoir in Arabic from al-Ḥabīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir, dated Jeddah 8 Muḥarram 1302 [28 October 1884], addressed to the Consul-General of The Netherlands in Jeddah. There exists a rather free Dutch translation of the Memoir,⁴³⁸ that may go back to Snouck Hurgronje, but I have not found a handwritten version of such a translation in the Snouck Hurgronje Archives. It is therefore more probable that Gobée and/or Adriaanse made the translation while working on the edition of the *Ambtelijke Adviezen*.⁴³⁹ The Dutch text is typewritten and gives the impression of dating from the 1930s or even later, and although Snouck Hurgronje at a late age is known to have tried typewriting, he usually wrote by hand. The few handwritten corrections on the typed text are not in Snouck Hurgronje’s hand.

– One sheet of paper (with a blind stamp in Arabic script: *athar-i ḡadīd-i ‘ahd-i humāyūn*), 4 pp., 31.5 x 19.7 cm, text on p. 1, written in ink, expert *ruq‘a* script, possibly not an autograph but by a professional scribe; provided with sender’s seal. Snouck Hurgronje has written on p. 4: ‘Memorie van Habieb Abdoelrahman’. In MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 1112 (online, where the date is incorrectly given as 14 September 1888).

الله

جناب محبنا عزيز المقام ذى الاحتشام حضرت قونسل جوزال دولة ولنده بجده دام
بعد تقديمي لكم فايق الاحترام على الدوام انى كنت ذا كرتكم سابقا فى احوال اچى مواد
– الاولى بناءً على خلوص للدولة المشار اليها اعرض افكارى الى مسامعها العادلة على سبيل
الاخطار بغير طريقة رسمية بل على طريق الخلوص والوداد اذا كانت الدولة تلتفت بحسن
انظارها ان تبحث على تحصيل شخص مسلم من اهل الفضل والنسب والدراية للامور المتعلقة
بادارة الحكومة الاجيه وتعيينه مديرا فى مركز حكومة اچى لادارة امور داخليتها فيكون بلقب راج
اولقب آخر اميرا على كافة الآچيين من قبل حكومة هنديا نيدرلند
– الثانية ان يكون المدير المومى اليه من الموصوفين بالاخلاص للدولة المشار اليها متفطنا لمقاصدها

438 MS Leiden Or. 18.097 S. 64.60 (1) A, in folder 148 (‘Unpublished advices to the Government’), see the Collection guide by Arnoud Vrolijk & Silvia Compaan-Vermetten. Leiden 2016 <<http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/Vrolijk-201x-en-anderen-Snouck%20Hurgronje%20Papers.pdf>> p. 455.

439 E. Gobée & C. Adriaanse (eds), *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889–1936*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957–1965, 3 vols.

ليجريها حسب مقتضاها في ساير الحركات
 - الثالثة اذا رات الحكومة كفاية المدير للقيام بوظائفه الموكولة اليه تصدر اوامرها الى امرء اچى وروسائها جميعا ان يختلوا اوامر المدير المومى اليه في الامور الداخليه التي تتعلق بوظائف المدير بموجب تعليمنامه ونظامنامه التي تعطى بيده من لدن الدولة المشار اليها
 - الرابعة ان يكون تنفيذ الشريعة واجراء الاوامر والقوانين بمساعدة مجلس مخصوص من امرء اچى وعلماؤها والذوات المنتخبين من اهلها
 - الخامسة يكون وظيفة المدير المومى اليه مقيدةً بقيود النظام مربوطة بشروط معلومة مرعية في دستور العمل لكي لا يخرج المومى اليه من عهدهته الى ساحة الاستبداد
 - السادسة تكون وظيفته المتعلقة بالشرع الشريف والقانون المنيف بعناية الاحترام مع الاستقامة والعدالة في اجرائها ليكون المدير المومى اليه مرجعاً وملاذاً لاولئك الاهالى في جميع امورهم وشؤونهم لتطمئن خواطريهم وحينئذ لا شك يرجع الهاربون الى محل استيطانهم وتقدم العمارة والتجارة والصناعة والزراعة وسائر اسباب الثروة في مراقي المدنية حيناً فحيناً وتكثر المسافرون للتجارة وعلى كل حال يرجى بلوغ مقاصد الدولة المشار اليها في اصلاح تلك البلاد وصالح حال العباد بعدالة تلك الدولة كما هو معهود من مكارمها في سائر مستملكاتنا من حسن ادارتها ومراحمها لرعاياها في اعطاء الحرية الكاملة في امور الدين والدنيا وجميعهم متمتعون تحت عدالت الدولة المشار اليها وهذا الإخطار وان كان مناسباً من قبل هذا الوقت لكنه الان رأينا اوفق وانسب كما لا يخفى على جنابكم اسباب ذلك فانخلال من مكارمكم تعرضوا هذا الاخطار مترجماً من طريقكم بممد الزوم وتجعلوني بذلك بمزيد الممنونين مخصص ذلك ولتاكيد ضوابط المحبة المستمرة حرر ولا زلت محمد بن محمد بتاريخ ٨ محرم سنة ٣٠٢
 حبيب عبد الرحمن الزاهر

[text on seal:]

| حبيب | عبد الرحمن الزاهر | مدير الملك | كورنمين اچيه | سنة ١٢٩٥ |

Allāh.

To our noble and respected friend, the Consul-General of the government of Holland in Jeddah, may his life be long-lasting.

After offering you abundant and permanent respect, I mentioned earlier to you that I have articles concerning the condition of Aceh.

1. On the basis of sincerity towards the aforesaid government, I herewith offer my thoughts to whoever wishes to listen to this in justice. I just want it to be known, not in an official way, but in a manner of sincerity and love, in case the government seeks, with good eyes, to find a Muslim person of good reputa-

tion and pedigree, and with knowledge of the affairs that have to do with the managing of the Acehnese government, and to appoint him as ruler in the centre of the government of Aceh, in order to manage its internal affairs, and that he will do this with the title of *Raja* or with another title, namely *Amir*, over all Acehnese, on behalf of the government of the Netherlands Indies.

2. [Provided] that the aforesaid ruler belongs to those who are considered to be loyal towards the said government, well-oriented towards its ambitions, so that he manages it as it should be done in the other activities.

3. If the government is of the opinion that the ruler is sufficiently qualified to perform the tasks that are entrusted to him, it issues its orders to all the princes and heads of Aceh, telling them only to heed the orders of the said ruler concerning the internal affairs that have to do with the functions of the ruler, by way of an instruction and statute book, which is given into his hand by the aforesaid government.

4. The execution of Islamic law and the execution of the orders and laws will be done by way of a special council consisting of the princes, scholars and notables of Aceh who have been chosen by the population.

5. The function of the said ruler is recorded in a statute that is connected with known conditions that are governed by an operational instruction, so that the said ruler does not go beyond his mandate into tyranny.

6. His function, which is connected to the noble Islamic law and the outstanding statute law, will consist of respect for integrity and justice in its execution, so that the said ruler will be a point of reference and a sanctuary for this population in all their affairs and matters, so that their thoughts can be at peace with this. At that moment, all those who had fled from their home country will return. Building, trade, industry, agriculture and other sources of wealth, which constitute the gradual advance of civilization, will return, the one after the other. The number of those who travel for trade will increase, and, in any case, it may be expected that the ambitions of the said government concerning the well-being of this land and the well-being of Muslims because of the justice of this government will be realized, as is well-known from its excellent acts in its other possessions, as a result of its good governance and its benign treatment of its population by providing full freedom in matters of religion and worldly affairs. All will then enjoy justice from the said government.

Even if this notice was already appropriate earlier on, we now consider it even better and more suitable, nor can the causes for that remain hidden from you, as that would be an infraction of its excellent traits.

Publish this Notice in translation on your behalf to the extent to which it is necessary and, by acting thus, you will make me particularly grateful, and also confirm the rules of our continuous love.

Thus issued, and may you continue to be commendable, on 8 Muḥarram of the year <1>1302.

Ḥabīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir.

[text on seal] Ḥabīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir, the ruler of the government of Aceh, year 1295.

Appendix 6.

Specimen from the correspondence of Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat.⁴⁴⁰

Letter in Arabic with subscript in Malay from Raden Aboe Bakar, to Snouck Hurgronje, dated 19 Rabi‘ 1302 (5 February 1885), possibly from Mecca, to Jeddah.

–One sheet of paper (28.9 x 22 cm), text on one side only, in envelope (7.6 x 14.1 cm) with text on one side only. Text on the envelope in Dutch: ‘Aan | Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje | te Djeddah’ and Arabic: قدام بيت قنصل الهلندا: صاحب الكتاب | , ‘the addressee lives in front of the house of the consul of Holland in Jeddah’ ‘Rd.’. ms Leiden Or. 8952 A 9, No. 2.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله وحده

أنشاء عليك سلاماً كثيراً ودعاء لك بخير لتكون سالماً من كل الافات
بعد الذي نعرفكم به يا اخي بان خاطري مشغول ولم يسر حيث اتى لم اسمع خيراً من احوالك
سوى ذلك الوقت فنرجو الله ان تكون صحتك تامة ولا اسئل الله الكريم الا عافيتك وسلامتك
التي هي غاية المنا وبلوغ المراد فعسى الامر كذلك فبشرني بما ذكر واما من خصوص استكراء
المحل قد وجدنا لكن ما اقطع كراه فرمما لا يناسبك من كل الوجوه ان شاء الله /// اذا وصلت
مكة يكون خيراً والمدرسه وجدتها ثلاث مدارس وانما كيرها غالب غالي فان شاء الله اذا
اجتمعنا نشوف //// وتشاور بيتا وقد وجدنا المحلات من سابق وانما لم اخبرك سريعاً لاني
حصلت علي الخمي يوم بعد يوم وادعولى حتى اتوجه الي طرفك في جدّه ومن خصوص المسئلة
الفقهية قد عرضناها من الزمان عند الشيخ صالح كمال كان اولاً قاضي في جدّه وجاءنا منه
الجواب من الزمان /// لكن لم ارسل لك من ساعته كما قلت بالمرض فهذا تفضل بقبولك عسى

⁴⁴⁰ See for a summary of this correspondence: Michael F. Laffan, ‘Writing from the colonial margin. The letters of Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje’, in: *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 31/91 (2003), pp. 356–380, in particular pp. 367, 369 for this letter.

انه مناسب في جوابه ولو انه غير مناسب هذا ما هو من عند المسؤل وانما من السائل اعنى اخاك
بكر /// حيث انما من جهلي في اعراض السؤال لكن ولو كان انه غير مناسب ان شاء الله اذا
جئت تلتقي جواباً لطيفاً كما ذكر السيد الزواوي انه يفتي لك في ذلك السؤال وانما هذا حيث
معرفتي وايضاً قد ارسلت لك حيث عدم الفضولية بين العرب والعجم لكن الكلام والعبارة ما
هي سواء واخبرني اخي محمد بمدرس البنين لعلّي في جمع صغير في باب السلام ولكن طولت فيه
ما وجدت والسلام

الداعى لكم بخير بكر الرادن

حرر ذلك ١٩ ربيع الاخر ٣٠٢

وقد غضبت على نفسي بكاتبه هذا الكتاب ولا ترا علي ولا تؤخذني بالتقصير حيث انه ما يحبط
مع ارتعاب اليد

جغاً كوسر داري ابني تولىس

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Praise be to God alone.

A letter with many greetings for you and a prayer for you for the good, so that you will be free from all disasters.

After that we let you know, o brother, that my thoughts were occupied, and that I was not free, taking into account that I had no news about you except that time, we pray God that your health is complete, and the only thing I ask from God is your good health and your well-being, which for me is the ultimate gift and the attainment of my wishes. Maybe it is like that, so please, give me the good news at it is told. Regarding the hire of the location that we have found, how prohibitive the price really is! It cannot suit you at all. If you have arrived, God willing, in Mecca, then that is better. As for the school, I have found three schools. The rent is far too expensive. God willing, when we are together, we will look around and deliberate about a house. We have already found locations, but I cannot tell you at short notice because I have had a fever, day after day. Pray for me that I can return to you in Jeddah. Regarding the question of Islamic law, which, a while ago, we brought to the attention of *al-Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Kamāl*, who used to be *qāḍī* in Jeddah, a while ago we received an answer from him, but I have not sent that to you straight away, because of my illness, as I told you. Please accept it. Maybe his answer is appropriate and if it is not, well this is how it is with the person whom you have asked. With regard to the person who has asked the question, I mean your brother Bakar, I am ignorant about the question, even if it is not appropriate. God willing, you have come to collect a kind letter from al-Sayyid al-Zawāwī, in which he gives you

advice (a *fatwa*) on this question, that at least is what I understand of it, which I have sent to you, in view of the lack of indiscretion between Arabs and non-Arabs. However, word and term are not equal. Tell me, o brother, is maybe Muḥammad in the boys' school in a small group in Bāb al-Salām? I have long sought him but did not find him. Greetings.

The person who prays for your well-being, Bakar al-Raden.

Thus written on 19 Rabīʿ II <1>302.

I was angry with myself about the writing of this letter, so do not hold it against me and be not angry with me for the shortcoming, since it is just a futility written with a fearful hand.

[line in Malay in small script:] Don't be angry about this letter.

Appendix 7.

Recommendation letter by 'Abdallāh al-'Aṭṭās.

Letter from *al-Sayyid* 'Abdallāh b. 'Alawī al-'Aṭṭās to *al-Shaykh* 'Uthmān b. *al-Marḥūm al-Shaykh* Muḥammad al-Rāḍī in Mecca. Apparently written in Jeddah, on 28 Ṣafar 1302 (17 December 1884).

The sender recommends Snouck Hurgronje to a relation in Mecca. From the fact that the original letter is now in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive one may, perhaps, deduce that the letter was never sent or used. Even if it had no effect in Mecca, it shows al-'Aṭṭās' attitude towards Snouck Hurgronje, and it is an echo of what Snouck Hurgronje must have told the sender about his wishes. The *Izhār al-Islām*, the public show of Snouck Hurgronje's conversion to Islam before two witnesses, is mentioned here. The imminent departure to Mecca was postponed.

– One sheet of paper, 21 x 13.6 cm, text on one side only. Original in MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 88, No. 1.

الى مكة المشرفة

بعد ابلاغ مزيد السلام الى حضرة الاخ في الله العالم العلامة الشيخ عثمان بن المرحوم الشيخ محمد الراضي سلمه الله تعالى امين فالاعلام ان صاحبي يسمى اسنوك هرغرونية قد اراد ان يظهر اسلامه الباطني لدى نفرين من اعيان اهل جدة فاذا ظهر لديكم ذلك الامر واتي الى مكة فالمرجو من فضلكم ان تعرفوه باصحابكم الكرام العلماء والشعراء ليكون بكم راغبا في بلد الله الحرام لانه رجل عالم في علم الشريعة والتفسير والحديث والفنون العربية وغير ذلك والسفر لعله يكون بكرة في ركب جاوة والدعا وصيتكم بكل خير وبكمال السلامة في السفر والاقامة هذا والسلام عليكم

ورحمة الله وبركاته
طالب دعاكم اخيكم في الله السيد عبد الله بن علوي العطاس عفى الله عنه امين
في ٢٨ ظفر الخير سنة ١٣٠٢

Towards Mecca, the Honoured

After conveying abundant greetings to the honourable brother in God, the most learned *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān, son of the late *Shaykh* Muḥammad al-Rāḍī, may God Almighty grant him peace. Amen.

We herewith inform you that my friend is called Snouck Hurgronje. He wishes to outwardly show to two notable persons in Jeddah his *Islam* that is [already] his inner conviction. When he has shown this to you, and he comes to Mecca, we request from you that you make him acquainted with your friends, both scholars and poets. Thus, he becomes someone for you who loves the Holy City of God, because he is a learned man in the fields of the Law, the exegesis of the Qur’ān, the Prophetic Tradition, the Arabic sciences and the like. Maybe he will travel tomorrow in the caravan of the Ġāwa. We pray that you give him good counsel and perfect safety during the journey and the stay [in Mecca].

Greetings to you, with God’s mercy and His blessings.

He who asks for your prayer (for him), your brother in God, *al-Sayyid* ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alawī al-‘Aṭṭās, may God forgive him. Amen.

On 28 Ḍafar (= Ṣafar), the good, of the year 1302.

THE JEDDAH PORTFOLIO

*A selection of portraits, groups, views and documents
related to C. Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah 'diary'*

presented by

Jan Just Witkam





FIGURE 19.1 Portrait by C. Snouck Hurgronje of Yūsuf Qudṣī, the dragoman of the British consulate in Jeddah, 1884. Original photograph in MS Leiden Or. 26.403, No. 31. See 'diary', pp. 2 ff.

© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.



FIGURE 19.2 Portrait by C. Snouck Hurgronje of Tawfiq Pāshā, the *Qā'im-maqām*, 'mayor' of Jeddah, taken in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, 1884. Original photograph in MS Leiden Or. 12.288 P, No. 9. See 'diary', p. 1

© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.



FIGURE 19.3 Portrait by C. Snouck Hurgronje of Muhtasib, a neighbour in Jeddah, the son of one of the ringleaders of the Jeddah massacre of 1858. Original photograph in MS Leiden Or. 26.403, No. 16. See also 'diary', p. 18
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FIGURE 19.4 Portrait by C. Snouck Hurgronje of the nephew of the Sultan of Pontianak, Jeddah, September 1884. Original photograph in ms Leiden Or. 26.403, No. 64. See also 'diary', p. 7

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FIGURE 19.5 Si 'Azīz b. *al-Shaykh* al-Ḥaddād, with his black slave, photographed by C. Snouck Hurgronje in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, late 1884. Original photograph in MS Leiden Or. 12.288 O, No. 9. See 'diary', pp. 13, 23 and *passim*

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FIGURE 19.6 Auguste Hugues Charles Huber (1847–1884) in Arab dress. Studio portrait taken on 3 May 1883 by Mathias Gerschel, Strasbourg. Original print in the archive of the Société de Géographie, Paris, P. 929.

PHOTO BY BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8450050b/fi.item>>.



FIGURE 19.7 Maḥmūd, the servant of Charles Huber, photographed by C. Snouck Hurgronje in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, late 1884. Original photograph in MS Leiden Or. 12.288 P, No. 15. See 'diary', p. 19
© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.

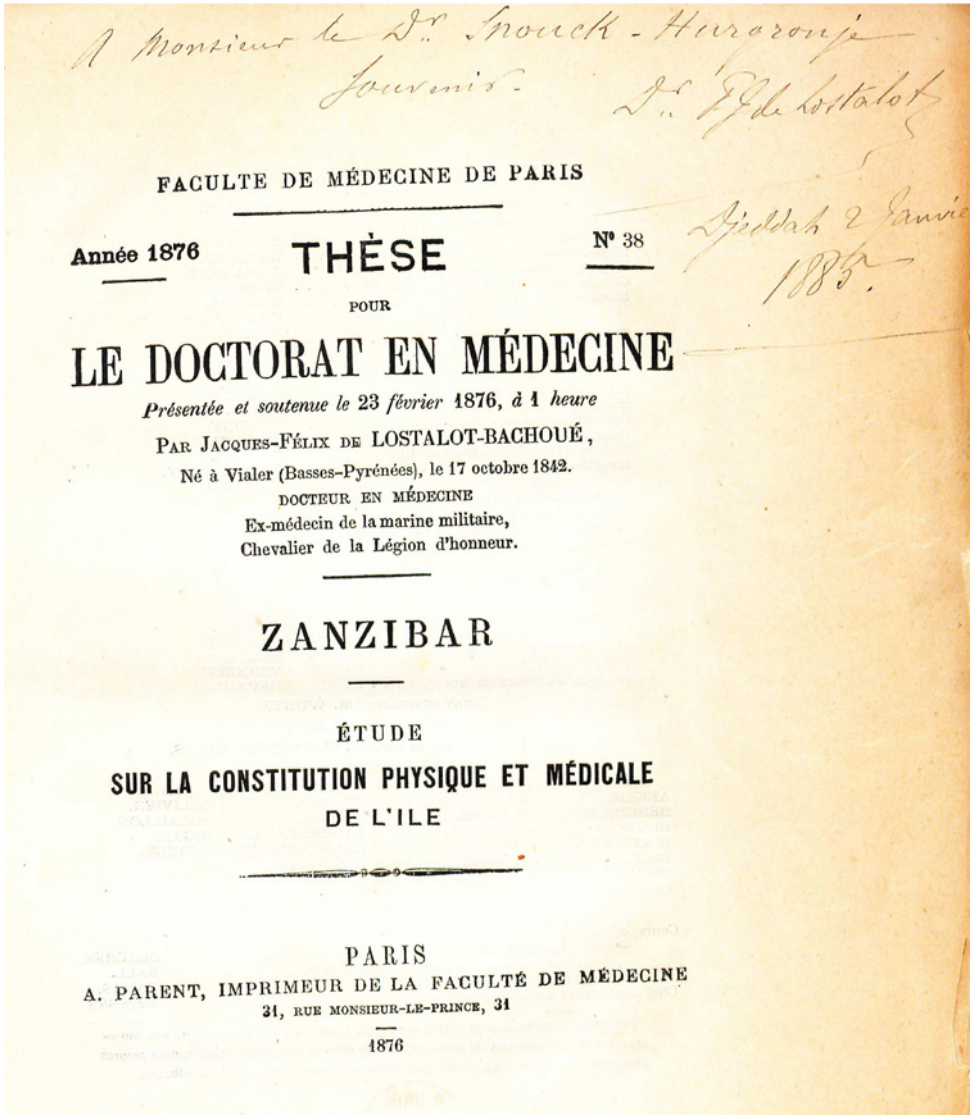


FIGURE 19.8 Title-page of *Zanzibar. Étude sur la constitution physique et médicale de l'île*. Medical doctor's thesis by F.J. de Lostalot, Paris 1876, with handwritten dedication to C. Snouck Hurgronje, dated Jeddah, 2 January 1885. Original in Leiden University Library [896 A 9]. © 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.



FIGURE 19.9 Portrait said to be *Shaykh* 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zawāwī, photographed by C. Snouck Hurgronje in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, late 1884. Original photograph in MS Leiden Or. 12.288 P, No. 21. See 'diary', p. 10 ff.
© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.⁴⁴¹

441 See also the same portrait said to be of *Shaykh* 'Abdallāh al-Zawāwī and taken in 1884 in Jeddah (MS Leiden Or. 12.288 A 1), reproduced in: Mols & Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*, pp. 26–27. This identification is not certain, however, as Snouck Hurgronje, with his caption in MS Or. 26.403, No. 43, describes the same person as 'son of a *qāḍī* of Jeddah'.



FIGURE 19.10 Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat, photographed by C. Snouck Hurgronje in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, late 1884. Original photograph in MS Leiden Or. 12.288 P, No. 19. See 'diary', p. 10 ff
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Den 28 Augustus kwamen de H^{te} Kruys en ik na
 een voorspoedige reis van 22 dagen eerst op Abou Saïd,
 waar Dr. Stijffertich ons voorloopig herbergde en daarna
 's namiddags te Djiddah aan. In de eerste weken vond
 ik door de drukten van uitpakken, bezoecken maken en
 ontvangen, weinig gelegenheid om geregeld aantekeningen
 te houden; vervolgens, 17 September werd ik ongesteld
 en bedlegerig en eerst nu begon ik weder op krachten
 te komen. Een en ander van mijner bevindingen en
 kennismakingen gedurende den inmiddels verloopene
 tijt vinde hier zijne plaats.

Van de stad zelve heb ik nog niet byzonder veel gezien;
 alleen bij onser aankomst zonnel als kort daarop ~~te~~ na
 een bezoek aan den Gaim-moskee ten zuiden van
 den gebedsdag der oulans en ook later bij het aflyzen
 van een post bezeeke aanschouwde ik den Bazar, die
 den nieuweling in Oostersche landen een zeer indruk-
 wekken schouwspel aanbiedt: verdel maakten wij voo
 mijne siekte eenige wandelingen buiten de Medina-
 poort, die zich echter nooit ver uitstrekten. Behalve
 met de voorloopige ordening mijner zaken en het
 nemen van eenige proeven met de photographie be-
 steedde ik mijnen tijt hoofdzakelijk met de aankuiping
 van keniissen ~~en~~ alhier en ook dezulken, die zich
 uit Mekka gekomen, tijdelijk hier ophielden. Onder
 een juiste orde in acht te kunnen nemen, had ik
 over die nieuwe keniissen hier een en ander volgs.

Over de Europeanen: den Ing. cornet Jago, de
 doctoren Stamatiades en Stijffertich, den employé
 bij de Ouders. Lloyd Galimberti, den koopman

29 Sept. tot 1 October
 Aantekeningen over de 1^{te}
 maand van mijn verblijf te
 Djiddah, gelyk voor het
 latere doot journaal.

FIGURE 19.11 First page of Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah 'diary', MS Leiden Or. 7112, p. 1.
 © 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.

43

de richting van het door bewegen.

31 Decr 29 deze bracht de mail mij brieven van mama, de Guesj (met ingesloten adviezen van van der Lijck) en spectatores benevens overwegwijze van aan mij door mama verzonden brieven. Gisteren verende ik brieven aan mama, de Guesj, Holle, Wilken, Nöldelke en boekje G. D. H. Bogaert. Met eene vrije mail (23 Decr.) ontving ik brieven van Wilken, mama (2), ~~Köln~~, Goldfischer, Willhauser, G. istoren 12 Rab^t alannal; de markt wordt eiziglyk met den dag leverer geriet, hoewel ander met lever. Een dertienpunt met tamlam door de iet, algemeen gebak van ^{Lüne} mogelike, Croquant gebak met honig van binnen, waarvan de dikke draden in verschillende vormen doorringedraait worden. 's avonds illuminatie van ^{de 2} Duitche orlogedepen, het gainmagamaant en de kazerne. Lezing ook 's avonds van maalik, na den magist in de officiele, door amke naar beoethe Hanafimurke, na den toef in andere murkeien, naar het verlangen der menschen. In den Hanaf voorlezing op een dekte, aldus eenvondig zittend op den grond. In de stad bemerkt men, behalve door het gebak, melinig van het ferd dan moer gebakke kinderen en hier en daar een gemeenschappelyk, markt waarbij allen dingen: markaba, ja markaba! waar door verschillende epitheta van Mohamm aangewend wordt.

2 Jan: Nacht van 1 op 2 Jan. eerste in nieuw huis; van heder af eet Abu Bakat mij gaal-diep houden.

4 Jan: Nacht van 3 op 4 herige onweestri met flinke regen.

5 Jan: Gurechty bezocht van Sayyid Mohammed Mozaffin; 's avonds post met brieven van mama, Rombingh, Gaedelg, Bavinde, briefkaart van Nöldelke, stukje over gät

FIGURE 19.12 Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah 'diary' covering end 1884 and beginning 1885, change of address. MS Leiden Or. 7112, p. 43

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en Studentenvalmanak. 46

Bij de besnijdenis, die men hier op ^{één} verschillende leeftijd (ongeveer 40 dagen - 10 jaar) doet plaats vinden, gebruikt men, als ik van den morajjis vernam, een groen-tange
 tij Π , odde om het proecipium harschen te klemmen
 en een scheemes. Voor de wond gebruikt men een marham
 (men zie hier: $\text{الدَّابَّةُ} \text{فَلَا} \text{الْمَرَاخِمُ} \text{تَجْبِرُ} \text{الْحَمْرُ} \text{الْكُسْبِي}$)
 nl. een of ander bloedstelpend en wondheilend goed; onze
 vriend beveelt zelf "taljoen" te gebruiken, dat, naar
 zijn zeggen in de Europ. apothek. cantarion (of zoo iets)
 moet heeten. Het wordt op een laagje geomeerd en dit om de
 wonde plek verbonden. Daarna gebruikt men een doroeer
 om op te droogen; hiervoor verschillende mengels, als
 poeder fijn gestampt; men onderscheidt سَوْتَان en سَوْتَان
 soorten.

Sedert aankomst perja, 6 Jan: dagelijks grote fantasia's; 10 Jan:
 hijzelf geeft ontroep en wordt in 't huis van Waddana,
 den rijken Hindi-konman van Mekka. Alle autoriteiten
 bezoeken hem; consuls ontroepen reeds tegenbezoeken. 's
 Avonds en soms ook op dag optien en festiviteiten; illu-
 minaties des oeeq. De optien der burgers worden سَوْتَان 's
 gezijde gebruikt en naar 't schijnt door den sjeich al-hān
 medelikt in overleg met anderen georganiseerd. Over een
 dazig ~~quater~~ optien mistand quabā harschen de owlāt
 al-hān der Madhloem en die der Jaman, welke
 evenals gevolgt in heijg gevecht uitliep. 'Akān's
 werden van alle zijden bijengescharen en de menigte
 I te 11 ure uiteengegaaft, terwijl anders de vrolijkheid
 tot diep in den nacht duurt. Reeds eenige dagen te voren
 had harschen Madhloem en ons ^(of Jan) quabā ten gevecht
 plaats; eenige belhamels, naar den gāmmagān
 gebracht, werden door hem voor zijn huis afgezaald

FIGURE 19.13 Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah 'diary' covering 5-10 January 1885, with the note on circumcision. MS Leiden Or. 7112, p. 44

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FIGURE 19.14 Portrait of 1883 or 1884 from the studio of Georges Saboungi in Beirut of Ḥabīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir (1833–1896), a Ḥaḍramī adventurer who had been pensioned off to Mecca by the Dutch government in exchange for his surrender in Aceh. Original in Leiden University Library MS Or. 12.288 J, No. 23. See ‘diary’, p. 5
© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.



FIGURE 19.15 The house and office of vice-consul, merchant and shipping agent P.N. van der Chijs (1855–1889) in Jeddah. Photographer unknown. Original photo in MS Leiden Or. 12.288 J, No. 25

© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.



FIGURE 19.16 Portrait by C. Snouck Hurgronje ('Abd al-Ghaffār Efendi) of his co-photographer 'Abd al-Ghaffār b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Baghdādī, *Ṭabīb Makka*, possibly taken in Mecca in early 1885. Original in MS Leiden Or. 26.403, No. 16
© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.



FIGURE 19.17 Group portrait of European expats, Jeddah between September and December 1884, photo possibly taken by C. Snouck Hurgronje with a time shutter. In the foreground, sitting, two servants, names unknown. Second row, all sitting: in the centre J.A. Kruyt (1841–1927), at his left P.N. van der Chijs (1855–1889), at his right possibly J.L.A. Brandes (1857–1905), the Europeans at either extreme possibly assistants of Kruyt or employees of van der Chijs (Ph. Stijnis, P.P. ter Meulen, or F.L.A. Metzler?). Third row, standing: between Kruyt and van der Chijs: C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), and at the left the consular guard (*qawwās*) Ḥusayn. Photo taken in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah. Original in MS Leiden Or. 26.404, No. 2

© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.



FIGURE 19.18 One of the portraits by C. Snouck Hurgronje of 'Uthmān Nūrī Pāshā, in 1882–1886 the Ottoman governor of the Ḥiğāz, taken in Jeddah, possibly on 18 January 1885. Or the portrait was taken later by 'Abd al-Ghaffār, *ṭabīb Makka*. See also 'diary', p. 44. A standing portrait of him is in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka* (1888), plate VIII. Original in MS Leiden Or. 26.404, No. 6

© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.

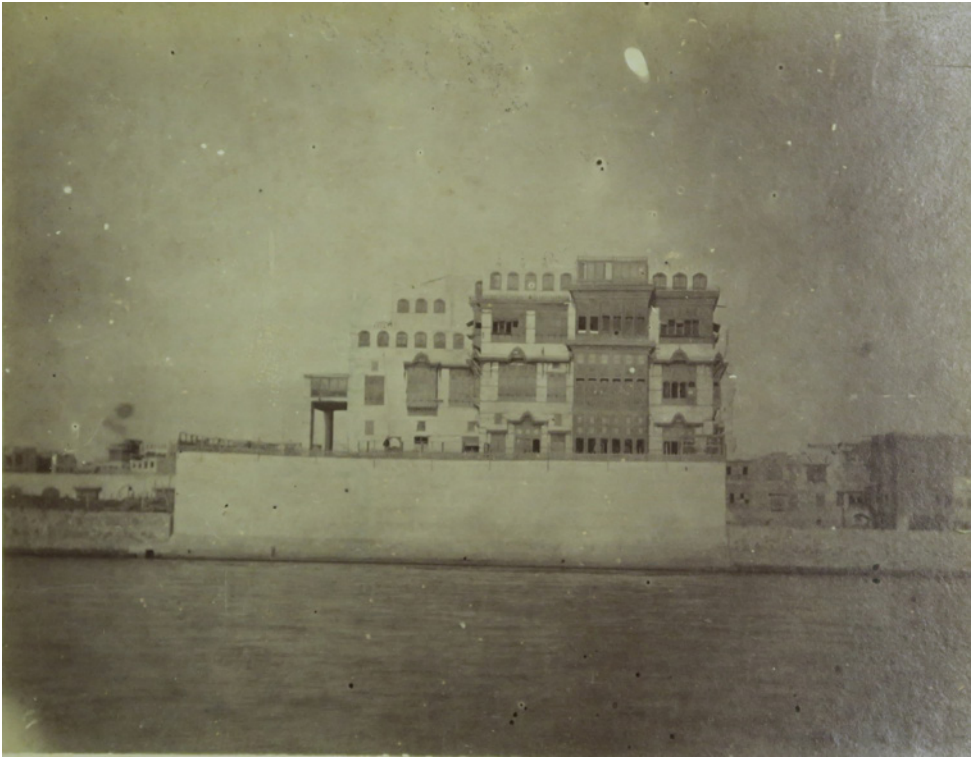


FIGURE 19.19 The house of Mūsā Baghdādī in Jeddah, as seen from the sea side. Photographer unknown. photo taken c. 1885–1887. See on the owner of the house 'diary', p. 26. Original in MS Leiden Or. 26.404, No. 7

© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.



FIGURE 19.20 Police Station in Şafā, Mecca, next to the Ḥaram. The person sitting in the entrance is the Ottoman governor ‘Uthmān Nūrī Pāshā. Photo taken in 1886 by ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, *ṭabīb Makka*. Snouck Hurgronje rejected the photograph for inclusion in his *Bilder-Atlas* of 1888 and had a lithograph made instead (now *Bilder-Atlas*, plate v1). Original photo in MS Leiden Or. 26.404, No. 12. Another copy is in the Yıldız Albums, No. 90877–23 (see Dördüncü, p. 57)

© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.



FIGURE 19.21 Portrait by C. Snouck Hurgronje of Prince Nūr, the son of the Sultan of Bacan, his uncle (left) and his imam Aḥmad. Jeddah, 16 October 1884, courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah. They had been invited for a meal ('rijsttafel') with Snouck Hurgronje, and the portrait may have been taken at that occasion. Original photo in MS Leiden Or. 26.404, No. 16, also reproduced in *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), plate xxxi. See 'diary', p. 23
 © 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.



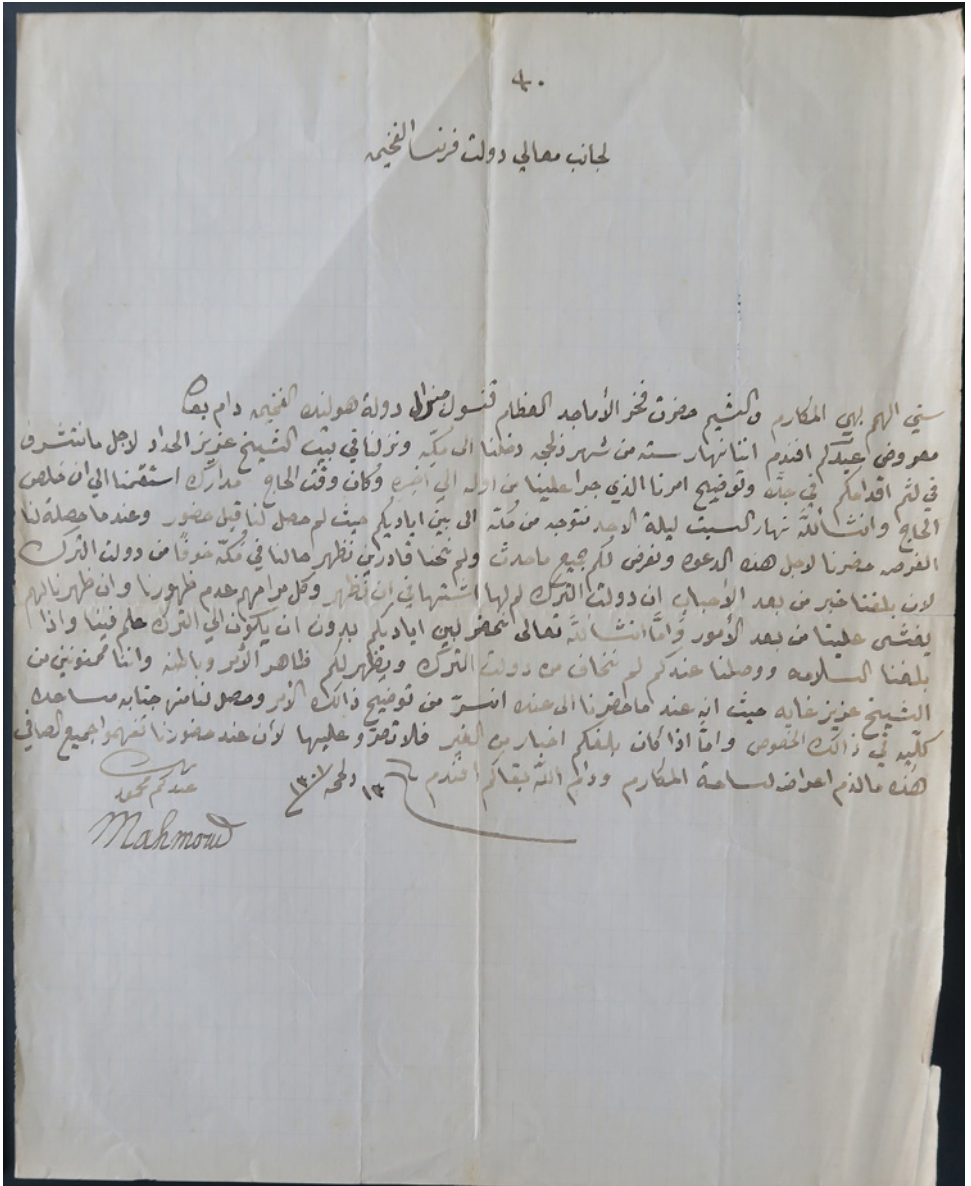
FIGURE 19.22 Group portrait by C. Snouck Hurgronje of pilgrims from Aceh, taken in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, October 1884. The leader of the group (front row, second from right) can be identified as Teungku di Cot Plieng, an adversary of the Dutch during the Aceh war.⁴⁴² Original photo in ms Leiden Or. 26.404, No. 120, also reproduced in *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), plate xxxvi

© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.

442 This identification is based on an owner's note on the photo in my personal copy of the *Bilder-Atlas*.



FIGURE 19.23 Group portrait by C. Snouck Hurgronje of an orchestra of black slaves in Jeddah, late 1884. Several photographs were made, but Snouck Hurgronje was satisfied by none of them. In the end he had a lithograph made (*Bilder-Atlas* (1888) plate xviii) in which the best details of all photographs were combined. In 1888 he was able to acquire the instruments of this or a similar musical group. These he deposited in the National Museum of Ethnography in Leiden (now registered in inventory series 1973). Original photo in MS Leiden Or. 26.404, No. 44
 © 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.



لجانب معالي دولت فرنسا العظيمة

4.

سبح الله المكارم وكثير مضر في الأوقات العظيمة فنسول من دولته هولندية العظيمة دام بقاء
 معروفين عبيدكم اقدم اننا نشارك من شهر ذي الحجة وفضلنا الى مكة ونزلنا في بيت الشيخ عزيز الحداد لاجل ما نشرف
 في لثمة اقداركم في حياكم وتوضيح امرنا الذي جرحنا علينا من اوله الى اخره وكان وقت الحيا مدارك استغنا الى ان خلاص
 الحيا وانت الله نهار السبت ليلة الاحد نتوجه من مكة الى بين ابادكم حيث لم حصل لنا قبل حضور وعند ما حصلنا
 المفروض مضرنا لاجل هذه الدعوة ونفرض لكم جميع ما حدث ولم تخافوا من نظركم حالنا في مكة خوفا من دولته الترك
 لول بلضنا خبر من بعد الاصل ان دولته الترك لها اسمها في ان تظهر وكل مواضع عدم ظهورها وان ظهرنا لهم
 يفتش علينا من بعد الوجود واما انت الله تعالى المحضرين ابادكم بدون ان يكون الي الترك علم قينا واذا
 بلضنا كسارهم ووصلنا عندهم لم تخاف من دولته الترك ويظهر لكم ظاهرا والامر والله واننا نؤمنون من
 الشيخ عزيز غاية حيث انه عند ما حضرنا الى عنده انسر من توضيح ذلك الامر ومصلونا من جنابه مساعد
 كليد في ذلك الخصوص واما اذا كان بلضنا اخبار من الغير فالامر وعليها لان عند حضورنا نتموا جميع الصافي
 هذه ماذم اعراض ساحة المكارم ودام الله بقاءكم اقدم ١٤ ولحم لشيخ

عبدكم محمد
 Mahmoud

FIGURE 19.24 Letter from Charles Huber's servant and assistant Maḥmūd to the French and Dutch consulates in Jeddah, dated 13 Dhū al-Ḥiġġa 1301 (4 October 1884). Original document in MS Leiden Or. 7111, folder 20. My transcript and translation are in Appendix 1. © 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.

