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The Hajj and Europe in the Age of Empire

Umar Ryad

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Edited by

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Cover illustration: Ansicht de Moschee, während darin ein gemeinschaftliches Çalät abgehalten wird. English translation: View of the mosque, while congregational Çalat [i.e., Salat] are being held inside. Photograph attributed to al-Sayyid ʻAbd al-Ghaffār, Physician of Mecca, by scholar Claude Sui. From Volume II, page 88. Plate no. I in portfolio: Bilder aus Mekka, C. Snouck Hurgronje. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1889. LOT 7088 [item] [P&P], Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA.

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INTRODUCTION

The Hajj and Europe in the Pre-Colonial and Colonial Age

The Hajj, or the Muslim Pilgrimage to the Holy Places in Mecca and Medina, is not merely a religious undertaking of devotion for Muslims; it is a global annual event that included political, social, economic, and intellectual aspects throughout world history. The study of Hajj history in the pre-modern and modern eras unravel important mundane human ties and networks of mobility that go beyond its primary religious meanings for millions of Muslim believers around the globe. In other words, throughout history the Hajj traffic routes and itineraries regularly created new religious, political, social, and cultural contact zones between Muslim regions on the one hand, and with the geographical boundaries of other parts of the world on the other. Since medieval Islamic history, the Hajj had "accelerated sea trade as thousands of pilgrims and merchant-pilgrims made their way to Mecca and Medina by sea, stopping at coastal towns where they often traded goods."[1]

European connections to the Hajj have a lengthy history of centuries before the influx of Muslim migration to the West after World War II. During the colonial age in particular, European and Ottoman empires brought the Hajj under surveillance primarily for political reasons, for economic interests in the control of steamships and for the fear of the growth of pan-Islamic networks. Another important motive for the European scrutiny of Hajj was their anxiety for the spread of epidemic diseases in their colonies after the pilgrims' return.

The present volume focuses on the political perceptions of the Hajj, its global religious appeal to Muslims, and the European struggle for influence and supremacy in the Muslim world in the age of pre-colonial and colonial empires. By the term "empire," we follow in this volume Jonathan Hart's particular reference to "those western European nations who, beginning with Portugal, began in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to expand offshore and later overseas."[2] In the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century there was

1 Dionisius A. Agius, *Classic Ships of Islam From Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 65.

2 Jonathan Hart, *Comparing Empires: European Colonialism from Portuguese Expansion to the Spanish-American War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 2.

a pivotal change in seafaring through which western Europeans played important roles in politics, trade, and culture.[3] Looking at this age of empires through the lens of the Hajj puts it into a different perspective by focusing on the question of how increasing European dominance of the globe in pre-colonial and colonial times had been entangled with Muslim religious action, mobility, and agency. The study of Europe's connections with the Hajj therefore tests the hypothesis of how the concept of agency is not limited to isolated parts of the globe. By adopting the "tools of empires,"[4] the Hajj, which by nature is a global activity, would become part of global and trans-cultural history.

With this background in mind, the volume is a collection of papers, most of which were read during the "Europe and Hajj in the Age of Empires: Muslim Pilgrimage prior to the Influx of Muslim Migration in the West" conference, held at the University of Leiden (13–14 May 2013) in collaboration with King Abdul-Aziz Foundation in Riyadh. A group of scholars were invited in order to investigate European connections with the Hajj on various levels. The read papers reflected on how much first-hand primary sources can tell us about European political and economic perceptions of the Hajj. How did the international character of the Hajj as a Muslim sacred ritual influence European policies in their struggle for supremacy over the Muslim world? How did Muslim subjects under European colonial rule experience the logistic, economic, religious, and spiritual aspects of the Hajj?

In early-modern and modern history, the Hajj became connected to the long European tradition of seafaring in the Western Indian Ocean firstly by the Portuguese in the 16th century, the Dutch during the 16th to 18th centuries, and the English presence during the 19th to late mid-20th century.[5] It is true that the Portuguese introduced a new kind of armed trading in the waters of the Indian Ocean. This period was "an age of contained conflict" in India and the Indian Ocean.[6] In the early modern period in particular, Muslim ships carrying pilgrims were threatened by the Portuguese. In 1502, for example, a

3 Hart, *Comparing Empires*, 3.

4 Daniel Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); as quoted in James L. Gelvin and Nile Green (eds.), *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 3.

5 Agius, *Classic Ships of Islam*, 4. See also, Tamson Pietsch, "A British Sea: Making Sense of Global Space in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Global History* 5/3 (2010): 423–424. Eric Tagliacozzo, "Navigating Communities: Distance, Place, and Race in Maritime Southeast Asia," *Asian Ethnicity* 10/2 (2009): 114.

6 Bose, *A Hundred Horizons*, 19.

large ship was captured by the Portuguese, which had 200 crew and numerous pilgrims aboard. Muslim ships carried warriors in order to resist Portuguese arracks.[7] The arrival of the Portuguese in surrounding seawaters put the Hajj at risk, since they were keen on opposing Islam and monopolizing the spice trade. From the start, they attempted to patrol the Red Sea entrance and block the "pilgrimage to the accursed house of Mecca."[8] The Ottomans had difficulties dealing with the increasing grievances of the Muslim believers who were unable to "go to the house of Mecca, to take their alms and fulfill their pilgrimage, because the Christians take them at sea, and also within the Red Sea, and they kill and rob them and the least that they do is to capture them."[9]

Other European mercantile entrepreneurs started to compete with the Portuguese in the East. In later centuries, such conditions of piracy and robbery relatively started to change. In the colonial age, despite the fact that Mecca and Medina were officially under Ottoman rule, the Hajj was put under the surveillance of European imperialist powers. Therefore it became a significant arena for politics and expansion. Under colonial rules, however, the Hajj bore a wider global imprint and was enhanced by European technology such as the steamship. A journey that used to take months or even years by land or sea was now shortened, which had consequently increased the number of pilgrims and their logistics.[10] European competition in the expansion of maritime supremacy demanded the surveillance of pilgrims and the spread of epidemic diseases, such as cholera and plague.[11] In that sense, the Hajj had acquired sev-

7 M.N. Pearson, *Pious passengers: The Hajj in earlier Times* (London: Hurst & Company, 1994), 57. See also, David Arnold, "The Indian Ocean as a Disease Zone, 1500–1950," *South Asia* 14: (1991): 1–21; and Takashi Oishi, "Friction and Rivalry over Pious Mobility: British Colonial Management of the Hajj and Reaction to it by Indian Muslims, 1870–1920," in Hidemitsu Kuroki, ed., *The Influence of Human Mobility in Muslim Societies* (London: Kegan Paul, 2003).

8 Pearson, *Pious passengers*, 89.

9 As quoted in Pearson, *Pious passengers*, 93. For more see, Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and sultans: the Hajj under the Ottomans, 1517–1683* (London: Tauris, 1994).

10 See, John Slight, "The Hajj and the Raj: From Thomas Cook to Bombay's Protector of Pilgrims," in V. Porter and L. Saif (eds.), *Hajj: Collected Essays* (London: British Museum Research Publications, 2013), 115–121.

11 Michael Christopher Low, "Empire of the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865–1926," Unpublished MA Thesis, College of Arts and Sciences, Georgia State University, 2007, available at (http://digitalarchive.gsu.edu/history_theses/22). See also Michael Christopher Low, "Empire and the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865–1908," *IJMES* 40/2 (2008): 269–290.

eral aspects, such as modern transport, hygiene, espionage, exoticism, political colonial interests and trade, and diplomacy.

European Colonial Control of the Hajj and Public Health

On another level, Mecca and Medina were, and still are, significant centres of religious education for Muslim students belonging to different backgrounds, who come to acquire normative and traditional religious knowledge and carry it back to their places of origin. In the colonial period, the Hajj and these religious educational centres created transnational, anti-colonial, pan-Islamic networks that were sources of fear for colonial officials. Due to the transmission of subversive politics to the colonies, European officials became suspicious of any underlying allegiances of the Hajj that could be the binding trigger for international anti-colonial sentiments and uprisings. In the early twentieth century, for example, the Dutch colonial government cooperated with Dutch-owned shipping companies in order to control Hajj maritime networks linking the Netherlands East Indies and the Middle East.[12]

Besides, Jeddah as a port city served as the nodal point of exchange and interaction not only for the Hajj (as the main entry point for pilgrims) but also for trade as well as the European consulates. Sources are scarce regarding the beginning of European political or commercial agency in Jeddah. It is clear that Jeddah was chosen for the establishment of the European consulates for its strategic position that facilitated European political penetration of foreign powers in the region. By 1832, for example, an Armenian of Baghdadi origin, Maalim Yusof, was appointed as East India Company (EIC) agent in Jeddah. However, the French consular agency (later variously consulate and vice-consulate) was officially founded in 1839. The Dutch, who had long trade relations in the regions, established their consulate in 1869 or 1872 when they became concerned with the large numbers of Southeast Asian pilgrims. In January 1876, the Swedish King appointed a consul for Sweden and Norway with the authorization to collect certain taxes from Swedish merchants in accor-

12 Kris Alexanderson, "'A Dark State of Affairs': Hajj Networks, Pan-Islamism, and Dutch Colonial Surveillance during the Interwar Period", *Journal of Social History* 7/4 (2014): 1021–1041. 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: NUS Press, 2009), 135–155. Cf. Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma Below the Winds* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

dance with consular regulations. Austria opened its consulate in 1880, succeeded by the Russians who dealt with rising numbers of Central Asian pilgrims in 1891.[13] In her well-documented article, Ulrike Freitag argues that European consuls in Jeddah had less relative power and local influence than other European consulates elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire. A strong international balance of power could not be easily established in Jeddah "due to the special role of Jeddah for the Islamic legitimation of the empire, as well as the local awareness of its location in the vicinity of the holiest city of Islam, both of which in turn prevented the settlement of significant Christian communities."[14] In general, a few dozen non-Muslims resided in Jeddah but did not represent a coherent community. European consuls were present in Jeddah for the sake of pilgrims from the colonies and merchants from the European empires who were "not normally perceived as allies."[15]

In the nineteenth century, European nations had already become highly concerned about the spread of diseases to European colonies, and more significantly within European borders, as a result of the crowd of the annual gathering of the Hajj. To keep European authority intact, colonial administrations exploited their calls for international health and safety standards for the Hajj not only as a medical strategy to prevent the spread of epidemic diseases but also as a surveillance tool aimed at stopping the spread of political unrest in the colonies. Besides ship monopolies, health regulations and "sanitary politics" surrounding the Hajj created a power situation that required intellectual knowledge and promoted cultural and technological hegemony of the empires. Despite the fact that many countries were involved in the sanitary regulations of the Hajj, the British and the Dutch played the largest role in administering this field in the Arabian Peninsula due to the high number of colonial subjects traveling to Hajj.[16] Therefore, due to any potential health danger that might be

13 Ulrike Freitag, "Helpless Representatives of the Great Powers? Western Consuls in Jeddah, 1830s to 1914," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40:3 (2012): 359–360. Cf. Elena I. Campbell, "The 'Pilgrim Question': Regulating the Hajj in Late Imperial Russia," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 56:3–4 (2014): 239–268; Eileen Kane, *Russian Hajj: Empire and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

14 Freitag, "Helpless Representatives," 357.

15 Freitag, "Helpless Representatives," 362.

16 See Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj, 1865–1956* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015); John Slight, "British Imperial rule and the Hajj," in D. Motadel (ed.), *Islam and the European Empires* (Oxford: The Past and Present Series, Oxford University Press, 2014), 53–72.

caused by the Hajj, the Ottoman Empire was sometimes viewed in the European press as "a gateway for contamination" in Europe itself.[17] As a matter of fact, cholera was found in Arabia in 1821 for the first time. Ten years later it was in the Ḥijāz; and since then it became a mainstay on the pilgrimage routes. In 1831 the epidemic killed twenty thousand people in the Ḥijāz, followed by other subsequent epidemics in the region of the holy cities in 1841, 1847, 1851, 1856–1857, and 1859. Cholera entered Europe around the same period, most likely not through the Middle East, but rather over the Eurasian steppe, from Russia and eventually into Germany. Nevertheless, the 1865 epidemic in the Ḥijāz was so powerful that its damage reached Europe and the western parts of the United States.[18]

As a matter of fact, international surveillance of the public health ramifications of the Hajj was put forward for investigation at the works of the 1851 Paris International Sanitary Conference for the first time. With this conference, France claimed herself to be "at the forefront of the nineteenth century's international drive to come up with regulatory codes applicable to Mecca-bound ships and pilgrims alike."[19] In some uncontrollable cases in French African regions, central and local colonial authorities sometimes tried to "justify their decisions in the face of public opinion when the prohibition of Hajj seemed to be the only option."[20]

Quarantine stations were set up as preventive rubrics to securitize epidemics among pilgrims on the one hand and to control their socio-political actions on the other. For example, the Kamaran quarantine station in the Red Sea, established in 1881 as a site for surveillance over pilgrims, their diseases, and politics in the region, enabled the British and Dutch colonial governments to register lists of passengers aboard pilgrim ships. In Kamaran the British were even said to have established an equipped radio station and an excellent landing area that was regularly visited by British war planes. Therefore, the

17 Kris Alexanderson, "Fluid Mobility: Global Maritime Networks and the Dutch Empire, 1918–1942," PhD thesis (Graduate School-New Brunswick Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2011), 97–99. Cornelia Essner, "Cholera der Mekkapilger und internationale Sanitatspolitik in Agypten (1866–1938)," *Die Welt des Islams* 32/1 (1992): 41–82.

18 Eric Tagliacozzo, "Hajj in the Time of Cholera: Pilgrim Ships and Contagion from Southeast Asia to the Red Sea," in James L. Gelvin and Nile Green (eds.), *Global Muslims*, 105.

19 Marième Anna Diawara, *"Islam and public health: French management of the Hajj from colonial Senegal and Muslim responses beginning in 1895,"* (PhD thesis, Michigan State University, 2012), 271.

20 Diawara, *"Islam and public health,"* 272.

Dutch became alarmed that Britain was using the site as a spy station.[21] In sum, by the late nineteenth century European colonial powers generally became anxious about a "twin infection" of the Hajj, namely Muslim anti-colonial ideological infection and bacteriological infection.[22]

Nevertheless, British India provided the largest number of pilgrims in the late nineteenth century. Likewise, the British policy of Hajj was similarly shaped by political calculations and public health concerns. On the surface, the British were not keen on interfering in Muslim religious affairs, especially after the famous promise by the Queen in the wake of the massive uprising across much of India in 1857–1858. Saurabh Mishra argues that by the turn of the twentieth century such British political calculations started to change into increased surveillance of pilgrims due to the perceived fear of jihad and fanaticism. As European demands for regulating the Hajj out of fears for disease spreading to their borders increased, medical concerns became the most important aspect of British international policy towards the Hajj, which resulted in what Mishra calls a European "Medicalizing Mecca."[23]

Europeans in Mecca

On the cultural level, the creation of a Hajj public knowledge was taking place in Europe in the background of such political and medical discourses. Indigenous Muslims in Central and Eastern Europe, a few Muslim emigrants (especially in Great Britain, France and somehow in Germany), and European converts to Islam in other parts of Europe were making their way to the Hajj and left behind interesting accounts, such as diaries, published and unpublished travelogues, press items in European newspapers, etc. European and non-European national and private archives enlist fascinating political, medical, religious and social reports of such narratives. In the pre-modern and early modern age, Europeans, either converts to Islam or in disguise, entered Mecca.[24] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, European encounters

21 Alexanderson, "Fluid Mobility," 104–105.

22 William Roff, "Sanitation and Security: The Imperial Powers and the Nineteenth Century Hajj," *Arabian Studies* 6 (1982): 143–160.

23 Saurabh Mishra, *Pilgrimage, Politics, and Pestilence: The Haj from the Indian Subcontinent 1860–1920* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011).

24 Augustus Ralli, *Christians at Mecca* (London: William Heinemann, 1909). See also, John Slight, "Pilgrimage to Mecca by British converts to Islam in the interwar period," in R. Natvig and I. Flaskerud (eds.), *Muslim Pilgrimage in Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016). Mary

with the Orient in general challenged western historical and religious understandings. However, European narratives of the Hajj should be read as colonial texts, which reflect a process of shift in European learning and culture that occurred in the context of interaction between East and West.[25] One of the most remarkable figures who visited Mecca in the nineteenth century was the Dutch scholar of Islam Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), whose contacts with Mecca and Arabia embodied both colonial and scholarly projects. The prime reason behind his mission in Arabia (1884–1885), after his conversion to Islam and circumcision, was to collect accurate information about the pan-Islamic ideas resonating among the Southeast-Asian community in Mecca. In addition, he was motivated by his scholarly interests in Mecca, its intellectual life and the Hajj. In Mecca he collected a huge amount of information and established a good network of Muslim friends. His writings formed the basis of scholarly western knowledge of Mecca and the Hajj in the nineteenth century and beyond.[26]

In recent years, many archive-based historical analyses have argued that many European converts entered Mecca in order to achieve specific political goals for their countries. In that sense, their roles are seen as part of the political and cultural conflict between Europe and Islam in the age of empires. It is true that in the colonial period the accounts of European pilgrims conveyed a sense of "passing" and "surpassing" due to their access to Western power

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Jane Maxwell, "*Journeys of faith and fortune: Christian travelers in the fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Dar al-Islam*," (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Washington State University, 2004).

25 See Kathryn Ann Sampson, "The Romantic Literary Pilgrimage to the Orient: Byron, Scott, and Burton," (Unpublished PhD Thesis, The University of Texas at Austin, 1999).

26 Much has been written about him, see, P.S. van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje alias Abdoel Ghaffar: enige historisch-kritische kanttekeningen* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit, 1982); P.S. Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam: Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit, 1988); Arnoud Vrolijk en Hans van de Velde, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936): Oriëntalist* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2007); C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning*, translated by J.H. Monahan with an introduction by Jan Just Witkam (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Michael Laffan, "Writing from the colonial margin. The letters of Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 31/91 (November 2003): 357–380; 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* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 135–155.

and knowledge.[27] However, in some other cases reading their accounts of Hajj engagement reveals a certain complexity by which they attempted to constitute a means through which they would refashion their spiritual life standards. Such sources are significant in their representation of a new literary genre that shaped a European image of Muslim pilgrimage.

The Contributions

The present volume looks at the Hajj and its ties with Europe through a variety of windows. The contributions posit three major elements related to the Hajj as a Muslim universal undertaking and its enmeshed history of European pre-colonial and colonial powers. Firstly, some tackle the questions of how European links and struggles to control the Hajj and the movements of the pilgrims were part of broader European political objectives and competitions in colonial regions. By strengthening a "Hajj policy" in colonial administration, European powers tried to take hold of the political, shipping, and hygienic aspects of it by means of the creation of quarantine stations for the fear of epidemics. Secondly, some essays explore the linkage between early Islamic anti-colonial networks and the Hajj. In that regard, European imperial administrators and consuls in Muslim regions were deeply concerned with recording and monitoring the pilgrims. In order to counteract such perceived "negative" influences, Mecca and the Hajj were seen on the political agenda as a breeding ground for "religious fundamentalism." Thirdly, some chapters deal with the Hajj as an intercultural arena in Europe by focusing on a few examples of Europeans who travelled to Mecca and recorded the Hajj through European eyes in the colonial period. The chapters cover a wide range of perspectives including historical surveys, political reports, and individual European accounts of the Hajj related to Portugal, Great Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Hungary, Poland, and Spanish Morocco. These different cases highlight the Hajj on a global scale by showing its socio-political and economic aspects, routes, means of transport, logistics, hygiene problems, and cultural production and dissemination of ideas and knowledge about the Hajj in Europe.

In that context, Mahmood Kooria starts off the discussion by focusing on the early sixteenth-century Portuguese/European encounters with the Hajj in the Indian Ocean. He argues that this Portuguese interference in the Hajj was

27 M. Herman Erman, "Roads to Mecca: Conversion narratives of European and Euro-American Muslims", *The Muslim World* 89 (1999): 82–83.

provoked by multiple layers of economic, political, cultural, and religious interests. Despite Portuguese economic motivations that had no direct prerequisites to intercept the Hajj, a correlation between the "secular" and "religious," the Portuguese relationship with the Hajj was deeply rooted in a long-tradition of European encounters with the Muslim world in the pre-modern age which had significant religious undertones. The religious collision between "Christian" Europe and the "Muslim" world that intensified in the time of the Crusades continued to exist in the waters of the Indian Ocean. The chapter argues that the Portuguese had a special interest in the Hajj, and their attacks on pilgrimships could not be totally isolated from the emphasis on the contemporary developments in Europe, conflicts in the Indian Ocean, and the association of Catholic missions with Portuguese undertakings in Asia. By the turn of the sixteenth century various misconceptions about Mecca, the Hajj and the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad had prevailed in the West. By centering the analysis on a few examples of anti-Portuguese Muslim polemical treatises and poems in India, the chapter concludes that the ritualistic corpus of the Hajj had become a matter of hostile engagements during the early stages of European expansion.

In the realm of European competition for the monopoly of hajj-shipping and the control of sanitary regulations, Michael Christopher Low analyses the involvement of Thomas Cook & Son in the Hajj in the late nineteenth century. The chapter demonstrates a dissonance between Cook's reputation for elite travel in the Orient and its role in the pilgrimage trade. In sharp contrast to such princely travels, the Hajj in this time was viewed as an anachronistic, even dangerous, mode of travel that was mostly characterized by the mass movement of the poor. The role of Thomas Cook reveals how British officials in India framed their reform of the pilgrimage-travel industry as a question of direct regulation of pilgrims versus indirect commercial intervention by reconfiguring the system of guides, brokers, and shippers in India and the Ḥijāz. The chapter attempts to identify the political and commercial forces that proved so resilient in thwarting British regulation of the Hajj for so many decades. The Thomas Cook Hajj project was the embodiment of indirect intervention by the British whose entrance into the pilgrimage-shipping industry immediately altered price structure, ticketing procedures, and flexible timetables.

Amid European political, medical, and economic interests in the Hajj, a new arena of knowledge about this Muslim religious practice was created in Europe. John Slight discusses British efforts to obtain, collate, and interpret information on the Hajj by officials working for the British Empire. On the basis of information recorded by the British Consulate in Jeddah, the chapter starts in 1870, when Britain's engagement with the Hajj hugely expanded, and continues to

the eve of the Second World War, which marks a caesura in the pilgrimage's history. The chapter demonstrates the change of British knowledge production on the Hajj over time, being a combination of wider concerns about the threat of epidemic disease and political turmoil in the Ḥijāz, primarily the shifts from Ottoman to Hashemite then Saudi control after the First World War. Slight argues that the outcome of hajj knowledge was not purely a European production, but represented a sense of entanglement between colonial officers and consuls and Muslim indigenous informants. The Muslim employees of the Jeddah British Consulate had played a vital role in the production of British knowledge related to the Hajj. These reports immensely contributed to the creation of "colonial knowledge" on the Hajj. Their representations of the Hajj and pilgrims mirrored—and shaped—the prejudices of their British employers.

Aldo D'Agostini points out that although French control of the Hajj in the nineteenth century was inspired in part by humanitarian worries about the spread of diseases, their interest in the Hajj was also influenced by myths and prejudices and in some cases was ascribed to "strong Islamophobia." The chapter argues that European administrators in French Algeria were anxious about the possibility that pilgrims were exposed to political propaganda which had made them more "fanatical" than before. This situation led to the French adoption of a policy of repression of the Hajj which also included proposals to completely ban it. By focusing on the political policy of Jules Cambon, a governor of Algeria in the period 1891–1896, towards the Hajj and the pilgrimage trip of Jules Gervais-Courtellemont, a French traveller and convert to Islam, D'Agostini argues that both types of knowledge certainly affected French policy towards the Hajj. Such debates on Islam in the French colonial administration and public opinion were therefore a prelude to the institutionalization of Islam in France in the later inter-war period, such as the establishment of the Great Mosque in Paris.

Gervais-Courtellemont entered Mecca as a European convert to Islam. Some other European narratives of the Hajj were sometimes a mixture of reality and imagination. Ulrike Freitag reflects upon the German adventurer Heinrich von Maltzan and his two volumes, *My Pilgrimage to Mecca*, published first in 1865 and ostensibly accounting for his voyage to the Holy City of Mecca in 1860. His detailed account is of a clearly Orientalist variety, with a keen interest in the more scandalous aspects of society and life in the Ḥijāz. By comparing his published travelogue with his diaries, which was made available by one of his descendants, Freitag suspects the historicity of the account, since the diary entries point to a stay in the Swiss Alps instead of the Ḥijāz. The chapter looks at textual evidence in other verifiable writings by von Maltzan, such as his account of visiting Jeddah and Aden in 1870, so as to argue that von Maltzan

played on notions of reality and dream, drug induced high, and pilgrimage induced salvation. In the following chapter Bogusław R. Zagórski analyses a similar genre of imagination about the Hajj, which emerged in the nineteenth-century Polish-Lituanian Tatar tradition. It presents a legend of two mystical travels to the Holy Cities of Islam. The first one was written by a local holy man and countryside dweller who claimed, due to his exceptional piety, to possess a faculty of translocating his body to Mecca. The second is a non-fiction travel report by a certain Ignacy Żagiell (firstly published in 1884) that gained a certain notoriety and popularity in the history of Polish travel writing. By re-reading such works, the chapter underlines a Muslim Polish move from reality to a cherished dream and how the Hajj consequently found its way in to popular beliefs. The latter travel account belonging to a non-Muslim cultural environment in the same geographical area highlights how such works expose a Polish "orientalność"—"Orientality" that was probably typical of Eastern Europe in contrast to the Orientalist engagement with the Hajj in Western Europe.

By the turn of the twentieth century, and specifically in the interwar period, a new transcultural dimension emerged in world history, with the Hajj playing an important role therein. After World War I, we can observe a "multiplication of new borders and the variety of transgressing institutions, concepts, actors, men and women inventing themselves as global subjects."[28] Highlighting the Hajj and Europe from this transcultural historical perspective puts forward a new research tool that will therefore "explicate the history of transnational secular and religious communities."[29] Chapters seven and eight try to serve this goal by focusing on the structure and narratives of the accounts of two European converts to Islam who travelled to the Hajj in 1935 but probably never knew each other. Common narratives are mentioned in their travels, but in their special cases the Hajj was seen through the eyes of a Dutchman and a Hungarian. Umar Ryad discusses the pilgrimage of Dr. P.H. (or Mohammed Abdul-Ali) van der Hoog (1888–1957), a Dutch bacteriologist whose name is much connected nowadays to a famous cosmetic company in The Netherlands (http://www.drvanderhoog.nl/). Van der Hoog's role as a medical doctor in Jeddah in the late 1920s was colossal in his conversion to Islam, visit to Mecca, and performance of the Hajj. As a vivid account of a European Hajj, Van der Hoog never identified himself as split from his Western, and particularly

28 Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüesch and Christiane Sibille, *Transcultural History: Theories, Methods, Sources* (Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg, 2012).

29 Herren, Rüesch and Sibille, *Transcultural History*, 47.

Dutch, background. Examining his activities and writings on Islam and Hajj, the chapter exposes Van der Hoog as an "in-between being" who tried to define his new religious belonging as trans-cultural mixture and hybridity that went beyond his original religious and cultural boundaries. His account reveals the experience of a European adventurer in search of new spiritual experiences in the Hajj. In chapter eight Adam Mestyan pinpoints the Hajj narrative of Gyula or Julius Germanus (1884–1979), a Muslim Hungarian Orientalist and a contemporary to Van der Hoog. By using Germanus' travels to the Ḥijāz and hitherto unstudied documents in Hungarian, Arabic, and English, the chapter shows how the Hajj functions as cultural capital even in the age of mass travel. Germanus attained state recognition by claiming knowledge as a pilgrim of scholarship. Having represented himself as a cultural bridge between the Middle East and Eastern Europe, Germanus tried to instrumentalize his Hajj and connections with the Saudi officials for several goals: to improve his Arabic, to build a personal network which later was useful for cultural diplomacy, and to boost his popularity in Hungary.

The Hajj was affected by World War II and started to take another shape in its relations with Europe in the decolonization era. The emergence of flight itineraries gradually replaced long sea trips, and new Hajj business was created.[30] The last chapter chronologically ends the age of empires and European colonial ties with Hajj by addressing a historical chapter from Southern Europe, specifically the Spanish involvement in the Moroccan Hajj in Franco's time after World War II. Within the context of the Spanish policy towards Islam, Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste analyses a report by a Spanish colonial officer about a pilgrimage via air voyage that was arranged by the Spanish authorities in 1949 for a group of Moroccan notables. Throughout the 1930s the Hajj was a propaganda tool in the hands of the Spanish authorities, especially during the Civil War. Sponsored by the colonial office, the chapter shows how much the Spanish political exploitation of the Hajj was bold in many ways. The trip itself in the last year of European colonization to the Muslim world brings evidence of forms of differentiation exerted by the new nation-states or the colonial powers. Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste remarkably concludes that the Hajj was a vibrant example of entanglement in its ritualising of the Spanish colonial policy and its serving a dual role of Spanish political ceremony and propaganda.

30 Michael B. Miller, "Pilgrims' Progress: The Business of the Hajj," *Past and Present* 191 (2006): 189–228.

CHAPTER 1

"Killed the Pilgrims and Persecuted Them": Portuguese *Estado da India*'s Encounters with the Hajj in the Sixteenth Century

Mahmood Kooria

Urumi (Santosh Sivan, August Cinema, 2011) is a South Indian film, which tells a story of a boy named Kēḷu, who sought to kill Vasco da Gama, one of the earliest European navigators to arrive in the Indian subcontinent. He took an oath upon witnessing a massacre of Hajj-pilgrims by the Portuguese legates. As the voice-over in the background narrates, in his second voyage in 1502, Gama anchored fifteen warships in the waters of Ezhimala at the Malabar Coast. He encountered and subsequently captured a ship returning from Mecca, which contained four-hundred pilgrims including women and children. The ship's Captain, Khwaja al-Faqi, offered him four shiploads of pepper and gold in exchange for their freedom. Gama declined the offer. In an attempt to release the pilgrims, the local ruler Cirakkal Kottuvāḷ sent his son Kēḷu along with a Brahmin priest to Gama's ship in the hope that he would not attack an unarmed child and priest. Gama had expected the arrival of the chief-rulers Zamorins or Kōlattiris for negotiations, hence their presence was not welcomed. He moreover despised them and their customs. He cut off the priest's tongue and ears, wounded the boy's cheek, and opened fire on the pilgrim-ship. Upon detecting this attack, Kottuvāḷ travelled to Gama's ship, rescued Kēḷu, cut Gama's finger and attempted to kill him. Kottuvāḷ was subsequently captured by other Portuguese men on board and was beheaded by Gama. Kēḷu swam to the shore, where he encountered numerous corpses of pilgrims lying on the coastline. Among the corpses was a mother who lay dying. To Kēḷu, she extended the same jewels that she had offered Gama in exchange for the lives of herself and her child. Taking these jewels, he sculpted a golden weapon (called Urumi) to fight against the growth of Portuguese power in the Malabar Coast. There he took an oath to kill Gama, and the film progresses with a variety of dramatic twists and chronological whirlpools.

This film is a historical imagination stating that it "is inspired by actual events; all the incidents, characters and timelines have been changed for dramatic purposes." Beyond the historical imagination and fictional adaptation, the historical accuracy of the events is something that I will revisit below. For

now, suffice it to say that the portrayal of the massacre of Hajj-pilgrims by the Portuguese three-four years after Gama's 'great voyage' to India is a recurrent theme in South Asian regional memories and are revealed through such popular narratives as films, fictions, songs and ballads. Rhetorical accounts of this attack with multiple variations and alterations intermittently appear whenever an indigenous narrative of the Portuguese arrival in the subcontinent is made.[1] This chapter enquires into the historical events in which the "rhetoric of torture" and the earliest European encounters with the Hajj collide in the Indian Ocean waters.

Despite its social, economic and political dimensions, the Hajj is primarily a religious event in which Muslims from across the world gathered annually to perform particular rituals at the arid zones in and around Mecca. Hence, the Portuguese voyagers who had principally economic motivations had no direct prerequisites to intercept such a ritual undertaken by different religious groups. Whilst many historians have made this claim, the entanglement of "secular" Portuguese against the "religious" performance of Hajj is merely a notion taken-for-granted of which the sheath has to be peeled to understand the historical core. It was deeply rooted in the long-tradition of encounters between Europe and the East, with significant religious undertones. The collision between Christian Europe and the Islamic world intensified through the centuries-long crusades. This continued in the waters of the Indian Ocean, in which rituals such as the Hajj became a hot-issue of unmasking the economic interests against religious ventures. In this way, the Portuguese had a special attentiveness towards the Hajj in the sixteenth century. It was fuelled by contemporary developments in Europe on one hand, and in the Indian Ocean on the other. The new Jesuit missionary associated with the Portuguese undertakings brought another dimension as they thought that the rigorous religious movement of the Hajj would constantly counter their dreams of Christianising Asian terrains.

1 For example, a Bengali short-story titled *Rakta Sandhya*, published in 1930 and republished many times, has a very interesting narrative about a victim of the Portuguese attack on the Hajj-pilgrimage being reborn with a revenge-venture in British colonial times, as Sanjay Subrahmanyam discusses elsewhere. See, Saradindu Bandyopadhyay, "Rakta Sandhya" in *Saradindu Amnibasa*, Vol. VI (Calcutta: Ananda Publishers, 1976). For another narrative from the Makran Coast of Baloch, see Inayatullah Baloch, "Islam, the State and Identity: the Zikris of Balochistan," in *Marginality and Modernity*, ed. Paul Titus (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 223–249; Sabir Badalkhan, "Portuguese Encounters with Coastal Makran Baloch during the Sixteenth Century: Some References from a Balochi Heroic Epic," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Third Series) 10 (2000): 153–169.

Few scholars have paid special attention to Portuguese entanglements with the Hajj, which can be considered one of the earliest European encounters with this Muslim pilgrimage in the age of empires.[2] Michael Pearson's groundbreaking study published in 1994 provided a remarkable early modern narrative with its religious, political and economic dimensions.[3] He rejects the idea of the secular Portuguese having a religious tinge in their encounters with the Hajj by arguing that they had only political and economic interests. As we shall see, this argument is unwarrantable upon looking into the Asian or Islamic narratives in contrast to the Portuguese versions. In the same year, Suraiya Faroqhi shed light on the Ottoman engagements with Portuguese interruptions in maritime routes.[4] Sanjay Subrahmanyam's article on Persians, pilgrims, and the Portuguese in the context of the eastern coast of South Asia is another noteworthy investigation, though Pearson has questioned its factual data.[5] Subrahmanyam's monograph on Vasco da Gama also provides some passing references to the theme.[6]

The existing studies on early modern South Asia are mostly Mughal-centric in the treatment of the Portuguese-Hajj interactions, mainly because of the fact that the "Muslim" Mughals were the prominent political entity in the subcontinent. Farooqi, Pearson, and Digby have written about the Mughal felicitations towards the Hajj primarily engaging with the elite experiences of pilgrims belonging to royal family, military or bureaucratic strands, from the empire and its subordinate kingdoms.[7] Though Pearson tried to go beyond such 'elitist' or

2 This is not to forget the literatures on the Hajj during the early modern centuries with different thematic concerns. For example, see F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 206–248.

3 Michael Pearson, *Pious Passengers: The Hajj in Earlier Times* (Delhi: Sterling Publishers; London: C. Hurst and Co., 1994). In this chapter, I have primarily depended on Pearson's work for many Portuguese sources. Unless otherwise mentioned, the Portuguese sources and translations are from him.

4 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans, 1517–1683* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994).

5 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Persians, Pilgrims and Portuguese: The Travails of Masulipatnam Shipping in the Western Indian Ocean, 1590–1665," *Modern Asian Studies* 22 (1988): 503–530.

6 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), for the short-story mentioned in footnote 1, see 209–210; also see: 57, 98–99, 205, 207, 258 and 283.

7 Naim R. Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations: A Study of Political and Diplomatic Relations between Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire, 1556–1748* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli 1989); idem, "Moguls, Ottomans and Pilgrims: Protecting the Routes to Mecca in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," *International History Review* X (1988): 198–220; Pearson, *Pious*

upper middle-class layers, the lack of source-materials has impeded him. This Mughal-centred narrative would not help us to explore the Portuguese encounters with the Hajj, as the Mughal Empire confronted them only nominally at certain ports in the western and eastern coasts. The Portuguese dealt with the coastal belts, which was not of much interest to the Empire as its focus was on the agricultural systems and overland mercantile networks. The chain of minor kingdoms in the Coromandel Coast in the east and in Malabar-Konkan coasts in the south-west encountered them more than any other hinterland monarchies. Their concords with the Hajj against the Portuguese inflictions have been neglected in the historiography, with the exception of the aforementioned article of Subrahmanyam which geographically goes beyond the epicentre of Mughal world into the Coromandel Coast, although its main focus is not on the sixteenth century.

Against this background, this chapter enquires as to the extent of Portuguese encounters with the Hajj which turned out to be a matter that incited a religious community of South Asia to fight against the *Estado da India* for almost a century. I argue that the claim of "secular" Portuguese not interfering in the "religious" Hajj is erroneous, and both the *Estado* officials and their Jesuit allies tried their best to interrupt the pilgrimage. As an antithesis, this has led to the production of many polemics on the south-westerly coast of the Indian subcontinent, a region that never fell under the Mughal realm. I analyse these encounters and counter-encounters by briefly contextualizing them in the Iberian Peninsula's familiarities with the Hajj. From there I move into South Asia and there I focus on Malabar, which was the prime locus of early European engagements with Asia. I explore how and why the Portuguese attacked the Hajj-pilgrims; and how it provoked the "organic intellectuals" of Malabar to call for holy-wars against the "cross-worshipping," "foreign" Europeans.

Early Phases of Encounters

The European engagement with the Hajj in the late medieval and early modern centuries had multiple layers, as it was mediated through societal, individual, administrative, and missionary echelons varying from imaginings to

Passengers; and Simon Digby, "Bāyazīd Beg Turkmān's Pilgrimage to Makka and Return to Gujarat: A Sixteenth Century Narrative," *Iran: Journal of Persian Studies*, 42 (2004): 159–177. Farooqi mainly looks at the Ottoman source-materials and Pearson at the Mughal chronicles and travel accounts (like Qazvini's *Anis al-Hajj*), whereas Simon Digby introduced another Persian manuscript which he translated, annotated and analysed.

direct interactions. The early encounters occasionally operated in overlapping forms, connecting the European religious interests in the Islamic world and its customs and practices, intertwined with political, economic and ethnic dispositions.

The then Muslim minority of Europe and the Christian majority had two contrasting acquaintances with the Hajj. Regarding the Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula we have clear evidence of their Hajj-journeys differing from the personal accounts to the administrative standpoints.[8] During and after the *Reconquista*, the free movement and lives of Muslims (Moriscos or Mudéjars, as they were called) were hindered by the administrative and military authorities. However, there were some independent political entities in which Muslims were comparatively unrestricted and were allowed to act upon their religious beliefs, of which the Pyrenean Kingdom of Navarre is one example. We also have interesting source-materials that explicate the Morisco-pilgrimage in different ways such as fatwas, travel accounts, etc. All such works were reserved only for Muslims as they were written in the so-called Aljamiado literature—Spanish written in Arabic script—which intentionally prevented Christian Europeans from understanding it. For this clandestine characteristic of Muslim intellectual engagements in Spain and many other reasons, the medieval European public sphere had many misconceptions about the Hajj and Ḥijāz even though they had hajis so close to them. They misunderstood the Hajj as a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad, which they believed to be situated in Mecca, hanging in the air. Some who claimed to have visited these places asserted such delusions.[9]

This was changed only partially, as such beliefs existed even until the twentieth century, after the appearance of accounts of European Christians who made their way into Mecca. The journeys conducted by Ludovico di Varthema and by an unknown Portuguese person are remarkable in this regard. Many scholars

8 L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 138–142; idem, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 67–68, 170, 181; idem, "The Moriscos and the Hajj," *Bulletin British Society for Middle Eastern Studies* 14 (1987): 11–24.

9 For example, the Portuguese officials Correa and Castanheda in the late-sixteenth century noted down that the Muslim pilgrimage is conducted to the body of Muḥammad. Gaspar Correa, *Lendas de India* (Lisbon 1969), II, 494; Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses* (Coimbra: Barreyra & Aluarez, 1551), IV, xii; John Correia-Afonso, *Interpid Itinerant: Manual Godinho and his Journey from India to Portugal in 1663* (Bombay, 1990). For further such depictions, see Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960), 217–220.

have discussed their accounts in detail, though not specifically problematizing such early individual encounters of Europeans with the Hajj. Varthema, the Italian traveller, aristocrat, and soldier in the Mamluk sultans' army who entered Mecca in May 1504, not only provided descriptions about the religious facets of pilgrimage, but also described the economic and political aspects of Mecca, Jeddah, and Medina.[10] Affonso de Albuquerque, the Portuguese general and empire-builder, also provided similar narratives in the early sixteenth century. He observed that Mecca was reliant on Jeddah for food-supplies, which itself depended on imports from other Red Sea expanses. On the commercial aspects of Jeddah he noted that there was a very immense traffic of merchandise including jewels and spices.[11] Another Portuguese report in the early sixteenth century sheds light on political and economic aspects, such as the local rulers and the Sharifs of Mecca as well as heavy taxation of pilgrim caravans and the fact that the pilgrims used to complain about it.[12] An unknown Portuguese author also provides historically accurate descriptions about the pilgrimage, but it was not well-known in its manuscript form until its rediscovery in the twentieth century.[13] However, even such individual accounts and first-hand descriptions about the pilgrimage did not alter the wider European misconceptions of the time, for reasons such as limited circulation and reception.

The rise of the Portuguese maritime empire gave another dimension to the early European encounters with the Hajj. The *Estado* introduced an official *cartaz*(pass)-system for all ships. Any ship sailing without this pass was captured, attacked, and/or sunk in the sea. Turkish and Arab ships, many of which carried Hajj-pilgrims, were the main victims of this new regulation. Pearson writes that the Portuguese attacked or sunk such ships along with the pilgrims as it was difficult to differentiate between the pilgrims and soldiers or sailors, thus the pilgrims became the victims of such measures only indirectly.[14] How-

10 Ludovico di Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Diserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India and Ethiopia, A.D. 1502 to 1508*, trans. John Winter Jones, ed. with an intro. George Percy Badger (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1863).

11 Affonso de Albuquerque, *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam* (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1884–1935), 7 vols, vol. I: 223.

12 Joao de Barros, *Da Asia: Dos Feitos, Que os Portuguezes Fizeram no Descubrimento, e Conquista dos Mares, e Terras do Oriente* (Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica, 1777), vol. II: ii: 6. According to this, a caravan from Cairo alone had to pay 12,000 cruzados.

13 This document has been translated and analysed by G. Levi Della Vida, "A Portuguese Pilgrim at Mecca in the Sixteenth Century," *The Muslim World* 32 (1942): 283–297.

14 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 89–95.

ever, the ships containing pilgrims did not engage in an open encounter with the Portuguese unless the problem of cartazes was raised. The first reported Portuguese attack on Muslim-ships was a pilgrim-ship that Gama attacked even after he had known that it was a pilgrim-ship, as discussed below. Apart from the cartazes, there were other administrative measures that directly countered the free movement of pilgrims through the Indian Ocean, such as prohibiting the pilgrim-ships from entering certain ports under Portuguese control, preparing for attacks on the port-towns adjacent to Mecca like Jeddah, and threatening sea pathways near the Red Sea and the pilgrimage routes to Mecca.[15]

Another European altercation with the Hajj was instigated by the Jesuit missionaries who accompanied the Portuguese entrepreneurship in Asia. They intentionally generated a hostile attitude towards the Hajj pilgrims, representing another layer of old European combats of crusades against the Muslim world. From the first half of the sixteenth century, missionaries were trying to put the Estado under pressure to take various prohibitive actions against the Muslim pilgrims, as we shall see. It was not only missionaries who had an explicit religious interest against the Hajj but also administrative and mercantile units of the Estado demonstrated similar undertones in their use of power and machinery.

Ports, Routes and Pilgrims: South Asia as an Epitome

Since the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean—the most important maritime highway for pilgrims travelling by sea—the western coast of the Indian subcontinent began to be a crucial locale that expounded European encounters with the Hajj. Contemporary sources manifest representations of religious, political, and economic aspirations of the Portuguese and Muslims, which collided in the grounds of Hajj. Beyond the Mughal Empire, several minor kingdoms, especially the ones on the south-western coasts of Malabar and Konkan, played crucial roles in Portuguese confrontations with the pilgrims. Until the sixteenth century, the Malabari merchants and pilgrims went directly from Calicut or other adjacent ports to Jeddah, as well as the Arab-Persian merchants. Returning pilgrims voyaged straight into the Arabian Sea

15 Albuquerque, *Cartas*; cf. Charles A. Truxillo, *Crusaders in the Far East: The Moro Wars in the Philippines in the Context of the Ibero-Islamic World War* (Fremont: Jain Publishing Company, 2012), 60.

and anchored at Calicut. Though this was interrupted by constant blockades of the Portuguese, the Malabari merchants and pilgrims tried to outplay the Portuguese control in different ways. The effectiveness of this blockade had diminished by the mid-sixteenth century. Malabari merchandises were transported in large numbers into the Red Sea and to the Inner Asian and Mediterranean markets, which also facilitated the movement of pilgrims directly from Calicut to Jeddah.[16]

The direct mercantile and cultural linkage between Calicut and Jeddah is the most important component in this regard. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Malabar had developed trade-connections with East Asia and Southeast Asia, as well as with West Asia in which the port of Jeddah had an important role. The Portuguese historian of the early sixteenth century Fernão Lopes de Castanheda has written about this mercantile connection in which Malabari spices from Calicut were traded by the merchants of Arabia, Egypt and Venice via Jeddah. Out of this trade, Arab merchants and rulers and the Venetians made huge profits, as Castanheda estimates it up to eight times.[17] This close association of Malabaris with Jeddah and the Portuguese distress towards this commercial interconnection were well explicated in a letter written to King John III (1502–1557) in 1538. In the letter, the Portuguese officials requested permission from the king to build a fort at the mouth of the Red Sea in order to seal off the Indian influence over the area and to secure the dominance to the king. With this the Portuguese primarily targeted the Malabaris so that "they have no life outside their trade with Jeddah (Judaa)."[18] Even if it might be an exaggeration, it shows the bondage between Malabar and Jeddah even after the Portuguese arrival. This to and fro direct shipping route between the Arabian Sea and the Red Sea also facilitated direct pilgrimage-voyages without depending on the celebrated "Indian Hajj-port" of Surat (the Gujarat coast), which was often identified as *bāb al-makkah* (the gateway of Mecca), *bandar-i mubārak* (the blessed port or the auspicious harbour), and 'the door to the House of God.'

We also have references to the satellite ports of Calicut such as Ponnāni—which interestingly was called Little Mecca—facilitating pilgrimage-ships; and we have evidence of Muslims in the region sending alms to be distributed in Mecca. From Ponnāni and Calicut, Muslim traders and other laypersons

16 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 155.

17 Fernão Castanheda, *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses, 1552–1561*: II (Lisbon, Typographia Rollandiana, 1833).

18 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*: 160, citing ANTT, 'Corpo Chronologico', 1–62–154 (ANTTCC).

annually sent charitable supplies prior to, and sometimes following, the Portuguese disruptions.[19] *Fatḥ al-muʿīn*, a celebrated Shāfiʿīte legal text written in sixteenth-century Malabar, frequently clarifies rulings related to the complexities of sending donations to Mecca.[20] Some Malabaris even constructed hospices in Mecca for the convenience of pilgrims. Such initiatives were undertaken with the protective help and permission of the rulers, who in this case were Hindus.

The rulers' support of the pilgrimage and related matters had economic motivations, though some had political and religious aspirations as partially was the case with the sultans of Gujarat and Bijapur. Many kingdoms made notable profit from the Hajj. Ashin Das Gupta suggests that the trade and pilgrimage were closely linked in the context of Gujarat, since around fifty percent of gross profits that the region made from the Red Sea trade depended on the annual pilgrimage. Thus the Hajj, as a "clement one", helped the growth of the largest market of the Indian Ocean merchant, as two-thirds of Gujarati exports to the Red Sea were sold at Mecca.[21] Pearson casts doubts on this, but he agrees that there certainly were trade goods on pilgrimage ships.[22] The Golconda Sultan also sent subsidised ships with multiple purposes by exploiting the transoceanic markets for the products from his kingdom. He moreover got permission to distribute alms in his name among the people in Mecca. He also requested an easy passage not only for the Hajj-pilgrims, but also for the Arab-Persian immigrants to his kingdom.[23] In the contexts of Malabar and Konkan coasts interests were not different. It was not just these local rulers who had economic interests in the pilgrimages and related trade. The mighty Muslim dynasties had similar interests, since they were actively partaking in the on-going commercial activities. Thus any attack on the

19 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 173–175; cf. Jean Aubin, "Un nouveau classique, l'Anonyme du British Museaum," in *Mare Luso-Indicum* III (1976): 185, and cf. John F. Richards, ed. *Precious Metals in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Worlds* (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1983), 202–203.

20 Zayn al-Dīn bin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Malaybārī, *Fatḥ al-muʿīn bi sharḥ Qurrat al-ʿAyn* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Wahhabiyya, 1873), *passim*.