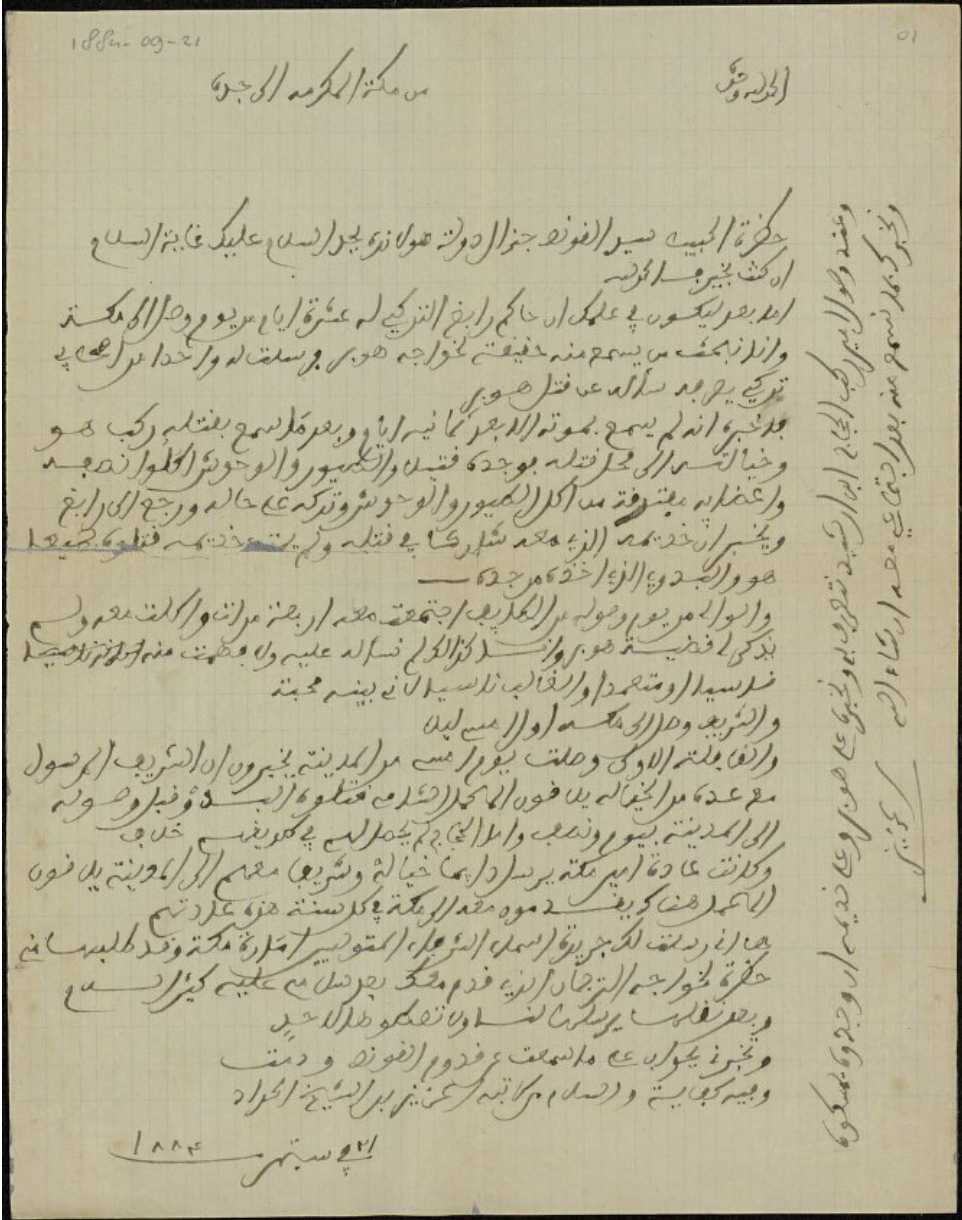


FIGURE 19.25 Letter from Si 'Aziz b. al-Shaykh al-Haddād, dated Mecca, 21 September 1884, to the Consul-General of Holland in Jeddah [J.A. Kruyt]. Original document is ms Leiden Or. 8952 A 111-1. On the verso C. Snouck Hurgronje has written: 'Van Si Aziz 21 Sep^{tr} 1884 (Dzoelhiddja) over zaak-Huber'. My transcript and translation are in Appendix 4, document 1

PHOTOGRAPH LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

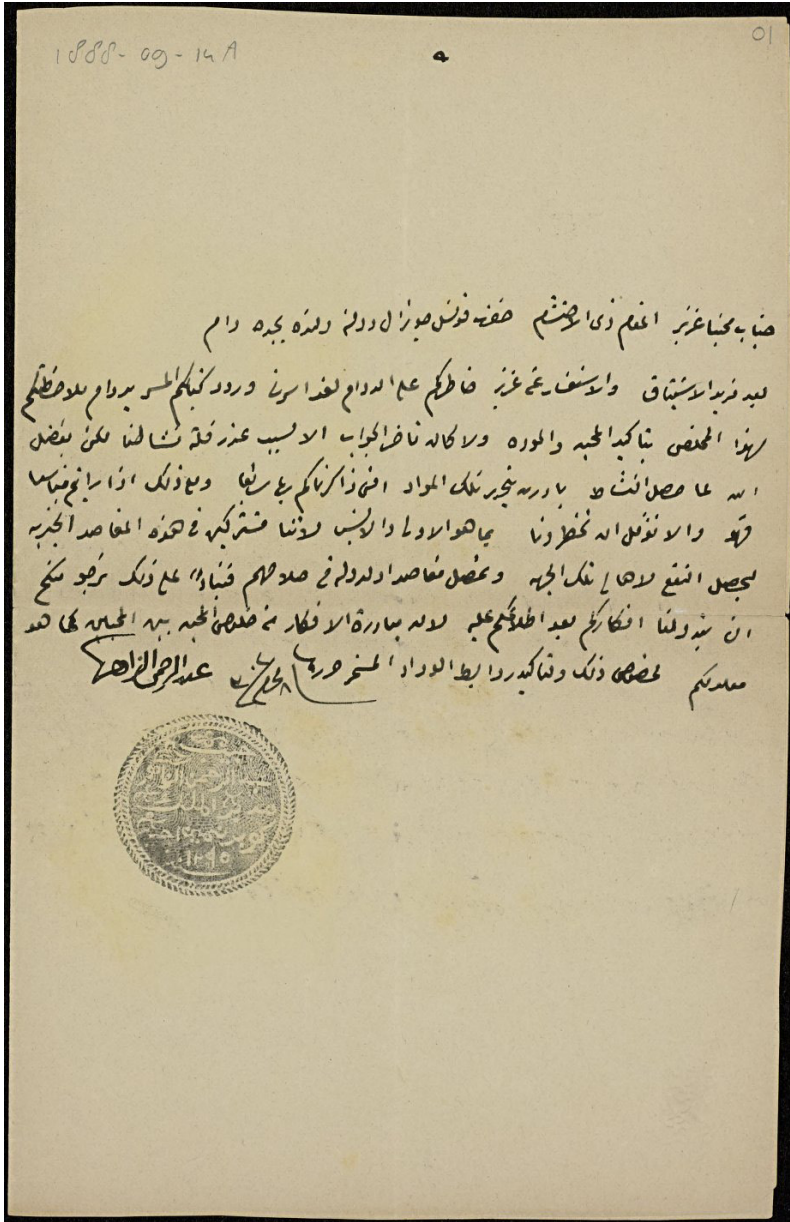


FIGURE 19.26 Letter from Ḥabīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir, dated Jeddah 8 Muḥarram 1302 [28 October 1884] to the Consul-General of Holland in Jeddah. Original document is Ms Leiden Or. 8952 A 1112, document 4. Text on seal: ‘Ḥabīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir, the ruler of the government of Aceh, year 1295’. My transcript and translation are in Appendix 5, document 1

PHOTOGRAPH LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

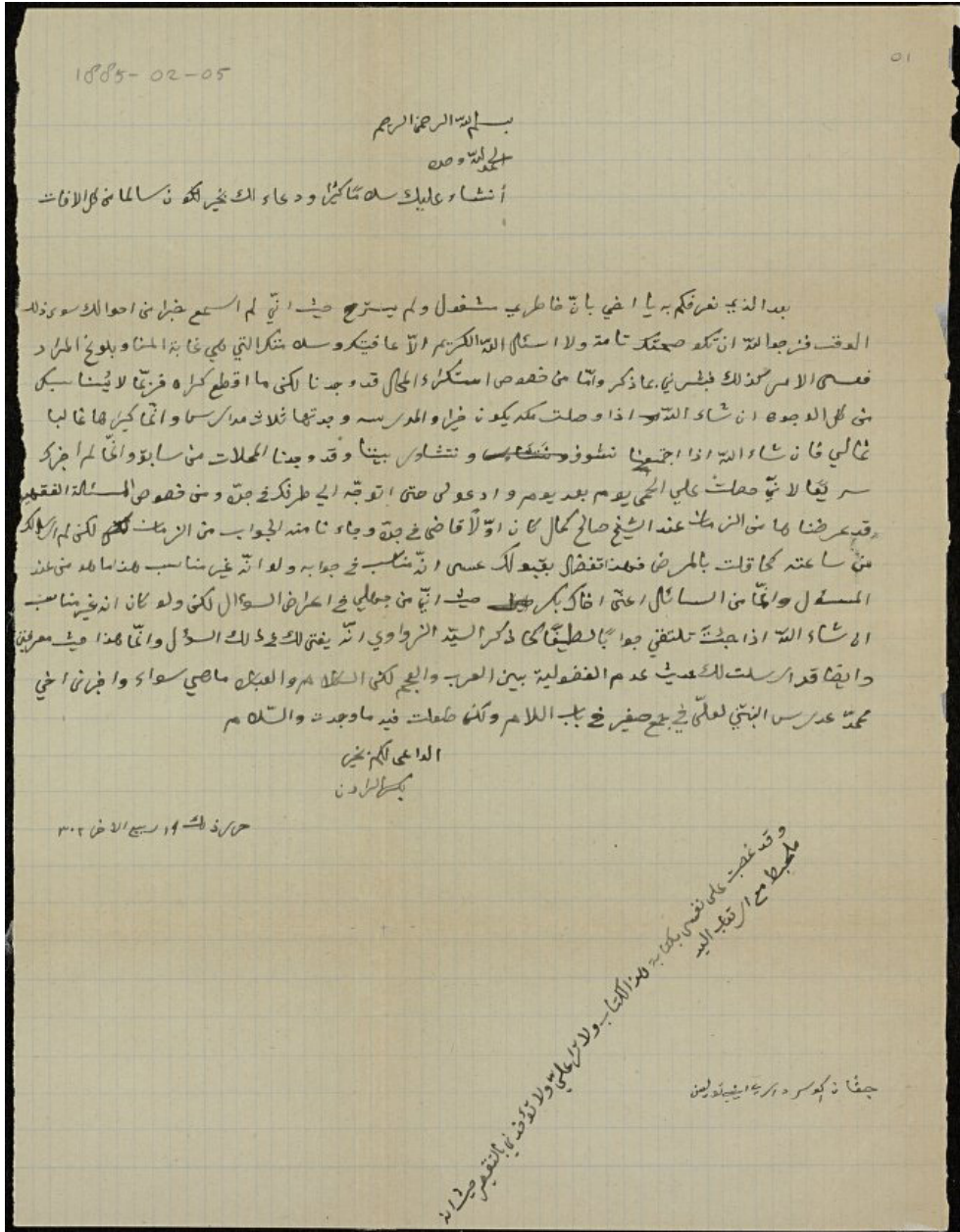


FIGURE 19.27 Letter from Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat (who signs Bakr al-Räden), to C. Snouck Hurgronje, dated 19 Rabi' 1302 (5 February 1885), possibly from Mecca, to Jeddah. Original document is MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 9, document 2. My transcript and translation are in Appendix 6

PHOTOGRAPH LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

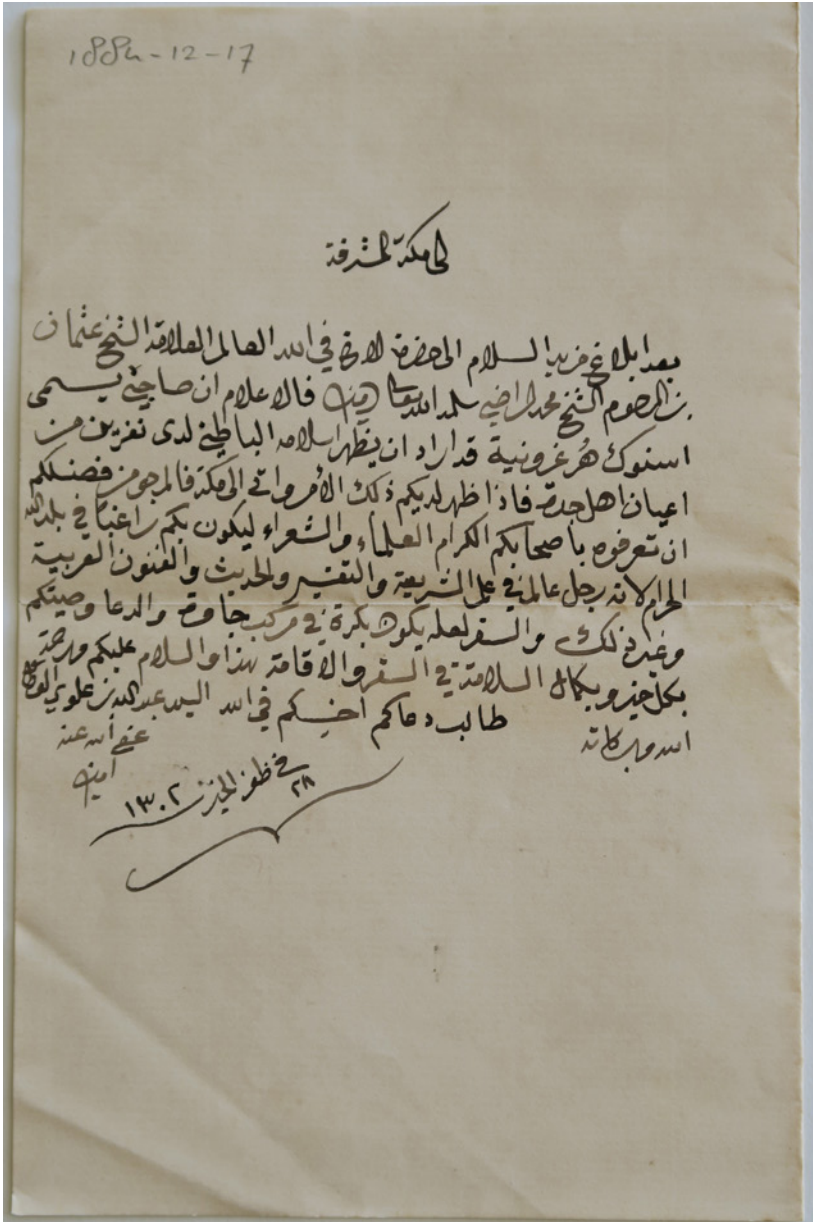


FIGURE 19.28 Letter from *al-Sayyid* ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alawī al-‘Aṭṭās to *al-Shaykh* ‘Uthmān b. *al-Marḥūm al-Shaykh* Muḥammad al-Rāḍī in Mecca. Apparently written in Jeddah, on 28 Ṣafar 1302 (17 December 1884), and possibly never sent. Original in ms Leiden Or. 8952 A 88, No. 1. My transcription and translation are in Appendix 7.

1885-07-30

01

اللهم في الأريب والقطب الأريب والكمال اللبيب عزيزنا عبد الغفار الذي فدي الله من أجله وأفاض علينا من كرمه كمنزلة
 من به جبريل المودع الأبيد والشمس الذي لا تميز به فذخيرةنا بورود رحمتك لمفظة لغز في فهمك قدك الله رحمة ونور في رحمة
 والذنا لمور المنقل بمشينة تعجب بالاعمال الغزوة والتصور بخير أم الله لفضل الخيرات ورحمة رحمة الأبرار والرسالة
 الجنة دار القدر والذات من أصل الجميل والكتابة المذكورة في بابها بديع بل من ربي بخمائل التي يومها كحل مشائرك
 بتقوى البصائر وأبصاركم هذه ما لم تخبر به ولا تنسوا من دعاءكم وسلام الله يفتاكم وعبدك عنانيته ترعاكم في
 ١٤ رجب ١٣٠٢

أخيه محمد بن أحمد

FIGURE 19.29 Polite letter from Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mashshāṭ in Jeddah to 'Abd al-Ghaffār Efendi (C. Snouck Hurgronje) in Mecca, dated 17 Shawwāl 1302 (30 July 1885). Al-Mashshāṭ is mentioned in the 'diary', pp. 7–8. Original in MS Leiden Or. 8952 D 95, No. 2. PHOTOGRAPH LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

1885-04-23

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

جانب المدد الاشم الختم مجنا واخينا العزيز الشيخ عبد الغفار افندي سلمه وعافاه ووفقنا
واياه لما يحبه ويرضاه ال لام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته على اللطام اول السوال عن عزيز خاطر الرف
لما نيا احي طالت مدة الغيبه ولم تذكروا محبتكم في كتاب وتعلموا لودة التي بيننا وبينكم والقاعدة
ان الانسان اذا وصل ال البلد الذي هو متوجه اليها يلبث لاصحابه كتاب الوصول ولا ريب ان ذلك
واما انا فلا عندي خبر بحكمم الذي انتم تقيمون فيه وارسلنا هذا الكتاب عن يد محبكم جميع الشيخ
عمر بغدادى وانتم لا تظفوننا كتبكم مع ما يبد لكم من لازم نتسرف بقضاهه ومخونه والى الام على
جزلكم عزيز ودم الدنيا كالمعتاد عليكم والى
من محبتكم
صالح البسام

وقضلاى جنباهم تطوفون لنا
سبعاء عند البيت ودرتوز لنا
بجزى الدنيا والآخرة ودمتم

FIGURE 19.30 Polite letter from Şāliḥ al-Bassām in Jeddah (?) to al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Efendi (C. Snouck Hurgronje) in Mecca, dated 8 Rağab 1302 (23 April 1885). Al-Bassām is mentioned in the ‘diary’, pp. 14 ff. Original in MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 117, No. 1. PHOTOGRAPH LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

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Leiden, University Library

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MS Leiden Or. 7013

MS Leiden Or. 7110

MS Leiden Or. 7111

MS Leiden Or. 7111, map 9: Raden Aboe Bakar, *Tarāḡim 'Ulamā' al-Ġāwa*

MS Leiden Or. 7111, map 12

MS Leiden Or. 7121

MS Leiden Or. 7931 a-f: Snouck Hurgronje's travel notes in Java

MS Leiden Or. 8927

MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 3

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MS Leiden Or. 8952, uncatalogued enclosure in A 245

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MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 361

MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 436–444: Letters from J.B. van Heutsz

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- Jan Just Witkam, 'Van huurcontract tot boekenlegger. Mekkaanse documenten van Snouck Hurgronje', in Wim van Anrooij e.a. (eds.), *Om het boek. Cultuurhistorische bespiegelingen over boeken en mensen*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2020, pp. 311–315
- Jan Just Witkam, 'Snouck Hurgronje's Consular Ambitions', in Jan Loop & Jill Kraye (eds.), *Scholarship between Europe and the Levant. Essays in Honour of Alastair Hamilton*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020, pp. 349–373
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- Jan Just Witkam, 'Inleiding' to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw. Schetsen uit het dagelijks leven*. Amsterdam/Antwerp: Atlas, 2007, pp. 7–184

Jan Just Witkam, *Honderd jaar Mekka in Leiden: 1885–1985. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling gehouden ter gelegenheid van de honderdste verjaardag van de Mekka-reis van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1885). Archivalia, handschriften, gedrukte boeken, wetenschappelijke notities, foto's en ethnografica*. Leiden: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 1985

Marcel Witlox, 'Met gevaar voor Lijf en Goed. Mekkagangers uit Nederlands-Indië in de 19e eeuw', in Willy Jansen & Huub de Jonge (eds.), *Islamitische Pelgrimstochten*. Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1991, pp. 24–26

ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

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Meccan voices. Proverbs and sayings from Mecca. Collected and explained by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje

Translated and annotated by Jan Just Witkam

Translator's preface

While he was preparing his two-volume illustrated monograph about Mecca, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje published several shorter and longer studies that were influenced by his stay in Mecca (22 February to early August 1885).¹ Among these is a collection of 77 Meccan proverbs and sayings that he collected in Mecca and Jeddah, where he lived before going to Mecca and after coming back from the Holy City. He had the proverbs published in 1886 by the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography of the Dutch East-Indies² in its journal *Bijdragen* and at the same time as an offprint that served as a festive gift to be distributed among participants of the 7th International Orientalist Congress in Vienna (September 1886). In Vienna, he spoke briefly about Arabic proverbs in general, and the participants must have been pleased with the 144-page book.³ Both texts follow below in an annotated

- 1 This text was completed in the end of 2018. I acknowledge with gratitude the numerous editorial suggestions that I received from Prof. Alastair Hamilton and Mr. William Facey. Early in 2021 appeared the first real biography ever, a landmark in Snouckian studies: Wim van den Doel. *Snouck. Het volkomen geleerdenleven van Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2021.
- 2 Then called 'Koninklijke Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië' in The Hague. Many years ago, it moved to Leiden, and its current name is 'Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies'. Its collections are now part of Leiden University Library.
- 3 The proceedings of the Congress mention Snouck Hurgronje's presentation, 'Arabische Sprichwörter und Redensarten von Dr C Snouck Hurgronje' in *Verhandlungen des VII. Internationalen orientalistischen-congresses: gehalten in Wien im Jahre 1886*. Wien: Alfred Holder, 1888, vol. 1, pp. 109-114. The proverbs were published as *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten gesammelt und erläutert von Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje*. Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1886. This booklet was, in fact, an offprint with independent pagination from *Bijdragen tot Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 5e Volgreeks, vol. 1 (1886), pp. 443-576. Both texts were reprinted in *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, Bonn und Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, vol. 5 (1925), on pp. 113-119 and pp. 1-112 respectively. The lecture that Snouck Hur-

I.

التلم الاعوج من التور الكبير

Et-telm el-à'wag minn et-târ el-kebîr.

Le sillon tordu provient du grand taureau.

Iza kân wâlad şeřîr ma'âsar wâhed kebîr 'alâ-t-ta'tîr fa yimsikoûh el-wâlad eş-şeřîr âhlou fa yiķoûlloûhom şâheb illhom (اليهم) hàydâ.

Si un petit enfant fréquente un grand enfant, en faisant la noce, les parents du petit enfant le prennent, et un ami à eux leur dit ce proverbe.

On ne l'applique qu'à celui qui débauche et conduit au mal un plus petit que lui.

تلم pour تلم, d'après les dictionnaires — معاشر pour معاشر voir n° 49. — معتر: معتر a généralement le sens de *débauché, qui ne travaille pas*, et celui de *pauvre, misérable*, surtout dans le Kesrouân; mais il a aussi un sens tropique d'*expérimenté*, pour s'être adonné au ta'tîr dans la jeunesse; p. ex.: Fâris òayyib mo'attar dâir bâlâd en-nâs, F. est bon et expérimenté: il a parcouru les pays du monde; c'est que le ta'tîr lui a appris la vérité sur les choses. V. n° 24. — On s'étonnera de ce que j'écris minn et 'ann avec deux n, mais ces deux n existent véritablement dans la prononciation vulgaire, aussi bien lorsque من et عن sont seuls qu'accompagnés des pronoms personnels de toutes les personnes. Prætorius, Z. D. M. G. XXXIV, p. 230; Spitta-Bey, Gramm. p. 156., établit cependant une exception que je ne puis admettre même pour l'Égypte. La raison de cette réduplication est avec beau-

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FIGURE 20.1 The first proverb in Carlo Landberg, *Proverbes et dictons du Peuple Arabe. Matériaux pour servir à la connaissance des dialectes vulgaires*. Vol. 1. Leyde: E.J. Brill, 1883, p. 1.

IMAGE MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

translation.

Collecting proverbs is an old habit in scholarship. One of the major works of the great humanist Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) was his ever-expanding collection of adages. The first edition of Erasmus' *Adagia* (Paris, 1500) counted 818 items; the definitive edition (Basel, 1533) counted as many as 4,151. In their numerous reprints and selections, they have, till today, exerted a lasting influence on humanist education in the Christian world.

The first Dutch steps in Arabic studies included a collection of proverbs. In 1614, a collection of 200 Arabic proverbs appeared in Leiden. They had been collected by an unknown (Arab?) scholar, and were presented to a non-Arabist readership in an annotated Latin translation by Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) and Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624).⁴ And more would follow suit. Even though Snouck Hurgronje did not have the required preparatory classical education, he could read Latin, and he must have been well aware of the genre, which had been illustrated by Erasmus, Scaliger, Erpenius, and so many others. Indeed, even in the unlikely case of his having missed these, he was very familiar with the collection that Carlo Landberg had brought out in 1883, only three years before the publication of his own collection, and which he cites several times.⁵

For his collection of 1886, Snouck Hurgronje seems to have meticulously followed Landberg's presentation and layout. However, content-wise the two books could not be more different. Where Landberg's selection is sometimes daring, Snouck Hurgronje is even bolder and thereby reveals more about himself in a way he may not always have been aware of. With an amusing anecdote, Landberg tells us in his proverb No. 10 about Muslim habits of removing pubic hair. Owning κτείς, 'kuss', 'vagina', is an asset, so Landberg tells us in his proverb No. 191. Snouck Hurgronje suggests, in his proverb No. 67, that no clitoris is free of charge, meaning that, in his eyes, it is a liability. It is only a matter of perspective, of course. Snouck Hurgronje's variation on the proverb converges with other developments and explanations in the collection, in which marital

gronje gave in Vienna is different from the introduction to *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten* of 1886. In my translation below, the Vienna lecture precedes the collection of proverbs. The article in *Bijdragen* and its offprint contained (pp. 119-144) an index of Arabic terms. The material of this index was not reprinted as such in the *Verspreide Geschriften*, but its material was incorporated by A.J. Wensinck in his general index of Arabic terminology in *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 6, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1927, pp. 560-577.

4 *Kitāb al-Amthāl, seu Proverbiorum Arabicorum Centuriae duae, ab anonymo quodam Arabe collectae & explicatae: cum interpretatione Latina & Scholiis Iosephi Scaligeri [...]* et Thomae Erpenii. Leidae: in Officina Raphelengiana, 1614.

5 Carlo Landberg, *Proverbes et dictons du Peuple Arabe. Matériaux pour servir à la connaissance des dialectes vulgaires*. Vol. 1. Leyde: E.J. Brill, 1883.

scenes, sometimes told in a comical way, appear to be a favourite subject in his choice of proverbs. Both authors allude to the woman's jewel with the Greek word *κτερίς*, 'pubic hair', derived from 'comb', which is the first meaning of the word.

Similarly, his proverbs Nos. 2, 3, 17, 26, 35, 48, 51, 54 and 72 contain a wealth of information about family life in Mecca, and in particular the greed of Meccan women, several examples of which can also be found in the second volume of his *Mekka*. Although apparently impersonal, the many proverbs and idioms about women sketch the picture of Snouck's private situation and indirectly tell a story that was never written elsewhere. The personal dimension of the collection is also to be found in the various polemical threads woven into the book. Snouck Hurgronje was to engage in a polemic with Carlo Landberg (1848-1924), in the following year, 1887, and Landberg was not his first victim.

Just before his voyage to Jeddah and Mecca, Snouck Hurgronje launched a vitriolic attack on the governmental expert on Islamic law in Batavia, L.W.C. van den Berg (1845-1927). Indeed, the latter's name is now only remembered because of Snouck Hurgronje's review of his edition and translation of al-Nawawī's *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn*.⁶ Snouck Hurgronje dipped his pen in acid once more when he had to write about the French vice-consul in Jeddah, Félix de Lostalot de Bachoué (1842-1894), and the French Orientalist Ernest Renan (1823-1892), whom Snouck Hurgronje held responsible for his untimely eviction from Mecca. A full-fledged polemic against the two Frenchmen never materialized as they may have been too insignificant (de Lostalot), or too powerful (Renan), or were just too far out of his reach.⁷ De Lostalot knew the details of Snouck Hurgronje's conversion to Islam; worse, he even knew of his life with an Ethiopian slave woman in Mecca. Following Snouck Hurgronje's forced departure, he had actually tried to get hold of the woman as a possible witness against her master, and he may have known that she had interrupted her pregnancy from Snouck Hurgronje, who, under the circumstances, may have felt

6 [Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī] منهاج الطالبين. *Minhādj at-Ṭālibīn. Le guide des zélés croyants. Manuel de jurisprudence musulmane selon le rite de Châfiʿi*. Texte arabe, publié par ordre du Gouvernement avec traduction et annotations par L.W.C. van den Berg. Batavia: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1882-1884 (3 vols); C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg's beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht', in: *Indische Gids* 6/1 (1884), pp. 363-434, 737-816 (= *Verspreide Geschriften* 2 (1923), pp. 59-221. To this followed an answer by Van den Berg, and a rejoinder by Snouck Hurgronje, dated Jeddah, November 1884 (*Indische Gids* 7/1 (1885), pp. 95-100; *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 2, pp. 223-230).

7 In an unpublished response, dated Jeddah, 12 November 1885, de Lostalot referred to Snouck Hurgronje's style in 'Aus Arabien' in *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 16 November 1885, as 'worthy of an escapee from the laboratory of Dr. Pasteur', which is an elegant way of saying that someone acts as a rabid dog (MS Paris, Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles Lettres, Archives Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, in file G 06).

exposed to blackmail.⁸

Between Landberg and Snouck Hurgronje it was different. There was a fatal mixture of proximity of interests combined with a wide divergence in social status. Landberg's profile was perfectly fit for the role that Snouck Hurgronje envisioned regarding his own ideal enemy, and, ultimately, victim. Landberg was connected to high society, had entered Swedish nobility, had married a rich woman, and commanded great respect in the world but was, in Snouck Hurgronje's view, a spoiled and sloppy scholar. He was interested in fields of study that also caught Snouck Hurgronje's attention. Among friends, Snouck Hurgronje mockingly called Landberg 'Don Carlos', Spanish nobility always being an easy target for ridicule in the Netherlands. In the same vein, he once made fun of Landberg's rather boorish manners by telling how he complacently handed out invitations to spend time, either in the winter of 1885 in his Stuttgart palace (provided with electric lighting and a large library) or in the subsequent spring in his Bavarian chateau (which was known for its unsurpassed wine cellar).⁹ In spring 1886, the bomb dropped when the first volume of Landberg's *Critica Arabica* appeared, 'a sloppily written series of essays in German and French', which included a critique of Snouck Hurgronje's Meccan proverbs.¹⁰ It was the last straw for Snouck Hurgronje, who abandoned his previously moderate tone and subtle hints in order to mete out his punishment.¹¹ To his friend P.N. van der Chijs in Jeddah he wrote:

Against me he [Landberg, JJW] could not master his impotent anger. [...] By his incredible sloppiness and unbelievable infatuation with himself, he made it so easy for me to destroy him. On every page of his brochure, he makes statements which, when looked up in a reference work, prove to be stupidities. It is proof of the fact that he has just continued writing, confident of his own infallibility. Never having been educated in the discipline of science, he does not know what he knows or does not know, and that is how the talent, that he really has, becomes sterile and its products ridiculous.¹²

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- 8 See my introduction to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw. Schetsen uit het dagelijks leven*. Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Atlas, 2007, pp. 129-130, 137-141.
- 9 My translation. Letter from C. Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden to P.N. van der Chijs in Jeddah, 3 November 1885, in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive (in MS Leiden Or. 8952 L 4).
- 10 Dr. Carlo Graf von Landberg, *Critica Arabica*, No. 1. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1886, pp. 54-89.
- 11 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Dr. C. Landberg's Studien gepriëft*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1887 (*Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 5, pp. 121-144).
- 12 My translation. Letter from C. Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden to P.N. van der Chijs in Jeddah, 24 April 1887, in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive (in MS Leiden Or. 8952 L 4).



FIGURE 20.2 Portrait of Amīn al-Madānī. Lithograph by Abraham Jacobus Wendel (1826-1915) after a photographic portrait by Jan Goedeljee (1824-1905). Frontispice of *Het Leidsche Orientalistencongres. Indrukken van een arabisch congreslid*. Vertaald en ingeleid door C. Snouck Hurgronje. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1883. Original in Leiden University Library [1434 G 46]
 © 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.

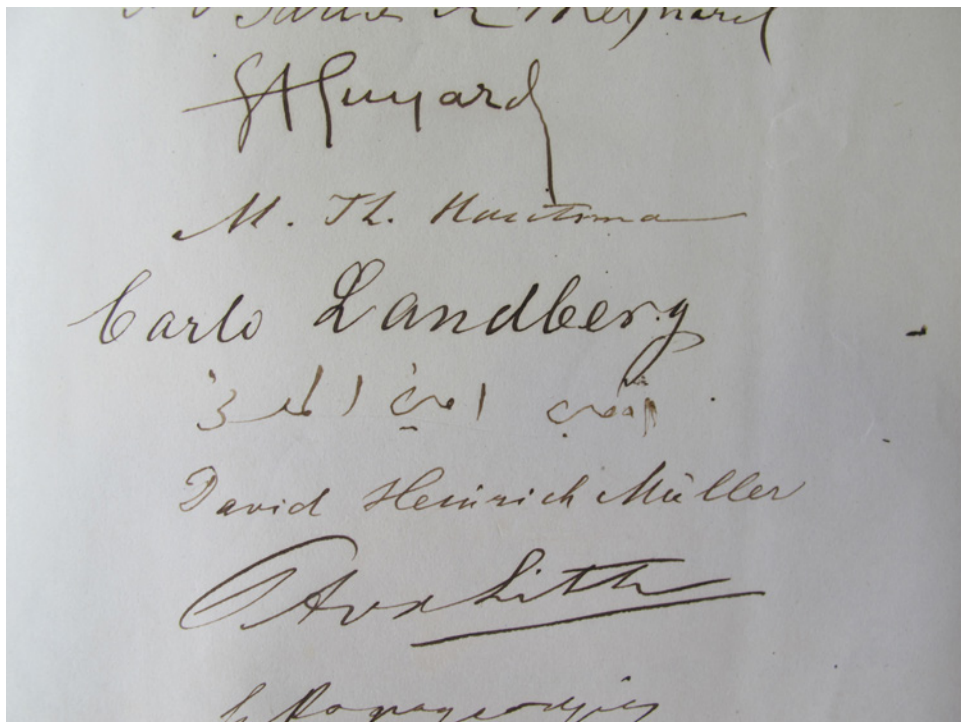


FIGURE 20.3 Carlo Landberg and Amīn al-Madānī signing together as participants of the 6th International Congress of Orientalists, Leiden. Archive of the Congress, Leiden University Library, Or. 3105, vol. 1, p. 181, detail.
© 2021. PHOTO BY JAN JUST WITKAM.

There were already tensions between Landberg and Snouck Hurgronje when the pair first met in 1883, during the 6th International Congress of Orientalists in Leiden, possibly aggravated by their competing efforts for the friendship and trust of Amīn al-Madānī (d. 1898).

During the congress, Landberg was instrumental in the sale of part of Amīn al-Madānī's manuscript collection to the publisher Brill, who subsequently sold it to the Leiden library. Snouck Hurgronje translated Amīn al-Madānī's impressions of the Leiden congress from Arabic into Dutch and published it as an attractive booklet with a lithographed portrait of the author.¹³

13 Carlo Landberg, *Catalogue de Manuscrits Arabes provenant d'une bibliothèque privée à El-Medīna et appartenant à la Maison E.J. Brill*. Leide: E.J. Brill, 1883; [Amīn al-Madānī], *Het Leidsche Orientalistencongres. Indrukken van een arabisch congreslid*. Vertaald en ingeleid door C. Snouck Hurgronje. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1883. Landberg and al-Madānī inscribed together in the Congress (MS Leiden Or. 3105, vol. 1, p. 181).

In his published collection of Meccan proverbs of 1886, Snouck Hurgronje refers ten times to Landberg's collection of 1883.¹⁴ All the remarks are politely critical and dissociative, but Landberg's collection came from Şaydā in Syria, now Lebanon, not from Mecca, and variants with regard to Snouck Hurgronje's proverbs are easily explained by this difference of origin. None of Snouck Hurgronje's references to Landberg's proverbs is polemical, but in 1887 Snouck Hurgronje had a different recollection of the impression his remarks may have made on Landberg: "That I [Snouck Hurgronje, JJW] have now invaded his territory (*Proverbes et dictons*), that in my booklet I had to discard everything he writes about Meccan usage, and that I had to enter a dispute about a general statement of his about what is 'the best Arabic', all that was too much for him."¹⁵

This may well be the case, but Snouck Hurgronje's collection of proverbs was not compiled as a reaction to or as a correction of Landberg's collection. He had stayed in Mecca for several months, participated in many aspects of Meccan life, and even though his stay had been cut short, he had been able to make numerous notes and had enough contacts in Jeddah and Mecca to keep the stream of information flowing. The best-known result of his work after his return to Leiden is his two-volume monograph about Mecca, with the two portfolios of photographic and lithographic images.¹⁶ The monograph concluded a small series of scholarly contributions about Mecca and the Meccans that flowed from Snouck Hurgronje's pen between the summer of 1885 and the spring of 1889, when he left for the Dutch East Indies. The proverbs that are presented below belong to these.

They range from very short sayings or expressions to relatively lengthy essays on customs and manners of the Meccans, for which the proverb is only the point of departure. Less than one third of the total of 77 proverbs provide such a variety of information. No. 35, by far the longest, is a proverb about *kunāfa*, a sort of pastry, and that serves as the starting point for an essay about eating habits in Mecca. In this essay, born from a proverb, Snouck Hurgronje avails himself of the opportunity to describe the habits of beggars, and to enumerate categories of people who are fond of certain dishes. He also describes the various dishes eaten during the day: breakfast and the meals at noon and in the evenings. In addition, he treats many other subjects, albeit often fleetingly. All

14 Introduction (about 'the best Arabic') and Snouck Hurgronje's proverbs Nos. 26, 32, 36, 38, 46, 57, 58, 59 and 74.

15 My translation. Letter from C. Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden to P.N. van der Chijs in Jeddah, 24 April 1887, in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive (in ms Leiden Or. 8952 L 4).

16 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*. Vol. 1, *Die Stadt und ihre Herren*; vol. 2, *Aus dem Heutigen Leben*. Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888-1889; *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka*, Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888; *Bilder aus Mekka. Mit kurzem erläuterndem Texte*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1889.

this produces the effect of an impressionist view of Meccan life. Examples abound of developments and comments that exceed the proverb and depict not only Meccan culture and society, but also Snouck's own position as well as his participation. For instance, the Meccans who first see a photographic portrait associate it with sorcery. That, and how sorcery fits into Meccan society is discussed in proverb No. 27. At the same time, it is one of the rare occasions on which Snouck Hurgronje tells us about his activities as a photographer, something he mentions only sparingly in *Mekka*.¹⁷ Sometimes, one needs to look at several proverbs in order to find various pieces of information on one and the same subject. Clothing¹⁸ or travelling¹⁹ are obvious examples.

Occasionally one finds examples of what I call Snouck Hurgronje's enigmatic intertextuality, a discreet way of both referring to his own writings and hiding this very reference, leaving clues to personal meanings. The proverb No. 68 ('*Dirhèms* are like ointments, they relieve the pain of the broken bone') is, so Snouck Hurgronje tells us, 'one of the numerous expressions by which the Arab stresses the omnipotence of money.' True as that may be, for our author it is also a *lieu de mémoire* alluding to his own circumcision in Jeddah, in early January 1885, a fact that he carefully hides from his readers.²⁰ The proverb serves as an enigmatic reminder of an important moment in his life. In or between the lines, Snouck Hurgronje may have hidden much more than what we are now able to retrieve. These thematic riddles and elucidation offer a glimpse of the personal life of the author, without any direct autobiographical or confidential remarks. They stand like mute clues, intended for the private use of the author rather than for sharing with the reader.

Another example of this may concern the Ethiopian slave woman that Snouck Hurgronje owned in Mecca. Nowhere, except in his correspondence with P.N. van der Chijs, does he address or describe his life with her directly.²¹ Before I pointed out her existence for the first time²² she was unknown in Snouckian literature, even if, with the wisdom of hindsight, her existence could have been postulated. Her presence explains many events and choices in Snouck's Meccan life that, otherwise, would remain as unanswered questions.

17 *Mekka*, vol. 2, pp. 5, 8, 12, 14, 25, 36, 40, 43, 57, 79, 96, 98, 142, 149, 174, 184, 219, most of which are references to the *Bilder-Atlas*.

18 See for clothing proverbs No. 26, 35, 39, 48, 51, 56, 57 and 76.

19 Aspects of travelling are mentioned in proverbs Nos. 24, 35, 40 and 56.

20 See my references given with proverb No. 68, below.

21 He may have written about her to his mother, though I doubt it, and no such correspondence survives.

22 My introduction to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw*, pp. 98-99.

For instance, how could Snouck Hurgronje have gathered so much information about women's lives in Mecca, if not directly? Why would he have had himself circumcised if not with the prospect of living in Mecca together with a woman? True, he had to show the healing wound of his circumcision at the gate when he first entered the Holy City. Was it not, also, that without circumcision he would never have been able to have the intimate company of a female in Mecca? Once the hypothesis is formulated, facts seem to fall into line. I have deduced, for example, that he paid 150 Maria Theresia dollars for this slave woman, which was the average price for a female slave.²³ We know that she became pregnant from Snouck Hurgronje, and that she underwent an abortion ('by her own action got rid of her too heavy load').²⁴ Suddenly, Snouck Hurgronje's praise of Ethiopian women, in contrast to her black and Arab sisters,²⁵ becomes understandable. It is another *lieu de mémoire*, this time for his happy relationship with his Ethiopian slave. Not naming someone is a way of ignoring that person's existence and with so many indirect references to this slave woman, it is strange that her name should never be revealed, either in published sources, or in the correspondence that Snouck Hurgronje maintained with one or two intimate friends and in which his slave's existence is not kept secret. Or is there, perhaps, a reference to the woman's name somewhere after all? In *Mekka* Snouck Hurgronje mentions common names for slave women,²⁶ and he does so again in proverb No. 51, where the purchase of a slave woman is part of an equation. In *Mekka* he gives no less than fifteen such names, in proverb No. 51 only one: Sa'ida. Could that have been the name of his woman? It remains speculation. A tempting one, though.

There follow below two texts by Snouck Hurgronje on proverbs. The first is the lecture that he gave during the Vienna conference in September 1886. It looks ahead and deals mainly with the collection of Egyptian proverbs compiled by his friend 'Abd al-Raḥīm Efendī Aḥmad.²⁷ These are not Meccan proverbs. Snouck Hurgronje had great plans for this collection of some 1,500 proverbs, none of which came to fruition. The greater part of what follows here is the collection of 77 Meccan proverbs that he published before the Vienna congress, and offprints of which he distributed in Vienna during the congress. That

23 *Mekka*, vol. 2 (1889), p. 133.

24 My translation. Letter from Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden of 22 December 1885, to P.N. van der Chijs in Jeddah (Snouck Hurgronje Archive, in MS Leiden, Or. 8952 L 4). See also *Mekka*, vol. 2 (1889), pp. 130-131.

25 *Mekka*, vol. 2 (1889), pp. 15, 23, 133-134, 136, 302.

26 *Mekka*, vol. 2 (1889), p. 139, Note 2.

27 His 28 letters in Arabic to Snouck Hurgronje, sent between 25 December 1885 and 29 September 1888, have been preserved in the Snouck Hurgronje archive. See MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 52 – Or. 8952 A 57.

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٢٥ - ١٢ - ١٨٨٥

اذا كان بعد كرمك وانما العبد الى
 انك فضاوي واعلميا برسرا اولا بابي
 تصدقوا بالصدق او عابره بها

حفظ اكرم اكرم ولدكتور المرحوم سيواسونك هجره في حب
 العلم والعلم بله المستحق اعلم آية

اقدم حضرتكم ازلي نجاتي وخالص مودتي واسنى تسليماتي ومنزلة
 اخذاتي وجليل آراي واصف اسواقى وانه كانت لذ ايدها لا توصف
 ولذا اعمل على لقلب لانتقاد تعرف ثم انهي سدي بالمواسم المباركة
 ابقاه الى اصل اماله واعند نفسي من اسر او حيث مرت من معارف عهدة
 وتآدت بيننا روابط لمدودة ودواعى الاتحاد والالفة ولقد عرفت على من طلبة
 حضرتكم وما عاقبتى الا انتظار القاب من لقاها في هذه المدة كنت اقدم
 رجلا وافر اخرى الى ان تعرفت بحضور المرحوم الشريف هوارد من طرف حضرتكم
 يوم تاريخه وبالاطلاع عليه حصل لي مزيد لمرور بدوام صحو مسيا دتمم واعتدل
 من اجتمعا لعاظم ثم ان كتاب لهدى اخذت حضرتكم عنه في من اسبق قد حضرت
 لينا وهو يعنى على الفين مثل تقريبا مضمع الفاظ على تصدير انى غاية الاختصار

FIGURE 20.4 The first letter from 'Abd al-Rahīm Efendi Aḥmad to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, dated 25 December 1885. One of the subjects on the letter is proverbs. MS Leiden Or. 8952 A 52-01, p. 1.
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collection looks back at the compiler's stay in Mecca and offers a wealth of information, including unexpected perspectives on his Meccan life and times. In earlier publications I confused the two collections, but, fortunately, the matter was cleared up several years ago.²⁸

As the reader can see, Snouck Hurgronje's prose is often interspersed with Arabic words, not seldom in transliteration, and sometimes in Arabic script. In my translation I have left that feature intact, but in many cases I have added a short translation or explanation in order to make the text comprehensible for readers who are not familiar with Arabic. I have included all Snouck Hurgronje's discussions on aspects of the grammar of colloquial Arabic in my translation, even though I am aware that the readership for those passages is limited, and that some linguistic passages may need updating. All Snouck Hurgronje's footnotes have been preserved in the translation. I have placed the text of my own footnotes to the translation between square brackets. That feature mostly applies to a reconstruction of the bibliographical description of Snouck Hurgronje's sources.

For the sake of completeness, I here mention an Arabic version of Snouck Hurgronje's collection of Meccan proverbs that may have come out in the 1960's or 1970's. It was made by Saudi scholar Ḥamad al-Ġāsir (1910-2000) and published in *al-Yamāma*, a journal appearing in Riyadh. On 7 October 1960 he visited Leiden University and received a copy of the German version of the Meccan proverbs as a present. In his travelogue he mentions the details of his visit, to which he added that he published it in Arabic in *al-Yamāma* (*wa-qad nashartuhā mu'arraba fil-Yamāma*). Further details are lacking and I have never seen this work.²⁹

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28 Arnoud Vrolijk, 'Proverbial misunderstandings. The sources of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's collection of Egyptian proverbs', in *Der Islam* 79 (2002), pp. 103-117.

29 Ḥamad al-Ġāsir, *Riḥalāt*. Al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Yamāma, 1400 [1980], pp. 211-216, in particular p. 214. See also my notes in 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936). Lives and afterlives', in the present volume.

C. Snouck Hurgronje, Arabic proverbs and sayings³⁰

When seventy years ago, Burckhardt compiled a collection of Egyptian Arabic proverbs, he based himself on the work of a Cairene scholar, Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Asad, who had recorded a large number of popular proverbs about a century earlier.³¹ From that, one can already see the idea that it is worthwhile to study popular thinking and speaking, which is not as easy for Orientals as several Orientalists have contended. But it will not take long before Muslim Orientals will have recognized the importance of modern linguistics and ethnography. A thorough transformation of their entire way of thinking must first level the road towards a better understanding of these endeavours which are still relatively young even in Europe. With us as well, important data about dialects and popular manners and customs were recorded before it was realized what the profit of this would be for scholarship. Both here and there, vague curiosity preceded purposeful research.

The contempt with which the pedantic Arab scholastic scholars looked down upon the attempts of Sharaf al-Dīn and his predecessors and followers is the reason why so little in this field has been brought out by Arab publishers. Even in the form of manuscripts such examples of unofficial scholarship were only sparingly circulated. Their main purpose is amusement in social circles, and a stimulus to indulge in discussions in which someone tries to outbid the others with astute jokes and worldly wisdom.

It is no coincidence that those educated Muslims, who are interested in the life and activities of the common people, primarily study the proverbs and sayings of their compatriots. In the Arab Orient the popular way of thinking with all its shades and nuances has a much clearer profile than among the Occidental peoples. Whoever masters a fairly complete collection of proverbs and sayings from an Arabic speaking region, thereby has a considerable part of the living language at his disposal. This phenomenon has its roots in the character of Muslim Arabic culture. Every European who becomes better acquainted with it is struck by the fact that there, both in official and social life, the individual fades away against the collective. In the way of thinking, speaking and acting of the individual he can observe a remarkable uniformity, an absence of a more profound divergence. Consensus (*iǧmāʿ*) not only established the reli-

30 [Translated from C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Arabische Sprichwörter und Redensarten', in: *Verbreide Geschriften*, vol. 5 (1925), pp. 113-119.]

31 [John Lewis Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs or the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians illustrated from their proverbial sayings current at Cairo*. 2nd. Edition. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1875. It contains 782 proverbs.]

gious doctrine, it has also defined how one expresses one's hatred and love, one's anger, one's devotion, one's amazement and one's indifference. It even establishes how one should eat, drink and go and sit at table. To all these things we can apply the proverb 'divergence from tradition is the enemy'.

We can say that the European, apart from what he learns at school, for the expression of his thoughts only derives from the world around him the principles of the popular language, a number of phrases and sentences, and a few common ways of speaking. Actual proverbs play only a subordinate role thereby. The Arab, on the contrary, uses a considerable percentage of fixed expressions in order to give form to his thoughts and feelings. They have been completely internalized by those who have grown up with them, and only unimportant variants in form can be found. Recently, Dr. Goldziher has shown that this statement also applies to the gestures of the Arabs.³² Of course, there are many local variants in Arab-speaking countries, both in usage and in form. The agreement is essentially preponderant, however, and within the area of each idiom the individual differences are very few. The most excellent experts on the modern Arabs, from Burckhardt to Landberg, have recognized the importance of this fact, and accordingly they have communicated the results of their linguistic and ethnographical observations in the form of remarks about their collections of modern Arabic proverbs and sayings.

In the present situation one can hardly demand that Arab scholars should consider their own work in this field by the far-reaching standards of modern (European) linguistics and ethnography. However, it gives me joy to state that our times, at least in Egypt, can point to worthy followers of Sharaf al-Dīn, people who have put their targets already much further away than Sharaf al-Dīn has done in the beginning of the eighteenth century. On my journey home from Arabia I had the good luck to become acquainted with the young Egyptian scholar 'Abd al-Raḥīm Efendī Aḥmad. After having finished his study in al-Azhar and the Dār al-'Ulūm in Cairo, he obtained from the Egyptian government the post of lecturer, and he was entrusted by the Khedive with the teaching of Arabic to the princes who now study in Switzerland. This competent and merry son of Egypt had sat at the feet of the scholarly giants in Cairo. At the same time, he was so completely interested in the daily life of his compatriots, that his teachers sometimes thought they should advise him not to occupy himself with these useless and profane things. With him, proper respect for the transmitted wisdom of these *'Ulamā'*, 'scholars' went hand-in-hand with the conviction, that it could be to his advantage to study the popular ideas about

32 [I. Goldziher, 'Ueber Geberden- und Zeichensprache bei den Arabern', in: *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* 16 (1886), pp. 369-386.]

the political, social and domestic relationships in his country. His piety towards Sībawayhī and al-Fīrūzābādī³³ did not prevent him from studying the contemporary language of his country in the market places and the social circles of Egypt's sons. Without even realizing that by this effort he would oblige European scholars, he has, together with some like-minded friends, used his spare time to codify the proverbs and sayings of his mother tongue. His post at the Dār al-'Ulūm in Cairo provided him with the opportunity to ask questions of pupils from all provinces of Egypt, and to check the results of this research by extensive cross-questioning. When, by an entirely unexpected turn of events, he was forced to move to that frightening Europe, the result of his still incomplete research was a collection of about 1,500 proverbs and sayings. As soon as I had explained to my Egyptian friend that the European Orientalists had a strong interest in such things, he asked his collection that he had left in Cairo to be sent to him and he put this without reservation at my disposal. In addition to this, during a stay in Switzerland, he was so kind as to give me extensive factual and linguistic explanations. When one takes all this into account, it would now be quite impolite to ask timidly whether or not a European linguist or ethnographer in one way or another would not have followed a research method different from the one this Egyptian scholar had followed. I consider it my duty to publish, as soon as I can find time to do so, the collection of the aforesaid scholar for European Orientalists so that they can work with it. In the meantime, I avail myself of this opportunity to publicly pronounce my gratitude to him that will, as I believe, be shared by many colleagues.

If I were to add up all proverbs and sayings that I have heard during my stay in Arabia, the total might also reach 1,500. Such a collection has, for several reasons, only little value. First, every Arabist would find among them a rather large quantity of so-called literary proverbs. Literature has indeed, even in our time, a much greater influence in the circles of educated town dwellers than those travellers in the Orient, who only get acquainted with the outer edges of Muhammadan society, usually think. Among the non-literary proverbs, the reader who has studied the collections that have been published before by European scholars, would encounter hundreds of old friends. Of those, I have been unable to distinguish with certainty whether I had heard a certain saying only from Syrians, only from Egyptians or only from people from the Maghrib. In a society so mixed as that of the Holy City and its 'portals', the strict study of 'to each his own' in connection with usage would only be possible when someone was able to almost occupy himself almost exclusively with linguistic re-

33 [Sībawayhī (d. 177/793?) and al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415) are two great names in the history of Arabic linguistics.]

search. For me, I needed above all to familiarize myself with the private and public life of Muslims. Words and usage were only a means to an end for me, even if they were a very important and indispensable means. Under such circumstances of a Babylonian confusion of tongues spoken by the crowd attracted to the Holy City from all corners of the world, it is difficult to distinguish the fleeting element correctly. On the other hand, if one stays longer in Mecca, it is quite easy to distinguish the indigenous Meccan customs and language from foreign elements. The social life of the original inhabitants of Mecca has further developed and continuously modified itself, first under the influence of Egyptians, Syrians and people from the Maghrib, then of the Turks and Indians, and in our century increasingly under the influence of the inhabitants of the East Indian archipelago. Likewise, the dialect of the Holy City shows the traces of all these nationalities. But the effect was never a substitution. Meccan manners and customs and Meccan language have always preserved their own sharp linguistic profile. Mecca owes this mainly to the numerous Sherifian families, who already formed the centre and the core of Meccan society in the early Muslim period.

I would have preferred to offer this audience a larger part of my studies about that society. The linguistic element would have been treated as an important factor of spiritual life. Unfortunately, till now, it has been impossible to complete this work. On the other hand, the purely linguistic element could not easily be treated in such a larger study. It would be an advantage if it were possible to refer in such a broader study to a smaller work that deals with linguistic and ethnographic details. I have therefore decided to follow the example of my excellent predecessors, and to come up with a preliminary contribution to the knowledge of contemporary Meccan society in the form of an explanation of a few Meccan proverbs and sayings. As I have already indicated, the purely literary sayings have been excluded, and only those sayings in the popular language have been published if their style and use had a specifically Meccan element. The total number was thus reduced to seventy-seven.

The Dutch East-Indian Institute has undertaken the publication of my work and it has requested me to offer a few copies of it to this section of our Congress. With the general remarks that I have pronounced here, I did not wish to address a scholarly question, or to justify to a learned discussion. I only wished to introduce this festive gift to you with a few words, thereby following up the request made to me by the Institute. I could not neglect the opportunity to guide your attention to an excellent Oriental collaborator in this field.

C. Snouck Hurgronje, Meccan proverbs and sayings³⁴

Introduction

It is superfluous to wish to prove, after the well-known works by Burckhardt, Wallin, Wetzstein, Socin, Spitta and Landberg (not to mention others), that the study of modern Arabic dialects is of the highest importance for linguistics and ethnography. Nor is it necessary anymore to elaborate on the important role that proverbs and sayings play in the Arabic language. When, now slightly more than two years ago, I went to Arabia, I did not intend to occupy myself with linguistic studies, but rather with the observation of the private and public life as dominated by Islam, and to do that in a place where Muslim culture was least touched by European influences and not at all controlled by Europe. At the same time, I wished to see with my own eyes, what the effect of Islam in this centre was on the countries from where pilgrims flock together, and more in particular in relation to the world of the East Indian archipelago. It is self-evident that linguistic studies and knowledge of the proverbs and sayings of the Meccans were among the means that were necessary for me in order to reach my goal. I herewith present a few samples of the results of my observations to Orientalists and all those who are interested in modern Arab society. Dr. Landberg has rightly stressed the fact that merely to quote a modern Arabic proverb or saying without giving a commentary, is in most cases like a puzzle giving one's readers a puzzle to solve. That is why for each proverb I have tried to give as much linguistic and ethnographical information as possible, whenever expedient, for a better understanding. Quite often I have gone beyond these limits in order to complete from several angles the fragmentary image that the proverbs give us of the language and the manners and customs of the Meccans.

I hope to publish a description of social life in Mecca in a larger work.³⁵ Presently only so much should be said as is necessary for a better understanding of the selection that I have made here. The inhabitants of Mecca are only to a small extent descendants of the pre-Islamic Meccans. Ḥaḍramīs, Egyptians, Syrians, Indians, and even Turks, Malay and other peoples have all contributed to the composition of the present population of the Holy City. All the

34 [Translated from *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*. Gesammelt und erläutert von Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. Herausgegeben als Festgabe zum VII^{ten} Internat. Orientalistencongresse in Wien vom Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië. Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1886.]

35 [A reference to what would become *Mekka*, vol. 2. *Aus dem heutigen Leben*. Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1889.]

while, there live in Mecca people from these countries who, for the most part, only converse with their own compatriots and who keep to their own language, or dialect, and many of their customs. The greater part of the *meğāwirīn*, 'neighbours [of God]', however, who choose Mecca as their second mother country, quickly merge entirely into Meccan society, and in their language and their customs their sons show no trace of the nationality of their fathers. Although Meccan life has been and still is strongly influenced from all these sides, Meccan society has a life of its own and is not just a conglomerate of several foreign civilizations. The core of this society is formed by the Alid Sherifs,³⁶ who are very numerous in Western Arabia. They are therefore true Qurayshīs, who, from the first century of Islam, have gained an ever-increasing influence in these areas. The Bedouins of Western Arabia obey, in as much as it can be said that they obey anyone, only the Sherifs of Mecca. Under the leadership of the Alids the inhabitants of the town repeatedly revolted against the Umayyads, and the Abbasids and the later Muhammadan dynasties could only maintain their sovereignty over the Ḥiğāz with the help of the Sherifs.

In the maelstrom of immigration of foreign elements, these Alids have saved the authentic character of life in Western Arabia. Apart from that, they have always been the link between the urban population of Western Arabia and the Bedouins. By the mere circumstances of their country these two groups are obliged to mix together frequently. The Sherifs encouraged this intercourse to take more permanent forms, by which it exerted a considerable influence on the preservation of the local Meccan language. That is why today there is still a living Meccan language, blunted as it may be just like every modern Arabic dialect, but enriched by the international intercourse with a great number of foreign words, which nevertheless shows a strongly pronounced character of its own.

The question: 'Où parle-t-on, dans le Levant, le mieux l'arabe?', 'Where in the Orient does one speak the best Arabic?',³⁷ is, if the question can be answered at all, possibly somewhat premature. In so many countries, where there is a daily language that is different from the written language, the non-educated people in each province will contend that it is they who speak the best language, whereas the better educated people almost everywhere speak well, even if the dialect of their country also has its effects on them. The circle of our

36 The few remains of the House of the Beni Shēba, and of a few more families who pretend to be able to point at their Qurayshī genealogy, are not considered here.

37 [Carlo Landberg, *Proverbes et dictons du Peuple Arabe. Matériaux pour servir à la Connaissance des Dialectes Vulgaires*. Recueillis, traduits et annotés. Leyde : E.J. Brill, 1883, vol. 1, Introduction, p. xlii.]

observation is still too small to be able to establish a general result here. So much is certain: the modern dialects of the Ḥiǧāz, which are still far from well-known in Europe, distinguish themselves favourably from the Egyptian and also from the Syrian dialect. The ubiquitous suffix *-esh* ش (or *-shī* شِي) after the verbal forms for instance irritates the Ḥiǧāzī and everyone else accustomed to the Ḥiǧāzī dialect, whenever he speaks with Egyptians and Syrians. The same applies to the prefix *bi-* before the imperfectum, which is extremely rare in Mecca.³⁸ Without wishing to attribute more value to such judgements than they deserve, I nevertheless wish to mention here that the Syrian dialects have an especially bad reputation in Mecca.

In a modern language, which serves as a means of exchange of thoughts for the population of a town, more needs to be distinguished than in the dialect of a country. Whoever studies the dialect of Bedouins in a small area, of the farmers of a Syrian village or of the *fellāhīn* of a region of Egypt, will almost only observe individual differences within that language. In a city like Mecca on the other hand there are people who care very much and at the same time there are people who do not care at all about the precise use of their mother tongue, and that means that in different layers of society the same things are discussed in different ways. If we disregard the two extremes, the pedantic scholars who speak a ridiculously affected language,³⁹ and on the other hand the riff-raff that consists of manumitted slaves and destitute free people, who make a sorry mixture of the language that they have, one hears, just as in European cities, that educated people speak carefully and that tradespeople and craftsmen speak negligently. Either group, however, uses a truly colloquial language that differs greatly from the literary language, and whoever wishes to learn the Meccan dialect must consider either one. The strong contrast, which Landberg, for the Syrian dialect, postulates for the colloquial languages of educated and uneducated people,⁴⁰ cannot be applied in the same way to the language of town dwellers, and in no way to the dialect of the Meccans. In their own territories the two groups do not live separately, but they live and develop next to one

38 The Meccans almost only use it in the expression *bīddīn* = 'they are just calling the *adhān*', as a response to the question: 'What time is it?' When the difference, which Spitta, in his *Grammatik*, p. 203, indicates between the simple imperfect tense and the one with the prefix *bi-*, is really adhered to by Syrians and Egyptians, the use of *bi-* could be considered as an advantage. However, they do not do this, and the language has sufficient means to express an imperfect tense by way of the participles and the word *'ammāl*.

39 The literary or the literarily affected language is called *naḥwī* in Mecca, the colloquial language simply *'arabī*. *Faṣīḥ* is the person who fluently speaks the latter. The expression *'ammāl yitfaṣṣaḥ* (as is said of strangers and of slaves) means: 'He is starting to speak Arabic fluently.'

40 See his excellent *Proverbes et dictions*, I, Introduction, pp. x-xi.

another. The one is susceptible to the influence of the other and slowly changes into that other. This applies not only to the common language, but also to the proverbs and sayings that are in use. One can observe gradual changes and transitions, but there are not two classes of proverbs, one of which would belong to the popular language, the other to the affectations of those who have a grammatical education. It cannot be denied that the classical Arabic authors have given their proverbs a rather artificial shape, that the same thoughts have often been formulated in very different ways, and that uneducated people then chose from that what they most easily understood. Literature has everywhere and always more affected the language of the educated than that of the lower classes of society. But the latter have, both in language and in other matters, strained to imitate the higher classes among which they live. Quite a number of succinctly formulated maxims, which the classical Arab collectors have incorporated in their books, or which, already in the first centuries of the *hiġra*, have been put into the mouth of the Prophet, have been preserved till today as true components of the colloquial language of all classes of Meccan society. One omits the *īrāb*, 'inflection [in grammar]' or one often applies it in an ungrammatical way, because the ordinary man also knows that the *īrāb* belongs to festive speech, and he considers proverbs as something complete in themselves. The *kubārīyye*⁴¹ pronounce them somewhat differently from the *awlād ès-sūq*, 'children of the market place', but they all know and use them. The proverb *خير الأمور أوسطها*, 'the best thing is that which lies in the middle', which Landberg gives as an exclusively classical Arabic one is frequently used by the entire population of Mecca, and people think that it has been taken from *ḥadīth*. However, I have not found it in any collection of *ḥadīth*, but it could have been part of such a collection with the same right as, for instance, the prophetic sayings that I found in *èl-Ġāmi' èṣ-Ṣaghīr*:⁴² *خير العبادة أخفها* 'the best worship is that which is lightest', and *خير الصداق أسره*, 'the best dower is the easiest one', and which I also consider to be canonical proverbs.

These considerations, which take me further away from my subject than is permitted, justify giving the reader only a very limited amount of specifically Meccan proverbs. Those proverbs that have found their way into the literature are explained in the books. Where Mecca is concerned, we should only understand that the artificial and long-winded sayings are rarely used outside scholarly circles. The great number of shorter maxims belong to the living language

41 With this *nisba* form derived from the plural *كبار*, *kubār* (= in classical Arabic *كبار* *kibār*) the Meccans refer to the higher classes in society.

42 'The small collection', possibly the work by al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804), GAL G I, 171; GAS I, 428.

of Mecca, to which they have only become adjusted by giving up grammatical endings and a facilitated pronunciation. I have heard in Mecca, in a more or less modified form, about half of the proverbs that have not been incorporated in high literature and that have already been collected by European scholars. That is actually self-evident in the international collection that has already circulated in Meccan society for centuries. Several of these sayings really have been assimilated in Mecca or at least in some of its quarters. Among those are several, such as No. 55 of the present collection (*mā hawalēn eṣ-Ṣa'āyda*, etc.), that clearly betray their local origin. Under such circumstances it is difficult to establish with certainty for many proverbs whether they really have obtained their Meccan citizenship, or whether they still belong to the *meḡāwirīn*. That is why I have used the space available to me to produce all non-literary proverbs and sayings that I know and that have a Meccan *couleur locale*, and also those of which I could establish that they have been fully assimilated in Mecca, which are not part of any known collection, or that have a special significance for the Meccans and call for remarks about their customs and their language.

Regarding the written representation, the transliteration of the Arabic, I hope I will be forgiven for choosing, like everybody else, my own method, even if I do not consider it to be the only right one. I have not transliterated the proverbs themselves because that would have obliged me to prefer one single shade in the language of the Meccans to the others. What I have to say about the pronunciation will suffice for obtaining a more or less correct idea of the average pronunciation. Where I quoted the Meccans in direct speech in my commentaries I was more at liberty, because I then had to quote the words of one individual or of several persons of one group. It is a vain effort to wish to reproduce exactly all phonetical phenomena in writing, let alone the numerous individual deviations caused by the organs of speech and personal habits. I had thought that here too *خير الأمور أوسطها*, 'the best thing is that which lies in the middle', but I will not maintain that I have been successful in applying this rule all the time.

- I have not written the *hamza* at all when it occurs at the beginning of a word. Within a word I have written it with the sign ' , and where the pronunciation (between the vowels *ā* and *i*) fluctuates (as in *ṭāir* in No. 7, *ḥawāiḡ* in No. 26, etc.) I have not written it.
- ب = *b*, ت = *t*.
- ث has mostly become ت or س ; where it does not reflect the present-day pronunciation of the Meccans, it has been represented by *th*.
- ج = *ǧ*, as in English the *j* of *John*.
- ح = *h*, خ = *kh*, د = *d*, to be pronounced as they are.

- ذ become sometimes *z* (ذ), sometimes *d* (د); where it is written as pronounced I have written *dh*, as used by educated people in religious formulas (for instance *a'ūdhu*, in colloquial: *a'ūzu*; *dhikr*, in colloquial *dikr* and *dikir*).
- ر = *r*, ز = *z*, س = *s*, ش = *sh*.
- ص = *ṣ*, ض = *ḍ*, ط = *ṭ*. All these are pronounced as written.
- ظ in many cases becomes ض, but it is only distinguished from *z* by a stronger pressure of the tongue against the palate. In the latter case I have written it as *ẓ*.
- ع = *ʿ*; غ = *gh*, ف = *f*.
- ق = *q*. It is pronounced in the Ḥiǧāz, and also in Upper Egypt, a large part of Lower Egypt, etc., as the German *g*, in particular when it occurs at the beginning of the syllable. When it occurs at the end of the syllable, the pronunciation sometimes becomes harder and sounds more like the pronunciation which is obligatory in reciting the *Qur'ān*. Many educated Meccans pronounce the ق without any affection in that way.
- ك = *k*, ل = *l*, م = *m*, ن = *n*, و = *w*, ي = *y*.

I have represented the *fatha* with *a*, and whenever pronounced with *imāla* with *è*. The long vowel always with *ā*, because I did not observe a regular *imāla* in it in Mecca. *Kasra* = *i*, long *kasra* = *ī*; *ḍamma* = *u*, long *ḍamma* = *ū*. In the vast majority of cases, the vowel *u* is pronounced by real Meccans in a pure way. My observations do not permit me to reproduce the pronunciation of *ü* or *ö* that I have often heard in transliteration. The diphthongs *ai* and *au* should be pronounced *ē* and *ō* except when indicated differently. Simple *e* indicates the indeterminate vowel (the Hebrew *shewa*).

Especially with respect to the vowels every transliteration is somewhat arbitrary. Two open syllables with indeterminate vowels after one another are thus really pronounced by many Meccans, e.g. *wefelān* (No. 9). However, many say *wiflān*, *wuflān* or *waflān*. After an open syllable with a long *ā* the indeterminate vowel is often skipped, e.g. *ḥaḍar'ma* (No. 7), *qāymīn* (No. 9).⁴³ Whether or not the *ā* is shortened to *a* in such a case often depends on individual habits or on the speed of speaking. The conjunction *wa* with the article is sometimes pronounced as *wèl*, sometimes as *wil* or *wul*. In the expression *وكان* ('and that is it') one can hear *wekān*, *wukān*, *ukān*. Some of the vowels that I have clearly indicated lose much of their colour in fast speech or in the mouth of the lower

43 Next to *lā tehīn* (No. 10) one says *lā t'hīn* and *la t'hīn*; next to *mebāshīrīn* one hears *mebāsh'rīn* and *mebashrīn*; next to *lā yekūn* ('it cannot be ...?') also *lāy'kūn* and *lē'kūn*. When *mā* precedes an imperfect tense of the 2nd or 3rd verbal form, the three forms *māyefa'īl*, *ma yfā'īl* and *mē'fā'īl* are possible.

classes. In popular pronunciation, several verbal forms of the 2nd form from time to time lose the doubling of the second radical and at the same time the vowel that follows. One hears *meqèyyilīn*, *meqèyyelīn* and *meqèy'lin* (مقيّلين), 'gathered friends at a picnic'. In these and similar cases I hope for clemency from the reader.⁴⁴

That I have preserved the *h* of the suffix of the 3rd person masculine in the final position, and likewise the *h* of the feminine ending *ah*,⁴⁵ has of course nothing to do with pronunciation. It just seemed to be more practical for the reader. After all, in orthography we are all accustomed to rudiments without a phonetical significance, and this rudiment will not cause any confusion.

1.

كُتْرَةَ الْأَمْثَالِ لَيْسَ مِنْ حُجُولِ الرِّجَالِ

The multitude of proverbs does not come from the best of people.

This seemingly rather scholarly proverb is used both by the uneducated and the educated. It is rare in a society where perhaps a quarter of everything spoken consists of *amthāl* (this *th* is sometimes pronounced *t*, sometimes as *s*). It is directed, rather, against a certain type of exaggeration, against people, with whom it is impossible to converse in a sensible way because they react to every proposition with a general saying, by which they in fact say nothing. It is remarkable that a proverb should be used as a weapon against the excessive use of proverbs.

2.

عَاشِرُ نَحْمَارٍ وَلَا تَعَاشِرُ حَمَّارٍ

Rather seek the company of the owner of a wine house than that of a donkeyman.

There are no wine houses in Mecca, just as there are no *karakhānāt*, 'brothels', although wine, made from Indian raisins, is drunk in secret, and offerings are made to *Venus vulgivaga*, 'the goddess of prostitution'. It can be said, however,

44 I have always transcribed the word *في* with a short *i*. Often it even changes into *fe*: *fi-īdī*, *fe-īdī* and *fidī* = 'in my hand'.

45 [Thus writes Snouck Hurgronje in German. For the present English translation this is irrelevant.]

1.

كُتْرَةَ الْأَمْثَالِ لَيْسَ مِنْ فَحْوَلِ الرِّجَالِ

Vielheit von Sprichwörtern kommt nicht von den trefflichsten Männern.

Dieses dem Anscheine nach etwas gelehrte Sprichwort wird von ungebildeten gleichwie von gebildeten Leuten gebraucht. Es klingt seltsam in einer Gesellschaft, wo vielleicht ein Viertel alles Gesprochenen aus *amthāl* (man spricht dieses *th* bald *t*, bald *s*) besteht. Es richtet sich aber nur gegen eine specielle Art der Uebertreibung, gegen Leute, mit denen gar kein vernünftiges Wort zu reden ist, da sie jede Einwendung mit einer nichtssagenden allgemeinen Redensart erwidern. Charakteristisch ist es, dass man als Waffe gegen den excessiven Gebrauch von Sprichwörtern ein Sprichwort gebraucht.

2.

عَاشِرٌ خَمَارٌ وَلَا تَعَاشِرْ خَمَارٌ

Verkehre lieber mit einem Weinwirthe als mit einem Eseltreiber.

Weinhäuser gibt es in Mekkah ebenso wenig als *karachānāt*, obwohl im geheimen wohl (aus indischen Rosinen gemachter) Wein getrunken und auch der *Venus vulgivaga* geopfert wird. Man darf aber sagen, dass bei Weitem die meisten geborenen Mekkaner niemals Wein zu Gesicht bekommen. Der Weinwirth ist aber, vielleicht gerade weil er nicht da ist, ein Gegenstand allgemeiner Verachtung. Eseltreiber gibt es die Fülle; die Mekkaner lieben es nicht, spazieren zu gehen; sie legen oft kleine Entfernungen innerhalb der Stadt zu Esel zurück, reiten nach den Gärten in der Umgegend, wo sie Picknicks veranstalten, und

FIGURE 20.5 Beginning of C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*. Gesammelt und erläutert. Herausgegeben als Festgabe zum VII^{ten} Internat. Orientalistencongresse in Wien vom Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1886, p. 9.

that by far the majority of born Meccans never see wine. The owner of a wine house is the object of general contempt, possibly because he is simply not there. Donkeymen are there in great quantities. The Meccans do not like to go out for a walk, and they prefer to cover even small distances within the city on the back of a donkey. They ride to the gardens in the surroundings of the town, where they organize picnics, and it is usually on a donkey that they go to Tan'im, the locality on the boundary of the *Haram*, where they usually assume the state of *iḥrām* for an *'umra*. The pilgrims also often use donkeys for a *ziyāra*, 'visit', to al-Ma'lā (the large cemetery) and other holy locations. Performing the *'umra* is in no month as meritorious as in Ramaḍān, and whereas most Meccans perform at least one *'umra* during the month of fasting, they and those pilgrims who have arrived early in Mecca perform one every day. No wonder that by the end of the Fast all hireable donkeys are emaciated. Quite a few Meccans will borrow money shortly before Ramaḍān in order to buy a donkey, hire a donkey driver when he thinks himself too elegant or too lazy for that work, let the donkey 'perform the *'umra*' three to four times, and then sell the exhausted animal after it has served him well for thirty days. Apart from the *ṣubyān*⁴⁶ in the service of the donkey owners there are also the *ḥammārīn* whose own capital is invested in one or two donkeys. They all have a reputation for *razāla* (= رذالة, 'depravity', the opposite of *murūwwa*, 'valour'). Often clad in rags, almost always without trousers, they spend their spare time in the *qahāwī*, coffeehouses, sometimes lying and sleeping on the banks (*kerāsī*), sometimes quarrelling and fighting for only the slightest reason. For a controversy about a *khamṣa* (approximately twopence) one of them not only curses the other and his entire set of ancestors, but he will, if necessary, split his skull with his *nabbūt*, 'club'. Generally speaking, these heated disputes over such trifles are the order of the day among the *ahl ʿes-sūq*, 'people of the market place', in Mecca. What Burckhardt tells us, praising them, namely that they seldom use invectives, does not apply to the Meccans of our time. And in fact, I believe that that statement was never true. Burckhardt was an excellent observer, who recorded in a very short time almost everything remarkable about the topography of Mecca and the life of the pilgrims and traders, but it is evident from his entire work that he has known the social life of Meccans in a very superficial way. Children of as young as six exchange at the slightest anger expressions such as *yā nāyik abūk*, 'you fatherfucker' (answer: *yā nāyik ummak*, 'you motherfucker'), *dayyūs* (ديوث, 'cuckold'), *me'arras*, 'pimp', *qawwād*, 'procurer', etc. It makes a strange impression when, as quite often happens, one hears a mother say to her little daughter the words by which one usually chases away a person

46 Plural of *ṣābī* = free servant.

who is too insistent: *kuss ummik, yā bint!*, ‘the cunt of your mother, girl!’ or when a wife calls her husband a *qawwād*, or when, as I once overheard, a father says to his daughter: *yā bint èl-kèlb*, ‘you daughter of a dog’, *yā bint èl-kāfir*, ‘you daughter of an unbeliever’, *yā bint èl-inglīzī*, ‘you daughter of an Englishman’. It is evident from all this that these words have lost much of their meaning through frequent use, but also that Burckhardt has painted the manners and customs of the Meccans, at least as far as this is concerned, in too mild a way.⁴⁷

However, even most *ahl ès-sūq* shudder at the terrible manners of the donkey drivers. I once witnessed a few *ḥammārīn* standing in front of the *qahwa*, ‘coffeehouse’, opposite where I lived, around two quarrelling colleagues. One of the two lay down on a bench (*kursī*), the other was standing next to it. As usual, the quarrel raged about only a few pennies. While the standing man extensively calculated that his ‘brother’ owed him these pennies, the other flew into a rage. If he had been a European would have this made him say: ‘Go to hell’, or if he had been an average Meccan: ‘*kuss ummak!*’ ‘the cunt of your mother!’ However, the *razāla* ‘low character’ of the donkey drivers did not remain hidden. The one who had been spoken to lifted his leg, then with his left hand and in front of all present took his penis and rubbed that into the face of his opponent.

3.

هَذَا قَاضِي عُمَرَ

This is *qāḍī* ‘Umar!

This exclamation, about whose real or assumed origin I could not learn anything, serves to express the joy one feels upon finding an object that one has sought in vain for a long time, or about the mention of a name that one could not remember. When the memory of a Meccan fails to work in such cases, he usually says: ‘*Allāhumma ṣallī ‘alā ṣèyyidinā Muḥammèd!*’, O God, bless our lord Muḥammad’.

For instance, someone says: ‘*Fi dīk ès-sène ġānā fi ‘l-ḥaġġ ēsh ismuh dāk* (or:

47 One might wonder whether, at the beginning of this century, the manners and customs of the Meccans had somewhat improved under the strict regime of the Wahhābites, but that is contradicted by Burckhardt’s communication that at night people were indulging in *لواط*, *liwāṭ*, sodomy, in the Great Mosque. For anyone who knows present-day Mecca, this statement is almost impossible to believe, and nowadays such excesses would be unthinkable.

dāka)⁴⁸ ... *allāhumma ṣallī ‘alā ṣèyyidinā Muḥammèd! ... mā yīrdā īǧī*⁴⁹ *fi bālī ...*
 The other answers: ‘*Lā yekūn ‘Abd èl-Qādir Ḥakīm.*’ Then the first speaker exclaims: ‘*Yebārik fik! hāda qāḏī ‘Umar!*’ (A.: In that year came during the pilgrimage to us (in Mecca) ... what was his name again? ... O God, bless our Lord Muhammad! ... I can’t remember ...’ B.: ‘Is it not ‘Abd al-Qādir Ḥakīm (whom you think of)?’ A.: (God) bless you, yes! this is *qāḏī ‘Umar!*’).

This expression is also used in Egypt as I see from the collected proverbs of the learned ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Efendi Aḥmad.

4.
 لَوْلَا التَّقْدِيرُ لَفَهِمَهُ الْحَمِيرُ

If not the divine will (had wished otherwise), then even donkeys would understand this.

These words, which are not exactly flattering for the person to whom they are said, can only be heard in the *derūs*, lectures, in the mosque. With this expression the teacher who exerts himself in vain to make a member of his audience understand a very simple matter and finally loses his patience compares that person to the quadruped, whose name in Arabia can only be mentioned in decent company ‘with permission’,⁵⁰ and which is referred to, when the speaker is in distinguished company, by the word *حَمِيرٌ* ‘wild animal’, since *حَمَارٌ* ‘donkey’, in fact sounds far too nasty.

5.
 فَلَان يَنْدَرِ الدِّيَوَانِي مِنَ الْحَجَرِ

So-and-so produces the *dīwānī* (the *para*, 1/40 piaster) from stone.

This is a hyperbolic description of a person who always and everywhere finds the opportunity to earn money. Prices are calculated in *faḏḏas* = *dīwānīs*, although coins of less than five *dīwānī* are not current. In this expression *èd-dīwānī* stand for *èl-felūs*, money in general. See also No. 68.

48 *èsh ismuh dā, dāk, dāka* is frequently used as a stopgap that corresponds to the German ‘Dings’ (‘thingummy’) for persons and things. It is often pronounced as *shismuh*.

49 The *y* of the third person of the imperfect is in the colloquial language often dissolved into the related vowel *i*, e.g. in *īqla‘ ēnuh* (يَقْلَعُ عَيْنَهُ) = ‘May God tear out his eye!’ As this pronunciation is not in general use, I have transcribed *yif‘al* in such cases.; *īǧī*, however, is said by any Meccan.

50 See No. 67, below.

- The verb *nadar*, *yindur* is generally used in Mecca instead of *kharaġ*, ‘to go out’. This is rarely used as a verb: *andur* (*undur*), the imperative = ‘get out!’; *naddiruh* or *naddiruh barra* = ‘throw him out’. The opposite of this is: *dakh-khiluh ġuwwa*, ‘take him inside’.
- *Sīdak fih* = ‘is your master in?’ answer: *nadir min zamān* = ‘he has gone out long ago’.
- *Awwal khallī ‘l-ḥakīm yenaddir èr-ruṣāṣ èl-qēḥ ba’dēn yindur benafsuḥ* = ‘let the doctor first remove the bullet (from the wound), the pus will then come out by itself.’
- *dūbuh nadar* = ‘he has just gone out.’ Instead of *dūbuh* one can also hear *dōbuh*; sometimes the *d* is pronounced voiceless, almost like a *t*. In a modern poem from Arabia that has been recorded by Wallin⁵¹ (see *ZDMG* 6, p. 207, verse 20) it is said: *barqin ba’ḍin dawbi ar’ā kheiālah* = ‘a flash lightning up from far away, of which I can hardly observe the gleam.’ In his annotations (on p. 217) Wallin says: *دوبي*, infinitive form with suffix, and *يدوب* very often occur as adverbial expressions in all modern dialects of Arabic in the sense of ‘hardly’, ‘approximately’, ‘difficultly’ [...] These forms are probably derived from the old *دأب*, although I have never heard it from the modern Arabs as pronounced with *hamz*. The derivation from *دأب* is explained correctly by Spitta (*Grammatik*, pp. 178-179);⁵² however, he only mentions the form *yā dūb*, which is interpreted by him as an imperative: ‘please, make an effort!’, in the sense of ‘with an effort’, ‘with trouble’, *à peine*, ‘hardly’. The connection of *dūb* (*dōb*, *dawb*) with a suffix seems not to have been observed by him, and what Wallin took for a form of the imperfect (*يدوب*) is interpreted by Spitta as an interjection and an imperative (*يا دوب*). That the interjection *يا* can precede the word *دوب* and that it at the same time can be followed by a noun in the genitive (and therefore also a genitive suffix), is confirmed for Egypt by the following half verse from the *Qaṣīda* of Abū Shādūf in *Hèzz èl-quḥūf* (ed. Būlāq, 1274), pp. 140-141:

ويا دوب عمري في الخراج وهمه⁵³

51 [A.G. Wallin, ‘Probe aus einer Anthologie neuarabischer Gesänge, in der Wüste gesammelt, in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (ZDMG)* 6 (1852), pp. 190-218, pp. 207, 217.]

52 [Wilhelm Spitta-Bey, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1880.]

53 [Arabic text in: Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ġawwād b. Khiḍr al-Shirbīnī, *Kitāb Haẓẓ al-Quḥūfī Sharḥ Qaṣīd Abī Shādūf*. Būlāq Miṣr al-Qāhira: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira, 1274 (1858). Translation derived from Yūsuf al-Shirbīnī, *Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abū Shādūf Expounded*. Edited and translated by Humphrey Davies. New York: New York University

The commentary gives several اشتقاقات فشروية, 'phantastic etymologies', of the word *dūb*; the only etymology which he himself seems to take seriously is من دأب الانسان وهو شأنه وحاله الذى هو مهم به. '[It may derive] from the *Da'b*, ongoing concern, of a person, that is to say for his affairs, and the circumstances in which he is involved.' Here as well it should, if the derivation is correct, be taken as an infinitive.

The Egyptian scholar 'Abd er-Raḥīm Efendi Aḥmad told me that the Egyptians frequently use *yā dūbī*, *yā dūbuh* in the sense of 'exactly', 'precisely'. That he understood *dūb* as a noun is also evident from an attempt at an explanation that he gave me: *dūb*, which is also pronounced at *tūb*, would originally have been *tōb* (ثوب); the exclamation *yā tōbī*, *yā tōbuh* would originally have indicated that the cut of a new garment is 'quite suitable', and hence was used for anything that suits exactly or is well obtained. That *dūbī*, *dūbuh* is also used in Egypt without the interjection, my Egyptian friend seems only to conclude from the abstract possibility. When one takes Meccan usage into account, none of the explanations presented is entirely satisfactory. In Mecca, I have never heard the expression *yā dūb*, and *yā dūbī* only rarely. The use of *dūb* with all pronominal suffixes, and in particular the suffixes of the first and third persons, is, however, quite common in the meaning of 'just', e.g. *dūbī ḡīt*, *dūbanā ḡīnā*, *dūbahum rāḡū*, *dūbahum kānū hine*, *dūbuh katab èl-ḡawāb* = 'I have just come, we have just come, they have just gone, they were just here, he has just written the letter.' The idea of effort, exertion, etc., is far removed from this usage, and the word rarely occurs in the meaning of 'hardly'. All that be said in favour of Wallin's explanation is that *dūb* with its suffixes is mostly used in Mecca in connection with verbs that express the meaning of coming and going. The usage in other connections could also be a secondary phenomenon, which has been caused by the increasing use of *dūbī* etc., in the meaning of 'just'. The important fluctuation in the pronunciation gives rise to the assumption of a complicated origin of this expression. Regardless of the subject of the verb that follows, one can always attach to the word *dūb* the singular masculine suffix of the third person, therefore: *dūbuh ḡīt*, *ruḡnā*, *rāḡū*. In this case, *dūb* is almost considered as a preposition in the sense of 'shortly before' (more or less like قبيل), whereas the suffix is related to 'the present moment'. In the same meaning, but more rarely, and only with the singular masculine suffix of the third person, the word تو is used: *tawwuh ḡā* = 'he has just come'. Much more frequently the connection of *taww* with the suffix of the second person is used as an exhortation to make haste. The expression *tawwak* = 'hurry up, get ready!' can often be heard between the *ḡammālīn*, 'camel drivers', when they

are busy loading their animals (*yeshúddū*).

The scholars in Mecca consider *dūbuh* to be a *kilmeh iṣtilāḥīya baṭṭāla*, ‘a redundant technical term’, and they prefer to say (whenever they regard *الآن* as too pedantic): *dā ’l-ḥīn* or *qarīb dā ’l-ḥīn*; however, they themselves very often sin against this puristic rule. They maintain that they know nothing at all about the origin of the objectionable word.

6.

اليد قصيرة والعين بصيره

The hand is (too) short, while the eye looks (eagerly).

With these words, the condition is described of a person who would very much like to acquire a certain object, but whose means to do so are not sufficient. *īduh ṭawīla* = ‘he is thieving’; *īduh qaṣīra* is not its opposite since that is *huwa amīn*; *lisānuh ṭawīl* = ‘he is insolent in his language against his superiors’. *Īd* and *yèdd* are both used. The dual is *yedēn* and *īden*, with suffixes: *yedēnī*, *yedēnuh*, *yedēnanā*, *yedēnahum*, etc. Plural is *ayādi*, (*ayādīhum*, *-kum*, *-nā*).

7.

يا طير يا طائر هنيئتك (هنيئتك) بريشك، ما تخدم الدولة وربي معيشك

Oh bird, oh flyer! Good luck with your feathers! You do not serve the government and God provides for your sustenance.

This proverb is said to originate from a Bedouin. The ‘*urbān*, Bedouins, keep themselves, as is well-known, as far away from the *dōla*, ‘government’, as possible. Only they who live near towns and who are engaged in the caravan traffic, etc., regard it as necessary always to subordinate their wishes to those of government officials. Whoever of them renders the government a service rarely sees his trouble rewarded. If he is a great man, he is removed from his occupation and way of life, so that he can be used in another capacity. Many a *ḥiḡāzī* was incorporated against his will into the bodyguards of the Grand-Sherif, the corps of *bāwārdīs* (باواردية plural: باواردية).⁵⁴ When one asks such a person ‘how

54 Nothing can be said about the origin of this name. Since many *ḥaḍramīs* (حَضْرَامِيَّة) have always belonged to the bodyguards, one might suppose that the word *bāwārdī* (also pronounced *bāwārdī*) is of *ḥaḍramī* origin. The family names of the *Ḥaḍramīs* often begin with *با*, a word that (irrespective of its origin) in common usage replaces the word *آل*. The gendarmerie of the Sherif derives its name from a tribe, which used to supply most policemen: the *Bishe*.

did you become a *bāwārdī*? he will touch his nose with the index finger of his right hand and will twist its tip – a quite usual gesture, which one can translate by *ghaṣban* ‘*annī* = ‘against my will’, ‘under pressure’. A bedouin who had been forced in a similar way into the *khidmet èd-dōla*, ‘state service’, is said to have shared his misery with a bird in these terms. Although the Meccans thought this expression quite naïve, albeit in many cases highly applicable to their own circumstances, they kept it as a *mathal*, ‘proverb’. The words are of course never applied to Turkish officials, but to the people of the *ahl èl-bèlèd*, ‘local people’, who to their own detriment are pressed or desired in some way or another to assist the *dōla* in the administration. These people make themselves hated among their fellow citizens and usually garner ingratitude from their masters.

8.

إِلَىٰ يَسْتَحِي مَنْ بِنْتِ عَمِّهِ مَا يَجِيبُ مِنْهَا غُلَامٌ

Whoever is ashamed for his *bint* ‘*amm*, niece, will not have a son with her.

Preferably, the *bint* ‘*amm*, ‘the daughter of the paternal uncle’, was, and in many Bedouin tribes still is, given in marriage to her cousin.⁵⁵ From this developed the custom, especially in the cities, that the man would designate his first wife with this name, even if she is not at all related to him. It is in that general sense that the word is used here.

Whoever has a good friend or patron, without whose help he could not carry out his plans or reach his goals, should not let himself be prevented, by unfounded fears or false modesty, from asking the necessary assistance. Whenever such a person, under such circumstances, is indecisive, he is reminded of this proverb, half in mockery, half in encouragement.

About the duplication of the *n* in *minnahā*, see also No. 19, and about the *a*, see No. 20.