21 Ashin Das Gupta, "Gujarati Merchants and the Red Sea Trade, 1700–1725" in *The Age of Partnership: Europeans in Asia before Dominion*, eds. Blair B. Kling and M.N. Pearson (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979), 123–158, especially 123–137. See also Ashin Das Gupta, "Introduction II: The Story" in *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800*, eds. Ashin Das Gupta and MN Pearson (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1987), 25–27.

22 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 138.

23 Subrahmanyam, "Persians, Pilgrims and the Portuguese," 505.

pilgrims and traders of Malabar invoked not only the political and economic interests of kingdoms of the Indian subcontinent, but also had wider relevance as the local rulers managed to attract the support from outside worlds such as the Ottomans and Mamluks as well as from their own aristocratic and mercantile groups.

Portuguese Interruptions: Beyond Economy

The Portuguese maritime empire is said to have been secular in its attitude due to sole interests in economic facets and its facilitative political and social structures. However, Christian missionaries wanted to take action against Muslim pilgrimage.[24] This argument is not sustainable on the basis of some recent studies that explained how the Portuguese, or the Iberian maritime entrepreneurs in general, kept a "crusading" spirit in their commercial partialities.[25] Taking cue from them, I also argue that besides the Portuguese ambitions to gain commercial benefits, their dealings with the Hajj had a religious inner-layer that disrupted the movements of Muslim pilgrims in the sixteenth century.

The arrival and presence of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean generated a fear among the indigenous mercantile and political communities in general, and among the Muslim pilgrims in particular. Especially, the introduction of cartaz-pass and the actions of capturing, attacking and/or sinking the ships travelling without it had wider implications in the minds of both traders and pilgrims. For example, *Akbar Nama*, written by the Mughal court-historian Abul Fazl (1551–1602) informs us about the fear that pilgrims as well as political entities had when members of the royal family wanted to set out for Hajj. When Gulbadan Begum—daughter of Babur who established the Mughal empire—decided to go for pilgrimage in the middle of 1570s, her nephew and the then emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) was worried about the possible attacks by the Portuguese due to widespread rumours. A higher official named Qilich Khan was then sent to Surat to authorize the safety and dangers in setting voyage at that time. Only after he confirmed safety by securing permission through negotiating the price with the Portuguese could Gulbadan Begum start her pilgrimage journey along with numerous other members of the royal family

24 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 99–101.

25 For example, see Truxillo, *Crusaders in the Far East*; cf. Phillip Williams, *Empire and Holy War in the Mediterranean: The Galley and Maritime Conflict between the Habsburgs and Ottomans* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014).

and court in two ships.[26] Bayazid Beg Turkman, another Mughal official, also described the disruptions that the Portuguese caused to his pilgrimage to Mecca when he set off to the Ḥijāz from Surat in 1578.[27]

In the particular cases of Malabar and Bijapur the scenario was the same. Attacks and fears can be traced back to the sixteenth-century historical sources. The first known and reported Portuguese onslaught on the pilgrims in the Indian Ocean occurred in the waters of Malabar, as the aforementioned film tried to imagine. Its basic historical content, if not the narrative and reconstructions, corresponds with some actual events that happened in the early sixteenth century. Near Calicut, as early as 1502, Vasco da Gama seized a big Mamluk royal-owned ship named the *Meri*, which had left Calicut with much merchandise; and "because it was so large and secure, many honoured Muslims travelled on it on pilgrimage to their abomination of Mecca, and it returned with these pilgrims and also a very rich cargo." In his *Da Asia*, Joao de Barros stated that Gama and his associates captured the ship and burned it along with the pilgrims and merchants even though they offered a large payoff to the Portuguese. One captain of the ship was rescued due to his expertise and some twenty children were captured in order to convert them to Christianity.[28] More interestingly, we have an underutilized narrative from the ship of Gama itself by an anonymous Dutch voyager who had travelled with Gama all the way from Lisbon to Calicut. In his account, he wrote about the burning of the pilgrim-ship:

> On the 11th day of September we arrived in a kingdom called Cannaer [Cannanore], and it is situated [*sic*] near a chain of mountains called Montebyl [Mount Eli or Ezhimala], and there we watched the ships of Meccha, and they are ships which carry the spices which come to our country, and we spoiled the woods, so that the King of Portugal alone would get spices from there. But it was impossible for us to accomplish our design. Nevertheless, at the same time we took a Meccha ship, on board of which were 380 men and many women and children, and we took from it at least 12,000 ducats and at least 10,000 more worth of goods; and we burnt the ship and all the people on board with gun powder, on the first day of October.[29]

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26 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, trans. H. Beverigde (Calcutta: Asiatic Society Bengal, 1897–1939) 3 vols., III: chp. 143; cf. Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, 128–134.

27 Digby, "Bāyazīd Beg Turkmān's Pilgrimage to Makka and Return to Gujarat," 159–177.

28 Joao de Barros, *Da Asia*, I, vi: 3.

29 Anonymous, *Calcoen: A Dutch Narrative of the Second Voyage of Vasco Da Gama to Calicut*

This narrative not only tells us about the burning of a pilgrim-ship but also refers to the presence of many more ships of Mecca. Similar blitzes over the pilgrims were repeated at various points of time in the sixteenth century.

Such particular attacks and general hostilities by the Portuguese towards the mercantile communities of Calicut had its wider psychological sways over the public consciousness of pilgrimage and physical impacts on the entrepreneurships. The place of Malabar in the Hajj-network with direct linkages between Calicut and Jeddah was unsettled in the early sixteenth century when the Portuguese wanted to disrupt the existing trade- and pilgrimage-routes controlled by the Muslims or Arabs. The Portuguese commenced to block the Red Sea for Muslim-ships and attacked any unrecognized entrants. Naturally the merchants and pilgrims from Calicut had to either avoid their direct journeys from Calicut to Jeddah, to sail more cautiously and unhurriedly outplaying the Portuguese eyes, or to anchor at Aden in order to watch out for Portuguese presence in the nearby seas. Gradually Aden became a crucial centre of trade and transhipment for them; and the Malabari ships often did not dare to go beyond that to Jeddah. These developments significantly disrupted the linkage between Malabar and Jeddah, as much as it affected Mecca itself. According to Faroqhi, the Portuguese incursions into the Red Sea generated panic and uncontrolled price-hikes and led the Sharif of Mecca to send his young son to the Ottoman Sultan in Cairo offering the suzerainty of Ḥijāz in order to save the region from poverty and insecurity.[30] This also naturally intensified the troubles of pilgrims from the southern parts of the Indian subcontinent. In the case of Malabar, there were around twenty-five ships annually, or ten to fifteen ships

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Printed at Antwerp circa 1504, trans. with intro. J.Ph. Berjeau (London: Basil Montagu Pickering, 1874), unpaginated.

30 On the transfer of Mecca to the Ottoman hands, see ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥusayn ʿIṣāmī, *Samṭ al-nujūm al-ʿawālī fī anbāʾ al-awāʾil wa al-tawālī* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Salafiyya wa-Maktabatuhā, 1960/61), vol. 4, 94; Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Surūr, *al-Minaḥ al-Raḥmāniyya fī al-dawla al-ʿUthmāniyya: wa-dhayluh, al-Laṭāʾif al-Rabbāniyya ʿalā al-minaḥ al-Raḥmāniyya* (Damascus: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 1995), 185–202. Faroqhi (*Pilgrims and Sutlans*, 147) says: "'the Meccan food supply closely depended on the arrival of grains from Egypt. […] Before these accursed unbelievers [the Portuguese] arrived, a *tuman* of grain sold for 20 ashrafi coins. When the news arrived, the price increased to 30 on the very same day, and to 40 a day later. It still continues to rise, and people say that it will reach 100.' This was the report of the Ottoman naval commander Selman Re'is from Jeddah, and it explains why the Hejaz submitted to Ottoman domination without a shot being fired." Compare this with an economic historical analysis by Richard T. Mortel, "Prices in Mecca during the Mamluk Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 32 (1989): 279–334.

intermittently, leaving Calicut for the Red Sea in the early sixteenth century.[31] This number diminished to eleven or twelve ships by the 1560s.[32] Nevertheless, this disruption of the direct cruise between Malabar and Jeddah gradually became ineffective for different reasons: a) the Portuguese blockade of the Red Sea was loosened by the 1540s, and b) the Malabari voyagers were clever enough to circumvent Portuguese control.

In the latter case, we have references to the mode of Malabaris setting voyage carefully, watching out for any possible Portuguese attacks. Genevieve Buchon writes about the *sambuk*s from Malabar heading to the Red Sea, escorted to the high seas by the *parao*s well-equipped with 20–30 oarsmen, more than one hundred archers or harquebusiers, and three or four pieces of artillery in each. Though Malabaris harassed the Portuguese armadas in the waters close to the coasts, they tried to avoid any encounters in the open sea where their weaponries were ineffective at reaching the high-sided Portuguese ships.[33] Such sambuk carried not only merchandise, but also the pilgrims and alms to distribute in Mecca during the high-seasons of Hajj. These ships sailed without any cartaz; and even if the Portuguese knew about it, they were incapable of extinguishing it. One letter from the Portuguese Crown written towards the end of the sixteenth century asked the viceroy to withdraw his moves to erect a fort at Ponnāni in southern Malabar and instructed him "to utilize the funds for raising a fleet to combat the corsairs whose ships were still sailing to Mecca without Portuguese cartazes."[34]

The decisions and actions of the Portuguese administrative and commercial offices were ignited by constant religious incitements from the Jesuit missionary and the Catholic Church. Pearson writes that the "Church of course was most open and most vehement in its opposition to Islam, and especially to the pilgrimage," which was translated in "a series of anti-Muslim decrees" by the Provincial Councils held at Goa.[35] Among many anti-Muslim statements of the Provincial Council held in 1567 under the presidency of first archbishop of Goa

31 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, citing "Descricao des terras da India Oriental, e dos seus usos, costumes, ritos e leis," in *Biblioteca Nacional*, Lisbon, Mss. 9163, f. 37; Marechal Gomes da Costa, *Descobrimentos e Conquistas*, Lisbon, 1927–1930, III: 75.

32 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, citing ANTTCC, 1–106–50.

33 Genevieve Bouchon, "Sixteenth Century Malabar and the Indian Ocean," in *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800*, eds. MN Pearson and Ashin Das Gupta (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1987), 175–176.

34 R.R.S. Chauhan, "Kunjali's naval challenge to the Portuguese" in *Essays in Goan History*, ed. Teotonio R. De Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 33.

35 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 98.

(Gaspar de Leão Pereira, d. 1576), decree 35 particularly dealt with the issue of Muslim pilgrims:

> Many Muslims and other infidels come to our ports with books of their sects, and their false relics that they bring from the House of Mecca, and other places they hold to be holy, and they pass through our territories with these things to their own areas. The officials of the customs houses are ordered that when these books and relics are seen, they should not be cleared but rather the prelates or vicars should be informed and they should examine them and if they find them to be such, should burn them.[36]

Almost two decades later, the Third Provincial Council held in 1585 was enraged over the Hajj-problem by declaring that cartazes must not be given to go on pilgrimage to "the house of Mecca or to the pagodas of the gentiles." A decree clearly specified: "This Synod, in conformity with the Vienna Council, declares that cartazes and licenses, either verbal or written, must not be given to Muslims so that they can go on pilgrimage to the house of Mecca to their false Muḥammad …"[37] Furthermore, it instructed the captains of Hormuz in Persia and all higher officials in charge of fortresses in India to observe such prohibition, "as one would hope from good Christians zealous in the faith." All these decrees and resolutions from the side of Church were motivated by its own religious interests and its fear towards the spread of Islam across the Indian Ocean world.[38]

Despite such significant decrees from the Provincial Councils, Pearson argues that the effectiveness of such resolutions was very minimal as they did not have a sway over economy which was mostly secular. In his view, although the religious/missionary authorities wanted to be strict and intolerant to pilgrims and the importation of Muslim religious books or relics or "traffic in idolatry," the so-called secular authorities were generally more relaxed and less strict, tempering the religious opposition with economic realities.[39] Such a differentiation between religious groups and secularly economic and political structures

36 *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum in Ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae*, ed. Vicecomite de Paiva Manso, I, Appendix, Concilia Provincialia Ecclesiae Goanensis (Lisbon, 1872), 14—cited by Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 99.

37 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 99, citing *Archivo Portugues Oriental*, ed. J.H. da Cunha Rivara, Nova Goa, 1857–1877, 6 vols., IV, 126.

38 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 99.

39 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 101.

is difficult to incorporate into the contemporary societal diasporic levels of the Indian Ocean in which one aspect was not devoid of the other. Notwithstanding the close association of religion, politics and economy in Iberian Peninsula, the same approaches operated concomitantly and inseparably in the Indian Ocean contexts too. Pearson himself describes elsewhere that religion was not merely "a sacral coating on the hard and fundamental economic motivation." In addition, he confirms that "most Portuguese were God-fearing, did try to follow their religion as they saw it, and could be swayed by appeals from their priests."[40]

Even supposing that the "secular" Portuguese of *Estado* were not influenced by the ongoing political and economic measures back in the Iberian Peninsula against Muslims and their pilgrimages through *Reconquista* and inquisitions, at least in Malabar's context it is plausible to argue that political-economic groups and religious entities functioned inseparably or at least in parallel. According to one treaty signed by Portuguese representatives with the Zamorin of Calicut in 1599, the latter agreed to cease persecuting Christians. He allowed the establishment of Catholic churches in Malabar and supported the Synod of Diamper on the banishment of the customs and practices followed by the St. Thomas Christians. Moreover, the treaty requested the release of all Portuguese and Christian prisoners. In return, political officials offered many cartazes for his ships bound to Jeddah, Bengal, Aceh and Canara.[41] This treaty, like many others, clearly explicates that delineation of economy and religion in the Portuguese dealings is superficial. Assuming that they were only disconnected in the case of Muslim pilgrimage would be rather injudicious, especially when we have examples of Portuguese capture of around twenty Muslim children from the aforesaid pilgrim-ship in order to convert them into Christianity, while all other pilgrims were massacred and their ship was burnt in 1502.

Furthermore, a sharp distinction between "secular" and "religious" Portuguese interests during this era is an outcome of exclusive use of Portuguese frames and sources without paying attention to the side of indigenous people who had certainly perceived both the Jesuit missionaries and Portuguese traders as the same *ifranj* and foreign Christians. The Portuguese continued attacking pilgrims on various grounds, while the Muslim public sentiments vehemently responded to the attacks in their religious responses and physi-

40 M.N. Pearson, "Introduction", in *The Age of Partnership: Europeans in Asia before Dominion*, eds. Blair B. Kling and M.N. Pearson (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979), 1–14.

41 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India 1500–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 270.

FIGURE 1.1 *Facade of Jāmiʿ mosque, Ponnāni, established in the sixteenth century*
PHOTO TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, MAHMOOD KOORIA

cal actions. The Muslims of Malabar launched jihad against many Portuguese interruptions, including into their journeys to the Holy Cities.

Counter-Interruptions: Hajj Intertwines with Jihad

Portuguese attacks on the Hajj-pilgrims provoked the local Muslims to respond in an obvious way. The 'ulamā' of Ponnāni (the prominent religious educational centre in Malabar by the sixteenth century) came up with various *fatwās*, religious sermons, and texts summoning the Muslim community to unite against Portuguese atrocities. They also sought support through their treatises and envoys from prominent Muslim Mamluk and Ottoman rulers. While one treatise was dedicated to the sultan of Bijapur, another one appreciated the Hindu ruler of Calicut. We do not have any text talking about the Mughals in this respect. This illustrates the mutual alliance among the "victims" of coastal belts as well as their contacts from distant lands, such as the Mamluks and Ottomans around the maritime scape of the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean, in contrast to the hinterland-centric Mughals. In constructing a transoceanic bondage, the pilgrimage set a starting point for allying against what had been perceived as Portuguese "cruelties."

The incitements against the Portuguese had their foundations in religious sentiments calling for jihad against the "cross- and image-worshipping" Christian Portuguese, who were said to have inflicted troubles on the comfort-zones of the Muslims' social and religious mobility. In South Asia (ruled by the Mughal Empire and many other local kingdoms who mainly were Muslims), the case of Malabar is exceptional, since it was reigned by the Hindu kingdoms. It is worth noting that such calls for jihad and jihadi literatures were produced in this region, but in this case not against the Hindu rulers. Instead, they were directed against the Christian Portuguese interlopers who made their social and religious lives troublesome. The foundational motives of such calls were added up with the discriminative facts that "Muslim shippers in the Indian Ocean were more affected than Hindus or members of other religious groups, as Portuguese officials were accustomed to regarding Muslims of whatever background as their principal enemies."[42]

From a wider South Asian perspective, we do not have enough historical evidence from the Muslim scholars, aristocrats, or rulers invoking any religious sentiment of holy-war against the Portuguese, for they hinder the pilgrimage alone. We have, however, partial references to the resentments of the Mughal emperors towards the Portuguese atrocities: when Akbar heard about the Portuguese ravages and blockades of pilgrimage during his aunt's intended pilgrimage to Mecca. He is said to have raged against the Portuguese verbally. Yet, he did not take any action against them.[43] Instead of going to a direct encounter, he ensured a temporal security and safety for the journey of his royal family members and courtiers. However, other Muslims such as Makhdūm al-Mulk Mullah ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1582), the *Shaykh al-Islām* of Akbar, asked the rulers to ensure safety for their pilgrimage to Mecca on their way through the land-routes controlled by the "heretical" Shīʿīte Persians or the sea-routes dominated by the Christian Portuguese. It is reported that "Akbar came to an understanding with the Portuguese and permitted the pilgrims (under a *Mīr Hajj*) to go on land or sea with their expenses being borne by the state."[44] Later, Akbar preferred the maritime route for pilgrims over the land route. When he was advised to make alliances against Persia in order to remove difficulties of the pilgrims in

42 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, 132–133.

43 *Akbar Nama*, III, 275–277, 409–410, 757–758.

44 Jagadish Sarkar, "Asian Balance of Power in the Light of Mughal-Persian Rivalry in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Studies in the Foreign Relations of India* (*From Earliest Times to 1947*) *Prof. H.K. Sherwani Felicitation Volume*, eds. P.M. Joshi and M.A. Nayeem (Hyderabad: State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1975), 204.

the land-route, he did not agree. He said that the conquest of Gujarat and thus the control over the port of Surat had opened another route for pilgrimage.[45]

Also, in the second half of the seventeenth century such verbal fulminations came from the emperor Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707), who is quoted to have said: "Moderation will not work. Severity and harshness are required" against the Europeans who attack pilgrims and traders.[46] Since such verbal outbursts were not followed up by any action, some historians have argued that "the Portuguese were no real threat to the Hajj."[47] It might ring true in the case of the pilgrim-ships sent by the rulers such as the Mughals, who had always appointed a *Mīr Hajj* and many soldiers to each ship, but not in the case of many other ships and people from regions like Malabar who went for Hajj without such massive state-support. The Portuguese would not have dared to attack those well-armed and organized Mughal ships in order to become a "real threat," but they did attack the small groups of pilgrims, which historians tend to underestimate.

The ideological setting for an anti-Portuguese jihad was fixed by the 'ulamā', educated at the religious educational centres of Mecca and Cairo, in various religious decrees and sermons. Such anti-Portuguese works were unprecedented in the hitherto Muslim world, as they attended to the classical Islamic literatures and medieval jihadi texts by situating the Portuguese in the broader context of Christianity versus Islam.

We have five monographs from sixteenth-century Malabar produced by the 'ulamā' of Ponnāni against the Portuguese in the context of their attacks on pilgrims and others: *Taḥrīḍ ahl al-īmān*; *Qaṣīdat al-jihādiyyat*; *Khuṭbat al-jihādiyyat*; *Fatḥ al-mubīn* and *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*. These monographs all narrate the atrocities of the Portuguese against the Muslims in Malabar in particular and other parts of the Indian Ocean world in general. The attack on Hajj-pilgrims is a constant atrocity that most of these works incite. Before moving further into such details, if we problematize these texts in terms of source-criticisms, we can easily understand that they have a general characteristic of medieval Arabic/Islamic texts which do not give the details of author(s), date of writing, etc.—as elaborated by J. Pedersen in the Arab-Islamic contexts and by Ronit Ricci in South- and Southeast-Asian cases.[48]

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45 Sarkar, "Asian Balance of Power," 204.

46 Farooqi, "Moguls, Ottomans, and Pilgrims," 198; Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 120.

47 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 123.

48 J. Pedersan, *The Arabic Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011).

Taḥrīḍ ahl al-īmān ʿalā jihād ʿabadat al-ṣulbān (The Enticement of the People of Faith to launch Jihad against the Worshippers of Crosses; henceforth *Taḥrīḍ*) is probably the first among these texts.[49] This is a long-poem in Arabic written by Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Senior (d. 1522), who migrated from Cochin to Ponnāni in the late fifteenth century. Though we do not know when exactly this work was written, the fact that the author passed away on 1522 and the references to the early stages of Portuguese presence in Malabar, though very scarce and scattered, lead us to assume that it was written before the 1520s.[50] *Taḥrīḍ* set a paradigm for the jihadi texts in Malabar as we can see the same narrative style and invocations, incitation and polemics in the later monographs too, though those do not acknowledge or refer to it.

After the introductory invocations and supplications to God, the author enlists various cruelties inflicted by the Portuguese on the Muslims like looting possessions, devastating cities, burning mosques, desecrating Qur'ān, violating chastity of women, "it is an exhausting job for a human tongue to list them all." Such descriptions of various ferocities are followed by a description on the attacks on the pilgrims:

> We feel aggrieved by the hardships meted out by
> The Portuguese, who worship the cross and images.
> They transgressed in God's country in multiple ways,
> Spreading everywhere trouble's tentacles.
> They unleashed in Malabar a series of violence,
> Mischiefs and troubles of varying hues,
> [....] By blocking pilgrims of the Holy Hajj,
> Impeding their journeys to the best of the countries,
> By killing the pilgrims and other believers
> Persecuting and mutilating them in numerous ways,
> By flogging and amputating those who utter '*Muḥammad*'[51]

49 Zayn al-Dīn al-Makhdūm al-Fannānī al-Malaybārī, *Taḥrīḍ ahl al-ʾīmān ʿalā Jihād ʿAbadat al-Ṣulbān* (Calicut: Maktabat al-Huda, 1996).

50 Mahmood Kooria, "*Taḥrīḍ ahl al-īmān*: An Indigenous Account against the Early Modern European Interventions in Indian Ocean World" in Zainuddin Makhdoom I, *Taḥrīḍ ahl al-īmān ʿalā jihād ʿabadat al- ṣulbān*, trans. and ed. by K.M. Muhammad (Calicut: Other Books, 2013), 21.

51 al-Fannānī al-Malaybārī, *Taḥrīḍ ahl al-ʾīmān*, 92; cf. Zainuddin Makhdoom I, *Taḥrīḍ ahl al-īmān*, 33—depended on this translation with minor betterments.

The author is repeatedly grieved by the attacks on the freedom of movement of Muslims. It not only addresses the attacks on the ships of pilgrims at seas but also refers to the blockade of travellers, destruction of seaports and commercial hubs, and ill-treatment and robbery of the passengers—which all were hardly heard of in the hitherto customs and traditions of the mercantile scapes of the Indian Ocean. In the early decades of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese captains and admirals who followed Gama, such as Pedro Alvares Cabral, Afonso de Albuquerque, and Lourenço de Almeida, were infamous for their atrocities, similar to Gama himself. They frequently unleashed onslaughts on Muslim settlements, mercantile hubs, and journeys which in reverse must have motivated the author to write against them. He talks about the capture or massacre of the Muslims who set out on voyages either for pilgrimage or other purposes by the Portuguese:

> [They unleashed violence] By keeping the captives shackled in heavy manacles
> And persecuting them with fire sans kindness,
> By slapping the captives with slippers on their faces,
> Particularly, if they sanitise with water they received lashes,
> By herding the captives and pulling them together,
> As if they were pitiable cattle, in narrow cells,
> By dragging them in the street up for sale, kept in chains,
> And torturing them there to attract better prices,
> By forcing them to do what they are incapable to do
> And threatening them, if they defy, with persecutions,
> By inducing them to worship the cross
> And intimidating them into becoming apostates.
> They ridiculed Islam and Muslims
> And laughed loudly at pedestrians.[52]

After recounting such various "brutalities" of the Portuguese, the author calls the Muslims for engaging in jihad by referring to numerous merits and advantages that a holy warrior would get in this world and the afterlife. By recurrently referring to Qur'ān, the Prophetic traditions and the Islamic law of war, he writes:

52 al-Fannānī al-Malaybārī, *Taḥrīḍ ahl al-īmān*, 93; cf. Zainuddin Makhdoom I, *Taḥrīḍ ahl al-īmān*, 34.

> Fighting against them [the Portuguese] is incumbent on each Muslim
> Who is healthy and equipped with provisions;
> Even on a servant without master's permission,
> And also on children and healthy husbands;
> Even on travellers who enjoy the privileges to shorten prayers,
> If it is not sufficient without their presence.
> For, they entered the houses of Muslims
> And incarcerated Islamic Sharia's followers.[53]

This call for jihad and "poignant" descriptions about the advantages and merits a martyr will obtain in the hereafter had its influences over the community. The prominent mercantile-military family of Kuññāli Marakkārs had moved their locus of operation from Cochin to Ponnāni, where religious sentiments were much more potent due to the presence of Zayn al-Dīn himself and the educational institution. The Kuññālis were one of the many Muslim mercantile families who lost their earlier commercial prospects due to the monopolizing attempts of the Portuguese. The ruling Zamorins appointed them as naval captains. Thus, the heavenly promises invoked by the ʿulamāʾ and the worldly assurances given by the rulers must have motivated them to undertake a holy-war against the Portuguese.

While *Taḥrīḍ* is written in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the other four works we have were probably written in and around the last quarter. *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn fī baʿḍ akhbār al-Burtughāliyyīn* (The Gift of Warriors in some Accounts about the Portuguese; henceforward *Tuḥfat*) could be the last among them, as indicated by a lot of contextual evidence.[54] All other three works are written, probably a decade before *Tuḥfat*, by Qāḍī Muḥammad bin Qāḍī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1617) who was educated at Ponnāni and became a *qāḍī* at Calicut. At this time, the political situation was tauter as the Portuguese had acquired more power and wealth through their commercial enterprises across the Indian Ocean from East Africa to East Asia. Besides, the Portuguese kingdom was ready to support any initiatives for the further strengthening of the *Estado da India*. On the other hand, the long battles had diminished the wealth and capacity of the Zamorins to a great extent, and many supporters from neighbouring

53 Ibid.

54 For a chronology and social contexts of *Tuḥfat*'s inscribing, see A.I. Vilayathullah, "Short Biography of Shaykh Zainuddin" in *Shaykh Zainuddin Makhdum's Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn: A Historical Epic of the Sixteenth Century*, trans. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust and Calicut: Other Books, 2006), xvii–xxiii; K.K.N. Kurup, "Foreword" in *Shaykh Zainuddin Makhdum's Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn*, xiii–xvi.

regions had allied with the Portuguese. In such an overwrought situation, the Zamorins badly needed any emotional and physical support. For the Muslims in Malabar, the mighty Portuguese were still continuing to target the community at various levels including pilgrimage, trade, or travel. Thus, when the tightened situation urged the Zamorins to attack the Portuguese with possible maximum power, the 'ulamā' must have tried to support the former by writing such treatises one after another.

We cannot clearly put Qāḍī Muḥammad's three works in a chronological order because we do not know the exact dates of writing, except the assumption of certain time periods for each text. The *Khuṭbat al-jihādiyyat* (The Sermon of Jihad; hereafter *Khuṭbat*) must be written prior to the 1570s, while *Qaṣīdat al-jihādiyyat* (The Poem of Jihad; hereinafter *Qaṣīdat*) and *Fatḥ al-mubīn* (The Manifest Victory, henceforth *Fatḥ*) must be after that. The first two texts, a poem and a sermon correspondingly, were sent to the Cāliyaṃ Fort and were later circulated in Malabar to be read out in religious sermons in mosques. Both texts address the Portuguese brutalities against Muslims, including their assaults on the pilgrims and travellers. In *Khuṭbat*, the author stresses the urgency of jihad against Portuguese cruelties. A noteworthy statement in this text is an exaltation of jihad over Hajj from an Islamic point of view:

> I encourage you to fight at sea. A military expedition by sea is more meritorious than ten expeditions by land. For the superiority of the war at sea, suffice a Prophetic saying: whoever missed a war with me, [he may] fight at sea. Whoever crossed the sea [for war] is equal to one who crossed mountain-valleys on his feet [for Hajj]; the seasick is like one who gets drenched in his own blood in the land.[55]

By referring to the above-mentioned Prophetic tradition, we can understand the author's keenness to motivate his Muslim "brethren" to prioritize jihad in such particular contexts over Hajj. Towards the end of this treatise he also tried to persuade Muslims to participate in the *ribāṭ* (Ar. lit. "tied up"; "hospice", "fortification") by urging them to watch and safeguard the borders of their lands

55 Qāḍī Muḥammad, *Khuṭbat*. This is in reference to a *ḥadīth* narrated in Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*; idem, *al-Muʿjam al-Awsaṭ*. It says:

'Abd Allāh bin 'Amr bin al-'Āṣ narrates: "God's Messenger said: 'A pilgrimage [Hajj] for whoever has not performed it yet is better than ten wars. A war for whoever has performed it is better than ten pilgrimages. A war by sea is better than ten wars by land. Whoever crossed the sea is equal to one who crossed all the mountain-valleys. The seasick is like one who gets drenched in his own blood.'"

at the coastal lines against the enemies. It is interesting to note that the concept and practice of *ribāṭ*, found in the early histories of Islamic expansion, were re-invoked in this South Asian context against Portuguese battles.[56]

Qaṣīdat sums up similar topics mentioned in the *Khuṭbat*. It also condemns piracy and similar crimes committed by Muslims. It is a short poem with only forty-three lines written as an appendix to the *Khuṭbat*. The author does not enter into the detailed narrations of the Portuguese mayhems about the pilgrims in particular, or Muslims in general. These two works must have been written before 1571 when the peoples of Malabar were fighting against a Portuguese fort at Cāliyaṃ, near Calicut. Muslims achieved victory in that war, which motivated the author to express his joyfulness in coining the title of his next book as *Fatḥ*. It also gives similar narratives regarding the attacks over pilgrims along with other malevolence. Identical to the *Tuḥfat*, this work also gives hints to historical descriptions, which are related in mythical traditions with reference to some accurate Hijri (Islamic Calender) dates. However, an obnoxious and xenophobic depiction of the Portuguese and their attitudes against the indigenous people are also mentioned:

> The Frank[57] who worships the cross and prostrates before pictures and idols.
> Of ugly appearance and form, blue-eyed like that of Gorillas (Ghouls).
> He is cunning, disobedient, deceitful and filthiest of all creatures of God.
> [....] But along with the rise in the construction of the Fort, he (Frank) began to show his inimical attitude and evil intentions.
> And when its construction was completed he wished to use it (as a means) for oppressing the people.
> And he began to demand titches on the elephants and similar things which are not proper.
> And he forbade ships to set sail for Mecca (Perhaps ships of pilgrims) and this was the worst of the calamity.[58]

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56 On the concept and practice of *ribāṭ*, see Hassan S. Khalilieh, "The Ribāṭ System and Its Role in Coastal Navigation," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42 (1999): 212–225; Asa Egar, "Ḥiṣn, Ribāṭ, Thaghr or Qaṣr? Semantics and Systems of Frontier Fortifications in the Early Islamic Period," in *The Lineaments of Islam: Studies in Honor of Fred McGraw Donner*, ed. Paul M. Cobb (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

57 The Franks (Arabic: *ifranj*) in this context indicates the Portuguese. He uses this term interchangeably with many other terms, such as cross- and image-worshippers and Christians.

58 M.A. Muid Khan, "Indo-Portuguese Struggle for Maritime Supremacy (As gleaned from an

He harshly attacked the cartaz-system introduced by the Portuguese which he considered more abusive to Muslim religious sentiments. The following lines indicate that Muslim pilgrims, merchants, and travellers became hesitant to take the Portuguese passes, not merely for economic reasons, but for other religious reasons:

> Thus, he [Raja of Cochin] started war on land and the Franks at sea.
> And he [Frank(s)] restricted vessels from sailing on the sea, especially the vessels of greater and lesser pilgrimages.
> He began to burn the cities and mosques and made people like slaves to him.
> And he erected a fort in Koṭuṅṅallūr as a barrier like a wall.
> Whoever travelled in a vessel without taking his letter of permission or pass he tortured him severely.
> He mentioned in the pass, all that the vessel contained even the arms and number of people or the chief of those in it.
> The wording of his letters is such as to show that the Muslims are his owned slaves (come to help) O! ye Muslims.
> And the premier object is either to convert Muslims to his religion or to kill them (so come for rescue) O! ye Muslims![59]

The above lines indicate how Muslims perceived the cartaz-system, and why the 'ulamā' stood against it by motivating their coreligionists not to take the pass in their pilgrimage-route. Other South Asian sources also help us understand such uncomforted Muslim mentalities towards the cartazes. Abul Fazl writes in 1575 that the *Shaykh al-Islām* of Emperor Akbar issued a *fatwā* stating that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even hurtful. The reason for that legal decree was simply because the two roads to Mecca via land and sea had become unusable as Hajj-routes anymore. The land route via Persia was controlled by the *Qizilbashes* or the Shī'īte militia from whom the Indian Sunnī pilgrims suffered harassment, whereas in their sea-routes: "they had to put up with indignities from the Portuguese whose ship-tickets had pic-

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Unpublished Arabic Urjuza: Fathul Mubiyn)." In *Studies in the Foreign Relations of India (From Earliest Times to 1947) Prof. H.K. Sherwani Felicitation Volume*, eds. P.M. Joshi and M.A. Nayeem (Hyderabad: State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh 1975), 173—depended this translation, but with certain alterations; cf. Qāḍī Muḥammad, *Fatḥ al-mubīn*, trans. into Malayalam K.K. Muhammad Abdul Karim (Trissur 1982).

59 Qāḍī Muḥammad, *Fatḥ al-Mubīn*, 16; Muid Khan, "Indo-Portuguese Struggle," 171—translation from him with minor alterations.

tures of Mary and Jesus stamped on them. To make use, therefore, of the latter alternative would mean to countenance idolatry."[60]

Remarkably, among the jihadi texts discussed so far *Fatḥ* is the only text that praises the local Hindu rulers, the Zamorins. Both in the opening and concluding parts of the poem we find detailed lines that appreciate their religious tolerance and attitudes. The poet invited the attention of the people, especially from the Arab Muslim world, to the courage and bravery of the Zamorins: "who loves our religion of Islam and the Muslims from among all his mankind; who is helper of our religion and executor of our Islamic law to the extent that he has even allowed an address (to be recited in the name of our Caliph)." He further stated that when an "infidel" oppressed a Muslim, the Zamorins waged war against him on behalf of the Muslims.[61] These lines are crucial as the author emphasized the support and security Muslims enjoyed from the non-believer ruler during the attacks over Muslims. He even requested Muslims to pray for him as "he is fighting against [infidels] in spite of his disbelief, while a Muslim king does not do so." On the other side, though the Zamorins' motivations to engage in the war with the Portuguese were principally political and economic as many scholars have demonstrated, they were successful in gaining trust among Muslims to partake in the battles with a more religious frame.

The fifth text *Tuḥfat* was written around 1580, as evident from many historical events it described. It is also a widely translated and well-known piece of work among historians of Portuguese expanses in South Asia. The author is Zayn al-Dīn Junior (d. 1581?), grandson of the afore-mentioned Zayn al-Dīn Senior, the author of *Taḥrīḍ*. *Tuḥfat* did not only provide descriptions of the Portuguese attacks on the Muslim pilgrims, but also called for jihad by exalting it over Hajj in a similar line with the contents of *Taḥrīḍ* and *Khuṭbat*. It also describes the Portuguese atrocities against the Muslims of Malabar and on the Hajj-pilgrims. In a chapter entitled "Certain Shameful Deeds of the Portuguese," Zayn al-Dīn Junior writes:

> The Portuguese scoffed at the Muslims and held them up to scorn. They harassed them for no reason; insulted them; humiliated them; forced them to carry them on their back to cross filthy, muddy tracts as they toured around the countryside; spit at them and on their faces; obstructed their journeys especially the Hajj journeys; plundered their wealth; seized

60 Abul Fazl, *The Ain-i Akbari by Abul Fazl 'Allami*, trans. Heinrich Blochmann (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873), 172.

61 Qāḍī Muḥammad, *Fatḥ al-Mubīn*, 21; Muid Khan, "Indo-Portuguese Struggle," 176.

> their vehicles; set fire to their houses and mosques; trampled under feet and burned the Holy Qur'ān and other religious books.[62]

In the same chapter, he provides the following description:

> ... [the Portuguese] killed the Hajj-pilgrims and persecuted them with all kinds of cruelties; captured them and kept them bound in heavy chains on their feet or kept them handcuffed dragging them around in the streets and markets to sell them as slaves; and whenever anybody ventured to liberate them out of sympathy, flogged them mercilessly to exact bigger prices; captured them and kept them confined in filthy and stinky, overcrowded dark rooms in dangerous conditions; beat them with sandals and branded them with burning sticks for using water to clean themselves after execration, etc.; captured Muslims and sold some, enslaved some; forced them to do all kinds of hard labour without any compensation.[63]

Zayn al-Dīn dwelled on many Qur'ānic verses and Prophetic sayings highlighting the merits and necessity of engaging in jihad as a way of persuading the believers to fight against the Portuguese. Two of these Prophetic sayings place the merits of jihad above the pilgrimage.[64] This act of citation with a prioritization of jihad over the Hajj has its significance in that particular historical context. He further clarified this standpoint:

> The situation of the one who takes part in the holy struggle is much different from that of a Hajj pilgrim. The warrior in the cause of Allah is setting out on a journey to Allah renouncing his self and his wealth. The benefit of his engaging in war is for the society as a whole. This is

62 *Shaykh Zainuddin Makhdum's Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn: A Historical Epic of the Sixteenth Century* (henceforth *Makhdum's Tuḥfat*), trans. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust and Calicut: Other Books, 2006), 56.

63 *Makhdum's Tuḥfat*, 57.

64 The first one: "When asked about what is the best of deeds, the Prophet (peace be upon him) replied: "Believe in Allah and His messenger." When asked what was after that, he said: "Jihad in the cause of Allah." "Then what?" they asked. "Hajj accepted by God," he replied" (Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Vol. 1, Book 2, No. 25—cited in Makhdūm's *Tuḥfat*, 17). The second one: "Fighting in the cause of Allah for one hour is greater in virtue than performing Hajj fifteen times." (Aḥmad bin Shirāwayhi bin Shahardār Hamadānī al-Daylamī, *Musnad al-Firdaws*—cited in Makhdūm's *Tuḥfat*, 25).

> how one hour fighting in the cause of Allah becomes more virtuous than performing Hajj fifteen times.[65]

These works show how Hajj and jihad intertwined among Muslims in the sixteenth century in their struggle against the Portuguese undertakings in the waters of the Indian Ocean. In their articulation of the merits of jihad and martyrdom (*shahādat*), the authors repeatedly cited one specific ḥadīth that exalted jihad above performing Hajj ten times. Besides the religious tone in these works, they reflect the agony of some Muslims for their inability to perform Hajj as they were aware of frequent stories of massacring the pilgrims. Following the legal textual tradition of the Shāfiʿī school of Islamic law, Zayn al-Dīn Junior was convinced that if the infidels entered "our land" and unleashed attacks on the Muslims, it would be a communal obligation (*farḍ kifāyat*) to wage war against them—a statement which had certain currency in the context of pilgrim-massacres and other attacks on the Muslims of Malabar.[66] The incitement of merits of *shahādat* during jihad above the Hajj frequently appeared in the juridical, mystical, and theological texts produced in Ponnāni's educational religious centres.

Between the appearance of the first treatise and the last four, there is a long gap of at least fifty years during which we scarcely find any anti-Portuguese writings. This does not mean that such jihadi texts were never produced, since the manuscripts of *Qaṣīdat*, *Fatḥ* and *Khuṭbat* were discovered only recently. Despite the lack of jihadi texts to provide evidence, it is highly probable that battles took place between the Kuññālis under the auspice of the Zamorins and the Portuguese during this time—as various sources suggest.

These five monographs were written in Arabic, and not in Malayalam, the local language in Malabar, in order to make them more accessible to a wider Muslim audience outside the domain of Malabar. The authors were most likely eager to create an abode of Islam/safety (*dār al-Islām*/*al-amn*) by means of collaborating with the Muslim sultanates within the Indian subcontinent, such as in Bijapur and outside, by sending a message to Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.[67] The authors primarily wanted to spread their works throughout

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65 *Makhdum's Tuḥfat*, 25.

66 Al-Malaybārī, *Fatḥ al-Muʿīn*, 239–240. The legal status of jihad as a *farḍ kifāya* was initially introduced by al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820), who initially substantiated the Islamic legalist approaches towards war in a concrete way. Riḍwān al-Sayyid, "*Dar al-Ḥarb* and *Dar al-Islam*: Traditions and Interpretations," in Thomas Scheffler, ed. *Religion between Violence and Reconciliation* (Wurzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2002), 123–133.

67 Many of these 'ulamā' were well-versed in the local language, as Qāḍī Muḥammad wrote a

Malabar as well as other places by conveying them to religious scholars who usually were well-versed in Arabic. Qāḍī Muḥammad's *Khuṭbat* was formulated in the form of a sermon to be read out at mosques during the Friday prayers. It is possible that such works were primarily intended to address the religious elites rather than lay Muslims because Arabic was not a medium of communication among them in the region.[68] In that sense, the message was further transmitted from the pulpit to the common people, including the (aspirant) pilgrims.

Their attempts to attract wider attention through this "Arabic cosmopolis" had remarkable relevance as compared to the anti-Portuguese Muslim sentiments that prevailed in the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean worlds from the late-fifteenth century. In the wake of the Portuguese expansion in the North and West African regions, the 'ulamā' instigated the necessity for an immediate engagement in jihad against the Portuguese by using such writings and legal clarifications in other writings. An example of these is *al-Jawāhir al-mukhtārāt* by 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Ḥasan al-Zayyātī (d. 1645).[69] The Ḥaḍramī chronicles from sixteenth-century Southern Arabia also provide classical exemplifications related to the pilgrimage in the coasts of the Indian subcontinent. A chronicle, *Tārīkh al-Shihrī*, describes an encounter of the Gujarat sultan Bahadur Shah (d. 1537) with the Portuguese that led to his murder. It reads:

> … they [the Franks] reproached him [Sultan] for sending the sailing-ships to Jeddah as already mentioned, (maintaining) that all he (really) intended was to incite the Turks against them. He (for his part) absolved himself, saying: 'My intention was merely to go on the pilgrimage in them, but nobody apart from the minister and some of my family consented to go on the pilgrimage.' They would not, however, believe him, and when he left them they sent two grabs in pursuit of him, but he fought them bravely till he and the ministers accompanying him were slain, all except the Khawadja Safar, for him they spared.[70]

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mystical poem in 1607 praising the Ṣūfī 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 1166) titled *Muḥy al-Dīn Māla*. On a side note, remarkably there is no any such anti-Portuguese text in sixteenth-century Malayalam.

68 Hence one could ask: was it read out in Arabic alone, was it translated into the local language, or were both done simultaneously? With the lack of evidences, it is hard to come to a conclusive answer.

69 Jocelyn Hendrickson, "Muslim legal responses to Portuguese occupation in late fifteenth-century North Africa," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12 (2011): 309–325.

70 R.B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast: Hadhrami Chronicles with Yemeni and European Accounts of Dutch Pirates off Mocha in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 75–76.

We could see even more Ḥaḍramī chronicle-descriptions describing concern about the attacks on Muslim pilgrims, merchants, travellers, institutions, and settlements in the South Asian coastlines and in Malabar in particular.[71] Thus, the Malabari 'ulamā' had a clear sense about their choice of writing in Arabic during the ongoing wars, being aware that their literature on jihad would be immediately recognized in the Arabian or Mediterranean regions.

Conclusion

Besides various misconceptions about Mecca, pilgrimage, and the tomb of Muḥammad prevailing in the pre-modern West, European encounters of the Hajj resulted in violence in the sixteenth century. This historical rupture tells us how an unfamiliar ritual of a different culture became a matter of hostile engagement in the early stages of European expansion. The differentiation between the secular and religious spheres within European expanses becomes irrelevant in the eyes of indigenous counter-moves. I do not argue that fights between the coastal communities of western Indian Ocean and the Portuguese were solely motivated by the Hajj. On the basis of what we have demonstrated so far, it is clear that the Portuguese had a hostile approach towards Muslim traders that took many forms including aggressions on the Hajj. The economic motivations in such attacks were intertwined with religious reasons, as a Portuguese historian of that time put it: "As much to annoy and vituperate the Muslims as to make profits for the Portuguese state."[72] Many objects seized from pilgrims or ships were reused by the Portuguese as presents to local kings. For example, Albuquerque sent an envoy in 1511 to eastern Malacca with gifts including certain high-quality Meccan velvets that the Portuguese had taken from a ship near Calicut.[73] The division between the "secular" Portuguese officials and the "religious" Jesuits would not work once we analyse their entanglement with the Hajj.

On the other hand, Muslims stood against the attacks by depicting the Portuguese as a monolithic entity of Christian, cross- and image-worshipping infidels. The indigenous political structures, militia and lay people also supported such a move. Whatever motivations the Portuguese had to attack the pilgrims,

71 For example, see Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, 46.

72 Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 100, citing Diogo do Couto, *O Soldado Pratico*, 3rd edn. (Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1980), 152.

73 Similar events are continuous throughout the century. For a Bengal-Portuguese embassy case in 1533, see Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, 100.

their "cruel" interventions generated a rhetorical memory in South Asia that was transmitted through generations, enabling its audience to stand against Portuguese imperialism as well as colonialism in general. Subrahmanyam argues that Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn's vision of jihad between the Muslims and infidel Portuguese was more an ideal than reality.[74] He falls into such an incorrect conclusion because he thinks that only *Tuḥfat* was written in Malabar in the 1580s when the ideal calls for jihad were not materialized in the following decades. But such an argument is implausible when we look at the long history of jihadi literature, such as *Taḥrīḍ* written in the region before the 1520s as well as at the wars that took place throughout the century. Also, many Malabari ʿulamāʾ had participated in the battles against the Portuguese as is explicit in the battle of 1571 in which many scholars like Qāḍi ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Shaykh Muḥammad Shattārī and Muḥammad bin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz were in commanding roles.

My focus here was only on the sixteenth century; and it therefore concentrated on Portuguese involvements in the Hajj. In later centuries, mainly in the seventeenth century when other European mercantile entrepreneurs began to have strong presence in the waters of the Indian Ocean, we notice that the Dutch and English also began to be interested in the Muslim pilgrimage. Although the Portuguese power decreased after the sixteenth century, they continued to attack pilgrim ships, as we see in 1650 when they attacked 109 pilgrims in the Red Sea and captured their goods.[75] In Southeast Asia, the Dutch encounter with pilgrims has been well analysed by many scholars such as Eric Tagliacozzo's pioneering study.[76] The English also captured many pilgrim-ships in the seventeenth century,[77] and they continued to do so until the twentieth century with multiple diplomatic and political underpinnings.

74 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History* (West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2012), 145.

75 Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, 115.

76 Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

77 In 1695, the English pirates captured a very large state pilgrim ship which had Rs. 5,200,000 in cash alone on board. Khafi Khan, *Khafi Khan's History of Alamgir: Being an English Translation of the Relevant Portions of 'Muntaḫab al-Lubāb' with Notes and an Introduction*, trans. S. Moinul Haqq (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1975), 419–420.

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CHAPTER 2

"The Infidel Piloting the True Believer": Thomas Cook and the Business of the Colonial Hajj

Michael Christopher Low

The Pauper Pilgrim Question

From the 1860s until well into the twentieth century, the pilgrimage to Mecca emerged as a recurrent source of embarrassment for the Government of India.[1] On the international stage, Indian pilgrims were characterized as the primary conduit for the globalization of epidemic diseases, most notably cholera, threatening not only the colonized in Asia but the colonizers at home in Europe. At the numerous international sanitary conferences held to address this threat, indigent pilgrims traveling from or through India were blamed as the most likely bearers of these deadly pathogens. Of particular concern was the significant number of pilgrims able to muster barely enough money to purchase a steamship ticket for their outgoing journey from Bombay to Jeddah. By the completion of the Hajj they would run out of cash, become stranded in Jeddah, and fall into a state of destitution. As one observer lamented, "It is a common sight after *Haj* to see people lying about the beach under the shade of the rocks, without money, without clothes, and without food or water, dying of disease and starvation."[2] As a result of the pathogenic danger posed by this subset of pilgrims, states across Europe and the Islamic world were called upon to ensure that "beggars trusting to the charity of their richer brethren" were discouraged from undertaking "so long and expensive a business as the Haj."[3]

1 For the most comprehensive treatment of the colonial Hajj from India, see John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj, 1865–1956* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015). For parallel issues surrounding Southeast Asian pilgrims under British and Dutch jurisdiction, see also Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

2 Thomas Cook Group Archives (hereafter TC), Peterborough, United Kingdom, Guardbook no. 27, Appendix no. 2, extract from the *Times of India*, 9 November 1885 in John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894.