Postscript: In my annotation above I do not mention the explanation that I thought likely at the time, namely that the word *باوردي* was derived from *باواريدي*, since this seemed impossible because of the absence of a vowel on the *r*, a phenomenon to which there are no exceptions. In the meantime, I have learnt from a Syrian gentleman that the policemen in his country are often called *بواريديه* = ‘bearers of shotguns’. Although the shotgun is always called *بندق*

55 On the ethnographical importance of this custom see also G.A. Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern* (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 59 ff. [G.A. Wilken, *Das Matriarchat (das Mutterrecht) bei den alten Arabern* (Leipzig: Otto Schulze, 1884)].

or *بندقيه* in West Arabia, and never *بارودي*, it is nevertheless impossible not to regard the word *باواردي* as a corrupt form derived from *بواريدي*.

9.

إِحْيِي (أَحْيِي) يَا بِنْتَ الْجَمَلِ

Receive, oh daughter of the camel.

The imperative of the verb *حبل* = 'to receive, to become pregnant' is evidently extremely rare. The fluctuating vocalization has its basis in the preference for the *a* as the initial vowel. The meaning is: receive without fear, as you are a daughter of the camel, you are therefore able by nature to become pregnant. With these words one encourages a friend who under difficult circumstances shies away from performing something, because he lacks the required self-confidence. Particularly in the case when a conflict can apparently only be resolved with a verdict from a judge, most Meccans need repeated encouragement. Whoever from the years of his youth onwards has not had to deal with the people of the *ḥukūma*, 'government', fears the first entrance into the *dāwān*, 'official assembly', as if it were death itself. Someone who has more experience in these things knows that one can only bring *da'āwī*, 'processes' to a felicitous end by great *nefūs*, 'reputation' (see also No. 10) or with much *felūs*, 'money'. Maybe the other party has more powerful friends, more money, and then one can only expect *ẓulm*, 'injustice', from the government. *Lā, èl-ḥāl māu kède, yā shēkh; èl-ḥaqq māu 'andak? wefelān wefelān māhum qāymīn ma'āk? aḥbilī yā bint èl-ġemel atwakkal 'alā 'allāh,*⁵⁶ the friends tell him, meaning: 'No, that is not how it is, oh *shēkh!* Are you not in the right? and do A. and B. not stand together with you? Receive, oh daughter of the camel, put your trust in God!'

In Mecca, the word *ḥaqq*, apart from its abstract meaning (see the sentence just quoted) and other well-known meanings (such as the *price* of something, or the money designated for the object to be purchased: *ḥaqq èl-qahwa* is a euphemism for the present used to bribe a government official, etc.), also has the same special function that *betā'* (*metā'*)⁵⁷ usually has elsewhere. In classical Arabic, *حَقِّي*, *حَقِّكَ* etc., mean 'whatever befits me', 'whatever befits you', 'by way of right'. To that is closely connected in modern spoken usage the substantive use of *حق* = 'actual property': *ḥādā ḥaqqī* = 'this belongs to me'; *lā tākhud dī 'l-khashab ḥaqq èn-nās hīya* = 'do not take this piece of wood, it belongs to

56 This expression of encouragement is cried out at any moment to someone at the beginning of greater and smaller activities of all sorts.

57 See also Spitta, *Grammatik*, p. 262 f.

(other) people'. From this is derived, just as with *betā'*, the adjectival use of the word, and, consequently, the fact that a language strives to bring about a concordance in gender and number of the adjective *ḥaqq* with its substantive. Thus, *èl-bēt ḥaqqī* = 'my house', *èl-mara ḥaqqātī*⁵⁸ = 'my wife'. I have never heard the feminine plural, but always the masculine or feminine singular, or even the masculine plural: *èl-ḥarīm*⁵⁹ *ḥaqquh* or *ḥaqqatuh*, *èl-benāt*, *èl-ġawār*⁶⁰ *ḥaqquh* or *ḥaqqatuh*. In these cases, *ḥaqq* is almost exclusively used as a predicative and so there are no different ways of saying 'my property' and 'my people': *èl-benāt hadōl ḥaqquh* = 'these girls belong to him (are his daughters)'. What is quite remarkable is the phenomenon that for the masculine plural the form *ḥaqqūn* is used, the only plural form ending in *ون* which I have observed in the living language of Mecca; *èr-riġāl ḥaqqūnahum* = 'their men'; *èl-khaddāmīn ḥaqqūn èsh-sherīf* = 'the servants of the Sherīf'. As said, this plural is also in use for the feminine: *èl-ḥarīmāt*⁶¹ *ḥaqqūn èl-ġāwa*⁶² = 'the wives of the Malay'. Instead of the masculine plural, the singular is also used: *èl-khaddāmīn ḥaqq èsh-sherīf*; the idea of the adjectival use of the word *ḥaqq* has, generally speaking, not yet exercised its full effect.

10.

هِنَّ الْفُلُوسَ وَلَا تِهِنَّ النَّفُوسَ

Have a low opinion of money rather than of reputation.

The form *hin* is the imperative of *هان* = *أهان*. Here we find mentioned two of the three motives which, according to the popular ideas about the lives of Meccans, rule human society: *felūs*, *nefūs*, *nāmūs*, as the *trias* is called. The first one is the easiest to define, but possibly the most difficult to acquire. Most Meccans agree that hard cash is the most effective of the three and that once it has come into someone's possession, one can effortlessly acquire *nefūs* and *nāmūs*, or

58 The accent is mostly *ḥaqqātī* and sometimes, especially when the word is use in a predicative way, *ḥaqqāṭī*; *ḥādī 'l-mara ḥaqqāṭī* = 'this woman is mine'; *ḥaqqāṭī hīya* = 'she belongs to me'.

59 Plural of *ḥurma* = woman; 'his wife' (singular) can only be translated as *maratuh*, not as *ḥurmatuh*.

60 Plural of *ġāriye* = 'slave girl'.

61 This plural form is often used when one speaks of women in general, not of the women of a specific family.

62 All inhabitants of the East Indian islands, Malakka and Siam are called *èl-ġāwa* or *aḥl èl-ġāwa* in Mecca. One such a person is called *ġāwī* or (and possibly more frequently) *ġāwa*: *ġānī wāḥid ġāwa* = 'a Malay person came to me'. On the basis of this singular the plural *ġāwāt* is made, e.g. *telāta ġāwāt ġāu* = 'three Malay have come'.

can do without the other two altogether. There is a general agreement with the scholars who have said: الدرهم هم والدينار نار, 'the dirham is a worry and the dīnār is hell', but 'the end of the world is nigh anyway' (*ākhīr ʿez-zamān, yā shēkh!*), and then the ideas about what gives life its value change. The word *nefūs*, 'standing', actually the plural of نفْس, that is: 'soul', has, in Meccan usage, also acquired the meaning of personal influence, just like the soul that one has at one's disposal, and it is then an abstract word, constructed in the singular. Whoever is respected or feared by many, that person has *nefūs*. This is rarely the case with someone stricken by poverty, but it is not absolutely necessary to be rich. The favour of highly placed officials, special knowledge and the indispensability that goes with it, great erudition, and occasionally also a very reliable character, all these can, without *felūs*, help one to obtain *nefūs*. There are therefore very different kinds of *nefūs*; such popular words for abstract ideas have a slightly vague meaning anyway, because the ideas themselves are of an undefined scope. A scholar without means, whose lessons are very much sought after, whose diplomas are collected by many, and whom government officials would not like to annoy at any price, that person has *nefūs*; the head of a large guild, whose influence is often needed by the government for the exploitation of the members of the guild, but whose favour each and every member of the guild seeks to obtain in order to avoid being completely destroyed, that person too has *nefūs*.⁶³ One can see, however, that in the first case everything depends on personal qualities, whereas in the second case external conditions are often decisive. There exists a moral *nefūs* and a purely outward *nefūs*. It is self-evident that only the first sort of *nefūs* is meant in the proverbs. With *nāmūs* is meant the immaculate and honest reputation that one has among the people. The opposite of *nāmūs* is 'ār,⁶⁴ 'ignominy'. Of course, this too is a relative concept: many people find that their *nāmūs* is unimpaired as long as they have not indulged in great sins (adultery, drinking wine, theft); others consider the *nāmūs* as common property of the members of a family, so that any evil doing by one of them also takes away the *nāmūs* from the others (*yeḍayyi' nāmūsahum*). In the eyes of the person who was not raised in poverty, mendacity (شجائته), although not considered to be a sin, is irreconcilable with *nāmūs*. Anyhow, *nāmūs* in itself is independent of *felūs* and *nefūs*, and fits in with any social position. Whoever publicly calls an honourable man names,

63 When someone possesses *nāmūs*, reputation, of some sort, it is said of him: *kalāmuh masmū'* = 'people listen to what he has to say', and he belongs to the *mu'tabarīn*, the *muḥtashamīn*; *luh hēbe 'anda kull ʿen-nās willā 'anda ba'dahum*, 'he is honoured by all or by some of the people'; *yeḥabbis ʿen-nās wèyḥukkahum* (ويفكهم) = 'he sends (through his influence with the *ḥukūma*) people to prison and he liberates them from it', etc.

64 *ʿen-nār welā ʿel-ʿār* = 'hell rather than ignominy'.

yekassir nāmūsuh, 'breaks his *nāmūs*', and is therefore obliged to offer satisfaction, but he cannot *take away* the *nāmūs* of the other (*mā yiqdar yedayyī' nāmūsuh*).

It is a consolation for the poor that no one should be able to take away their *nāmūs*. Any frivolous man of the world will counter that argument by saying *virtus post nummos*, 'virtue comes after money'. When someone has *felūs* at his disposal, he will ask: Will there be someone who dares to tamper with his *nāmūs*? And when a rich person breaks the *nāmūs* of a poor person into a thousand pieces, who will help him then? The relationship between these three factors of life, and their relative value, is often discussed amongst Meccans. The man of the world is not entirely wrong, however.

As I have already said, in our proverb the *nefūs* that is inseparable from *nāmūs* is meant.

11.

إِلَى مَا يَأْكُلُ بِإَيْدِهِ (بِيَدِهِ) مَا يَشْبَعُ

He who does not eat with his hand will not satisfy his appetite.

One says *bīduh*, *be-īduh* and *beyèdduh*.⁶⁵ In addition to أكل, there is possibly only one other verb the passive imperfect of which is used by all Meccans: *yūkal* 'it is edible', *yūḡad* 'it is available', 'there is'. Almost everyone who has learnt to read and write will accept someone who excuses himself because of his bad handwriting with the words: *aḥsan èl-khatt̄ illī yūqrā* (أحسن الخطّ الّلي (يقرّأ), meaning 'the best handwriting is that which is legible'; or, when he tries in vain to decipher a letter, he will say: *hādā mā yuqrā* = 'this is illegible'. Of quite general use is the expression *mā yuqrā 'alēh ès-salām* or *salām èl-muslimīn*. An example: X. has lived for quite a while as a guest in the house of N.N. Finally, he borrows from him the money for the journey home with the solemn promise that he will send the money back as soon as he has got home. When the money failed to arrive for a number of days, the wholly uneducated N.N. said: *in kān mā yerudd èl-felūs ḥaqqati*⁶⁶ *dā 'l-ḥīne*⁶⁷ *mā yuqrā 'alēh salām èl-muslimīn* =

65 See No. 6.

66 See No. 9.

67 The incorrect usage of the ending ة - belongs to the peculiarities of the Arabic dialects. This seems to happen even more frequently in Medina than in Mecca, but, here too, uneducated people say *lahma* for meat in general. Educated people avoid this mistake and always say *dā 'l-ḥīn* or also *dāḥīn*, 'now'. The expressions for *now* in other countries, which are compositions with the word *waqt*, are seldom used by the Meccans. The frequency of the use of the ending ة - is one of the best criteria for the general education of a Meccan.

'when he does not give me back my money now, he has forfeited the right to be greeted with the greeting of the Muslims'. Incidentally, the reflexive forms are also introduced here in the place of the passive ones.

This proverb is used in a twofold sense. The original meaning is best expressed in the German proverb *selber essen macht fett* ('eating by yourself makes fat'). The emphasis then falls on *his hand* and one might translate *bīduh* as: 'with his *own* hand'. Whoever is unable to help himself, who is dependent on the help of others, that person is in a bad way. Since Meccans have learnt that *hādōlak* = 'those people' (that is the unbelievers, the Franks) instead of eating with the traditional *khamsa* ('five', that is the hand) use several utensils that are called *shōka* and *ma'laqa*, and since they have learnt that this bad habit has even been adopted by Turks and distinguished Malay and Indians, they use our proverb in order to vent their reluctance about this regression of civilisation. 'Who does not eat with *shōka mōkah* ("with fork and I know not what") will not satisfy his appetite', they say with complete conviction. The scholars disapprove of the use of these utensils and consider them *خلاف السنة* or *خلاف الأولى*, 'against tradition'. The layman who does not apply the well-known *نمسة الاحكام*, 'the five legal categories' methodically, condemns them as *حرام*, 'forbidden', and permits himself and others to use a wooden spoon for entirely liquid food only. There will be a time, however, in which this innovation, like so many before it, (one has only to think of the use of the *sèġġāde*, 'prayer rug') will be added to the number of *بدع حسنة*, 'good novelties'.

12.

فلان يمشي كَلِمَتُهُ وَلَوْ عَلَى الْحَجَرِ

So-and-so knows how to keep his word, even when it is on stone.

This is usually said of someone who does not abandon plans once made, or revoke orders once given, therefore of someone of an energetic disposition. It is more rarely said of someone who is always capable of attaining his wishes using clever words, either by flattery or by fraud. In both cases, the stone stands for tough resistance, see also No. 5 and No. 40.

The verb *مشى* and its 2nd form used as a causative are used frequently in Mecca in the following meanings:⁶⁸

A. 'to be current' of coins, e.g. *dā' s-sittīn mā yimshī, maqṣūṣ hūwa* = 'this sit-

68 When the subject is *baṭn*, 'belly', this verb means, as is well known, 'to have diarrhoea'; *yimshī baṭnī* = 'I suffer from diarrhoea'. The opposite is *baṭnī māsik, yimsik* or *ma'āye qabd* (= *معى قبض*). *Hāda 'l-dāvā yemashshī 'l-baṭn* = 'this medicine works as a laxative'.

tīn piece (a coin with a value of 1½ piaster) is not current, it has been clipped. The second form means in that case 'to bring out, to make current', e.g. *hādā māu mamsūh*, *addīnī hūwa ḥatta (a)mashshih*⁶⁹ = 'this (coin) is not at all clipped; give it to me, I will put it into circulation'.

B. in connection with *حال* in expressions such as *māshī ḥāluh*, *yimshī ḥāluh* = 'rather well', 'moderately', 'it is alright'. Do you have a beautiful house? Answer: *yimshī ḥāluh* = 'one can live in it'. Instead of *ḥāluh* one says also *èl-ḥāl: mā tit'ashshū ma'ānā? mā 'andanā shē mu'tabar*, *māshy* (also pronounced *mashy*) *èl-ḥāl wekān* = 'Would you not like to have dinner with us? We really have nothing special, an ordinary table, nothing more.'

Hence the 2nd form in the meaning 'to take things just as they are', 'to be content with what is available', 'to make no compliments'. *Atfaḍḍalū ḥatta ne-mashshī ḥālanā*, the host tell his guests = 'be so kind (as to sit at the table), so that we can enjoy the little that is there'; *mashshī ḥālak* = 'no rush, please'. When a small boy sits down, without noticing those present, and starts to eat with undivided attention from fruits or sweets, then one can say in an ironic way: *yemashshī ḥāluh* = 'he is not embarrassed', 'he contents himself with what is available'.

About *welau* (*welō*) see also No. 54.

13.

الْبَيْرُ الْحَلْوُ دَائِمًا مَوَيْتُهُ قَلِيلُهُ

The sweet source always has little water.

Concerning *ḥīlu*, 'sweet': when in the words of the form *fa'l* (فَعْل), *fi'l* (فِعْل), *fu'l* (فُعْل), the third radical is a *w* or a *y*, this radical is dissolved in the related vowel. People say *mōyetuh* and *mōy'tuh* 'its water'.

When someone who needs help is rejected by rich people and receives assistance from those who are only slightly less in need of help than he, by pronouncing the present proverb he expresses simultaneously praise for his poor benefactors and a rebuke to the avaricious rich.

14.

ضَرَبَنِي وَبَكَى سَبَقْنِي وَأَشْتَكِي

He hit me and then he cried out himself; he got ahead of me and then he lodged a complaint.

69 The vowel of the prefix of the first person in the imperfect of the 2nd and the 3rd form is usually either *a* or undefined or (as in the sentence above) it is not heard at all.

The subject of these two sentences has therefore in either case done exactly the opposite of what one might have expected of him. He inflicts pain on the other, or he wins from the other, and then he presents himself as though he is the one who has suffered or as if he has been overcome by the other. This saying is used about people who, due to their position in life, are always obliged to conform to the orders of their masters. Many a chief blames his subordinates for all the mistakes they have made while following his orders. But when his subordinates have achieved something commendable by themselves, then he claims that for himself because it has been done under his auspices. It is about such chiefs that the *ma'mūrīn* complain in the saying here quoted.

15.

إِلَىٰ فِي يَدِهِ الْقَلَمَ مَا يَكْتِبُ عَلَىٰ نَفْسِهِ سَقِي

He who has the pen in his hand, does not register himself among the unhappy (the damned).

The pen mentioned here is the heavenly pen with which God writes down the names of human beings who are damned or blessed. But assuming that the use of that pen was given to a mortal, then he would not write down his name as one of the damned (*shāqī*, opposite: *sa'īd*). With these words, expression is given to the popular idea about the conduct of people, who are vested with authority, power or influence, when they exploit these to their own advantage. This is said most frequently about government officials, guild masters and similar people, who from time to time are in a position to distribute certain revenues. No wonder, therefore, that he has kept the best part for himself. He who has the pen in his hand, etc.

Instead of *fī yèdduh* 'in his hand', one can also say *fī-īduh*, *fe-īduh* and *fīduh*. See also No. 6.

16.

فَلَانَ إِتَقَلَّبَ عَلَى الْجَنْبِ الْأَيْسَرِ

So-and-so turned himself to the left.

In its literal sense, this saying is commonly used for sleeping people, or at least for those who are lying down. It is well-known that Arabs believe the right side is *boni ominis*, of good portent, and in the textbooks of Islamic Law (فقهه) believers are advised always to go to sleep on their right side. The verb *inqálab* is used both in the reflexive and in the passive sense, and it can therefore also be said

of the involuntary turning to the other side while sleeping. In the figurative sense, it means a person who is apparently in a very bad mood, exactly as one says in such cases: 'He has stepped out of the bed with his left leg first.'

I did not change the *n* in الجنب 'the side' into an *m* unnecessarily, because in writing the Arabs maintain the *n* before a *b*, although they always pronounce it as an *m*.

17.

يَنِمَّا تَعُدِّي وَتَقُومِي يَرْقُدُ عَلَيَّ مَشُومِي

When you sit down and then stand up again, my child of mishap will fall asleep with me.

A man, so we are told, once asked of his wife what men used to ask of their wives. The wife was willing to perform her matrimonial duty, but before that she had a number of other things to do. Now she would sit in order to somewhat adjust her outward appearance, then she would stand up in order to close a cupboard, and when the man urged her to hurry up, her answer was always: *khallī awwal aqūm asawwī*⁷⁰ *hādā, aq'ud asawwī hādā* = 'let me first stand up, so that I can do this-and-this, then let me sit down so that I can do that-and-that.' Finally, the man lost his patience and his desire decreased without having been satisfied. Then he spoke these words to his wife.

The word مشوم = مشوم is one of the numerous nicknames of the دُكْر, the 'penis'. The word معلاق is also frequently used in Mecca.⁷¹

When one has asked something from someone (e.g. a cup of water, a *shīshe*, 'waterpipe') and when that person lets himself be side-tracked from giving this by all sorts of futile activities, one rebukes him with these words.

18.

أَنْتُمْ جَمَاعَةُ التَّاتَرِ وَلَا يُوحِشُكُمْ مَنْ غَابَ وَلَا يُؤْنِسُكُمْ مَنْ حَضَرَ

You are the group of Tatars. You do not care about the absence of those who are not present, nor are you happy about the presence of those who are indeed there.

70 See No. 12 about the vowel of the prefix of the first person.

71 [See *Miḥā'il Šabbāg's Grammatik der arabischen Umgangssprache in Syrien und Aegypten*, nach der Münchener Handschrift herausgegeben von H. Thorbecke. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1886.]

The expressions *awḥashtúnā*, *ānastúnā*, *sharraftúnā* are the usual courteous ways of speaking used to welcome a visitor after the formulas of greetings have been exchanged and everyone is sitting down. The suffix *-nā* is also omitted. 'You have made us lonely' (by your long absence, *awḥashtúnā*), you say to the person who has not visited you for two days. When the visitor goes away you express the wish that he will repeat his visit soon with the words *lā tūḥashúnā*, meaning 'do not make us lonely (by your long absence)'. The vowel *a*, here in the imperfect of the 4th form, has replaced the *i*. The 4th form has been forced out and replaced by the 2nd form, see also Spitta, *Grammatik*, p. 196. Both forms of *أَسَّ* both forms are used. The 2nd form means 'to entertain' (with conversations, storytelling, playing, etc.), e.g. *harḡatuh*⁷² *ḥibwe wallāhi ye'annis* (also: *yewannis*) *kull èn-nās* = 'his speech, by God, is pleasant, he entertains everybody'. The 4th form means 'to please by one's presence', where the subject can be a loved, respected or distinguished person., even if this presence is not entertaining at all. The expression *wālā*⁷³ *yūnisnā wālā yuḥashnā* means 'he is entirely indifferent to us', 'we do not care at all about his opinion of us'.

The first part of our saying is probably only there because of the rhyme. If it once meant something, it has now lost that meaning entirely. The whole proverb describes those who are addressed as awful egoists, who do not care for anybody else than themselves.

19.

الشَّجَرَةُ دُوْدُهُ فِي بَطْنِهِ

The worm of the tree is inside it.

The combination *fī baṭn* is the usual preposition 'inside ...', 'in the inside of...'; and originates from *fī bāṭin*. When there is an addition of suffixes or endings and the second vowel is opened, the form *fā'il* is sometimes pronounced *fā'l*, sometimes *fa'l*,⁷⁴ e.g. *Fāṭ'ma* and also *Faṭ'ma*, *èl-qāb'le* and also *èl-qableh* (next

72 See No. 46, note.

73 The word *wālā* has as the first vowel the *a* with accent: 1° in the expression: *wālā ... wālā* = 'nor ... nor' (see Spitta, *Grammatik*, p. 181); 2° in the meaning: 'not even', 'not even once', e.g. *mā a'tik wālā khamsa* = 'I do not give you anything, not even a five-para coin.'

74 This phenomenon, namely that a vowel that has become indefinite in an open syllable falls away after an open syllable with long *ā*, can also be found in plural forms such as *ḥaḡār'ma*, 'Ḥaḡramis', *maghār'ba*, 'Maghribis', *takar'na*, 'Takarūris', and according to the opinion of many Meccans in *bāwārī* (from *bāwārī*) [see No. 7]; also, when a verbal form is preceded by an adverb or a conjunction, which is narrowly connected to it, such as *mā*, *lā*, *lammā*: *mā 'yqūl* (also *mā yeqūl*); this is even sometimes pronounced *mayqūl* and *mēqūl* and these three, or rather four, forms are all always possible where *mā* precedes an

year), *‘āy’dīn* (returning, plural)⁷⁵, *fāy’zīn* (lucky ones, blessed ones), *khār’ġa* and also *kharġa* (terrace, flat roof, to which a door on a higher floor opens and where during the daytime one can breathe fresh air in the shadow of the surrounding walls, *rāy’ha* and also *rēha* (‘smell’, and the feminine of ‘going’), *qafla* (‘caravan’). Where both forms exist alongside one another, the shorter one is used during quick speech and therefore mostly by uneducated people. In many words (such as in *batn* as mentioned above, which does not occur without a suffix) the short form has become the rule.

The saying refers to a self-inflicted evil that befalls a person, or it refers to an evil that befalls a collective (guild, family) as something that has originated from within and that has not come from outside (*ġāt minnahum*⁷⁶ *èl-fitne* or *èl-bèlwe*, *māu shē barrānī* = ‘the chaos, or the mishap,⁷⁷ has been caused by themselves and is not something that has come to them from outside’). At the beginning of the month Shawwāl 1302 [14 July 1885] a group of people returning from al-Ṭā’if to Mecca were attacked and were robbed near Zēma by Bedouins. The robbers were led by Sherifs belonging to the next of kin of the ruling Grand-Sherif. They had refused to submit to the verdict of the deputy (*qāimmaqām*) of the Grand-Sherif in a court case between them and a Sherifa, because the Sultan had exercised *balṣa* (known in other countries under the name *bèrṭil*) ‘had strongly interfered in it’. When the *qāimmaqām* was forced to take measures against them, around the middle of Ramaḍān they intimidated him by making the route between Mecca and al-Ṭā’if unsafe until they could obtain what was due to them. The *qāimmaqām* considered this threat as *kalām fārigh* (empty words). As soon as the month of fasting had ended, the discontented carried out their plans. This event put the Grand-Sherif, whose authority had, especially in the past few years, suffered many setbacks, into an ex-

imperfect which begins with *ye*. *Lā tehin* is also pronounced *lā thīn* (No. 10); *lāykūn* and also *lāyekūn* (No. 3), etc.; *ikhtār’t èl-meqèyyina* (No. 32), *‘imām’ti* [No. 48].

75 Both words belong to the Meccan formulas of congratulation at the religious feasts (on the 1st Shawwāl and the 10th Dhū ‘l-ḥiġġa): *min èl-‘āy’dīn*, *min èl-fāy’zīn*, *kulla sènne wèntu ṭayyibīn* = ‘may you belong to those who come back (for whom the feast comes back), may you belong to the blessed ones, every year, wherein you find yourself well!’

76 The duplication of the *n* in *ن* occurs in Mecca before all suffixes, but otherwise not everywhere (in contrast to Landberg, *Proverbs et Dictons* vol. 1, pp. 1-2); before the article it is decidedly very rare.

77 The attributive use of substantives, of which Spitta, *Grammatik*, p. 279, gives examples (*shē halāk*, ‘a pernicious thing’, etc.), is also frequent in Mecca: *shē quwwa*, *shē diqqa*, *shē fikra* = ‘a strong thing’, ‘a delicately made thing’, ‘something that requires thought’. Of *bèlwe* and *dāh’ye* the plural forms, however, are used both in a predicative and an attributive way: *rāġil dawāhī* = ‘a cunning, a sly man’; *ènte balāwī* = ‘you are a mishap’. Both expressions are used frequently, also in a jocular sense.

tremely awkward position. It always makes a bad impression on the population when the *ashrāf* fight one another; besides, the ruling Sherif has so many enemies, and the discontented have so many sympathizers, that it was far from certain whether he would be victorious. A peaceful resolution of the conflict after the looting that had taken place could only be interpreted as a sign of weakness of the emir. In the first days, people in Mecca hardly spoke about anything else. There, when people in their discussions gave great importance to the conduct of the Bedouins or the convictions of the townspeople, one often heard how they used our proverb: *hādī*⁷⁸ 'l-*ḥaraka*⁷⁹ *min èl-bèdu hīya? isma' minnī yā shēkh! èsh-shağara ...* etc. = 'has this situation been caused by the Bedouins? Listen to what I tell you, oh *shēkh*, the worm of the tree ...', etc.

20.

لا تَفَكَّرْ وُلَّهُ (رَبَّنَا) مَدِيرٌ

Do not worry; the matter has its organizer (Our Lord organizes it).

The verb فَكَّرَ (*fakkar*) is often used as a synonym of تَفَكَّرَ (*tafakkar*), but also with a causative meaning: 'to remember', 'to make one think of'. The connective vowel *a* is extremely popular in the Meccan dialect.⁸⁰ People always say جَارِنَا, 'our neighbour', دَارِنَا, 'our house', حَقِّنَا, 'our right', سَيِّدِنَا, 'our lord' (that is how one preferably refers to the ruling Grand-Sherif, but also to distinguished scholars, but the latter usually with the addition of *مولانا*, 'and our master'; to children people often say jokingly: *yā sèyyidana* or *yā sīdana*), سَيِّدَنَا (that is how a man addresses someone whom he wants to designate as a servile person, equal to his slave; the slave only says سَيِّدِي, etc. The Meccan host says to his guests: *èl-bēt bētakum wèl-meḥill meḥillakum* = '(my) house is your house and (my) dwelling is your dwelling.' Where a vowel is added to the first person of the perfect in order to facilitate the pronunciation, the vowel *a* is

78 The usual demonstrative for something that is nearby is: masculine *dā, hādā*; feminine *dī, hādī*; plural *dōl, hādōl*, and for something that is further away: masculine *dāk, hādāk* (*hādāka*); feminine *dīk, hādīk*; plural *dōlak, hādōlak*. When it is used as an adjective it sometimes precedes its substantive and is sometimes placed after its substantive. The substantive in that case is always determined by the article, except in *dā ḥīn* (also *dā 'l-ḥīn*) = 'now'.

79 See about *ḥaraka* No. 63.

80 This connecting vowel is especially used where a syllable containing a long vowel and closed by a single consonant, or where a syllable containing a short vowel and closed by two consonants, would precede a consonant, see *dūbana* etc. (No. 5); *yedēnanā* (No. 6); *minnanā* (No. 8) and *minnahum* (No. 19); *ḥaqqūnahum* (No. 9); *nāmūnahum* (No. 10); *yefukkahum* (No. 10, note); *ḥālanā, 'andanā* (No. 12); *ghēranā* (No. 34); see also below No. 58, note, etc. The *i* in *sèyyīdanā* is also almost pronounced as a long *ī*.

used for that as well: قُلْتَ لَكَ = 'I said to you', شَفْتَهُمْ = 'I have seen them'. In order to avoid the 2nd person coinciding with the 1st person, in such cases the colloquial Arabic plural of the 2nd person is used under the same conditions, therefore: قُلْتُوا لِي = 'you have said to me', شَفْتُوهُمْ = 'you have seen them'. The proverb is used at the mention of accidents, events with uncertain endings, etc., as 'a consolation for the worried soul' (لتسليّة النفس).

21.

يَحْتَقُّ حَبِيبِي وَلَا حَبِلْتُ أَنَا

It is better that my dearest is angry than that I become pregnant.

The word *حق* is always used for anger. The *ḥabīb* of a woman or of a girl is the object of forbidden love. The woman could address her husband just as well with *yā ḥabībī* as the slave girl addresses her master. A man can call the other *ḥabībī*, but this is done in a semi-ironic way, particularly when someone contradicts him: 'but, my dear friend!' But it is often said to children. The phrase أنا حبلت, 'I become pregnant', is used as *oratio directa*, in direct speech. There is something tacitly omitted there: 'that I would have to say: ("I have become pregnant")'. The form of the second part of this proverb stands outside colloquial usage, since otherwise the *damma* in حبلت (which is always pronounced with it) would be impossible.⁸¹ One would say: صرّت حبلِي or أنا حبلِي. 'I am pregnant', 'I became pregnant'. Instead of the emphatic أنا, educated men mostly use الفقير or الحقير; women rarely use the 1st person.

The situation that the proverb presents us with is that of a woman whose lover is very angry, and she consequently grants him the highest female favour. For a Meccan, the figurative *ḥabīb* is usually a good friend who wants to borrow a large sum of money, but whose circumstances give little prospect of repayment. When he does not provide the required help, then the intimate friendship is often soon over, but it might have been sought for exploitation at a later date in the first place. He then finds comfort for the lost friendship in our *ma-thal*, 'proverb'.

22.

الدخول بإرادته والخروج بإجازته

Entering happens according to the (own) will but going out (only) with permission (of the host).

81 See also No. 20.

This expression is of course only used in more cultivated company, even if the people involved are not educated in scholarship or literature. The Meccans go out for visits at any time of the day they wish, but not immediately after the five *adhāns*, ‘calls to prayer’. The most usual hours for visiting are approximately from eight to eleven in the morning, from half-past-three to six in the afternoon, and after the *‘ishā*, ‘the evening prayer’, because at other times it is too hot for most people to go out. After nine in the evening one only visits people with whom one has a certain intimacy or people of whom one knows that they receive visitors late at night (بِجِلْسُوا). Many Meccans go to bed at that time, or sit with their *ḥarīm*, ‘women folk’, on the roofs of their houses. During much of the year, the inhabitants of the Holy City have no urgent matters to attend to (except when the majority of the pilgrims come and go) and they spend entire days in the company of their friends. The first thing that is always offered to a visitor is a *finḡān*, ‘cup’, of coffee, and, when the guest shows no sign of being in a hurry, a *shīshe*, ‘waterpipe’. People rarely offer several cups of coffee one after another. After this introduction it is usually long before a servant carries into the room the water boiler (سَمَاوَر), the teapot (بَرَاد), a little pack of green or black tea (شَاهِي or شَاهِي), a sugar loaf (رَاسُ سَكَّر); the sugar itself is called مَصْرِي, ‘Egyptian sugar’, contrary to brown sugar, that is called هِنْدِي, ‘Indian’, and sometimes also aromatic herbs that are added to the tea.⁸² The master of the house, his son or whoever waits on those present (*yebāshir*),⁸³ prepares the tea, tastes it many times and finally pours it into the *fanāḡīn* (*fanāḡīl*), the ‘cups’. Everybody drinks at least three glasses: *qānūn kède* = ‘that is the custom’. When the guest is persuaded, at the insistence of his host, to drink a fourth glass, then a fifth must follow as well, since, according to the *sunna*, the total number must be ‘uneven’ (*witr*). The drinking of tea is sometimes alternated with the drinking of cooked sheep’s milk, to which much sugar and often also aromatic herbs are added, or every glass is filled half with tea and half with this hot milk. Whoever wishes to honour a visitor, especially when he is a new acquaintance who comes on a first visit, will not let him go till he has also enjoyed his tea. In such cases, the others ask the visitor afterwards: *ēsh qaddām lak?* = ‘what did he offer you?’ Depending on whether the answer is *qahwa*, ‘coffee’, or *shāhī*, ‘tea’, the others are more or less impressed by the conduct of the host. If the hour of the meal is near, the cultured Meccan will not let his guest go till he has

82 One mainly uses as such دَوَّش، لَوِيَّزَه، زَهْرُ الضَّرْم، نَعْنَاع.

83 At each festivity or meal with guests there are several individuals, younger relatives of the host or friends, to whom a *bakhshīsh* is given for their help, and who have the task of entertaining the guests. They are called *mebāsherīn* (مَبَاشِرِينَ), *mebāshrīn*.

eaten with him, and, when circumstances allow, he will gladly eat earlier or later, just to accommodate his guest. It is evident that in this way a visit can take a long time. It is not rare at all for one to go to a friend at eight in the morning and take one's leave as late as three or four o'clock, and then only with the greatest difficulty. Whoever wants to take his leave needs, according to the custom (*qānūn*), the permission of the master of the house. He must say: '*nista'dīnkum* (نستأذنكم)', 'we ask your permission', while he stands up and bows, touching his forehead with his right hand. If the master of the house himself has business to attend to, or if the visitor is an old acquaintance of whom he knows that he must go elsewhere, the words '*lā, yā shēkh, lissā!*' 'No, oh *shēkh*, not yet!' or another forbidding answer, is only given by habit. The words '*wallāhi 'andī shughūl!*' 'By God, I have things to attend to' of the visitor is then, without further ado, accepted with a simple *marḥabā!* 'welcome', as an excuse for his haste. To this is added an *ānastūnā! sharraftūnā! lā tūḥashūnā!*⁸⁴ etc., so that he knows the great extent to which his visit has been appreciated. The answer *fi amān illāh weḥafḍuh* (في أمان الله وحفظه) 'under the protection and safeguard of God' of the departing guest is now followed by a repeated *ahlan wesahlan yā marḥabā!* 'most welcome'⁸⁵ on the part of the inhabitant of the house, and, with that, at least the social formalities have come to an end. In many cases, however, the master of the house keeps refusing his guests permission to go, and at every new episode of the visit (that is after the coffee, after the third or the fifth glass of tea, and also after the meal, since that is followed by at least one other cup of coffee with a *shīshe*, 'water pipe', and often several glasses of tea) a new battle starts between him and his guest. When the objections of the visitor are too verbose for the master of the house, he cuts his guest's words short with *ḥalaft yemīn, yā shēkh, mā terūḥ* = 'I have sworn an oath, oh *shēkh*, you cannot go.' When the visitor is really serious in his wish to depart, then he too swears oaths that he is unable to stay any longer, and, in that case, it would not be courteous of his friend if he abused the right that the *qānūn* gives him towards his visitor. One could give a highly comical description of these conversations, but one should also show the gestures that go with this. Our proverb, that in such cases codifies the right of the master of the house, is quoted repeatedly by the host, his sons and other members of the family in order to strengthen his refusal.

84 See also No. 18.

85 With this loudly pronounced formula the host sometimes receives the coming guests (although it is then mostly said in a shortened way '*ahlan!*', or '*ahlan wesahlan!*'), but it is always cried out as a farewell greeting to guests returning home.

23.

صَاحِبٌ صَنْعَتَيْنِ كَذَّابٌ وَالثَّالِثُ حَرَامِيهِ

Whoever has two crafts is a liar, the third (= he who takes a third craft in addition to that) is a thief (literally: are thieves).

This proverb, which is certainly *مُصَلَّحٌ* (*muṣallaḥ*, ‘corrected according to the rules of grammar’), is never used in its literal sense. On the contrary, there are many people in Mecca who, out of necessity, in a very expert way have three or more crafts there. It is said to someone or about someone who promises much more than he in all probability is able to deliver, and whose cheap statements apparently only serve to postpone matters for a while. The more such a person promises us, the less we believe him.

In the modern language, the word *ṣāḥib* is used almost exclusively in the sense of ‘friend, acquaintance’. When the purpose is to express a relationship in very general terms, people now say more frequently: *illī luh*, *illī ‘anduh*, etc., ‘the man who has’, or they transmute the classical Arabic *ṣāḥib* into *abū*, ‘father of’, which as we know, is used figuratively more often in the spoken than in the written language.

In addition, however, Meccans very often indicate the relationship of a person to an object with the word *rāʾī*, ‘the owner of’, as a thing belonging to the owner, the seller, the manufacturer, etc., e.g. *rudd dīʾl-ḥabḥaba ‘and èr-rāʾī* (with or without the addition of *ḥaqqahā*⁸⁶) *dī zèyy èd-dubba* = ‘give this watermelon back to the (its) seller, it is (as unpalatable) as a pumpkin’; *ruḥt lerāʾī ʾl-fānūs*⁸⁷ *lissā mā ṣallāḥhā* = ‘I have gone to the man (the repair man) of the lantern; he did not yet repair it’; *abū ʾl-ḡubba èl-bédā* means ‘the man with the white *ḡubba*’, who wears the white *ḡubba*; *rāʾī ʾl-ḡubba èl-bédā* means ‘the man with the white *ḡubba*, the man from whom the white *ḡubba* was purchased, the man from whom the white *ḡubba* was borrowed, the man who has made or who has mended the white *ḡubba*.’ In a similar sense, I find the word *rāʾī* used by Quṭb al-Dīn, in the *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 3, p. ۲۶۷.⁸⁸ In Çairo this author⁸⁹ visited a kiosk built by Sultan Selim, the conquerer of Egypt: وكان هذا الكوشك محترماً مقفلاً لا يصل إليه احد لعظمة بانيه ولا يتنزل بالدخول اليه تعظيماً لرأعيه, ‘This kiosk was revered [and] locked. Nobody was allowed to enter it because of the greatness of its builder, or to degrade it by entering it, as a mark of

86 See also No. 9.

87 Also pronounced *lerāʾy èl-fānūs*.

88 [Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* [...]. Dritter Band. Cuṭb ed-Din's Geschichte der Stadt Mekka und ihres Tempels. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1857]

89 [Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582), GAL G II, 382.]

respect for its founder'.⁹⁰ That means that permission was only given exceptionally to people to enter the kiosk, out of respect for the *rā'ī*, the builder (and owner) of the pleasure-house. In one of the modern Arabic poems published by Wallin⁹¹ one reads: *yā rā'ī-lsakhā wa-lgelāla* = 'oh you, man of generosity and splendour'. Here too can be said: رَاعٍ = صاحب.

In an elliptical way, people often say: *ḥaqq èl-ḥabḥab, ḥaqq èl-na'āl*⁹² = 'the (seller) of the watermelons', 'the (seller, maker, repairman) of the sandals', where *ḥaqq* actually expresses a genitive relationship, just as *betā'* (*metā'*) in other dialects: *ḥabasū ḥaqqūn èl-ḥabḥab kullahum* (that is: *bèyyā'in èl-ḥabḥab, èl-bèyyā'in ḥaqqūn èl-ḥabḥab*) = 'they have arrested all (sellers) of watermelons.'

24.

كُلُّ شُقْدُفٍ وَلَهُ (لَهُ) جَمَلٌ

Every *shuqduf* has its camel (that is appropriate to it)

The *shuqduf*, 'litter', has been described quite accurately by Burton, *Pilgrimage*, 3rd edition (London and Belfast, 1879), pp. 163-164.⁹³ The general name for the carrying devices in which a person can take a seat on either side of a camel is *maḥmil* or *miḥmal*. In the colloquial language people say *maḥmal*, and this word is nowadays exclusively used for the Egyptian and the Syrian *maḥmals*, which perform the annual pilgrimage from Cairo and Damascus to Mecca.

The Syrian pilgrims often travel in the *hōdağ* (plural: *hawādiğ*), 'camel litter', the Egyptians in the *saḥlā* or *saḥle* (plural: *saḥālī*), both of which are modified forms of the *serīr*, only used in the Ḥiğāz as the frame of a bed, with or without the roof construction that serves as protection against the sun. This means that each *hōdağ* and each *saḥle* forms a whole. They are securely fixed on the back of the camels and provide space for one or more persons, provided that the balance is maintained. The *shuqduf*, on the other hand, consists of a pair (جوز) of frames of the same shape (فرد شُقْدُف), which are fixed together with a strong pack saddle. Burton exaggerates when he says that this means of travelling is

90 [Translation of the quotation is mine, JJW.]

91 In *ZDMG* 6 (1852) p. 207, verse 21, see the translation on p. 208.

92 The word for sandals is نَعَالٌ (*na'āl*, collective; a single sandal: *fard na'āl*, a pair *ğōz na'āl*) or مَدَاسٌ (*madās*), plural مَدَسٌ (*modus*); rarely is said حِذَاءٌ (*ḥidā*), and that word sounds therefore more dignified.

93 [Richard F. Burton, *Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah*. Third Edition, revised. London and Belfast: William Mullan & Son, 1879. Burton spells the word *shugduf*.]

mainly used by women, children and weak men.⁹⁴ By far the majority of city-dwellers in the Ḥiğāz and almost all foreigners (pilgrims, etc.) travel in the *shuqduf*, because that is the only way that they can keep their luggage with them. When someone spends a few days travelling from Jeddah to Mecca, or vice versa, he rents a donkey, on the back of which he can make himself at least as comfortable as in the rocking *shuqduf*, or, if he owns one, or if he can borrow one from friends, he will ride a horse (حصان; the palfrey is called رِخْوَان) or a dromedary (دُولُ، هِجِين). Every well-to-do Meccan possesses one or more *shaqādif*, and those who do not, hire one whenever they go on a journey.

The proverb is used when the ability of someone to fulfill a certain task is being discussed, e.g. *khallī nafsak fi hādā 'sh-shughl lammā-tshūf tiṣluḥ willā lā; in kān yeṣīr, aḥsan mā ykūn – mā-yeṣīr, tesèyyibuh wekān; ma'lūm kulla shuqduf* etc. = 'stick to this occupation (this task) till you have seen whether you are capable of doing it or not; if it goes well – excellent! if it does not go well, then you give up, and that is it; of course: every *shuqduf*, etc.'

The word *wekān* (وَكَانَ) is added at the end of the sentence and means 'and that is it', 'with that everything has been said'. The word *kān* alone is used as a response to hearing more or less regrettable things: 'that is the way it is', 'it cannot be changed'.

25.

أَكْذِبْ تَجُوزُ (بِجُوزِ)

Tell lies, that is how you will get married.

In Mecca the imperative is also formed according to the rules given by Spitta, *Grammatik*, pp. 208-209, but the *a* is frequently the initial vowel:⁹⁵ *askut, aṣbur, aḍrab, amshī* (more often: *imshī*), *aṭbukh, asma', aḡrī* (but more often *iḡrī*), *aqṭur* (meaning: 'bind the camels of the caravan in such a way that they are forced to walk one after the other'), *aṣḥā* (attention!, usual cry of carriers and donkey-riders in the market), *aq'ud* (but also *uq'ud*) 'sit', *akhluṣ* ('make ready'), *aqḍī*, 'do it', etc., are the most common forms.

The 5th and the 6th forms of the verb (see Spitta, p. 197) are formed by preceding *at* (*et*, imperfect: *yit*) or *ta* (*te*) to the 2nd and 3rd forms. That always means *atfaḍḍal* in the usual formula of invitation to a meal in Mecca: *yesallim*

94 [In fact, Burton, *Narrative*, p. 163, writes: 'It is a vehicle appropriated to women and children, fathers of families, married men, "Shelebis" (Exquisites), and generally to those who are too effeminate to ride.']

95 See also No. 9.

'alēk sīdī felān salām ketīr, yeqūl bukra ba'd èd-ḍuhr atfaḍḍal fiṅṅān qahwa = 'Mr. so-and-so (a slave is speaking) sends you many greetings and says: be so kind tomorrow afternoon (to come and drink) a cup of coffee.' The assimilation of the ت in تَجَوَّزَ (tiggawwaz) is very common.

The idea is: when you want to marry, impress the relatives of the woman you want as much as possible with your wealth, your high position, or such things, because otherwise you will not be successful. Whoever wishes to give in marriage a daughter or a sister, usually wishes to be slightly cheated.

26.

هَنْدَسَهَا وَقَيْسَهَا (هَنْدَسَ لِي، لَكَ وَقَيْسَ لِي، لَكَ)

He has measured her (me, you) and has taken (good) measure.

This is said of a man (usually – when the woman speaks, always – in his praise), who has done everything to make life pleasant for his wife or his slave-girl. As is well known, Muhammadan wives appreciate nothing more than the decoration of their bodies, and they evaluate the love of their husbands or masters according to their generosity in this regard. Note that, in this saying, when one speaks of the woman in the third person, then she is grammatically always the direct object, and in the two other cases always the indirect object.⁹⁶

The general word for clothing (in Egypt هَدُوم, in Syria اواعى)⁹⁷ is حَوَاطِج in the Ḥiḡāz 'things' the plural of حَاجَةٌ. To this can be added that حَاجَةٌ is used in almost all cases where the written language has شيء. *Mā luh (lak, lī) ḥāḡa* or *shughl* (with or without the addition of *buh* before *ḥāḡa* or *shughl*) = 'that is none of his (your, my) business.' When used for an object, the sentence *mā luh ḥāḡa* or *shughl* also means: 'we do not need this', 'this is of no use to us'. A slightly different formulation is: *mā luh lezūm* = 'we do not need this', 'we can do without this'. A common formula in the correspondence between Jeddah and Mecca, which almost always precedes the final *salām*, 'greeting', goes as follows: *وان كان حَاجَةٌ خَدَمَهُ عَرَّفُونَا* = 'and if there is (here) a service (to be given to you), let us know.'

27.

تَعَلَّمَ السِّحْرَ / السِّحْرَ وَلَا تَعْمَلْ بِهِ الْعِلْمُ بِالشَّيْءِ وَلَا الْجَهْلُ بِهِ

Learn sorcery, but do not use it. It is better to know something than to be ignorant of it.

96 Compare خَرَصْتَكَ instead of خَرَصْتَ لَكَ, in No. 38.

97 See Landberg, *Proverbs et Dictons*, vol. 1, p. 4.

Islam teaches, as stated in *Qurʾān* 2:102, that sorcery is a science that has been made known to mankind with the permission of God. Whether also the angels, or only the devils, have participated in teaching man this art is dubious. However, it is a well-established fact that one can only practice this craft with the help of Satan. That is why practising *sihr* ‘witchcraft’ (العمل به) is strictly forbidden according to the Law. The doctors consider the learning of this forbidden art permissible, but they are of the opinion that it is better (أولى) not to occupy oneself with it. The popular wisdom here slightly transgresses the boundaries drawn by the Law. However, the saying should not be understood in its literal sense, but as a hyperbole. Despite its somewhat learned grammatical form, the saying is often used by Meccans in all walks of life, and always with the vocalisation as indicated. But *sihr* is often pronounced *sihir*, just as, in general, most forms of the pattern *faʿl – fiʿl – fuʿl* are enriched with a vowel.⁹⁸ Whenever I would show the results of my photographic activity in small circles of intimate acquaintances in Mecca I was given to hear these words from one side or the other. When, for instance, the eyes of a Meccan, which have little experience in looking at flat images, would clearly recognize on paper the features of the ruling Grand-Sherīf, one would hear: *ēwallāh, ṣaḥīḥ, sēyyidanā be ʿenuh bezātuh, allāh yeṭawwil ʿumruh; wallāhi ḥikam,*⁹⁹ *yā shēkh! maʿlūm: taʿallam,* etc. = ‘Really, true, that is our lord (the Grand-Sherīf) himself, in his own person, (may God lengthen his life); by God! (These are) proofs of mysterious wisdom, oh *shēkh!* Yes, certainly, it is not said for nothing: “Learn sorcery, etc.” It may not be superfluous to add to this that there is no question at all here of a comparison of photography with sorcery as a forbidden craft, because those who spoke thus were entirely unprejudiced in this matter. A craft which has a higher significance for Mecca than photography is the winding of turbans (*amāim*). The different nationalities and layers of society can be distinguished from one another by peculiarities in the winding (*laḥf*). Inside these groups each and every individual has his own form of *ʿimāma*, ‘turban’, which is closely connected with his external appearance and with his whole being. That can best be compared with the situation in Europe whereby the way in which a man wears his hat tells us something about his character. The way in which the most prominent social distinctions in Mecca are expressed by the manner in which turbans are wound can now be studied in the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden, which owes a beautiful collection of readily wound Meccan turbans to the gen-

98 See also No. 64.

99 This is what Meccans always exclaim when faced with surprising new inventions or the rare decisions of divine providence.

erosity of Mr. P.N. van der Chijs, our vice-consul in Jeddah.¹⁰⁰ Not everybody, however, is able to give the *'imāma* the required shape. Relatively few Meccans possess the skills required to satisfy their own taste. So, there are specialists for this work, and each family usually has only one person who is able to do it. The person who has acquired a certain skill in this runs the risk of receiving at his home on every Friday eve (that is, in European terms: Thursday evening) an enormous number of *kūftīyes*¹⁰¹ and *shāsh*-scarfs, which are sent to him by his neighbours and friends with the request to wind the *'imāma* for each and everyone of them in the way he usually wears it. When I asked a scholar whom I saw once in a moment of leisure, occupied with exercises in the art of winding why he was doing this, gave me our proverb as an answer.

28.

الصَّبَاحُ رِبَاحٌ

The morning is profit.

Most well-to-do Meccans possess watches. This means that the division of the daytime into hours (sunset = 12 hours) is generally known. This division has little practical significance, however. Whenever people indicate the time of a visit, a meeting, etc., they calculate, as always, according to the *awqāt eṣ-ṣalawāt*, 'the times of prayer', the beginning of which is made known by the *adhān*, 'the call to prayer'. The words *fi' d-ḍuhr* can equally well mean 'within the period of the midday prayer' (that is approximately between 12 and 3 o'clock) and 'at the time of the midday *adhān*'. If one wants to make clear the first, more general meaning, in an unequivocal way, one says: *ba'd ed-ḍuhr* 'after noon', or *fi' d-ḍuhrīye* 'within the period of the midday prayer'. This applies in the same way to all *awqāt*, 'times', except that there is no word consisting of *'ishā* 'evening prayer' with a *nisba*-ending. The time of the *īshā* lasts, as every-

100 [Dr. Mirjam Shatanawi, head curator of the Museum of Ethnography, wrote to me on 27 July 2018, as follows (in my translation): 'Mr. Van der Chijs on the instruction of Snouck Hurgronje assembled such a collection, which counted ten turbans in all. Unfortunately, the turbans themselves are now lost, but the headgear (*kūftīya*) underneath is still there.' The Van der Chijs collection is registered in the Museum as RV-559. See for instance an example of that headgear <<https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/662968>> (accessed on 25 March 2021)]

101 The head cloth, which Dozy, *Supplément*, describes under the lemma كُوفِيَّة, is called in the Ḥiḡāz صمادة = *ṣemāde* or *ṣumāde* and is fixed on the head with the عقال. The *kūftīye*, on the other hand, is the cylinder-shaped cap, woven from Indian reed and embroidered with polychrome silk or cotton, around which the *'imāma* is wound. [R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes*. Leyde: E.J. Brill, 1881, vol. 2, p. 508.]

body knows, till late in the night. However, if two to three hours have passed after the *adhān*, one talks only of *lēle*, 'night'. The 'night' is divided into subdivisions, the limits of which are formed by *nuṣṣ èl-lēle* 'midnight' and *tarḥīm* (the formula called one hour before the morning *adhān* from the *menāres* 'minarets'). One says: 'I have woken up, I have gone out, etc., *qabl, fi, ba'd nuṣṣ èl-lēle*, 'before, during, after midnight' or *èt-terḥīm*.' The Meccans have yet another indication of time after the concerts (!), which the musicians of the Grand-Sherif give twice a day in front of his palace. From of old it has been considered the prerogative of the ruling sovereign to let the band (*nōba*) play in front of his door.¹⁰² The *nōbas* (that is in Mecca also the name of the concerts) take place every day: first one hour before the *maghrib*, 'sunset prayer', second one hour after the '*ishā*, 'evening prayer', and each time they last half an hour. The expressions *daqqū 'n-nōba*, *daqqū min zemān*, *lissā mā daqqū*, '*ammāl*'¹⁰³ *yeduqqū* = 'the music has played already', 'has played already a while ago', 'has not yet played', 'is playing right now', indicate therefore the time in the afternoon and the evening. The *ṣubḥ* or *ṣubuh* (less common: *ṣabāḥ*), 'morning' or the *ṣubḥīyye* actually lasts from dawn till noon. The time from about an hour after sunrise till about noon is, however, called *dāḥā* (دَحَاء). The broad meaning of the idea of *ṣubḥ* is shown by the fact that the usual greeting formula (after the *salām*) is till noon: *kēf aṣbaḥtum?* = 'how are you doing this morning?' and the answer is *allāh yeṣabbihkum* (*ṣabbāḥkum allāh*) *bil-khēr* (or: *bil-khēr wèl-'āfye* or *bil-khēr wèl-kerāme*) = 'may God grant you this morning something good (or 'something good with well-being' or 'something good with grace'). In the afternoon the words *aṣbaḥtum*, *eṣabbihkum* (*ṣabbāḥkum*) are substituted by *amsētum*, *yemassikum* (*massākum*).

It is a fairly widespread popular belief among Muslims that the morning is a 'heavy', important part of the day. Things that otherwise receive little attention are considered to be ominous in the morning. If a merchant has sold nothing in the morning, he despairs of his luck for the entire day, and many a salesman would rather sell something during the morning at a considerably reduced price, in order to avoid selling nothing at all, and in order to open the door (*lefath èl-bāb*); bad and good acts count double in the morning. That is why one often urges people to complete a deal or a task during the *ṣabāḥ*, 'morning', so that this blessing should not slip through their fingers. Or people propose during the evening or the night to put off something till the next morning, because the moment is then more propitious. In either case they base themselves on our proverb.

102 Compare the significance of the طبليخانات in Egypt under the Cherkess dynasty, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 3, p. ۱۸۸.

103 See for عمال Dozy, *Supplément*, under its lemma.

29.

دُقَّةُ النَّبَاتِ نَبَاتٌ

Powder of candy is also candy.

Rock candy is very popular among the Meccans. For instance, whoever, after the signing of a marriage contract, does not wish, or is not able to, give a large party, entertains his friends with coffee and *nabāt*.

The proverb is used in exactly the same sense as ‘the apple does not fall far from the tree’.

30.

شِرَاءُ الْمُلَاحِ مَلَاحٌ

The purchase (= the things purchased) of beautiful people are beautiful (things)

The vowels *u* and *i* interchange in the Meccan dialect, as they do in other colloquial forms of Arabic. In the plurals of the form *fi‘āl* (فَعَالٍ) the *i* has almost as a rule become a *u* (*ġumāl*, *tuwāl*, *quṣār*, etc., compare also *huġār*, plural of *haġar*, No. 40), and generally speaking *u* is more popular than *i*. The usual word for ‘beautiful’ is *melīh*;¹⁰⁴ *ġemīl* sounds somewhat stilted, and *hasan* is only used in the comparative (or superlative) form in the meaning of ‘better’, ‘more useful’. With the accent on the penultimate syllable (*mèlīh*) the word means ‘really!’, ‘good now’, ‘well then’, ‘further’ and the like and is put both at the beginning and at the end of a sentence, just it pleases the speaker, e.g. *mèlīh*, *ēsh qāl lak* = ‘Very well then, what has he said to you?’; *mèlīh ēsh nesawwī* or *nesawwī ēsh mèlīh* = ‘very well, how would we do it (otherwise) (other than the way we have done it)?’ *mèlīh harrīġnī* or *harrīġnī mèlīh zèyy èn-nās* = Well then, tell me how it should be (‘the way people do’), as said to someone who makes clear, with gestures for instance, what he wants. For the accent of words such as *shirā* (شِرَاءٍ), ‘purchase’, we should consider what Spitta says (*Grammatik*, p. 94). Much of what he says on p. 60 of the same work also applies to the accent in the Meccan dialect.

Sometimes the proverb is used in praise of a person who shows something beautiful that she has purchased herself. However, it is usually said ironically, and then in order to reprimand servants and children, who at the request of their parents or their master have purchased something that is either useless or much too expensive.

The last words are also pronounced *èl-mulāh umlāh*.

104 About *hīlu* and *kewayyis* see No. 48.

31.

القبيح قبيح ولو يتزين كل يوم والمليح مليح ولو يقوم من النوم

The ugly one is ugly, even when he embellishes himself every day – the beautiful one is beautiful even when he just wakes up from sleep.

See No. 30 for the accent and the meanings of the word *melīḥ* (*mēlīḥ*). Although the word *atzèyyèn* (أَتَزِين) in general means ‘to embellish oneself’ it usually means ‘to shave oneself and to have superfluous hairs and nails cut (from hands and feet)’. The barber performs all these tasks and is therefore called *mezèyyin*. As we know, he is in addition to that, often also a surgeon, and he is at least able to do bloodletting and the setting of cups.

The woman who takes care of the ample toilet of the bride (*عَرُوسَه*) is sometimes called *mezèyyina*,¹⁰⁵ but is much more often called *meqèyyina* (مَقِيْنَه).

The verb *nām, yenām* means ‘to sleep’, but also ‘to lie down’ (both of people and of animals). The doctor says to someone on whom he wishes to operate: *nām fi-l-ard* = ‘lie down on the ground’. Hence comes the 2nd form of the verb *nawwam* or *nèyyèm*, e.g. *nèyyèmuh* = ‘he has laid him on the ground, he made him stretch out on the ground’. The usual word for sleeping is *raqad*. A very common response of a Meccan slave who is asked whether his master is at home is: *rāqid* = ‘he is sleeping’. Every Mekkāwī knows a version of the sacred Tradition, which says in praise of Mecca: *الراقد فيها كالعابد في غيرها* = ‘whoever sleeps in Mecca, has the same merit as the one who performs his religious exercises elsewhere.’ Such traditions meet with active belief!

The proverb is usually used when an ugly person tries to hide her defects by dressing up beautifully, but by doing so attracts even more attention to her ugly appearance.

32.

إِحْتَارَتْ / إِحْتَارَتْ الْمُقِيْنَةَ فِي الْوَشِّ / الْوَشَّ الْفِلْسُ / الْفِلْسُ

The lady’s maid (the cleaning woman) gets embarrassed when she sees an ugly face.

The 8th form of the verb *حَار* means the same as the 5th form, see Dozy, *Supplément*, under the lemma. The *meqèyyina* (also *meqèy’na*) is the woman who makes the dress of a young woman, mostly a bride. See also No. 31.

In addition to the forms *washsh, wishh* there is also the form *wēǧh*, ‘face’ (see also No. 58). The word *fil*, which is also pronounced as *filis* (see also No. 64),

¹⁰⁵ Also, *mezèy’na, meqèy’na*, see No. 32.

actually means ‘anus’ (Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictons* vol. 1, *Glossaire*, under the lemma [p. 424]) and is used as an apposition in order to indicate the highest degree of *qabīh*, ugly.

This saying is used for someone, to whom education, exhortation, good advice and punishment are of no use, *illī mā yisma‘ kalām ebèdèn*. A son, who hears how his father is constantly rebuking a mischievous slave, says something like *sèyyibuh èl-walad èl-mal‘ūn dā khallī nenazziluh èd-dèkke*¹⁰⁶ *aḥsan; iḥtār’t èl-meqèyyina* etc. = ‘let him go, this damned man, we will put him up for sale at the slave market, that is better; the lady’s maid, etc.’

33.

أُقْتَلْنِي بِالسُّكَّرِ وَلَا تَقْتُلْنِي بِالسُّكْرِ

Kill me with poison, rather than with sugar.

Regarding the preference for the *a* as the beginning vowel in the imperative see also under No. 9 and No. 25.

The assassin has to understand and follow this advice in the opposite sense. Kill me with poison, he asks of his adversary, because I can stand that, albeit with difficulty, but I am not able to resist the effect of sugar. So, if you wish to attain your goal, please, use the sweet way. I am unable to resist a mild treatment, but I will not give in to roughness and crudeness. To give an example: an acquaintance of a merchant is unable immediately to obtain a certain thing according to the conditions which he prefers. He becomes angry about it and the two part in a bad mood. Later on, the prospective buyer hears that someone else has obtained the same object from the same merchant for a cheaper price. He reproaches the other about this, but the merchant answers him: *wallāhi anā maḡhlūb, yā shēkh; kān māu bē‘ weshīrā*¹⁰⁷ *hādā lākin kalāmak fēn wekalāmuh fēn; ma‘lūm aqtulnī*, etc. = ‘By God, I am defeated in this matter, oh *shēkh*, that was not a normal business anymore (I have earned nothing from it); but his (the buyer’s) words were not comparable to yours; of course, kill me rather, etc.’

106 About *dèkke* (also *dikke*) see No. 75.

107 The combination *بيع وشراء* is the usual expression for ‘commerce’, ‘the making of a deal’. When someone persistently asks for the price of an object, the merchant says to him: *sawwī bē‘ weshīrā* = ‘make a proposition!’ *wallāhi yā ‘ammī akhbartak min ghēr be‘ welā shīrā* = ‘by God, uncle, I have told you, (the price) is without buying and selling’, which means: ‘because of our friendship I am asking from you what it has cost to me.’

34.

المَطْرَهُ إِليَّ تَرشُّ عَلَى غَيْرِنَا مَا تَرشُّ عَلَيْنَا

The rain that makes others wet is not making us wet.

Regarding the preference to use the ending هـ, also where no *nomen unitatis* is meant, see No. 11. Here, if necessary, we might interpret the ending as that of a *nomen unitatis*, because a rain, a drop of rain,¹⁰⁸ is meant. The verb رَشَّ ‘to splash, to sprinkle’ is often constructed with a double accusative: *rushshū ed-dihlīz mōye* = ‘sprinkle the entrance hall with water’. For ‘to sprinkle oneself with water, to bath’¹⁰⁹ in Mecca the verb تَرشُّش, تَرشُّش is used. In the colloquial language this word has entirely replaced the words *ghusl*, *ightisāl*, etc., also for the ritual bath.

When something good (a present, an extraordinary profit or something similar) happens to a house, then there is the custom, which in the Muslim world has almost become a law, to let one’s friends or especially the neighbours, share in some of this. If someone in such or a similar case keeps everything for himself, the neighbours shrug their shoulders and quote this proverb to one another.

35.

كُنَّافَهُ جَنْبَ الْأَفَّةِ

Kunāfa next to the viper.¹¹⁰

In Mecca, *Kunāfa* is the food described by Lane, *Manners and Customs*, vol. 1, p. 185 (5th edition).¹¹¹ It is not a sort of pastry related to several other sorts of bak-

108 It is not improbable that the word *maṭara* in proverbs originally meant ‘hose’. See Dozy, *Supplément*, under the lemma, and Fraenkel, *Aramäische Fremdwörter* (Leiden 1886), p. 209. However, the word is not known in Mecca in this sense, and consequently one only thinks about it as rain. [Siegfried Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1886.]

109 As is well known, the usual way of bathing in Arabia consists of the act that one ladles water from a water container (زير) with a (usually tin-iron) shovel, and that one splashes that every time over one’s naked body. All this takes place in the *bēt él-mā*, ‘the water closet’, which is described hereafter, under No. 65.

110 [I am not sure that ‘viper’ is a correct translation of *āfa*. That word means something like ‘damage’ or ‘evil’, whereas the usual word for viper is *afā*. *Āfa* has to rhyme with *kunāfa*, and in its sense of ‘damage’ or ‘evil’ it still provides a meaningful proverb. A search for the Arabic context of Snouck Hurgronje’s version ‘viper’ has led to no result. JJW]

111 [Edward William Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians written in Egypt during the years 1833, -34, and -35, partly from notes made during a former*

ing (Landberg, vol. 1, p. 123¹¹²). It is eaten during the entire year, especially as a dessert at the *faṭūr*, 'breaking of the fast', in the month Ramaḍān. Meccan women always like to have breakfast with *kunāfa*. We will here briefly enumerate the most usual foodstuffs of Meccans. The poorest inhabitants of Jeddah and Mecca walk around begging from early morning onwards till their tin-metal pots are filled with old bread. The bread sellers give them their unsold loaves (اقراص) from the previous day. Others give them the bits and pieces that remain of the meals of the previous day, or they buy fresh bread by way of *ṣadaqa*, 'charitable gift'. You must know that in the hot and dry air of Mecca this old bread overnight turns as hard as stone. Only by extensively moistening it in water does it become somewhat palatable. There are in fact many beggars who, apart from incidental good luck, regularly eat this indigestible stuff, as breakfast, at noon and in the evening. That means that every day one can see these people with their hungry faces making their rounds through the Holy City, and the greed with which they devour the inedible stuff as if it were a delicacy, is the best proof of their poverty beyond any hypocrisy. For my part I shall never forget how I saw two unveiled women in rags (mother and daughter) sitting during several weeks for hours and hours next to one another at the corner of the Stone Street (زقاق الحجر) and the Night market (سوق الليل). With her ever-weaker voice the older woman called without interruption: 'I ask God, the goodness from God, for a bite of bread; it is not much for you, oh Lord!' (*aṭlub min allāh, min khēr allāh luqmèt 'ēsh, māu ketīr 'alēk yā rabb!*). Although the two miserable creatures used to sit opposite a bread shop, it was often two hours before the first *luqam*, 'bites', started falling into their pot. Much better organized than the beggars (مداحين, سُحَّائِينَ) is the life of those people who have bread and salt, or bread and powder (دَقَقَه), as breakfast every day. The symbolic meaning of bread and salt is sufficiently known, also outside Arabia. The expression *bēnanā 'ēsh wemīlīh*¹¹³ in Mecca refers to a relationship in which there should be no place for cheating and falsehood, although in fact certain forms of cheating are considered particularly disgraceful. The simplest *duqqa*, 'powder', consists of pepper and salt, but usually other spices are added to this. Everything is pounded together and everybody dips his bit of bread in it. A highly appreciated *duqqa* is brought by the Meccans from Medina, when they have

visit to that country in the years 1825, 26, -27, and -28. The fifth edition with numerous additions and improvements from a copy annotated by the author. Edited by his nephew Edward Stanley Poole. London: John Murray, 1871, vol. 1, p. 185.]

112 The شعريه which is mentioned by Landberg at that instance, in Mecca always means the vermicelli itself, not the sieve by which they are made.

113 Literally: 'between us is bread and salt'. In modern usage, however: 'we have sat together at table'.

performed a pilgrimage to the grave of Muḥammad. It is a green powder and has a spicy taste. The pilgrims from Mecca usually go out there in the month of Raḡab and they bring back some dates, Medinan *duqqa* and often also a few baskets woven of palm leaves for all their friends. The Ġiddāwīs and Mekkāwīs, who have to perform heavy physical work, the carriers (حَمَّالِينَ), builders (بِنَاءِينَ), helpers of bricklayers (المُشْتَغَلِينَ فِي الْحِجْرِ وَالطِّينِ), water carriers (سَقَّائِينَ) etc., and also those who have to move around quite a lot, policemen (عَسَاكِرُ ضَبْطِيهِ), servants (صَبِيَانٍ, the plural of *ṣābī*) of merchants, and the like, all these take as their breakfast beans and butter or oil (فُولٌ وَسَمْنٌ). All butter merchants (سَمَّانِينَ) sell beans cooked in water early in the morning. With a wooden spoon they take as many portions from the large kettle (قَدْرٌ / قَدَرٌ), as they receive *khamṣas* or *‘asharas* (coins of five and ten *para* = 2 and 4 pence, approximately) and with a shaking movement they deposit these in the bowl (زَبْدِيَه) that is being held out to them. To this basic material is added, in proportion to the affluence of the buyer, $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ pound (رَطْلٌ / رَطْلٌ) of *sēmīn*, ‘butter’.¹¹⁴ Additionally some salt and coarsely pounded pepper is scattered over it. People of particularly delicate taste neutralize the fat somewhat by squeezing lemon over it. The *zib-dīye*, ‘bowl’, is placed on the table, in the middle of those present. Often, on this tablecloth (سَفْرَه), stands a wooden *kursi*, with four or more sides, which carries the bowl, with or without a large plate (*tibsī*) of metal. Every eater has a piece of bread in front of him, which is usually *‘esh bēlēdī*, ‘local bread’, which many women or slave-girls prepare at home in order to have it baked somewhere in an oven (فَرْنٌ). One can also buy it at the market for a fixed price. The opposite of *‘esh bēlēdī* is usually the *‘esh sāmūlī* or simply *sāmūlī* (اسْتَبُولِي = سامولي), which is prepared for the Turkish soldiers with unsieved flour. The latter has the form of our round loaves, the former is baked in flat circular slices. When this is covered here and there with a crust, it is called *meqammar* (مَقَمَّرٌ). That is how people like it to be. Every bite is dipped in the *sēmīn*, and a few beans are taken in the process. Nevertheless, most more distinguished Meccans, who breakfast with several different dishes (أَشْكَالٌ), do not refuse the *fūl wesēmīn*, ‘beans with butter’, either and they may have it every other day. In the date season (in July and the following months) many Meccans substitute this favourite meal for a few *rāṭīl*, ‘pounds’ of dates. The sons of the Ḥaḍramōt digest incredible quantities of *ruṭab*, ‘dates’.¹¹⁵ Fresh dates are considered to be nutritious, but they are feared by many Meccans as foodstuffs ‘of hot nature’, the more so, because the ripeness of the dates falls in the hot part of the year. They then neutralize the ‘hotness’ of the fruit by drinking at the same time sour milk (لَبَنٌ or لَبْنٌ)

114 The butter is of course always as liquid as water.

115 One fresh date is called *ruṭaba*.

حَامُضٌ, opposite: حَلِيبٌ or لبن حليب = sweet milk), or by constantly dipping the dates in it. In addition to *fūl wesēmīn*, or instead of it, several other things are taken as breakfast (فَطُور) or, when there is no question of Ramaḍān, more frequently: فِكوك الرِّيق = 'opening up the saliva'. The *mēhsūb* (مَحْسُوب) is very popular: several slices of bread are hacked into very small pieces and are pounded together in a wooden bowl with much hot butter and honey. This very 'hot'¹¹⁶ mixture is eaten with wooden spoons. Just like the previously mentioned food, it is prepared by the seller of butter and is eaten by many people in his shop. Three more dishes are provided by another specialist. The first two, *luqēmāt* (لقيمات, actually 'little bites') and *lanqāṭa* (لِنَقَاطِه, also written لِنَقَاطِه, 'cookies', I have never heard being pronounced with a ق; there seems to be no plural), only differ from one another as far as the form is concerned. They taste more or less like the oil-fried doughnuts that we know from Dutch fun fairs, but the dough is uncommonly tough and an enormous amount of *sēmīn* is used to prepare it. The *luqēmāt* are little cookies of a spherical shape, the *lanqāṭa* are larger, flat and they usually have a hole in the centre. Whoever allows himself to fill a bowl (صَحْن) or a sack woven of palm leaves (زَبِيل), always also buys a glass or a cup (فَنجَان, plural: فَنَاجِين and more often: فَنَاجِيل¹¹⁷) with cooked sugar water (شَبِيرِه), into which he dips the cookies when he eats them.

More delicate than the oil cookies are another bakery product that is called *meṭabbaq* (مَطْبِق). The dough is spread out in very thin square layers, which are put on top of one another and much butter is poured between the single layers. One can order any filling according to one's own taste. Usually, people choose (soft) cheese with sugar. This filling is deposited in the middle of the square. The four corners are then taken up and brought together in the centre, in such a way that the filling is entirely enclosed by the dough. That combination is baked in the oven, with ample use of *sēmīn*. *Meṭabbaq* is considered to be an excellent food, so that one can say in praise of a husband: *yefatṭirhā kull yōm 'ala meṭabbaq* (the suffix *-hā* = *maratuh*) = 'he gives her (his wife) *meṭabbaq* for breakfast every day'. The seller of the three last-mentioned dishes is called *meṭabbaqānī* (مَطْبِقَانِي).¹¹⁸

116 Not only the Arab medical doctors, but also non-specialists attribute a great significance to the 'hot' or 'cold', and to the 'moist' or 'dry' nature of foodstuffs. Everybody has a diet (حمية, *himya*) which suits his constitution best. One person refrains from eating food and drinks, which are حَار يَابِس, 'hot and dry', the other person is not allowed to enjoy food that is بارد يَابِس 'cold and dry', or بارد رَطْب, 'cold and moist', etc.

117 The transposition of the ل and the ن also occurs in the opposite direction, e.g. the word for 'glass' is always *binnōr*, the word for 'family name' *niqba* (= لقب).

118 The ending *-ānī* is very popular: حَلَاوَانِي (not حَلَاوِي as in Syria, see Landberg, vol. 1, p. 123); زَلَاتَانِي (seller of salad); مَغْلَاوَانِي = 'who always wants to have a higher

The time of breakfast fluctuates from sunrise till noon. Some people, who cannot last that long with an empty stomach (على الريق، 'on saliva only'), take something light early in the morning (على حاجه خفيف يفكوا الريق على شي جزئي) or خفيفه جزئيه and then eat somewhat more at noon or in the afternoon, since they have 'already opened up the saliva', with *ghadwa* (غدوه، غدوى), 'lunch'. Apart from most of the dishes served as breakfast, people also take those dishes that are only available and sold on the market around noon as *ghadwa*, e.g. 'sheep's head' (رأس مندى) with uncooked 'radish' (خجل) or 'cucumber' (خيار). Also, small-cut pieces of roasted sheep meat, without bones (سلات) with bread. Also, triangular shaped little pies filled with meat (سنبوسك). Also, little round meat pies with hashed *kurrāt* (كرات), leek, which one dips in a sauce of vinegar and together with which one eats raw *kurrāt*, 'leek'. These pies are called *maqlīye* (مقلية). Sometimes, at noon, people walk around offering *maqlīye* and similar for sale.¹¹⁹ Most of these dishes, which are sold as *ghadwa*, are often eaten as delicacies in between regular meals. The same purpose is served by the many sweets (حلاوه): *ḥalāwa ṭehīnīye*, *ḥalāwa simsimīye*, *ḥalāwa suk-karīye*, *ḥalāwa lōzīye*, etc., peas that are roasted or prepared differently (*ḥummuṣ*)¹²⁰ and the like.

There is no generally accepted time of the day for the main meal (عشا). This entirely depends on the occupations of the head of the family and on the time at which one has taken breakfast. People who are able to divide their days into equal parts take the '*ashā*' every day, either after *ḍuhr*, 'noon', or after '*aṣr*' (usually pronounced '*aṣur*'), 'early afternoon'. Other people eat (يتعشوا) sometimes at this time, sometimes at another. The main dish of the main meal is usually rice. The variation lies in the preparation and in the added foodstuffs. Poorer Mecsans eat their rice with salt or with pickled gherkins, turnips and other vegetables, which are sometimes referred to with the name *ṭurshe* or *ṭurshī*, which is derived from Turkish, or with the East Indian word *acar*. For a few pence one receives a small *zibḍīye*, 'bowl', which is filled with these things. The vinegar that one receives with it is often used as a sauce for the rice. The middle and higher classes mostly have 'rice and meat' (رز ولحم), the meat being of course

أولانى، غلباوى or غلبانى = 'who always confuses everything'; مشقالبانى، price،
 جوانى، برانى، وسطانى، ورائى، قدامانى، آخرانى، 'who always wants to be the first, the last, more in
 front, more at the back, more outside, more inside'.

119 *Meqarmish yā maqlīya! yāllāh 'ala bābak! bakhtī 'annèbī! èlḥārr lidde yā walād!* These were the cries of a seller of *maqlīye* in Jeddah: 'Crispy, oh *maqlīye*! oh, God, before your door (we are standing); my hope (to good luck in the sale) is on the ('*annèbī* = '*ala 'nnèbī*) Prophet. When it is hot it tastes best, young man!

120 *Ḥārra yā belīla ḥummuṣ!* = 'hot, oh cooked in water, peas!' was the cry of a man who sold this dish which is the favourite of many women.

mutton¹²¹ or goat. After the meat is well cooked, the rice is cooked in the broth. The taste of this broth is oftentimes improved by the addition of dried aromatic herbs. When the rice is almost done, a considerable amount of butter is poured over it. The *ruzz welaḥm*, 'rice and meat', is served in a bowl or on a metal plate. The rice is made into the shape of a cone, the meat is placed in the middle, on top of the rice. When there are additional dishes, these are placed in small bowls or on plates around the main dish, e.g. a salad of gherkins with sour milk, *riḡle* (a sort of purslane), *melūkhīye*, 'sauce' with rice and chopped meat, stuffed *bādinḡāns* (*bādinḡān aswad*), 'aubergine', stuffed *dubbās* (a sort of pumpkin), and other vegetables. There are also different types of sugar delicacies and other sweets, such as *fālūda* (this name refers to sweet pastries prepared with fish glue, cornflour or with East Indian *agar-agar*), *meḥallabīye*, *kunāfa*, etc. A particular type of pastry, *meshabbak*, is hardly ever missing from festive meals. It consists of pipes of dough, which are laid down as a network,¹²² and which are filled with honey and baked with a lot of butter. There is also fruit, like the delicious grapes from èl-Ṭāif and surroundings, dates, figs (called *تين* and *حماط*), apples, pears, peaches, apricots, which are all ripe from roughly July onwards, the one after the other, melons (*khirbis*) and watermelons (*ḥabḥab*), which are available throughout most of the year. As is well known, at the meals of the Arabs there is no special order for the dishes, but everybody starts by eating what he likes.

Another meal which is very popular in Mecca and which is most often eaten with side dishes and only with fruit, is rice with lentils (*ruzz we'adas*), cooked together with a lot of butter. Many people find them too hot (*حار*) in the hot season. They substitute the lentils with a sort of East Indian food made of cereals, *kushari*,¹²³ which is considered to be cold (*بارد*).

121 Sheep are called ضأن, a ram is called طلي, *tèli*, plural *tulyān*, a (female) sheep is called نعجة, plural نعاج. Goats are called غم, a male goat is called تيس, *tēs*, plural *tīyūs*, a female goat is called غنمه.

122 Hence the name: شبكة مشبك = net.

123 The history of this word (one says also *kusharī*, but usually the ش is doubled) has been made clear to me by the kind information which I received from Prof. Kern [the Sanskritist Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern (1833-1917)]. Coming from the Sanskrit *kṛṣarā*, *kṛsarā* (= grains of rice, mixed with *dāl*, salt, ginger and asafoetida, prepared with water), in Hindi *khichārī* has become the name of a dish made of rice, butter and *dāl*. After the quotation by Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. كشرى, from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the *khichārī* that was known to the latter must have consisted of rice, butter and *mung* bean (Hindi: *mung*). This is certainly possible, as the word *dāl* (Sanskrit *dāli*) can refer to all split field crop. In Arabia this type of *dāl* is not used with the *khichārī* but rather an East Indian grain of little value. In West Arabia the name has developed into *kush(sh)arī* and it is used there for the above-mentioned grain only; a form كشرى does not exist. The dish as a whole is in the Ḥiḡāz always

There is nothing Meccans like better than *mabshūr* (مَبشور). They eat this especially at picnics, which they hold frequently, and other social events and banquets. The meat is scraped off with a long and sharp knife, so that they have quite thin flakes of meat. These are kneaded with pepper and other spices and from that they make a sort of small dumpling, which they string together, twenty to forty pieces, on a line of iron. The whole thing is then dipped into butter and the dumplings are roasted on a fire of coals. The meat that is prepared in this way is called *mabshūr*, a single dumpling is called *ḥabbèt mabshūr* (حبة مَبشور). The rice is simply cooked with the indispensable butter, and the dumplings are deposited on the rice cone in six to twelve rows, that go from the top down to the base. Usually, the dumplings disappear much quicker than the rice cone that they decorate, but all the time there is a servant who is ready to put new *mabshūr*, freshly taken from the fire, on the place from where the *mabshūr* have disappeared.

It is self-evident that with what we have mentioned here we have by no means exhausted the richness of the Meccan cuisine. One could mention many more meat dishes (e.g. *lahm meqèlqèl*, 'meat braised in butter') with their different sauces, and many more side dishes.¹²⁴ However, for a clear overview of the material life of Meccans our enumeration here must suffice. One can see that there is quite some variation in the food of the middle and higher classes of society, but that there is no really noteworthy difference determined by difference of class. The dinner table of the rich and distinguished rarely differs at all from the table of the less fortunate, were it not for the fact that the former eat many side dishes more often and that they get their food prepared better (or prepared with more fat). This makes social intercourse among the Meccans significantly easier. Almost no one needs to feel ill at ease for inviting one of his fellow-townsmen for dinner, and no one needs to feel embarrassed because of such an invitation. The master of the house sits at the table together with his friends and acquaintances. Of course, the bricklayer, the carpenter or whoever happens to work in the house participates in the meal. Even the *saqqā* ('water carrier'), who accidentally enters the house with his *qirba* ('water skin'), is not allowed to leave without having at least taken a *luqma*, *luqmatèn* ('a few bites'). If not, people would be ashamed, and many would fear his (evil) eye.

called: *ruzz wekushsharī*, 'rice with kushari' in the Ḥiḡāz. Dozy's article should be corrected along these lines.

124 Many of the foreign residents (Bukhāris, Hindīs, Ġāwīs), in as far as they are not entirely assimilated by Meccan society, keep to their own national kitchen, and the Meccans do not refrain from every now and then enriching their table with single results of foreign culinary knowledge.

In our proverb mention is made of *kunāfa*, a very finely made dish, which cannot be eaten because of a viper that is right next to it. That saying could be applied to any situation, in which a desired object is indelibly connected to something evil. In this saying, the viper always refers to the mother-in-law, the mother of the wife, a creature thoroughly despised in Muslim society. According to popular views, the mother-in-law (usually: *amma*) exerts all her forces to arouse within her daughter feelings of discontent against her husband, even if their marital bliss is absolutely ideal. 'Your man gives you such poor clothing, such miserable food, never allows you to go out or to invite your friends, etc., and it is as if you were always his obedient slave. Compare then your lot with that of your married sister or cousin. They would not allow such a thing to happen!' With such words, the *amma* disturbs the domestic peace. The Meccans therefore usually greet their visitors with the formula, which they rarely pronounce softly: *a'ūdhu billāh!*, 'God forbid!', a formula that in fact has the purpose of keeping the devil away, and among themselves they refer to the mother-in-law by the nickname *èl-ghab'ra* or *èl-ghabra* (غابرة), with a malicious allusion to the expression of rebuke that the *Qur'an*¹²⁵ uses seven times to denote the unbelieving wife of Lot. When hearing about an unmarried woman, a Meccan who is eager to marry is encouraged by the recommendation that her mother has already died, or that she is living somewhere else. The male relatives of the wife are appreciated by her husband in an entirely different way. The father-in-law and the brother-in-law know from experience how often the rights of the husband can be misjudged. On a daily basis they have to cope with the bad qualities by which, according to Muslim ideas, the female sex is distinguished. When the man's patience with the ever-new caprices of his wife has been exhausted, he will turn to his *rahīm*¹²⁶ for help and that is usually given to him. The *rahīm* tells his daughter, or sister, what she needs to know (*yerabbīhā* = 'he educates her', 'he teaches her'). The lower classes usually do this in a rath-

125 *Qur'an* 7:81, 15:60, 26:171, etc. [Snouck Hurgronje here refers to the 7 occurrences of the word *al-ghābirīn* in the *Qur'an*: 7:83, 15:60, 26:171, 27:57, 29:32, 29:33 and 37:135. In the *Qur'an* the verb from which this word is derived is usually translated as 'to remain behind'. *Al-ghābira*, here meaning something like 'the old woman who remains behind', thus being Lot's wife, who was not saved, but was destroyed by God.]

126 Meccans primarily use this word to refer to the father-in-law, but also in a more general way to the other male relatives of the wife. In colloquial language, the word *rahīm* is only exceptionally used for the relation of the husband to his father-in-law, his brother-in-law, etc. It is said of him: *felān ākhid* or *wākhid* (أَخَذَ) *bint* or *ukht felān* = 'So-and-so has taken the daughter, or sister, of so-and-so as his wife'. The expression *anā wākhid bintuh* = 'he is my father-in-law'. The expression *kunt ākhid bintuh* = 'he was my father-in-law' (but his daughter has died, or I have repudiated her).

er more severe way and go as far as to add a thrashing (*kefūf*, *laṭs*, *ʿalqa*). The husband, whose domestic peace is often disturbed by the evil *ghabra*, and who is rescued by his *raḥīm* who interferes with a saving hand, compares his situation with someone who travels in a *shuqduf*, ‘litter’, and who can only be happy with his comfortable position as long as there is a travelling companion on the other side of the camel to keep the balance. He refers to his *raḥīm* with the same word by which the traveller in Arabia in a *shuqduf* refers to his companion who shares a camel with him and whom he calls *ʿadil* (‘the one who keeps the balance’). If the *raḥīm* dies, and when the husband has next to his wife only the *ʿamma*, he is extremely sad. He will say to his friends: ‘My easy life is over, *ḍayyaʿt ʿadīlī, dā ʿl-ḥīn šār kunāfa ġamb èl-āfah* (ضيّعت عدلي دا الحين صار كفافه) = ‘I have lost my *ʿadil*, now it has become “*kunāfa* next to the viper”’.

36.

حَبِيبُ الْخَسْرِ هُوَ الْعَدُوُّ الْمُبِينُ

The friend who causes loss is the real enemy.

The expression *ḥabīb èl-mekhassir*, ‘the friend who causes loss’, is colloquial for *èl-ḥabīb èl-mekhassir*, see Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictons*, vol. 1, p. 5. The word *khasar*, *yikhsar*, *khasāra* is frequently used for losses of all sorts. People always say *yā khasāra!* ‘what a pity!’, when something breaks into pieces, when something is spoilt, when something fails, etc. The Meccan women cry in such cases *ya dahwatī!* ‘oh, my calamity!’ The opposite of *خساره* ‘loss’ is *فأيداه* ‘advantage’. The question *ēsh èlfāyda*, ‘what use is it?’ is endlessly repeated and the Meccan organizes his conduct in response to it. Also, while concluding friendships this consideration is usually the decisive factor. One takes someone as *ṣāhib*, *rafiq*, *ḥabīb*, ‘companion, comrade, friend’, because this promises an advantage, either in this world, or (though more rarely) in the world to come. In the meantime, the calculations of course go wrong, and the expected *fāyda* is substituted by *khasāra*. Then people immediately loosen the unprofitable bond and use the quoted proverb as an excuse. There is a remarkable number of Arabic proverbs with different situations that describe how a man can be caught up as a consequence of the conduct of his *aṣḥāb*, ‘companions’.

The word *mubīn*, ‘clear’, is only used in sayings (see *Qurʾān* 2:168, 2:208, etc.).¹²⁷ Usually one says *bāyin*. ‘To be clear’, ‘to be evident’ is *bān* with imperfect: *yebān*.