3 TC, Guardbook no. 27, "The Mecca Pilgrimage," *The Excursionist*, 26 March 1887.

Until well into the 1890s, however, British officials willfully denied that cholera was even communicable from person to person. On the one hand, Britain feared that such measures would affect the free flow of commerce between India and Europe. On the other hand, British opposition to quarantine measures and pilgrimage reform was equally related to their perception that any attempt to interfere with a fundamental Islamic tenet like the Hajj would constitute a violation of Queen Victoria's 1858 promise of non-interference in Indian religious affairs (given in the wake of the Great Rebellion) and incite another violent uprising among Indian Muslims.[4]

Despite both international quarantine efforts and a series of legislative reforms passed by the Government of India and local authorities in Bombay, by the early 1880s the plight of the "pauper pilgrim" appeared to be intensifying rather than abating. Each year the Indian press was flooded with more harrowing tales of pilgrimage-related scandals than the last. As pressure mounted on both the domestic and international fronts, the Government of India found itself caught between the need for dramatic reforms and their fear that any "direct" interference with the Hajj would be interpreted as an attack on religious freedom by Indian Muslims. In 1886, the Government of India succinctly described this dilemma in their correspondence with Thomas Cook and Son:

> For several years past the attention of the Government of India has from time to time been directed to the desirability of alleviating, so far as is possible, the discomforts and sufferings experienced by Muhammadan pilgrims during the journey from India to the Hedjaz. The existence of these sufferings, more especially in the case of those of the poorer class of Muhammadans who undertake the pilgrimage, is an admitted fact; but the action taken with a view to afford relief has been necessarily of a restricted nature owing to the unwillingness felt by the Government to undertake any *direct interference* with what is considered to be a religious obligation by a large section of the Muhammadan community in India.[5]

4 Nicholas Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 130.

5 Extract from the proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department (Sanitary), 4 January 1886, TC, Guardbook no. 27, John Mason Cook, *The Mecca Pilgrimage: Appointment by the Government of India of Thos. Cook & Son as Agents for the Control of the movements of Mahomedan Pilgrims from all parts of India to Jeddah for Mecca, Medina, &c., and Back* (London, booklet printed for private circulation, 1886), 6.

The most straightforward approach to the problem would have been to place conditions directly on the intending pilgrim by either requiring that they make a minimum deposit with the authorities to prove that they could afford the journey or purchase a roundtrip ticket. Indeed, this was the most common step taken by other states with large Muslim populations. However, the Government of India felt that a direct restriction on the mobility of poorer pilgrims might spark a violent response among Indian Muslims.

In an attempt to thread the needle between these seemingly irreconcilable concerns, the Government of India formulated a doctrine of "indirect" intervention. Rather than imposing restrictions on poor pilgrims, British officials attempted to reform the business of the Hajj. As a result, British reforms were primarily aimed at cleaning up the pilgrimage-shipping industry and its associated networks of ticketing brokers. On one hand, colonial administrators hoped that by tightening their regulation of the pilgrimage-shipping industry they could eliminate the worst instances of overcrowding and squalid conditions, which had been identified as one of the greatest factors contributing to the spread of cholera. On the other hand, by licensing ticketing brokers they hoped to provide pilgrims with a measure of consumer protection against aggressive touts, pricing scams, and coercive monopolies. This strategy also required ship owners to make major capital investments in their vessels in order to meet the new legal requirements. As the following letter to the *Bombay Gazette*, aptly written under the pen name "Oliver Twist," points out:

> the effect of increasing the space [per pilgrim on board ships] would be simply that the Hadj would become a more expensive thing than it already is, and philanthropically disposed as the Government may be, it has no more right to legislate in that direction than it has to make it law that no-one shall go home except in a first-class P. & O. steamer.[6]

As this critique of the government's strategy makes clear, requiring cleaner, larger, and better-equipped steamships would necessarily lead ship owners to raise ticket prices. Whether colonial officials admitted it or not, raising and fixing prices was the cornerstone of "indirect" intervention. If direct measures prohibiting poor pilgrims from setting out for Mecca were deemed too dangerous, the only other option was to raise the standards of travel in such a way that

6 *Bombay Gazette*, 31 August 1886, p. 14, quoted in Mark Harrison, "Quarantine, pilgrimage, and colonial trade: India 1866–1900," *The Indian Economic and Social Review* 29 (1992): 132.

either eliminated unsanitary conditions or priced the poorest pilgrims out of the market altogether.[7]

Although poor pilgrims were certainly victims of this strategy, they were actually not the enemy in this equation. The true targets of the government's doctrine of "indirect" intervention were Muslim shipping interests and their associated brokerage networks. By the early 1880s, the pilgrimage business had become thoroughly commercialized and competition was intense. From the perspective of the authorities, however, the competitive nature of the pilgrimage industry was merely evidence of its disorder. British officials came to view the entire complex of indigenous shipping interests and brokers as an inherently "unscrupulous" system, responsible for widespread and deliberate neglect of the government's evolving pilgrimage-shipping regulations. They were simultaneously the cause of and the primary obstacle to reform. Given their deep suspicion of Muslim ship owners and ticket brokers, the Government of India sought out a private partner willing to enforce its legislation and documentary procedures, raise the overall conditions of the industry, and wrest market share away from the existing competition.[8]

In January 1886, the Government of India passed a resolution making Thomas Cook and Son the official travel agent of the Hajj. After some five years of private correspondence between Cook's and high-ranking British officials and roughly two years of protracted negotiations and on-the-ground preparation, the firm was handed total control of all government functions related to the Hajj.[9] As the conditions of the agreement between the two parties make clear, the Government of India attempted to foster a government-backed monopoly over the pilgrimage transportation industry for Thomas Cook and

7 Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, 84–105; Oishi Takashi, "Friction and Rivalry over Pious Mobility: British Colonial Management of the Hajj and Reaction to It by Indian Muslims, 1870–1920," in Kuroki Hidemitsu, ed., *The Influence of Human Mobility in Muslim Societies* (London: Kegan Paul, 2003), 163–167; Radhika Singha, "Passport, ticket, and india-rubber stamp: 'The problem of the pauper pilgrim' in colonial India c. 1882–1925," in Ashwini Tambe and Harald Fischer-Tiné, eds., *The Limits of British Colonial Control in South Asia: Spaces of disorder in the Indian Ocean region* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

8 Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, 98–105; Takashi, "Friction and Rivalry over Pious Mobility," 165–166; Singha, "Passport, ticket, and india-rubber stamp," 51–53.

9 TC, Guardbook no. 27, John Mason Cook, *The Mecca Pilgrimage*, 4–5; John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894, 3. See also Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991), 205–206; John Pudney, *The Thomas Cook Story* (London: Michael Joseph, 1953), 221–224.

Son while simultaneously ceding responsibility for the regulation of that industry to the firm as well. In addition to the enormous operational latitude given to Thomas Cook and Son, they were also to be indemnified against any losses that they might incur while administering the Hajj. The effect of this ambitious privatization scheme was that Cook's employees were given the authority to act "precisely the same as though they were in service of the Government."[10]

At first glance, this experiment might appear to have been an odd pairing, doomed from its very inception. The Thomas Cook brand was and still is synonymous with the birth of modern travel. The firm is rightly considered to have almost single-handedly inaugurated the era of mass tourism by recognizing and satisfying the increasingly global appetites of Europe's growing middle classes. In India, Egypt, and Palestine, however, Cook's pioneered tours introducing better-off travelers, many of whom were accustomed to touring Europe independently, to "exotic" new locales, while carefully insulating them from the rigors, and often the realities, of the every-day life of the places they visited.[11] For specialists of South Asian history Cook's reputation as that "lordly travel firm" has perhaps been doubly reinforced by the fact that Cook's operations in India were lauded both by the firm and by the highest echelons of British officialdom as a means for encouraging elite travel between England and India.[12] In 1885, the Prince of Wales appointed the company as the official travel agent for the upcoming Colonial and Indian Exhibition being held in London in connection with Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. The firm was charged with conducting both British notables and Indian princes to and from the festivities.[13]

In sharp contrast to these celebrated episodes of princely travel, the Hajj was viewed as an anachronistic, even dangerous, mode of travel, characterized

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10 TC, Guardbook no. 27, John Mason Cook, *The Mecca Pilgrimage*, 5–6. For a more easily accessible copy of the agreement, see also The National Archives of the United Kingdom (hereafter TNA): Foreign Office (hereafter FO) 78/4094, reprinted in Alan de L. Rush, ed., *Records of the Hajj: A Documentary History of the Pilgrimage to Mecca*, vol. 3 (London: Archive Editions, 1993), 603.

11 F. Robert Hunter, "The Thomas Cook Archive for the Study of Tourism in North Africa and the Middle East," the *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 36, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 157–164; Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?: Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 89–92; Brendon, *Thomas Cook*, 120–140, 201–222; Pudney, *The Thomas Cook Story*, 181–231.

12 Singha, "Passport, ticket, and india-rubber stamp," 52. See also Brendon, *Thomas Cook*, 201–205; Pudney, *The Thomas Cook Story*, 221–222.

13 W. Fraser Rae, *The Business of Travel: A Fifty Year's Record of Progress* (London: Thomas Cook and Son, 1891), 208–219; Brendon, *Thomas Cook*, 205.

by the mass movement of the poor and increasingly out of step with the emerging norms of modern international travel and tourism.[14] Partly as result of the dissonance between Cook's reputation for elite travel and its role in the pilgrimage trade and partly because this novel experiment in colonial governance ultimately failed, more often than not, the firm's foray into the pilgrimage trade has been presented as a curious sideshow, an interesting piece of trivia, but not central to the story of Britain's administration of the Hajj and Muslim mobility.

Despite the ultimate failure of Thomas Cook's collaboration with the Government of India, the breathtaking ambition of this experiment offers a strong rebuttal to claims of British reluctance and inaction. Instead of thinking in terms of inactivity, this chapter explores how British officials in India framed pilgrimage reform as a question of direct regulation of pilgrims versus an indirect commercial intervention aimed at completely reconfiguring the system of guides, brokers, and shippers not just in India but in the Ḥijāz as well.

This essay also attempts to intervene by abandoning the notion that the pilgrimage market and regulatory system was solely a Bombay-centered struggle between the Government of India and poor pilgrims. As the firm quickly learned, the steamship Hajj had created an Indian Ocean-wide market place.[15] The forces emanating from Jeddah, Mecca, Istanbul, and Southeast Asia were by no means trivial. By the time John Mason Cook's eldest son Frank first visited Jeddah in October 1886, the vast majority of pilgrimage traffic was already in the hands of a Ḥijāz-based cartel operating with the official backing of the Ottoman Governor and the Sharif of Mecca.[16] This official monopoly organized a sophisticated profit-sharing scheme, tightly controlled the licensing of pilgrimage guides, and oversaw a vast patronage network. It also connected the local Ḥijāzi pilgrimage economy to the powerful Ḥaḍramī-Arab commercial diaspora in India, Singapore, and Java as well as to Dutch officials, shipping interests, and capital.[17]

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14 Singha, "Passport, ticket, and india-rubber stamp," 50.

15 In addition to Frank Cook's notes from his preliminary research in India, Thomas Cook records also include two Hajj narratives compiled by Muslim employees, Jaffir Ali Najuf Ali (departing from Bombay) and Moḥammed Abou-Elwa (the firm's Chief Egyptian Dragoman departed from Cairo), who were sent to scout the procedures associated with the pilgrimage in 1886. TC, Guardbook no. 27, Appendices 8–10, in John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894.

16 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Frank Cook, Jeddah to John Mason Cook, October 1886.

17 William Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia: The Hijaz under Ottoman*

By reframing the Thomas Cook project as a challenge not only to the pilgrimage-service industry in India, but also as a challenge to the pilgrimage monopoly in the Ḥijāz, this chapter seeks to reshape our understanding of the Hajj as an Indian Ocean-wide system. It also attempts to identify the political and commercial forces that proved so resilient in thwarting British and international regulation of the Hajj for so many decades. Thus, instead of focusing solely on passport regulations or the imposition of pre-paid roundtrip tickets aimed directly at poor pilgrims, which were never the Government of India's preferred way of reforming the Hajj, the chapter tackles the question of so-called indirect intervention. The Thomas Cook project was the embodiment of indirect intervention. And yet, it was far and away the Government of India's most aggressive attempt to deal with the seemingly untamable bundle of political, sanitary, and commercial crises swirling around the pre-World War I Hajj.

Thomas Cook as the Agent of Empire: From the Midlands to Mecca, From the Pyramids to the Pilgrimage

In 1841, Thomas Cook organized his first tour, a short railroad excursion for Baptist temperance supporters travelling to a rally just eleven miles away. Carrying his Baptist evangelism over into the tour business, shortly thereafter, Cook began offering "morally uplifting tours to customers as far down the social scale as possible." In 1851, Cook brought working-class men from the Midlands to London for the Great Exhibition. Four years later he would arrange his first European trip, leading a party across the English Channel to the International Exhibition in Paris. By 1864 he had led his first tour over the Alps and into Italy.[18] As the Cook's empire grew so too did the firm's reputation for logistical innovation. Beginning in the late 1860s and early 1870s Cook's pioneered the use of novel new forms of credit, such as the hotel coupon, used for meals and accommodations instead of money, and the circular note, a kind of traveler's check. Perhaps most important of all was Cook's ability to offer fixed roundtrip fares at relatively low prices.[19]

Control, 1840–1908 (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1984), 101–106; Gülden Sarıyıldız, *Hicaz Karantina Teşkilatı (1865–1914)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1996), 42.

18 Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 90.

19 Hunter, "The Thomas Cook Archive for the Study of Tourism in North Africa and the Middle East," 157.

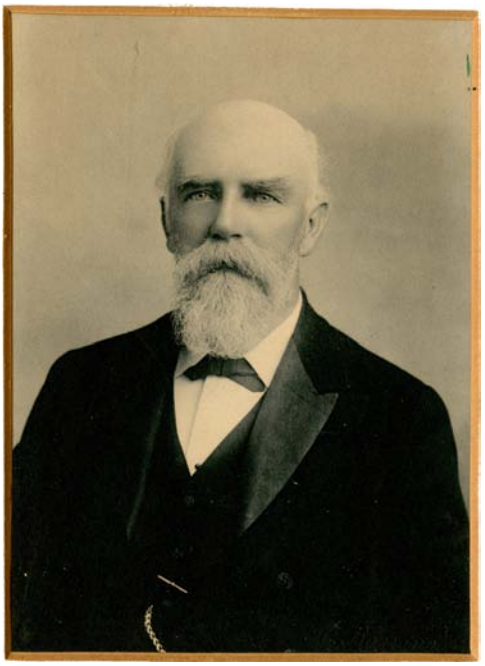

FIGURE 2.1
John Mason Cook, c. 1890
THOMAS COOK ARCHIVES, PETERBOROUGH, UNITED KINGDOM

By the late 1870s, Cook's had outgrown its humble beginnings in the Midlands and had taken its place at the commercial heart of the British Empire, Fleet Street in London. For many years Thomas Cook's son, John Mason Cook, had been an active junior partner in the family business, but by 1878 their partnership had become unmanageable. John Mason, the superior business mind among the two, forced his father into retirement. Having gained control of the company, John Mason ramped up both the firm's global expansion and its increasing role in the service of empire.[20]

Beginning in 1869, Cook's began a rapid expansion in Egypt and the rest of the Middle East. Egypt quickly became Cook's greatest success. There Cook established steamship service between Cairo and Aswan and in 1879 received a concession from the Egyptian government making him the sole provider of conveyance and mail services on the Nile. From Egypt, Cook's Middle Eastern operations branched out into Palestine and Syria, opening the Holy Land to a new breed of tourist-pilgrims armed with the Bible in one hand and their Murray's guidebooks in the other.[21]

20 Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 90; Pudney, *The Thomas Cook Story*, 214.

21 Hunter, "The Thomas Cook Archive for the Study of Tourism in North Africa and the Middle East," 157–164.

By the 1880s, Thomas Cook agents had become so ubiquitous in capitals across the globe that the *Daily Telegraph* once styled them the "unofficial consuls" of Great Britain.[22] In Egypt, it was even more difficult to distinguish between the power of Cook's tourist empire and that of the British Empire. In 1882, the British Government hired Cook's to convey Sir (later Lord) Garnet Wolseley and his staff to Egypt for the military campaign that would result in the British occupation of the country. Following the Battle of Tel al-Kabir, Cook's was once again called upon to organize the evacuation of the wounded. Cook's reputation as a master of imperial logistics was further enhanced when London again turned to John Mason Cook to organize a relief expedition to rescue General Charles Gordon from Khartoum.[23] Although the mission was a failure, it was a massive undertaking. Cook arranged for the movement of 18,000 troops, 40,000 tons of supplies, 40,000 tons of coal, and some 800 whaleboats from Tyneside to Egypt. The trip down the Nile required 27 steamers and 650 sailing boats to carry the troops and their supplies. In total, the entire operation would require another 5,000 local laborers. Having witnessed the enormous political and technological forces at Cook's command, one observer quipped: "The nominal suzerain of Egypt is the [Ottoman] Sultan; its real suzerain is Lord Cromer. Its nominal Governor is the Khedive; its real governor, for a touch of final comic opera, is Thomas Cook and Son."[24]

Although Cook's power in Egypt is well known among historians of that country, the situation in Indian historiography is much different. Thomas Cook and Son were relative latecomers to India. Their Indian operations have primarily been associated with elite travel and never achieved anything remotely close to the importance of their role in Egyptian society. Nevertheless, British officials in India had already taken notice of the auxiliary role that Cook's played in Britain's Egyptian and Sudanese military campaigns. As Robert Tignor points out, the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 brought an influx of British officials and experts trained in India. Drawing deeply upon their experiences in India, these men repeatedly grafted Indian institutions and methods of governance onto the Ottoman-Egyptian landscape they encountered.[25] In a way, the Raj was trying to recreate this process in reverse. In this respect, it might

22 Daily Telegraph, 4 March 1899, quoted in Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism*, 201.

23 Hunter, "The Thomas Cook Archive for the Study of Tourism in North Africa and the Middle East," 163.

24 G.W. Steevens, quoted in Pudney, *The Thomas Cook Story*, 212.

25 Robert Tignor, "The 'Indianization' of the Egyptian Administration under British Rule," *American Historical Review* 68, no. 3 (April, 1963), 637.

be useful to expand our definition of Cook's work in Egypt and the Levant. Although the firm's core operations revolved around tours and vacations, it also exhibited many characteristics now associated with the privatization of government functions comparable to the kinds of transportation, communications, and military services provided by today's logistics firms and private defense contractors.

Cook's had a familiarity with the peoples and languages of the Arab-Ottoman world and had developed personal connections allowing the firm to navigate both the Khedival administration in Egypt as well as the Ottoman state in Palestine and Syria. In Palestine, Cook's had almost single-handedly created a new pilgrimage industry in Jerusalem and the lands of the Bible. In his correspondence with his eldest son, Frank Cook, who he had sent to scout the situation in Jeddah, John Mason could not resist drawing parallels between the Hajj and Cook's Palestine operations. John Mason instructed Frank to find out as much as he could about the disembarkation process at Jeddah, especially how the boatmen handled the pilgrims' luggage. As he reminded Frank, "In considering this bear in mind that at Jaffa a few years back we had precisely the same difficulty, even with first class passengers: the boatmen did precisely what the boatmen did at Jeddah, came aboard the steamers seized the luggage, pitched it into the boats, and the passengers had to follow whether they wished it or not."[26] Just as the Cooks were confident that their experience in Palestine would carry over to India and the Ḥijāz, it would also appear that the Government of India had similar expectations. As the proceedings of the Home Department outlining the agreement between Cook's and the government proclaimed: "The extensive experience gained by Messrs. Cook and Son in connection with the requirements of schemes of a similar character and the considerable degree of success which has attended their operations, clearly pointed to that firm as peculiarly qualified to assist the Government …"

In 1881, John Mason Cook made his first visit to India. At that time, he found that "India was a sealed book to tourists." Determined to open the country to mass tourism, Cook met with government and railway officials and began preparations for the opening of an office in Bombay.[27] Although Cook later recalled that he had been made aware of the pilgrimage question by personal friends as early as 1876, it was during his 1881 visit that he was first approached about intervening. The question was first raised by Colonel Staunton of the Government Railway Department in Bombay. As he recalled in 1894, "My reply was that when I had thoroughly organized our legitimate business, for which I

26 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Frank Cook, Jeddah, to John Mason Cook, October 1886.

27 Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism*, 203.

had gone to India, and put our general business arrangements into operation, I should then be prepared seriously to take up the pilgrimage question and do my best to meet his views." Although, Cook admitted that the subject had frequently come to his attention in the intervening years, his hands had been full with his commitments in Egypt.

It was not until October 1884 that he and the Government of India engaged in serious discussions about pilgrimage operations. In 1885, Cook received a personal letter from Lord Dufferin urging him to come to India to discuss the pilgrimage question further. In November 1885, Cook set out for India. While en route he stopped in Cairo for a week. While there, Sir Henry Drummond-Wolff sent for him and inquired about his plans for the winter. Cook explained that he was off to India to discuss the Hajj with the Viceroy. Drummond-Wolff replied: "that is very singular, as that is the very thing that I, in the name of the Government, was going to ask you to do." He then handed over a bundle of telegrams exchanged between himself, the Viceroy, and Lord Randolph Churchill, then the Secretary of State for India. The correspondence revealed that while in Istanbul Drummond-Wolff had lobbied the Viceroy to take "some prompt and active measures" to reform the pilgrim trade. Lord Dufferin admitted that he could not carry out all of the measures suggested by Drummond-Wolff but expressed his eagerness to make improvements and promised to personally coordinate those reforms with John Mason Cook. Once Cook arrived in India, he met with the Viceroy and his chief advisors and by January 1886 the conditions of the agreement between Cook's and the Government of India had been agreed upon.[28]

Breaking the Brokers: The Logic of "Indirect" Intervention

Given that India was singled out as the source of epidemic cholera, both Britain and the Government of India found themselves awkwardly struggling against the tide of international opinion. During the height of the cholera era, from the 1860s to 1890s, Britain vehemently opposed the international quarantine regulations and stricter passport regulations proposed by the rest of Europe and the Ottoman Empire. In 1886, W.H. Wilson, the Acting Commissioner of Police for Bombay, succinctly described the paralysis resulting from this dilemma:

> The Acting Commissioner has the honour to report that a large number of Indian Pilgrims are no doubt very poor, and go to the Hedjaz not so

28 TC, Guardbook no. 27, John Mason Cook, *The Mecca Pilgrimage*, 5–6; John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894, p. 3.

FIGURE 2.2 *Cook's Oriental Travellers' Gazette and Home and Foreign Advertiser, 1890*
THOMAS COOK ARCHIVES, PETERBOROUGH, UNITED KINGDOM

> much with the intention of maintaining themselves by begging, which they could do better in India, but on account of the sanctity of the place and with a feeling that if they die there they will go straight to Paradise. Some stay on waiting till death overtakes them, and others having no funds to return to India are forced to beg; but beyond warning them; it seems impossible to prevent them from going there. Any interference in this matter on the part of the British Government would be certainly taken as an interference in their religion.[29]

As a result of the Government of India's post-1858 guarantee of non-interference in religious matters, colonial administrators repeatedly refused to impose any form of "means test" to restrict the mobility of its poorer pilgrims. As the resolution outlining Thomas Cook & Son's appointment explains, the general consensus among British officials was that "pilgrims should be required before proceeding on the voyage to deposit a sum of money sufficient to cover the cost of their return journey." Despite this admission "that such a regulation would prevent much misery and suffering," local authorities in Bombay were ardently "opposed to interference of this nature on the ground that it might be misunderstood and misinterpreted." As a result, instead of imposing a compulsory deposit system, the government decided to merely make a public notice in English, Hindustani, and Persian, warning that pilgrims should not undertake the journey without at least Rs. 300 in order to meet the expenses of the quarantine on Kamaran Island, the journey from Jeddah to Mecca and back, and still afford the cost of a return ticket to India.[30]

In this respect, the Government of India's timid response was an anomaly. Eventually the French in Algeria, the Dutch in Java, and Russian-controlled Muslim territories in Central Asia all adopted some form of compulsory passport or deposit system in order to regulate pious mobility. Later France, the Netherlands, and Russia adopted a mandatory system of return tickets in order to prevent indigent pilgrims from becoming stranded in the Ḥijāz without enough cash to pay for their passage home. Even more curious was the fact that other British possessions, including Egypt and the Straits Settlements, eventually adopted similar deposit and ticketing systems, while the Government of India refused.[31]

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29 TNA: FO 78/4094, Report by Lieutenant-Colonel W.H. Wilson, Acting Commissioner of Police, Bombay, 3 April 1886, *Records of the Hajj*, vol. 3, p. 615.

30 TC, Guardbook no. 27, John Mason Cook, *The Mecca Pilgrimage*, 6–8.

31 Singha, "Passport, ticket, and India-rubber stamp," 56.

The advantages of this system were certainly not lost on British officials stationed in Jeddah. As Consul G. Beyts complained in an April 1875 report to his colleagues in Bombay:

> I have to remark that at the termination of the pilgrim season a large number of British Indian subjects are left at Jeddah as vagrants and paupers, entirely destitute of the means of subsistence, many of these die from starvation; the passport system, adopted, would enable the authorities of the port at which passports are granted to ascertain whether the pilgrims who present themselves for these documents are amply provided with the funds for the purposes of performing their pilgrimage and returning to their countries. This precaution is always taken by the Dutch and French Governments, hence the reason why the subjects of those nations are not left in a state of poverty and destitution to die in the streets.[32]

For nearly three decades following the 1866 international sanitary conference, Britain declined to submit to any international agreements proposing stricter quarantine procedures, or to an integrated system of compulsory documentary and ticketing practices. Instead, the Government of India pursued an entirely separate package of reforms. As a result of their fear that fees attached to either passports or mandatory return tickets might be interpreted by Indian Muslims as government attempts to bar poorer Muslims from making the Hajj, the British sought a less direct path to pilgrim reform.

This doctrine of "indirect" reform was primarily aimed at regulating the pilgrimage's intertwined shipping and brokerage industries. The centerpiece of this legislation was the Native Passenger Ships Act of 1870 and its subsequent amendments in 1872, 1876, 1883, and 1887, culminating in the 1895 Pilgrim Ships Act.[33] These regulations were primarily designed to restrict the number of passengers per vessel in the hopes that by alleviating instances of overcrowding the risk of cholera outbreaks would also be mitigated. These acts established clear limits on the maximum number of passengers according to each ship's registered or estimated tonnage. Likewise, they set guidelines gradually increasing the minimum superficial space per passenger according to their accommodation in the upper or lower decks. In addition to addressing the most basic question of overcrowding, these acts also stipulated mandatory

32 FO 881/3079, Consul Beyts, Jeddah, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, 30 April 1875.

33 Takashi, "Friction and Rivalry over Pious Mobility," 169–171.

provisions for the safety and welfare of passengers and the shipping company and crew's obligations to its passengers. These included access to cooking fuel, clean water, proper ventilation and fresh air, clean latrines, and medical supplies. To ensure the compliance of shipping companies and in order to allow for easier surveillance of sick pilgrims during their journey, it was also required that ships carrying more than one hundred pilgrims have a qualified medical officer.[34]

With the 1883 Native Passengers Act, sailing vessels, which had long been in decline, were officially banned from the pilgrimage trade. While the prohibition on sailing vessels may have been a redundancy, the ban may be taken as indication of the long-term direction of British regulation. The most dramatic example of this process came when Britain, relenting to decades of international pressure and against the Government of India's vehement protests, signed the convention produced by the 1894 Paris international sanitary conference. The convention stipulated that the minimum space for each adult pilgrim be raised from 9 to 21 superficial feet. In order to meet the new international standards for superficial space, the Government of India's 1895 Pilgrim Ships Act required that all vessels be at least 500 tons and be able to achieve a speed of at least 8 knots under monsoon conditions. As government standards for shipboard fittings, anchors, cables, nautical instruments, safety equipment, overall tonnage, and speed during monsoon conditions were gradually raised, shipping companies were forced to either update their existing vessels or obtain newer ones. Although the government framed these reforms as either the products of international pressure or their own promotion of the best interests of pilgrims, scholars have generally underemphasized the extent to which this legislation was at least partially designed as a challenge to Muslim-owned shipping companies. While European shipping companies had little problem meeting the progressively tightening standards, Muslim shippers with comparatively limited access to capital and correspondingly older, less well-appointed, and smaller vessels struggled to comply with these regulations. During this period, Muslim shippers made several strategic adjustments. First, they found a niche in the market by catering to a lower-end clientele. Second, smaller individual or family-owned firms pooled their resources either to charter a ship for the pilgrimage season or to raise enough capital to stave off European competitors. By consolidating their resources, Muslim shippers were able to acquire

34 TC, Guardbook no. 27, John Mason Cook, *The Mecca Pilgrimage*, 6–7; TNA: FO 78/4093, *Manual for the Guidance of Officers and Others concerned in the Red Sea Pilgrimage Traffic* (Simla, India: Government Central Branch Press, 1884).

larger, second-hand ships from European companies like Peninsular and Oriental and Lloyd's.[35]

At the same time, the Government of India also engaged in a parallel attack on Bombay and Calcutta's pilgrimage brokers. Ship owners depended on large networks of touts and petty brokers to attract business and sell tickets. Working for a commission, these brokers were repeatedly accused of fleecing pilgrims through a mixture of misinformation, intimidation, and bait-and-switch pricing scams. Worse still, they also conspired with ship owners to pack in more pilgrims per ship than was legally permitted. Here, *The Times of India* sketches a typical interaction between pilgrim and broker in Bombay:

> … on arriving at the port, some by rail, some by local steamer, and others on foot, they are all more or less waylaid by what sailors call crimps, but who term themselves *Haj* brokers or runners, &c., and any person who knows the ins and outs of Bombay, or any large seaport town, will understand that these individuals make all kinds of fair promises, &c., to entice the pilgrims to their master's house, and once there, with their luggage of course, they cannot very well leave without buying a passage ticket from the master of the house.[36]

As this pattern became more familiar, the rapacious broker became the most ubiquitous villain in official descriptions of the pilgrimage trade. As one government official put it, pilgrims are "entirely at the mercy of a class of men very like the Liverpool crimps who charge them extortionately and rob them at all ends."[37]

In an attempt to protect pilgrims from unscrupulous brokers, in 1883 Bombay passed the Pilgrim Protection Act, which required all brokers to obtain a license from the Bombay Police Commissioner. In conjunction with these licensing measures, a new position called the Protector of Pilgrims was created. Stationed at the port, this Muslim official was instructed to act as a special advocate,

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35 Singha, "Passport, ticket, and India-rubber stamp," 51, 62–63; Takashi, "Friction and Rivalry over Pious Mobility," 171–172.

36 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Appendix no. 2, extract from the *Times of India*, 9 November 1885 in John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894.

37 TNA: FO 78/4094, A. Akin Higgins, Agent to Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son to the Secretary of the Political Department of the Government of India, Simla, 10 October 1884, in *Records of the Hajj*, vol. 3., 595.

providing information and assistance to intending pilgrims.[38] In addition to the measures taken in Bombay, British officials also began to understand that they needed greater representation on the other side of the Indian Ocean. In 1878, Dr. Abdur Razzack was sent to accompany India's pilgrimage contingent for that year. Abdur Razzack was later appointed as the Muslim Vice-Consul of Jeddah in 1882. Two years later, additional Muslim Vice-Consuls were stationed at the Kamaran Island quarantine and the nearby Yemeni port of Hudayda.[39]

In spite of their nascent understanding of the role played by brokers in Bombay and their attempt to better represent pilgrims once they arrived in the Ḥijāz, British officials in India still failed to fully grasp the interconnected nature of the brokerage systems and their links to the highest levels of both Ḥijāzi society and the Ottoman and Sharifal administrations. In the Ḥijāz, pilgrimage guides known as the *muṭawwifīn* (known to Indians as *mu'allims*) exercised almost total control over the Hajj experience. Technically speaking, the term *muṭawwif* refers to a guide for the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, known as the *ṭawāf*. In reality, their duties were in fact much broader. At the most basic level, they were responsible for guiding non-Arabic speaking foreigners through the required prayers and rituals of the Hajj. However, the *muṭawwifs* were also responsible for shepherding their customers through every aspect of their stay in the Ḥijāz. From the moment that the pilgrims disembarked in Jeddah until the time they returned home they were under the constant supervision of their *muṭawwif*. As soon as the pilgrims arrived in Jeddah, they were met by the *muṭawwif*'s *wakīl* (agent). The *wakīl* arranged for their camel transport and protection from marauding Bedouins and delivered them to their *muṭawwif* in Mecca. Once in Mecca, the *muṭawwifs* instructed the pilgrims on how to properly perform the rituals of the Hajj, acted as interpreter, arranged their lodging, and facilitated their purchases.[40]

In addition to their duties in the Ḥijāz, they also sent their deputies to India to advertise, recruit, and act as intermediaries between the Indian countryside, Bombay, and their operations in the Ḥijāz. Because the expertise of the

38 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Appendix no. 1, in John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894.

39 TNA: FO 881/5155X, H. Hill to India Office, "History of the Quarantine and Cholera in Europe from 1878," April 1885, 7–8.

40 Fu'ād al-Ḥāmid 'Anqawī, *Makkah: al-Ḥajj wa-al-ṭiwāfah* (Saudi Arabia, 1994), 273–278, 299–303; Shakīb Arslān, *al-Irtisamāt al-līṭāf fī khāṭir al-Ḥajj ilā aqdas maṭāf* (Cairo, 1931), 71–80; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 24; Mai Yamani, *Cradle of Islam: The Hijaz and the Quest for Identity in Saudi Arabia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 42–45.

muṭawwifs and their local deputies was so specific to each language and region they served, generally membership in this professional guild was passed down from generation to generation. As a result, these agents possessed an enormous genealogical knowledge of who had or had not performed the Hajj. Working in concert with local *maulvis*, these recruiters not only sought to attract new clients but also to inspire more members of families that they had previously served to make the journey. As both Thomas Cook and the Government of India would eventually discover, regulating pilgrimage brokers in Bombay attacked only one link in a much larger chain.[41]

The Rise and Precipitous Fall of the Thomas Cook Hajj, 1886–1893

Despite repeated reform efforts, the 1880s emerged as a decade of pilgrimage-related scandals, exposing both the dark underbelly of the pilgrimage-shipping industry and the virtual paralysis of the government. Not surprisingly, however, poorer pilgrims continued to prefer the cheapest available fares. Thus, despite the government's increased regulation of the Hajj, there continued to be a strong correlation between inexpensive prices and the unsanitary and overcrowded conditions that the government had sought to eliminate in the first place. Because the government feared imposing any passport fees, mandatory deposits, or return tickets, they could not directly deter intending pilgrims regardless of how poor they might have been. The only avenue that remained available was to manipulate the price and quality of pilgrimage services by introducing an outside stimulus into the market. Since the government believed that Muslim shipping agents and brokers had been responsible for fostering the conditions that led to the pauperization of the Hajj, they sought out a shipping agent that could challenge and, if possible, eliminate the existing competition.

When the Government of India appointed Thomas Cook and Son in 1886, they entertained high hopes that the firm could pull off the logistical miracles in Bombay and Jeddah that it had so ably performed in Egypt, the Levant, and Sudan. Judging by the company's performance between 1886 and 1890, such optimism appears not to have been misplaced. The government expressed its satisfaction with the progress that Cook's shipboard representatives made in ensuring that the ships it chartered met all legal requirements

41 Michael Miller, "Pilgrims' Progress: The Business of the Hajj," *Past and Present* no. 191 (May 2006), 199.

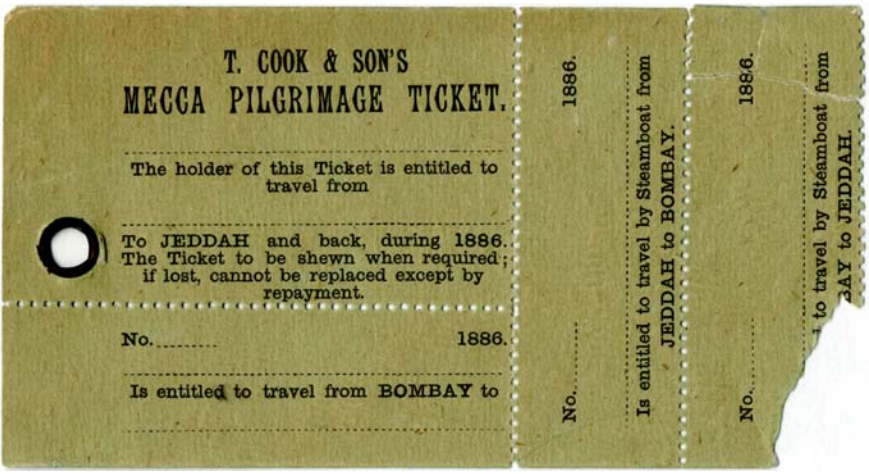

FIGURE 2.3 *Thomas Cook Mecca Pilgrimage Ticket, 1886*
THOMAS COOK ARCHIVES, PETERBOROUGH, UNITED KINGDOM

for medical surveillance and sanitation. Cook's introduced a fixed price system for the Bombay to Jeddah journey, allowing for no reduced-price tickets. The firm's dates of departure were fixed and publicized in advance and were generally observed. This allowed pilgrims making their way from inland destinations to purchase all-inclusive tickets for rail and steamship travel in advance. Even as the Cook's experiment soured in subsequent years, the government still claimed that Cook's introduction into the pilgrimage market had encouraged greater competition, forcing Muslim shipping agents to take measures to better their services, which had in turn raised the overall safety and comfort of the industry and led to a reduction in the opportunities for extortion.[42]

More importantly, with regard to the question of the "pauper pilgrim," the firm's indirect intervention did precisely what the government had wished to accomplish but feared doing itself. Cook's entrance into the pilgrimage-shipping industry immediately altered the price structure, ticketing procedures, and flexible timetables that Muslim shipping agents, brokers, and poor pilgrims depended upon. Cook's set their fares at 30 rupees for the Bombay to Jeddah passage and 45 rupees for the roundtrip journey. In 1888, the firm claimed that it was forced to raise the price 5 rupees because the previous price

42 TC, Guardbook no. 27, John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894, 5–6; *Bombay Gazette*, 16 January 1895. See also Takashi, "Friction and Rivalry over Pious Mobility," 165–167.

proved unprofitable for the shippers with whom they had contracted. As John Mason Cook boasted in his final report to the government:

> Taking as an average charge for a deck passage prior to the appointment of my firm at 50 rupees each, which is a very low estimate, and taking as an average charge by my firm after their appointment upon the 35 rupee basis, and considering the abolition of charges previously in operation for embarkation at Bombay before the ships went into dock, and bearing in mind that through the reduced fares fixed by my firm the shippers in competition are compelled to reduce their fares to our basis, and frequently below it, I calculate that the saving to each individual pilgrim from these points alone may be very fairly based at from 25 to 30 rupees each …[43]

While it is likely true that the firm's fixed price structure did technically lower average ticket prices from 50 to 35 rupees, Cook's claim that his operation had saved individual pilgrims 25 to 30 rupees each is difficult to accept. For wealthier pilgrims this may have actually been true since fixed fares placed limits on extortionist pricing schemes. However, fixed prices dramatically narrowed the options of poorer pilgrims. Poorer pilgrims preferred flexible timetables allowing them to either arrive at Bombay early to secure a cheap fare or to hold out until the last minute to take advantage of reduced or even free fares offered by Muslim shipping agents. Likewise, while the government discouraged extended stays in Bombay, for poor pilgrims this was often a critical stage in their journey. Bombay was often where pilgrims generated enough funds to either purchase a one-way ticket or where they replenished their funds after purchasing a ticket through labor, selling petty goods, or by begging. In other words, fixed prices and departure times impeded poor pilgrims' access to the kinds of charitable structures, sliding-scale pricing, and reduced or free fares they had come to rely upon. It is also very doubtful that these pilgrims would have opted to purchase more expensive roundtrip fares which would have eliminated the possibility of waiting for a last-minute reduced fare at the end of the Hajj season once shippers had sold enough full-price tickets to meet their operating expenses.[44]

Bearing these questions in mind, it is difficult to discern whether Cook's services were actually an attractive option for customers or whether the firm's

43 TC, Guardbook no. 27, John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894, 5–6.

44 Singha, "Passport, ticket, and india-rubber stamp," 52–53.

gain in market share between 1887 and 1890 was simply a byproduct of the overwhelming government support that it received. It is also difficult to tell whether Cook's fixed-price system absorbed any appreciable share of the indigent population it aimed to eliminate or if the firm's increasing market share was merely a matter of attracting those pilgrims who could already afford full-price fixed fares and roundtrip tickets. Leaving aside these unknowns, however, the firm's results were undeniable. In their first year of operation the firm was able to attract nearly 20 percent of the market. That figure rose steadily to 29.3 percent in 1888, 38.6 percent in 1889, and peaked in 1890 at 44.5 percent. It appeared that Cook's was on its way to dominating the pilgrimage trade.[45]

Despite the initial promise shown by the government's Thomas Cook project, these early gains proved illusory. In 1891, Cook's market share fell for the first time to 37.2 percent. That downward trend would continue until Cook's agreement with the government was terminated following the 1893 pilgrimage season when the firm failed to book even 10 percent of the total Indian pilgrim contingent.

It is difficult to say exactly what caused this precipitous collapse or to account for its timing. In the final years of their collaboration with the government, Thomas Cook and Son were accused of overbooking their ships.[46] There were complaints that the firm had been unwilling to provide the necessary privacy for "respectable" women.[47] Worse still, as many customers pointed out, the difference between ships chartered by Cook's and those captained by their competition was increasingly negligible. In fact, since Cook's contracted with companies like Hajji Cassum & Co., customers began to take note of the fact that Cook's steamers often offered no advantages over other steamship offerings.[48] Most damaging of all, however, was the outbreak of cholera on the Thomas Cook-chartered steamship, the *Deccan*, in 1890. As a result of severe overcrowding on the *Deccan* some fifty pilgrims passed away during their quarantine on Kamaran Island. While in quarantine, the disease infected pilgrims traveling on the *King Arthur* and was subsequently spread to Jeddah and Mecca.[49]

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45 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department (Sanitary), Calcutta, 11 January 1895.

46 Harrison, "Quarantine, pilgrimage, and colonial trade," 133.

47 Singha, "Passport, ticket, and India-rubber stamp," 59.

48 Takashi, "Friction and Rivalry over Pious Mobility," 167.

49 Gülden Sarıyıldız and Ayşe Kavak, *Halife II. Abdülhamid'in Hac Siyaseti: Dr. M. Şakir Bey'in*

While it is tempting to attribute Cook's plummeting market share in the years after 1890 to these embarrassing incidents, as John Mason Cook understood, the firm's problems were more systemic. In his final reports to the government in 1894, he identified two areas that were likely the sources of his troubles in Bombay. First, Cook chartered the appropriate number of steamships to accommodate the pilgrims it booked each year but did not own its own fleet. As Cook would complain once the project began to break down, "nothing short of a special service of steamers would enable them to compete successfully with the shippers who had controlled the pilgrimage traffic before they themselves had come on the scene."[50] This leads to the obvious conclusion that although Muslim ship owners' market share had initially been damaged by the tremendous advantages conferred upon Thomas Cook by the government, in subsequent years they had made the necessary changes to compete, undercut Cook's prices, and successfully rallied to recapture their customers. In addition to owning their own ships, Muslim shipping agents could also still count on their superior networks of brokers to steer business away from Cook.[51]

Despite Cook's confidence that he could not only reform the pilgrimage industry but also achieve profitability within three years, the profits never materialized. Even though the firm had been given almost total control of the government's documentary and regulatory apparatus and continued to receive an annual subsidy of £1,000, by 1891 "the firm expressed their conviction that the business could never be self-supporting, and they inquired whether the Government were prepared to guarantee them against actual monetary loss." In 1893, Cook's once again inquired as to whether or not the government intended to continue their annual subsidy. A report was called for by authorities in Bombay. The report revealed that despite all of the advantages of state sponsorship, the firm had failed to monopolize the pilgrimage-travel industry and marginalize indigenous Muslim shipping interests.

At peak of their intervention in 1890, the firm chartered four of the eleven steamships making the journey to the Ḥijāz, carrying 4,220 of the 9,953 pilgrims leaving from Bombay that year. Despite achieving approximately 45 percent

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Hicaz Hatıraları (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2009), 60–64, 297–298; TC, Guardbook no. 27, Report of the Arrangments carried out by Thos. Cook and Son in connection with the movement of Pilgrims for the Hadj of 1890; John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894, 6.

50 TC, Guardbook no. 27, *The Pioneer* (Allahabad), 16 January 1895.

51 Singha, "Passport, ticket, and India-rubber stamp," 59.

of the market share that year, in 1892–1893 their percentage dwindled to just 14 percent (1,656 out of 11,896). In 1893, Thomas Cook and Son finally turned a profit, bringing in nearly Rs. 4,300. In order to achieve that modest gain, however, the percentage of pilgrims traveling on steamers chartered by the firm fell to an abysmal 9.5 percent, rendering the firm's services all but useless to the government.[52] As *The Pioneer* reported in their January 1895 postmortem of the Thomas Cook project, "These figures proved that the experiment was a failure, and the Government had no other course than reluctantly to notify that the indemnity from loss could not be continued."[53]

In November 1893, the agreement between Thomas Cook and Son and the Government came to an acrimonious end. In his final report to the government, John Mason Cook complained bitterly about the forces that had conspired against his firm:

> I have shown clearly the result of the agreements to the benefit of the pilgrims, with the comparatively small cost to the Government of India, and I must be pardoned adding to this the facts that the agreement in question brought upon my firm. First, a certain amount of ill-feeling of certain officials of the Government of Bombay. Secondly, the strong enmity and opposition of all the steamboat proprietors and the mass of men who had been associated with them in the pilgrim trade, most of them being Mohomedans, who were making large profits out of their co-religionists; and Thirdly, the enmity and ill-will of a considerable number of Turkish officials at Cameran and the Hedjaz, and at Constantinople of all who participated in the large amount of money they were in the habit of taking from the pilgrims… With respect to the feeling of enmity brought about against my firm. Our representatives in India have clear proof that meetings were held by those interested in the pilgrim trade in Bombay at the instigation of Government officials, without any representative of my firm being invited to attend, and that complaints were concocted which your representatives could have proved perfectly groundless. I have also the fact that a Mohomedan member of the present Governor General's Council has been many years interested in the shipping of

52 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department (Sanitary), Calcutta, 11 January 1895, 3–4.

53 TC, Guardbook no. 27, *The Pioneer*, January 1895. For similar coverage of the demise of the Thomas Cook experiment, see also *The Indian Daily News*, 14 January 1895; and the *Bombay Gazette*, 16 January 1895.

> Pilgrims, and through the arrangements of my firm, he with his colleagues have had to accept much lower rates for the conveyance of pilgrims …[54]

Although one Muslim correspondent for the *Bombay Gazette* explained that the waning of Cook's "popularity was owing to the fact that a Mussulman has sentimental objections to being helped by "unbelievers" in his pilgrimage," as John Mason Cook's allegations make clear, it was not so much the pilgrims themselves but the complex web of Muslim shipping, brokerage, and political interests that Thomas Cook and Son had failed to conquer.[55] The irony of Cook's accusations of secret meetings and collusion is glaring. If Cook's claims of secret plots against the firm were in fact true, it was poetic justice. Bombay's Muslim politicians and shipping interests had finally turned the tables on the firm and their government supporters.

While there might be an element of truth in Cook's accusations, it would be a mistake to simply accept his attempt to shift the blame for his failures to his Bombay competitors and their political alliances. If the animosity toward the firm in Bombay had been so pervasive, why did Cook's market share continue to grow for four years? The steady growth of Cook's share of the market over those years suggests that its government-backed operation in Bombay was able to break into the Indian side of the trade. However, this ignores the question of whether or not Cook's was equally successful in imposing its will on Ottoman officials in Istanbul, Jeddah, and Mecca. It also overlooks the degree to which India's Muslim shipping and brokerage industries were anchored to the Ḥijāz's pilgrimage guilds.

Passport Optional?

The most basic problem posed by the Ottoman administration in the Ḥijāz revolved around its policy toward passports. In 1880, the Ottoman government had demanded that all pilgrims carry a passport. As a result, the Government of India began issuing pilgrimage passports. At roughly the same time, however, Ottoman authorities were becoming increasingly aware that passports could also be manipulated by European consular officials to extend extraterritorial

54 TC, Guardbook no. 27, John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894, 7–8.

55 TC, Guardbook no. 27, *Bombay Gazette*, 16 January 1895.

jurisdiction to their Muslim subjects making the Hajj. Under the Capitulations, Europeans were tried in separate mixed courts rather than in the regular Ottoman court system. However, European consular officials began to apply these same conditions to their Muslim subjects as well. As a result, Ottoman officials began to sharpen the legal distinction between Ottoman and non-Ottoman Muslims in the Ḥijāz. Pilgrims from non-Ottoman lands who overstayed their welcome became a major concern for the Ottoman state during this period. Not only did their presence put strain on an already financially-strapped province, many of them attempted to settle in the Ḥijāz. Whenever they ran into legal or financial difficulties, however, they would inevitably look to their former European governments to intercede on their behalf. Fearing that this would enhance the extraterritorial reach of European consulates in the Ḥijāz and foster divided loyalties, Ottoman officials banned non-Ottoman Muslims from owning property in 1882.[56] Likewise, because passports made it easier for European states to claim jurisdiction over their Muslim subjects while on Hajj, the Ottoman state reversed its policy and its passport and visa requirements.[57]

As Abdur Razzack put it, Ottoman administrators on the ground readily admitted the impossibility of detaining "a person simply for not having a passport when he is dressed in the pilgrim's garb and sings out "Allah hooma labaik" (Oh God I am here)."[58] In his capacities as Sultan-Caliph and *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn* (Servitor of the Two Holy Places) Abdülhamid II could not afford to undermine his pan-Islamic prestige by turning away intending pilgrims landing in Jeddah. Thus, the maintenance of the Ottoman state's public image and the imposition of more rigorous forms of border control and biopolitical sovereignty were irreconcilably conflicted.