127 [The expression *ʿadūw mubīn*, ‘the overt enemy’, in these Qurʾānic quotations refers to *Shayṭān*, ‘Satan’.]

37.

لَيْشَ لِحْمَتِكَ مَرَّغَزَغَهُ قَالَ إِشْتَرَيْتَهَا مِنَ الْجَزَّارِ الْمَعْرُوفِ

Why is your piece of meat so meagre? He answered: because I purchased it from the well-known butcher.

For the occurrence of *a* in *išterētahā*, ‘I purchased it’ as a binding vowel, see also No. 5.

Whoever thinks that he has been cheated by a merchant with whom he is befriended quotes this dialogue. People who in one situation or the other get the worst end of the stick, because they have behaved in a modest way towards their friends whereas these have behaved towards them without any shame, also apply this proverb to themselves, however.

38.

مَا (مَوْش) خَرَصْتِكَ أُذُنَكَ

Why? Didn't I pierce your ear for you?¹²⁸

One says this to someone who did not, or who did not rightly, execute an order. ‘Didn't I tell you a thousand times?’ Except in sayings, the pronoun *mā* only occurs in expressions such as *mā l...* (compare Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictions*, vol. 1, p. 22). The negative (and also the prohibitive) *mā* is very frequent, however. Landberg (see in the *Glossary* the places enumerated under the lemma ما) has spoken extensively about its conjunction with the personal pronouns. In Mecca, too, *mōsh* is used as a negation for all genders and numbers. Other than in this case Meccans only use ش = شيء in a negation in *māfish* = ‘there is not’.¹²⁹ The Egyptians and Syrians are often ridiculed in Mecca because of the ش or شي, which they use as a negative suffix to their verbs. The use of *mā* with the different pronouns is derived from *mōsh* and we then get (see also Landberg, vol. 1, p. 91):

- first person singular: *māna* or *ana māna*, plural *mēhna* or *iḥna mēhna*.
- second person singular, masculine: *mēnte* or *ente mēnte*.
- second person singular, feminine: *mēnti* or *enti mēnti*.
- second person plural: *mēntū* or *entū mēntū*.
- third person singular, masculine: *māhū* (*māu*) or *huwa (hūwa) māhū (māu)*.
- third person singular, feminine: *māhī* (*mēhī*) or *hiya (hīya) māhī (mēhī)*.

128 Prof. Nöldeke points to the similarity with the expression קָדַיְתָהּ הָלֵי (Psalm 40:7).

129 *Mā 'alēhsh* = ‘it is of no importance’ is also used. Here, however, the ش (or شي) has retained its proper meaning.

– third person plural: *māhum* or *huma* (*humma*) *māhum*.

In the form *خَرَصْتِكَ*, the suffix of the object stands for the indirect object (لك), see also *هَنْدَسَهَا* in No. 26. Remarkable in the modern colloquial of Mecca is the use of the pronouns *hūwa* and *hīya*, where the old language has the corresponding suffix, e.g. *awarrīk*¹³⁰ *hūwa*, *ağīb lak hīya*, *nāwilnī hūwa*, etc. = ‘I will show it to you’, ‘I will bring it to you’, ‘give it to me’. On the other hand, the suffix is used instead of the pronoun, e.g. in *fēnak*, *fēnuh* = ‘where are you?’, ‘where is he?’

39.

فَلانَ زِيَّ قَبْرِ الْيَهُودِيِّ مَرَّخَمَ بلا رَحْمَه

So-and-so is like the grave of the Jew, covered with marble without grace.

The wordplay would be perfect if one used *rakhma*, ‘marble’, which means the same [*merakhhkham*] instead of *rahma*, ‘grace’. However, this word is not available in the living language, and it is never used in this parable. The actual word for marble is *rukham*, but it is also used for a piece of stone that looks like marble, and a wall or a grave that is covered with it is called *merakhhkham*. The grace which is lacking for the already covered grave of the Jew is the bliss of the life hereafter. In this context, we should in no way think of any active compassion as shown by a human being. This saying could, therefore, be applied to the hypocrites,¹³¹ ‘who are like whitewashed tombs’ (Gospel according to Matthew 23:27), and any Meccan would undoubtedly understand that. The *tertium comparationis*, however, only lies in the application of this parable as a contrast between the outward appearances and the inner being of a person or a thing. It is usually said of someone who presents himself as if he were very rich, dis-

130 On the use of the vowel *a* for indicating the first person, see No. 12, note.

131 It is self-evident that there are many people in Mecca who have recognized piety as a source of income and who therefore act as if they were more pious than they really are. Sceptics who do not admire true Muslim piety with all their heart are seldom found, and they are rare anyway. With the Qur’anic word *munāfiq*, ‘hypocrite’, the Meccans refer to those people who, without the slightest hypocrisy, devote themselves with all their forces to their worldly interests and who while doing so are not disturbed by any qualm of conscience. The word is in fact synonymous with *kāfir*, ‘unbeliever’. The educated person only uses this word reluctantly, mindful of the words of the Prophet: مَنْ كَفَرَ مُسْلِمًا فَقَدْ كَفَرَ = ‘whoever calls a Muslim an unbeliever, (thereby) becomes an unbeliever himself’. [This *ḥadīth* is also quoted by Snouck Hurgronje in his ‘Jeddah Diary’, MS Leiden Or. 7112, p. 15, See Jan Just Witkam, ‘Before Mecca. The Jeddah ‘diary’ of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 1884-1885’, in the present volume.]

tinguished or influential, but who actually possesses neither *felūs*, nor *nefūs*.¹³² It is also said to cover up their utter ignorance of the clothing, the manners and the discourse of the *‘ulamā*.

The word *زِي* is normally pronounced *zē* before consonants, before vowels more often as *zēyy*.

40.

تَحْسِبُهُ / تَحْسِبُهُ قَبَّةَ الْمَزَارِ وَهِيَ مَلِيَانَهُ حَجَارٍ

You think it is a cupola to which you perform a pilgrimage, but it is filled with stones.

The verb *حَسِبَ* means ‘to think of something as’. In the imagination of the subject it is a certain knowledge. The verb *قَيَّسَ* (*qayyas*), however, means ‘to assume’, in which the subject himself only thinks of a probability.¹³³ The *qubba*, as we know, is the cupola-shaped building erected over the grave of a *wālī*, ‘saint’, or of a person who is otherwise highly respected because of his piety. Quite a number of old pagan sanctuaries have been adopted in this manner in Islam. Sometimes, these cupolas are built in honour of people whose graves are far away. Such *qubbas* are then considered images of the actual grave, and the *‘awāmm*, ‘common people’, distinguish them from the originals. The orthodox idea about visiting graves in general takes the salubrious effect on the visitor of the transience of the world into account, but puts most emphasis on pious works performed in order to donate the reward to the beloved deceased. People therefore recite several *khatmas*, ‘recitation of [the full text of] the *Qur’ān*’, on a weekly basis, or have them recited at their own expense. Bread or money are distributed at fixed dates to the poor who have gathered at the grave of a deceased relative, and the intention (*niyya*) is formulated that this relative will be credited in the heavenly book for the value of these pious works. The chosen of God (the prophets, the *wālīs*) do not need these belated presents. They receive more of them than all the others together anyway. In fact, God loves the one who loves and honours His favourites, and for their sake He mitigates His judgment on those who are actually not particularly deserving. That is why it is much more profitable to donate the reward for a pious work to a friend of God, and by doing so to buy intercession for oneself, than to ask for Gods mercy off one’s own bat. Other than by performing meritorious works it is also possible to acquire the favour of the intercessors by contributing to the

132 See also No. 10.

133 See also No. 49.

upkeep and cleansing of their funeral monuments, or by burning incense or lighting a candle. When, finally, the desired close relationship between those desirous of salvation and the saint has been established, the former pray at the latter's grave while invoking his name. 'By the honoured position which this *wālī* has with you, oh God, please, bestow on me what I desire!' Till that point God is still quite orthodox, but it is evident that the uneducated advance considerably further on the road towards the adoration of human beings. The ordinary Meccan, who has been looking for a long time, but still in vain, for the fulfilment of a heartfelt wish and who has prayed for that, finally goes at night, preferably on Friday eve, to al-Ma'lā. When all other means fail, Our Lady Khadiġa (*Sittanā Khadiġa*) is still there. First, he buys a few pieces of bread, which he distributes in the name of the Beloved Lady among the poor, either in the *Ḥaram* (the Great Mosque) or on the holy grave itself. If his means allow it, he also hires a *fāqih*, 'scholar', and has him spread a few *ġuz*, 'sections', of the *Qur'ān* in the building over the grave. He burns some *bakhūr*, 'incense', (*yebakhkhir lesittanā*) inside the *qubba*, while he is standing in front of the wooden frame covered with a heavy gold-embroidered silk cloth. The handrails that surround the frame are low enough and by reaching over them one can touch the upper part of the *kiswe*, 'covering cloth', with one's hand. That is exactly what the praying visitor does on all sides of the frame. Here and there, while walking around, he remains standing somewhat longer and recites longer prayer formulas. When he articulates his special wishes, he grabs the cloth with a certain urgency, in the same way as he would hold a patron in this world by the hem of his *ġubba*. *Yā sittanā dakhīlik beġāh èl-muṣṭafā! beġāh sittanā khadiġa yā rabb!*¹³⁴ Sometimes he promises her something better than she has received already, as soon as the matter, at stake has been resolved. The mouth of the Meccans is always filled with monotheistic formulas, but inwardly they are in many respects still heathen. Apart from the form in which Islam has assimilated itself with these things, the *tawassul*, 'to request for intercession', of the uneducated Muslims in particular is polytheism pure and simple.

We should think of the interior of the pilgrimage cupolas of the proverb as being similar to what we have just described of the *qubbèt sittanā Khadiġa*, 'the cupola of our Lady Khadiġa', and full of hidden blessings (*barakāt*) that will be the reward of the visitors. 'I have, thanks be to God, recovered from my illness', *bebarakat sittanā* = 'by the blessing of Our Lady (Khadiġa)', is what the Meccans say. It would therefore be the greatest possible disappointment were one to find in a cupola, which looks like the grave of a saint, only stones instead of

134 'Oh, our Lady, (here is) your protégé, by the honour of the chosen one (Muhammad)! By the honour of our Lady Khadiġa, oh Lord!'

barakāt. Stones are a symbol of inflexibility, of avarice, of infertility (see also No. 5 and No. 12). A stone is *yābīs*, 'hard'.¹³⁵

The plural of حجر 'stone' is حجار. The first vowel falls away because of the preceding *a*, like in *yā 'ḥmār* = 'you, donkey!' This same contraction could happen with *aḥḡār*, but that form is rare. The plural forms فَعَال, فَعَال and أَفَعَال are actually often treated as one category. One uses *aryāḥ* in addition to *riyāḥ*, *amrār* next to *mirār*, without having the feeling that the two are different.

The construction in our proverb is somewhat free. The pronoun in *wehīya* stands for 'the *qubba*, as what you had thought it was'.

The purpose of the warning is the timely protection against disappointment of someone who has great expectations of the help of a friend or a patron. 'You believe that so-and-so is rich, kind, a true friend in need. Abandon this mistake, he isn't that at all.'

41.

أَنَا جَمَلٌ الْعَنْبِ

I am (as) the camel, which carries the grapes.

The delicious fruit produced in the gardens in èṭ-Ṭāif, which are mostly owned by the Sherifs, and in the *wādīs* between Mecca and èṭ-Ṭāif, is transported to the Holy City on the back of camels. In èṭ-Ṭāif there grow white and blue grapes. Mecca is not a rich place as far as the rather unimaginative announcements of streetsellers are concerned. Usually, the name of the article to be sold is preceded (and separated from that by *yā*) by a word either indicating the quality, the origin or the price or a word that is the name of another, more refined article, with which one compares, as it were, the article for sale. So people say: *ḥārr* or *meqammar*¹³⁶ *yā 'ēsh* = 'warm' or 'well-baked, oh bread!'; *sillamī yā faḡam* = 'from Sillam,¹³⁷ oh charcoal!'; *asal yā ruṭab*, *shèlabī*¹³⁸ *yā zēēēn!* =

135 The semantic range of this word includes both hardness and dryness. When a Meccan who has travelled a lot wants to tell his friends who have stayed at home about the countries where it freezes, he will say *min shiddet èl-burād ṣār't èl-mōye yābse* = 'because of the extreme cold the water had become hard'. A piece of wood that one is unable to break is *yābīs bil-marra* = 'terribly hard'. A friend who never gives something away is *yābīs* = 'stingy'. See about *bil-marra* No. 47, note, and No. 48.

136 See also No. 35.

137 Meaning: from the village of Sillam, not far from Jeddah, which is famous for the good quality of its charcoal.

138 *Shèlabī* (Turkish: چلبی) means in the colloquial language everything which in itself is excellent, not only good dates (see Dozy, *Supplément*, under the lemma). It is more or less synonymous with the frequently used word (of Turkish origin) *birinḡī* = 'of prime quality'.

'honey, oh dates (meaning: 'dates as sweet as honey'), best quality, oh excellent!'; *sukkar yā khibbiz* = 'sugar, oh melon!' Grapes are touted by comparing them to sugar or to ... *fālūda* (see No. 35)!; *sukkar yā 'unab* or *fālūda yā 'unab*,¹³⁹ cry the streetsellers; *telātīn yā tīn* = 'thirty (*para*), oh figs!' *mesāmaḥ* (also pronounced *sāmaḥ*) *yā lèbèèèèè* = 'at a knockdown price,¹⁴⁰ oh milk!'

Whoever is burdened with all the work and trouble for something, but is not allowed to enjoy it, compares himself in his complaint to the 'camel of the grapes', which carries the most delicious fruit, without receiving any of it.

42.

إِلَىٰ يَخْدُمُ بَلَّاشٍ يَتَّهِمُ / يَتَّهِمُ بِالسَّرْقَةِ

Whoever gives a service for nothing will be suspected of theft.

One pronounces both *yittāhim* and *yittāham*. The suspect is called *mathūm*. The proverb is applied to someone who has somehow exerted himself on behalf of other people for nothing or next to nothing, and who is then, instead of being thanked, reproached because he has neglected this or that.

43.

لَا فَتَىٰ إِلَّا شَبِيهًا بِخَالِهِ

There is no young hero who does not look like his *khāl* (the brother of his mother).

The word فَتَىٰ is no longer part of the colloquial language of Mecca. In sayings or in solemn speech it means, as it does with the classical poets, 'the noble, sterling young man (or grown man)'. From a man from Medina, I heard a proverb that was in use in his hometown and which has the same meaning as our proverb. Unfortunately, I failed to record the literal version. Several places from which the important position of the *khāl* in the old-Arabian society can be understood, may be found in G.A. Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern* (Leipzig 1884), pp. 44 ff, where they have been used in an ethnographical

139 The first vowel of the word '*unab*' is often pronounced more or less as the German *ö*. One berry is called '*unaba*'.

140 مَسَامِحَةٌ means the treatment by which one does not calculate too exactly, but overlooks and forgives, in the same way as God treats man. The opposite idea is مَشَاحَةٌ, which controls the conduct between people. *Mesāmaḥ*, said of the price of an article offered for sale, therefore means: so cheap, as if the buyer had been permitted to fix the price by himself.

context. Notwithstanding its literary form, this proverb is popular in all layers of Meccan society.

Instead of *فَتَى* (*fatā*) *فَتَى* (*fatan*) is also pronounced.

44.

الإسكافي حافي

The shoemaker goes barefoot.

This is actually only the most frequently used half of a proverb, the other half of which has escaped me. Anyway, I am not sure whether the latter part is *wèl-khèyyāt 'iryān* = 'and the tailor goes naked', or whether it is something else.¹⁴¹ The master (*me'allim*) in any line of work is so taken up with doing his job to the benefit of others, that he has hardly any time left to keep his own affairs going. The saying is often used in this simple sense, but there is a somewhat metaphorical meaning as well. When someone is exerting himself with all his energy to prepare, for instance, tea, coffee or food for others and to distribute it to them and finally forgets himself so that there is nothing left for him, people say: 'No, this is injustice. Now you have received nothing of the fruits of your labour'; *èl-iskāfi ḥāfi?* = 'must the shoemaker go barefoot?'

Another, though less frequently heard, expression that conveys the same idea is the following:

ضَبَّةُ النَّجَّارِ مَخْلُوعَةٌ 'the lock of the carpenter has gone loose'.

An exemplary description of the *ḍabba*, the wooden lock of the doors of Arabian houses and rooms, can be found in Lane, *Manners and Customs* (5th edition), vol. 1, pp. 23-24. From that, it becomes clear that making and repairing these locks is the work of carpenters. European padlocks are increasingly in use in Mecca, in particular for locking up cupboards and chests, because the usual *ḍabbas* can easily be broken or opened without a key.

But even in this way these cupboards for preserving money and other values are not out of danger. The Meccan carpenters are not first-class craftsmen and the wood that they mostly use bends terribly under the influence of the hot and dry climate, so that most doors look as if they have been placed quite accidentally between the doorposts and the threshold that contain them. Only the richest merchants have a safe. People of the middle classes hide their cash and valuables in places where the thief would not immediately look for them: in

141 [A nowadays commonly used complement to this proverb is *wèl-hāik 'iryān*, 'and the weaver goes naked'. Other complements exist, but all contain a similar paradox.]

the wall, behind some stones made loose precisely for that purpose,¹⁴² under the threshold, under the mat (خَصْف) woven from palm leaves (خوص), which covers the ground, etc.

45.

جَرَادَهُ فِي الْكَفِّ وَلَا عَشْرَهُ طَايِرَهُ

One locust in the hand is better than ten that fly.

This proverb is considered by the Meccans as being of Bedouin origin. In Mecca, the word *kaff*, plural *kefūf*, ‘hand’, means ‘a box on the ear’. ‘A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.’

46.

مَا يَمَلِّي عَيْنَ بَنِي آدَمَ غَيْرَ التُّرَابِ

Nothing fills up the human eye except dust.

This very old saying belongs to the words of God that have not been incorporated in the official version of the *Qurʾān*. See the very divergent forms in which the oracle is transmitted in Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, pp. 175 ff.¹⁴³ The most usual reading is *ولا يملأ جوف ابن آدم إلا التراب*, ‘nothing fills up the human belly except dust’, but in other traditions instead of the belly also the mouth, the soul, the eyes, and the eye of the son of Adam can be found. The variant reading of the eye is probably the most meaningful, although it may not be the most original one in the *textus non-receptus* of the *Qurʾān*. That version also appealed most to later authors and is mentioned, to name but one instance, in the *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 3, p. 102. Nowadays, the form given above is considered to be a proverb in Mecca, whereas nobody has ever heard of its divine origin. The expression *benī ādam*, ‘the sons of Adam’, has substituted the rare singular form, which is only used by the educated class. In fact, plural and singular of this word have become identical in popular usage, so that *benī ādam* sometimes has a singular and sometimes has a plural as a predicate. A plural such as *بنَادِمِينَ* (Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictons*, vol. 1, *Glossary*, under the lemma *بني*, see also the places quoted there) does not exist in Mecca. The words *benī ādam* only refer to man in general, and nobody says

142 [See for an example of this Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. 2 (1889), pp. 119-120.]

143 [Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*. Göttingen: Dieterichsche Buchhandlung, 1860.]

anything like *wāḥid benī ādam*, ‘one *benī ādam*’, (Landberg, vol. 1, p. 84). It has almost the same meaning as *èl-insān*, ‘human being’, but 1° it is used somewhat more frequently, 2° it is used both as a singular and a plural, and 3° it is used, much more than *èl-insān*, as the subject of a predicate, which refers to a very negative characteristic. The plural of *èl-insān*, *èn-nās*, ‘people’, is used instead of either of these two expressions, but only in certain set phrases (e.g. *èn-nās kède* = ‘that is how people are’), but it usually stands for ‘the people’, e.g. *èn-nās yeqūlū kède* = ‘the people (of this town, of this quarter, or so) say so’. Without the article *nās* is just ‘people’, e.g. *nās yeqūlū kède* = ‘there are people who say so’. None of these words refer to a certain number (singular or plural) of people. The word *ādamī*, plural *awādim*,¹⁴⁴ ‘human’ serves that purpose. The singular is quite rare and instead of *wāḥid ādamī* people usually simply say *wāḥid*, or, if necessary, *wāḥid min èn-nās*. The plural is also used when one is not speaking of a definite number, but rather of a definable number, e.g. *mā shā llāh shūf hādī ’l-ġināza*; *awādim ès-sūq milyān* = ‘By God! look at that funeral! (of) people; the market is full!’ When someone asks *fih awādim fi ’l-bēt* = ‘are there people in the house?’ it means that he does not know whether the house is inhabited. The expression *fih nās fi ’l-bēt*, on the other hand, usually means ‘are people (of the inhabitants whom I know) in the house (or: at home)?’ *Wāhid bābūr at’awwar*¹⁴⁵ *fi ġidda*. – *kānū fih baṭnuh awādim?* – *lā èl-awādim kānū fi ’l-bèlèd mā bīqū fi ’l-bābūr ghēr itnēn telāta min èl-baḥrīye* = ‘A steamer has suffered considerable damage in Jeddah. Were there people on board? No, the people were in town, only two or three sailors have remained on board the ship.’ Instead of the first *awādim*, the word *nās* could have been used here as well, since one wishes to speak about people belonging to the steamer (either travellers or sailors). Instead of *èl-awādim*, however, one could not say *èn-nās*. The singular feminine *èl-ādamīye* is (rarely) used to indicate a particular woman, and then there is a certain disdain involved, e.g. *ġatnā; mīn? èl-ādamīye* = ‘She has come to us. Who? The woman (that is: whose visit was expected by us, but which is not altogether agreeable to us)’. We should also note the expression *zèyy èn-nās* ‘like normal people’, in two different senses: *lēsh mā tiq’ud*,

144 The meaning ‘honest’ or ‘polite’ (Landberg, vol. 1, *Glossary*, under the lemma) is entirely unknown in Mecca.

145 The verb *عور* (*’awwar*) = ‘to express bodily insults (to people or animals), to damage (things), to make (things) unusable’. The fifth form (*اعور*): ‘to undergo such insult or damage’ (see Dozy, *Supplément*, after Boctor: *عور* (*’awwar*) = ‘to mutilate’); *lā te’awwīrī yā shēkh* = ‘don’t break my bones, you!’ someone says who is being beaten or ill-treated; *lā te’awwīr ès-sā’a ḥaqqatī* = ‘don’t ruin my watch’, as is said to an ignorant man who touches the interior of a watch with his finger.

lēsh teharriġnī,¹⁴⁶ *lēsh tilbas zèyy èn-nās* = ‘why don’t you sit down?’ ‘why don’t you speak to me?’ ‘why don’t you dress properly?’ *‘ala fēn? zèyy èn-nās* = ‘where (are you going)? something human happens to me (when going to the toilet)’

For the verb ‘to fill’ in Mecca only the second form of the verb is used. ‘To fill the eyes’ means ‘to please’ (Dozy, *Supplément*, under the lemma), but also ‘to satisfy’, see de Goeje’s glossary to Ibn èl-Faqih¹⁴⁷ under the lemma مَلَأَ; also, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 3, p. 246: طائفة الجراكسة لا يملأ أعينهم ولا يعتبرونه فيما بينهم. ‘A Kurd had come to live among the Cherkess. He did not fill their eyes and they did not consider him as one of them’. In Mecca عينه مليانة = ‘his eye is full’ is said in praise of someone, which means *māu ṭammā’* = ‘he does not covet someone else’s property’. It is also said in relation to women,¹⁴⁸ for example about someone who is contented with his *ḥarīm* and does not strive after enlargement or change. Such people are given much more freedom in mixing with other women than would be given to profigate or even to chaste men, who are always looking for variation in their sexual intercourse. The eye is the headquarters of greed (*tama’*) and of jealousy (*ḥasad*). Innumerable Arabic proverbs have these all too human characteristics as their theme. The eyes of man are not satisfied, that is they covet (*yiṭma’ū*), till they are carried to the grave. There the dust fills their eyes and the desire comes to an end.

Almost all Meccans are dependent on the yearly exploitation of their yearly guests, because their abode does not provide anything other than its sancticity. While doing that, they are of course constantly competing with one another. Every man warns strangers about his fellow citizens, so that after a while the sensible person does not trust anybody anymore. Many a Meccan says: *ahl makka ṭammā’in a’ūdhu*¹⁴⁹ *billāh minnahum* = ‘the Meccans are greedy people; I take my refuge against them with God.’ Of course, this saying does not apply to himself. Unfortunately, it transpires, after closer acquaintance, that the warners are quite right, except about the exception.

146 The verb هَرَجَ، يَهْرِجُ (*haraġ, yihriġ*) simply means ‘to speak’, not ‘to talk rubbish’. The form *harraġ* = ‘to address someone’, ‘to speak (to someone)’. The imperative *ihriġ* or *ahriġ* = ‘speak!’, *harriġnī* = ‘speak (clearly) to me’, *harġa* = ‘chatter’, *harġa farġha* = ‘prattle’.

147 [*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*. Edidit M.J. de Goeje. Pars Quinta. *Compendium Libri Kitāh al-Boldān* auctore Ibn al-Fakīh al-Hamadhānī. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1885, p. xlvi.]

148 See also مَلُوْ عَيْنٍ حَبِيْبًا = ‘what an eye loves fills (or satisfies) it’, quoted by Wright, *Grammar*, vol. 2, p. 275. [W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Translated from the German of Caspari and edited with numerous additions and corrections. Second Edition Revised and greatly Enlarged, vol. II. London: Frederic Norgate, 1875.]

149 This *dh* (ذ) is correctly pronounced by educated people, but by others as *z* (ز).

47.

دَارِهِمْ مَا دُمْتُ / دِمْتُ فِي دَارِهِمْ وَأَرْضِهِمْ / وَأَرْضِهِمْ مَا دُمْتُ / دِمْتُ فِي أَرْضِهِمْ / أَرْضِهِمْ
 Treat them prudently as long as you are in their house and keep them content
 as long as you are in their country.

The مداراة الناس, which is also recommended in the Holy Tradition, suggests that they be encountered with friendliness, and that their particularities and weaknesses be condoned. In daily life, the *mudārāt* is not so much founded on the idea of kindness, but rather on an innocent way of cheating. If one wishes to live among people without being harmed by them, then one should certainly not be too honest. This is doubly important for those who live in foreign countries or towns, since they are more dependent on the benevolence of their fellow citizens. It has the highest significance for Mecca, if one chooses to believe Meccans. The older pilgrim guides are inexhaustible in their praise not only of the Holy City itself, but also of its inhabitants. The latter are recognized, because of their hospitality to the guests of God and because of their permanent stay in the neighbourhood of the House of God, as having the right to be admired by all Muslims. The Traditions, on which this favourable opinion of the Mekkāwīs is founded, assume a considerable naivety on the part of those who listen to them. That is why uneducated pilgrims are usually made to accept this. When it is said to others, it is assumed that such expressions of praise relate to long ago, when generally speaking people were still better, and when the Meccans used to provide their assistance to the guests of God for nothing, *liwağhi 'llāh* 'for God's sake'.

As soon as the Meccan has made a more intimate acquaintance with a clever stranger, he empties his heart towards him in a confidential conversation about the *ahl makka*, 'the Meccans'. He does not burden him with the accusation of greed alone, but with all thinkable slander: *isma' minnī, yā sīdī, ahl makka shayāṭīn èd-dunye lā teşaddīqhum èbèdèn; izā kān tidkhul 'anda 'l-bāsha willā 'andak felūs yekarrimūk huma takrīm zāid bil-ḥēl,*¹⁵⁰ *yeqūlū lak ahlān yā mōlānā, kuntū fēn? mā shufnāk, mā tis'al 'annanā! aqūl anā fi nafsī: dā ē yā 'wlād èl-kilāb lēsh nis'al 'annakum na'ūdḥū billāh minnakum! lākin mā 'alēsh khallīhum yid' khulū 'andak ḥatta teshūf ēsh ghāyèt murādahum, lā budd yibghū minnak ḥāğā; dārīhim,* etc. = 'Listen to me, sir, the Meccans are the worst devils on earth,

150 The words بالمره and بالحيل both mean in Mecca 'very', 'extremely'; *ēshshāhī ākid bil-ḥēl* = 'the tea is terribly strong'; *èfēndīnā za'lān bil-marra* = 'the gouvernor is extremely angry'. 'Tout à fait' (Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictons*, vol. 1, *Glossary* under the lemma مر) is said in Mecca with *bil-kullīye*; 'pas du tout' = *mā ... marra*, e.g. *mā shuftuh marrah* = 'I did not see him at all'. See also No. 40, note, and No. 48.

never believe them. When you have the right of entry with the Pasha (that is *èfèndînā*, the *wālî* of the *Ḥiğāz*), or when you have money, people will honour you in an exaggerated way. They say to you: “Welcome, sir, where have you been (these days)? We have not seen you (for a long time). You do not enquire after us at all.” I say to myself, however: “What is this now, you sons of dogs? Why should we enquire after you? We take our refuge with God against you.” But it does not matter, let them enter your place, so that you can see what they are really after. No doubt, they want to have something of you. Treat ..., etc.’

As usual, the truth is somewhere in the middle. Meccans are not as bad as they all say, or as good as one might think if one believes what many individuals say about themselves. For the foreigners who live in Mecca for a longer period, that the inhabitants should warn them against themselves with the proverb quoted here has its advantages.

In this form the proverb is not as low-class as several of the proverbs that we have listed here, and it is inferior to none as far as dissemination is concerned. As one can see from our vocalization, there is a more educated and a less educated pronunciation. The vowel of ت in *دَمْتُ* / *دَمْتُ*, is sometimes undefined, sometimes an *a*. As we said above (No. 20), the vowel *a* is otherwise mostly in use as the subject suffix of the first person. Here there cannot arise any ambiguity because of the preceding imperative.

48.

قَيْسَ أَلْفِ مَرَّةٍ وَأَقْطَعُ مَرَّةً (مَرَّةً وَاحِدَةً)

Measure a thousand times, but then cut once.

See for *مَرَّة* No. 47, note. In Mecca, the expression *fi 'l-marra* also occurs, instead of *bil-marra*, but it is rarely used by genuine Meccans. As stated above, it never means ‘completely’. For that meaning there is the word *khālīṣ*, but almost only for a specification of the predicate: *anā ta'bān*, ‘*arqān*, *wağ'ān khālīṣ* = ‘I am totally exhausted, sweating, ill’; *huwa shebah*¹⁵¹ *khālīṣ* = ‘he is a very old man’. ‘Absolutely not’ is sometimes *mā ... marra*, sometimes *mā ... marra wāḥ'de*, or also, but without any special reference to time: *mā ... èbèdèn*. The expression *marra wāḥ'de* does not mean ‘a single time’ but ‘suddenly’ and hence ‘entirely’. The expression *rāḥū marra wāḥ'de* = ‘suddenly they had all gone’; *māu baṭṭāl marra wāḥ'de lākin nāqīṣ* = ‘it is not altogether wrong, but it is inadequate’; *mā*

151 The word *شَيْبَه* = an old man, whereas *شَبَاب* = a young man. Of a bad watermelon it is said: *hādā dubba khālīṣ* = ‘this (tastes) absolutely like a pumpkin’, ‘it is really a pumpkin’.

lāqēt khudra fi 's-sūq èbèdèn = 'I found no vegetables at all in the market'. Also, the above-mentioned expression *bil-kullīye* is connected with the negation *mā*.

The proverb is taken from the tailor's profession. The complete costume of the man is called *bèdle*. To that belong the *tōb*, a long vest made of thin linen (*bèfte*), cotton (*shīt*) or of a thin transparent tulle-like gear (*darābzūn* = Trebizonde), the *sirwāl* (legging) with the *dikke* (*tikke*). The middle and higher classes wear on top of this the '*antarī* (also called *shāya*), which is here almost synonymous with the Egyptian *quftān*, 'kaftan'.¹⁵² This garment is made from the same striped textile as in Egypt, but in the hot season most people prefer thinner clothing and then they dress in '*antarīs* and upper garments (*ġubbas*) made out of entirely transparent white *dūria* or, when this is too expensive for them, made of a white linen fabric. The '*antarī* (*shāya*) is kept together by the belt (*hizām*).¹⁵³ This is either a folded Cashmere shawl (*salīmī*) or it is made of cloths of so-called *shāmī* 'Syrian' or *istambūlī* textiles (bright yellow, in which dark silk has been woven). On top of the striped '*antarī* which is always worn, and on top of the white '*antarī* which is sometimes worn, a *ġubba* made of either cloth (جوخ) or silk. Distinguished people wear such garments made of Moorish striped textile, which are called *qaramsūd* (قرمسود, see Dozy, *Supplément*, under *كرمسوت*). Instead of the '*antarī* and the *ġubba*, the lower classes wear either nothing at all or a small striped vest (*šidrīye*) with nicely done linings over the pockets, or (right on top of the *tōb* or over the vest) a *bèdèn*, 'body', without sleeves.

The *benish* with its wide sleeves is now almost entirely out of use, but some twenty years ago the better-to-do people would wear it on all festival days. Now only old-fashioned people (*nās qudum*) adhere to this custom. By comparing these notes with the information given by Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, vol. 1, pp. 335 ff.),¹⁵⁴ it is evident that the caprice of fashion also reigns

152 See also the description and the illustration in Lane's, *Manners and Customs* (5th edition), vol. 1, pp. 36-37.

153 The shawls that are used for that purpose are also called *ghabāna*, plural *ghabānī*, especially when the same shawls are used as those for making an '*imāma*, 'turban'. As is well known, the Syrians and the Egyptians wind such *ghabānas* several times around their *tarbūsh*, but the Meccans only use these in such a way in case of emergency. At home, a man takes the '*imāma* off and only keeps the head covered with the '*araqīye* (sweat cap). When one has to go out late at night or early in the morning and one wishes to dress as informally as possible, one simply winds a shawl around the '*araqīye*, usually a shawl that serves as a belt: '*imām'tī fōq ākhud ghabāna wekān* = 'my turban is upstairs, I will take a *ghabāna*, that is enough'.

154 [John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia, comprehending an account of those territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans regard as sacred*. London: Henri Colburn, 1829, 2 vols.]

in Mecca. The coming together of people from all Muslim countries appeals to a desire to imitate customs and costumes. Besides, the inclination of the lower classes to mimic distinguished people has the effect that the latter every now and then change the way they dress in order to be different from the *profanum vulgus*. Women are, of course, submitted to the force of fashion in a way quite different from men. As the latter have the duty to care for the *kiswe* 'clothing' of their women, each new development in fashion is the cause of domestic strife. 'This dress still looks new, you have had it hardly longer than half a year, it has cost that much!' the man protests when his wife informs him that she wants to give the dress to the broker (*dèllāl*) in order to have it sold at auction (*sūq èl-ḥarağ*). Then the short answer *baṭṭalūh* = 'it is out of fashion' sounds like bad news in his ears. If it is of no use, the good dress must give way to the *fann ĵedīd*, 'new fashion'.¹⁵⁵

The word *bèdle* means the 'complete costume', but it is also used for the *ğubba* and the '*antarī*, especially when both these parts of the garment are made from the same sort of textile. One buys, for instance, a *ṭāqa* (parcel) of *bèfte* 'Indian cotton' or *dūria*, takes these to the tailor, and says to him: *faṣṣil lī min ḥādā bèdletēn* = 'make two costumes for me from this cloth'. In that case only the *ğubba* and the '*antarī* are meant to be made. The *tafṣil* 'measure taking', includes the *taqyīs* 'measuring' and the *qaṭ'*, 'cut'. The tailor *yefaṣṣil* = 'he takes someone's measure', draws it on the cloth and finally cuts the different parts with the scissors (*maqaṣṣ*). The result of the entire operation, the 'cutting', is therefore called *tafṣil* as well: *bèdletak ḥādī lōnuh mā šā 'llāh ḥīlu*¹⁵⁶ *lākin*¹⁵⁷ *tafṣiluh mā yinfa'* = 'the colour of this costume is (whatever God wishes!) beautiful, but the cut is wrong.' The tailor who wants to deliver a good product must therefore, according to our proverb, perform the first part of the *tafṣil* with the greatest accuracy. Once he is ready with this, he must cut without any hesitation.

The advice given by the following proverb is in fact a complement to the previous one, in the sense that one should not hesitate about two opinions once the decision has been made.

155 The expression فن جديد applies to every new fashion, either in clothing, in house furniture or in other matters.

156 The words حلو and مليح indicate different nuances of beautiful. The word ĵamil is slightly stilted and *kewayyīs* is not used at all. See also No. 30.

157 *Lākin* and *ḥatta* in Mecca often come after the word or the phrase to which they refer, e.g. 'the water is bitter' *bārid lākin* = 'but cool'. *Akhadū minnuh illī kān anduh 'imām'tuh ḥatta* = 'they have taken everything that he had, even his turban'.

49.

التَّمْيِيسُ قَبْلَ الْغَطِّيسِ

Measuring must precede the diving.

For the idea of 'measuring' and its derived meaning 'to assess', 'to assume', the second form of the verb *qayyas* (قَيَّسَ) is always used. Measuring is تَمْيِيسٌ; 'assumption', 'opinion' is قِيَاسٌ.¹⁵⁸ The expression *aqayyis (aqèyyis) èl-qaf'la dā 'l-ḥīn waṣalū 'l-medīna; māu qiyāsak kède?* = 'I think that the caravan has now arrived in Medina; don't you agree?' See for the infinitives of the form *fa'īl* (فَعِيلٌ) No. 50, note.

Action must be preceded by reflection. The same idea is expressed in a slightly more refined form in the well-known saying: (التَّدْبِيرُ نِصْفُ الْمَعِيشَةِ) 'Thinking ahead is half of livelihood'. This saying can only be heard in Mecca from the mouth of educated people.

It may be amazing that in Mecca, which is so devoid of water, the image of diving should be so popular. Jeddah is situated so nearby, however, that sayings from there are easily adopted, even if their meaning does not precisely fit into Meccan life. There are thousands of people in Mecca who have no idea at all about what a steamer actually looks like. They have only heard that it is a vessel that blows out steam, which makes a noise, spits out fire, and moves over the water with incredible speed.

In Ramaḍān of the year 1302,¹⁵⁹ this idea was sufficient for one of the sons of Mecca with unanimous agreement to be given the nickname *bābūr*, 'steamship'.¹⁶⁰ In the evenings of the month of fasting, directly after the *ishā*, 'evening prayer', the *tarāwīḥ* (prayer rituals of twenty *rak'as*, 'bendings') are held. The community assembled to perform the *ishā* therefore divides itself into groups of between ten to one hundred persons. Each group has its own *imām*, who has been elected from their midst for the duration of the month. Some of these leaders organize their *tarāwīḥ* in such a way that during the thirty nights they recite the entire *Qur'ān* once or several times, but one can also make do for each *rak'a* with the *fātiḥa*, 'sūra 1 of the *Qur'ān*', and a very short chapter. Very few decent Meccans neglect these prayers, but many of them are incredi-

158 See also No. 40.

159 [June-July 1885, during Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Mecca.]

160 One says *bābūr* and also *wābūr*. The plural *bawābūr*, however, is more popular than *wābūrāt*. For the change of *v* into *b*, compare *bintu* (Louis d'or) coming from *venti*. Our Dutch Vice-Consul in Jeddah, Mr. van der Chijs, is only known to the Arabs as بندرسايس. How popular it is to make broken plurals from loanwords can be seen from the frequently used plural form of *qabādīn*, from *qābudān* or *qabdān* = captain.

bly busy during the nights of Ramaḍān, and that is why the very long recitations are not generally popular. Some leaders therefore attract believers who prefer not to have too many of the benefits, and only recite short *sūras*. One of these *imāms* recited in each of the twenty *rak'as* only the *fātiḥa* and *sūra* 112. Thanks to his long practice in connecting the indispensable *taǧwīd* with the utmost speed he had arrived at a point where the whole thing would not last more than a few minutes, and that is why the astonished visitors of the *Ḥaram* soon called him *el-bābūr*.

Diving or wading is not only known by name to Meccans. The horrific rain floods (*siyūl*) that afflict West Arabia now and then, often for three to four days, turn Mecca's main street into a river full of water. And large stretches of the road from Mecca to Medina are so inundated that our proverb is applicable there in the literal sense.

50.

مَا أَجَوِّزُهَا عَلَى مَنْ صَلَّى وَصَامَ أَجَوِّزُهَا عَلَى مَنْ شَخَّ وَقَامَ

I do not give her in marriage to someone who prays and fasts, I give her in marriage to someone who urinates while standing upright.

The vowel of the prefix of the first-person imperfect of the second and third forms of the verb is usually an *a*,¹⁶¹ which easily merges into the preceding *a*. See for the extended use of the preposition *'ala* in colloquial Arabic Spitta, *Grammatik*, pp. 370 ff. The verb *shakhkh* is the usual word for *بال*, 'to urinate', but the latter is only used by medical doctors and by distinguished people. Derived from that verb is *shukhkhān* = 'to urinate',¹⁶² 'urine'. Compare this formation to *taflān* or *tafalān* = 'saliva', coming from *tafal*, *taffal* = 'to spit'. As is well known, the Muhammadans always urinate in a sitting position (while squatting), and they only stand up after they have thoroughly cleaned themselves. The pronominal suffix in *أَجَوِّزُهَا* refers to the daughters (or the sisters, or the *مَوَالِيَّة*, 'women folk', anyway) of the speaker, whose *walī* he is. The *walī* uses this saying when a man, who is keen on marrying, seems to wish to gradually steer the conversation in the direction of his ward, and with it he tells him in a courteous, but at the same time mocking way, that he should not continue since there is no way that the desired marriage can be realized. There is no

161 See also No. 12, note.

162 The act of urinating is also called *shakhkh*. In general, the form *fa'il* (فَعِيل) for the infinitive is not as rare as Spitta, *Grammatik*, § 95 thinks. Other examples: *ghaṭīs* = 'to dive'; *kharīṭ* = 'to clean the skin under the hairs of the head' (said of women).

special reason why the unhappy candidate is referred to as ‘someone who prays and fasts’ and the future bridegroom is referred to as ‘someone who urinates and stands upright’ since each predicate is valid for each and every well-educated Muhammadan. Nor is there a special intention involved in referring to the former as someone very religious and to refer mockingly to the latter. For the Meccans of today, these words mean no more than if one referred to them as John and Fred. And in former times the proverb may very well not have had a profound sense either.

51.

ولا اشتريت لي حديدَه ولا ملكت لي سعيده

You did not purchase me an ankle band, nor did you give me a slave-woman.

The ت of the second person singular masculine is pronounced in both cases here either with an undefined vowel (*te*) or with the vowel *a* (*ta*), which is common only in the first person.¹⁶³ As we know, the first and the second person are always identical when there is no binding vowel in use. Here, the otherwise necessary plural ending (*ū* for *um*) is not needed because the following word لي in this context removes all doubt. The *ḥadīde* (literally: ‘iron’) is the ankle band that is worn by women and children. These are made from silver or from a less costly metal that is then plated with silver (*mātlī*). The combination لي ملكت stands instead of ملكتني ‘you put me in possession’. Sa‘ida is a very common proper name for slave-girls, as is Sa‘īd for male slaves, somewhat like John and Jenny. As is well known, according to Islamic law, the husband is obliged to provide his wife with clothing, abode and service, all according to her social position. As far as service is concerned, the wife of course prefers more than anything else her husband to buy her a slave-girl and as for clothing she hates to be satisfied with the legal minimum. A reasonably well-to-do man can hardly avoid giving his wife a few armbands (*sa‘fe, suwār, mi‘dad*¹⁶⁴), ankle bands (*khulkhāl, ḥadīde*), earrings (*ḥalaq*) and a nose ring (*khuzām*). If he does not do this, when he reproaches her for something, he will soon hear the reply: ‘Do you have the right to ask all this from me? Why? You did not purchase me an ankle band, nor did you give me a slave-woman, you have not given me any proof of special love.’

163 See also No. 20.

164 The *mi‘dad* is a single armband, which is worn on the right arm. The other two armbands are worn on the wrists of either hand.

52.

تَسْتَحْمِلُ أَرْدَبَّ وَلَا تَسْتَحْمِلُ كَيْلَهُ

You can carry an *èrdèbb*, and you cannot carry a *kēle*?

The *èrdèbb* (a cubic measure) contains 40 *kēle*. This saying is mostly used as flattery by a woman when speaking to her husband. She had, for instance, requested a new dress from him but he protests that he has no money for that. Now she tries to persuade him by praising his generosity. 'In other cases, you are always so generous, and now you refuse to comply with this tiny wish of mine?'

53.

مَا دَامَتْ الْحَدِيدَةُ حَارَّةً

As long as the iron is hot.

This elliptical sentence serves to encourage oneself or others to act quickly, since the conditions are favourable. 'One must forge the iron as long as it is hot.' With the word *حديده* (see No. 51 for the meaning of 'ankle band') 'a piece of iron', 'a rod of iron' is meant.

54.

إِلَى عَامِلٍ نَفْسُهُ رُبَّانٌ يَجِيبُ الْهَوَاَ وَلَوْ مِنْ قُرُونُهُ

Whoever passes himself off as a pilot must produce the wind, even if it needs to come from his braids.

The relative *illī* is often constructed with a participle: *illī shārid meḥammèd* = 'it is Muhammad, who has run away'. The expression *عمل نفسه* = 'to pass oneself off as ...'. This expression, together with others which are related to it, is explained with numerous citations by Dozy, *Supplément*, under the lemma. The phrase *lēsh ti'mal nafsak kebīre* = 'why do you present yourself so arrogant?' Here, as in many other cases, one can substitute *عمل* by *سوى* (*lēsh tesáwwī*, etc.); *nī'mal (nesáwwī) lak shāhī?* = 'shall we prepare you a tea?'; *'amalt ē yā 'ḥmār? – mā sawwētuh bil-'ēnīye*¹⁶⁵ = 'what have you done, you donkey?' – 'I have not done it on purpose'. The word *'amalīye* means the method of preparing something for which process certain rules must be observed: *èd-dūḡān*¹⁶⁶

165 In Mecca one says *بَقَصَدَ بِالْعَيْنِيَّةِ* instead of *بَقَصَدَ*. The model is *عَيْنَهُ*.

166 Plural of *dāwā* (دواء), see also *ghātā* ('lid'), plural *ghuṭyān*, etc.

'andī lākin mā 'araft èl-'amalīyya = 'I do have the medicines but I do not know how to prepare them'. The word *rubbān* in fact means 'pilot' or 'helmsman'. Townspeople, however, use the word *rubbān* for every sailor who is apparently higher in rank than the common sailor (*baḥrīye*), but without being a captain. The word *welau*,¹⁶⁷ 'even if', occurs as such quite often as an elliptical sentence in the Meccan colloquial: *mā 'rūḥ lahum dā 'l-ḥīn bèlki 'andahum nās; welau!* = 'I will not go to them now, perhaps they have someone with them. And if that were so (what difference would it make)?' The word *قرونة* may mean 'his braids' (see Dozy, *Supplément*, under the lemma; Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, p. 49),¹⁶⁸ but it also means 'frontal bone' and is used here in order to refer to the head in general.

Whoever claims to understand something, but achieves nothing when the occasion to show what he can do presents itself, and then pretends that the reason or the failure is entirely the fault of the unfavourable conditions, of the inferior material, etc., that person is suspected of incompetence. The competent craftsman retains his skill under any circumstance. Such bragging is rebuked, since it is compared with the behaviour of the good helmsman. However, people apply this proverb to cases of an entirely different nature. They use it as an expression of their lack of trust in the sincerity of people who pretend to devote all their energy to a certain case, even if they obtain no results. For instance, quite a lot of men give to their wife as a dwelling the same house that they use to put up those relatives for whom they must provide shelter at their own expense. This can of course only be done when the wife accepts this, as

167 This conjunction is quite common in Mecca, especially in this combination, either as an elliptical sentence or (as in the proverb) in the meaning 'even though'. See also Spitta, *Grammatik*, p. 184.

168 Prof. Nöldeke provided me with the following places from the older literature: Bukhārī, vol. 1, p. 318, lines 4, 7, and see also at the same page later on; Ibn Hishām, p. 809; *Dīwān Hudhayl*, 68, line 1; Imru'ul-Qays, p. 19, line 32 (Ahlwardt); *Ḥamāsa*, p. 757, line 14.

[John Lewis Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, collected during his travels in the East*. Vol. 1. London: Henri Colburn & Richard Bentley, 1831; *Recueil des Traditions Mahométones* par Abou Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ismail el-Bokhāri. Publié par M. Ludolf Krehl. Vol. I. Leyde: E.J. Brill, 1862; Ibn Hishām: *Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishāk bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hishām* [...] herausgegeben von Dr. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. Vol. 1 (Arabic text). Göttingen: Dieterichsche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1859; *Dīwān Hudhayl: The Poems of the Huzailis*. Edited in the Arabic [...] and translated, with annotations, by John Godfrey Lewis Kosegarten. Vol. I, containing the first part of the Arabic text. London: The Oriental Translation Fund, 1874, No. 68, line 1 (p. 128); Imru'ul-Qays: *The Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets Ennābīgha, Antara, Tharafa, Zuhair, Alqama and Imruulqais* [...] Edited by W. Ahlwardt. London: Trübner & Co, 1870, p. 127, No. 19, line 32; *Ḥamāsa: Ash'ār al-Ḥamāsa. Hamasae Carmīna cum Tebrisii scholii integris primum edidit Georg. Guil. Freytag*. Vol. I. Bonn: in Officina Baadeni, 1828, p. 757, line 14.]

the Law gives her the right to have a separate dwelling equal to her social status. Quite often such cohabitation eventually results in quarrels between the relatives of the man and his wife. When the patience of the latter is exhausted, she says to the man: *mā (a)qdar ād*¹⁶⁹ ‘*ala dī l-ḥāle aʿmal (iʿmal) lī bēt sharʿī = ‘I cannot keep up with this situation anymore, give me a dwelling according to the Law’.*

The imperative part of this sentence is the technical formula for such cases. The man is unable to object to this substantially. He decides, though not without resistance, to implement this increase of his yearly expenditure. First, he forgets the whole thing during the day, but in the evening, he promises that next day he will look for available houses. Thereupon he pretends to have walked through Mecca several times, from Maʿlā to Mēsfaḷa, to have looked at all the houses, but not to have found one that suits the purpose. But he will not give up, because he takes the matter very seriously. At that stage, the wife cannot help but express her doubt: ‘*aǧāʾib yā sīdī*¹⁷⁰ *billāhi atfarraǧt ʿala l-maḥall kullahā wemā lāqēt wālā*¹⁷¹ *ḥaǧe menāsʿba? mā yidkḥul fi l-ʿaql ḥādā; illī ʿāmil nafsuḥ, etc. = ‘That is strange, my lord! By God, you have looked at all houses and you have not found anything suitable? That does not enter the intelligence (no intelligent person can believe that). Whoever passes oneself off as a pilot, etc.’*

169 See Landberg, *Proverbs et dictions*, vol. 1, *Glossary*, under the lemma *عود*. In Mecca I have never heard another form than *mā ... ʿād*.

170 The wife usually addresses her husband using the *kunya* or *yā sīdī*. With *yā sīdī* one also addresses one’s grandfather and the latter’s brothers, often also the latter’s cousins. And especially in the case of these brothers and cousins the word *sīdī* is also used as predicate: *kān ʿesh-shēkh aḥmèd akḥū ḡeddī šār sīdī huwa = ‘Shēkh Aḥmed was the brother of my grandfather, he was therefore my lord’.* The verb *šār* (صار) is used in Mecca in the same way as *baqa* (Spitta, *Grammatik*, p. 177) in Egypt. In Egyptian Arabic in other circumstances this *بقي* also means ‘to become’, and this meaning, not the meaning ‘to be’ (according to Spitta), is at the origin of the adverbial use of the word. See already Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, p. 33: *صار يتوقع = بقي يتوقع*. When Meccans say: *šār mā yerūḥ lahum ʿād = ‘(thus) he does (did) not go to them anymore’*, the very same person who interrupts the intercourse can be assumed to be the subject to *šār*, precisely as in the examples quoted from Ibn al-Athīr. Since *šār* is also used for the second and third persons singular and plural (*šār mā arūḥ, šār mā nerūḥ, etc.*), the subject must be complemented with a word such as *èl-amr* or the like. The transition of this usage of the invariable *šār* into a purely adverbial use can easily be understood: *šār ènte mènète rādī = ‘so, you do not wish?’; šār huwa min ahl èl-ǧāwa = ‘so, he is a Malay?’; māḥum ḡāyīn šār = ‘so, they do not come?’ [Ibn al-Athīr: *Ibn-el-Athīri Chronicon quod Perfectissimum inscribitur*. Volumen Decimum, *Annos H. 451-527 continens*, [...]. Ed. Carolus Johannes Tornberg. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1864, p. 33, line 4.]*

171 See for *wālā* No. 18.

55.

وَلَا وَرَانَا فَآيِدَهُ وَلَا وَرَا شُمْرَانَ عَائِدَهُ

Behind us there is no advantage, in the same way as there is nothing to get from Shumrān.

Shumrān is the well-known mountainous region in which the tribes called شمران 'Shumrān' or also شمرًا 'Shummarā' live. That region more or less indicates the southern border of the area in which the authority of the Sherīfs of Mecca is still recognized. The word عَائِدَهُ, usually in the plural عَوَائِد (the singular here is only there for the rhyme), means any thing, or any act, which is repeated and is thereby a custom that has become law: annual presents, hand-overs, festivities, etc. (see also Dozy, *Supplément*, under the lemma). In the singular, the word عَادَهُ is also used. The ruling Sherīfs thus also receive from the tribes that are subject to their authority certain hand-overs on the basis of old traditions, 'awā'id. At any service to be given, any work to be undertaken, the average Arab will, either outspokenly or softly, formulate the question *ēsh èl-fāyda* = 'what profit or advantage is there in this for me?' I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of the first وَرَا as used in this proverb. It is not even clear what it means to those who use the proverb, since it goes beyond the current usage. If, instead of *warānā*, there had been *hawālēnā* or *hawālēnanā*, it would have meant 'there is no profit to be taken from us, in the same way as there is nothing, etc.' In that way the Egyptian proverb *mā hawālēn èš-Ša'āyda fāyda illā kelēma zāyda* = 'there is no profit to be taken from people of Upper-Egypt, except superfluous words' is used in the Ḥiğāz. The Meccans too use these words to refer to the avaricious character of people from the Ša'īd, but they frequently also use them for skinflints of any other origin. The word *hawālēn*, 'with', here is understood by every Meccan, although in this sense it is of rare occurrence in Mecca, and one would be rather inclined to say 'anda instead. It is possible that the word *wārā* is used here as *hawālēn* = 'anda, since the proverb is said to someone who is constantly asking for services and help from others, without offering anything in return, without ever rewarding them for their trouble, and the indubitable intention is to tell such a person that from now on this uneven relationship must stop. In other words: do not bother us anymore with your requests, since we now have nothing left to exploit, in the same way as there is nothing, etc. As the word *wārā* is otherwise unknown in this sense, and as it is quite probably used here because of the second *wārā*, another explanation might be possible, in which لا وَرَانَا = لا يَحْصِلُ لَنَا or ما حَصَلَ لَنَا = 'we have not profited at all from the favour that we have done you, in the same way as there is nothing, etc.' (or 'we have never received any profit out of the favour that we have done you').

56.

فَلَانَ مَحْرَمٍ مِنْ رَابِغٍ

So-and-so has taken on the state of *iḥrām* from Rābigh.

Rābigh is the well-known locality situated three to four days to the North of Mecca, one hour to the East of the coast, and it is there that the pilgrims from the Maghrib, Egypt and Syria have to take on the state of *iḥrām*.¹⁷² Actually, if they travel via Medina, they should take on the state of *iḥrām* much earlier, not far from Medina. They almost all postpone it, however, till they are in Rābigh. Whoever travels by sea follows this precept at the moment that the ship has arrived off Rābigh. The word *miḥrim* is the colloquial form of *muḥrim*.

This saying is restricted to special usage at social events (*qēlas*) in Mecca. The word *qēla* is sufficiently known as 'siesta' or as 'the staying somewhere during the afternoon'. To the Meccan, the sense of the word corresponds in the dictionaries to 'passer la journée' (Dozy, *Supplément*, under قِيلَ, after Cherbonneau). Every party, every sociable coming together of men or women, which is brought about without previous invitation is called *qēla*, and the friends gathered are called *meqēyyilīn*. Every meal or festivity to which acquaintances are invited, is called 'azīma, like the invitation itself and the invited guests are *ma'zūmīn*. The 'azīma in most cases has a special reason,¹⁷³ which does not always need to be known to all the guests. Usually, the coming together before the meal has a religious character, during which one or more *fūqahā*, 'religious scholars', recite some parts of the *Qur'ān*, a *mōlid* (history of the Prophet, or a poem in praise of him), and during which they preside over the guests in a general *dhikr*, 'collective recitation session'.¹⁷⁴ After the meal they all wash their hands, which are then usually watered with rose water and fragranced with incense. They then go back home while heaping blessings and wishes on the host or his relatives who are standing by the door. They, in turn, thank the guests for the trouble they have taken for them: *shakar Allāh sa'yakum*, 'may God thank your effort', is the usual formula.

The *qēla* is something entirely different. There are no formalities there, ei-

172 The Law indicates al-Ġuḥfa for these pilgrims. As this locality is not known anymore, it has been replaced by the market hamlet of Rābigh. The *iḥrām* is not, as the European textbooks tell us, identical to the *iḥrām* clothing. Every transgression of the precepts relative to clothing can be expiated by sacrifice or fasting. The essential part of the *iḥrām* is only the *niyya*, the pronunciation or the inward utterance of the formula of the *intention* to perform the pilgrimage.

173 The return home of a relative from a journey, the circumcision, the shaving of the head of newly-born children, etc.

174 Usually pronounced *dikr* or *dikir*.

ther in the formal invitation, or in the rule that there should be no *Qur'ān* recitation or *dhikr*. Almost everything is left to circumstances and to how the *meqèyyelīn* want to do it. If the *qēla* takes place in the house of a Meccan, the occasion is usually caused by an accidental meeting. For instance: A goes to B with the intention of paying him a short visit. Purely by chance B has their mutual friend (*meḥibb èl-ğamī*) C with him, he is in a good mood and does not wish to let his visitor go. Any other acquaintance who happens to drop by is also invited to the party. The master of the house sends a little message to three or four friends or neighbours, whose presence is desired. *Yeğul lak sidi atfađđal 'anduh fi 'l-bēt dā 'l-ḥīne* = 'my master says to you: be so kind (as to come) to him at home, at this moment', the slave that has been sent tells them. *Ēsh 'andahum* = 'what is there at your place?' is the answer of the invited person. *Meqèyyilīn humma* = 'they have a *qēla*,' the slave answers while he is laughing, *sidi felān wesidi felān*, etc. = Mr. A. and Mr. C, etc., are all there'. The ladies do it in the same way. Friends and neighbours meet by accident or are collected from here and there. Coffee and tea are prepared, the *shīshes* (شيش) are continuously made up with tobacco and provided with water, cooking and baking is going on. A good acquaintance enters the hall (*dihlīz*)¹⁷⁵ of the house, hears the noise in the upper storey and asks the master of the house: *ēsh hādā' t-ṭabkh wēn-naḥkh* = 'what is all the cooking and noise (blowing) about?' The answer is: *'andahum qēla* = 'She (*ḥarīmī* or more usually *ğamā'atī*¹⁷⁶ or *ahl èl-bēt*) has *qēla*.' Another, very popular form of *qēlah* is to have a picnic. Some people (often of quite different age groups) collect some money for that purpose, or everyone brings along part of what is necessary, for example one of them brings *tumbāk* and *shīshes*, some others bring rice, yet another one brings along spices (*abāzīr*) and cooking utensils, all by previous arrangement. A few of the younger members of the group usually know enough about cooking in order to play the role of helpers (*mebāshirīn*). And if that is not the case, slaves or a competent cook (*ṭabbākh*) are taken along for that purpose. If the main purpose is to indulge in partying, a few airy rooms in town are chosen as the gathering place. One of the gourmands will always have at his disposal half a house or an entire house that is uninhabited, in particular if the pilgrims have not yet arrived. When one of the *meqèyyilīn* brings a friend as a guest with him, this person is joyfully accepted as *ḍēf èl-ğamī*, 'guest of all'. At first, they smoke a

175 Jeddah is often called *dihlīz èl-ḥaram* = the entrance hall of the sacred area.

176 The word *ğamā'atī* = 'my wife', 'my wives and slave-women' or 'the female members of my family'. The word *èl-ğamā'a* also refers to a person known to both the speaker and the one spoken to, and whom one does not wish to identify more specifically because of the presence of others.

few waterpipes, then they eat, drink coffee and tea, smoke again, sleep, and go back home. Parties that are cosier than these are the ones for which people assemble somewhere outside town. In the environs of Mecca there are many cool summer resorts, which are gladly put at the disposal of friends by their owners. One can also use the uninhabited villas of the Sherifs, with their gardens of palms and fruit trees, for the purpose of a *qēla*, by offering the watchman a *bakhshīsh*, 'tip'. A large hall (*dīwān*), open in the front side, with a floor covered with a cement-like material (*meṭabṭab*),¹⁷⁷ is then usually furnished with the necessary mattresses (*ṭurrāḥāt*) and cushions (*mesānīd* and *mekhad-dāt*) so that one can sit comfortably. In front of the entrance there is usually a *birka*, a 'basin', filled with a few hundred *qirba*, 'water skin', of water, which has a slightly cooling effect on the immediate surroundings. The younger people sometimes go for a dive in the water to refresh their bodies. Sometimes someone is jokingly thrown into the water by one of his friends or, while walking by, is pulled into the water by someone who is already there. The garden extends itself around the *birka* and the dense foliage of the trees provides shade to those who are lying underneath. Everybody amuses himself in his own way. While the younger men play around, there is often an elderly man in the *dīwān* presiding over an audience that sits around him and to whom he reads from an interesting book,¹⁷⁸ whereas others doze and slumber outside, in the garden. Only at the time of ritual prayer does everyone come together, in order not to lose the added value of a collective prayer. Those who are in a state of ritual impurity, squat down around the *birka* in order to perform their ritual purification. The *sèġġādas*, 'prayer rugs', are spread out and the oldest or most learned person in the group stands in front of it, calls the *adhān*, 'the call to prayer', the *iqāma*, 'the second call', and then leads the prayer. After the *ṣalāt*, 'prayer', everybody remains in a sitting position, prays a shorter or longer prayer (*du'ā*) or recites at least a few religious formulas (*dhikr*). Then all stand up and close the prayer session whereby one says to the other: *taqabbal Allāh* = 'may God accept (your pious prayer ritual as valid)', to which the other answers with the words:

177 The floors of the houses, halls and the *bēt èl-mā* (so also No. 65, hereafter) in the better residential houses are always covered with *tōbṭāb* (a sort of cement). The same goes for the steps of the stairs (*daraġa*, plural *daraġ* and *durġān*). In the older and less well-to-do houses there is a floor of sand on every storey, which is covered with mats made of woven palm leaves (*khaṣaf*), over which those who can afford it spread their carpets (*mefārīsh*, the smaller ones are called *ġīlālāt*, the cheaper striped Indian carpets are called *ḥanābil*, which is the plural of *ḥambal*).

178 Once I was present at a *qēla* where among other things a nice description of the idea of *qēla* was read from the *Hèzz èl-quḥūf* [by al-Shirbīnī]. Unfortunately, I am unable to find that passage right now.

taqabbal mīnnanā wemīnnakum = ‘may He accept it from us and from you’. For the meal as well, the *meqèyyilīn* gather in the *dīwān* and sit in groups of five or six people around the *sufra*, ‘dining cloth’. This is more or less how all *qēlas* are held. These outings belong to the main distractions of Meccans of all walks of life, and a *qēla* often takes about two-thirds of a day.

When someone comes to such a picnic-*qēla*, where every participant has to contribute in kind, empty-handed, or with hardly anything, the friends say to one another mockingly: ‘He has taken on the state of *iḥrām* from Rābigh.’ Nobody knew anything about the origin of this expression, but about the meaning there is no doubt at all. As everybody knows, the significance and the value of each and every country in the world depends in Mecca and for its inhabitants on the number and the affluence of the pilgrims that it sends every year. Might the pilgrims who used to take the road of Rābigh not have been infamously known for their poverty and avarice at the time when the saying first came about?

For the greater part of the pilgrims from the Maghrib and Egypt this explanation would seem to be obvious, but this is not so for the *ḥāġġīs*, ‘pilgrims’, from Syria. The former usually take very little money with them and they do not care for the help of the Ġiddāwīs and Mekkāwīs (which must always be paid for), because they know how to look after themselves. Especially the people from the Maghrib are known for their wish to be always and everywhere in the first row and to enjoy the best part, but that they wish to obtain it all for free. Or could the saying be about someone who makes the pilgrimage from Medina to Mecca, and who already takes on the state of *iḥrām* at Dhū ’l-Ḥulayfa, thus making it clear, by postponing this till his departure from Rābigh, that he wants it to be as easy and cheap as possible? الله اعلم ‘God knows best’.

57.

سُمُّ (سُمِّ) نَاعِقٍ مِنْ تَحْتِ الْبَرَّاقِعِ

Deadly poison (peers out) from under the *burqu*’s.

The *burqu*’ is accurately described by Lane, *Manners and Customs*, vol. 1, p. 57 (5th edition). The women put it on, together with the *melāya*, when they go out. Dozy, *Supplément*, under the lemma, in a general sense describes the *melāya* correctly. It should be said, however, that the use of this clothing in the Ḥiġāz is not at all limited to the women of the lower classes. Every Meccan woman wears such an upper garment, which usually has a pattern of blue stripes (the Turkish and other foreign women wear white *melāyas*), and which is made mainly from silk or cotton, according to their affluence. The *melāya*

ǧāwī (from Singapore) is the most valued one. Only in case of a makeshift arrangement or because of poverty, will a Meccan woman wrap herself in a (often white) *shèrshèf* (*shèrshèfe*), that is a simple cloth that is not, contrary to the *melāya*, equipped with a white seam and beautiful tassels with stitchery of gold filigree. When a woman stays for just a moment with an acquaintance she turns up her *melāya* and throws the *burqu'* over her head. When she stays for a longer time, she will take off altogether the two pieces of head-gear that create heat (*tefaṣṣih*, opposite: *tilbas*; *faṣṣih ḥawāy'ǧak* = 'take your (upper) garment off'). Over their naked bodies Meccan women first wear a *sirwāl* (trousers), usually made of striped silk cloth,¹⁷⁹ very tightly fitting. The *sirwāl* is bound together over the hips with a *dikke* (less frequent: *tikke*),¹⁸⁰ which is made of a light textile with floral ornaments made of gold thread and silk. The trousers of more affluent women have lacework on the lower edge, which on the outer side is continued for a few decimeters along the seam. It consists of several (usually three) strips of bands made of gold and silver filigree (or of narrow thin strips of gold and silver sheets).¹⁸¹ The entire piece of lacework is called *tarkīb* (*tarkibe*) or *tarqīde*.¹⁸² Many women wear thin, white pants under these trousers and when they are at home, they often only wear these, all in order to avoid as much as possible the upper trousers becoming dirty due to sweating. The upper body is only partly covered by a waistcoat (*sidrīye*), which reaches halfway down the chest and which has three or four buttons. Usually, this waistcoat is made from the same material as the trousers. The hair on the head is often wrapped in a cloth (*mèhrama* or *mihrama*),¹⁸³ exactly as the Muslim Law prescribes. Many women prefer, however, to reveal smaller or greater quantities of this natural ornament, the beauty of which they know how to enhance by using gold or silver coins, or other jewellery, plaited in their hair. The head garment usually has a red colour. However, as soon as the woman is in a position no longer to have to occupy herself anymore with work in the house, she wears on top of this garment another large cloth made of fine tulle-like textile with gold points (*ōye* = the Turkish word *اویا* as Dr. Houtsma¹⁸⁴ tells

179 The most usual varieties are known under the names *hindī* and *shāmī*.

180 The words *yā mēfkūket èd-dikke* = 'Oh, you, whose *dikke* is (being) opened' is one of the meanest expressions with which one can insult a Meccan woman.

181 The narrow thin strips of gold and silver sheets are called *tèlī*. Gold and silver thread = *qaṣab*.

182 According to a Meccan etymology this is the name of the lacework *la'innehum yer-aqqidūha fi atrāf ès-sirwāl* = 'because they lay them down on the ends of the trousers'.

183 A handkerchief or a cloth worn by men instead of the one on their shoulder, is called *mèndīl*. If made of a fine sort of textile and provided with embroidered lacework it is called *shōra* or *shāura*.

184 [The Orientalist Martijn Theodoor Houtsma (1851-1943).]

me), elegantly sewn on it. This upper cloth is called *medawwara*¹⁸⁵ and is wound by every woman according to her own taste and fantasy around the hair which it then holds. Usually, a long corner of the *medawwara* hangs free, high off the head or the neck, which is now and then used for covering the lower part of the face when the woman stretches her head out of a door in order to talk to a man who is standing outside. Over the waistcoat and the trousers a thin, transparent garment (*tōb*)¹⁸⁶ is occasionally worn. When this hangs down it surrounds the entire body, from throat to toe. But it is usually taken up on either side and put inside the trousers. The less distinguished women, the ones who often work in the house, and during the cold season even the better-off women, wear instead of such a garment a *kurte* or *ğëllābīye*, which is hardly different from the early morning-dress of a European lady.

Under certain conditions in Arabia, the *burqu*' symbolically represents the woman as a whole. A few years ago, under the rule of the Grand-Sherif 'Abd èl-Muṭṭālib, a skirmish took place near ès-Sël (at a distance of a one day's journey from èṭ-Ṭāif) between people of the Sherif travelling towards èṭ-Ṭāif, and some Hudhël Bedouins. The latter gained the upperhand. As a result, the men of the group of servants of the Sherif were taken prisoner, whereas from the women only the *burqu*'s were confiscated. That is how they could show their men at home that they too had become booty, but the Bedouin did not dare actually to make the women prisoners.

In the colloquial Arabic, the *tanwīn* (in مّم or مّم) is preserved, as are several other endings we have seen: 1° in standing formulas and adverbial expressions; 2° when rhyme or meter require it; and 3° in festive and affected speech and in proverbs and sayings, as in No. 58. That uneducated people have no idea what the actual meaning of this *i'rāb* is, is self-evident. What Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictons*, vol. 1, p. 174, tells us about the change from ـ to the conjunction و occurs in Mecca as well. At the same time the 'awāmm', 'common people', jokingly apply the *i'rāb* in their speech, whenever they wish to imitate chancery style or the style of *fetwas*. A Ḥaḍramī turned Mekkāwī, who had lent with interest money to many Javanese and who did not get much of it back in these difficult times, often came to me to ask for advice on how he should act with this or that debtor. He usually referred to the purpose of his visit in such cases by jokingly using the common introductory phrases of a *fetwa*. He then said: *mā qōlakum*,

185 It is a rectangular piece of cloth, but it is called *medawwara* because it is bound around the hair.

186 When used for a male garment, the word *tōb* refers in Mecca only to the vest which covers the naked body.

*dāmu faḍlikum fi rağulan*¹⁸⁷ *akhadu felūsin wemā yirdā yeruddahā?* People always speak like that, also when they are serious, and when they wish to revive the dead *i'rāb*.

The poison of which our proverb speaks is the effect of beautiful female eyes. It is said, for instance, when girls of renowned beauty have passed a group of men in the street.

58.

مَرَضًا فِي الْحَشَا وَلَا صَفْرًا فِي الْوَشِّ

Better to have an illness in the entrails than to have a face turned pale (yellow).

On the *tanwīn* in proverbs, and also in sophisticated speech, see No. 57. The word *wəğh*, 'face', is properly used in Mecca only by educated people, especially when they attach a suffix to it. The lower classes often say *wishsh* and *washsh* (see No. 32). The *ش* is vocalized here because of the rhyme. With the 'turning yellow' the growing paleness of the face as a consequence of disgrace (عار; not shame = حياء) is meant. As we have seen (No. 10), well educated people consider begging to be *taḍyī' èn-nāmūs*, 'loss of reputation'. By doing so one attracts a disgrace, and the face, according to popular belief, will show that through a change of traits and colour. 'Hunger is better than disgrace,' one thus says, and I have known many people in Mecca who really applied this principle to themselves. This tells you something about a town, in which half of the population is professionally occupied with a kind of *shahāta* 'begging' (the exploitation of the pilgrims). This has the effect of a contagious disease. Most young boys of the middle classes experience a phase in their lives in which the profession of *meṭawwif* or *delīl* 'pilgrim guide' appears to them to be the apogee of happiness. A young Sherīf once said to me: *ahl Makka dōl wallāhi yerabbū awlādahum tarbīye 'ağibe, awwal mā yekūn yewaddūhum èl-fāqih ilēn yihfazū qadd mā yiqdarū; humma yeqūlū: ar-rahmān 'allama 'l-Qur'an*,¹⁸⁸ *kulla yōm yiqra'ū shewèyye ba'dēn yālla yerūhū yitmal'abū, yidḍarabū ma'ā ba'dahum, yākelū, yishrabū wès-salām, mā ye'allimūhum wālā hāğā ḥattēn yiblughū; ba'dēn kullahum yirghabū fi 'sh-shahāta yibghū yiṭla'ū meṭawwifin yin'al abū 'sh-shahāta dōl* = 'These Meccans, by God, they bring up their children in a strange way. First,

187 The request of a *fetwa* begins, as is well-known, more or less in this way: ما قولكم دام فضلکم (امرأة، كتاب) في رجل. As one can see, my Ḥaḍramī friend refrained from using the elevated style right after having mentioned the dear *felūs*.

188 *Qur'an* 55:1-2.

they bring them to the *fāqih*,¹⁸⁹ (with whom they go to school), until they know as much as possible (of the *Qurʾān*) by heart. They used to say: “the Merciful has taught (them) the *Qurʾān*.” So, every day they (the children) recite a bit, and then: get on with it! go and play, fight with one another, eat, drink, and that is all. They are not taught anything until they are adults. And then they all get the desire to start begging and they want to become *meṭawwifs*, ‘pilgrim guides’.¹⁹⁰ May (God) curse the father of this guild of beggars!

The two forms *ilēn* and *ḥattēn*, which occur in the quotation above, can easily be explained in this context as coming from (= أَنْ) إِلَىٰ إِنْ and (= أَنْ) حَتَّىٰ إِنْ. The word *lammān*,¹⁹¹ which is often used instead of the simple *lammā*, could also be explained in this way. The matter is complicated, however, by the fact that *ilēn* is frequently used as a preposition: *ruḥnā ilēn èl-bēt*, ‘we went to the house’, *ṭilīnā ilēn fōq èl-ğèbèl*, ‘we climbed onto the mountain’. In these cases, we could think of an elliptical sentence and add the verb *ğīnā* (جئنا) or *waṣalnā* after *ilēn* in the two examples just given. And that makes more sense because *lammān*, which is only a conjunction, occurs in the same way. To complicate matters even further: next to *mète?* ‘when?’ also *mètēn?* is said, in precisely the same sense. The latter form is preferred when there is no following verb, e.g. ‘I have seen so-and-so there’ - *mètēn?*¹⁹² = ‘when was that?’ But it can also precede a verb, e.g. *mètēn ġā* = ‘when did he come?’ Now, here the explanation of أَنْ = اِنَّ or that of اِنَّ = اِنَّ (about which Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictons*, vol. 1, pp. 173-174 gives a most instructive explanation), does not help us to understand the phenomenon. I do not know how to explain all these enigmatic *-ēn* endings and I would not like to say that for all of these there is *one* single explanation. Whoever wishes to help us understand these things should also take *baʿdēn* into consideration, since the idea of Spitta, *Grammatik*, p. 173, namely that it originates from a lengthening of *baʿden* = بعد, is untenable.

First of all, this ‘lengthening’ would seem to be an entirely isolated phenomenon and therefore should not provide the solution of difficult phenomena. In

189 The *fāqih* (rarely *fīqih*) in Mecca is the person who gives the children private lessons or who teaches *Qurʾān* recitation at school the *Qurʾān*. He also introduces them to the fundamentals of the study of the Law and he is the one who recites the *Qurʾān* in festivities at home or during the *mōlid*. Many of these are at the same time assistants of the *meṭawwifs* and self-employed *mezawwirs* (guides at the cemetery and other holy places that do not belong to the *ḥağğ*).

190 [See also Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. 2 (1889), pp. 151-152.]

191 Also in Mecca the conjunction اِنَّ very often has the sense ‘when’, see above, No. 24, and Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictons*, vol. 1, p. 296. Instead of *ḥattēn* one also hears *ḥattān*, yet one never hears *ilān*.

192 This form is never a conjunction, and therefore should never be identified with the *emtān* of Landberg.

the second place, *-ēn* is apparently demonstrative, not only because of the stress, but also because the adverb in the first place has the sense of 'thereupon', and only in a secondary way the meaning of 'afterwards'. One could be tempted to explain the prepositions *ilēn* and *ḥattēn* from *إلى أين* and from *حتى أين*, respectively, since the Meccans have an extraordinary predilection for interrupting their sentences with interrogative particles, e.g. *ba'dēn ishtarēt ē qurṣ 'ēsh*¹⁹³ = 'thereupon I bought, what? a bread roll'. Or *ṭili'nā fi 'l-ē èl-bābūr weshufnā èl-ē èl-qābudān qāl lanā sallimū èl-ēsh èl-uğra* = 'we went on the what? on the steamer, there we saw the what? the captain; he said to us: give me the what, the money (for the ticket)'. The origin of *ḡīnā ilēn èl-bēt* = *إلى أين البيت*, 'we came to where, to the house', could be understood in a similar way. In many cases, this could be exactly the same with *ḥatta*, and the other cases such as the use of *lammān* as a conjunction could have been caused by false analogy. The compositions that are used as conjunctions could each consist of a conjunction and *إِنْ*, and the similarity of the composites of different nature has just become indistinct. A trace of the original interrogative form cannot, however, be observed anymore, unless we consider the often very much lengthened pronunciation of *ilēēēēn* as such. In the meantime, I attach little value to this idea since it in no way helps to understand *ba'dēn* and *mētēn*.

The combination *awwal ma yekūn* is a very common adverbial expression, meaning 'in the very first place', 'before anything else'. 'In the first place' is *awwal* or *awwalīye*. The latter form is more popular. Instead of the classical Arabic feminine *أولانيه، أولى* is said.

59.

حَمَقَ الدَّبَّهَ عَلَى لَحْمِ السَّمِينِ

The anger of the pumpkin (we lay)¹⁹⁴ on the fat meat.

For the *iḍāfa*: *lahm ès-semīn* see Spitta, *Grammatik*, pp. 259 ff; see also Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictions*, vol. 1, p. 5. The word *ḥamq* only means 'anger' (see

193 Also often pronounced as *qurṣa 'ēsh*, just like *kulla sènè*. The application of the rule as mentioned in No. 20, note, takes also place there, where the especially frequent use of the *iḍāfa* has very closely connected two words.

194 Prof. Nöldeke is inclined to consider *على* as depending of *حَمَقَ*. The proverb would mean in that case: 'the anger of the pumpkin is directed against the fat meat'. Anger in that context would have the meaning of envy: 'the tasteless food envies the fat and tasty food'. That this explanation gives more sense, and possibly is also older, is clear. I refer here to this as it has been given to me. See also the two different possible explanations of No. 11, for that matter.

also No. 21), especially anger without reason. The word *aḥmaq* = irascible. The *dubba* (classical Arabic دباءة ;¹⁹⁵ but in addition to that there is also دبة), which is rarely eaten without a stuffing (*ḥáshu*) of rice, minced meat and the like. By itself this pumpkin has no taste at all. That is why one compares other fruits, which are not ripe or sweet enough, with the *dubba*: *hādī 'l-ḥábḥaba dubba khālīṣ* = 'this watermelon is a real *dubba*'. It is also used for anything silly and tasteless.

In the proverb, the pumpkin stands for an entirely insignificant person who makes a lot of fuss about his anger, which is really based on nothing. Especially when children get into a rage, other children or older people tell them: 'Do you think that we care about your anger? Of course not, the anger of the pumpkin we lay on, etc.' The same idea can be found in the Dutch children's rhyme:

'Ben je boos, pluk een roos,
Zet die op je hoed, dan word je weer goed.'¹⁹⁶

60.

أَيْشُ بَكَ يَا حَبِيبِي تَقْطَعُ بِالْقَدُومِ وَتَمْسَحُ بِالْفَارِّهِ

What is it with you, my dear friend? You are cutting with the chisel and (then)
you flatten out with the plane?

The *qaddūm* is the common hammer, but it is also the carpenter's instrument that simultaneously serves as a hammer and a chisel, see also Dozy, *Supplément*, under the lemma.

These words are said in scorn to someone who, in a rage, utters the most terrible threats about an absent friend, but who later on, when the time to act has come, does not dare to say a word against him. About *ḥabīb*, see No. 21.

61.

سُمِّيَ الْإِنْسَانُ مِنَ النَّسْيَانِ

Man (*insān*) derives his name from forgetfulness (*nisyān*).

Each and every Meccan knows this etymological play on words, which originates from the earliest times of Islam, and he excuses himself with it whenever he has forgotten a task or an appointment. One says as frequently *èl-insān me-*

¹⁹⁵ The *Tāǧ al-Arūs* also gives دباءة and دُبِّي.

¹⁹⁶ ['Are you angry? Pick a rose. Put it on your hat, then you will be better.']

*rakkab*¹⁹⁷ *min èn-nisyān* = ‘the (word) “man” is made up of (the word) “forgetfulness”’. Even people who cannot read or write understand the joke. The higher educated people quote the following verse instead:

وما سمي الانسان الا لنسيه * ولا القلب الا انه يتقلب

‘Man has his name from the fact that he is prone to forgetting, the heart has its name, because it so changeable.’

62.

لأجل عينٍ تُكْرَمُ المَدِينَةَ ولأجل مدينةٍ تُكْرَمُ المَدَائِنَ

Because of an (excellent) person the town is honoured, and because of a town the towns are honoured.

The double use of the *tanwīn* and the use of *medīna*, ‘town’, as an appellative give this proverb a somewhat scholarly tinge (see also No. 57 and No. 58). Yet it is especially used by uneducated people. The verbal form *تكرم* is usually pronounced *tukrim* (also *tikrim*) but is always meant to be in the third person (with town or towns as its subject). This *form* of the verb does not have anything passive in the awareness of the non-educated. The passive *meaning* in the proverb, on the other hand, is very keenly felt. The word *lağl*, ‘because’, is pronounced by refined people as *le-ağl*.

This is a flattering saying, by which someone begs for the intercession or, for example for permission, of an acquaintance with whom one wants to go and visit some distinguished person. The distinguished Meccans have a predilection for allowing themselves to be accompanied by several friends and clients, whenever they are on a formal visit. Their large retinue is a proof of their *nefūs*, ‘reputation’ (see No. 10). When a Meccan organizes a meal in honour of a friend, he invites *ṣāḥibnā felān weman yelūz* (يلوذ = يلوذ) *buh*¹⁹⁸ = ‘our friend so-

197 In the margin of this may be said that the verb رَكَّب (*rakkab*) in Mecca also means ‘to prepare (food)’. The word *merakkab* is thus used for a chamber, usually situated between two floors, but which is certainly not situated (as is the actual kitchen = *maṭbakh*) on a roof terrace, where there is a makeshift kitchen to prepare something. Occasionally, *tarkīb* is used in the same sense as *ṭabīkh* = ‘to cook’, ‘the art of cooking’, ‘the kitchen (of the different nationalities)’. Usually, however, *tarkīb* refers to a specific meal and *ṭabīkh* more to the way of cooking several different meals. For instance: *yā bint èntī ‘araftī ṭabīkh èl-hunūd?* - *‘araftuh qatīl qatīl yā sidī*. - *ṭayyib, èl-yōm rakkībī lenā ‘r-ruzz tarkīb èl-hindī* = ‘Girl, do you know the kitchen of the Indians? – I know it a little bit, master. – Good, today you will cook rice the Indian way’.

198 See also *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 3, ۱۰۵: وكانت الجراكسة لهم تعصبٌ وقيام في مساعدة من يلوذ بهم ولو على الباطل.

and-so together with his retinue'. And it is considered polite if the person invited makes the most extensive use of this addition. On the other hand, the people in the retinue attach great value to showing to everyone how important their protectors are, and that through their mediation they can get acquainted with other notables.

Sometimes, the only purpose of the proverb is to state to a friend how highly one values his friendship.

63.

المَوْنُ فِيهِ الْعَوْنُ

In tranquillity (comfort) is help (of God).

This proverb, which is used a lot in Mecca and Jeddah, is said to originate from the Bedouins. Urban people, however, apply the proverb that follows and which has an identical meaning to themselves: *العجلة من الشيطان والصبر من الرحمن*: 'haste is of the devil, patience (on the other hand) is of the Merciful (God)'. Either half of this proverb is also used as an independent proverb. Instead of *ṣabr*, 'patience' people often pronounce it *ṣabur* (see also No. 64).

Nothing is more incomprehensible to Orientals than the inclination of the European to promise that a certain work will be punctually completed within a previously determined period, and to make promises in general. Everybody who has seen the Orient, even in a superficial way, remembers the eternal *bukra in shā 'llāh*, 'tomorrow, God willing'.¹⁹⁹ by which his patience is often severely tested. Many Muhammadans even consider the urge to hurry up and to insist on the precise determination of a deadline as reprehensible. The feverish haste of the Europeans is for them yet further evidence of their impiety. They say *beyèdd benī ādam hūwa? huwa behawāk?* = 'Is this in the hand of man? Is it dependent of your wish?' With such expressions they angrily answer the person who rebukes them because of their apathy. It would be wrong to point at the Muslim belief in predestination as the main cause of this striking phenomenon. That in itself leaves as much space as necessary for human action. Moreover, for the followers of the doctrine of free will the course of things of this world is largely independent of human will. In the worst possible case, the doctrine of absolute predestination could only suffocate the moral feeling, not the activity of the believers. It is true to the extent that, where the belief in predestination is prevalent and at the same time the inclination to laziness

199 Pious Meccans often add to this formula the words *beḥauli'llāh wequwwatuh*, 'with God's power and strength'.

quite widespread, the excuse for the latter is gladly found in the former. Were the energy of the Muslims ever to awaken, there would be found in religious literature as many aphorisms in praise of activity as are now found in praise of the popular tranquillity. Even in maxims of popular wisdom these are not missing. So now and then one meets in Arab society energetic men, who unfortunately are held back in everything by the people around them. When the comfortable words *èl-hōn fih èl-’ōn* are said to them they answer with: الحركه فيها البركه 'blessing is in movement'.²⁰⁰

The prophetic saying *ikhtilāf ummatī rahmatun* = 'the difference of opinion in my community is a proof of God's grace' is as much valid for the popular world view as it is for the official doctrine.

64.

ضَرَبَ الْحَبِيبَ زَيِّ أَكَلَ الزَّيْبِ

The beating by the beloved (tastes) as the eating of raisins.

The word *ḥabīb*, 'beloved', is taken here in a quite general sense (see also No. 21). When the *l* of *akl*, 'eating', is not vocalized by the initial vowel of the following word or suffix, it is pronounced *akil*. The pronunciation of the *fa'l-fi'l-fu'l* forms is always facilitated in such instances by the addition of a vowel, see also *siḥir* (No. 27), *filis* (No. 32), *milih*, *sēmin*, *raṭil*, *’aşur* (No. 35), *şabur* (No. 63), and also *şubuh*, *duhur*, *bakur* (that is how the proper name بَكْر is always pronounced), *baḥar*, 'sea', etc.

When, for instance, one friend has gravely insulted the other, or when he has inflicted severe damage on him, and when he has repeatedly excused himself for this, the other will answer with our proverb. In the literal sense of the word, it is also often used by slave-girls (concubines), when their master, in anger, has been too hasty to give them a thrashing and later on says that it was not meant that badly. With *ḥabīb* they do not at all mean the object of sexual love in this case, otherwise they would never be able to talk this way to their master.

²⁰⁰ Except for 'movement' in general, the word *ḥaraka* in Mecca refers especially to the activity of people, who are disgruntled about innovations in government (e.g. about taxation or the distribution of the Egyptian *şadaqa*, 'charitable gift', of corn), and aim to thwart these plans, also to the attempts of a party to bring about the downfall of a hated official, or to the collective presentation of a petition for some purpose or other. The expression *nessāwī ḥaraka* = 'together we will take measures (against this)'. See also No. 19. Movement, noise (as produced by one or more people) is called *ghālaba*. Excitement, confusion, row = *kárkabbā*.