Despite this Ottoman reversal, the Government of India continued to issue pilgrim passports. However, the Cooks were disappointed to learn that the Government of India refused to make the passport compulsory. As the British Consulate in Jeddah made clear, if the Ottoman state was treating passports as optional, why should the Government of India make them mandatory? Sensing an opportunity, the Jeddah Consulate recommended that the Indian administration should issue pilgrimage passports "unconditionally" and "without any

56 Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), 57–60.

57 TNA: FO 195/1451, Dr. Abdur Razzack, Vice-Consul, Jeddah to Lynedoch Moncrieff, Consul, Jeddah, 17 April 1883.

58 Ibid.

fee or deposit." By doing so, it was reasoned that "the entire odium of passport regulations" could be laid at the feet of the Sultan.[59]

As John Mason Cook bitterly complained in 1887, "I always understood that *every* Pilgrim from ports of British India to the Hedjaz *must* take a passport." Yet, as his report for the 1887 pilgrimage season reveals, only 6,555 of the 9,389 pilgrims departing Indian ports were issued travel documents.[60] Cook had expected that by making passports compulsory, even if they were given unconditionally, pilgrims would be funneled to his agents, ensuring that the firm would eventually gain a majority of the trade. However, without this critical element there was nothing to stop pilgrims from avoiding Thomas Cook-chartered ships altogether.

An Indian Ocean Cartel: Monopolies, Muṭawwifin, and Muslim Capital

In addition to this critical flaw in the agreement between Cook's and the government, the Ḥijāzi side of the arrangements also proved considerably more difficult than John Mason Cook had originally expected. In 1887, the company touted its pilgrimage reforms in *The Excursionist*, the company's official publication, predicting that "in years to come the firm will secure concessions from the Turkish Government; in which case the world may witness the astounding spectacle of the Infidel piloting the True Believer through the dangers that beset the former's path to salvation."[61] Judging from Cook's exuberance it would appear that he believed that he would be able to negotiate the same kind of exclusive concessions that he had so successfully concluded with the Khedival government in Egypt and the Viceroy in India. Cook vastly underestimated how sensitive Istanbul had become to the threat of European extraterritorial encroachment upon the Ḥijāz. An early indication of the frosty reception that awaited the Cooks in Jeddah came in October 1886 when the firm's representative in Istanbul attempted to get the International Sanitary Board to endorse their plans. After multiple attempts by the British Embassy and Dr. Patterson, the British delegate to the board, the Porte refused to provide Cook's with a let-

59 TNA: FO 195/1451, Lynedoch Moncrieff, Consul, Jeddah to Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 13 May 1883; Singha "Passport, ticket, and India-rubber stamp," 56.

60 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Report of the Arrangements carried out by Thos. Cook and Son in connection with the movement of Pilgrims for the Hadj of 1887.

61 TC, Guardbook no. 27, "The Mecca Pilgrimage," *The Excursionist*, 26 March 1887.

ter of introduction. In the end, the central government replied that it would instruct the Governor of the Ḥijāz to assist the British Consul. However, they refused to work directly with Thomas Cook and Son.[62]

That same month, John Mason Cook sent his son Frank to Jeddah in order to plan the firm's operations in the Ḥijāz. Frank would quickly discover that their own arrangements in India were mere child's play in comparison with the massive state-sponsored monopoly on pilgrimage services being run from Jeddah. At the top of this pyramid sat the Ottoman Governor of the Ḥijāz, the Sharif of Mecca ʿAwn al-Rafīq (r. 1882–1905), and a handful of the Ḥijāz's leading businessmen. Among them they controlled every aspect of the pilgrimage experience from steamships and boatmen to pilgrimage guides and camel brokers. With the organization of this system in 1883, competition for transporting pilgrims was restricted, prices were rigged, and the resulting profits were shared among the members of the pool. Under this arrangement the Sharif was paid one Dutch *guilder* for every pilgrim.[63] In return, the Sharif forced all of the pilgrimage guides and camel brokers to cooperate with the scheme. Owing to the restriction of competition, prices quickly doubled. The extra profits were divided as follows: 25 percent went to the Amir, 40 percent went to the guides and brokers, and the remaining 35 percent went to the founders of the monopoly. These included J.S. Oswald and his partner Ḥasan Johar (a wealthy Indian merchant), ʿUmar al-Saqqāf (or Omar Alsagoff, a Ḥaḍramī shipping magnate), P.N. Van der Chijs (the Jeddah agent for the Ocean Steamship Company) and his business partner Yūsuf Kudzī (the British Consulate's translator), and J.A. Kruijt (the Dutch Consul).[64]

When Frank Cook arrived in Jeddah in 1886, the monopoly only targeted pilgrims from the Straits Settlements and Java. This did not mean that their power did not spill over into the management of Indian pilgrims. Indeed, even Frank Cook's brief tour of Jeddah was so completely orchestrated by the monopoly that the report to his father is almost comical. When he arrived at the docks he was met by none other than Yūsuf Kudzī. Kudzī and Ḥasan Johar were more than happy to show Cook the ropes. In what was likely an attempt to convince Cook that too much outside meddling would not be tolerated, they explained the monopoly system in great detail. Here, Cook

62 TC Guardbook no. 27, J. Caesar, Istanbul, to Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son, London, 15–23 October 1886.

63 Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The umma below the winds* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 51–56.

64 Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia*, 101–102; Sarıyıldız, *Hicaz Karantina Teşkilatı*, 42.

learned why the Dutch Consulate was portrayed as the model of efficiency by Ottoman officials.[65] In exchange for his cooperation in the monopoly, the Sharif was allowed to exclude all non-Ottoman citizens from the Javanese guild of the *muṭawwifīn*.[66] In this way, he was able to exercise complete control over the pilgrimage guides without the prospect of Dutch or English interference. Each *muṭawwif* was instructed to collect $40 (currency unspecified) from each pilgrim, preferably before leaving Jeddah. This amount secured the pilgrim's passage home. The *muṭawwif* would collect a commission of as much as $9 and then turn over the remaining amount to the shipping agents for the pilgrim's return fare. As Frank Cook explained to his father:

> One great cause of the business being in the hands of these three men is that many of the pilgrims pay part or all of their passage in bonds, to be worked out in plantation labour on their return, and some even get money advanced on these bonds. Mr. Omer Sagoff has estates in Singapore and can therefore use these bonds and no one else in Jeddah can. The bonds are supposed to be worth about 40% of their face value. It is calculated that one third of the Javanese pay for their passage, one third work it out on their return home, and one third give bonds then clear out on their return without redeeming them.[67]

Although Cook was made aware of this bonded labor or contract ticket scheme, initially he did not grasp the full extent of the ring. He appears to only have thought that the scheme involved Van der Chijs, al-Saqqāf, and Kudzī. While it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which Cook was being purposefully misled, at least one clue comes from his conversations with Ḥasan Johar. Despite his personal involvement and intimate knowledge of the ring, Johar coyly suggested that he "was certain that the Governor Genral of the Hedjaz, the Cherif, and the chief Motaouf [*sic*] were interested in the monopoly, by their readiness to give every assistance to the clique, but it is simply impossible to get proof of it." In the end, it is clear that Frank Cook understood that he was swimming in treacherous waters and was unsure whom to trust. Frank was especially concerned that the firm would not be able to handle return tickets without a local contact with the proper connections.[68] Thus, in another almost absurd twist, despite learning of his role in the monopoly on Javanese and

65 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Frank Cook, Jeddah, to John Mason Cook, October 1886.

66 Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia*, 101–102.

67 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Frank Cook, Jeddah, to John Mason Cook, October 1886.

68 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Frank Cook, Jeddah, to John Mason Cook, October 1886. While it is

Malay pilgrims, Frank suggested to his father that Kudzī might be the firm's best prospect for a local booking agent. As a result, in February 1888, Kudzī agreed to take a 5 percent commission on all return tickets to India and became Cook's agent in Jeddah.[69]

Kudzī's involvement with Thomas Cook's operations in the Ḥijāz was a harbinger of things to come. That same year the Sharif attempted to extend the monopoly on Javanese and Malay pilgrims to Indian pilgrims. The Sharif instructed the head of the *muṭawwifin* not to allow any Indian pilgrim to leave Mecca for Jeddah without having already booked their return ticket to India with one of the members of the monopoly. As a result, the price of return tickets increased by 60 percent.[70] Not coincidentally, in 1888 and 1889, Indian Muslims holding return tickets issued by Thomas Cook and Son began to complain that upon their return from Mecca to Jeddah they were unable to obtain passage home. As ʿAtā Moḥammed, then the British Vice-Consul at Hudayda, and Acting Consul Abdur Razzack in Jeddah reported, Kudzī and his associates were forcing Indian pilgrims to book their return tickets with steamship companies tied to the Java/Malay monopoly. Even more disturbingly, the Indian *muṭawwifs* were forcing Indian pilgrims to purchase special Ottoman-printed Qur'āns. If the pilgrims refused either to book their return tickets through the *muṭawwif*'s preferred steamer or to purchase their Qur'āns, they were not allowed to secure a camel for the return to Jeddah.[71]

As it turned out, the Sharif had overreached. He had failed to include the new Ottoman Governor and J.S. Oswald. Oswald had left the Javanese/Malay monopoly and had even tried to break it. As a result of having overlooked these key figures, the Sharif exposed the monopoly to both the scrutiny of the British Consul and the Ottoman Governor. On 23 August 1889, the Governor arrested the Indian *muṭawwifīn* in Mecca. He also moved to dismantle the monopoly on Javanese and Malay pilgrims by abolishing the post of chief pilgrimage guide (*shaykh al-mashāikh*) for Javanese pilgrims. With the monopoly crashing down, Van der Chijs, then acting as the Consul for Sweden and Norway, committed

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clear that Frank was being lied to by Ḥasan Johar, Moḥammed Abou-Elwa's report on the Hajj from that same month indicates that the company did eventually become aware of the Ottoman and Sharifal administrations' involvement in the monopoly. See Appendix no. 9, Translation from the Arabic Journal of Moḥammed Abou-Elwa's Pilgrimage, Cairo to Meccah, Medinah, and back, 1886, in John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894.

69 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Yusuf Kudzī, Jeddah, to G. Dattari, Cairo, 8 February 1888.

70 Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia*, 102–103.

71 FO 78/4263, "Pilgrim Traffic, 1888–1889."

suicide and his company went out of business. Despite the Governor's apparent victory, the collapse of the monopoly would be brief. The Sharif, relying upon his connections in Istanbul, was able to lobby for the Governor's ouster. While the British Consul struggled mightily to have the monopoly dissolved, by 1896 the Sharif and his associates had worn down their opposition. Upon arriving in the Ḥijāz in 1896, the new British Consul G.P. Devey promptly announced that the monopoly was now part of the customary organization of the Hajj. In his opinion, "the pilgrims were not fleeced any more than tourists would be elsewhere in the world."[72]

Although the Sharif was unable to fully integrate Indian pilgrims into the Java/Malay shipping monopoly, it is clear that Indian pilgrims were being actively coerced to book return tickets with firms connected to his cartel. It is also evident that Yusuf Kudzī's five percent commission on Cook's tickets was not enough to buy the cooperation of the Sharif and his cartel.[73]

Regardless of whether Indian pilgrims fared better than their Javanese or Malay coreligionists, they were still vulnerable to other pressures. Ever since Sharif ʿAwn al-Rafīq's appointment in 1882, he was determined to tighten his control over the *muṭawwifīn* guild system. Prior to his tenure as Sharif, theoretically anyone had been free to purchase a lifetime license for a particular region. From the mid-1880s onward ʿAwn al-Rafīq began to exclude non-Ottoman citizens, especially those from Java, the Straits Settlements, and India, from being appointed as *muṭawwifs*. The Sharif also instituted a new licensing procedure, known as the *taqrīr* system. Under this system individual *muṭawwifs* were no longer free to compete for pilgrims from a particular region. Instead, ʿAwn al-Rafīq began auctioning licenses for control of each region. Also, rather than issuing lifetime licenses, the Sharif forced the *shaykhs* competing for control over their respective regions to renew their claims whenever the Amir's administration declared a new round of bids. As the bids for control of the Java, Malay, and Indian divisions of the guild became more expensive, it became necessary for the *muṭawwifs* to pass the cost on to the pilgrims, leading to inflated prices for boats, housing, camels, tents, and almost every other necessity.[74] As Thomas Cook's Chief Egyptian Dragoman Moḥammed Abou-Elwa aptly put it

72 Ochsenwald, *Relgion, Society, and the State in Arabia*, 102–103.

73 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Yusuf Kudzi, Jeddah, to G. Dattari, Cairo, 8 February 1888.

74 ʿAnqawī, *Makkah: al-Ḥajj wa-al-ṭiwāfah*, 280–285, 330–333; Mary Byrne McDonnell, "The Conduct of Hajj from Malaysia and Its Socio-Economic Impact on Malay Society: A Descriptive and Analytical Study, 1860–1981," vol. 1. (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1986), 58–60.

in his 1886 report on the Hajj, "A pilgrim in the Hedjaz lands is just as grass and a nice piece of meat everyone likes to take a piece of it."[75]

Conclusion

While it is impossible to know the extent to which the Sharif of Mecca's stranglehold on the *muṭawwifīn* inflated prices for Indian pilgrims, this episode underscores the extent to which Cook's and their clients were at a distinct disadvantage on both sides of the Indian Ocean. In Bombay, Cook's could not rely on local brokers to steer business to them. On the one hand, the Government of India's attempts to marginalize brokers made them natural enemies of the firm. On the other hand, these brokers were also connected to Ḥijāzi-based *muṭawwifs* and their *wakīls*. On the Ḥijāzi side, Cook's could neither operate outside of Jeddah, nor could they promise any assistance in securing the services of the *muṭawwifs* or their associated camel drivers. These aspects of the pilgrimage would remain under the control of the Sharif.

Although Thomas Cook and Son managed to avoid being completely shut out of the Ḥijāz pilgrimage trade, their involvement with Yūsuf Kudzī hints at the all-encompassing nature of the Sharif's monopoly. It is fitting that the Government of India's attempt to impose its own state-sponsored control over the Indian pilgrimage-shipping industry was defeated by a parallel cartel scheme anchored on the other side of the Indian Ocean. It is also highly likely that the firm's inability to break the Ḥijāzi cartel played a major role in pushing prospective pilgrims back into the arms of the reorganized Muslim shippers and brokers in Bombay. Thus, in the end, Cook's could neither defeat the Sharif's monopoly, Muslim capital in Bombay, nor the vast networks of the *muṭawwifīn* that held the two sides of the Hajj industry together.

Ultimately, as John Mason Cook came to lament, despite the Government of India's desire to ameliorate the plight of indigent pilgrims, its hesitancy to impose mandatory passport controls linked to roundtrip tickets completely undercut Thomas Cook's advantage as the official agent of the Indian Hajj. As John Slight points out, "The interplay between destitute pilgrims and British imperial prestige occurred within the broader context of intense imperial rivalry among the Ottoman, British, Dutch, and French empires on the issue of

75 TC, Guardbook no. 27, Appendix no. 9, Translation from the Arabic Journal of Moḥammed Abou-Elwa's Pilgrimage, Cairo to Meccah, Medinah, and back, 1886, in John Mason Cook to H. Luson, Under Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department-Sanitary), 1894.

the Hajj and control of the Red Sea as a strategic corridor, which in turn was part of a larger competition for power and resources that extended far beyond."[76] Indeed, especially for the British and Ottoman empires this was a pan-Islamic struggle for loyalty and legitimacy as imperial stewards and protectors of the global Muslim community. Thus, despite both empires' obvious interests in circumscribing the mobility of indigent pilgrims, imposing more intrusive forms of surveillance, and erecting tighter border and documentary controls, neither side dared to risk being accused of authoring regulations directly prohibiting Muslims from fulfilling their sacred pilgrim duties. This powerful dynamic would prove to be one of the most intractable paradoxes of the colonial-era Hajj. This basic tension was both the source of the British Empire's chimerical strategy of indirect intervention as well as its fatal flaw.

Despite the failure of the Thomas Cook experiment, it was a harbinger of things to come. Efforts to ameliorate the sufferings of India's destitute pilgrims were a consistent feature of the British Empire's management of the Hajj from the 1870s until the era of decolonization. In many respects, Thomas Cook's effort to bind together mandatory passport controls with a roundtrip-ticket system presaged the kind of reforms achieved after World War I and the demise of the British Empire's rivalry with the Ottoman Caliphate. Between 1923 and 1926, revisions to the Indian Merchant Shipping Act finally took the steps that the Thomas Cook project had anticipated decades earlier. These new regulations made it obligatory for any Indian or foreign pilgrim sailing from an Indian port to purchase a return ticket or make a minimum deposit with the government prior to embarkation. Those pilgrims purchasing the lowest class of pilgrimage steamship tickets were made to produce a return ticket in order to get an embarkation ticket to board their Jeddah-bound ship. Shipping companies once again partnered with the Bombay police in order to ensure that only intending pilgrims whose passports showed that they had deposited 60 rupees would be issued tickets to Jeddah. Similarly, in Jeddah, after the conclusion of the Hajj, pilgrims were made to provide proof of their deposit to the shipping companies in order to receive their return tickets.[77] The postwar administration of the Hajj was no longer an Anglo-Ottoman condominium. After nearly a half century, the laws governing Muslim pious mobility had became a wholly colonial affair. And at least for a time, the British Empire did precisely what it had so often proclaimed it would not do. It came to directly legislate who could and could not make the Hajj.

76 Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, 104.

77 Ibid., 214.

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CHAPTER 3

British Colonial Knowledge and the Hajj in the Age of Empire

John Slight

Introduction

Europeans produced and accumulated a vast body of information on the peoples, societies and polities they encountered, and, in many cases, came to rule over during the age of empire. This material was recorded in numerous formats, including maps, account-books, official reports, censuses, gazetteers, published books and pamphlets, and by a wide variety of authors, including consuls, colonial officials, travellers, doctors, and missionaries. Islam was an important subject of enquiry for Europeans engaged in this information gathering.[1] Given the size and number of Muslim polities, and the geographical spread and demographic strength of Muslims from West Africa to Southeast Asia, this was unsurprising.[2] Many of Islam's religious practices attracted European attention for a number of purposes—scholarly, ethnographic, economic—and often intersected with colonial administration, such as the municipal regulation of what were termed 'Muslim festivals', such as *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr*.[3]

But the scale and scope of the Hajj set it apart from Islam's other religious practices as a subject and object of enquiry for Europeans. The Hajj is the largest annual gathering of people on the planet for a religious purpose. Every year during the imperial era, hundreds of thousands of men and women, many of whom were colonial subjects, made the momentous decision to leave their homes across Africa and Asia to set out on the often long journey to the Ḥijāz, and the Holy City of Mecca, to perform the Hajj, the fifth pillar of Islam. This chapter focuses on the efforts to obtain, collate, and interpret information on the Hajj by officials working for the British Empire. Beginning in the 1870s,

1 David Motadel, "Introduction," in *Islam and the European Empires*, ed. David Motadel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1–34, 26–30.

2 Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

3 See for example Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur des particularités de la religion, Musulmane dans l'Inde, d'après les ouvrages Hindoustani* (Paris: De l'imprimerie royale, 1831). For the Hajj, a foundational work is F.E. Peters, *The Hajj* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).

when Britain's engagement with the Hajj hugely expanded due to the opening of the Suez Canal and the threat of epidemic diseases linked to pilgrims' movements, the chapter ends on the eve of the Second World War, which marks a caesura in the pilgrimage's history, on the cusp of a world in which post-colonial nation states, oil production, and air travel dramatically transformed the Hajj experience.[4]

This chapter focuses on the British Consulate in Jeddah, the nearest port to Mecca where the majority of colonial pilgrim-subjects arrived and departed from. Jeddah contained the consulates of several European powers in this period, such as France, Russia and the Netherlands, as well as other powers with Muslim subjects, such as Persia.[5] The principal forms of information produced by Britain on the pilgrimage from the late 1860s were the annual reports on the Hajj, which form this chapter's principal source-base.[6] The chapter will chart how British knowledge production changed over time, being affected by wider concerns that ranged from the threat of epidemic disease and political changes in the Ḥijāz, such as the shifts from Ottoman to Hashemite then Saudi control. These moments of flux often dictated the content of information gathered on the pilgrimage and the way in which this material was interpreted and presented in official reports.

Through a critical analysis of these archival sources, the chapter will argue that the Muslim employees of the Jeddah Consulate played a vital role in the production of British knowledge related to the Hajj. Many Hajj reports were authored by Muslim Vice-Consuls. Although numerous Hajj reports carried the imprimatur of the British Consul, substantial parts of the information contained within these documents had been sourced from the Muslim Vice-Consul and his interlocutors, who included pilgrims and the inhabitants of Jeddah, Mecca and Medina. The chapter will demonstrate how information was received, interpreted and presented by the British consulate in Jeddah in its reports to officials in London and elsewhere in Britain's Muslim empire, especially in India, which accounted for the largest number of Britain's pilgrim-subjects. As Eric Tagliacozzo has stated, British official documents "give a real sense collectively of how the British Empire conceptualised the Hajj through

4 Britain's engagement with the Hajj is detailed in John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj, 1865–1956* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

5 Ulrike Freitag, "Helpless Representatives of the Great Powers? Western Consuls in Jeddah, 1830s to 1914," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40.3 (2012): 357–381.

6 *Records of the Hajj, Volumes 1–10*, Alan Rush ed. (Slough: Archive Editions, 1993), hereafter cited in abbreviated form as *RoH* and the relevant volume number.

the lens of the 'official mind'".[7] Yet long-standing concepts of imperialism's 'official mind' need revision, to account for the fact that, despite imbalances of power, these Muslim employees also formed part of this 'official mind' in relation to British knowledge of the Hajj, and imperial policies towards the ritual.[8]

The remainder of the chapter places the example of knowledge production at the British Consulate in Jeddah in a wider colonial context by examining the simultaneous production of Hajj reports in Bombay, the main port of departure for Indian pilgrims. This corpus of knowledge built up by consular and colonial state entities is then considered alongside a number of non-official sources, such as Richard Burton's *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* (1855–1856), to consider how influential such sources were on official understandings of the Hajj.

European interactions with the Hajj formed an important part of European-Muslim relations in the age of empire. Britain's Hajj reports made an important contribution to official British understandings of, and interactions with, the ritual. This chapter's analysis of the Hajj reports contributes to studies of European knowledge of Islam in the age of empire, and responds to David Motadel's call that there is a "need for further systematic exploration of official government documents … which concern Islam."[9]

Colonial Knowledge, Islam, and the Hajj

There has been extensive scholarship on colonial knowledge as an important component in understanding the nature of empire and imperialism.[10] Studies have pioneered deconstructive and critical readings of colonial sources in contrast to traditional imperial history that approached such texts instrumen-

7 Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the pilgrimage to Mecca* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 11.

8 Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher with Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: the official mind of imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1961).

9 David Motadel, "Islam and the European Empires," *Historical Journal* 55.3 (2012): 831–856, 856.

10 Motadel, "Introduction," 26. Much scholarship on colonial knowledge relates to South Asia. On colonial knowledge and Africa, and other types of colonial knowledge production in the fields of cartography, medicine and science, see Tony Ballantyne, "Colonial knowledge," in *The British Empire: themes and perspectives*, ed. Sarah Stockwell (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2008), 177–198, 184–185, 187.

tally as objective and factually correct.[11] Key works in this field include that of Michel Foucault on discourse and the power-knowledge nexus, and Edward Said's *Orientalism*, which viewed the discipline and practice of Orientalism as a system of knowledge production that created hierarchical oppositions between Europe and the 'Other,' emphasising the power of representation for the sake of colonial domination.[12] Gayatri Spivak raised a further important critique of the colonial archival record, stating that people only appeared in it when they were needed to further the aims of the coloniser.[13] In these interpretations, colonial knowledge was produced to enable economic exploitation, conquest and colonisation; little can be retrieved from these sources beyond European discourse. These reductionist readings of the colonial archive have been critiqued by Kim Wagner and Ricardo Roque, who persuasively argue for a "constructive attitude of critical engagement" with these archives in order to understand the nature of colonialism, remaining aware of the archives' limitations and exclusions, yet also appreciating their heterogeneous, complex nature and ambiguous meanings. In their view, "it makes little sense to dismiss colonial knowledge as being of inferior empirical value."[14]

How should historians read these sources in relation to studying colonial knowledge? Ann Laura Stoler has advocated using reading strategies such as reading along the grain, studying the ethnography of the archive, paying particular attention to the trajectories of specific documents in colonial archives to delineate the workings of colonial knowledge and governance.[15] Conversely, reading against the grain of these documents can attempt to recover the words and agency of indigenous people. This chapter employs both strategies, alongside fully acknowledging the role played by indigenous agents in supplying and translating information for their European employers or producing accounts themselves.[16] Scholars have argued that such actors played an important role

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11 Ballantyne, "Colonial knowledge," 177–178.

12 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979).

13 Gaytari Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the subaltern speak?", in *Marxism and the interpretation of Culture*, eds. Cary Nelson and Larry Grossberg (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271–313. Ballantyne, "Colonial knowledge," 180.

14 Kim Wagner and Ricardo Roque, "Introduction: Engaging Colonial Knowledge," in *Engaging Colonial Knowledge: reading European archives in world history*, eds. Kim Wagner and Ricardo Roque (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1–34, 1–6, 15.

15 Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009); Wagner and Roque, "Introduction," 14, 18.

16 Wagner and Roque, "Introduction," 18, 23. An important study that examines indigenous

in the construction and mediation of colonial knowledge, sometimes manipulating colonial perceptions to suit indigenous agendas. Consequently, colonial archives are "not simply synonymous with Western agency" and are a space for "countless fine negotiations, exchanges, entanglements and mutual accommodations."[17]

Amidst the vast amounts of information gathered by the European powers that now reside in these archives, religion was a vitally important category of analysis for colonial authorities.[18] In relation to Islam, European colonial and imperial officials produced an enormous amount of documents on the religious beliefs and practices of Muslims. These sources illustrate how notions of Islam influenced colonial and imperial policies and practices, such as the idea that Islam was an "organized religion that could be understood," the influence of travel accounts on colonial officials, and the role of Muslim intermediaries and informers in shaping European perceptions of Islam.[19] In India, colonial authorities saw religion as a key lens for understanding sub-continental societies.[20] Colonial conceptions of religious differences between Hindus and Muslims were central to British understandings of India's societal dynamics. British perceptions of Islam remained ambivalent and complex throughout this period, although a period of hostility after the Indian Rebellion of 1857 gave way to a more sympathetic approach by the late nineteenth century, albeit still laced with prejudice. David Motadel argues that studies of Islam and colonial knowledge "tend to underestimate the diversity of images of Islam" based on the methodological habit of not defining the source-base clearly, considering together official sources produced by those working for and within the colonial or imperial state alongside sources produced from outside these structures, such as literature, art, journalistic articles, pamphlets, and travel writings. These types of sources need to be separated out more carefully, to bring out this material's multiple purposes and audiences.[21]

Studies of the production and reception of colonial knowledge and Islam tend to be geographically bounded to a particular colony or territory, despite the efflorescence of scholarship on transnational history, focusing on the move-

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agents in this knowledge-formation process is C.A. Bayly, *Empire and information* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

17 Wagner and Roque, "Introduction," 24–25.

18 See for example Peter Gottschalk, *Religion, Science and Empire: Classifying Hinduism and Islam in British India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

19 Motadel, "Islam and Empires," 851–853.

20 Ballantyne, "Colonial knowledge," 190–192.

21 Motadel, "Islam and Empires," 855–856.

ments of peoples, goods and ideas across national and colonial borders.[22] The Hajj is a prime example of this type of movement, yet does not conform to a traditional site of European colonial knowledge production in the historiography. Nevertheless, studying transnational actors such as pilgrims can contribute to rich historiographies that are focused on particular territories. Every year, tens of thousands of European colonial subjects left areas under European rule or influence to travel to the Ḥijāz, an imperial space under Ottoman rule, to perform the Hajj, and European consulates in Jeddah produced thousands of pages of documentation recording this phenomenon. Although the European representatives in Jeddah were consular rather than colonial, we can justifiably call this material 'colonial knowledge' given that part of its focus is on colonial subjects and what affected these subjects during their pilgrimages.

In Sugata Bose's *Hundred Horizons*, he explains that "the colonial perception of the pilgrimage as ordeal and the pilgrim as victim gives a very partial, loaded and distorted picture of the journey to Mecca. Yet that perception needs to be analysed, because it impinged directly on the conduct of the pilgrimage."[23] Bose examines the 1926 pilgrimage report of the British consulate at Jeddah as a "perfect example of the colonial view of the Hajj," focusing on the British Consul's perception of the Hajj and pilgrims.[24] This chapter extends Bose's analysis by focusing in detail on the selection, production, and presentation of information regarding the Hajj in the consulate's pilgrimage reports over roughly half a century. While acknowledging that the official sources dwell on the pilgrimage's material difficulties and are "indispensable to reconstructing the broad lineaments of the annual Hajj," Bose perhaps unfairly criticises them for conveying "little of the spiritual fervor of the individual pilgrim or, indeed, of the collective experience of the faithful" nor providing any sense of the spiritual experience that transcended pilgrims' trials and tribulations.[25] The Hajj reports were never intended to perform such roles, being collated and written with the instrumentalist objective of providing information on the

22 For example, George Trumbull, *An empire of facts: colonial power, cultural knowledge and Islam in Algeria, 1870–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Two succinct overviews of transnational history are Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: the past, present and future* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and Pierre-Yves Saurnier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

23 Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: the Indian Ocean in the age of global empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 206–207.

24 Bose, *Hundred Horizons*, 209–211.

25 Bose, *Hundred Horizons*, 207, 220.

Hajj to those in British officialdom who had dealings with the pilgrimage. As a source for analysing British knowledge of the Hajj, however, they remain invaluable.

As to the purposes of this knowledge, Eric Tagliacozzo has argued that the accumulation of information on pilgrim-subjects by European consulates in Jeddah was designed to exercise supervision over colonial subjects. In his view, there was a "huge and ever expanding apparatus of colonial control" in place by the interwar period, with European consulates in Jeddah engaged in colonial espionage in the Ḥijāz, serving as hubs of a "vast system of espionage and control over pilgrims by Western power."[26] The Hajj was viewed as a "feared transmission vehicle of militancy and subversion," and control over the pilgrimage was seen as "fundamental to ensuring the bedrock of European rule."[27] This speaks to a wider debate among scholars who have emphasised the power of colonial knowledge as enabling colonial conquest and sustaining colonial rule and control.[28] Bernard Cohn argued in his influential work that the administrative processes of the colonial state in India were designed to control local societies, and state practices were based on the production and ordering of this knowledge.[29] However, in relation to the Hajj and Britain, colonial knowledge was often imperfect and partial, and there were real limits to the reach and effectiveness of colonial surveillance and supervision of pilgrims, especially once pilgrims disembarked from their ships onto the soil of the Ḥijāz. Many parts of the pilgrimage remained firmly beyond the reach of the information-gathering apparatus of the British consular authorities, whether they were British or Muslim.

The Hajj Reports of the British Consulate at Jeddah

From the 1860s, Arabia was a space of increasing interest to Britain. Information on the Hajj was believed to have a variety of practical applications, which included signalling the presence of epidemic disease in Arabia to imperial authorities, monitoring pilgrims who might pose a threat to British imperial interests, and highlighting instances of British pilgrims' mistreatment in the

26 Tagliacozzo, *Longest Journey*, 177–178, 299–300.

27 Tagliacozzo, *Longest Journey*, 178–180.

28 Spivak, "Subaltern" and Nicholas B. Dirks, "Foreword," in Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: the British in India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), ix–xviii.

29 Cohn, *Colonialism*.

Ḥijāz, which could be taken up with the local authorities in Arabia as one method of exercising British influence in the area. Britain's ability to gather information on their pilgrim-subjects differed from place to place; this task was easier when pilgrims were on board ships to and from the Ḥijāz, given their enclosed nature.[30] Indeed, reducing pilgrims to numbers and presenting the Hajj in numerical terms formed a substantial part of the Hajj reports. From the first very brief Hajj report in 1869, the volume of information collected by British consular authorities expanded from 1878 with the appointment of Dr. Abdur Razzack on Hajj-related duties. The conditions of the First World War meant the priorities of British information-gathering shifted, reflected in reports by Muslim officials. After the war, the Jeddah consulate's Hajj reports became ever-more voluminous, covering a very wide variety of topics on the Hajj, with the Indian Vice-Consul, Munshi Ihsanullah, taking a particular concern with the various difficulties British pilgrims faced while in the Ḥijāz. As Eric Tagliacozzo has pointed out, this information-gathering formed part of a broader trend that sought to supervise colonial subjects through legal and coercive means. However, attempts at supervising and regulating some pilgrims, such as so-called "pauper" pilgrims from India, were limited. The Hajj reports were one component of a broader British effort to "know Islam" and contained various negative representations of pilgrims, which formed part of a broader discourse around the religion.[31] The contributions of Britain's Muslim employees to these Hajj reports played an important role in shaping these discourses and furthering these broader aims.

Britons' engagement with the Ḥijāz began in the seventeenth century, with a small number of merchants based in the Ḥijāz's port city of Jeddah. Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Egypt led to naval actions by British forces in the Red Sea in 1799–1800, and relations were opened with the Sharif of Mecca.[32] The foundation of official British representation in the Ḥijāz was the establishment of British Agents in Jeddah, Suez, and Qusayr in October 1837, upgraded to Vice-Consuls by the Foreign Office one year later.[33] The British consulate at Jeddah was the base for official information-gathering efforts regarding the Hajj, which were catalysed by two factors, disease and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

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30 Tagliacozzo, *Longest Journey*, 191.

31 Tagliacozzo, *Longest Journey*, 194–195.

32 M. Abir, "The 'Arab Rebellion' of Amir Ghalib of Mecca (1788–1813)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 7.2 (1971): 185–200, 189–191.

33 William Roff, "Sanitation and Security: The Imperial Powers and the Nineteenth Century Hajj," *Arabian Studies* VI (1982): 143–161, 145.

In 1865, a cholera epidemic killed thousands of pilgrims and reached Europe; over 200,000 people died worldwide. This epidemiological threat to Europeans focused governments' attention on the Hajj as a vector for disease transmission. Alongside the establishment of quarantine camps and procedures related to pilgrims' movements in the Red Sea region and in European colonies, Europeans felt an urgent need to monitor and collect information on sanitary and public health conditions in the Ḥijāz.[34] In the British case, this was less marked—it was only until after the First World War that detailed reports on diseases in Mecca and Medina were compiled.[35] The Suez Canal's importance as a strategic maritime artery for Britain's imperial interests meant the Red Sea became a space as equally vital as the Canal, which became contested through the rivalry between European powers and the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, conditions on the littorals and hinterlands of the Red Sea received greater attention than before. The Hajj was arguably the largest annual event that took place in this area, its religious significance drawing Muslims from across the world to Mecca every year, many of whom were subjects of the European empires. The Canal's opening created multiple new shipping routes in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, increasingly plied by steamships in ever-increasing numbers.[36] Mainly European shipping companies established many routes for the pilgrim trade, and travel firms such as Thomas Cook entered the market, detailed in Michael Christopher Low's chapter in this volume. Combined with the use of steamships, the cost of a ticket to the Ḥijāz became much more affordable to a greater number of pilgrims than before. Pilgrim numbers mushroomed from approximately 100,000 in the 1830s to around 300,000 in the 1890s.[37] This steady increase in the number of seaborne pilgrims and the epidemic diseases they carried marked them out for increased scrutiny from colonial and consular officials.

The systematic collection of information on the Hajj by the British consulate in Jeddah began in 1869.[38] These pilgrimage reports contained little

34 Peters, *Hajj*, 301–315.

35 Tagliacozzo, *Longest Journey*, 149. The relationship between epidemic diseases, the Hajj and European imperialism has been extensively analysed in Roff, "Sanitation and Security"; Tagliacozzo, *Longest Journey*, 133–156; M.C. Low, "Empire and the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues and Pan-Islam, 1865–1908," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40 (2008): 269–290, and Saurabh Mishra, *Pilgrimage, politics and pestilence: the Haj from the Indian Sub-continent, 1860–1920* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011).

36 Michael Miller, "Pilgrim's Progress: The Business of the Hajj," *Past and Present* 191 (2006): 189–228.

37 Roff, "Sanitation and Security," 143.

38 Not in 1882, as Eric Tagliacozzo points out in *Longest Journey*, 179.

material compared to those compiled in the 1920s and 1930s, which ran to over thirty pages. In 1869, for example, Arthur Raby, the Consul in Jeddah, merely wrote that after the pilgrimage, the Ḥijāz's public health was satisfactory; about 110,000 pilgrims stood at Mount ʿArafāt, and 5,000–6,000 pilgrims waited for ships in Jeddah after the Hajj's conclusion.[39] The quantity of information did not greatly increase the year after, except for the observation that 1870 was marked by a "Grand Pilgrimage," Hajj *Akbar*, a one in seven year event, when performing the Hajj carried greater spiritual benefit to pilgrims.[40] British officials in Jeddah and India came to realise that Britain needed to employ Muslims in order to expand the scope of their nascent knowledge of the pilgrimage.

Consequently, Assistant Surgeon Dr. Abdur Razzack of the Bengal Medical Service was sent by the government of India to perform the Hajj in 1878, in order to monitor the sanitary situation of Indian pilgrims and assess the effects of the quarantine *lazaret* at al-Ṭūr in the Red Sea, opened in 1877.[41] The Indian government sent Razzack on Hajj annually from 1878–1882, and his reports were read by officials in London, Aden, Egypt, India, and Malaya. His employment in the Jeddah consulate was formalised in 1882 and he became permanently based there. Significantly, Razzack's remit was expanded from reporting on sanitary matters to include providing assistance to Indian pilgrims and concerning himself with their general welfare while in the Ḥijāz.[42] As Ulrike Freitag has argued, despite the position of European Consuls as representatives of imperial powers, in Jeddah they were "helpless," their position "heavily circumscribed" due to their enforced isolation from local society. Consequently, employing Muslims enabled these difficulties to be partly overcome. As a Muslim, Razzack could travel to Mecca to collect information on the Hajj, unlike his Christian British employers, although local Ottoman officials were unhappy with an official representative of Britain going to Mecca. Razzack also forged good relations with Ḥijāzis and Indians alike.[43] The Vice-Consul's status gave him a privileged position in which to present his interpretations of the pilgrimage to his employ-

39 Report on the conclusion of the Hajj, March 29, 1869, FO 195/956, The National Archives, London (hereafter TNA).

40 Report on the conclusion of the Hajj, March 18, 1870, FO 195/956, TNA.

41 Medico-Sanitary Report on the Pilgrimage to Mecca by Dr. Abdur Razzack, Indian Medical Service, Appendix L, 99–103, in Memorandum by Mr. Netten Radcliffe on Quarantine in the Red Sea, and on the Sanitary Regulation of the Pilgrimage to Mecca, June 1879, 52, PC 1/2674, TNA.

42 Roff, "Sanitation and Security," 147–148; Low, "Empire and the Hajj," 283.

43 Freitag, "Helpless Representatives," 359, 362, 365, 374–375.

ers, who in the case of the Consul were often posted to Jeddah for only a short period of time, increasing their reliance on Muslim subordinates such as Razzack.

Two examples of Razzack's perspectives on and representations of the pilgrimage concern the Hajj and Muslim unity and destitute Indian pilgrims. Razzack argued to his employers that in some cases the Hajj did not facilitate a feeling of Muslim unity among the *umma*. The doctor was anxious that the "timid and ignorant peasantry of East Bengal," who generally made up half the numbers of Indian pilgrims, were "under the thumb of their spiritual guides [*muṭawwifīn*, pilgrim guides] not only from natural pliability, faith and credulity, but their almost complete inability to communicate with the people of this country."[44] Razzack's derogatory remarks can be taken as representative of British officialdom's view of most Indian pilgrims in this period, as a poor, helpless, credulous mass of pious people. Yet his comments underscore a vital point that complicates views of the pilgrimage's unifying effect on Muslims. Most pilgrims were not multi-lingual. They were reliant on the proficiency of their *muṭawwif* in Arabic to negotiate the Hajj experience. Successive Hajj reports represented pilgrim guides as parasitic on pilgrims, and Britain's Muslim Vice-Consuls often presented this viewpoint most forcefully.

Razzack's pilgrimage reports were also instrumental in shaping official views of destitute Indian pilgrims, a group who were an important concern of British authorities involved with the pilgrimage throughout this period.[45] In 1886, he wrote that their living conditions in the Ḥijāz were "miserable … heart-rending to behold." However, Razzack thought their religiosity "will busy up the hearts of even the poorest and most destitute and steel them to bear every variety of privation and misery in the hope of a better future thereafter."[46] Razzack's passages on destitute pilgrims in his Hajj reports were written with the purpose of improving this group's pilgrimage experience. His 1887 Hajj report opened with an emotive passage on the issue; indigent pilgrims stranded in Jeddah suffered from "want, privation and disease." That year's pilgrimage had the highest number of destitute pilgrims on record: over 4,955 from India out of 10,324 in total, nearly 50%. The Ottoman authorities complained to Britain about this large influx of indigent pilgrims. While Indian Muslim merchants in Jeddah assisted with destitute pilgrim repatriation, Razzack felt that a fund for these indigent pilgrims was urgently needed, although he reflected Victorian

44 Dr. Abdur Razzack, Report on the 1885 Hajj, February 27, 1886, FO 78/4094, TNA in *RoH, 3*, 675.

45 Low, "Empire and the Hajj," 274.

46 Dr. Abdur Razzack, Report on the 1886 Hajj, undated, FO 195/1583, TNA in *RoH, 3*, 747–748.

conceptions towards the poor in arguing that only the "absolutely helpless" should be assisted.[47] Razzack's advocacy came to fruition with greater official support for repatriation at the end of the nineteenth century.

Dr. Razzack's murder by Bedouins outside Jeddah on 30 May 1895 highlighted how differing conceptions of knowledge proved fatal for the doctor. The Bedouin thought Razzack and the British Consul who was walking with him were quarantine doctors, whom they despised; a hospital and disinfecting machine had recently been attacked in Mecca, because the Bedouin thought these things and the doctors were responsible for cholera.[48] The doctor's successor as Vice-Consul, Dr. Mohammed Hussein, also played an important part in shaping British knowledge of the Hajj. In his 1896–1897 Hajj report, he began with a detailed account of the pilgrimage's origins in the sixth and seventh centuries C.E. Building on this knowledge, Hussein wrote that according to the Qur'ān, performing the Hajj was only compulsory for those who could afford it, as a precursor to castigating the "blind religious zeal of millions of uneducated Moslems" who were encouraged by pilgrim guides who travelled across India to attract pilgrims to Mecca. The work of these guides, coupled with unrestricted travel and improvements in transportation, made pilgrims view the Hajj as "the only source of salvation open to them." Hussein attributed these factors to the Hajj attaining "such magnitude that it has attracted the attention of all the leading powers of the world."[49] Razzack and Hussein played a vital intermediary role in expanding Britain's knowledge of the Hajj, shaping the way in which this knowledge was represented and interpreted to British officials, a trend continued by their successors in the interwar period.

Despite the employment of Muslims in Britain's Jeddah consulate, Britain's ability to mount surveillance over so-called 'Islamic conspiracies' among pilgrims remained limited, because such goings-on appeared rather nebulous, compounded by the difficulties of obtaining accurate information on them. A good example of this was official concerns that funds were being raised in India by pilgrims for a jihad in the name of Mecca and Medina during the 1870s—it turned out the fundraising was actually for a project to improve the water sup-

47 Dr. Abdur Razzack, Report on the 1887 Hajj, February 15, 1888, FO 195/1610, TNA in *RoH, 3*, 761, 783–785.

48 W.S. Richards, Consul Jeddah, to Secretary, Foreign Department, Government of India, June 23, 1895, Foreign Department, Secret—E, September 1895, No. 44–64, National Archives of India, New Delhi (hereafter NAI).

49 Jeddah Vice-Consul Dr. Mohamed Hussein, Report on the Mecca Pilgrimage 1896–1897, 1–2, Foreign Department, External—A, March 1898, No. 206–215, NAI.

ply to the Holy Cities.[50] Official viewpoints towards 'Islamic conspiracies' and the Hajj were diverse. Some saw the Hajj as a hotbed of conspiracies, while others were sceptical about the extent of the pilgrimage's role as a catalyst for anti-colonial movements and Islamic radicalism.[51] British pilgrimage reports in this period hardly cover such activity.

However, some British Consuls in Jeddah, such as J.N. Zohrab, struck a more alarmist note. In 1879, Zohrab reported that various Muslim nationalities in Mecca were now in close correspondence with each other: "the organization seems complete and the union perfect, and restless spirits are ever moving in search of pretexts to raise complications."[52] Zohrab believed that the Ḥijāz was a key fulcrum around which this nebulous organization was based because of the Hajj.[53] In relation to pilgrims who were British subjects, Zohrab thought some went on Hajj for political purposes, because Mecca was "free from European intrusion" and a safe area for meetings "at which combinations hostile to us may form without our knowing anything till the shell bursts in our medst [sic]." The Consul argued for Muslim secret agents to monitor the Hajj at Mecca to forestall any "hostile combinations," a proposal rejected by his superiors as impractical.[54] This type of imperial alarm regarding the Ḥijāz and the Hajj extended to Dutch officials, who had greater cause for concern, given their on-going war against the Muslim Sultanate of Aceh, and the community of Acehnese and other Dutch colonial subjects who lived in the Ḥijāz.[55]

The dramatic tone of Zohrab's reports, however, should not be taken as representative of a monolithic imperial viewpoint towards the Hajj. Of course, one of Zohrab's roles was to ascertain any threats to British interests which emanated from the Ḥijāz, but his lack of concrete details on such threats shows the uncertainty of the information at his disposal. These reports need to be read

50 Azmi Özcan, *Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain 1877–1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 93.

51 Seema Alavi, "'Fugitive Mullahs and Outlawed Fanatics': Indian Muslims in Nineteenth-Century Trans-Asiatic Imperial Rivalries," *Modern Asian Studies* 45.6 (2011): 1337–1382, 1381–1382.

52 Zohrab, Consul Jeddah, to Marquis of Salisbury, March 12, 1879, HD 3/55, TNA.

53 Zohrab, Consul Jeddah, to Marquis of Salisbury, January 9, 1880, HD 3/55, TNA.

54 Zohrab, Report on the Necessity of a Consular Establishment in the Red Sea, June 1, 1881, FO 195/1375, TNA, quoted in Saleh Muhammad al-Amr, The *Hijaz under Ottoman Rule, 1869–1914* (Riyadh: Riyad University Publications, 1978), 171. Under Secretary State for India to Under Secretary State for Foreign Affairs, January 28, 1881, Foreign Department, Secret, March 1881, No. 156–160, NAI. Also quoted in Roff, "Sanitation and Security."

55 Fred Von Der Mehden, *Two Worlds of Islam: Interaction between Southeast Asia and the Middle East* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993), 3–8.

against his realisation that Britain's ability to acquire further information on the pilgrimage remained limited without further recourse to Muslim employees. By the interwar period, Hajj reports routinely noted the presence of "political agitators" from India without further elaboration, and also mention that some were on "excellent terms" with the Indian Vice-Consul, perhaps indicating how the British no longer saw the Hajj as an unknown space for anti-colonial conspiratorial activity.[56]

In contrast to 'Islamic plots,' Britain's Hajj reports devoted significant attention to recording the numbers of pilgrims arriving and departing from the Ḥijāz and their origins, in order to grasp the scale of this phenomenon, and form a basis for closer supervision of British pilgrim-subjects. When considering these pilgrim numbers, Michael Laffan's cautionary note is salutary: "the statistics are more an indication than a hard fact."[57] For example, in 1926, the Saudi Minister for Foreign Affairs stated the total number of pilgrims was 120,000, but other eye-witnesses reported to the British Consulate's staff that there were no more than 100,000.[58] British reports disparaged Saudi estimates, one arguing they were "ascribed as much to ignorance as to ecstasy. The desert so seldom teems that the Arab has but little knowledge of large numbers."[59] One numerical feature that concerned the consular authorities was a continued mismatch between the number of arriving and departing pilgrims in the Ḥijāz, attributed to a high death rate and an observation that many pilgrims seemed elderly. Officials believed that once old pilgrims had performed the Hajj "the force of fanaticism which had so long sustained them peters out, and the desire to go on living deserts them. They die in consequence, and are glad of the release."[60] This understanding reflected a broader perception of pilgrims as almost fatalistic.

While the Hajj reports contain numerous tables recording numbers of incoming and outgoing pilgrim ships in Jeddah, these numbers, and data on pilgrims' origins, were frequently inaccurate. In 1884, Razzack found "a difference in every [ship's] case."[61] Consular authorities wanted to ascertain pilgrims' origins in order to discover exactly who deserved consular assistance.

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56 Report on the Hajj of 1350 A.H. (1932), FO 371/16018, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 492.

57 Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic nationhood and colonial Indonesia: the umma below the winds* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 53.

58 Report on the Hajj of 1344 A.H. (1926), FO 371/11436, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 42.

59 Report on the Hajj of 1350 A.H. (1932), FO 371/16024, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 483.

60 Report on the Hajj of 1344 A.H. (1926), FO 371/11436, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 55.

61 Dr. Abdur Razzack, Report on the Pilgrimage Season of 1301 A.H. (1884), FO 891/5113, TNA, *RoH, 3*, 587.

This information was especially important regarding Indian "pauper" pilgrims, recorded as a distinct category by Razzack. In response to Ottoman pressure regarding large numbers of poor pilgrims stranded in Jeddah, Razzack observed the wharf at Jeddah where pilgrims congregated, and concluded that a third of these "Indian pauper pilgrims" were from Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Central Asia and Xinjiang.[62] Categories in the reports' tables were frequently capacious, such as "Javanese and Malays" and "other Africans."[63] By the 1920s, these tables had expanded in size and specificity, but remained indicative at best in some cases, such as "Various Far Eastern pilgrims (Chinese, Siamese, Philippine islanders &c)."[64] Officials blamed quarantine authorities in non-British territories for classifying pilgrims by race rather than nationality.[65] In the 1930s, with the wider introduction of passes and passports, the British consulate could tabulate the province or princely state Indian pilgrims had come from, but only for those pilgrims who had not lost their documentation.[66] Records of pilgrim numbers and origins show the limits of British knowledge of the Hajj.

In 1914, with the closure of Britain's consulate in Jeddah as a result of the outbreak of war between Britain and the Ottoman empire, it seemed British knowledge of the Hajj would lose its base in the Ḥijāz for the foreseeable future. Before leaving, Vice-Consul Dr. Abdur Rahman wrote in his last Hajj report that he had reported on six successive pilgrimages and trusted that he "succeeded in bringing before the authorities and the Indian public all the hardships the pilgrims had to face in the performance of this, their great religious duty, partly through their own ignorance and partly through circumstances beyond their control."[67] Rahman was aware that his reports were "not very palatable" to some Indian Muslims, but stressed it was not disrespectful towards the Holy Cities to criticize various aspects of the Ottoman Hajj administration: "all I wished for was improvement in the condition of affairs prevailing there, bettering the treatment of pilgrims during their sojourn in the Holy Places and sure means of their return home."[68] He believed his reports' recommendations "had a very favourable echo from proper quarters," such as the establishment of Hajj

62 Dr. Abdur Razzack, Report on the Hajj of 1304 A.H. (1887), FO 195/1610, TNA, *RoH, 3*, 766; Dr. Abdur Razzack, Report on the Hajj of 1303 A.H. (1886), FO 195/1583, TNA, *RoH, 3*, 747.

63 Report on the Hajj of 1333 A.H. (1915), IOR/L/PS/10/523, India Office Records, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, British Library, London (hereafter IOR, APAC, BL).

64 Report on the Hajj of 1346 A.H. (1928), FO 371/12999, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 188.

65 Report on the Hajj 1348 A.H. (1930), FO 371/15290, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 259.

66 Report on the Hajj of 1346 A.H. (1928), FO 371/12999, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 196, 231.

67 Report on the Hajj of 1333 A.H. (1915), IOR/L/PS/10/523, IOR, APAC, BL.

68 Ibid.

committees across India, which was his idea.[69] Rahman's statements underline how British conceptions of the pilgrimage as a great hardship were shaped by Muslim voices in the official record such as his, and how these reports enabled Muslim officials to exercise some influence over British policy towards the Hajj.

In the febrile atmosphere of wartime, when Sharif Hussein's Arab Revolt was only a few months old, Cairo's Arab Bureau, which played an instrumental role in fomenting the Revolt, showed great concern in presenting Hussein's administration of the pilgrimage as a great success. The pilgrimage had been "most successfully performed. No untoward incidents, such as have been too frequent in former years, disturbed its course." Pilgrims "expressed their deep gratitude" in response to British efforts such as the requisitioning of two Khedival Mail Line ships from war duties to transport pilgrims. Familiar tropes were deployed to further the report's positive lines; "fanaticism" in Jeddah was "conspicuous by its absence" and Bedouins were "conspicuously friendly" on roads used by pilgrims.[70] This positive interpretation of the Hajj under Hashemite rule was particularly important, as the reports were sent to various parts of British officialdom that were more ambivalent towards the Revolt, such as the Government of India.[71] After the war ended, and conditions on the pilgrimage deteriorated as Hussein's subsidies from Britain decreased, British Hajj reports still tried to praise his pilgrimage administration. One in 1919 noted that "had the pilgrimage stopped at Mecca, all would have been well" before detailing Bedouin attacks on pilgrim caravans to Medina, prompted by the withholding of Hashemite funds to the Bedouin that had previously been generously dispersed.[72]

The pilgrimage during the Arab Revolt was seen as particularly important to various parts of Britain's Muslim empire whose subjects took a keen interest towards events in Mecca and Medina. A short report on the Hajj by a Muslim official, Mr. J.S. Kadri, was sent by the Political Resident at Aden to the High Commission in Cairo, the Governor-General of Sudan, the Pilgrimage Officer in Jeddah, the Government of Bombay and the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India. Some of Kadri's perspectives on the pilgrimage could not be replicated by his British employers, for example his opening statement that "the ways of God are inscrutable and He does what men can never

69 Ibid.

70 *Arab Bulletin*, No. 26, 1 November 1916, *RoH, 5*, 57.

71 Briton Cooper Busch, *Britain, India and the Arabs, 1914–1921* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971).

72 Lt. Col. Vickery, British Agent, Jeddah, Extracts from a report on the Pilgrimage 1919, FO 371/4195, TNA, *RoH, 5*, 159.

divine. Hussein's overthrow of the Ottomans made it possible for Indians to go to Mecca and perform their most cherished and fundamental duties of the faith." Yet Kadri's observations of Jeddah were very similar to British officials stationed there after the outbreak of the Arab Revolt; the town was "nasty and filthy," and sanitary arrangements were "far from satisfactory." Mecca was seen as "more healthy" but the valley of Mina had "dirt and filth … everywhere," and the lack of disease was attributed to good weather. Pilgrim guides "often try to fleece poor pilgrims of their money" and pilgrims on one ship were "openly bullied, insulted and even thrashed" by the ship's purser.[73] Kadri's representations of the Ḥijāz's public health, pilgrim guides, and conditions on pilgrim ships are little different from Razzack's reports in the 1880s. These negative conceptions of the Ḥijāz were furthered by Hakim Said Hassan, a policeman from India's United Provinces deputed to Britain's Hajj administration in Jeddah. Hassan wrote that "the moral character of the people is really disgusting … it is not an uncommon sight to see men lying about dead drunk in Jeddah. Even in the holy city of Mecca people do not refrain from indulging in toxicants."[74]

The priority of emphasising pilgrims' support for British policies and actions in the Ḥijāz show how wartime exigencies shaped Kadri's Hajj report. The Government of India had provided three steamships from Bombay to Jeddah for 2,500 Indian pilgrims, and Kadri reported "a universal sense of heartfelt satisfaction and gratitude" among Indian pilgrims for the attention paid to their welfare by Colonel Wilson, Britain's Agent in Jeddah. The pilgrimage "passed off smoothly and happily" and pilgrims on the plain of Arafat "presented a unique sight, almost superhuman and sublime."[75] Kadri concluded by reinforcing official conceptions of pilgrims as "generally illiterate and unacquainted with Arabic and the conditions of Arabia" which left them vulnerable to the unscrupulous practices of some pilgrim guides. Kadri argued for Britain to appoint a Protector of Pilgrims in Jeddah and Mecca, fluent in Arabic, Hindi and Bengali, attached to the British consulate at Jeddah. These recommendations were a standard formula for Britain's Hajj reports authored by Muslim officials, which recorded the various difficulties pilgrims faced before advocating further extensions of Britain's administrative engagement with the pilgrimage.[76]

Another aspect of Britain's knowledge of the Hajj particular to this wartime period was a concern to monitor French activities in the region, as Britain

73 Mr. J.S. Kadri, Educational Inspector, deputed from Aden, Note on his Experiences of the Haj 1916, Foreign and Political Department, War–Secret, March 1917, No. 67–69, NAI.

74 Hakim Said Hassan, Notes of the Hajj of 1917, FO 371/3408, TNA.

75 Mr. J.S. Kadri, A Pilgrim's Experiences, *Arab Bulletin*, No. 34, December 11, 1916.

76 Ibid.

wished to remain King Hussein's chief ally. During the 1918 Hajj it was carefully reported that Sayyid Muhammad ibn Sasi, France's new representative in Mecca, brought King Hussein presents including silk carpets, gold watches, diamond pins, gold-chains and pistols, inscribed "from the French nation in memory of the Pilgrimage of 1336."[77] While French influence in the Ḥijāz waned after the war's conclusion, the conquest of the Ḥijāz—and the Hajj—by Abd al-Aziz al-Saud of Najd in 1924 caused the information-gathering priorities of the British consulate, and the interpretation of this material, to change once more.

A major contributor to British knowledge of the Hajj through the British consulate's pilgrimage reports during the initial years of Saudi control over the Ḥijāz was Munshi Ihsanullah. Born in Punjab, India, Ihsanullah had been a merchant in Medina. Ruined by the war, he worked for British military intelligence in Damascus in 1918, then was employed at the British consulate in Jeddah. With knowledge of Urdu, Arabic and English, he was well-connected to officials, merchants, and pilgrim guides in the Ḥijāz, and with Indian pilgrims. He was appointed as Indian Pilgrimage Officer in 1925 and promoted to Indian Vice-Consul in 1927. Successive British Consuls lauded Ihsanullah; one wrote that his "unflagging energy, his loyalty and genuine devotion to the cause of the pilgrimage are deserving of the highest praise." The 1928 Hajj report revealed how Ihsanullah gathered some of his information, describing how his living quarters in Jeddah were turned into a "free club" for Indian pilgrims—"he gleans in this way much information of a valuable nature."[78] Ihsanullah supplied much material for Britain's Hajj reports, and the 1931 report was attributed to him. The British Consul, C.G. Hope-Gill, thought Ihsanullah had become "something of an expert in all pilgrimage matters." Hope-Gill also shed light on how Ihsanullah produced the Hajj reports. Ihsanullah's writings in Urdu were translated into English by his clerks Shah Jahan Kabir, Sayyid Nur Hussein Shah and Haji Mohammed Sharif.[79] Andrew Ryan, British Consul in 1932, stated at the outset of that year's report that although he "edited the material freely the enclosed report is almost entirely based on what has been supplied by members of staff," mainly Ihsanullah.[80] The Indian Vice-Consul's work was circulated widely among British authorities who had some connection to the imperial administration of the Hajj; the 1932 report, for example, was copied to the Foreign, India and Colonial Offices in London,

77 The Pilgrimage, 1918, *Arab Bulletin*, No. 107, 6 December 1918, *RoH, 5*, 117.

78 Report on the Hajj of 1346 A.H. (1928), FO 371/12999, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 204.

79 Report on the Hajj of 1349 A.H. (1931), FO 371/15291, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 396.

80 1932 Pilgrimage Report, 1, IOR/R/20/A/3524, IOR, APAC, BL.

and British administrations in Palestine, Iraq, Nigeria, Malaya, India, Egypt, and Sudan.[81]

By the mid-1920s, the Hajj reports covered a wide variety of topics at some length, the 1932 report being a representative example at nearly fifty pages long. The reports' sections included pilgrim numbers, quarantine in the Red Sea and the Ḥijāz, pilgrims' lost luggage, public security, public health, estates of British subjects who died in the Ḥijāz, intimidation of pilgrims by the authorities, religious intolerance, pilgrim shipping and ports of origin, the Indian pilgrimage with sub-sections on staff and destitute pilgrims, pilgrim registration at Jeddah, loans to pilgrims, the Egyptian pilgrimage with sub-sections on pilgrim dues, shipping, the *mahmal*, destitute pilgrims, Egyptian restrictions against returning pilgrims, and a final sub-section on pilgrims from other territories within and outside the British empire, such as Malaya, Sudan and West Africa, Aden, the Levant, Hadramaut, Somaliland, Najd and Yemen. This report and others from this period also presented financial information, calculating how much the pilgrimage cost for British colonial subjects across Britain's Muslim empire, recording figures on tariffs levied on pilgrims in Arabia, the cost of camel hire, and shipping costs.[82]

Ihsanullah's input and perspectives clearly shaped the manner in which certain aspects of the Hajj were presented to British officials and understood by them. When the Saudis conquered the Ḥijāz in 1924, they sought to impose their interpretation of Islam on the local population. The Hajj reports contained a new sub-section detailing the "religious restrictions" imposed by the Saudis which affected pilgrims, such as being prevented from praying at certain tombs in the Ḥijāz. The reports chart the fluctuations in Saudi religious policy towards pilgrims, recording various incidents. In 1928, for example, two imams of mosques in Bombay reported to Ihsanullah that they were beaten by Najdi guards after praying in front of Prophet Muhammad's tomb with their hands raised.[83] A further example from the 1931 report written by Ihsanullah records the Saudi ban on head-dresses worn by a community of Patani Indian Muslims while performing the *ṭawāf*, a policy that "clearly indicates the extent of Wahhabi bigotry and fanaticism."[84] The effect of the Great Depression on the Ḥijāz, which led to a collapse in pilgrim numbers, contributed towards what Ihsanullah saw as "a marked tendency in the direction of a more liberal policy"

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid. Tagliacozzo, *Longest Journey*, 190.

83 Report on the Hajj of 1346, (1928), FO 371/12999, TNA, *RoH*, 6, 195.

84 Report on the Hajj of 1349 A.H., (1931), FO 371/15291, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 379.

by the Saudi authorities towards pilgrims' religious practices.[85] Through these reports, Ihsanullah was an important actor who shaped conceptions of Saudi religious policies in the British 'official mind.'

An older feature of British Hajj reports were pilgrim guides, who had appeared in them since the 1880s, with a consistent focus on the guides' ability to over-charge pilgrims for their services. The section on pilgrim guides in the 1930 report was "based on information supplied and views held" by Ihsanullah, and his experience with this group gave "great weight to his opinions."[86] Ihsanullah's objective regarding these pilgrim guides was greater regulation over their activities to protect Indian pilgrims, evidenced by his numerous suggestions to regulate the guides' "mischief and malpractices."[87] In liaison with colonial authorities in India, Ihsanullah established a 'black-list' of pilgrim guides known to defraud pilgrims, who were banned from visiting India to proselytise the merits of performing the Hajj.[88] The power of Ihsanullah's 'black-list' was sufficient for it to be raised as a topic of concern by the Saudi Minister of Foreign Affairs with the British Consul.[89] Ihsanullah's activism led to a backlash from the pilgrim guides, and once he retired in 1937, British perceptions of this group became more resigned and stereotypical of an unchanging Arabia; guides "have been oppressing pilgrims for more than 1,300 years and it is too much to hope they will stop."[90] While Ihsanullah's perceptions of pilgrim guides as rapacious aided his efforts to regulate their activity through applying his knowledge of them to a 'black-list,' this initiative was short-lived, another example of the limits official British knowledge faced in changing the Hajj experience for British pilgrim-subjects. The Hajj reports produced by the British consulate in Jeddah illustrate the important role played by Muslim employees in the production of official knowledge about the Hajj and in shaping official understandings and interpretations of the ritual. The reports also demonstrate the limits of how this knowledge could be deployed in the pursuit of greater supervision over British pilgrim-subjects.

85 Report on the Hajj of 1351A.H., (1933), FO 371/16857, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 559.

86 Report on the Hajj of 1348A.H., (1930), FO 371/15290, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 271.

87 Report on the Hajj of 1349A.H., (1931), FO 371/15291, TNA, *RoH, 6*, 379.

88 Report on the Hajj of 1353A.H., (1935), FO 371/19002, TNA, *RoH, 7*, 37.

89 Report on the Hajj of 1354A.H., (1936), FO 371/20055, TNA, *RoH, 7*, 121.

90 Report on the Hajj of 1356A.H., (1938), R/15/1/576, IOR, APAC, BL, *RoH, 7*, 290.

The Protector of Pilgrims Reports on the Pilgrimage from Bombay

The priorities of knowledge production surrounding the pilgrimage from Bombay were somewhat different to the British consulate in Jeddah, given the port city's status as a British colonial city. As the principal port for Indian pilgrims travelling to and from the Ḥijāz, Bombay saw thousands of pilgrims arrive in the city each year. As a representative example, 21,000 pilgrims passed through the city in 1909, out of which some 13,000 arrived over seventeen days.[91] This movement of pious people was of little concern to the city's colonial authorities until the 1880s, when a series of scandals relating to conditions on pilgrim ships and other criticisms levelled at the lack of regulation around pilgrims in Bombay led the government to appoint the city's first Protector of Pilgrims in 1887. The Protector, a Muslim, headed a Pilgrim Department of administrative officials. Given the Protector's responsibility for administering the flow of pilgrims from Bombay, he and his department's "great pressure of work" was wide-ranging during the season when pilgrims arrived in Bombay. These duties included visiting every vessel that returned from Jeddah in order to liaise with ship's captains and doctors; receiving complaints from pilgrims; noting the Ottoman authorities' treatment of pilgrims; visiting hostels where destitute pilgrims lodged and arranging repatriation to their homes across India; attending local hospitals to enquire about sick pilgrims, answering enquiries from people who wanted news of lost relatives who had gone on Hajj, and responding to numerous queries from pilgrims about sailing dates, shipping companies, passage rates, hostels, vaccinations, expenses and provisions for the journey, passports, quarantine, and depositing cash.[92]

The expansive nature of the Protector's work and the administrative logic of the 'document Raj' meant that a report on the pilgrimage from Bombay was produced annually.[93] Like the Hajj reports from Jeddah, the document received a wide circulation among India's colonial bureaucracy. By the interwar period, it was sent to the Commissioner in Sindh, Bombay's Commissioners of Police and Excise, Collector of Customs, Surgeon-General, Port Health Officer, Port Officer, Municipal Commissioner, the Political Resident in Aden, the Government of India's Political Department, the Director of Information, and the Sec-

91 Protector of Pilgrims, Report on Pilgrim Season ending November 30, 1909, April 9, 1910, General Department, 1910, Vol. 134, File 615, MSA.

92 Protector of Pilgrims, Report on Pilgrim Season 1910, May 10, 1911, General Department, 1911, Vol. 158, File 992, MSA.

93 The concept of a 'document Raj' is explored in Bhavani Raman, *Document Raj: writing and scribes in early colonial south India* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

retary of India's Legislative Council. In a significant difference from the Jeddah Hajj reports, the Protector's reports were also intended for public consumption, at least for the minute proportion of those in India who could read English, being sent to newspaper editors and all registered libraries, which undoubtedly influenced the content and tone of these documents.[94]

Examining two reports on the pilgrimage from Bombay in 1925 and 1932, both present an overall picture of an efficient administration attempting to deal with the annual influx of thousands of pilgrims to Bombay, who were buffeted by the broader political and economic forces that affected the pilgrimage. In 1925, the Protector of Pilgrims Abdulkarim Mirajkar complained that his department had to spend much time answering queries from pilgrims relating to conflicting reports given by pilgrim guides from the Ḥijāz who were in Bombay, who either supported Hashemite King Ali or Abd al-Aziz al-Saud, then at war with each other in the Ḥijāz. A further hindrance to the department's work in 1925 was the debate over whether the pilgrimage should be discouraged because of this wartime situation in the Ḥijāz. Mirajkar outlined the Government of India's communiqué in April 1925 which stated there would be no official obstacle to those who wanted to perform the Hajj and the government "would abstain studiously, as heretofore, from all interference." This was a key shibboleth of British policy, frequently repeated in documents related to the Hajj. Mirajkar's report stressed the positive role the colonial government played in facilitating the Hajj in wartime conditions for Indian pilgrims—the authorities "lost no time" in making arrangements for pilgrims to land in Rabegh, a port under al-Saud's control, and reminded al-Saud of his responsibility for the safety of British subjects.[95] In 1932, due to the effects of the Great Depression, the main feature of the Hajj that year was a collapse in pilgrim numbers—"one of the poorest on record"—attributed by the Protector to the fact that most pilgrims were Bengali, whose province was particularly affected by unemployment, coupled with the Saudi policy of demanding pilgrim dues be paid in gold, which further discouraged pilgrims.[96] The reports portray the Pilgrim Department benignly shepherding pilgrims towards their spiritual goal in the face of external forces beyond their control.

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94 Report of the Protector of Pilgrims, Bombay for the Pilgrim Season, 1925, 18 December 1925, Foreign and Political Department, 393-N, 1926, NAI (hereafter 1925 Report); Report of the Protector of Pilgrims, Bombay for the Pilgrim Season, 1932, 19 June 1933, Foreign and Political Department, 213-N, 1932, NAI (hereafter 1932 Report).

95 1925 Report.

96 1932 Report.

The reports note in detail the cooperation the Pilgrim Department received from "charitable Muhammadans" based in Bombay and across India. These activities included distributing bread, rice, and meat and iced water to pilgrims. In 1925, the Begum of Bhopal sent money towards the Indigent Pilgrim Fund, and Haji Khuda Baksh from Lucknow decided not to perform the Hajj but instead gave his money to several hopeful pilgrims from Bukhara to go to Mecca.[97] Private subjects and royal personages working together with the colonial government presented an idealized vision of relations between officialdom and India's colonial subjects. The reports also record the Pilgrim Department's monitoring of certain personages deemed notable; in 1932 a prince of Afghanistan and his retinue, a Sufi *pir* (holy man), and ex-Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid's grandson travelled from Bombay to perform the Hajj.[98] This monitoring extended to the reports' extensive appendices of pilgrim numbers on incoming and outgoing ships, and tables showing the nationality of pilgrims for whom passports were issued in Bombay, down to the level of presidencies, princely states and non-Indian territories.[99]

These examples of orderly data and cooperation contrast starkly with passages in the reports that detail how various pilgrims challenged the colonial administration of the Hajj from Bombay. Several pilgrims complained about what the Protector termed "alleged defective arrangements" in connection with the medical inspection of female pilgrims, which was explained away in the report with an account of several officials inspecting the medical and sanitation facilities on the docks, pronouncing themselves "satisfied" with the arrangements.[100] The overall impression of order in the 1932 report is broken by the description of the embarkation process, when "on several occasions there was a heavy rush and scramble for accommodation which the police found extremely difficult to control." These charges were led by pilgrim guides, who "made sudden rushes at the gangway forcing their way through the police lines."[101]

Poor pilgrims frequently occupied the Pilgrim Department's attention, being seen as a nuisance and financial cost to the government. Stowaways on board pilgrim ships were another aspect that clearly irritated the Protector. One example was an "aged Bokhari" that was discovered being carried by his son up the gangway in a large box in 1925.[102] The pressures on British authorities

97 1925 Report.
98 1932 Report.
99 1925 Report; 1932 Report.
100 1925 Report.
101 1932 Report.
102 1925 Report; 1932 Report.

to save money as a result of the Great Depression meant destitute pilgrims received particular scrutiny. At the suggestion of the British Consul in Jeddah, the Pilgrim Department kept "a strict watch to find out if the destitute had any funds," but everyone apparently appeared penniless and were given money for train journeys to their homes across India. Slowly increasing numbers of destitute pilgrims, a result of the Great Depression, meant the government asked that any charities assisting poor pilgrims should give them enough money to return home in India.[103] These examples suggest that in contrast to the overall impressions of order embedded in the reports, the colonial authorities faced numerous contestations of the rules and regulations surrounding the pilgrimage from Bombay by pilgrims, which possibly explains why, in his 1932 report, the Protector of Pilgrims was keen to emphasise the hard work of his staff "despite the many difficulties confronting them."[104]

Non-Official British Sources on the Hajj

As documents produced by state structures engaged in governance, official pilgrimage reports had distinctly different purposes, uses and influences to those of non-official British sources on official—and popular—understandings of the Hajj. While there are clear distinctions between some types of official and non-official sources and their authors, these two categories were sometimes far from hermetically sealed. A key example of this was Richard Burton's 1855–1856 travel account *A Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Makka*, based on his journey to the Ḥijāz to perform the Hajj in 1853 while on leave from the Indian Army. He subsequently became the British Consul in Damascus in 1869 largely as a result of his experience in the region.[105] Burton's travel account appears to have a dual purpose. Firstly, it was designed to inform and entertain an educated reading public and bring him fame and fortune. Secondly, his account provided information to British officials on a religious ritual involving colonial subjects in a space that was off-limits to Christian Britons and put forward various suggested changes to British policy towards the Hajj. Burton's opinions on the subjects appeared to carry more weight than most, given the exhaustive details

103 1932 Report.

104 1932 Report.

105 A detailed analysis of Burton and the pilgrimage is Dane Kennedy, *The Highly Civilised Man: Richard Burton and the Victorian World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 58–92. On European travellers in Arabia, see R.L. Bidwell, *Travellers in Arabia* (New York: Hamlyn, 1976).

his book provided, some eight hundred and fifty pages in two volumes, replete with footnotes and appendices.

Burton felt the government of India should "interfere" with the pilgrimage because he interpreted this flow of Muslims to the Ḥijāz as permanent emigration which would weaken India's labour productivity, an incorrect assessment. The explorer presented the ritual as a negative phenomenon for Muslims and British colonial rule: poor Muslims were motivated to perform the Hajj in "a fit of religious enthusiasm, likest to insanity" and the ritual "sends forth a horde of malcontents that ripen into bigots; it teaches foreign nations to despise our rule."[106] Burton believed that the continued presence of destitute Indian pilgrims stranded in the Ḥijāz, and the 1,500 Indians resident in Mecca and Jeddah, warranted an expansion of Britain's consular representation. He confidently felt that any opposition by the Sharif of Mecca to a British Muslim agent in Mecca "would soon fall to the ground."[107] Charles Cole, Britain's Consul in Jeddah who Burton had spoken to, echoed a belief in the necessity of greater British involvement with the Hajj. But this viewpoint found little purchase among officials in India. India's Governor-General, the Earl of Dalhousie, was emphatic that the Hajj had nothing to do with British authorities; he believed the government had no right to prevent anyone from going on pilgrimage.[108] These responses reflected the prevailing administrative doctrine in India, where administrative reforms were confined to what officials considered 'secular' affairs.[109] It was not until the end of the nineteenth century when the principle of assisting destitute pilgrims was accepted by the consular and colonial authorities, and there was a British Indian Muslim representative in Mecca only for a brief period in 1919–1920. In this instance, then, Burton's non-official contribution to knowledge of the pilgrimage and related advocacy did not translate into official policy, and when these changes happened later, Burton was never referenced as the original proponent of these ideas.

Burton's travel account was responsible for bringing the pilgrimage to the attention of the English reading public. Popular knowledge of the Hajj was shaped by Burton and a succession of numerous newspaper articles in English

106 Richard Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah, Vol. 2* (London: Longmans and Co, 1855–1856), 185–186.

107 Ibid.

108 Secretary, Foreign Department, Government of India, to H.L. Anderson, Secretary Government of Bombay, May 5 1854, Foreign Department, Political—External Affairs—A, May 5, 1854, NAI.

109 Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 36.

language newspapers during the imperial period. For British newspaper editors and journalists, the annual ritual possessed the requisite attributes to qualify as newsworthy—exotic, mysterious, a manifestation of religious exultation, a symbol of an unchanging East steeped in religion. Sometimes the Hajj was reported as part of a larger incident, such as a cholera epidemic or political turmoil in the Ḥijāz, but annual articles on the ritual followed a formula that changed little in this period, at least in the case of one newspaper, *The Times* of London. These articles reported with regularity that the Hajj was an annual ritual, obligatory for all Muslims who are able, which attracted thousands of Muslims from across the world who undertook various difficult journeys to reach Mecca, and outlined its component parts such as the *ṭawāf*, translated for English readers as circumambulation.[110]

From the 1920s, the rise of cinema meant knowledge of the Hajj percolated into a wider section of the British public through occasionally featuring in Pathé newsreels. The priorities and prejudices of Pathé editors, and the practicalities of gathering newsreel footage, meant that most news clips in the interwar period related to the Hajj covered the Egyptian *maḥmal*. This was a pyramid-shaped palanquin carried on a camel that contained the *kiswah*, a series of large cloths made in Egypt, which were draped over the Kaʿba before each pilgrimage began. The clips focus on the *maḥmal* procession leaving Cairo, described by newsreaders as "a strange object … the sacred litter of the Moslems," a "centuries-old Moslem ceremony," and called "the procession of the Sacred Carpet."[111] These journalistic products were generally not designed to influence official policy and understandings of the Hajj, although it is probably true that many British officials whose work touched on pilgrimage-related matters read these articles or watched these newsreels.

Some newspaper articles, however, were written with the aim of changing understandings of the Hajj among the public and officials, with a sub-text that official policy should change. An incendiary article in the *Times of India* in

110 Times Online digital archive, search term 'pilgrimage Mecca', numerous articles from 1860–1940.

111 The Procession of the Sacred Carpet, 3 June 1926, 500.5, British Pathé online archive, http://www.britishpathe.com/video/the-procession-of-the-sacred-carpet/query/mecca. Last accessed: 4 November 2014; Sacred Carpet starts on its way to Mecca, 3 February 1938, 953.27, British Pathé online archive, http://www.britishpathe.com/video/sacred-carpet-starts-on-its-way-to-mecca/query/pilgrimage+mecca. Last accessed: 4 November 2014; Cairo 1946, 14 November 1946, 1416.26, British Pathé online archive, http://www.britishpathe.com/video/cairo-4/query/pilgrimage+mecca. Last accessed: 4 November 2014.

1885 was one such example that focused on poor pilgrims' travels from India. Anonymously authored by a steamship captain on the Bombay-Jeddah route, it described how pilgrims from across South and Central Asia "tramp the best part of the way to Bombay in poor, miserable conditions." After being duped by pilgrim brokers, and examined by doctors from the Preventative Service in Bombay, they boarded over-crowded pilgrim ships that were often insanitary. The pilgrim traffic used a number of old steamships, and the competition meant ever-lower prices that encouraged poorer Muslims to make the voyage. The author felt pilgrims held little sense of fraternity with their co-religionists during their voyage; several nationalities were "mixed together, and one is growling at the other in his own language." After the pilgrimage's conclusion, he wrote, it was common to see many "lying on the beach under the shade of rocks, without money or clothes, without food and water, dying of disease and starvation." The writer thought the government's attitude to the Hajj was inconsistent; authorities recommended that pilgrims should have enough money for the journey, but simultaneously proclaimed non-interference in religious affairs. The Indian government's laissez-faire approach was criticised: "our government is afraid that if they do not allow our poor old natives of India to go on Hajj, they will keep them out of heaven."[112]

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the article had little effect in official circles. One official described it as full of "exaggerated verbiage and irrelevant matter" and refuted the article's various claims in painstaking detail to his superiors. The official was more strident regarding the anonymous author's idea of prohibiting pilgrims leaving without sufficient funds; this would be easily evaded, impossible to enforce, and would lead to "serious outcry" over interference with religious liberty. The author's identity was uncovered; Mr. Baldwin was a skipper on a ship owned by a Muslim firm. He was criticised for writing the article instead of approaching the government with his concerns.[113] Mr. Baldwin, Richard Burton, journalists and cameramen were important transmitters of information regarding the Hajj to the English-speaking public, shaping popular conceptions of the ritual. While officials were certainly aware of these various non-official sources of knowledge on the Hajj, their influence in the official sphere, in terms of policy, seems rather limited, and these sources confirmed more than shaped officials' knowledge and conceptions of the pilgrimage.

112 *The Times of India*, October 31, 1885, 5.

113 John Nugent, Secretary, Government of Bombay to Mackenzie, Secretary, Government of India, January 21 1886, General Department, 1885, Vol. 124, File 138, MSA.

Conclusion

The sheer volume of colonial era records on the Hajj and the density of detail within them suggests, at first glance, a constant, all-seeing European gaze over the ritual. Yet closer analysis reveals the richness but also the silences, distortions, inaccuracies and ambiguities of these records. Despite first-hand observations by Muslims working for the British who were able to go to Mecca, their status as representatives of a colonial, Christian power, combined with the pressures of their day-to-day work, meant that what they recorded was only ever a partial picture. Their representations of the Hajj and pilgrims mirrored—and shaped—the prejudices of their British employers. Comparing Muslim and non-Muslim writings on the Hajj from a number of official archives, it is striking, though unsurprising, that there are many similarities between Muslim and non-Muslim perceptions of pilgrims and various aspects of the Hajj. The ultimately partial nature of British official knowledge of the Hajj is even more starkly apparent when considering the figure of the British Consul in Jeddah, who often laboured under circumstances he thought intolerable, regarded his posting as a punishment, and his work on the pilgrimage as a sufferance.

Returning to the academic debate on the value and use of colonial knowledge discussed earlier in this chapter, the analysis of Hajj reports shows that we must appreciate the limits of this type of source and accept the validity of certain critiques of colonial knowledge. Yet such criticisms might also be applied to records produced by other officials working in and for other empires and states across the world and throughout history. Because colonialism and imperialism were such important forces in world history, we need to critically examine the sources left behind by those who were most closely involved in these disruptive phenomena. British pilgrimage reports are invaluable for understanding how colonial knowledge of the Hajj was produced and presented—within and beyond official circles, with a wide variety of audiences in a number of territories. The power of this knowledge in exercising control over pilgrims and the Ḥijāz itself remained limited. Through employing strategies of reading along and against the grain, this chapter has shown how these approaches provide new insights on colonial knowledge and the Hajj, such as the inner workings of consular and colonial bureaucracies, and enable the recovery of the words and agency of Muslim employees. These men were important producers and mediators of colonial knowledge on the Hajj; they highlight the plurality of authors in the colonial archive and its heterogeneous nature. Their voices in these archives provide a unique perspective on the Hajj. For the viewpoints of pilgrims themselves, we need to engage with a different set of sources, the travelogues of literate pilgrims, which while unsullied by filtration through the

records of imperialism, are accompanied by their own set of theoretical, conceptual and analytical concerns as historical sources.[114]

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114 See the other chapters in this volume, and Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the other shore: Muslim and Western travellers in search of knowledge* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).

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CHAPTER 4

French Policy and the Hajj in Late-Nineteenth-Century Algeria: Governor Cambon's Reform Attempts and Jules Gervais-Courtellemont's Pilgrimage to Mecca

Aldo D'Agostini

The history of colonial policies shows the spectacle of myths and prejudices transforming into concrete administration practices and ideological discourses towards Islam and Muslim societies. At the same time, however, colonial history included a number of examples of attempts that were made by open-minded individuals or small groups in order to discard such prejudiced practices and discourses by means of reforming colonial policies and mentality. These attempts, which usually resulted in failure, are generally dismissed by historians as "exceptions which confirmed the rule." In reality, by focusing on such examples we can better understand how the prejudices and myths had worked in the colonial praxis.

The French governance of the Hajj, in the nineteenth century, represents a good field of enquiry for this particular historical approach. Though inspired in part by humanitarian worries about the spread of diseases, this governance was indeed influenced by many myths and prejudices which can be attributed to a strong sense of Islamophobia in that era. In this chapter we will draw attention to two emblematic personalities who, from different positions and with different aims, tried to change the French attitudes towards the Hajj. The first is Jules Cambon (1845–1935), governor-general of Algeria (in the period between 1891–1896), who made the most ambitious attempt to reform the French governance of the Hajj by introducing a more tolerant policy towards the native Muslims. The second is Jules Gervais-Courtellemont (1863–1931), a French photographer and traveller, who grew up in Algeria, converted to Islam, and made a remarkable pilgrimage to Mecca in 1894. As they were simultaneously looking for a French way to the Hajj, their attitudes were quite revolutionary and provoked strong reactions in their time.

French Policy and the Hajj: Preliminary Considerations

Throughout the nineteenth century ancient fears and images related to the Crusades and *Reconquista* reappeared in new forms within the colonial discourse.[1] At that time, to use Maxime Rodinson's words, the Islamic world started to be perceived again as a "hostile political ideological structure,"[2] and discourses arose about "planetary Islamic conspiracy against Europe and Christianity."

The Hajj was frequently evoked in these kinds of discourses. In 1851, for example, Guglielmo Massaia (1809–1889), an Italian missionary and Capuchin friar, held a conference in Paris during which he considered the Holy City of Mecca at the centre of a world-wide conspiracy led by a "reformatory and fanatical party" whose aim was to finally destroy the world. All the pilgrims, returning from the Hajj, indeed became "missionaries of the Koran" by preaching revolution in India and Africa and prepared the "great empire of the future."[3] Massaia's speech was reproduced in a brochure that gained popularity in France.[4] His ideas were also evoked in the French Senate during a debate on the Lebanese crisis.

European myths and prejudices concerning the Hajj, which Massaia reflected in his apocalyptic speech, were particularly developed in the colonial contexts. European administrators looked on with anxiety at the departure of Muslims for Mecca, a city devoid of diplomatic offices and where any methods of surveillance were powerless. The possibility that pilgrims were probably exposed to political propaganda and after their return they would become more fanatical was taken into great consideration. In French Algeria this situation led to the adoption of a policy of repression of the Hajj that sometimes reached a complete ban on it. In other cases, the Hajj was also obstructed by others practices, such as demanding a special passport to Mecca, which was issued under hard economic and political conditions, imposing complicated

1 See Norman Daniel, *Islam, Europe and Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966).

2 See Maxime Rodinson, *La fascination de l'islam: Les étapes du regard occidental sur le monde musulman: Les études arabes et islamiques en Europe* (Paris: Maspero, 1980), 24 and 90–91.

3 Guglielmo Massaia, *Lettere e scritti minori* (Roma: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1978), 289–321.

4 Many of its references are available, for example, in a book on Arabia, published by a diplomat named Adolphe D'Avril in 1868. See Adolphe D'Avril, *L'Arabie contemporaine avec la description du pèlerinage de la Mecque et une nouvelle carte géographique de Kiepert* (Paris: Maillet-Challamel Ainé, 1868), 219–222.

bureaucratic procedures for pilgrims, or strict sanitation requirements for ships transporting pilgrims.[5]

Meanwhile, French administrators generally agreed that an excessive restriction of religious practices would increase the risk of uprisings. Therefore, some of them occasionally highlighted the political advantages of the Hajj by promoting it in the colonial areas. General Bugeaud, for example, thought that a promotion of the Hajj would be a good gesture of "solicitude" of France to Algerians. Moreover, its promotion, according to him, was also a good advantage to send "insubordinate" Muslim subjects away from the colony. In this regard, he stated:

> Je pense donc (…) qu'il serait politique de favoriser la consommation de cet acte religieux en donnant à un certain nombre d'indigènes des facilités pour se rendre à Alexandrie. Peut-être même qu'en agissant dans ce sens nous parviendrions à éloigner du pays pendant un certain temps, et même pour toujours, des individus qui auraient été une cause d'inquiétude pour notre domination.[6]

In 1842, stimulated by such considerations, French authorities organised one or two official pilgrim ships. These were the principal ingredients of the French policy towards the Hajj in the nineteenth century, which were also influenced by other factors in French colonial history. In order to situate the policy of Jules Cambon in this history, it is relevant to describe the period which preceded his arrival in Algeria.

Repressive Policy of Governor Tirman 1881–1891

Between the mid-1870s and mid-1880s, the idea of the Islamic world as a hostile politico-ideological structure was present in European public debate. This period was characterised by several international crises related to the so-called

5 See Philippe Boyer, "L'administration française et la réglementation du pèlerinage à la Mecque (1830–1894)," *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine* 9 (1977): 275–293; Laurent Escande, "Le pèlerinage à la Mecque des Algériens pendant la domination française (1830–1962)" (DEA diss., Université de Provence, 1992); Luc Chantre, "Se rendre à La Mecque sous la Troisième République: Contrôle et organisation des déplacements des pèlerins du Maghreb et du Levant entre 1880 et 1939," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 78 (2009), accessed March 31, 2014, url: https://cdlm.revues.org/4691.

6 Quoted in Boyer, "Administration française," 279.

"Eastern Question." The most important of these were: the Bulgarian crisis (1876), the Russo-Ottoman War (1877–1878), the British occupation of Afghanistan (1879), the French occupation of Tunisia (1881), the Egyptian crisis (1881–1882), and the uprising of the Mahdi in Sudan (1881–1885). These crises lead to drastic change in the balance of power between European States and the Muslim world. The possibility of a collapse of the Ottoman Empire suggested the idea of a geopolitical void that was imbued by feelings of anxiety and fuelled by an increase of imperialistic competition. In this context the increasing appearance of such concepts as "Islamic danger" or the "Yellow peril" spread fear into different colonial geographical spaces. The concept of Islamic danger, in that period, was represented by different actors and phenomenon, such as the Mahdi of Sudan, "pan-Islamic politics" of sultan Abdülhamid II, or the Sanūsī order of Cyrenaica.[7] Created mostly by diplomats, such *épouvantails* soon spread into propaganda media, generating an atmosphere of increasing Islamophobia in France.

This situation obviously had a great impact on French policy towards the Hajj. Under Governor Tirman (1881–1891), the repressive measures reached a boiling point on many levels. In 1882, for example, Tirman recommended strict police surveillance of any foreigner, Muslim or European, passing through Algeria.[8] Also, any Algerian who wanted to travel abroad had to follow a specific itinerary that should be previously agreed on by French authorities.[9] Non-Algerians were prohibited from being musicians, singers, amulet-sellers, acrobats, and snake-charmers.[10] Concerning the Hajj, he finally decided that, when not completely banned, only a few passports were to be issued to the degree that all applications of travel permits were directly checked by him.[11] For him

7 See Jean-Louis Triaud, *La légende noire de la Sanûsiyya: Une confrérie musulmane saharienne sous le regard français (1840–1930)* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1995).

8 Circular n. 7, 15 June 1882, Gouverneur Général (GG) Tirman, "Au sujet de la surveillance à exercer à l'égard des étrangers Européens ou Musulmans, voyageant en Algérie," (confidentiel), Archives National d'Outre-Mer (ANOM), 1HH58 ("Circulaires—du 1/1/1877 au 11/4/1911"), ff. 177–178.

9 Circular n. 10, 30 June 1882, GG Tirman, "Au sujet des étrangers voyageant en Algérie à surveiller étroitement," ANOM, 1HH58, f. 180.

10 Algerians, instead, could practice these professions only in the district (*cercle*) in which they lived. Circular n. 13, 22 July 1882, GG Tirman, "Mesures à prendre contre les musulmans d'Algérie ou étrangers exerçant les professions de musicien, bateleur, chanteur, charmeur de serpent, vendeur d'amulettes …", ANOM, 1HH58, ff. 182–183.

11 Circular n. 31, 24 April 1884, GG Tirman, "Règles et conditions du pèlerinage en 1884," ANOM, 1HH58, ff. 206–207: "Dans ces conditions je me réserve d'accorder moi-même les

the Hajj was nothing but a "school of fanaticism" and a practice which was "essentially injurious to religious tolerance." Therefore France had to push Algerians to spontaneously abandon the Hajj so that a sense of "religious tolerance" would reign in the colony:

> Car le pèlerinage ne saurait être qu'une école de fanatisme religieux, et le fanatisme religieux est sans contredit le plus grand obstacle que puisse rencontrer l'œuvre de consolidation de notre conquête. (…) Pour résumer en un mot, l'expression de mon sentiment, je dirais que le pèlerinage de la Mecque doit être, à l'avenir, simplement toléré; et je suis persuadé qu'en suivant la règle que je viens de tracer nous amènerons sans froissement les indigènes à renoncer eux-mêmes, chaque jour davantage, pour leur plus grand bien, à une coutume essentiellement nuisible à la tolérance religieuse qu'il est de notre devoir d'essayer de faire pénétrer dans l'esprit de la population arabe.[12]

International crises, such as the Egyptian national uprising or the Mahdi revolution in the Sudan, were frequently used as arguments to justify a complete ban on the Hajj. Governor Tirman, for example, argued that pilgrims, along their itinerary, "were probably exposed to dangerous influences by witnessing some acts of war which they would report to their tribes upon returning to Algeria."[13] In other words, he confirmed:

> … les événements dont notre Extrême Orient est le théâtre [he means Egypt] sont graves et il n'est pas douteux que sur une notable partie du trajet à accomplir, nos pèlerins ne trouveraient plus la sécurité nécessaire, qu'ils seraient exposés à de dangereuses suggestions et seraient peut-être les témoins d'actes de guerre qui ne manqueraient d'être racontés dans les tribus avec toutes les amplifications habituelles.[14]

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autorisations nécessaires en vue des propositions que vous me soumettrez en accompagnant chacune d'elles de votre avis motivé et d'une notice individuelle sur les antécédents, la conduite et la fortune des intéressés."

12 Circular n. 21, 4 June 1883, GG Tirman, "Pèlerinage de la Mecque," ANOM, 1HH58, ff. 193–195.

13 Circular n. 15, 17 August 1882, GG Tirman, "Pèlerinage de la Mecque," ANOM, 1HH58, ff. 184–187.

14 Circular n. 15, 17 August 1882, GG Tirman, "Pèlerinage de la Mecque," ANOM, 1HH58, ff. 184–187.

This was also fuelled by a number of rumours coming from diplomatic circles. Henri Fournier (1878–1880) and Joseph Tissot (1880–1882), French ambassadors in Istanbul, kept alarming the French government by sending letters and telegrams warning about intrigues associated with the idea of a pan-Islamic conspiracy.[15] At the same time, the French consul to Tripoli, Charles Féraud, constantly warned against the "dangerous" Sanūsi order of Cyrenaica.[16] According to him, this "sect" was using propaganda among Algerian pilgrims passing through Cyrenaica and Tripolitania.[17] Such rumours, as well as the crisis of the Eastern Question, caused geopolitical panic in public opinion and consequently had vigorous impact on decisions made by French authorities. In 1882, for example, Tirman banned the Hajj for the fear that public opinion would be rightly alarmed if, in the actual circumstances, the trip were to be carried out as usual:

> Enfin, l'opinion publique européenne en Algérie, qui s'est toujours prononcée contre le pèlerinage dont les inconvénients au point de vue politique et sanitaire ne sont pas à démontrer, l'opinion publique dis-je serait justement alarmée, si dans les circonstances actuelles, le voyage s'accomplissait comme à l'ordinaire. À l'interdiction absolue de l'année dernière, nous sommes donc obligés de faire succéder une mesure semblable. Toutefois, comme nous avons un intérêt de premier ordre à ne pas

15 For an analysis of these documents see Joseph Hajjar, *L'Europe et les destinées du Proche-Orient III: Bismarck et ses menées orientales 1871–1882* (Damascus: Dar Tlass, 1990), 1253–1339 and Aldo D'Agostini, "De l'usage diplomatique du discours sur le panislamisme: La correspondance de l'ambassadeur français à Istanbul Charles-Joseph Tissot, lors de la crise tunisienne de 1881," *Archiv Orientální | Oriental Archive: Journal of African and Asian Studies* 81/2 (2013): 149–172. In addition to Fournier and Tissot, we must also mention Ambassador de Burgoing who, in a letter dated July 15, 1876, first talked about a religious propaganda made by "travelling dervishes," "pilgrims from Mecca," and other "dangerous preachers." See "Evénements de Turquie 1876–1878: conséquences," ANOM, 1H31.

16 See Triaud, *La légende noire*.

17 See for example Consul Féraud to Ministre des Affaires Etrangères (MAE), Tripoli, May 10, 1880, "Situation politique de la Tripolitaine," AMAE, Correspondance Consulaire (CC), Tripoli de Barbarie, vol. 18, ff. 105–110. The correspondence of Féraud was frequently evoked in Tirman's circulars. One of these circulars also contained a quotation from a consul's letter. In this letter Féraud, among others, informed that he had decided to put a red mark on the passports of all Algerians traversing Tripoli in order to help their colleagues in Alger to better control them. See circular n. 24, 21 July 1880, GG Tirman, "Au sujet des pèlerins indigènes passant par Tripoli et soupçonnés d'aller visiter le Cheik Snoussi," ANOM, 1HH58, ff. 117–118.

> laisser s'établir dans l'esprit de nos sujets musulmans la conviction que nous voulons apporter des obstacles définitifs au pèlerinage et violenter leur foi, j'estime qu'il faut éviter de donner à cette interdiction, un caractère absolu et si des personnalités indigènes dont le passé nous offrirait des garanties spéciales, venaient à formuler des demandes de passeport, et s'il vous semblait qu'il y eut un intérêt politique à ne pas les froisser par un refus, vous auriez à m'en référer.[18]

French Consuls in Jeddah (1882–1891)

While the Hajj was perceived as a danger in Algeria, the French Vice-Consulate of Jeddah did not underestimate its political and economic advantages for the French government. In 1882, the French vice-consul Suret drew the attention of the French Foreign Ministry to the political relevance of the Hajj by underscoring the fact that a "free pilgrim" was always better than a "hindered pilgrim," who was certainly more sensitive to enemy propaganda. He stated that "Le pèlerin libre ne songe qu'à son acte de dévotion et rarement il revient chez lui aussi fanatique qu'il l'était au départ, (…). Le pèlerin empêché devient doublement dangereux: par son propre mécontentement et pour l'habilité de ceux qui savent l'exploiter."[19] Suret also denounced exaggerations concerning the sanitary danger of the Hajj and tried to obtain a Muslim doctor from the ministry for medical support. Such a medical post at the Consulate could, according to him, "save Europe from many diseases, and in particular from its recurrent panic."[20]

In 1888, the recently appointed general-consul Watbled wrote a rich report on the political advantages of a French governance of the Hajj.[21] This French

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18 Circular n. 15, 17 August 1882, GG Tirman, "Pèlerinage de la Mecque," ANOM, 1HH58, ff. 184–187.