65.

إِلَىٰ يَحِبُّ / يَحِبُّ السَّقَا يَحِبُّ / يَحِبُّ قَرْبَتَهُ

Whoever loves the waterbearer must also love his water skin.

Following the recent repair of the water duct (the inhabitants still call this *بيده* and *عين*; it is also called *عين مشاش* or *عين بازان*) in Mecca, water for use in the house is free of charge. Everybody has the right to scoop water, at any time, from the reservoir. As these reservoirs are available in all main streets of the city, there is no need here for water transport, as is done in Jeddah with camels,²⁰¹ but for a small reward the *saqqā'in* bring their large water skins full of water into the house, where they empty them into the *zīr*²⁰² that stands in the *bēt èl-mā*.²⁰³

The water bearers belong to the poorest segment of the population. Most of them are manumitted black slaves. In the written language of the Meccans the *qirba*, 'water skin', is also called *راوية*, and that is always made out of leather.²⁰⁴

Whoever loves someone must have consideration for the foibles of that person, even if he does not like all of them. When one wishes to have something, one must also accept the difficulties and trouble that are connected to it.

201 In Jeddah, water is bought from the owners of the cisterns (*ṣahārīġ*) and the water pits (*hufar*, plural of *hufra*), who have it brought into the house in small *qirab*. A camel carries eight *qirab* on each side. A complete camel load of water (*ġamal mōye*) consists of four *zèffe* (*زفة*), 'smaller load'. The present *wālī*, 'governor', of the Ḥiġāz now also has a water supply constructed for Jeddah, which is already near completion. The slaves or servants, who in Jeddah escort the water camels and carry the water into the house, are also called *saqqā'in*.

202 A big earthenware vessel, which contains all the water needed in the house. From it one pours the drinking water into small porous jugs (*rub'ī*, plural: *rabā'ī*; *sherbe*, plural: *shér-bāt*; *qulla*, plural: *qulal*); these three types of jug are completely different in shape from one another, contrary to what Landberg says in *Proverbes et Dictons*, vol. 1, p. 94.

203 This 'water house', which is present in every house, and even on each 'floor inhabited by a family' (*meħill*), serves simultaneously as a toilet, bathroom and washroom. That is why in Mecca the toilet is usually simply referred to as *bēt èl-mā*, more rarely as *bēt èl-adab*, *bēt èl-khāla*, *bēt èr-rāħa* and *mustarāħ*. The words *bēt èl-mā* and *māwèrd* are the only ones, in which *ماء* has kept its classical form, but people do not associate it with water anymore and pronounce the accent often as *bēt èl-mā*.

204 See *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 2, pp. 129 and elsewhere. [Die *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* (...), herausgegeben von Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. Zweiter Band. *Auszüge aus den Geschichtsbüchern von el-Fâkīhī, el-Fâsī und Ibn Dhuheira, nebst Registern über alle drie Bände*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1859.]

66.

إِلِّي بَاعَ صَاحِبُهُ بِأَلْفِ زَلَّةٍ بَاعَهُ رَخِيصًا

Whoever sells his friend for a thousand mistakes (committed against him)
sells him cheaply.

This is the answer that a cultivated Meccan gives to his friend when the latter excuses himself for the fact that he did not visit him for a long time, did not congratulate him on the occasion of a festivity or committed similar errors of neglect towards him. 'Among such good friends as we are, this makes no difference'.

67.

الزُّبُورُ مَا تُبُورُ لَوْ بِقَشْرِ الْقَوْلِ

One never has the κτερίς for nothing, it costs at least the value of the shell of a
bean.

The things that are discussed here would rarely be discussed *in this form* in more refined circles of Meccan society without first asking permission to do so. 'Azzak Allāh (أَعَزَّكَ = عَزَّكَ), *Állāh ye'izzak, Állāh ye'izz es-sāmi'īn, akramakumu 'llāh*, 'may God grace you', or similar expressions, is what one always says when speaking of donkeys (*ḥamīr*, or more decently: *bahāim*),²⁰⁵ shoes, dogs or ... women. All these expressions mean the same as *belā muwākhaza*, 'no offence', but they convey that meaning in the form of a *دعاء*, a prayer.

The word *زُبُور* in fact means clitoris, but it is used synonymously with *كُوس*, 'vagina'. The verb *بار* means 'to remain unsold', and when said of a marriageable girl it means 'to remain unmarried'.²⁰⁶ As commodities that remain unsold for a long time are to be had for an increasingly cheaper price, the verb *بار* gets the meaning 'to be had for nothing', and that is the meaning it has in this proverb, which therefore means: 'one never has a woman for free, there will always be a price, little as it may be'.

In Mecca, the word *قَشْر* has both the meaning of 'shells of coffee beans' and

205 See No. 4, above.

206 See Landberg, *Proverbes et dictions*, vol. 1, pp. 133-134. Our proverb could, generally speaking, also be understood in the sense of this verse: *كُلِّ كَاسِدَةٌ يَوْمًا لَهَا * وَكُلِّ كَاسِدَةٌ يَوْمًا لَهَا سَوَقٌ*. ['For every object that falls, some day there will be someone who picks it up. For every merchandise there will be a market some day' (though quoted often in written sources, the poet remains unidentified)] In that connection the meaning of the verb *بار* 'to remain unmarried' would be preserved. I do not wish, however, to claim that it is never used in Mecca in this sense, only I have never heard it.

of the beverage that is prepared from them. The form قَشْرَةٌ is a parallel form of a lesser status (see also No. 10, above). Scales of a fish are قَشْرُ السَّمَكِ. The sons of a man, who in the market of Jeddah would, for a modest remuneration, remove the scales of purchased fish, have the family name *qishr ès-sèmèk*.

68.

الدَّرَاهِمُ كَالْمَرَاهِمِ تَجْبِرُ أَلَمَ الْكَسِيرِ

Dirhèms are like ointments, they relieve the pain of the broken bone.

The plural of *dirhèm* in the meaning of ‘money’ (*felūs*) is used as often as the plural of *dīwānī*,²⁰⁷ although everybody knows that one no longer calculates in *dirhèms*, and that *dīwānīs* do not exist anymore. ‘*Fēn*²⁰⁸ èd-*dawāwīn*?’ says the merchant to the servant who comes to collect the purchased goods.

Qaddēsh ‘*andak darāhim?*’ = ‘how much money do you have in your pocket?’ It is, once again, one of the numerous expressions by which the Arab stresses the omnipotence of money.²⁰⁹

69.

غَزَالٌ فِي السُّوقِ وَقِرْدٌ فِي الْبَيْتِ

Outside (on the market) a gazelle, at home a monkey.

²⁰⁷ A similar formation of the plural (*salāfīn*, plural of *sultānīyyeh*) is mentioned by Spitta, *Grammatik*, p. 146. See No. 5, above, for the use of the singular of *dīwānī* (the generic idea of a *dīwānī*) in the meaning of ‘money’.

²⁰⁸ I avail myself of this opportunity to remark that the explanation of *fēn* as coming from *fī ēn* (Spitta, *Grammatik*, p. 172, Mikhā’īl Šabbāgh, ed. H. Thoꝛbecke, Strassburg 1886, under the relevant lemma), is incorrect. It comes, rather, from فَايِن. Already in an old Tradition text (al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Ġihād*, *bāb* 18) it is said: فقال رسول الله صم فَايِن قال ههنا. And in another Tradition text, which is communicated by al-Azraqī (edition Wüstenfeld, p. 4), ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn says to his son: يا محمد فَايِن هذا السائل. In later sources there are of course other examples of the usage of ‘where then?’ instead of ‘where?’. We know that in the spoken language the word *wēn* = ‘and who?’ is used in the same way, e.g. at the beginning of al-Bukhārī’s *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ*: وَأَيِن نَحْنُ مِنَ النَّبِيِّ. Either one of these has forced out the simple *ēn*.

[Al-Bukhārī: *Kitāb al-Ġihād*, *bāb* 18 = *Recueil des Traditions Mahométones* par Abou Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ismail el-Bokhāri. Publié par M. Ludolf Krehl. Vol. II. Leyde: E.J. Brill, 1864, p. 205; the beginning of al-Bukhārī’s *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ* = *Recueil des Traditions Mahométones* par Abou Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ismail el-Bokhāri. Publié par M. Ludolf Krehl. Vol. III. Leyde: E.J. Brill, 1868, p. 411.]

²⁰⁹ [See for another context of the words in this saying Snouk Hurgronje’s Jeddah Diary, MS Leiden Or. 7112, p. 44. The proverb here is in fact a *lieu de mémoire* for Snouck Hurgronje’s circumcision. See Jan Just Witkam, ‘Before Mecca. The Jeddah ‘diary’ of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 1884-1885’, in the present volume.]

In proverbs, the gazelle represents everything that is beautiful. The monkey in this connection is its very opposite. This saying usually serves as an answer to the question posed by someone who is keen to marry, whether a certain girl (that he has never seen) is as beautiful as her brother, whom he knows. The answer is given by an intermediary (either man or woman), and it is far from a recommendation: the sister is as ugly as the brother is beautiful. Quite often, these unselfish couplers describe gazelles that on the *lēlet èd-dukhle*, 'the wedding night', prove to be monkeys. At another place I have described how the young Meccan protects himself against such deceptions.²¹⁰

70.

صَبَاحَ الْقُرُودِ وَلَا صَبَاحَ الْأَجْرُودِ

Rather the morning greeting of monkeys than that of a beardless person.

'Morning greeting' means an encounter in general. It is well known (see No. 28, above) that in popular belief everything that happens in the morning has a special meaning.

The words *ağrūd* and *uğrūd* are popular forms of *ağrad*.²¹¹ They refer to an adult man, who instead of a beard can only show a few isolated hairs on his face. The *uğrūd* and the *aqra'* are rather unpopular appearances in Arab society. The *aqra'* is the bald-headed person, who has lost his hair, often because of an illness (since almost all town dwellers have bald, shaven heads). The skin of his head often still shows the ugly traces of that. People tell one another a lot of stories about the envy and cunning of these bald-heads and they fear bad luck from their visits. Of course, such results of popular thinking are only applied when they conform to reality, meaning that people do not judge the character of a person they do not know by the hair on his head or the hairs of his beard. The *uğrūd* is considered to be crafty and sly. He knows how to manipulate people and how to deceive them. While speaking with him, or when one is negotiating with him, one must be very much on one's guard, in order not to be conned by him. The author of the work *Hèzz èl-quhūf*, the commentary to the

210 In *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, published by the Royal Institute, vol. 35 (1886), p. 371. [C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Twee populaire dwalingen verbeterd', in *BKI* 35 (1886), pp. 356-377.]

211 See already *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, vol. 3, p. 220, where it is said of one of the Cherkessian sultans of Egypt: اشتهر بأبنال وكان طويلا خفيف اللحية بحيث أجادرد (الأجرود). The plural is أجارد (Hèzz èl-quhūf, as quoted).

qaṣīda of Abū Shādūf (p. 93): كما اتفق ان بعض الملوك قال لوزيره من اشطن الناس واحذرهم قال الاجرود.²¹²

71.

الطُولُ عَرٌّ وَالْقَصِيرُ مَكَّارٌ

Bodily length is dignity, and the short person is a sly person.

The word عَرٌّ, 'dignity', refers to the impressive, the valuable aspect of the entire personality, and the impressive length is witness to that, according to popular opinion. The verb عَرَّ means, among other things, 'to be rare', hence 'to be dear', 'to be valuable'. After a long drought one says: *èl-mōye šārat 'azīze* or *'azzet èl-mōye*, 'water has become scarce'. An inhabitant of Mecca said to me that his social standing would certainly allow him to request for himself and his family a portion of the grain that is sent from Egypt to the Holy City on an annual basis (*šadaqat èl-ḥabb*, 'the charitable gift of grain'), *lākinn èn-naḥṣ 'azīze* = 'but my sense of pride prevents me from doing so.'

This proverb is used when a stocky person has played a nasty trick on someone. However, it is often also said in a joking way of a small person who is not sly at all.

72.

أَيْشٌ دَبَّشٌ لَكَ

What has he given to you by way of dowry?

The furnishing of the house is usually entirely, or for the greater part, done by the wife. For that she uses the dowry (*mahr* or *šadāq*), which the man must pay her. When the situation of the father of the bride permits it, he gladly adds something. Anyway, the *walī*, 'legal guardian', of the girl, irrespective of whether this is her father or another of her paternal relations, is the one who makes the purchases necessary for the dowry (دَبَّشٌ), since the girl does not have sufficient experience. In the lower layers of society there are enough fathers who see to the purchase of every item themselves. This is only done when a virgin

212 [Al-Shirbīnī, *Hazz*, ed. 1274 (1858), p. 93. "Thus it happened that a certain king once asked his minister, "Who are the most devilishly clever and quick-witted of men? And the minister answered, "Those who have no beard." Translation from al-Shirbīnī, *Brains Con-founded* by Humphrey Davies, vol. 2, 10.7.]

(*bint èl-bēt*) is being married off. If the bride has been married before (*‘azabe*),²¹³ she takes with her the complete furniture of the house of her former husband, since Islam does not know common property in marriage. For subsequent marriages, the dowry only needs to be complemented with a few goods, and a divorced or widowed woman often takes care of that herself, before a new candidate has appeared. With a second marriage, therefore, middle class dowries are considerably less expensive.²¹⁴ The household utensils are already there and there are none of the expensive festivities, which are considered to be absolutely necessary with the marriage of a virgin. The solemn transport of the household utensils from the house of the bride to the house of the bridegroom (*عريس*) is part of these festivities which I intend to describe.²¹⁵ This cortège is called *dabash*, like the dowry itself. For this, the *walī* of the bride hires a large number (sometime between one and two hundred) porters (*ḥammālīn*), whom he orders a few days ahead from the *shēkh èl-ḥammāla*, ‘the head of the guild of the porters’.²¹⁶ Usually, one tenth of this number of people would be sufficient for the transport of the *dabash*, but people make of this as big a spectacle as possible. One porter carries a few pans or a small carpet. The supervision of the whole affair is given by the bride to several ‘trusted people’ (*أمناء*). After their arrival at the house of the bridegroom these trustees are given a hospitable reception by his relatives, as are the porters.

Although the *dabash* of the virginal bride is partly, or sometimes wholly, paid for by the father (or the brothers or anyone else who acts as the *walī*), the latter have in fact such a large part in its acquisition, that the young husband has more reason to express his gratitude or his dissatisfaction to them, rather than to his wife. On the other hand, the respect that the bride receives from her

213 The corresponding masculine word is *‘azab*, rarely also *‘azīb*, plural always *‘uzzāb*.

214 The reason for the lesser price is *not* the loss of the virginity, since the Arabs put much less value to that state as such than is often maintained. Among the poorest classes, where there is hardly question of a dowry, and among the richest people, where the question of money is unimportant, there is not such a considerable difference between the *mahr*, dowry, of the *bint èl-bēt* ‘virgin’ and of the *‘azabe*.

215 [Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. 2. (1889), pp. 155-188.]

216 Many words with the pattern *فَعَال* have their plural ending both on *هـ* and on *ين*. The former plural indicates the collectivity of the people who practice that profession, the guild (*èl-ḡammāla*, *èl-ḥammāla*, *èsh-shahḥāta* = the guild of camel drivers, - of porters, - of beggars) or the society which some members of the guild bring together in order to perform a certain job (for instance *èl-ḡammāla* = ‘all camel drivers that belong to our caravan’. In such cases one can also use the plural ending in *-īn*. This form is only used with the article preceding the noun. The other form of the plural simply indicates a (certain or uncertain) number of people. The plural ending in *-īya* of relatives who belong to a guild, sect and the like, may have no other reason of existence than to make the pronunciation easier (see Spitta, *Grammatik*, p. 135).

relatives often depends on the value of her *dabash*. *Dabashū lahā áshyā mu‘tábara* = ‘they have given her a magnificent dowry’. In that way the furnishing of the conjugal house becomes, as it were, the visible memory of the respect that he owes his wife. If the *dabash* is valuable, the wife is able, whenever her husband treats her unjustly, to point to this fact with the firm conviction that relatives who have given her such valuable objects will never fail to protect her when necessary. When a woman who has not brought much into the house complains about the bad treatment she receives from her husband, when she wants more of him than he was prepared to give to her, the answer of the selfish husband is often: ‘What did he (your *walī*) give you as a dowry (that you dare to make such high demands)?’

73.

قَدَّيْشَ أَنَا سُقَّتَ اللَّيِّ

How much did I urge the beards!

The words قَدَّ and قَدَّر are used interchangeably. In the *idāfa* and in the connection with suffixes one hears almost exclusively قَدَّ: *ǧā qaddī* = ‘it (the dress) suits me’; *māu qadda dā* = ‘it is not that serious’. For beard one usually says *daqn*, also when the entire beard is meant. The moustache is *shènèb*. The beards in this saying are meant as ‘the men’. The saying is used as a response to a reproach that a certain work or effort, which one could not complete alone, has not been done. The person who is reproached blames those who did not give him the necessary assistance! It is usually used in a context of the resolution of a dispute (*ṣulḥ*, *taṣlīḥ*).

74.

إِلِّي يَبْنِي دَحَّ لَا يَقُولُ أَحَّ

Who wants to have *dahḥa* must not say *aḥḥa*!

The word دَحَّ comes from children’s language, and it is used for everything that catches the attention of a child, and that it tries to grab.²¹⁷ The expression *tib-ghā dahḥa*? = ‘do you want to have the beautiful thing (that I show to you)?’

217 See on this word also Mikhā’il Ṣabbāgh’s *Grammatik* etc., ed. H. Thorbecke, Strassburg 1886, under the lemma in question. I have never heard of a difference between *dahḥa* and *dah*, which is referred to by Spitta, *Grammatik*, p. 71. The word *dissa* (see also *diss* in Spitta, under the lemma) in Mecca means a ‘a pretty penny’.

The verb *yibghā*²¹⁸ (only used in the imperfect) is in Mecca the common word for 'to wish, to want'. When the Syrian says *shū bitrīd?* and the Egyptian *bitrīd ē?* the Meccan says *ēsh tibghā?* and the Yamānī *ēsh tishèhī?* The verb *rād* = 'to wish' is used quite rarely, only the form *murād* occurs frequently: *ēsh murādak* = 'what do you want, then?' or 'what do you mean (by what you just said)?' The Egyptian word *āwiz* is entirely unknown. The expression *mā 'bghā* = 'I do not want' can be heard all the time coming from the mouths of children. The use of the verb *بغى* indicating the future tense, which Landberg mentions in *Proverbs et dictions*, vol. 1, p. 35, for Mesopotamia and the Syrian Bedouins, is very frequent in Mecca: *yibghā yemūt* = 'he is about to die'; *hādhdhā 'l-bēt yibghā yīṭīh*²¹⁹ = 'this house will come down'. Furthermore, *yibghā* is the usual word with which one tells someone that a high government official, or, when the person spoken to is an official himself, his superior, *would like to have a word with him*. The expression *ēfēndīnā*²²⁰ *yibghāk* = 'the *wālī* would like to have word with you' (therefore: 'go to him'). At home, the same expression is used between a father and his son, between the master and his servant, etc. However, people usually say in such cases: *yā felān! kallim abūk, sīdak*, 'hey you, have a word with your father, speak to your master', or, when there is no room for ambiguity, simply: *kallim*, 'speak'. In order to call the master of the house from the company of his friends so that he can speak to his *ḥarīm*, 'women folk', the servant says: *kallim* or *kallimhum fōq*, 'speak to those upstairs'. The expression *abghāk* = 'I would like to have a word with you' does not sound very courteous, but it is sometimes said. I heard once how the *shēkh ès-sāde* (the head of the descendants of Muḥammad through his grandson Ḥusayn) used the expression while speaking to a visitor who had already requested permission to leave numerous times with *nista'dīnkum*.²²¹ At first, the *shēkh ès-sāde* shook his head at each request. Finally, he shouted impatiently: *'mā qulta lak: abghāk?* = haven't I told you (that is *بالاشارة*, 'with the gesture'): "I want to have a word with you?" The man had the reputation, however, for being very *mitkabbir*, 'haughty'. As an answer to the question *tibghā mīn*, 'you wish to speak with whom?', the expres-

218 The form *yabghī* does not exist.

219 The verb *طاح يطيح* is the usual word for 'to fall'; *طَّيَّحَ, طَّيَّحَ* = 'to make fall', 'to let fall'.

220 This is the title of the *wālī*, 'governor', of the Ḥiḡāz. The Meccans often say among themselves in a joking way: *ēfēndūnā yibghā*, 'our lord wishes', with the preposition *J* and a direct object meaning that that direct object belongs to the object ruled by the preposition, so that the sentence *yibghā luh shewèyyèt lèbèn* must mean: 'in addition one should have some curdled milk'; *hādā 'l-fānūs yibghā luh taṣlīh*, *yibghā luh wudne ḡedīde* = 'this lantern should actually be repaired, should be provided with a new (metal) ring (to hold it better)'; *yibghā luh 'alqa mu'tabara* = 'he should have a sound thrashing'.

221 See No. 22 above.

sion *abghāk ènte*, 'it is you I wish to speak with', is not impolite. When one is called by someone whom one wants to treat as a social superior or to whom one wants to be courteous,²²² one at least says *marḥabā!* 'welcome!'. However, *na'am!* 'yes!' and *lèbbèk!* 'at your service!' are considered to be much more refined reactions. When the person spoken to in the latter cases wishes to reciprocate in a courteous way, he answers to *na'am!* 'yes!', with *na'amak [allāh]*²²³ *bil-ğenne!* or with *[allāh] yena'imak bil-ğenne!*²²⁴ = 'May Allah grant you paradise!' The answer to *lèbbèk!* would be: *fi 'arafa in shā 'llāh!* = '(may you say *lèbbèk!*) in 'Arafa, God willing!' that is: 'may you perform the pilgrimage!' All these expressions can be answered with a *ğamī'an* (جَمِيعًا), that is 'may it (what you just say there) be given to all of us!' and in order to avoid any possible exclusion this is often answered with the formula: *ēwāllāh, we-ummèt meḥammèd ğamī'an* or with *ēwāllāh wekull èl-muslimīn, amīn* = 'Yes, by God, and all Muslims, amen!' There is virtually no end to the most usual expressions of courtesy, and several are known from written sources. When one asks a boy, or a servant or a slave, to give a cup of water, one simply says *asqīnī* 'let me drink', or *asqīnī mōye*, 'let me drink water', sometimes preceded by *bīllāh*, 'by God'. When it concerns social equals or elderly people these words need an introduction such as *rābbanā lā yehīnak* or *belā muwākhaza*²²⁵ = 'may God not humiliate you!' or 'don't hold it against me'. When the thirsty person has taken the cup in his hand, he expresses his gratitude with the words: *Allāh yisqīk fi l-ğenne* or *bil-kawthar* = 'may God give you something to drink in paradise' or 'from the Kawthar (a river in paradise)!' These expressions, which accompany the drinking itself can be found in Burton, *Pilgrimage*, 3rd edition, pp. 4-5. When the master of the house accompanies a visitor from the first floor of his house down to the door, or when he helps him in his *ğubbe*, the guest thanks him with the words: *'asāk tislam* (عَسَاكَ تَسْلَم) = 'may good luck be granted to you' or something similar. When he lights him (يُنَوِّرُ عَلَيْهِ) with a lantern (فَانُوس) or with some sort of smaller lamp (مَسْرَجَه), the person who is leaving wishes him enlightenment from God with these words: *allāh yenawwir 'alēk*, etc.

Our proverb reminds the child that it should not cry, that it should not shout *aḥḥa!* when it wishes to hold the coveted beautiful object. It is used in this way: whoever wants to attain a goal, should also put up with the effort and work

222 When no courtesies are required one simply says: *ṭayyib*, 'good'.

223 The word *Allāh* can be said or be omitted, just as the speaker wishes.

224 When the *mezēyyīn* (barber) has finished he concludes his work with the formula *na'imān* (نَعِيمًا) = '[may it be] to your good luck!' Also, to this people answer with one of the formulas as indicated above.

225 Here the *ḏ* is always pronounced as a *z*; but otherwise one says mostly *akhad, yākhud, ākhid*.

that lead to that goal. My Egyptian friend ‘Abd er-Rahīm Efendi Aḥmad told me that, in his country, the word *دَح* refers to a boys’ game that mostly goes as follows. The players divide themselves into two groups, one of which has a knotted piece of cloth, *ṭurra* (طُرَّة) with him. The boys of the other group all take in a piece of wood, a pebble or something similar,²²⁶ and then they hold their closed hands towards the other group. One of the boys of this group now guesses (يَسْتَأْر) in which hand of his adversary the object is hidden. When he guesses rightly, he takes away the object from the hand of the other. When he guesses wrongly the adversary has the right to hit him on the hand with the *ṭurra*. In that context the proverb could also be translated as: who wishes to play the *daḥḥa*-game, should not cry ‘ow!’ when he is hit as a result of his mistake. In Mecca, however, this meaning, as far as I am aware, is unknown as is the game from which it is derived.

75.

خَدَّامٌ حَشَّاشٌ وَلَا بَلَّاشٌ

A servant who smokes hashish is better than no servant at all.

The word *khaddāmīn*, ‘servants’, is used for both free servants who receive wages (*ṣābī*, plural: *ṣubyān*, feminine: *khaddāma*, plural: *khaddāmāt*) and slaves (*‘abd*, plural: *‘abīd*,²²⁷ feminine: *ġāriya*,²²⁸ plural: *ġawār*). The latter category is collectively referred to with the term *‘er-raqīq*, which in the Meccan language can never refer to a single person: *ġēlb ‘er-raqīq*, ‘buying slaves’, *bē‘ ‘er-raqīq*, ‘selling slaves’, *‘er-raqīq māhum sāwā* (‘slaves do not all have the same value’). The person who is not free is also referred to as *mamlūk* (feminine: *mamlūka*), the manumitted slave is called *ma‘tūq* (feminine: *ma‘tūqa*). In contrast to slaves, the free person is referred to as *walad ‘en-nās* (in old Arabic *ḥurr*, ‘free’, which nowadays sounds very stilted), in the feminine *bint ‘en-nās*, meaning respec-

226 This object which is to be hidden in the hand is called *ġedīd*, exactly what it is.

227 This plural only refers to slaves (of people). The plural *‘ibād* on the other hand refers exclusively to servants (of Allāh).

228 Also pronounced *ġārye*. That this word, which in old-Arabic means ‘girl’, in ancient times already meant ‘slave girl’ is evident from numerous sources. See in the Tradition literature for instance the 67th *bāb* of al-Bukhārī’s *Kitāb an-nikāḥ*; Professor de Goeje tells me that in the classical language the Arab also refers to his wife with the word *جَارِيَّة*. According to modern usage, however, this would be a severe insult. [*Recueil des Traditions Mahomé-tanes* par Abou Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ismail el-Bokhāri. Publié par M. Ludolf Krehl. Vol. III. Leyde: E.J. Brill, 1868, but the page of this reference could no longer be ascertained because Snouck Hurgronje took the book number 67 for the *Kitāb an-nikāḥ* in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* for the chapter number.]

tively 'son of people' and 'daughter of people'. The slave is also called *walad èl-baħr* (*baħar*) = 'son of the sea', but more frequently the slave woman is called *bint èl-baħr*²²⁹ = 'daughter of the sea', in particular when one speaks in a pitying way about about her social condition. In general, the Meccan prefers the *mam-lūk* as his servant, rather than the 'son of people'.

Many people say that the value of slaves must be considered as high when one buys them very young and without much education (*ghashīm*, feminine: *ghashīma*, plural: *ghushm*), 'uneducated',²³⁰ so that one can educate them entirely according to one's own taste. But others, who have a bad experience with this education of their own, prefer to purchase an educated (*me'allam*) slave. 'Educate a dog, rather than a slave,' they say. Anyway, they too avoid buying a slave born in Mecca from slave parents (*mewallad*). *Shayāṭīn èd-dunye humma* = 'they are the devils of this world', is the unanimous verdict.

In the long run, slaves have a greater interest in obtaining the favour of their masters by way of their virtues, than is the case with paid servants. Besides, there are effective means to punish them, because the *ħukm*, 'jurisdiction', over them lies entirely in the hands of their masters, whereas the *šabī*, apart from his master (*amm*), often has his father, his guardian or his mother as a refuge, and they are often lenient when it comes to the servant's moods (تدلعه). So, whoever can find sufficient means goes to the slave market (*dèkke*)²³¹ in the Bāb Derebe (one of the gates and halls of the Mosque), looks at the human merchandise which is offered for sale there, asks the *dèllālīn* (agents) whether there are, as far as they know, better slaves available in the 'houses of people' (*bīyūt èn-nās*), and then buys from them what he likes best (he has nothing to do with the owner during this process). If he is later disappointed in his expectations of the slave he has purchased, he brings him back to the market (*yenaz-ziluh èd-dèkke*), where the slave may find another master with whose character his is more compatible.

At this point, I would like to quote some Meccan usage that pertains to the

229 The term *bint èl-hāwā* = 'daughter of the air' is used for an indecent female, no matter whether she is married or not. [*Bint èl-hāwā* also means 'daughter of love', 'daughter of caprice', etc., and in that sense the expression seems to be more appropriate in the context that Snouck Hurgronje creates.]

230 This adjective is also used for the foreign pilgrims or the *meğāwīrīn*, 'neighbours (of God)' who are not yet sufficiently knowledgeable about the language and customs of the Meccans, and who for that reason need assistance of others when they visit the market or other places.

231 The entire market is so called after the *dèkkes* (دكس), sometimes pronounced as *dikke*, on which the male and female slaves offered for sale are sitting. Elsewhere, and in the near future, I intend to treat the conditions of slaves in Mecca more exhaustively. [Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*. vol. 2. (1889), pp. 11-23.]

world of slaves. Slaves who have together served the same master (or in the same house) for a longer period of time, always speak of one another as *sandūl* (feminine: *sandūla*, plural: *sanādīl*). They address one another as 'brother' and 'sister', but when one of them describes his relationship to the other slaves to a third person he says: '*sandūli hūwa* = 'he is my *sandūl*'. It seems reasonable to assume, together with Prof. Nöldeke (according to a written communication), that this is the Greek word σύνδουλος, 'co-slave'. It only seems strange that a Greek word should have entered the language of Meccan slaves, who are mostly Nubians and Ethiopians. Slaves of about the same age generally address one another as *akhūye*, *ukhtī* ('my brother', 'my sister'). Depending on the closeness of the relationship between them, the younger ones say to the elder ones: '*ammī* ('*ammātī*), 'my uncle, my aunt', or *abūye* (*ummī*), 'my father, my mother'.²³² The elder slaves simply call the younger ones by their names, or let the name be preceded by *waladī*, *bintī*, 'my child, my daughter'. Every *mamlūk*, 'slave', who wishes to be polite addresses any distinguished free person with the word *sīdī* (feminine: *sittī*), 'my lord', and this is especially the case with all relatives, friends and acquaintances of his master, irrespective of their age. The free person calls the slave either by his name, or, when he does not, with *yā walad!* = 'o, boy!' When the master of the house says *yā walad* to his own slave, with or without the latter's name, this sounds like a command or an expression of anger. One may say to a slave, whom one wants to address in a friendly way: *yā akhūye* = 'my brother!', even if he has double or only half the age of the speaker. Children that have grown up with slaves or slave women call them something different. They may say to them *abūye* (or *ummī* respectively), but the correct way of addressing them is *dādī* (or *dātī*). When a Meccan says of a slave 'this is my *dād*,' or of a slave woman: 'this is my *dāt*,' these predicates can only refer to slaves who have somehow been involved in his upbringing. This is a permanent relationship and will also later be expressed in the same terms. One also uses these words in direct speech, but then by way of politeness, to distinguished slaves, whom one wishes to honour because of their age. The meanings that are given by Dozy, *Supplément* under the lemma داد and دادة, دادة are all derived from the idea 'father' and 'mother'. It seems, however, that *dād* or *dāda* originally belong to children's language,²³³ as Prof. Nöldeke confirmed to me by sending me a whole list of similar examples from different languages. Once incorporated in the list of conceptual terminology, the word *dād* too has taken on the feminine ending, with which it has contracted to *dāt* in the Mec-

232 The names of the persons spoken to are often added to these words.

233 See also *Hèzz èl-quhūf*, pp. 109-110, where in the children's language presently in use in Egypt the words *bābā*, *māmā*, *wāwā* occur for father, mother and brother.

can dialect.

That slaves in general are the best servants is expressed by the Meccans in this way: *aḥsan min felūsak mā fīsh* = ‘there is nothing better than your own money’, meaning ‘than what you have purchased’.

Nevertheless, many Meccans and *meġāwirīn* use the rented services of ‘the sons of the people’, either for lack of money, or because they have no intention of staying very long in the Holy City. Javanese, Malay and Indians usually have *ṣubyān* from among their compatriots, and young people of these nationalities can quite often be found as servants with the *ahl Makka*, ‘inhabitants of Mecca’. Most of the free servants, however, are Ḥaḍramīs, who, because of their diligence, their modesty, their honesty and their cleverness (شطاره) are especially in demand with merchants. Initially, they are used for small material services, but gradually their *‘amm* gives them responsibility for the management of the whole business during their absence, or when the merchant has several shops, he gives the full management of one of these to the *ṣābī*. The parsimonious attitude of the Ḥaḍār’ma enables most of them to start a business of their own in a few years. Poor Slēmānīs, Maghār’ba and Ḥiġāzī Bedouins²³⁴ mostly rent themselves out in Mecca as doorkeepers (*bawwābīn*). As far as honesty is concerned, the Ḥiġāzī enjoy the same excellent reputation as the Ḥaḍār’ma, but because of the lack of *shaṭāra* they are not suitable for commercial work.

A servant who is given to the joys of *ḥashīsh*, a forbidden substance, is useless in almost any position, but such *khaddāmīn* are exceptional in Mecca. One mainly finds *ḥashshāshīn*, ‘opium smokers’, in the true sense of the word, among loafers, Turkish soldiers and the worst sort of manumitted negro slaves. The word refers to all those who always behave indecently, who make trouble, who immediately start to hit other people, who walk around in dirty rags; to sum up, all those whose existence is of little use to society. A *khaddām ḥashshāsh* is what the Egyptians would call a *khaddām khāra*, ‘a shit servant’. The word *balāsh* means ‘free of charge’, ‘in vain’ and often stands for ‘it is not necessary anymore’ (said of something that at first was required). For instance to a slave whom one has called, but whose task has in the meantime been performed by others, one says: *balāsh* = ‘stay where you are, we do not need you anymore’, or to someone who goes to the market in order to buy bread, vegetables and the like: *èl-ḥabḥaba balāsh* = ‘we no longer need the water melon (of

234 Here, the Ḥiġāz means the small area in the vicinity of al-Ṭā’if that has borne this name of old and that is still today exclusively called so by its inhabitants. It is *not* the large province of the Turkish Empire, which is only known as the Ḥiġāz to the administration and to those authors who follow its terminology.

which we spoke earlier)'. In the proverb it stands as a substitute of ²³⁵لاَ عَدَمَهُ or لاَ عَدَمَهُ شَيْءٌ in order to express a total absence. With this proverb one consoles the person who complains about a bad servant but so far has not been able to find another one.

76.
السُّنْبُلَةُ سُمٌّ وَبَلَاءٌ

The *sumbula* (Virgin in the Zodiac) is *summ* (venom) and *bélā* (misery).

Meccans only know that there are four seasons from books. In ordinary life one only speaks of the summer = *ṣif* or the heat = *ḥarr*,²³⁶ and of the winter = *shíta*, *shíte* or the cold = *burād*. This 'cold' is of course relative. It is no longer necessary to sleep on the roofs of the houses for fear of suffocation and one can dress normally and without shyness. But it is rarely cool and the entire cool season lasts four months at most. As the 'harvest' of the Meccans (that is the pilgrimage) is organized according to the lunar calendar, the seasons according to the Muslim year are of the highest importance for the Holy City. One observes the important feasts for Mecca, further the month of Rèğèb during which the pilgrims go to Medina, then the month of fasting Ramaḍān, etc. Uneducated Meccans have only one other clue to the indication of the natural seasons, namely the time of ripening of the most treasured fruits (dates, figs, etc.). However, these ripen shortly after one another throughout July. The educated Meccan, also know the constellations of the Zodiac, or at least some of them, and they make a connection between these and striking climatic phenomena. They have registered this meteorological wisdom in sayings and proverbs, which are repeated as often as the sun traverses the mansions of the Zodiac. Some of these are repeated so often that, in the end, they are also used by the lower classes of society.

Most Meccans are familiar with the word play quoted here and even if they do not have the faintest idea of the Zodiac they nevertheless say when the heat of the 'summer' becomes unbearable: *aqèyyis niḥnā da 'l-ḥīne fi 's-sumbela*²³⁷ = 'I assume we are now in *sumbula*'.

In the months of July, August, September and October the heat reaches its

235 *Māsh aḥsan min lāsh* = 'something whatever (اي شَيْءٍ، كَان) is better than nothing at all,' the Egyptians say.

236 *Ḥarāra* is only the name of the rash from which most Meccans suffer during the hot season, especially when they eat many 'hot' dishes.

237 The second vowel of this word often becomes indefinite in the pronunciation and this facilitates the play of words in our proverb.

highest degree in Mecca. Not even the wind, which in this closed valley remains quiescent for a long time anyway, gives the desired relief. When the wind comes from the north, the north-east or the east, it is called *samūm* and it gives those who venture into the streets the impression that they are in front of a horrible furnace that is being blown in their faces with enormous bellows. On such days, one says: *ishtadd 'alēnā 'l-ḥōm*²³⁸ = 'the dry heat has become difficult for us to bear'. If a southern or a south-western wind (*azyab*) is blowing, it brings so much hot vapour that the air becomes an extremely heavy burden on the human body. This heat, which is heavy with damp, is called *wamd* (compare with the classical Arabic word *wamad*). The wind that brings this hot damp brings about a sort of cooling down in the streets but not in the houses. Meccans prefer the *samūm* with its *ḥōm* to the *azyab* with its *wamd*. The dry northern wind can be as hot as it wants, but at least it somewhat cools the water that is kept in the porous earthenware containers (*rabā'ī, shērbāt, qulal*). Under the dominance of the *azyab* there is only *mōye dāfyē* 'lukewarm water', and in Mecca that is a horrible drink. The season when the sun enters the sign of the Virgin²³⁹ is especially disreputable, because people have the idea that *ḥōm* and *wamd*, *samūm* and *azyab*, constantly alternate. The season of *sumbula* is for the Meccans more or less the same as the dog days with us, only the degree of discomfort is different!

In neighbouring Jeddah, the climatic situation is entirely different from that in Mecca. The heat does not reach the high degree of Mecca, but because of the horribly damp air it is far more difficult to bear. The inhabitants of Jeddah, however, are more fearful of the cold than of the hot season. This may partly be caused by the fact that the cold season often begins with a cold shower that is usually followed with the outbreak of all sorts of illnesses.²⁴⁰ However that may be, in the winter, and especially at the beginning of the winter, for the Jeddawi everything seems to be twice as dangerous. They protect themselves against a cool air that would seem to us beneficial, not only by thick clothing, but by covering their heads with a cloth that leaves only part of their face exposed. But in that same season they nervously keep each sunbeam out of the room, because the sun in the first part of the winter is supposed to be worse (العن) than ever, and they attribute all sorts of illnesses to its bad effects.

238 The word حوم is the technical term for the heat that originates from the *samūm*.

239 The word *sumbula* actually means 'ear', 'spike of grain'. The constellation that the sun enters in August is also called 'Virgin' [Virgo?] ('*adhra'*) in Arabic, but is also called 'spike' (compare in Latin *spica*) after one of its constituting stars.

240 European physicians in Jeddah maintain, however, that the rain would not cause such serious health problems for the Jeddawis if the sewers were organized in a better way than is now the case.

أَوَّلُهُ أَتَوَّقَىٰ آخِرُهُ أَتَلَقَّى

Hüte dich vor seinem ersten (Theile), gehe seinem letzten (Theile freudig) entgegen.

Die beiden Imperative gehören zu den V^{ten} Stämmen von *لَقِيَ* und *وَقِيَ*; die beiden Suffixe beziehen sich auf *èš-šíte* = den Winter.

77.

السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ إِنْ كَانَ عِنْدَكَ شَيْءٌ هَاتِنَا

Der Friede sei über euch und Allahs Gnade und seine Segnungen! wenn du etwas bei dir hast, her damit!

Der erste Theil dieser Redensart enthält die Grussformel, welche der Prophet seinen Gläubigen als die beste und vollständigste anempfohlen haben soll. Abgesehen von den Gelehrten, gebrauchen die Gläubigen meistens als erste Begrüssung nur die Worte: *èš-salamu 'alëkum*, und zur Erwiderung derselben: *wë'alëkum èš-salam*, welches letzterem aber die Mekkaner fast immer *war-rahmah*, *werahmatu 'lláh* oder *wal-ikrám* hinzufügen. Der Gebrauch der dreigliedrigen Formel ist verhältnissmässig selten, vorzüglich für den, der zuerst grüsst. Durch den Gegensatz der weitläufigen Segenssprüche und der unmittelbar darauffolgenden Aeusserung grosser Habsucht verspottet man die Leute, welche einen überschwänglichen Gebrauch von Höflichkeitsformeln machen. Die Mekkaner gebrauchen aber die Redensart oft zum Scherze und ohne irgendwelche Absicht, wenn sie zu einem guten Bekannten eintreten.

Nachtrag. In der Anmerkung zu S. 16 habe ich der mir früher als wahrscheinlich erschienenen Erklärung des Wortes *باوردي* als aus *بوردي* entstanden, keine Erwähnung gethan, weil dieselbe mir wegen der ausnahmslosen Vocallosigkeit des *ر* unhaltbar zu sein schien. Inzwischen erfahre ich von einem Syrer, dass man die Polizisten in seiner Heimath vielfach *بَوَارِدِيَّة* = »Flintenträger« nennet; obgleich nun die Flinte in West-arabien nur *بُنْدُقِيَّة* und niemals *بارودي* heisst, wird man doch nicht umhin können, das Wort *باوردي* als eine aus *بوردي* corruptirte Form zu betrachten.

FIGURE 20.6 End of C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*. Gesammelt und erläutert. Herausgegeben als Festgabe zum VII^{ten} Internat. Orientalistencongresse in Wien vom Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1886, p. 118.

As summer approaches, these nervous precautions diminish. The last part of the cold season is even considered to be as beneficial to health. Neither the cold, nor the sun are detrimental any more and one can venture out of the city without fear. This empirical, or pseudo-empirical wisdom is expressed in the following saying: ^{عَمَدُهُ عَمَدٌ رَسَّاسَةٌ} ^{أُولُهُ أَتَوْقُ} ^{أَخْرَهُ أَتَلَقُ} 'take care for its first (part), go and meet its last (part):

The two imperatives belong to the 5th form of ^{وَقَى} ^{وَقَى} and ^{لَقَى} ^{لَقَى}. The two suffixes refer to *èsh-shíte*, 'the winter'.

77.

السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ إِنْ كَانَ عِنْدَكَ شَيْءٌ هَاتِهِ

Peace be upon you and Allah's mercy and his blessings! If you have something with you, give it to me!

The first part of this saying contains the formula of greeting that the Prophet is said to have recommended to his believers as the best and most complete one. In addition to scholars, believers usually pronounce as a first greeting only the words *ès-salāmu 'alēkum*, 'peace be upon you', and, in response: *we'alēkum ès-salām*, 'and on you be peace'. The Meccans invariably add to this answer *war-raḥma*, 'and the mercy', *weraḥmatu 'llāh*, 'and God's mercy', or *wal-ikrām*, 'and honour'. The use of the tripartite formula is relatively rare, especially for the one who greets first. With the contrast between the long-winded peace formula and the expression of enormous greed immediately following people are ridiculed who make an excessive use of formulas of politeness. But the Meccans also use this saying as a friendly joke and without any special intention when they meet a good acquaintance.

[The end]²⁴¹

241 [On pp. 119-144 of the article and offprint version of his collection of Meccan proverbs, Snouck Hurgronje has added an index of Arabic words. This index has not been translated here. We follow the decision made by A.J. Wensinck, the editor of the *Verspreide Geschriften*, volume 5 (1925), pp. 10-112, who did not reproduce the index but incorporated it in the 'Register van arabische termen' in vol. 6 of the *Verspreide Geschriften* (1927), pp. 560-577.]

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