19 Vice Consul Suret to MAE, 31 May 1882, ANOM, 16H84 ("Pèlerinage à La Mecque"). It is important to underline that Consul Suret wrote this letter to the government in order to express his disappointment concerning Tirman's decision to ban the Hajj in that year. At the beginning of the letter he said: "Hier j'ai appris, peut-être m'a-t-on induit en erreur, que M. le Gouverneur général de l'Algérie avait interdit le pèlerinage pour cette année, et j'en ai été fort ému." Ibid.

20 Édouard-Florent Suret, *Lettre sur le cholera du Hedjaz* (Paris: Masson, 1883), 18. "… préserver l'Europe de beaucoup de maux, et en particulier de ces paniques périodiques."

21 While Suret's letter was an extemporary initiative, Watbled's report is the first of a long series of annual reports on the Hajj that rapidly became one of the most important references for French policy in the Ḥijāz. The reports from 1888 to 1923 are available

Hajj policy, according to him, had to focus mostly on measures that should guarantee the safety of Algerian pilgrims, who would fall victim to many outrages. If these pilgrims had felt some protection from France at the centre of the Muslim world, they would certainly have returned to Algeria with a greater regard for their French rulers. In his view:

> Cette protection du Consulat français de Djeddah, constamment en éveil et avec succès n'a pu que frapper l'esprit des Maghrébins, et selon moi, c'est le meilleur moyen de nous les rattacher. Le Coran dit 'Soyez forts sur la terre parce que la Force est la manifestation de la divinité.' Les sujets français qu'ont traversé cette année l'Hedjaz emportaient certainement une haute idée de l'influence exercée par la France en pays musulmans: résultat auquel ont tendu tous nos efforts.[22]

The following year, Watbled emphasized the necessity of creating a French monopoly on pilgrim "trade" in order to protect "national trade." He also recommended the significance of supporting and protecting the activities of the *Compagnie Fabre* steamship line in Marseille, which had already entered the pilgrim trade business, but faced great difficulties because of British and Italian (*Compagnia Rubattino*) competition.[23]

As we see, by the end of the 1880s, French diplomacy started to look at the Hajj from a more imperialist perspective by considering it as an opportunity to spread French economic and political influence in the Red Sea and Arabian Peninsula.[24] Watbled's successor, Lucien Labosse, continued this promotion of a French governance of the Hajj. In a report in 1890, he confirmed that Algerian pilgrims, far away from their country, started to become suspicious of the *grandeur* of France: "En quittant le sol qui les a vus naître, nos sujets perdent beaucoup de leurs illusions et de leurs préjugés. Le cercle de leurs conceptions s'élargit. Ils commencent alors à soupçonner la grandeur de la France."[25]

Some of the measures he listed in order to regulate the Hajj included the creation of charitable societies in Jeddah and the dispatching of dragomans who

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in ANOM, 16H83 ("Rapports des agents diplomatiques et renseignements divers sur la situation au Hedjaz 1888–1923").

22 Consul Watbled to MAE, 9 September 1888, ANOM, 16H83.

23 Watbled to MAE, 1889, ANOM, 16H83.

24 See, for example, William Roff, "Sanitation and Security: The Imperial Powers and the Nineteenth Century Hajj," in *Arabian Studies VI*, ed. R. Serjeant, and R. Bidwell (London: Scorpion Communication-University of Cambridge, 1982), 143–160.

25 Consul Labosse to MAE, 1890, AMAE, 16H83, f. 22.

would accompany pilgrims during their journey. This detailed report of Consul Labosse was submitted to Jules Cambon, who was recently nominated as governor-general of Algeria in April 1891. Having studied the report, he decided to re-open the way to Mecca for Algerian pilgrims as means of exploiting any political potential advantages of the Hajj. His initiative also included a great plan of reform, which Jules Cambon intended to fulfil in French Algeria.

Colonial Strategy of La Famille: Jules Cambon's Political Background

Born in 1845, Jules Cambon belonged to a generation of French administrators who participated in the creation of the Third Republic and later became very active in this new regime. Together with his brother Paul, Jules Cambon joined a circle of young disciples of Adolph Thiers who shaped the ideas around the *Journal des débats politiques et litteraires*. At the end of the 1870s, the Cambon brothers and other members of this circle created a confidential society called *La Famille* whose aim was to exchange information and to facilitate the career of its members.[26] Among its members were the three Charmes brothers (Francis, Xavier and Gabriel) who, in collaboration with Paul and Jules Cambon, became the leaders of the group.[27] Francis Charmes, in particular, played a very strategic role inside the French Foreign Ministry, while Gabriel Charmes became a well-known journalist and a propagandist for the group.

La Famille rapidly succeeded in constituting a lobby inside the French administration which enabled them to play an important role, particularly in foreign affairs and colonial policies. In their vision, France had to become a more competitive empire by integrating its colonial policies into a more global strategy and foreign interests. They preferred the form of protectorate above settler colonies and highly recommended a policy of "association" with local powers. In this policy the Islamic character of the French Empire should be stressed. In his articles, Gabriel Charmes affirmed that France was a "great

26 See Laurent Villate, *La République des diplomates: Paul et Jules Cambon 1843–1935* (Paris: Science Infuse, 2002); Christophe Charle, *Les Élites de la République 1880–1900* (Paris: Fayard, 1987), 437.

27 In 1880, Paul Cambon, in a letter to his wife, described the five men as five fingers of the hand. Villate, *La République des diplomates*, 24. According to Villate, others members of La Famille were Georges Patinot, Adrien de Montebello, Georges Pallain, Jules Develle and Emile Roux (ibid.).

Muslim power and the only European Arab power, after Turkey."[28] If France had succeeded in civilising the Muslim population of North Africa, he argued, these peoples would have become the propagators of French influence in the Mediterranean and a powerful instrument to fight the "pan-Islamic politics" of the Ottoman Empire. In short, Islam had to become a weapon in the hands of French imperialism.[29]

In order to achieve this goal, La Famille had to drastically change the traditional French colonial policy. In 1882–1886, Paul Cambon, during his office as *Résident Général* of Tunis, tried to apply the colonial program of La Famille by involving native Muslims in the governance of the new French protectorate.[30] His efforts, however, were obstructed by the colonial civil society and by the army. A few years later, in 1891, his brother Jules Cambon's appointment as a successor to Tirman in Algeria gave La Famille a second chance to influence French colonial policies in Algeria.

A Policy *pleine d'égards* for Algerian Muslims (1891–1896)

By the end of the era of Napoleon III, the situation in Alger had rapidly changed. The influence of Europeans settlers had increased and the traditional military system of administration, based on a web of *bureaux arabes*, had been progressively dismantled. By 1881, a new system of *rattachement* was created to rule the three departments of Algeria (Alger, Oran, and Constantine) as any other department of France. Practically, the local services were linked (*rattachés*) to their correspondent ministries in Paris. European settlers started to elect their deputies at the *Asssemblé Nationale* and the governor lost much of his power.

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28 Gabriel Charmes, *La Tunisie et la Tripolitaine* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1883), 14: "La France est une grande puissance musulmane et la seule puissance arabe de l'Europe, après la Turquie. Depuis le jour où nous sommes descendus, où nous nous sommes fixés sur la côte d'Algérie, nous avons cessé d'être uniquement une nation chrétienne; nous sommes devenus en outre une nation islamique, et il ne nous a plus été permis de rester indifférents aux révolutions de l'Islam."

29 See Charmes, *Tunisie et Tripolitaine*, 441–442.

30 Gabriel Charmes, who soon reached his friend in Tunis, published a series of letters in the *Journal des débats* in which he made a detailed description of the plan of reforms proposed by the *Résident Général*. These letters were later collected in a book entitled *La Tunisie et la Tripolitaine* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1883). The collection could be seen as a manifest of La Famille. A few years later, in 1885, Gabriel Charmes published another book entitled *Politique extérieure et coloniale* (Paris: Calmann Lévy) in which he placed the subject in a much more global and geopolitical perspective.

This new system was characterised by great corruption and outrage against Muslims.[31] Tirman's above-mentioned repressive measures should be placed in this particular phase. The increase of corruption and outrage soon caused anxiety in political circles in France. In 1891, a senatorial commission was sent to Algeria to inquire about the situation. As a result of this commission's inquiry, Jules Cambon was chosen as the new governor replacing Tirman.[32] His mission was to put Algeria under the control of the metropolis again and to change the course of colonial policy. In that sense, he was expected to show to Algerians the "solicitude" of France,[33] to "safeguard the dignity of the defeated," and to achieve a "moral conquest" of Algeria.[34]

Cambon soon prepared a detailed plan of reform which he explained before the French Parliament and at the Algerian Council. The principal points of his program included: 1) the fight against usury which was going to destroy the native property; 2) combating corruption by excluding any administrators who were responsible for outrage against the natives; 3) the creation of a new forestry law that could better defend native economic interests; 4) reforming the Supreme Council of Algeria and municipalities by including local delegates; 5) the building of schools for natives; 6) the creation of an official Muslim clergy financed by the state; and 7) the organisation and regulation of the pilgrimage to Mecca. As we see, Cambon's program mostly intended to give local Muslims more space in ruling their country, which is known among historians as *politique des égards*.[35] This policy was accompanied by symbolic initiatives intended to demonstrate the solicitude of France towards Muslims. For example, Cambon granted the son of the chief of the Ṭaybiyya, a local Sufi order, the title of *Légion d'honneur*. He also delivered a solemn speech during the funeral ceremony of the chief of the Tijāniyya Sufi order.[36]

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31 See Didier Guignard, *L'abus de pouvoir dans l'Algérie coloniale (1880–1914): Visibilité et singularité* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2010).

32 It is important to mention that Jules Cambon had already worked in Algeria in the period 1874–1879 as team member of Governor Chanzy (1874–1876) and later as Prefect of Constantine (1879). During this period, he worked on a project of marital status for native Muslims in Algeria. See Villate, *La République des diplomates*.

33 "Vous avez une double tache à remplir. Vous avez d'abord à prouver aux indigènes la sollicitude de la France et à leur rappeler que nous les aimons. Vous avez ensuite à assurer vis-à-vis des parlementaires l'indépendance de notre administration." Sadi Carnot to Jules Cambon, quoted in Geneviève Tabouis, *Jules Cambon par l'un des siens* (Paris: Payot, 1938), 44.

34 Charles-Robert Ageron, *Les Algériens musulmans et la France (1871–1919)* (Paris: Presse Universitaire de France), 478.

35 Ageron, *Les Algériens musulmans*.

36 Ibid., 513. Cambon's policy towards the Sufi orders resulted in the edition of Octave

Cambon's clever and well-articulated policy was not completely welcomed in French colonial offices. His plans were obstructed by the colonial civil society and old administrative traditions. In 1893, Cambon confidentially told one of his collaborators: "the dullness which you can find in some departments does not help me at all."[37] Etienne and Thompson, deputies of Algeria in the Parliament, made a strong lobbying effort against his reform plans which resulted in his removal from his post. Cambon, however, managed to dismantle the *rattachement* system that was finally abolished in 1896.[38]

Cambon's Hajj Policy (1891–1894)

Cambon's reopening of the way to Mecca for Algerian Muslims gave a strong and immediate signal of a change in French colonial policy. By this he demonstrated the "solicitude" of France and presented himself as the defender of Muslim rights. Moreover, he could materialise the idea of France as a Muslim power by making the Hajj a symbol of French good-will towards Islam. In his official writings, he often refers to local Algerians as "our Muslims." Moreover, he tried to exploit the Hajj to establish relationships with religious leaders of the Ḥijāz. Finally, just as the rest of his reform program, Cambon's policy was not fulfilled because of a misunderstanding between him and the French Consulate of Jeddah, mistrust and overruling of French administration, and a counterproductive atmosphere in French public opinion.

We have seen that the French Consulate in Jeddah was amenable to French control of the Hajj, and the consuls (Suret, Watbled, and Labosse) had already put forward many suggestions to the foreign office in Paris. In the beginning Cambon collaborated with Consul Labosse, but they soon developed conflicting attitudes towards the Hajj. In 1891, Cambon organized the first Hajj trip during his office. Two steamships (*Gallia* and *Pictavia*) sailed with 1,527 pilgrims onboard to Jeddah. They were provided with fumigants and other varieties of medical equipment and a French doctor, M. Delarue.[39] In his annual report,

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Depont and Xavier Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes* (Alger: Jourdan, 1897). The book was intended to give French administrators an instrument for day-by-day political activities. See George Trumbull IV, *An Empire of Facts: Colonial Power, Cultural Knowledge, and Islam in Algeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

37 Villate, *La République des diplomates*, 101: "L'étroitesse d'esprit dont on fait preuve dans certains bureaux ne m'aide pas dans ma tâche."

38 See the introduction of Jules Cambon, *Le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie (1891–1897)* (Paris: Champion, 1918). This volume is a collection of Cambon's speeches and official acts.

39 Dr. Delarue wrote a detailed medical report on the 1891 pilgrimage to Mecca. See L. Dela-

Labosse expressed his satisfaction with the journey by stating that "Algerians could see the difference between the Republic's good care of its 'children' and the attitudes of the other [colonial] governments."[40] However, he remarked that if France really wanted to take advantage of the Hajj, it should better protect Algerians from bad treatment by local authorities. In order to control the Hajj, he proposed that pilgrims should be divided into groups of 29 persons led by a sheikh and that all ships be provided with Muslim doctors; some Algerians had to be sent to Mecca before the Hajj season in order to replace the pilgrims' local guides (*muṭawifīn*). An Algerian living in Mecca, who was in contact with Labosse, was ready to become a French agent during the Hajj. Indeed, Labosse wanted to use French control of the Hajj in order to exploit its economy as well as to benefit his work of intelligence.[41] In the next year, Cambon implemented some of Labosse's recommendations, but the consul reported that it was not satisfied yet. He proposed to change the traditional itinerary of the Hajj, which included a visit to Medina after the fulfilment of the rites in Mecca. According to Labosse's new suggestion, Algerian pilgrims had to travel from Medina to Mecca by ship via Yambo and Jeddah in order to reinforce complete control of the Hajj. After Labosse's replacement in December 1892, in a letter to the Ministry of Interiors Cambon expressed his rejection of most of the consul's proposals and recommended full freedom of Algerian pilgrims:

> D'une manière générale, j'estime, Monsieur le ministre, que l'administration ne doit intervenir dans les questions de ce genre qu'avec une grande réserve. Les indigènes sont toujours portés à croire que nous cherchons à entraver le pèlerinage; les mesures sanitaires ou autre que nous prescrivons, dans leur intérêt, sont accueillies par eux avec méfiance et presque toujours mal interprétées. Le mieux serait, à mon sens, de leur laisser la plus grande liberté, aussi bien pour discuter et payer le prix de passage et les différents droits auxquels ils sont assujettis, que pour le choix de leur itinéraire, nous bornant aux dispositions adoptées les années précédentes.[42]

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rue, *Rapport médical de M. Delarue commissionné par M. le Gouverneur général de l'Algérie à bord du Pictavia pour le pèlerinage de la Mecque en 1891* (Alger: Giralt, 1892).

40 Labosse to MAE, 19 September 1891, ANOM, F.80.1747 ("Pèlerinages à la Mecque"), f. 2: "Les algériens ont pu voir la différence qui existe entre les attentions bienveillantes de la République pour ses enfants et les autres Gouvernements."

41 Ibid., ff. 14–15.

42 Governor Cambon to Ministry of Interiors, 26 December 1892, ANOM, F.80.1747.

But Cambon's attitude toward Labosse provoked the *service consulaire* who, from that moment, started to oppose him. The succeeding consul M. Guiot supported Labosse's proposed *combinaison*, including the change of itinerary. His successor, M. Bobot-Descoutreux, did the same. In sum, Cambon's promotion of the Hajj was above all motivated by his aim of making France popular among Algerian Muslims, whereas the French Consulate in Jeddah was keen on exploiting the Hajj as means of affirming French political authority in the Ḥijāz and the Red Sea.

In addition to Cambon's difficulties with the Consulate in Jeddah, there was a mistrustful attitude in the French administration. In particular, the Ministry of Interiors, in charge of authorising Hajj travel permits, insisted on complicating Cambon's task. In 1893, for example, the minister delayed issuing Hajj permits by taking a long time to implement Guiot's proposals that caused great confusion in the Hajj organisation of that year. When the minister finally decided to change the itinerary, it became clear that pilgrims accordingly would not be able to reach Mecca before the start of rituals. So, at the last minute, the old itinerary was followed; and Guiot was required to travel to Suez to inform the captains of pilgrim steamships about the new travel route.[43] Due to the lack of collaboration, Cambon became isolated and frustrated. In 1894, because of another delay of issuing permits, Cambon was forced to cancel the departure of pilgrims.

It is important to take into account the role of French public opinion regarding the asserted political and sanitary dangers of the Hajj in the failure of Cambon's Hajj policy. For instance, in his *La défense de l'Europe contre le Cholera*,[44] Dr. Adrien Proust described the Hajj as an enormous sanitary threat to Europe by recommending the adoption of Labosse's restrictive measures on it. In 1893, cases of cholera were found in the South of France at the same time a cholera epidemic hit Mecca. Although the cholera in Mecca had no connection with the cases in France, it confirmed Proust's alarming tone in the public debate.[45] Besides, press articles were focused on the political "dangers" of the Hajj, which increased the anxiety of French public readers as well. Similar to the abovementioned governor Tirman, many French administrators adopted an overcautious attitude towards the Hajj in order to prevent any eventual disappointment of French public opinion.

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43 See ANOM, F.80.1747.

44 Adrien Proust, *La défense de l'Europe contre le Cholera* (Paris: Masson, 1892).

45 In order to reassure French readers, *Le Figaro* affirmed that Proust had taken "strong measures" against the Hajj. *Le Figaro*, June 17, 1893.

We have seen that French administrators faced a dilemma between taking the risk of either promoting the Hajj or restricting it in order to protect themselves from its asserted "dangers." In this context, we can read Jules Gervais-Courtellemont's following Hajj experience.

Jules Gervais-Courtellemont and his Pilgrimage-Voyage-Mission to Mecca

Jules Gervais-Courtellemont was born on July 1, 1863 in Avon, Seine-et-Marne, nearby Paris. In 1867, his father, Louis Victor Gervais, died and in the following year, his mother remarried an officer named Jules Georges Courtellemont.[46] In 1874 he moved to Algeria, where his family bought a farm in the Relizane valley.[47] When he was 14 years old, he was left alone in the farm when his parents departed to France for health reasons. In this difficult situation, Gervais-Courtellemont lived among Algerian peasants of the region who helped him manage his family enterprise. His experience as a young boy undoubtedly influenced his future attitude towards Algerian people and their religion and traditions.

The young Courtellemont was passionately fond of photography and travel. In 1883, he travelled to Spain; in 1885, he visited Morocco. In 1891–1892, as a photographer, he joined an archaeological mission financed by the Ministry of Education. In 1892, he visited Syria accompanied by the journalist Charles Lallemand who became Gervais-Courtellemont's father-in-law in 1893. By this time he had a laboratory of photogravure in Alger (*Gervais-Courtellemont et Cie.*). In

46 This is the reason for his double family name. For more biographical information, see Guy Courtellemont, *Le pionnier photographe de Mahomet* (Nimes: Lacour, 1994); Béatrice De Paste, and Emmanuelle Devos, *Les couleurs du voyage: L'œuvre photographique de Jules Gervais-Courtellemont* (Paris: Paris musées/Phileas Fogg, 2002).

47 In 1925, Courtellemont described the scene in this way: "Nous sommes en 1874. Dans la vaste plaine de Relizane, qu'encerclent des montagnes déboisées et arides, une ferme blanche au toit rouge s'est édifiée. Un colon est venu pour tenter fortune. Ce n'est point une ambition démesurée qui l'a conduit là, mais bien plutôt le désir de se rendre utile. Il sait que, si la France veut s'implanter définitivement sur la terre africaine, il faut tout d'abord la peupler de colons français. Il vient de prendre sa retraite d'officier supérieur, il est marié, beau-père de deux garçons. La tourmente de 1870 a englouti la petite fortune de la famille. Il ne lui reste que 70.000 francs liquides. Mais on lui a dit que cette somme était largement suffisante pour entreprendre la culture de la Ramie et du Ricin dans la plaine de Mina. Il n'en a pas demandé davantage pour se mettre à l'œuvre." De Paste and Devos, *Les couleurs du voyage*, 122.

1890–1893, he became the editor of the illustrated review *L'Algérie Artistique et Pittoresque*. In this period, before his Hajj trip, Gervais-Courtellemont made contact with such intellectuals as Pierre Loti, Jules Lemaitre, Guy de Maupassant, Victor and Paul Margueritte, and Leon Gautier.[48] All of them shared a common passion for Islam and were friends of Jules Cambon as well. Gervais-Courtellemont himself was also close to Cambon because one of his wife's brothers was the chief of the governor's political cabinet.

Gervais-Courtellemont's pilgrimage to Mecca was made possible due to his relationship with Djabila Hadj Akli, an Algerian merchant, who regularly travelled to the Ḥijāz for trade. Gervais-Courtellemont met Hadj Akli in 1890, when the latter was arrested after he had violated the ban on travelling to Mecca. Hadj Akli was released after Gervais-Courtellemont's interference and mediation with French officials.[49] As a result, Hadj Akli and Gervais-Courtellemont became very close friends. At the same time, Gervais-Courtellemont started to play a role in influencing Cambon's policy towards Islam in Algeria. In 1893, Hadj Akli managed to get a *fatwā* issued from Mecca in which the legitimacy of the infidels ruling over Muslims was questioned (see the French translation of the *fatwā* in the appendix).[50]

The following year, Hadj Akli accompanied Gervais-Courtellemont to the Holy City of Mecca. This Hajj trip had religious, cultural, and diplomatic objectives. Gervais-Courtellemont had certainly a sincere passion for Islam, and he embarked on the Hajj as part of his conversion. At the same time, he was also moved by his career as a traveller and photographer.[51] To be one of the few Europeans who had visited the Holy City of Islam in the nineteenth-century was also certainly a great stimulus for him. Moreover, Gervais-Courtellemont was aware of the political dimension of his trip by trying to give it an official character. Although he did not succeed in obtaining an official mission from the Ministry of Education after the interference of the Foreign Ministry, he received a secret

48 See Courtellemont, *Le pionnier photographe*.

49 See Jules Gervais-Courtellemont, *Mon voyage à la Mecque* (Paris: Hachette, 1896).

50 The text of this *fatwā*, provided with a French translation, is available in ANOM, F.80.1747.

51 Before embarking on his trip from Marseille, Gervais-Courtellemont came in contact with the editor of *Imprimeries Réunies* in Paris who offered to publish his Hajj travelogue if he brought back some snapshots from Mecca. In a letter to her brother Paul Lallemand, Hélène Courtellemont writes about her husband's pilgrimage: "ce voyage qu'il va faire sera long, 4 ou 5 mois, et très périlleux. Si Courtellemont s'en tire bien, il s'installera à Paris à la fin d'octobre avec un bon traité qu'il vient de conclure avec les Imprimeries Réunies, d'ici là il fermera sa maison d'Alger et n'entreprendra aucun travail." Hélène Courtellemont to Paul Lallemand, 26 avril 1894, quoted in De Paste and Devos, *Les couleurs du voyage*, 18.

informal non-financed political mission from Governor Cambon. Among his tasks during the mission were the verification of the authenticity of the *fatwā* which Hadj Akli had brought back from Mecca, an evaluation of the French political and economic influence in the Ḥijāz, and the establishment of contacts with some political leaders in Arabia, possibly including the Sharif of Mecca. Thus Gervais-Courtellemont travelled to Arabia not only as a pilgrim and traveller-photographer, but as an informal French diplomat as well.

Hajj Voyage and Report

Gervais-Courtellemont arrived in Arabia in the autumn of 1894, some months after the regular period of the annual Hajj season. Together with his guide, they arrived in Jeddah on September 25. After a short religious training, they left for Mecca on October 6, where they were received by the Maghrebi *muṭawwif* Abderraman Bou Chenak. Gervais-Courtellemont was immediately brought to the Great Mosque in order to achieve the first *ṭawāf* and to accomplish the rite of *ʿUmra* (minor pilgrimage). Then he performed the *Saʿī* (shuttling between the two hills of *al-Ṣafā wa al-Marwā*), drank from the Well of *Zamzam* and had his hair cut. As it was Friday, he had the opportunity to listen to the sermon in the afternoon in the Great Mosque. In enthusiastic terms, Gervais-Courtellemont described his fulfilment of these rituals as the most important mystical experience of his life.

Gervais-Courtellemont stayed for three days in Mecca where he was hosted by the Maghrebi *muṭawwif*. Accompanied by a Moroccan resident in Mecca under the name Abd-el-Wahad, Gervais-Courtellemont toured around the mountains outside Mecca, such as Minā, walked in the local market, took some photographs from the mountain Abū-Qubays, and met with some Meccan inhabitants. In addition, he had some religious conversations with muftī Scheik Habbeud, who issued the *fatwā* regarding French legitimacy in Algeria that was brought by Hadj Akli. Scheik Habbeud affirmed the authenticity of his document handed by Hadj Akli and signed another document attesting the conformity of Gervais-Courtellemont's conversion to Islam.[52] Gervais-Courtellemont did not succeed in meeting the Sharif of Mecca who was on holiday in the city of Ṭā'if, but met with one of his emissaries, Hadj Ahmed. On his return trip,

52 The text of this letter, provided with a French translation, is reproduced in Courtellemont's travel book. See Jules Gervais-Courtellemont, *Mon voyage à la Mecque* (Paris: Hachette, 1896), 152–153.

Gervais-Courtellemont met the son of the Sharif in Suez who promised to persuade his father to get in contact with Cambon.

Upon his return to France in November 1894, Gervais-Courtellemont submitted a twenty-two page report to the governor in which he made a description of his trip as well as his views of the economic, political, and sanitary aspects of the Hajj. Gervais-Courtellemont gave a detailed analysis of the sanitary situation of the site of Minā, where the ritual of sacrifice takes place during the Hajj, partly in order to remove the negative image of this place in European debates on the Hajj.[53] In his opinion, the most significant problem was the negative image of France existing in the Muslim world. In order to improve this image, he suggested that the government had to repatriate poor Maghrebi pilgrims who were stranded in Jeddah under terrible conditions.[54] Moreover, pro-French propaganda booklets should be published in Arabic to be circulated in Mecca:

> Les Arabes et les Musulmans indiens de la Mecque et de Djeddah sont très avides de lecture. (…) Leurs lectures favorites sont des livres de rêves (explication et signification des songes), les livres de magie, quelques romans de chevalerie et aussi des livres d'histoire sainte, ancienne et contemporaine. À signaler des livres imprimés en Syrie par des chrétiens, livres d'histoire sainte que, dans leur naïveté, ils ne tiennent même pas en suspicion malgré la vignette et le monogramme de Jésus imprimés en tête

53 Three copies of this report are available in ANOM, 1H30 ("Voyage à la Mecque effectué par M.M. Gervais Courtellemont & Hadj Akli: juillet–octobre 1894").

54 "Voyage à la Mecque," ANOM, 1H30, 17–18: "On critique beaucoup le consulat français de Djeddah. On lui reproche, entre autres griefs, d'abandonner les Maugrebins indigents (…) Or quelques Algériens et Tunisiens et beaucoup de Marocains et Tripolitains indigents, absolument dénoués de ressources arrivent à se faufiler, au départ, parmi les pèlerins. Ils subsistent comme ils peuvent pendant la durée du pèlerinage, mais, les cérémonies religieuses terminées et tout le monde parti de Djeddah, ils errent, lamentables par les rues et les places, mourant de faim, excitant la compassion de leur coreligionnaires par leur extrême dénuement, leur misère, et leur abandon qui persiste, alors que Turcs et Égyptiens sont depuis longtemps rapatriés par le soins de leurs gouvernements respectifs qui consacrent chaque année de grandes sommes à cette œuvre de charité. Il faudrait je crois faire appel à la charité musulmane en Algérie et en Tunisie pour recueillir des offrandes qui seraient centralisées et remises à un personnage influent du pèlerinage, chaque année, par le consulat de Djeddah qui veillerait en même temps à la répartition judicieuse de ces fonds. On rapatrierait au besoin les Marocains quitte à mettre à profit, très ostensiblement auprès de Sa Majesté Chérifienne pour lui prouver nos bons sentiments à l'égard de ses nationaux, l'exercice de cet acte d'humanité."

> du livre et l'absence du 'Bismilla' à la première page. Étant donné un tel état d'esprit, je crois qu'il serait très important pour le développement de l'influence française, de faire imprimer un livre de l'histoire de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie que l'on s'efforcerait de répandre à profusion. Ce livre, commencé par le récit politique des grands combats de la conquête en ne négligeant pas de citer les exploits fameux des héros arabes de l'époque, se terminerait par une description de l'état prospère actuel de ces pays protégés par la France. On y représenterait l'action de la France, non oppressive, comme ils se plaisent à la dire, mais bien faisant, tutélaire et pleine d'égards pour la foi musulmane.[55]

Finally a mosque should be built in Paris as the British had already done in London: "Tout cela part d'un point reconnu exact. Il existe en effet à Londres une petite mosquée et c'est à la vérité la seule qui existe en Europe ou tout au moins dans l'extrême occident. (M. le prince d'Arenberg m'a dit qu'il s'occupait en ce moment de faire aboutir l'idée d'en construire une à Paris)."[56]

In that report, Gervais-Courtellemont underlined the active political role played by the British Consulate in Jeddah and the British strategy of gaining popularity among Muslims:

> À signaler aussi au point de vue des efforts faits par les Anglais pour développer leur influence en Arabie: 1) L'organisation de leur Consulat. Leur consul est secondé par un chancelier très remarquable, docteur indien il habite depuis 12 ans Djeddah et exerce gratuitement la médecine auprès des indigents de ses nationaux. Il a à sa disposition toute une pharmacie installée au Consulat. Le 1er drogman est enfant de Djeddah et connaît tous les habitants de Djeddah et de la Mecque. 2) Le consulat Anglais ne cesse d'obséder les autorités turques des revendications de ses nationaux. Les autorités turques s'en sont même plaint à Constantinople, on le sait à Djeddah et cela fait très bon effet les Turcs étant méprisés et détestés. 3) Ils entretiennent des relations politiques suivies avec le Soudan et l'Afrique par Souakim; ils ont dans ce but un agent secret, Smain Nebelaoui.[57]

55 "Voyage à la Mecque," ANOM, 1H30, 18–19.

56 "Voyage à la Mecque," ANOM, 1H30, 20.

57 "Voyage à la Mecque," ANOM, 1H30, 20–21.

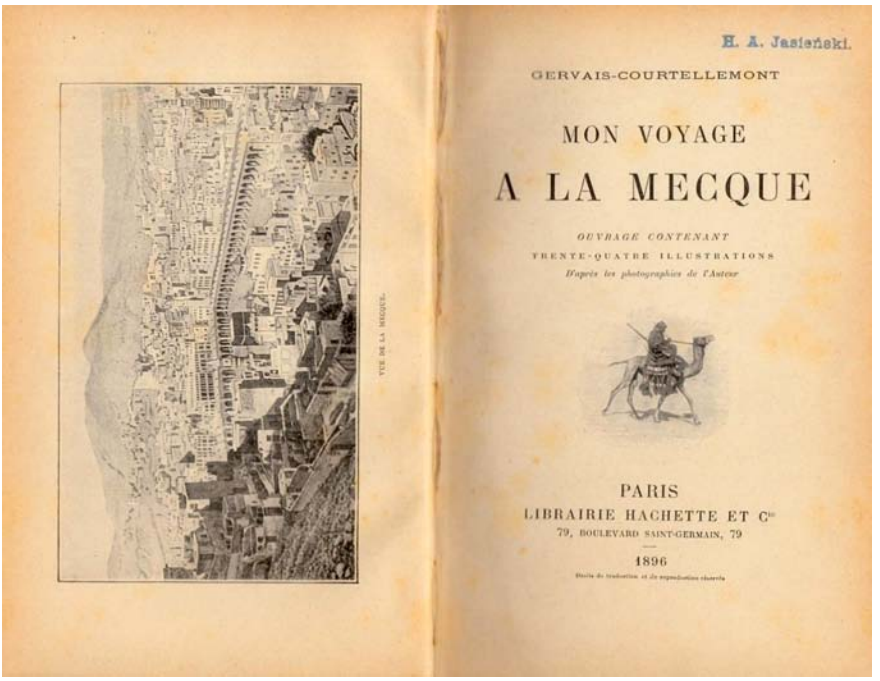

FIGURE 4.1 *Front page of Gervais-Courtellemont's travelogue*

In December 1894, Gervais-Courtellemont gave two public lectures in Paris, at the *Société de Géographie Commerciale* and at the *Société de Géographie*, in which he explained his Arabian experience. Moreover, the illustrated review *Le Monde Illustré* had published an article on his trip. After his return to Algiers in January 1895, he was awarded a decoration of *Légion d'honneur* with the signature of Jules Cambon and held another lecture at the *École des beaux arts d'Alger*. Back in France he gave other public lectures in Lyon and Bordeaux about the religious and political situation in the Ḥijāz in order to publicise for Jules Cambon's above-mentioned Islam and Hajj policy.

Controversy over Courtellemont's "Minor" Pilgrimage

Gervais-Courtellemont's observance of the *ʿUmra* ritual should be seen neither as an intelligence operation by a secret agent nor as a scientific inquiry by an ethnographer.[58] As a Muslim convert, his entrance to Mecca cannot be catego-

58 See Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, "Les confréries religieuses, La Mecque et le panislamisme," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 44/2 (1901), 262–281.

rized as a clandestine European adventure. His Mecca journey provoked hotly-debated discussions in the French colonial administration and public opinion.

Albert Édouard Bobot-Descoutures, the French Consul in Jeddah in 1895, saw Gervais-Courtellemont's visit to Arabia in a negative light by labelling it as a mission of an "improvident amateur" that had damaging effects on French influence and interests in Arabia. Bobot-Descoutures cast doubts on the sincerity of Courtellemont's conversion to Islam, describing it as a "stratagem to satisfy his profane curiosity."[59] We should not forget that such accusations were also part of the divergent views between the French Consulate to Jeddah and the Algerian colonial office regarding the Hajj. The consul certainly did not appreciate Jules Cambon's pressure on the French policy in the Ḥijāz.[60] Due to his informal diplomacy, Gervais-Courtellemont was also probably a controversial figure in French diplomatic circles. In 1901–1903, he undertook a mission to the Chinese region of the Yunnan, which the French consul to the region Auguste François (1857–1935) heavily criticized.[61]

In 1895, a slander campaign in the *Daily Telegraph* arose, which was probably initiated by some Egyptians and Ottomans in Arabia in order to discredit Gervais-Courtellemont's sincerity. As these accusations soon reached Algeria, some newspapers, such as *La Revue Algérienne*, *Le Tell*, *L'Étoile Africaine*, and *La Vigie Algérienne*, immediately started to orchestrate a strong campaign against Gervais-Courtellemont as well. In this he was accused as an "impostor" whose mission to Arabia was nothing but a farce and his conversion was a way of deception. In a sarcastic manner, such press articles belittled Gervais-Courtellemont's decoration as well as Cambon's promotion of his "ridiculous" and "improvident" Hajj proposal.[62]

In order to refute this slander campaign, Gervais-Courtellemont responded in the newspaper *Le Petit Colon Algérien* (March 20, 1895) by stating:

> Mais peu importe d'ailleurs, je fournirais mon œuvre. Je décrirai fidèlement et sincèrement ces pays et ces populations d'Islam si méconnues; j'appliquerais toutes mes facultés à redresser les erreurs involontaires ou volontaires qui ont généralement couru. Je prouverai que 250 millions de

59 Courtellemont, *Le pionnier photographe*, 80–81: "une supercherie uniquement destinée à lui permettre de satisfaire sa curiosité profane."

60 Courtellemont, *Le pionnier*, 81.

61 Courtellemont, *Le pionnier*, 117. See Jules Gervais-Courtellemont, "La France en Asie: du fleuve rouge au fleuve bleu par le Yunnan," *Bulletin de la société de géographie de Toulouse* 1 (1904): 14–24.

62 See, *La Vigie Algérienne*, January 27, May 1 and 7, 1895.

> créatures humaines obéissant la même foi ne méritent pas l'oubli ou le mépris auxquels on les condamne et dans l'avenir plus encore que dans le présent, mes amis de la Mecque et du monde Musulman ne regretteront pas d'avoir placé en moi leur estime, leur confiance et leur sympathie. Leur civilisation n'est pas d'accord avec celle des pays européens mais elle n'en est pas moins une des plus grandes manifestations morales de l'Humanité. Comme vous l'avez si justement dit dans vos précédentes articles sur mon voyage je suis une preuve vivante de l'apaisement moral qui se fait aujourd'hui sur ces questions. Au retour des pèlerins de la Mecque, dans quelques semaines, l'opinion des honnêtes gens sera plus que jamais édifiée sur ma sincérité, mais en attendant je n'ai pu résister au besoin de protester contre les vils agissements d'imposteurs plus ou moins intéressés.[63]

He also did an interview with the director of *Le Matin* in which he strongly attempted to prove the authenticity of his undertaking and the sincerity of his conversion to Islam by denouncing the inaccuracies brought forward by journalists against him.

In the public debate about Jules Cambon's Islam policy, Gervais-Courtellemont brought fresh observations about the sanitary and political situation of the Ḥijāz, which contrasted with common views on this Muslim ritual. His reflections on the Hajj and Arabia were published in the French press as the expertise of *un français-musulmanisé*. His views as a French Muslim citizen, belonging to a middle-class family, represented a problem for Cambon's rivals in the diplomatic office and had an impact on the terms of the debate on the Hajj. To question his sincerity to Islam as a French Muslim convert was a way of discrediting his Hajj proposals that were in harmony with Cambon's ambitions.

In 1896, the well-known publishing house Hachette was keen on publishing Gervais-Courtellemont's travelogue under the title, *Mon voyage à la Mecque*.[64] The author tried to debunk the French "prejudices" against the Hajj and affirmed the need for a more tolerant Islam policy, as Jules Cambon in Algeria had earlier proposed. Taking Hadj Akli's arrest and ban of travel to Mecca, for example, he attempted to demonstrate the absurdity of any plans proposing the prohibition of the Hajj. For him, the "inhumane" conditions of the Maghrebi pilgrims stranded in Jeddah were indication of the absence of a clear French

63 "El-Hadj Courtellemont: Réponse d'un calomnié," *Le Petit Colon*, March 20, 1895.

64 Jules Gervais-Courtellemont, *Mon voyage à la Mecque* (Paris: Hachette, 1896).

policy for the protection of pilgrims that would safeguard France's honour. The fact that the Consulate was not aware of his trip to Arabia showed the "inefficiency" of their diplomatic work in the Ḥijāz. By describing his religious spiritual experience in Mecca, Gervais-Courtellemont tried to introduce a different approach to the Hajj and to the Muslim world from a more positive angle. In his life Gervais-Courtellemont never abandoned Islam and continued his profession as a photographer. In 1931, he died and was buried nearby Paris dressed in his *Iḥrām* clothing and with a copy of his conversion certificate in his hand.[65]

Conclusion

Our previous inquiry about French colonial policy regarding the Hajj in Algeria the late nineteenth century affirms Triaud's remarks that "there is an anti-Islamic dimension inherent and recurrent in French political and administrative thought that merits study and inquiry. Although there have been authors, and periods, manifesting interest and sympathy for Muslim world, French culture has maintained strong continuity in its negative view and fear of Islam."[66]

Despite their different political and social backgrounds, Cambon and Courtellemont were convinced of the need for a radical change in the French Hajj policy. In his colonial office Cambon was able to demonstrate the political and economic advantages of the French rule of the Hajj. However, his policy was heavily obstructed by others administrators and public opinion. As a French native and convert to Islam, Gervais-Courtellemont, on the other hand, influenced the debate on the Hajj in France. His views triggered strong reactions in diplomatic circles and in public opinion, which were combined by inaccurate images and prejudice against Islam in the colonial context.

The slander campaign against him was mostly mirrored in a rejection of the authenticity of his conversion to Islam and religious practices in Mecca. Labelling him an "impostor," "swindler," and "naïve" was intended as underlying dismissal of an emerging French-Muslim identity in the colonial era. As a matter of fact, in that period positive and sympathetic attitudes towards Islam emerged in France, such as the promotion of a mosque building in Paris, the

65 Myriam Harry, "Gervais-Courtellemont," *Le Temps*, November 8, 1931.

66 Jean-Louis Triaud, "Islam in Africa under French Colonial Rule," *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. N. Levtzion, and R.L. Pouwels (Athens-Oxford-Cape Town, Ohio University Press-James Currey-David Philip, 2000), 169–170.

establishment of a pro-Islam journal, *La Revue de l'Islam*, and the emergence of such intellectual movements as *islamologie positive*.[67]

From ANOM, GGA: F.80.1747

Le Gouverneur général de l'Algérie, Jules Cambon, au président du Conseil et ministre de l'Intérieur, Charles Dupuy

Alger 2 novembre 1893

Monsieur le Président,

Le Maréchal Bugeaud avait jadis envoyé son savant interprète, M. Léon Roche, à la Mecque, afin d'obtenir une consultation des Chorfa de la Ville Sainte, établissant que les Musulmans pouvaient obéir aux chrétiens lorsque ceux-ci respectaient leur religion. Léon Roche réussit dans sa mission et cette consultation ou Fetouah nous rendit les plus grands services lors de l'établissement de notre domination.

Préoccupé d'aider notre action dans les oasis de l'Extrême Sud de tous les moyens d'action qui la feront plus aisément accepter, j'ai toujours cherché à mettre de notre côté les influences religieuses qui dominent au Touat et au Gourara, celles des Taybia et celles des Oulad Sidi Cheikh, et j'avais fait venir à Alger un jeune neveu du chérif d'Ouazzan afin de lui faire suivre notre colonne. Ce jeune homme est actuellement à Tlemcen, où il attend mes instructions soit pour retourner au Maroc, soit pour descendre vers les oasis de l'Extrême Sud.

Il m'avait paru également nécessaire de reprendre ce qu'avait si heureusement tenté le maréchal Bugeaud, et, l'année dernière, je demandai à M. Ribot l'autorisation d'envoyer quelques cadeaux aux Chorfa de la Mecque à l'occasion du pèlerinage. Cette année, à la suite du pèlerinage, j'ai reçu une Fetouah dans laquelle les Chorfa des trois ordres religieux établis dans le nord de l'Afrique, les Hanéfites, les Malékites et les Chafaites, répondent à la question posée de savoir si les musulmans peuvent obéir aux infidèles. Cette Fetouah, que l'on pourrait comparer à certains mandements, est un santon de citations sacrées et écrite dans le style plein de détours des documents de cette nature. Elle n'en est pas moins très intéressante et précieuse et les Musulmans, qui ont des façons de parler enveloppées et discrètes, en comprendront la portée. Je l'ai reproduite exactement à l'Imprimerie nationale, mon dessin étant de la faire répandre au Touat lorsque nos troupes y arriveront et ce n'est pas sans regret que je vois aujourd'hui toutes les mesures que j'avais prises pour faire accepter notre autorité

67 See, for example, Sadek Sellam, *La France et ses musulmans: Un siècle de politique musulmane (1895–2005)* (Paris: Fayard, 2006).

sans trop d'opposition et dont l'ensemble concourait au même but devenues aussi inutiles. L'occasion est fugace et ne se retrouve pas.

Quoi qui il en soit, j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser avec la traduction la reproduction de cette Fetouah comme un document qui pourra nous intéresser.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Président, l'assurance de mon respectueux dévouement

Le Gouverneur Général Jules Cambon.

FATWA

Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie.
Traduction de la Fetoua envoyée de la Mecque au Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie.—Pèlerinage de 1894

Question.

Des musulmans sont établis dans une localité dont les infidèles ont fait la conquête. Ceux-ci les administrent sans faire le moindre obstacle à l'exercice de la religion musulmane ; ils vont même jusqu'à encourager les musulmans à pratiquer leurs devoirs religieux. Ils leur donnent pour exercer les fonctions de cadi un de leurs coreligionnaires musulmans chargés de faire exécuter les prescriptions de la loi musulmane et assurant à ce fonctionnaire des émoluments convenables qu'il perçoit régulièrement au commencement de chaque mois. Dans ces conditions, les musulmans doivent-ils : 1° émigrer ou non ? 2° entrer en lutte avec les infidèles et chercher à leur enlever l'autorité, même s'ils ne sont point assurés d'avoir le pouvoir nécessaire pour le faire ? La localité dont les infidèles ont fait la conquête doit elle être considérée comme terre d'islam ou comme territoire en état de guerre ? Donnez-nous sur ces trois points des renseignements complets et des arguments décisifs qui coupent court à toute discussion antérieure. Que Dieu par vos soins fortifie sa religion !

Réponse.

Notre savant maître (Dieu lui fasse miséricorde !) nous a déjà fait connaître son opinion en répondant à la question suivante qui lui avait été posée : « Un musulman est-il tenu d'émigrer d'une localité dans laquelle, pur un motif quelconque, il ne peut accomplir tous les devoirs que sa religion lui impose ? »

Sa réponse était conçue en ces termes : « Celui qui ne peut s'acquitter des prescriptions dont la religion lui fait un devoir, doit émigrer de la localité dans laquelle il se trouve s'il est en état de le faire, c'est-à-dire s'il a une fortune suffisante lui permettant de changer de résidence. En parlant des gens qui avaient embrassé l'islamisme et qui

n'avaient point émigré alors qu'ils en avaient les moyens, Dieu a dit : « Les Anges, en ôtant la vie à ceux qui avaient agi uniquement envers eux-mêmes, leur demandèrent : Qu'avez-vous fait ? Ils répondirent : « Nous étions les faibles de la terre ». Les Anges leur dirent : « La terre de Dieu n'est elle pas assez vaste ? Ne pouviez vous pas, en abandonnant votre pays, chercher un asile quelques part ? » (Coran chap. IV, verset 99). Ainsi Dieu n'a pas excusé ces gens-là et cependant ils étaient faibles et incapables d'émigrer vers une autre localité. Toutefois il a fait ensuite une exception dans le verset suivant en disant : « Sauf les faibles parmi les hommes, les femmes et les enfants. »

« Ce qui revient à dire que l'enfer sera la demeure de tous ceux qui ont refusé d'émigrer, à moins qu'ils ne soient au nombre des faibles parmi les hommes, les femmes et les enfants, car alors ils sont incapables de trouver une combinaison qui leur permette de fuir, c'est-à-dire que, par suite de leur faiblesse physique ou de leur extrême misère, ils ne sont point en état de se diriger dans leur route ou, en d'autres termes, de reconnaître la voie qu'ils devraient suivre. C'est à ceux-là que Dieu pardonnera s'ils n'émigrent pas ». Ici se termine la réponse de notre savant maître.

Les plus éminents exégètes du Coran ont exprimé la même opinion et le Prophète (que Dieu répande sur lui ses bénédictions et lui accorde le salut !) a dit : « Celui qui, à cause de sa religion, quitte un pays pour se rendre dans un autre, même s'il n'avait à parcourir pour cela que la distance d'un empan, aura mérité le Paradis et il sera le compagnon de son ancêtre Abraham et des descendants de celui-ci parmi lesquels figure Mahomet (que Dieu répande sur eux toutes ses bénédictions !) ».

Dans le *Miràdj ed-dirâqa* d'après le *Mebrout*, on trouve ce qui suit : « Les pays entre les mains des infidèles restent *terre d'islam* et ne deviennent pas territoires *en état de guerre*, quand ceux-ci n'y font point régner leurs lois et qu'au contraire ils y ont institué des cadis et des fonctionnaires musulmans qui leur sont soumis volontairement on non. En effet dans toute ville où il y a un chef musulman il lui est permis de faire l'office du Vendredi, de célébrer les fêtes religieuses et d'appliquer les pénalités de la loi musulmane. Si les fonctionnaires sont des infidèles, les musulmans pourraient encore avoir liberté de célébrer l'office du Vendredi et de choisir parmi eux un cadi agréé par tous les fidèles, mais ils devront alors demander qu'on leur donne un chef musulman ».

Dans le *Tenouïr-el-Abçâr* et dans son commentaire intitulé : *Ed-dorr-el-Mokhtâr*, il est dit : « Une des trois conditions suivantes est nécessaire pour qu'une *terre d'islam* devienne un territoire *en état de guerre* ; ainsi il faut : 1° ou que la loi des infidèles y soit appliquée ; 2° ou que le pays soit annexé à un territoire *en état de guerre* ; 3° ou qu'il n'y reste plus un seul musulman ou un seul tributaire qui jouisse de la première des sécurités, celle qui lui garantit son existence ».

Le célèbre Eth-Thahthaouï a donné une glose de ce passage et il semble en résulter que toutes les fois que les lois musulmans sont appliquées en même temps que les lois des infidèles, le pays n'est pas dit territoire en *état de guerre*.

Par tout ce que nous venons de raconter, on voit que, du moment qu'il y a un cadi, fût-il nommé par les infidèles, et que les lois musulmanes sont appliquées comme il a été dit ci-dessous, un pays ne cesse pas d'être terre d'islam. Dieu sait mieux que personne ce qui il en est de tout cela.

Les présentes lignes ont été tracées par ordre du serviteur de la loi musulmane, mufti de la glorieuse ville de la Mecque.

—

Louange au Dieu unique. Que Dieu répande ses bénédictions sur Notre Seigneur Muhammad, sur sa famille, sur ses Compagnons et sur tous ceux qui après lui marchent dans le bon chemin. O mon Dieu, sois notre guide dans la recherche de la vérité! Dans les *Fetouas* du savant des savants cheikh, Mohammed ben Seliman El Kurdi, l'auteur d'une glose marginale sur le Commentaire d'Ibn Hadjar, on trouve ceci: « Le séjour des musulmans sur un territoire appartenant aux infidèles peut être rangé dans un des quatre catégories suivantes: 1° où il est obligatoire, c'est-à-dire que les musulmans peuvent bien se soustraire à l'adoption de la religion des infidèles et vivre à l'écart, mais qu'ils n'ont plus à espérer aucun secours des musulmans. Ce pays reste *terre d'islam* tant que les musulmans n'en ont point émigré; dans ce cas seulement il deviendrait un territoire *en état de guerre*; 2° où il est toléré, par exemple quand les musulmans peuvent professer ouvertement leur religion et qu'ils ont l'espoir de voir ce pays revenir un jour à leurs coreligionnaires; 3° où il est répréhensible, c'est dans le cas où pouvant exercer leur culte ils n'ont plus aucun espoir de voir le pays revenir aux mains des musulmans; 4 ° où enfin il est absolument interdit, c'est quand les musulmans ne peuvent plus y professer ouvertement leur religion ». En conséquence, si l'exercice de la religion musulmane et l'application de la loi islamique dans toutes ses parties doivent être une cause de ruine ou de mort pour les musulmans parce que les fonctionnaires choisis parmi les infidèles exercent seuls l'autorité sans tenir compte des injonctions de la loi musulmane, il est interdit au musulman de demeurer dans un tel pays et tous devront le quitter sauf ceux qui seront dans l'impossibilité matérielle de le faire et ces derniers seuls seront excusables.

Dans le commentaire de Eldjémâl El-remli sur le Minhadj el-Aoudjah, il est dit: « sera *terre d'islam* tout pays dont les infidèles auront fait ainsi la conquête, c'est-à-dire qu'il y aura lieu de distinguer les catégories énumérés ci-dessus ». Ceci répond donc à la première partie de la question qui a été posée. Pour la deuxième partie, on doit répondre qu'il n'est pas obligatoire d'entrer en lutte avec les infidèles puisqu'on n'est pas capable de le faire avec succès. Enfin, pour la troisième partie, la réponse à faire st que la *terre d'islam* ne devient pas territoire en *état de guerre* par le seul fait de la conquête des infidèles. Dieu sait mieux que personne si ceci est exact. Ecrit par celui qui espère tout du seigneur. Mohammed Saïd ben Mohammed, mufti des chaféites à La Mecque (que Dieu le protège!). Dieu lui pardonne ainsi qu'à ses parents, à ses maîtres et à tous les musulmans.

—

Louange au Dieu unique. O mon Dieu, sois notre guide dans la recherche de la vérité !

Arès avoir épuisé les résultats des recherches faites ci-dessus par mes savants confrères, j'ai reconnu qu'ils étaient conformes à la vérité et qu'ils devaient fournir la seule base solide des réponses demandées. Dieu accorde la meilleure des récompenses à ces maîtres et maintienne par eux les pratiques de la religion ! C'est lui qui est le vrai soutien.

Écrit par ordre du Mufti malékite à la Mecque (que Dieu le protége !), Mohammed ʿAbed, fils du défunt Cheick Hoseïn.

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– 16H83/84: "Pèlerinages à la Mecque"

– F80.1747: "Pèlerinages à la Mecque"

– 1H30: "miscellaneous"

CHAPTER 5

Heinrich Freiherr von Maltzan's "My Pilgrimage to Mecca": A Critical Investigation*

Ulrike Freitag

Introduction

This chapter is a first probe into the Hajj-report by Heinrich Freiherr von Maltzan, published as 'My Pilgrimage to Mecca' (in German: *Meine Wallfahrt nach Mekka*) by Dyk'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig in 1865.[1] It is an initial reading of this intriguing travelogue, questioning its authenticity.

In the two volumes of the *Pilgrimage*, the author gives a most graphic account of his voyage to and adventures in Mecca. While some of the descriptions struck me as either exaggerated or inspired by Orientalist phantasies, I had little reason to doubt the overall veracity of von Maltzan's account. After all, a significant number of other European travellers had made their way to Mecca and had written about it by the time von Maltzan published his account. Probably because of the fact that non-Muslims were prohibited from visiting Mecca, it became a kind of particularly prized destination in the nineteenth century, so much so that the Meccan Shāfiʿī mufti and historian, Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān, reflected two and a half decades later on how to convince Europeans not to visit this particular city.[2] In addition, von Maltzan had, by the time he published the *Pilgrimage*, already established himself as an accomplished travel writer who

* I gladly acknowledge the support for this research of Ambassador Paul Freiherr von Maltzahn who lent me the diaries of Heinrich von Maltzan, of the late Wolfgang Dannemann in deciphering parts of the often hardly legible manuscript, of Christian Kübler for researching and providing me with copies of von Maltzan's other writings and of Constanze Fertig in bringing this chapter into its final shape.

1 In the following, I will use the reprint of the 1865 edition published by Georg Olms: Heinrich von Maltzan, "Meine Wallfahrt nach Mekka" (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2004).

2 For (incomplete) overviews, see Arthur Jeffery, "Christians at Mecca," *The Muslim World* 19 (1929): 221–232; Aḥmad Muḥammad Maḥmūd, *al-Riḥlāt al-muḥarrama ilā Makka al-mukarrama wa-l-Madīna al-munawwara* (Jeddah, 1430/2008–2009) [Jamharat al-riḥlāt 3]; von Maltzan himself also supplies a list indicating the travels he knew of, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, 4–6; Aḥmad Zaynī al-Daḥlān, *Khulāṣat al-kalām fī ʾumarāʾ al-balad al-ḥarām* (Cairo: 1888),

had authored three volumes on North Africa. He went on to publish articles and books on the Arabian Peninsula and the Mahrī dialect as well as edited and commented critically on the travelogue of von Wrede. In addition, he was a prolific contributor to leading German geographical journals and newspapers, such as *Das Ausland* and *Geographische Mittheilungen*.

Personally, I was most interested in von Maltzan's description of Jeddah.[3] When a descendant of his informed me about the existence of the author's diaries, my main initial impulse was to compare the diary entries with the published account in order to glean more direct information on his immediate impressions. This turned out to be slightly complicated, given the state of the diaries. They consist of four volumes, covering the years 1850–1851 (vol. I), 1852–1862 (vol. II), 1866–1869 (vol. III) and 1869–1871 (vol. IV). The size is between 16×23 and 17×21 centimeters, the writing mostly in *Kurrentschrift* (Gothic letters), in part faded, and with pages missing.

The Textual Evidence

In his preface to *Meine Wallfahrt nach Mekka*, dated November 14, 1864, von Maltzan explains that his journey, supposedly started in April 1860 by taking a boat from Malta to Alexandria, was only published after he learned of the death of an Algerian named ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. This person, he states, had lent him his persona, and our author felt obliged to treat his voyage discreetly so as not to endanger ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's life.[4] If we believe von Maltzan, he was inspired to travel to Mecca by an encounter with Richard Francis Burton in Cairo in December 1853. Von Maltzan seems to have indeed been in Egypt at this time, according to his diary, although there is no recognisable entry for a meeting with Burton, who also spent the time from October 1853 to mid-January 1854 in that city.[5]

Von Maltzan's diary points to years of peripatetic wanderings with visits to most countries around the Mediterranean, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. According to his published book, he decided in spring 1860, after returning from Morocco and having spent several years in the North West of Africa, to

323. This concern is also reflected in the Ottoman archives, BOA, Y.PRK.TKM 45/16, 18 C 1307 (1889–1890) and Y.PRK.UM 64/7 11 B 1302.

3 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, 224–323.

4 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, IV–V..

5 von Maltzan, *Diary*, vol. 2, 97–100; for Burton, see Mary S. Lovell, *A Rage to Live: A biography of Richard and Isabel Burton* (London: Little & Brown, 1998), 141–146.

undertake the journey to the Ḥijāz.[6] According to the second volume of the diary, covering the years 1852–1862, it seems that von Maltzan did indeed spend several months in North Africa in 1852 and 53. However, a return to Morocco cannot be found after that date, and while he visited the Turkish and Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire in 1853–1854, he does not seem to have returned to North Africa (except for Egypt) until after the date of the purported journey. Of course, the diaries do not provide a full coverage of all days or months and are not fully legible, but at least so far, this part of the story seems questionable. Furthermore, the next recorded journey to Algiers, where von Maltzan allegedly bought his "Moorish" outfit and, more importantly, met the *hashish*-addicted ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who lent him his passport, was in October 1861, not spring 1860.[7]

These differences in chronology might of course have been the result of lapses of memory by the time von Maltzan was writing the book, and there might have been events that the diary did not record. However, the story of how von Maltzan convinced ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to obtain a pilgrimage passport for himself, which he then passed on to von Maltzan in return for the payment of sustenance and the expenses of a stay in Tunis (lest the scam might be detected) already sounds fairly fantastic. In particular, the differences in physical features between the Algerian and his German impersonator, on which von Maltzan himself dwells at some length, are truly remarkable.[8]

According to von Maltzan's account, the sequence of events following the visit to Algiers was roughly as follows: von Maltzan travelled to Malta, assumed the personality of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and on 12 April 1860 boarded a steamer to Alexandria. He then continued his journey by train to Cairo, where he acquired a slave and, on April 23, boarded a boat to the province of Qīna in Upper Egypt.[9] From there he crossed the desert to Quṣayr, then took a boat to Yanbuʾ and continued by boat to Jeddah. All of these undertakings he describes with much love for detail, including the accompanying folklore, historical explanations and many other comments on all aspects of the voyage.[10]

In contrast, the diary tells us that our author spent the first month of 1860 in Vevey on Lake Geneva, then moved to neighbouring Veytaux and from there on 23 May 1860 to Luzern. There he stayed for some time, quite exactly when,

6 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, 7 f.

7 von Maltzan, *Diary*, vol. 2, 254.

8 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, 13–17.

9 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, 17–30.

10 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, 31–216.

according to the travelogue, he claims to have crossed the Red Sea.[11] And while spending time in Jeddah and Mecca according to the travelogue, von Maltzan's diary tells us that he climbed Swiss mountains before leaving for Nice on October 18, 1860. As a matter of fact, von Maltzan's next journey to the region, more precisely to Algiers, where he spent the time from mid-October 1861 to June 1862, took place over a year later.[12]

In publications, von Maltzan insists on the date of 1860 for his pilgrimage. Thus, two articles in *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 1865 consist basically of a précis of his travelogue. It is not entirely clear whether he himself was the author or whether this was a report by some journalist drawing his readers' attention to the newly published book.[13] Similarly, the article in *Das Ausland* of 1865 was largely based on von Maltzan's own account as published in *Meine Wallfahrt*.[14] There exists at least one other text, however, where von Maltzan himself reiterates the date: In his *Reise nach Südarabien*, published in 1873 and reporting a journey of 1870–1871 that led him to Aden, he compares Jeddah at the time of his visit in November and early December of 1870 to the state of the city "as it was ten years ago," i.e. in 1860.[15] This second journey to Jeddah and Aden is, incidentally, confirmed by the last volume of the diary, in which he notes his arrival in Jeddah as November 20 and his departure as December 1, mentioning the start of Ramaḍān in November 1870, which is confirmed by the calendar.[16] There also exist many notebook entries on people he met and information he gathered during this time, which confirm the authenticity of this later journey.[17]

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11 von Maltzan, *Diary*, vol. 2, 229–233 cover the year 1860.

12 von Maltzan, *Diary*, vol. 2. Unfortunately, the diary is not paginated and a continuation of counting is impossible due to pages (possibly accounting for von Maltzan's finances) which have been cut out.

13 *Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 202–203 ("Beilage"), July 21, 1865, July 7, 1865.

14 *Das Ausland*. Überschau der neuesten Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Natur-, Erd- und Völkerkunde, 38(35), September 2, 1865.

15 Heinrich von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien und Geographische Forschungen im und über den südwestlichsten Theil Arabiens* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2004; reprint of 1873 ed.), 46.

16 von Maltzan, *Diary*, vol. 4, 181–186.

17 Notebooks by von Maltzan, currently in the custody of Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin.

Von Maltzan as an Orientalist Travel-Writer and Researcher

One could, of course, dismiss the pilgrimage at this point with the argument that, according to his own diary, von Maltzan certainly did not travel to the Ḥijāz at the dates he indicates. However, given that he supposedly intended to protect his Algerian *alter ego*, one needs at least to ask whether he might have travelled at some other date, possibly between mid-1862 and late 1864. For this period, no diaries exist. This could reflect special caution shown by a traveller who was well aware of the danger that such a journey posed for non-Muslims, lest their identity be discovered. After all, von Maltzan is the author of a number of publications which found a positive echo in his own time, as well as the contributor to serious geographical publications. Thus, he cannot be dismissed as a kind of Karl May in the genre of non-fiction.[18] So who was our author, and is there other evidence pointing to the likelihood of him truly having performed the Hajj?

Heinrich Freiherr von Maltzan was born in 1826 in Dresden, spent part of his childhood in Britain, part with his rather eccentric father in Germany. He then studied law, possibly also archeology and Oriental languages in Munich, Heidelberg, and Erlangen from 1846–1852.[19] The death of his father provided him with considerable financial means which relieved him of the necessity to follow a gainful pursuit.[20] In 1852, he began to travel and is credited with authoring "attractive reports" about his exploits.[21] The only one of these which cannot be linked to verifiable experiences—irrespective of the question to what extent these were embellished with Orientalist imaginings and information gleaned elsewhere—is indeed the *Pilgrimage*. Interestingly, it is praised by a late nineteenth-century biographer as a particularly interesting and learned work, whereas the Arabist Johann Fück (1894–1974), writing in the mid-1950s,

18 Karl May (1842–1912) was a successful German author of novels set mostly in the US and the Orient.

19 On his study of Oriental languages, see Friedrich Ratzel, "Maltzan, Heinrich Karl Eckard Helmuth von," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 20 (1884): 153–154. http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118932160.html?anchor=adb; on archeology, see Maltza(h)nscher Familienverein, *Die Maltza(h)n 1194–1945. Der Lebensweg einer ostdeutschen Adelsfamilie* (Köln: 1979), 260.

20 Friedrich Embacher, *Lexikon der Reisen und Entdeckungen* (Amsterdam: Meridian, 1961, reprint of 1882 ed.), 198; according to *Die Maltza(h)n 1194–1945. Der Lebensweg einer ostdeutschen Adelsfamilie* (Köln 1979), 60, the wealth came from his mother's side.

21 Franz Brümmer, *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*, 6th ed., vol. 4, 354.

bases his rather unenthusiastic comment on Snouck Hurgronje's observation that von Maltzan's travelogue contained no new information but numerous imprecisions and "demonstrable lies."[22] However, neither of them voiced any doubts regarding the historicity of the voyage itself.

The only one who does so to the best of my knowledge is a certain Muthanna al-Kurtass, a Saudi author (and German-trained former ship captain).[23] In his *Mecca and the Baron, Faith and Me*, he recounts how he read the book and took it to be comedy. When reading the foreword, he "was astonished to learn that it was not intended as humor."[24] Driven by an impulse to correct the wrong image of Muslims and Arabs widespread in Europe, the author strives to correct the views projected by von Maltzan, whom al-Kurtass takes to be "one of the greatest scholars on Islam in the nineteenth century."[25] While he does talk about von Maltzan's "alleged journey,"[26] al-Kurtass' book mostly resembles the yarn spun by sailors and thus does not attempt any systematic discussion of von Maltzan's journey.

A detailed analysis of von Maltzan's other travel reports and a comparison with his diaries would be beyond the scope of this article and constitutes a research project in its own right. However, and regardless of their accuracy or otherwise, the other journeys are all based on some first-hand experience of his. Thus, his *Reise nach Südarabien* contains detailed material about the trade of Jeddah, which he claims to have gleaned from a report of an Austrian named Rolph to the Austrian Ministry of Trade.[27] While I have not been able to locate this report yet, a closer look at the Austrian archives might reveal both its existence as well as tell us more about Rolph. Since von Maltzan mentions Rolph's connections to the customs officials of Jeddah as well as his knowledge of trade, he might have been connected to the Austrian Lloyd whose boats were regularly serving the port of Jeddah at the time.[28]

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22 Ratzel, "Maltzan"; Christian Snouck Hurgronje, "Über eine Reise nach Mekka," *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 3: *Geschriften betreffende Arabie en Turkije* (Bonn etc.: 1923), 48–63, here 48, fn. 1; Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz 1955), 197, note 501.

23 Muthanna al-Kurnass, *Mecca and the Baron, Faith and Me* (Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2010), e-book edition, chapter 2, with a brief biographical account. He is also the author of *Sabir the Egyptian* (Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2010), e-book edition.

24 Al-Kurnass, *Mecca and the Baron*, ch. 1.

25 Al-Kurnass, *Mecca and the Baron*, ch. 1. Al-Kurtass presumably quotes here from the foreword of an edition which I have not seen.

26 Al-Kurnass, *Mecca and the Baron*, ch. 17.

27 von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, 80–87.

28 von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, 44.

The fact that the French consul was asked to and accepted to act on behalf of Lloyd in October 1870 and January 1871, respectively (i.e. before and after von Maltzan's visit) might indicate that Lloyd usually had its own representatives.[29]

At any rate, von Maltzan correctly names the governor (qā'im maqām) of Jeddah as Nūrī Pāshā. He comments on the major improvements in the city after the activities of the International Sanitary Commission.[30] Indeed, Nūrī Pāshā is praised in the consular archives for his works to improve sanitary conditions.[31] More curious is von Maltzan's rather drastic comparison of the presently rather pleasant city with "the dirty, revolting pandemonium" of ten years earlier. This is not necessarily the impression one gets from reading his extensive description of the city in the *Wallfahrt*.[32]

Von Maltzan also mentions that during his visit, an Armenian acted as British consul. This was probably a certain Sourian mentioned in the British consular documents.[33] In other words, this second Arabian journey seems to be authentic, even if not all details might be based on von Maltzan's own experiences and observations.

Similarly, von Maltzan's *Drei Jahre im Nordwesten von Afrika*[34] is based on his travels to and in Northwest Africa which can be confirmed in the diaries. He himself acknowledges that it was a series of individual journeys, rather than a solid stay of three years, which forms the basis of the information presented in the volumes. Thus, regardless of the information given therein, the volumes fall into the traditional category of geographical travel narratives. The second edition constitutes an update, following not only the popular demand for a

29 Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (MAE), Centre d'Archives de Nantes (CADN), Documents du Consulat Djeddah, Correspondence Générale, 2_MI_3228, Dubreuil (vice-consul) to MAE, Direction des Consulats, Constantinople, October 22, 1870, January 14 and June 2, 1871.

30 von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, 46 f.

31 MAE, CADN, Documents du Consulat Djeddah, Correspondence Générale, 2_MI_3228, Dubreuil (vice-consul) to MAE, Direction des Consulats, Constantinople, March 6, 1869.

32 von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, 46.

33 von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, 52 f., and also his description of improvements tallies with French consular reports, c.f. MAE, CADN, 2_MI_3228, Dubreuil to MAE, November 23,1869 and *passim*; Public Record Office, Foreign Office 195, where P. Sourian is mentioned as Acting Consul from January 1870.

34 von Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im Nordwesten von Afrika* (Leipzig: Dürr, 1863; 2nd ed. Leipzig; 1868), Introduction, p. III (verified in 1st ed.).

map but also taking into consideration the need for updated information in the absence of traditional guidebooks such as *"Baedeker."*[35]

In addition to his travel writing, von Maltzan published poetry and literary prose on some of his journeys.[36] After 1865, we also find journalistic contributions by him about his journeys. His diaries contain hints at financial problems as well as an at times seemingly hypochondriac concern with his health.[37] At any rate, he seems to have suffered some serious physical or psycholocgical problems, because, in 1874, he committed suicide in Pisa.

Clues Given by the Author?
Von Maltzan on Invented Travel Reports

The state of the diaries and their gaps do not allow a firm exclusion of a journey to Mecca at some time other than the one mentioned by him. Furthermore, attempts to find correspondence with his publisher about this book have been unsuccessful. Hence, a close reading of the text remains at present the only route towards ascertaining or falsifying the suspicion of an invented travelogue.[38] As a matter of fact, the author himself, in his 1873 edition of Adolph von Wrede's *Journey in Ḥadhramaut*, gives us an interesting account of why von Wrede's account was unlikely to have been invented.[39] Apart from an inscription which von Wrede had brought back, and a likely corroboration of his presence by other travellers, von Maltzan points to the geographically detailed nature of the descriptions. He grants that travel accounts can be wholly fabricated, adding that such texts tend to dwell on "wide-ranging, often novel-like accounts of detail." Let me quote him in some detail: They "thus achieve the end of producing a thick volume without compromising themselves, i.e. without giving geographical data the falsity of which might be proven all too early by the discovery of a true traveler."[40]

Certainly, von Maltzan himself did not risk too much in his own descriptions, given in particular the detailed nature notably of Burckhardt's account which he could use as a sound basis. Interestingly, he criticises his predecessor harshly

35 Maltzan, *Drei Jahre*, IV.

36 Heinrich von Maltzan, *Pilgermuscheln. Gedichte eines Touristen* (Leipzig: Dürr, 1863); and Heinrich von Maltzan, *Das Grab der Christin* (Leipzig: Dürr, 1865).

37 von Maltzan, *Diary*, vol. 2.

38 I would like to thank Constanze Fertig for suggesting this and contacting Deutsche Nationalbibliothek with this enquiry.

39 Heinrich von Maltzan and Adolph von Wrede, *Adolph von Wrede's Reise in Ḥadhramaut, Beled Beny 'Issà und Beled al Hadschar* (Braunschweig: F. Vieweg und Sohn, 1873), 1–9.

40 von Maltzan and von Wrede, *Adolph von Wrede's Reise*, 5 f.

("God knows where he picked up this nonsense") and claims superior knowledge, not least from Oriental writings, for example when it comes to the history of the Kaʿba.[41] It is quite difficult to closely compare von Maltzan's narrative with that of earlier travellers such as Carsten Niebuhr, Johann Burckhardt, or Richard Burton, as each emphasised different aspects in their descriptions. In addition, von Maltzan was able to consult a wide range of Arabic language accounts which he might have found in libraries in Germany or, indeed, in North Africa. Hence, a comparison does not yield any conclusive evidence regarding the authenticity of von Maltzan's descriptions.

However, it is quite remarkable how much space von Maltzan devotes to considerations and supposed observations on household and sexual life as well as the general customs of the Meccans, much of which cannot be verified independently.[42] Similarly, it is striking how different his quite sober and fact-oriented second account of the stay in Jeddah is from the first, which contains lengthy reflections on crazy Sufis, sexual deviation, alcohol consumption and many other phenomena, often with exaggerations which arouse suspicion. Could it be that his musings on the veracity of von Wrede's account reflect his own insights from the time when he was composing his *Pilgrimage*? After all, he could have mixed and matched his own observations (of travelling on the Nile, which he did in December and January 1853/54), the extant travel literature on Egypt and the Ḥijāz, and his own vivid imagination.

There might have been yet another source, or rather sources, for his account, which could also explain why the identity of a Maghrebinian served him so well. When in Algiers from October 1861 to end of May 1862, von Maltzan took lessons in Qurʾānic Arabic and, through his teacher, met a *ḥājj* with whom he spent most evenings.[43] Although the diary only mentions this in connection with the dramatic improvement of his Arabic, actually giving some phrases and thus not at all alluding to discussions about pilgrimage, von Maltzan most likely gained insights into all sorts of aspects of life. This might have comprised details about the pilgrimage, given that he emphasises this aspect of his companion's identity.

A Curious Start and an Even More Curious Ending

Let us finally have a closer look at the initial and final reports which von Maltzan gives us of his Algerian interlocutor, who had helped him obtain an

41 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 2, 64 f.

42 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 2, chapters 14 to 17.

43 von Maltzan, *Diary*, vol. 2, entries Jan. to April 1862 and inner page of back cover.

identity and passport. According to his account, he had met ʿAbd al-Raḥmān at a "Thaleb(ʿs)" before. Presumably, he means that a fellow student (*ṭālib*) had introduced him. Thus, he could seek him out without arousing too much suspicion. He describes ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as a formerly somewhat wealthy individual who had become addicted to hashish[44] and thus spent his evenings on the edge of town in a basement coffeehouse. Von Maltzan allegedly offered him a sum sufficient to pay for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's absence from Algiers (so as not to arouse suspicion) and sufficient drug supply, which his interlocutor accepted gratefully.[45] The only problem with the deal was the different physique of the two men—von Maltzan being not only eleven years younger and blond, but also twenty centimeters taller than his *alter ego*.[46] He thus spends some time to describe his physical transformation, after all, the two men only had two similar features, according to our author.[47] In particular, von Maltzan claims that the borrowed pilgrim's passport described ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as "domestique", i.e. domestic servant, which he claims was somewhat difficult to swallow (after all, von Maltzan was a nobleman of independent—albeit apparently limited—means).[48]

Von Maltzan writes how his Meccan *muṭawwif* or pilgrims' guide spread the rumour of him being a disguised son of the Pasha of Algiers.[49] Among others, the *muṭawwif* is said to have informed a group of Algerians about this whilst von Maltzan visited a bathhouse after returning from ʿArafāt.[50] The Algerians thereupon critically scrutinised the supposed prince, tried in vain to engage him in a conversation and then held a whispered conversation. They discussed that the last Dey of Algiers had no sons and that they knew most wealthy Algerians. They hence concluded that von Maltzan was an impostor of sorts, and most likely a Westerner or potentially even a French spy. Our author claims to have overheard and understood, apparently quite in contrast to his *muṭawwif*. He thereupon made a rather hasty exit not just from the bath, but left Mecca for Jeddah as rapidly as possible. In this, he was aided by "this popular Oriental slowness" which led the Algerians to take their bath before pondering any potential denunciation.[51]

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44 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, p. 9, mentions "Kif (the African opium-like hemp)".

45 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, 8–12.

46 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, 13–14.

47 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, 15–16.

48 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 1, 16.

49 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 2, 116–117.

50 The following is based on the account in von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 2, 360–369.

51 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 2, 365.

While this story is not entirely unlikely—other travellers, including Snouck Hurgronje, were suspected of disguising as Muslims and had to leave the holy city head over heels—one wonders where von Maltzan had acquired such good Arabic that he could understand a whispered conversation in dialect. This is true for 1860—had he performed the journey in 1863 or 64, he could, of course, have made good use of his knowledge of Arabic (and presumably the dialect) acquired in 61–62. Even if the story of his hasty departure and the reasons therefore was invented, it might have been a device to add drama to his adventures and is no proof for the invention of the entire journey.

But what is one to make of the conclusion of the book? Von Maltzan recounts how he returned the passport to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Given that the journey was supposedly (and quite atypically) undertaken alone instead of with a group of compatriots, this was needed as proof of his ventures. Von Maltzan ends this episode by quoting a lengthy letter, supposedly written by "this old smoker of Kif who never quite left his drunk state" to our author.[52] It contains the ponderings of "Hadsch Abd-el-Rahman ben Mohamed" about the events.

Von Maltzan quotes ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as saying that he would have been most disturbed by the idea of lending an infidel the means to perform the pilgrimage. "However," the text continues, "I am far from assuming that I myself did not visit mountain ʿArafa and the Kaʿaba, and therefore I am tempted to believe that I am the true and you are the false pilgrim."[53] He continues by describing how he was high with hashish in Tunis, and there had a divine revelation. In it, he saw himself performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. "Since all reality is but an appearance and God's mercy (the high derived from smoking hashish) the only reality, it is undoubtable that I am the true pilgrim."[54] The signature was followed by two verses praising the use of hashish as a higher bliss than the salvation resulting from the pilgrimage.

It is most curious that von Maltzan ends his travelogue by playing on notions of reality and dream, drug-induced high and pilgrimage-induced salvation. Is it possible that he is mocking his reader, alluding to some of the lesser documented aspects of his sojourns in the Orient (namely the potential participation in hashish or opium sessions) and alluding to the possibility of an imaginary pilgrimage? Again, the text itself contains no decisive information to this end, but it is a singular end to a pilgrimage fraught with question marks.

52 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 2, 371, the letter is quoted 371–373.

53 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 2, 372.

54 von Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt*, vol. 2, 372.

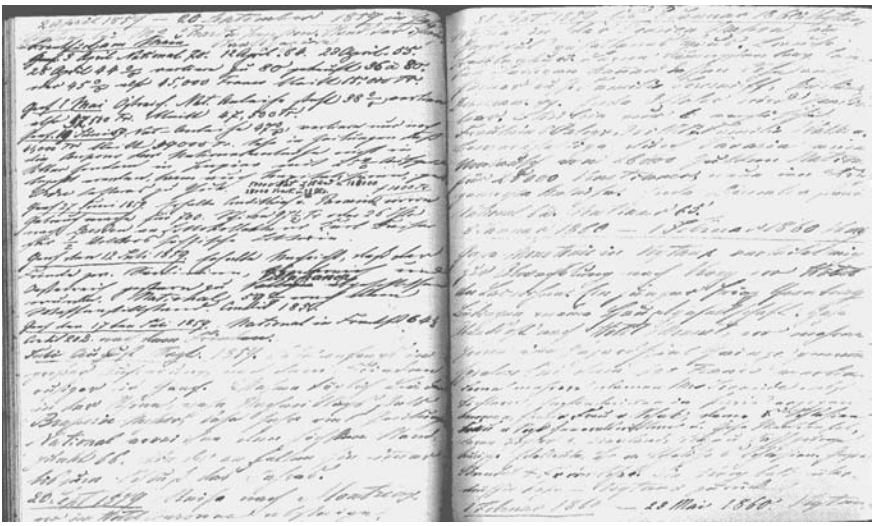

FIGURE 5.1 *Excerpt from von Maltzan's diary*

Conclusion

I hope to have shown that it is currently impossible to prove either the veracity or the invention of this particular voyage. Nevertheless, a close reading of the text in conjunction with the diaries raises serious doubts as to whether von Maltzan ever ventured to Jeddah and the Ḥijāz before 1870. Further research will need to compare very closely von Maltzan's text with earlier, confirmed travel reports, and will need to decipher all that remains legible of his diaries. In the long run, a solid biography of this restive but very productive author and fascinating individual would be a clear desideratum, adding to the analysis of Orientalist writers. In the meantime, however, any information contained in his *Wallfahrt* should be treated with utmost caution and, unless it can be corroborated by other sources, rather not be used as a source for Ḥijāzī history or ethnography.

TABLE 5.1 *Comparison of dates in travelogue and diary*

Dates	**Travelogue**	**Diary (vol. 2)**
December 1853	Alexandria, meeting Burton	Alexandria
early 1860	return from Moroco	8. Jan.–1. Feb. 1860 Vevey
1. Feb.–23 May 1860		Veytaux
April 1860	Boat Malta to Alexandria	
12 April 1860	steamer to Alexandria, then Cairo	
23 April 1860	boat to Qena	
10 May 1876 (18.10.1276 = 9.5.1876?)	arrival Qena, per caravan to Quṣayr	
20 May 1860	arrival Quṣayr	
23 May 1860		travel to Luzern, there until 8 July 1860
30 May 1860	arrival Yanbūʿ	
8 June 1860	arrival Jeddah	
12–13 June 1860		climbing Mt Pilatus
18 June 1860		Nice
25 June 1860	departure for Mecca	
26–27 June 1860		travels in Switzerland
29 June 1860	flight from Mecca	
30 June 1860	boards English ship via Aden to Bombay (no further travel dates)	
8 July–5 Aug. 1860		??? (illegible entry)
24 July 1860		visits Küssnacht
8 Aug.–20 Oct. 1860		Luzern
24 Oct. 1860–2 Feb. 1861		Nizza
26 Nov. 1860	date of letter to von Maltzan by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	
mid-Oct. 1861–June 1862		Algiers

CHAPTER 6

Polish Connections to the Hajj between Mystical Experience, Imaginary Travelogues, and Actual Reality

Bogusław R. Zagórski

The main purpose of this chapter is to present the legend of a mystical travel to Mecca as was preserved in the (mainly oral) tradition of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars and another literary text on the Hajj from the nineteenth century. The first travel is associated with a local holy man, a simple countryside dweller, who through his exceptional piety achieved the faculty of translocating in his body to Mecca where he eventually met his fellow countryman to the latter's great surprise and amazement. The second travel is meant as a non-fiction imaginary travel report by Ignacy Żagiell, which appeared in 1884 (and reprinted in 2012). His imaginary travel story gained a certain notoriety and popularity in the history of Polish travel writing and in Polish literature in general. However, a closer examination of the text and of the alleged circumstances reveals the fictitious character of that report.

Both accounts testify to a wide interest in Poland in the nineteenth century, extending also to non-Muslims, in Islamic culture and traditions. It should be borne in mind that Poland was a vast country, but at that time without sovereignty, having fallen since 1795 under the Prussian, Austrian (subsequently—Austro-Hungarian), and Russian empires. The Russian territories included the areas of pre-partition Poland which hosted a permanent Muslim sedentary population.

Polish Muslims (so-called Polish or Lithuanian Tatars, also Belarussian Tatars, sometimes Polish-Lithuanian Tatars or Lithuanian-Polish Tatars, as well as Lipka or Lipka Tatars) lived since the 14th century in a region with a multiethnic conglomerate of peoples, who witnessed changing political status several times, resulting in uprisings, wars, ethnic cleansings, mass murders, political repressions, and resettlements.[1] Villages and towns were burnt and ruined.

1 On the history of Islam in Poland see, for example, Harry T. Norris, *Islam in the Baltic: Europe's Early Muslim Community* (London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), Piotr Borawski, *Tatarzy w dawnejRzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1986), Piotr Borawski

Poland, or a Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in historical times, was an asylum and a homeland for local Muslims during a period of more than 600 years, which was a unique situation in Europe. Nowadays Muslims in Poland are mostly of Tatar origins, recent migrants from Arab and other Muslim countries, as well as native converts.[2]

The two relations need to be put, however, in a wider historical context of actual travels to Mecca from the Polish lands.

Risale-i Tatar-I Leh—The Only Remnant of an Old Tradition?

As for the Polish connection to the Hajj, we do not have any direct evidence indicating the travel of Tatar Muslims to Mecca in pre-modern times. However, there is a unique remaining text connected to the Hajj, a somewhat mysterious Ottoman document under the title *Risāleh-iTātār-ı Leh* (An Account of the Polish Tatars). It refers to a hajj journey by three unnamed Polish Tatars who travelled to Mecca in 1558. On their way, they passed through Istanbul in order to pay their tribute to Sultan Süleyman I (1494–1566), as the Commander of the Faithful. During their stay in Istanbul, they were asked by the Grand Vizier, Rüstem Paşa (d. 1561), to write an account of the history and status of Muslims in the Polish-Lithuanian regions. With the help of some local writers, they composed this Ottoman text, which was only published three hundred years later by the Polish Orientalist Antoni Muchliński (1808–1877).[3] A debate over its originality ensued, which possibly could be resolved through direct examination of the original manuscript, but its present whereabouts remain unknown.[4]

A terminological dilemma arose, among others, in respect of a name applied to the ethnic group, the subject of the account. The Ottoman text was citing Tatar-ıLeh, the Polish Tatars, in the same way as it was common in other Otto-

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and Aleksander Dubiński, *Tatarzy polscy. Dzieje, obrzędy, legendy, tradycje* (Warszawa: Iskry, 1986), Jan Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce. Studia z dziejów XIII–XVIII w.* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1989), Jan Tyszkiewicz, *Z historii Tatarów polskich 1794–1944* (Pułtusk: Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna, 2002), Ali Miśkiewicz, *Tatarzy polscy 1918–1939. Życie społeczno-kulturalne i religijne* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990).

2 See KatarzynaGórak-Sosnowska, ed., *Muslims in Poland and Eastern Europe: Widening the European Discourse on Islam* (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, Faculty of Oriental Studies, 2011).

3 Antoni Muchliński (ed.), *Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich przez jednego z tych Tatarów złożone sułtanowi Sulejmanowi w r. 1558: Risale-i Tatarı Leh* (Wilno, 1858).

4 Krzysztof Grygajtis, "Obraz Tatarszczyzny litewskiej na dworze tureckim w połowie XVI wieku," *Studia z dziejów nowożytnych* (Wrocław 1988), 25–40.

FIGURE 6.1 Risale-i Tatar-ı Leh, *in Ottoman Turkish and in Polish*
NATIONAL LIBRARY (BIBLIOTEKA NARODOWA), WARSAW

man writings to say: Memalik-iLeh, for the Polish Domains (State), Kral-ıLeh, the Polish King, etc. Leh, Polish, or Lehistan, Poland, were not connected with that kind of modern understanding of nationality as we perceive it today. In the Ottomans' eyes Lithuania at that time was just a constituent part of a greater polity called Poland *in toto*. Furthermore, even if in Turkish the name for that group was Tatar-ıLeh, in Polish it was expressed as Tatarzylitewscy–Lithuanian Tatars, because that was the term in common use in Polish. And precisely that name was used by Muchliński in his publication. To be precise, it did not refer to Lithuanian ethnicity and language, but to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a wide geographical and political expanse, in which ethnic Lithuanians, historical givers of the name, constituted only a tiny minority.

A new approach to the question of the document published by Muchliński is presented by Michael Połczyński in his freshly appearing work.[5] Treating the

5 Michael Połczyński, "Seljuks on the Baltic: Polish-Lithuanian Muslim Pilgrims in the Court of Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I," *Journal of Early Modern History* 19 (2015): 1–29.

Risale-i Tatar-ıLeh as an authentic source from the past, the author develops his own contextual ideas about historical events presented in the text and about circumstances in which the document was produced. The Hajj is however not the core subject of the treatise.

Tenuous Indications

In addition to the above-mentioned early travel, a small Belorussian-Polish manuscript preserved in the National Library of Lithuania in Vilnius (produced locally, probably in the seventeenth or eighteenth century) contains a peculiar combination of texts noted in Arabic script.[6] It is a concise travelogue which includes description of a route from Lithuania to Istanbul, together with a travel conversation handbook in Belarussian-Polish, Turkish, and Romanian. Most probably it could be made for the use of wandering Tatar merchants in the region. However, it might have also been a practical guidebook for potential pilgrims. If this last assumption were true, we might suggest that Muslims from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania went on Hajj in the pre-modern and early modern periods.[7] Some authors, basing their arguments on fragmentary and equivocal evidence, advance an idea that in the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth century, a few Muslim Tatars from Poland could have really performed the Hajj.[8]

In this context, the mystical travel to Mecca that exists in the local Tatar tradition may constitute evidence of a longing for and a strong mental striving towards the accomplishment of the Hajj, that was not technically possible (or at least extremely difficult) in the past and which in a way was transferred from reality to a cherished dream, founding its realization in popular beliefs. The story has long existed in oral transmission, how long—we cannot say, but it was first registered in the nineteenth century.

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6 Tadeusz Majda, "Turkish-Byelorussian-Polish Handbook," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XLIX, No. 2 (1994): 139–158.

7 For possible Polish pilgrims to Mecca, see Agnieszka Bakalarz, *Polaków odkrywanie Arabii Saudyjskiej*. (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005); Marek M. Dziekan, *Polacy a świat arabski. Słownik biograficzny*. (Gdańsk: Niezależne Wydawnictwo "Rocznik Tatarów Polskich," 1998), Jerzy S. Łątka, *Słownik Polaków w Imperium Osmańskim i Republice Turcji* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), and Jan Reychman, *Podróżnicy polscy na Bliskim Wschodzie w XIX w*. (Warszawa: "Wiedza Powszechna," 1972).

8 Agnieszka Bakalarz, *Polaków odkrywanie Arabii Saudyjskiej* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), 40–42.

The Story of Kontuś

This folkloric oral story, in itself full of diverging and parallel information, is quite widespread as an element of Polish Orientality and is repeated in various versions in almost all existing monographs on the Polish Tatars.[9] The motive line starts with the Polish king Stefan Batory (originally a Transilvanian prince, in Hungarian: Báthory István, 1533–1586) who was once hunting in the vicinity of Nowogródek, what was then in Eastern Poland, on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (at present that area belongs to Belarus). The king's Muslim Tatar gamekeeper (*łowczy* in Polish) was charmed with the land in which they were hunting; and in reward for his outstanding services he was given that land by the king. The new landlord established there a village named after his function Łowczyce, which later carried a new family name Łowczycki originating from that toponym.

An existing mosque in the village is dated either from 1558 or 1688, and in the neighboring Muslim cemetery (*mizar*) there is a much venerated tomb, allegedly containing the earthly remains of Ewlija Kontuś (or Kontej, or Kuntuś). Kontuś during his lifetime was a poor and outstandingly pious boy, working for the Łowczycki family as a shepherd.

Łowczycki was in trouble. His only daughter under the influence of Jesuit Fathers converted to Christianity and married, against the will of her father, a Christian nobleman. The landlord, in expiation for his daughter's sinful conduct, decided to ask God's mercy at the Islamic Holy City of Mecca. He sold a part of his land properties in order to perform the Hajj. When he was in Mecca, his funds became exhausted and Łowczycki did not know how to return to his home and family. He started praying in al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, supplicating God for help (another version says it was at the tomb of the Prophet, who is in fact buried in Medina, but that information among the Tatars was often mistaken).[10] Somebody overheard his humble prayers, approached and said:

9 No handwritten copy of this story has been found in the so far explored collections of manuscripts originating from the circles of the Polish (Lithuanian, Belarussian) Tatars. The story of Kontuś presented here was established after versions cited in: Aleksander Dubiński, "Une légende des Tatars de Pologne." In *Quand le crible était dans la paille: hommage à Pertev Naili Boratav*, ed. by Rémy Dor and Michèle Nicolas (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1978), 169–175, and Piotr Borawski and Aleksander Dubiński, *Tatarzy polscy. Dzieje, obrzędy, legendy, tradycje* (Warszawa: Iskry, 1986); also see Agnieszka Bakalarz, *Polaków odkrywanie Arabii Saudyjskiej*. (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), 36–37.

10 The question where exactly the tomb of Muḥammad was placed was not only mistaken

FIGURE 6.2 *The mosque in Łowczyce (Western Belarus), homeland of Kontuś*
MARIUSZ PROSKIEŃ

"There is your home country fellowman praying at the tomb of the Prophet nearby who arrives here every day. Meet him and ask him for help." To his great amazement Łowczycki discovered there his own poor herdsman Kontuś. Kontuś promised Łowczycki to offer his help on the condition of not telling anyone how they met and not revealing the secret of their travel home to anybody until death. Then he hugged him, asked him to close his eyes and in a moment they were both back in their village. Another version says that it was an angel who carried the two men to Łowczyce. Also there is a divergence on the way of how Kontuś travelled: it was either in a dream or in reality.

Łowczycki did not keep the secret and told the miraculous story to his importunate wife, what could appear dangerous to Kontuś' life and terminate it, but he survived somehow. Another version says that Łowczycki kept his

by the Tatars. Erroneous localization of that tomb in Mecca was repeatedly appearing in various European relations of the Islamic Holy Places, for example, see F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 80–81.

FIGURE 6.3
The grave of Kontuś in the Muslim cemetery of Łowczyce
ARTEM ABLOZHEI

secret and Kontuś lived on for many years. All versions underline the good treatment Łowczycki reserved to his herdsman until the end of his days.

When Kontuś died after his long life in a modest barn, it is asserted that a "heavenly light" appeared over it. When he was buried, his grave never collapsed and always looks fresh, and two giant oak trees are protecting its head side. The healing properties of the grave gained wide notoriety. Many faithful people, even from far away locations, make pilgrimage to that last abode of Kontuś' earthly remains, seeking protection and benediction.[11]

The legend of EwlijaKontuś, with a little enigma of his unusual name (most likely of Turkic origin; several etymological explanations were proposed, none of them seemingly conclusive), is perhaps reminiscent of the Fufi holy men enjoying widespread cult popularity among Eastern European Muslims. They

11 Ryszard Vorbrich, "Pielgrzymka do grobu św. Ewliji Konteja (Kontusia) w kontekście globalnym i lokalnym," in *Tatarzy—historia i kultura. Sesja naukowa, Szreniawa, 26–27 czerwca 2009*, edited by Selim Chazbijewicz (Szreniawa: Muzeum Narodowe Rolnictwa i Przemysłu Rolno-Spożywczego w Szreniawie, 2009), 20–25.

were mentioned, among others, by such well reputed travelers as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1368/9) and Evliya Çelebi (1611–1682). Some researchers advance a hypothesis that an archetype for this could possibly be Sarı Saltık (Baba or Dede) himself, a semi-legendary Turkish dervish of the thirteenth century, especially venerated by the Bektashis.[12]

The First Polish Visitors to Mecca?

If the legend of Kontuś is rooted in the history of the 16th century, one century later we find a more concrete document which is a description of the Islamic religion, its tenets, rituals and observations, including the pilgrimage to Mecca and details of the two Holy Cities, by a Polish author Wojciech Bobowski (ca. 1610–1675). His relation was published posthumously by Thomas Hyde in Oxford in Latin (under the author's Latinized name Albertus Bobovius) in 1690.[13] As a young boy Bobowski was captured by the Crimean Tatars and sold to Istanbul, where he embraced Islam and, as a very clever student, received careful education. He was sent to Egypt where he eventually gained his personal freedom and came to be known under the name of Ali Ufki Bey. Later, being a connoisseur of 18 languages, he became the first dragoman (tercüman paşa) of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet (Muḥammad) IV. As a Muslim, Bobowski performed the Hajj and his detailed relation may be justly considered the first genuinely Polish description of Mecca and Medina.

Two other Polish converts to Islam, unnamed, met a Franciscan father from the Netherlands, Antonio Gonzales (1604–1683) in Egypt. They were, similarly to Bobowski, in their young age sold to Istanbul by the Crimean Tatars who captured them in one of the razzias to Poland. They grew up and then settled

12 Harry T. Norris, "Ibn Battuta on Muslims and Christians in the Crimean Peninsula," in *Iran and the Caucasus*, Vol. 8.1 (Leiden-Boston: E.J. Brill, 2004), 7–14, Harry T. Norris, *Popular Sufism in Eastern Europe: Sufi brotherhoods and the dialogue with Christianity and 'Heterodoxy'* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), Selim Chazbijewicz, "Elementy sufizmu w tradycji I obrzędowości Tatarów polskich," in *Tatarzy—historia I kultura. Sesja naukowa, Szreniawa, 26–27 czerwca 2009*, ed. by Selim Chazbijewicz (Szreniawa: Muzeum Narodowe Rolnictwa i Przemysłu Rolno-Spożywczego w Szreniawie, 2009), 11–19.

13 Wojciech Bobowski, *Tractatus Alberti Bobovii Turcarum imp. Mohammedis IVti olim interpretis primarii de Turcarum liturgia, peregrinatione Meccana, circumcisione, aegrotorum visitatione etc.* [...] Edited by Thomas Hyde (Oxonii: e theatro Sheldoniano, 1690), and Agnieszka Bakalarz, *Polaków odkrywanie Arabii Saudyjskiej*. (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), 57–63.

for good in Egypt. Their exploits, 10 or 12 visits to Medina, apparently for commerce, are only known from the words of Father Gonzales.[14]

The descriptions they gave of the Islamic Holy Places are very realistic and deprived of fantastic elements customarily present in second- and third-hand stories of Arabia, widespread in Europe at that time.[15]

The Story of Ignacy Żagiell

The other imaginary travel story after the legend of Kontuś emerged in a non-Muslim cultural environment of the same geographical area, where original Oriental-type traditions intermingled with a Christian Orthodox substratum and Polish predominant majority influences. This genre belongs to the so-called Polish "orientalność" or "Orientality" which was equivalent to "orientalizm" or "Orientalism" as a cultural fashion coming from Western Europe.[16] In this context I would like to place the imaginary travel by Ignacy Żagiell (1826–1891), a Polish ophthalmologist with a peculiarly colorful biography.[17] Although the text was thought for a long time to be a real travelogue, in what follows I shall argue that it was an imaginary and fictional piece of work.

The main problem is that we are not always sure which part of Żagiell's life adventures was a reality and which constituted an allegation or an overt mystification (like his princely title appearing on the title page of his book). Almost everything in his biography needs research and verification.[18]

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14 Krzysztof Kościelniak, "Grób Mahometa według relacji Polaków uprowadzonych do Egiptu w opisie franciszkanina Antoniego Gonzalesa z 1673 roku." [The Grave of Muḥammad according to the accounts by two Poles kidnapped to Egypt, as described by a Franciscan Antoni Gonzales in the year 1673.], in *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, nr 1–2 (212–213) 2005, 79–85, and Agnieszka Bakalarz, *Polaków odkrywanie Arabii Saudyjskiej* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), 57–63.

15 See below, the legend of the Muḥammad's sarcophagus, hanging in the air.

16 Bogusław R. Zagórski, "Orientalizm lub orientalność polskiej wspólnoty etnicznej i politycznej w aspekcie europejskim," in *Rzeczpospolita wielokulturowa—dobrodziejstwo czy obciążenie?* ed. by Jerzy Kłoczowski (Warszawa: Collegium Civitas and Polski Komitet do Spraw UNESCO, 2009), 37–50.

17 Ignacy Żagiell, *Podróż historyczna po Abissynii, Adel, Szoa, Nubii, u źródeł Nilu, z opisaniem jego wodospadów, oraz po krajach podrównikowych, do Mekki i Medyny, Syryi i Palestyny, Konstantynopolu i po Archipelagu, przez D-ra Ig. Księcia Żagiella ... z dodaniem małego słowniczka najużywańszych wyrazów arabskich* (Wilno: Nakładem autora, Drukiem Józefa Zawadzkiego, 1884).

18 Janusz Tazbir, "Wawrzeniecki i Żagiell jako twórcy falsyfikatów," in *Nauka*, 3 (2006), 45–

Żagiell was born near the city of Wilno (Lithuanian: Vilnius), the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, at that time occupied by the Russian Empire. In 1850 he graduated from the Faculty of Medicine in Kiev (today Kyiv, the capital city of Ukraine), and later also studied at the Sorbonne in Paris and in Oxford. In 1859 he entered the British colonial service in India, but did not stay there long and moved to Egypt, where he worked for Ḥalīm Pasha, a son of Muḥammad (Mehmet) ʿAlī Pasha of Egypt, and a younger brother of Saʿīd Pasha, the viceroy of Egypt.

In his capacity as a court physician Żagiell accompanied prince Ḥalīm Pasha on an expedition to Ethiopia and the Sudan, during which the prince decided to make a little detour and to perform the Hajj.[19] The expedition started from Cairo reaching Suez on October 25, 1863. There the members of the expedition carried out historical and natural investigations until they boarded a ship called *el-Masr* (referring to Cairo in Arabic) on November 20.[20]

On April 1, 1864, the expedition arrived at Jambo [Yanbuʿ] where they decided to stay and rest for several days. This date is very important for two reasons. Firstly, it is unclear why the travel between Suez and Yanbuʿ, even with several stops on the way, could last that long—over 4 months—in geographical areas where there is obviously not so much to see. Secondly, April 1 of that year coincided with Shawwāl 23, 1280, five weeks ahead of the beginning of the month of the Hajj.

After that, they finally reached Jeddah, the port city of Mecca, the latter lying at a distance of ca. 70 km to the east. Here Żagiell devoted a lively excursus to the description of the city, especially to its logistic and economic role in the movement of pilgrims coming to Mecca, and also of the Biblical Eve's tomb in the vicinity of the town. He informs us that Muslims, called *Rygial-el-Nebi* [Rijāl al-Nabī], are followers of Muḥammad, to whom also adhered the dervishes and *skakuns*(?), a sect of Jewish origin. On the other hand, Persians and numerous branches of other Muslims are followers of ʿAlī, the Prophet Muḥammad's son-in-law.[21]

53, Jan Reychman, *Podróżnicy polscy na Bliskim Wschodzie w XIX w.* (Warszawa: "Wiedza Powszechna," 1972), Marek M. Dziekan, *Polacy a świat arabski. Słownik biograficzny*, 98 (Gdańsk: Niezależne Wydawnictwo "Rocznik Tatarów Polskich," 1998), Jerzy S. Łątka, *Słownik Polaków w Imperium Osmańskim i Republice Turcji*, 368 (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005).

19 The relation of the travel from Cairo to Mecca and Medina and visits to the two Holy Cities of Islam occupies chapters I–III, on pp. 11–53, of Dr. Żagiell's book.

20 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 13.

21 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 17–19.

In Jeddah Ḥalīm Pasha invited Żagiell to accompany him on a pilgrimage to Mecca and, in order to facilitate that undertaking, to pretend to be a Muslim. Żagiell took a one-day lesson of Muslim prayers under the guidance of Ramis-Bey [Ramīz], the adjutant of the prince; Prince Ḥalīm was perfectly satisfied with his doctor's performance. Then they set out on the trip.[22]

The journey lasted two days and on the second day, at 4 p.m., the travelers arrived at the gate of Mecca named *Boab-el Nebi* (Bāb al-Nabī, the Gate of the Prophet). Canon fires greeted the prince, who, accompanied by the Grand Sharīf of Mecca and with his whole cortège, marched towards the great mosque, named *Dzami-el Nebi* (Jāmiʿ al-Nabī, Prophet's Mosque). They prayed one hour under the guidance of the Sharīf in that temple built of marble, all gilded and with a mosaic on the ceiling. After the prayers they proceeded to a meal served at the palace of the Grand Sharīf, where they had a dinner composed of 28 Arabian dishes, with accompaniment of Arabian music and chants.[23]

Another excursus is devoted to the explanation of the meaning of the Hajj for the Holy City of Mecca, including indications coming from the Islamic Holy Script named "*dzarniussahi*" [*al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*], and some general information about the Islamic rituals. Among others, Żagiell mentioned the preaching "*kilbet*" (*khuṭba*, probably contaminated here with *qibla*), pronounced in the mosque every Friday. One of the indications seemingly contained in the *khuṭba* is that every Muslim has an obligation *sine qua non* to "kill any unbeliever who would dare to present himself in or around Mecca within a diameter of 7 km."[24] After the long preaching the mullā stepped down from the elevation raised in the great mosque of the Prophet and washed himself in the well called *Zem-Zem*, in which he was followed by all his listeners.[25]

Żagiell maintained that it was customary that on the May 27, every year,[26] a caravan of pilgrims, called *szewal* [Shawwāl], would leave Cairo in the direction of Suez. It is a procession called *mahmil*, accompanying a chest with sumptuous gifts presented to Mecca by the sultan [of Turkey], the Shah of Persia, the Viceroy of Egypt, the Sultan of Morocco, the Bey of Tunis and other greater and smaller Muslim rulers of Bukhara, India etc. The chest contained two copies of

22 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 21–22.

23 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 25–26.

24 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 27–28.

25 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 29.

26 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 29. It is not true because the Hajj time, regulated by the Islamic *hijrī* calendar, is in a sort wandering around the universal calendar and each year it falls 10 days earlier.

the Qurʾān, a *kishwe* [kiswah] for covering the holy monument named *kaaba* [al-Kaʿba], presents for the Sharīf of Mecca, and belongings of the chief guide of the caravan, *mołła El-Hadży* [mullā al-ḥajj]. The mullā observed a rite of riding on his horse over the faithful who lay face down on the earth, tightly pressed one to another. The horse was a white purebred Arabian, walking with a soft step. However, if someone had had a limb or a rib broken on that occasion, this person would have been considered as sanctified.[27]

In Żagiell's understanding, all other Muslims, in imitation of the Prophet, are obliged to travel to Mecca on camelback. The pilgrims arriving in the Holy City would enter the Great Mosque, named *Ret-il-Atłah* (Bayt Allāh, the House of God), where they should immediately visit the Kaʿba. The Kaʿba stands in the middle of a sort of a chapel, 56 feet long, 48 wide and 80 high, in the style of beautiful Arabian architecture. It was built by Ismael, helped by Abraham and the Angel Gabriel. The latter, when the Prophet Muḥammad appeared, gave him the *Hadziar lasuad-eswit* [al-Ḥajar al-Aswad, the miraculous black stone]. The stone and the chapel around it are called the Kaʿba. With the very secret help of the *gafir* [ghafīr or guard] of the mosque, Żagiell could approach the Black Stone and examine it.[28]

Żagiell described the Great Mosque surrounding the Kaʿba as a square building with 19 *baabs* (bāb, gate) that are never closed to the faithful. On entering the temple, people find themselves in a giant hall with a ceiling supported by 412 columns of marble, alabaster and granite. In the center, under the ceiling, Żagiell stated, one can observe seven splendid domes, similar to St. Peter's Dome in Rome, with 180 beautiful, old, big Damascene lamps. The procession around the Kaʿba, repeated 7 times, stops in all 4 corners of the temple where the senior mullā, or the "priest," recites prayers and sings "psalms" repeated after him by all participants.[29]

Żagiell moved to the eighth day of the Hajj, named *zuldlicze* [Dhū al-Ḥijja], when pilgrims performed several rituals in the city's vicinity, after which they returned to the city and then immediately try to leave from there. Most of the pilgrims then proceeded to Medina to visit the Prophet's grave, who died and is buried there.[30]

While staying in Mecca, Żagiell continued, the visitors used to go every day at 10 a.m. to the Prophet's Mosque[31] where the Grand Sharīf celebrated the office.

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27 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 30.

28 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 32–33.

29 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 33, Żagiell reveals here a Christian perception of the Islamic ceremonies.

30 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 34.

31 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 35: *świątynia proroka*, or the *temple of the prophet*.; cf. note 8 above.

In the evening, Żagiell portrayed that they would spend time in the accompaniment of Arabian music and a ballet of Arabian and Syrian dancing girls.[32]

Pilgrims would later return to Jeddah and sail aboard a ship to Yanbuʿ in order to go overland again from there to Medina—it is much more convenient and safe than travelling from Mecca to Medina by land.[33] In Żagiell's description, the expedition left to Medina (called here *El Medinet-el-Nebi* [Madīnat al-Nabī], the City of the Prophet) and entered the city through the gate *Boab-el-Nebi* [Bāb al-Nabī]. After ceremonial greeting and honors given to the prince by the local garrison's commander, they directed themselves toward the great mosque, named *Dzami-el-Nebi-Muhammed* [Jāmiʿ al-Nabī Muḥammad].

There is in that mosque a sarcophagus of the Prophet which seemed to our author as if it were hanging in the air under a mosaic-covered ceiling. "Muslims think, and even are persuaded," he said, "that the coffin is supported in the air by the power of God." For Żagiell, it was either supported in the air by the power of God, or by two magnets, one below and one above the sarcophagus, as was related by another current version.[34] As a matter of fact, the legend of the Prophet's sarcophagus miraculously suspended in the air, unknown to Muslims, was a typical medieval European perception of the Prophet's tomb. Early European visitors to the Islamic Holy Places as well as their subsequent followers firmly denied the legend and wrote about a sarcophagus normally standing on the ground.[35] Żagiell's own personal observations, which he could make thanks to the services of an old warden of the mosque, indicated that the Muḥammad's hanging sarcophagus was supported under the ceiling by two brass chains which were fixed to a thick, gilded metal rod, imbedded in the ceiling itself.[36] From whom did he copy that information, it is hard to say.

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32 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 35; music, chants and dancing girls seem, in the eyes of Żagiell, a customary distraction enjoyed during social gatherings and meals in Arabia. Cf. also on that subject C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning: The Moslims of the East-Indian Archipelago*, 307, index: singing girls (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970).

33 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 38.

34 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 43.

35 See, for example, F.E. Peters, *Mecca: A Literary History of the Muslim Holy Land*, 300–301 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places*, 138–143 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), Krzysztof Kościelniak, "Grób Mahometa według relacji Polaków uprowadzonych do Egiptu w opisie franciszkanina Antoniego Gonzalesa z 1673 roku," *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, nr 1–2(212–213) (2005), 79–85, Agnieszka Bakalarz, *Polaków odkrywanie Arabii Saudyjskiej*. (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), 76.

36 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 45.

In the evening the cortège visited *kajmakan* (qā'im-maqām, the commander), in his palace and spent time enjoying music, food and drink, and conversation. During the event, one of the guests, an old Pasha, questioned who exactly the doctor was with his apparent European resemblance and "not looking like a dweller of the Orient." The doctor explained he was an Egyptian, and Prince Ḥalīm added they were old friends since their studies in Paris. A potentially dangerous incident was thus averted.[37]

On the next day, they took dejeuner with a rich merchant who treated them to 22 Arabian national dishes. There was no soup, but before the meal they drank a sort of anisette. After the meal, sorbets and coffee were served.[38]

When the cortège finally left Medina, Ramis-Bey complimented Żagiell on his performance, saying: "Congratulations, doctor, you splendidly played the role of a faithful Muslim. Today there is no more threat. I am so glad that my friend and my student successfully escaped with a whole skin from that abode of a wild fanaticism."[39]

This Hajj account must have made an impact on its Polish readers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with its description of this Muslim ritual. A closer reading of the text reveals that it was a composition of stereotypes and remnant medieval perceptions about the Hajj and the tomb of the Prophet. Factual observations are interwoven with figments of the author's imagination.

According to Żagiell himself, he spoke French, a standard among educated people at that time, and some Turkish because of his professional position among the Ottomans. But his lack of knowledge of Arabic—especially for someone claiming (although fictitiously and in a dramatic moment) an Egyptian descent—makes his account questionable. His citations of Arabic terms or geographical names are erroneously spelled, which indicate that he mostly depended on his readings on Islam and hearsay information. Although he spent a part of his life in Arabic-speaking countries, his knowledge of Arabic is not well demonstrated in the travel account. Moreover, a dictionary of over 1,000 "most frequently used" Arabic words with their Polish equivalents, inserted by Żagiell at the end of his book,[40] also testifies to his linguistic incompetence that is manifested in mixing literary and dialectal (mostly Egyptian) words, wrongly understood and interpreted expressions, and the addition

37 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 46–48.

38 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 52.

39 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 53.

40 Żagiell, *Podróż*, 349–258.

FIGURE 6.4 *The cover page of the travel book by Ignacy Żagiell*
AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

of words of non-Arabic origin. It is a curiosity in itself, a collection gathered from unknown sources.[41]

Żagiell's fictitious portrayal of Mecca and Medina may also testify that he never travelled there and that his narrative was merely a mixture of fallacies and basic common facts.[42] Therefore, the real importance of Żagiell's pilgrimage account would situate itself not in the informative values of his book, which may be contested, but in the extraordinary—for the Polish reading public—setting in which his alleged adventures take place.[43]

Multicultural Openness

Żagiell's narrative apparently belonged to this segment of Polish literary creation thst was meant to open new horizons to the Polish reading audience of such litrary genres and inscribed itself in romantic travel writing. On the other hand, it would give new impetus to global civilizational partnership, in which occupied Poland was so late, and when civilization still seemed to be a future blessing for humanity.[44]

Poles, escaping from under the oppression of three occupying powers, dispersed all around the world; and thanks to their sense of adaptability they were easily integrated in other milieus and situations.[45] Reports from their adventures, in most cases fragmentarily appearing in the local press,[46] were gladly

41 It is interesting to note that even if the most important part of the book is devoted to Ethiopia, there is no Ethiopian dictionary attached to it.

42 The Ethiopian content of the Żagiell's book was already studied, critically analyzed, and commented upon by Prof. Stanisław Chojnacki in "Dr. Żagiell's "Journey" to Abyssinia: a piece of Polish pseudo-Ethiopica," in *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 2/1 (1964): 25–32, reprinted in Polish as: "Podróż dr. Żagiella do Abisynii," in *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 4/56 (1965): 355–359. The conclusion of Chojnacki's verification and analyses was critical for Żagiell and his veracity, but this mystification—as Chojnacki openly calls it—lasted undisclosed almost 100 years when it was treated by readers as a true story.

43 Stanisław Burkot, *Polskie podróżopisarstwo romantyczne* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1988), 99.

44 Helena Zaworska, *Sztuka podróżowania. Poetyckie mity podróży* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1980), 41.

45 Marek M. Dziekan, *Polacy a świat arabski. Słownik biograficzny* (Gdańsk: Niezależne Wydawnictwo "Rocznik Tatarów Polskich," 1998). Jerzy S. Łątka, *Słownik Polaków w Imperium Osmańskim i Republice Turcji* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), Jan Reychman, *Podróżnicy polscy na Bliskim Wschodzie w XIX w*. Warszawa: "Wiedza Powszechna," 1972.

46 Apart of Żagiell's book, few other relations appeared in the 19th century in their com-

read in the home country where they brought a desired breath of fresh air and a feeling of free human space and open possibilities. For this reason, Żagiell's work probably belonged to this genre of describing unusual lands and cultures of Asia, Africa, Australia and the Americas.

During the time of Żagiell's publication, a new form of Polish Orientality and Orientalism appeared. In 1858, in Warsaw, which was together with Wilno under the same Russian occupation, a Polish translation of the Holy Qur'ān first appeared in print. It was attributed to a certain Polish Tatar named Jan Murza Tarak Buczacki, who allegedly prepared his translation directly from Arabic. The authorship of the translation was another mystery that lasted over 100 years and was only recently disclosed on the basis of a thorough analysis of newly found historical and literary evidence.[47] Such publications reinforced a common knowledge about the Polish Tatars, a tiny ethnographic group of strong patriotic feeling. Other works from the same period included a Polish translation of the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (1850)[48] by the American author Washington Irving (1783–1859).[49] In 1875 Ármin Vámbèry (1832–1913), a Hungarian Turcologist and traveler, published a book titled *Islam in the 19th Century*, which gained wide popularity in Europe thanks to its highly

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plete forms; see for example relations of travels to the Middle East by Edward Raczyński (1786–1845), an aristocrat, politician, lover of travels and protector of arts, founder of a great public library in the city of Poznań: *Dziennik podróży do Turcyi odbytey w roku 1814* (Wrocław: W.B. Korn, 1823), and by Maurycy Mann (1814–1876), writer, journalist and politician: *Podróż na Wschód*. T. 1–3 (Kraków: nakładem I czcionkami drukarni "Czasu," 1854–1855). Other exploits in the Orient, earlier known from fragmentary publications or just from a hearsay, were published in independent Poland, for example those by Władysław Jabłonowski (1841–1894), doctor of medicine, ethnographer, colonel and co-organizer of Ottoman sanitary services, author of *Pamiętniki z lat 1851–1893* (*wybór*), ed. by Józef Fijałek (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1967) and Zygmunt Miłkowski, alias Teodor Tomasz Jeż (1824–1915), émmigré politician, diplomat and prolific writer, author of *Od kolebki przez życie: wspomnienia*, T. 1–3, ed. by Adam Lewak (Kraków: Polska Akademja Umiejętności, 1936–1937).

47 The text was not translated from the original Arabic by a Tatar author, as it was claimed on the title page, but by a group of Polish literati from Wilno and was based (including footnotes) on the French translation by Claude-Étienne Savary (1750–1788); see Joanna Kulwicka-Kamińska, "Koran po polsku," *PAL Przegląd Artystyczno-Literacki*, nr 10 (1998), 15–29, and Czesław Łapicz, "Niezwykłe losy pierwszego drukowanego przekładu Koranu na język polski," *Studia Polonistyczne. Seria Językoznawcza*. T. 20, z. 2 (2013), 129–143.

48 Washington Irving, *Life of Mahomet* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1850, and Leipzig: Bernh. Tauchnitz jun., 1850).

49 Washington Irving, *Życie Mahometa* (Warszawa: Nakładem Aleksandra Nowoleckiego, 1858).

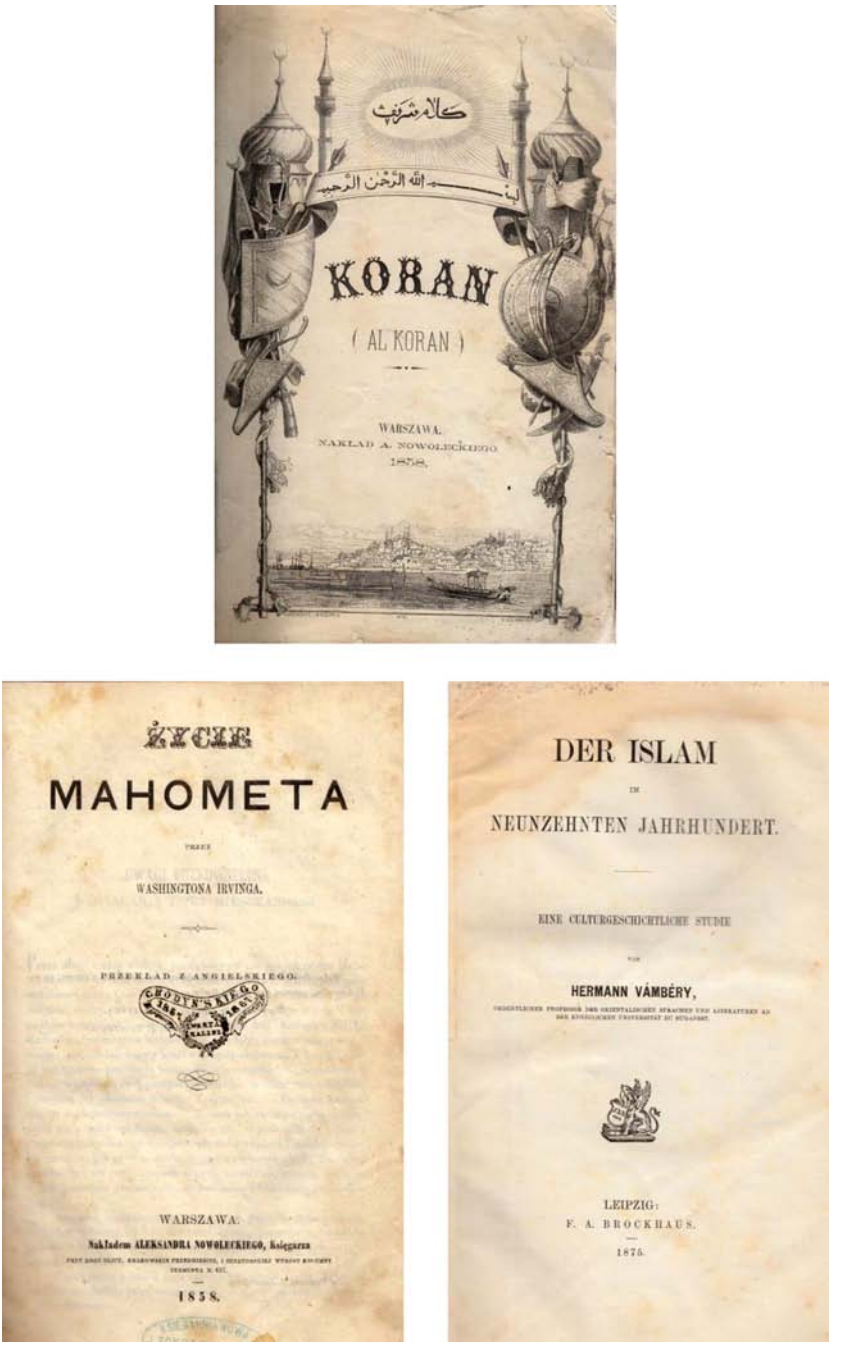

FIGURE 6.5 *Various Polish Translations of Islamic sources*
AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

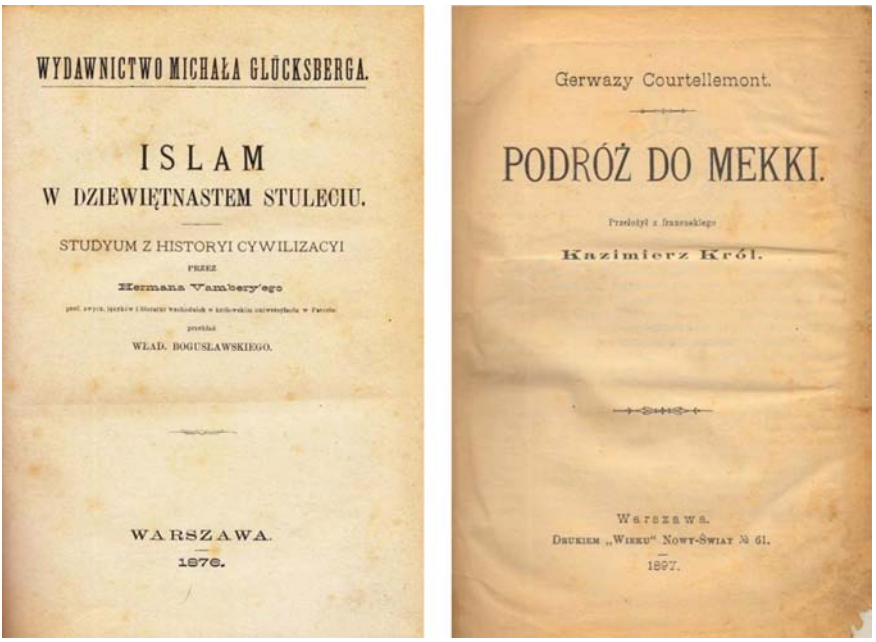

FIGURE 6.6 *Polish translations of Islamic sources*
AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

professional and popularizing value.[50] Only a year later the book was published in Poland.[51] Moreover Gervais-Courtellemont's Hajj travel[52] (see chapter 4) found its ways to Polish private libraries and a Polish (although abbreviated) translation was already printed in the next year.[53] These publications indicate certain demands of the local book market for publications on Islamic religion, history and culture, and even more widely disseminating and deeply imbibing in the common knowledge such notions as Arabia and Mecca.

Among the simple countryside population of Muslims living in Eastern Poland, and on the level of the educated reading strata of the Polish-language community, the effect of different (comparatively widely known although not

50 Ármin Vámbèry, *Der Islam in neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Eine culturgeschichtliche Studie* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1875).

51 Ármin Vámbèry, *Islam w dziewiętnastem stuleciu. Studium z historyi cywilizacyi* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Michała Glücksberga, 1876).

52 Jules-Claudin Gervais-Courtellemont, *Mon voyage à la Mecque* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et C^{ie}, 1896).

53 Jules-Claudin Gervais-Courtellemont, *Podróż do Mekki*, transl. from French by Kazimierz Król (Warszawa: Drukiem "Wieku," 1897).

numerous) Hajj relations was synchronous and created a positive synergy. It conjured up a feeling of multicultural togetherness and produced a certain state of mind which accepted the Polish-Middle Eastern relations as something natural and friendly, on a par and not in adversity.

In the 20th Century

The story of Polish Hajj does not end here; it has only just begun. In the twentieth century Leopold Weiss (1900–1992), a Polish Jew from the city of Lwów[54] who was a Muslim convert, made a remarkable account of his road to Islam and his Hajj under the newly adopted name of Muḥammad Asad.[55]

In 1913, a certain wealthy Tatar Aleksander Illasewicz from Kowno (today Kaunas in Lithuania) went on Hajj and apparently repeated the sad experience of Łowczycki. His money was stolen and he suffered heavily during the Hajj and on the way back home. During the trip he made notes on the margins of two handwritten prayer books which he was carrying with him all the time, indicating the dates of his movements and other activities and registering names of all significant persons he met. The manuscripts were lost during the war.[56]

In 1930, the first Polish Mufti, Dr. Jakub Szynkiewicz (1884–1966),[57] performed the Hajj to Mecca and left an important description of it. A few frag-

54 At that time, under the Austrian occupation, the city was called Lemberg in German, now it is L'viv in Ukraine, also known under its Russian name L'vov.

55 Muhammad Asad, *The Road to Mecca*. ([New York]: Simon and Schuster, 1954). For Asad's connection with Poland, see Bogusław R. Zagórski, "Leopold Weiss or Muhammad Asad and His Polish Cultural Background" (paper presented at the international symposium "Mohammad Asad—A Life for Dialogue," King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, Riyadh, April 11–12, 2011). Asad had in fact a strong Polish cultural background, achieved in younger years through daily life in a Polish environment and a Polish school, where he admired Polish classical literature. He spoke Polish until the end of his days, but attention and the life story of this one of the most influential Muslim intellectuals and politicians of the 20th century was not concentrated on Poland and Polish matters any more.

56 Agnieszka Bakalarz, *Polaków odkrywanie Arabii Saudyjskiej* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), 42–43.

57 Jakub Szynkiewicz (1884–1966) was born in a middle class Tatar family in Western Belarus (of today), studied in St.-Petersburg, first in the Institute of Technology, and then at the Department of Oriental Languages of St.-Petersburg University. In World War I he served in the Russian army, and from 1918–1919 took part in the national struggle of the

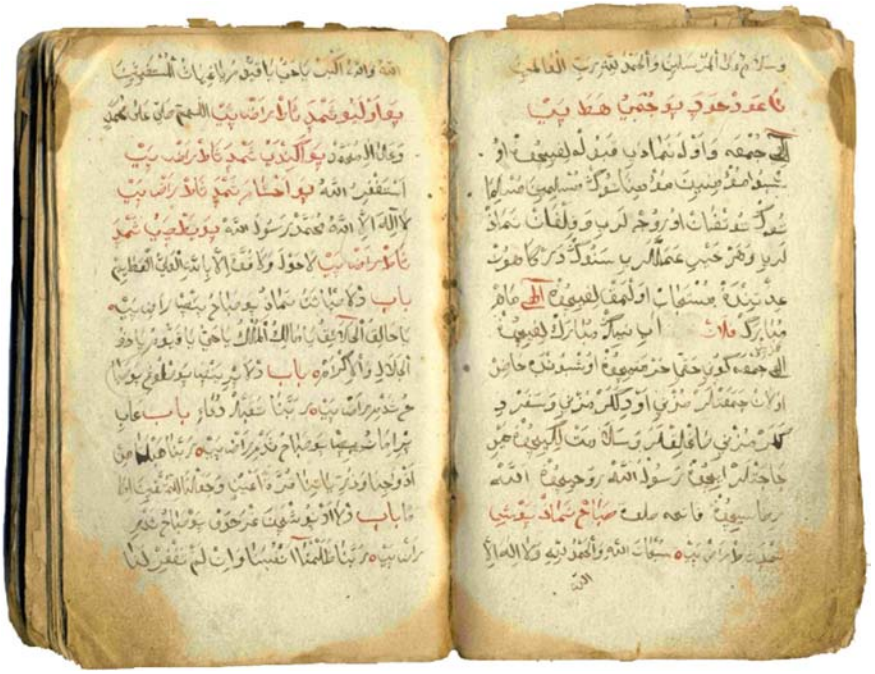

FIGURE 6.7 *A Polish-Tatar handwritten prayer book from the 19th c.*
AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

ments of the Mufti's Arabian travel were printed in the magazine *Życie Tatarskie* (Tatar Life) in 1934–1935. A collection of the Mufti's various travels has been recently published by Grzegorz Czerniejewski in 2013.[58]

Crimean Tatars for independence. After his return to Poland, and with the support of the Polish government, he continued his Oriental studies at the University of Berlin where he obtained his Ph.D. diploma for a dissertation on the Turkish syntax in 1925. In December of the same year, at the All-Polish Congregation of Muslim Communities, he was elected for the post of the Mufti. Under the Germans in World War II, he was nominated in 1941 the Mufti of Ostland (occupied territories of Eastern Poland, Belarus and Lithuania). In 1944 he was evacuated to Vienna and then settled in Egypt where he lived until 1952. After the revolution lead by Jamāl ʿAbd an-Nāṣir he finally moved to the USA and lived there until the end of his days, always retaining the formal title of the Mufti of Poland.

58 Only very recently did the personal narrative of the Hajj performed by Dr. Szynkiewicz appear in print; see Grzegorz Czerwiński, *Sprawozdania z podróży Muftiego Jakuba Szynkiewicza. Źródła, omówienie, interpretacja* (Białystok: Książnica Podlaska, 2013), 84–114; see also Marek M. Dziekan, *Polacy a świat arabski. Słownik biograficzny* (Gdańsk: Niezależne Wydawnictwo "Rocznik Tatarów Polskich," 1998), 88–89.

FIGURE 6.8 *The Mufti of Poland, Dr. Jakub Szynkiewicz (sitting, first from the right) with King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (in the centre), Count Raczyński (on the left) and Saudi officials (standing) in Jeddah, May 1930*
AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

The Mufti's Hajj trip was part of a Polish diplomatic delegation. His trip represented the beginning of quite another story of the interwar times, when Poland regained independence after 135 years of partitions on November 11, 1918. On March 11, 1930 the Polish government officially recognized independence of the Saudi Kingdom of Ḥijāz and Najd and it was decided to convey this information to the Saudi ruler directly. An official Polish delegation led by Count Raczyński,[59] in which the mufti participated, first came to Egypt and then travelled from Suez to Jeddah aboard a ship. In May 1930 they met twice with the King, Count Raczyński presented his credentials and a letter from the President of Poland, Ignacy Mościcki, officially recognizing the Kingdom.

The address by Count Raczyński was representative of the romantic style of thinking and the positive emotional approach to the Muslim World that were quite common in Poland at that time:

59 Edward Bernard Raczyński (1891–1993), deputy head of the Eastern Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw, and later on, an ambassador, a Foreign Minister, and finally the President of the Polish Government in Exile in London during World War II.

> Poland well knows and admires the chivalrous Arab nation, world famous for its heroism and fondness of freedom, for years acclaimed by the greatest Polish poets […] It is with the greatest pleasure in expressing the feelings of understanding and sympathy extended by the Polish nation towards the Arab nation that I have the privilege to speak to Your Majesty […] Fame is spreading the name of Your Majesty wider and wider among your co-religionists, as being that of a ruler who is particularly pious and observant of the faith, and this sounds a loud echo among the Polish Muslims who settled in the far north centuries ago […] Today, Great Mufti Jakub Szynkiewicz, the eminent religious leader, comes here with me on behalf of the Muslims of Poland in order to renew personal links with the founder of their religion and to greet Your Majesty as the one, who holds the eminent position of the ruler and defender of the holy places of Islam.[60]

The Polish delegation presented to the king several gifts, among which there was a handwritten copy of the Qur'ān from the 18th century, produced in the milieu of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars, and an album with photographs of the Polish mosques. The gifts were gladly received by the King, who showed vivid interest in the situation of Muslims in Poland and wished them success in preserving the Islamic faith.[61]

After the official meeting, the Mufti left for Mecca to take part in the rituals of the pilgrimage which were to start only a couple of days later. He performed the ʿUmra first and with the other pilgrims waited for the Hajj. In the meantime he visited remarkable places in Mecca and made observations on the poor condition of the city, its buildings and organization of urban services. While performing the Hajj, the Mufti attracted malaria which developed later on when he was already on a Ziyāra in Medina. That was a misfortune

60 Cited after Andrzej Kapiszewski, "The establishment of Polish-Saudi Relations: Count Raczyński's Visit to King Abdulaziz in 1930 and Prince Faisal's Visit to Warsaw in 1932," in *Saudi Prince in Warsaw. A Milestone in the Relationship Between Poland and Saudi Arabia. A seminar to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the visit of His Royal Highness Prince Faisal Ibn Abdulaziz Al-Saud to Poland in May 1932. May 22, 2002* (Warsaw: Warsaw University Library, 2002), 9–10; Polish version of the address as cited by Jakub Szynkiewicz in his relation, see Grzegorz Czerwiński, *Sprawozdania z podróży Muftiego Jakuba Szynkiewicza. Źródła, omówienie, interpretacja* (Białystok: Książnica Podlaska, 2013), 89–90; on the Hajj by Mufti Szynkiewicz, see also Agnieszka Bakalarz, *Polaków odkrywanie Arabii Saudyjskiej* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), 44–50.

61 Kapiszewski, "The establishment," 11; Czerniejewski, *Sprawozdania*, 91.

because the sickness kept him in bed for two weeks, after which he only had two remaining days to visit the Mosque of the Prophet and other places of interest.[62]

The most shocking observation he made was that of a Soviet delegation to the Hajj, moving around in a car with a great red flag. It gave Szynkiewicz an occasion to reflect on what he saw as the "hypocrisy" of the communist propaganda in the Muslim world and on the mysterious silence of the locals when he had asked about such an unexpected encounter in Arabia.[63] Seemingly it had something to do with the rumors spread that Muslim representatives were to meet in Mecca on the occasion of the Hajj to discuss the Palestinian question. Soviet authorities probably sent their representatives to keep an eye on the situation.

A particularly sad experience was the Mufti's visit to a slave market in Mecca which deeply moved his feelings. The slaves were men, women, elderly people and children, almost exclusively Sudanese. The price for a slave was at that time between 80–100 English pounds. The slaves on the market showed resigned attitude, but those met in rich people's homes were quite happy. He was told that in private homes of the king and other personalities, there were numerous slave women.[64]

On the other hand, the Mufti underlined that despite the difficult economic situation of the young state, the King introduced very strict security measures in the country and all pilgrims could be safe from past Beduin attacks and feel at home in Mecca and Medina.[65]

The official Polish delegation to Arabia became the subject of several press reports in Poland of this time. The basic information about the event went into circulation and was quite widespread, reinforcing the idea of close cooperation of Polish Muslims with the government in the relations of Poland's diplomatic relations with the Middle East.[66]

A year after the Mufti, the imam of the Islamic community in Warsaw, Esfandiar Fazlejew, performed the Hajj, but did not leave any notes from his trip. Other information indicates that two more Muslims from Poland went to Mecca to perform the Hajj in the 1930s, but no exact detail is available.[67]

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62 Czerniejewski, *Sprawozdania*, 102–104.

63 Czerniejewski, *Sprawozdania*, 94, 100–101.

64 Czerniejewski, *Sprawozdania*, 106–107.

65 Czerniejewski, *Sprawozdania*, 94.

66 Agnieszka Bakalarz, *Polaków odkrywanie Arabii Saudyjskiej*. (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), 141.

67 Bakalarz, *Polaków odkrywanie*, 44 (with variant spellings of the imam's name).

It wasn't until 1991, when the first two Poles after World War II went to perform the 'Umra,[68] that a new era of Polish connections with the Hajj began.

Conclusion

East-Central Europe, a region where the Commonwealth composed of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania once existed, is not a part of the core Islamic World in any sense. A tiny Muslim minority has played nevertheless an important part in the history of the last 600 years of the country. Neighboring countries in Eastern Europe, such as the Crimea, Northern Caucasus and the Volga basin, densely populated since many centuries by the Muslims, had political and cultural history different from that of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, even though they never maintained mutual interaction. Meccan travelers from those lands are a separate question.

Muslims in Poland as a social group were mainly countryside dwellers, occupied with agriculture, commerce and petty manufacturing. Wealthy members of that community together with the intellectual elite were quite few and only they could eventually think of covering the expenses of the fifth pillar of Islam, the Hajj. On the other hand, some Tatars were taking people who maintained commercial relations over long distances and were experienced in far-reaching travels, extending to the Ottoman Empire. These were the prerequisite conditions that would enable the Muslims from the Commonwealth going on pilgrimage. The precarious economic situation of Poland in pre-war times did not give Polish Muslims, mostly countryside dwellers, many opportunities to undertake a costly trip for the Hajj.

The Hajj was naturally known as a conditional requirement of the Islamic faith, and every Muslim was dreaming about its accomplishment. Some could perform it, and in such cases the news spread around. If the available relations are scarce, it means that the practice was limited. Satisfying that religious longing was in fact only available to the *crème de crème* of the small Muslim community.

However, the fascination with such exotic travel to Arabia engaged the minds of not only the Muslims. Polish literati and intellectuals had a curiosity for a mysterious, unreachable place. At the same time, practical politicians had to cope with the living reality of a close neighborhood with the Ottoman Empire, an important player in European politics and economy. Polish travelers

68 Bakalarz, *Polaków odkrywanie*, 51, 70.

to the Middle East, diplomats or traders, composed accounts of their journeys. Besides that, most important works on Turkey were translated from Western European languages (mainly from French and German, rarely from other languages). These translated works helped to create a certain level of familiarity with Islamic culture. The Hajj, as a ritual, was not completely unknown among the majority of Polish society. Initially perceived as a far-reaching journey, an exotic Oriental endeavor, it became in interwar period a useful tool of diplomacy in the Weltpolitik. The mufti and his Hajj, his personal religious act, finally was used—with the Mufti's apparent consent—as a suitable tool of national diplomacy and an important element of the formal image of Poland, which the Foreign Ministry wanted to present to Middle Eastern countries. The legend of Kontuś and Dr. Żagiell's fabrications found an unexpected continuation.

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CHAPTER 7

On his Donkey to the Mountain of ʿArafāt: Dr. Van der Hoog and his Hajj Journey to Mecca

*Umar Ryad**

Many well-known Europeans converted to Islam in various cities during the interwar period. Their new connection with Islam was rooted in a *Zeitgeist* that inspired a few rich (and sometimes aristocratic) well-educated Europeans to convert to Islam in their search for spiritual paths beyond their original faith. Those European converts were usually privileged men who became impressed by Muslim societies and cultures. In Britain, France and Germany, many of them even became zealous in their eagerness to spread Islam in Europe.[1]

However, there are many isolated conversion stories that have not been told so far. In many of these cases, it is not known what happened to their families and descendants.[2] Some European converts left behind fascinating records of their "conversion narratives" including their autobiographical statements and other endeavors which they embarked upon in order to prove their new faith to the wider world. One of the dominant narrative genres that converts used to impart details about their reasons for and paths to conversion was their Hajj accounts. Throughout history many European converts embarked upon Hajj journeys either through their public profession of Islam or in disguise.[3]

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1 Nathalie Clayer & Eric Germain, *Islam in interwar Europe* (London: Hurst, 2008), 8–9.

2 Ali Kose, *Conversion to Islam: a study of native British converts* (Kegan Paul International, 1996), 19.

3 John T.F. Keane, *Six months in Meccah: an account of the Mohammedan pilgrimage to Meccah. Recently accomplished by an Englishman professing Mohammedanism* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1881); Richard Burton, *Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to el Medinah and Meccah*, 2 volumes (London: G. Bell), 1913; Owen Rutter, *Triumphant pilgrimage: an english muslim's journey from Sarawak to Mecca* (London [etc.]: Harrap, 1937); Eric Rosenthal, *From Drury Lane to Mecca: being an account of the strange life and adventures of Hedley Churchward* (*also known as Mahmoud Mobarek Churchward*)*, an English convert to Islam* (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1982 reprint of 1931 edition); H. St. John B. Philby, *A pilgrim in Arabia* (London: The

By their very nature, Hajj journeys are cross-border activities. European narratives of Hajj in the colonial era especially highlight a significant historical aspect of connections and transfers across European and Islamic religious and cultural boundaries. During that time, a "European" performing the Hajj did not only represent a western "discovery" of Islam, but also often reflected the interests, perspectives, and habits of a group of people in a new religious and cultural context beyond the particular part of the world to which they belonged.

In light of the previous remark, this chapter traces the conversion and pilgrimage story of Dr. P.H. (or Mohammed Abdul-Ali) Van der Hoog (1888–1957), a Dutch bacteriologist and convert to Islam, whose name is intimately connected to one of the most famous cosmetic brands in the Netherlands in the early twenty-first century.[4] In fact, the conversion of Dutchmen in the Dutch East Indies happened sporadically, but it occurred very rarely in the Netherlands itself. Compared to other European countries (such as Great Britain, France, Austria, or Germany), conversion to Islam in interwar Holland was unusual. Much scholarly attention and controversy has been given to the "genuineness" of the conversion of the well-known Orientalist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who visited Mecca in the 1880s and wrote extensively about its culture, society and peoples.[5] Elsewhere I described the life and activities of another Dutch convert Mohammed Ali Van Beetem (d. 1938), who expended much effort to support the small Muslim Indonesian community in The Hague in 1920s–1930s.[6]

As a contemporary to Snouck Hurgronje and Van Beetem, Van der Hoog represents another significant aspect of Islam in the Netherlands. As this chapter will demonstrate, his distinction relies on his role as a medical doctor who

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Golden Cockerel Press), 1943; Lady Evelyn Cobbold, *Pilgrimage to Mecca* (London: John Murray, 1934). See also Augustus Ralli, *Christians at Mecca* (London: William Heinemann, 1909); A.J.B. Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca* (Constable & Company Ltd London, 1913).

4 http://www.drvanderhoog.nl/.

5 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning: The Moslims of the East-Indian Archipelago*, introduced by Jan Just Witkam (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

6 See e.g. H.A. Poeze, *In het land van de overheerser I: Indonesiërs in Nederland 1600–1950* [In the land of the ruler I: Indonesians in the Netherlands 1600–1950] (Dordrecht: Foris, 1986); Idem, "Early Indonesian emancipation: Abdul Rivai, van Heutsz, and the Bintang Hindia," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145/1 (1989): 87–106; Akira Nagazumi, "Prelude to the formation of the Perhimpunan Indonesia: Indonesian student activity in the Netherlands in 1916–1917," *Proceedings of the seventh IAHA conference, held in Bangkok, 22–26 August 1977* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press, 1979), 192–219.

worked in Jeddah, converted to Islam, and later visited Mecca to perform the Hajj. Van der Hoog's account of the Hajj is a lively and at many points humorous literary narrative. In his conversion and experience of the Hajj, he did not identify himself as irrevocably divorced from his western background. His Hajj account is mostly structured around the motifs of his settling in Jeddah and his working life in the port as a medical expert. Throughout his book, he tended to shift between topics including his life story, his stay in Jeddah, remembering his small children in The Netherlands as well as his thoughts on Islam, politics and pan-Islam. This chapter will attempt to analyze the multiple layers and elements of "Europeanness" and "Islamness" that he had tried to stress in his new life in and outside his native county. In other words, we focus on his "layered identities" and elements of his European and Islamic experiences.

Van der Hoog's case is both significant and unique precisely because he is situated at the margins of European cultural and religious history. Examining his activities and writings on Islam and the Hajj reveal him as a liminal figure who tried to define his new religious belonging as a trans-cultural mixture and hybridity that went beyond his original religious and cultural boundaries. Placing him in a wider historical context, he is a distinct example of how someone could transcend the often raised dichotomy between Europe and Islam in the colonial era. In the interwar period, people such as Van der Hoog were pioneer examples of the indigenization of Muslim practices, thoughts, and discourses on European soil.

This chapter is particularly interested in the ways in which he integrated or reclaimed aspects of his Dutch values and norms with an Islamic identity during his Hajj experience and in mainstream Arabian society. What motivated him to convert to Islam? How did he create a new religious world for himself in his homeland? Did his conversion and Hajj experience Islamize his European identity; or had he tried to Europeanize some of his views of Islam and the Hajj? Can we consider Van der Hoog as a European cultural mediator or broker who straddled the numerous divides typical of that crucial period, such as East-West, colonizer-colonized, or Muslim-non-Muslim?

Early Life and Activities

Little is known about Van der Hoog's early years. He was born in 1888 as the second child of a general in the Dutch army. As a distinguished secondary school pupil, he wanted to become a painter.[7] But his father insisted that

7 A telephone call with his daughter F. Gudde-van der Hoog, 16 April 2013.

his son should, like him, join the army. In order to combine his father's wish with a profession that he also liked, Van der Hoog decided to be a doctor in the Dutch colonial military.[8] According to the contemporary Dutch press, he finished his *Propaedeutisch examen* (preliminary exam) of medical studies in Leiden in 1907.[9] During his study in Leiden, he became the editor-in-chief of the Leiden student's weekly journal, *Algemeen Nederl. Studenten-Weekblad-Minerva*.[10] In 1911, he finished his graduate exam and in the following year obtained a certificate for the first part of his medical degree.[11] In 1913, Van der Hoog was promoted to the position of a medical doctor; and in the same year by a royal decree he was appointed as an Officer of Health in the army.[12]

In early August 1913, after his graduation, Van der Hoog left Amsterdam on the steamship *Rembrandt* for the Dutch East Indies to join the team of Pest Control in the Civil Medical Service in Batavia.[13] In the colony he married his first wife Annie P.L. Brandon Bravo in Weltevreden (a sub-district of Central Jakarta in the colonial time, currently Sawah Besar).[14]

According to the Dutch consul at Jeddah, Daniel van der Meulen (1894–1989), Van der Hoog became a prolific writer in the Dutch press with a "malicious" pen during his work in the army.[15] Writing anonymously, he even made a harsh critique of the army. When his name was identified as the author, he was transferred to a jungle post in central Borneo as punishment.[16] In fact, this article was published in 1915 in the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* under Van der Hoog's

8 D. van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem* (London: John Murray, 1961), 16.

9 *Het Nieuws van den Dag: Kleine Courant*, 15 July 1907.

10 *Het Nieuws van den Dag: Kleine Courant*, 3 December 1908.

11 *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, 20 June 1911; *De Tijd: Godsdienstig-staatkundig Dagblad*, 20 June 1911; *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*; *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 March 1912.

12 *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*; *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 January 1913; *Het nieuws van den Dag: Kleine Courant*, 5 February 1913; *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 10 March 1913; *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 17 March 1913; *Het Nieuws van den Dag: Kleine Courant*, 16 April 1913; *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 August 1913; *Het nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 26 August 1913.

13 *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 29 July 1913; *Het Nieuws van den Dag: Kleine Courant*, 23 April 1914; *De Tijd: Godsdienstig-staatkundig Dagblad; Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 February 1913; *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 11 September 1913; *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 27 March 1914; *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 April 1914.

14 *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 19 March 1914; *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 25 March 1914.

15 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 16–17; see for example, *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 18 January 1915.

16 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 16.

name.[17] It was mainly a critical piece to the Union of Officers, in which Van der Hoog explained how he did not appreciate the hierarchal military ranking in the colony. A debate erupted in the local press of Java about the value of this union to lower military ranks. Considering himself a "half military" man, Van der Hoog believed that the establishment of such committees should not be a matter of formality which ultimately only represented the interests of superior officers. He stated metaphorically that when a "storm" had suddenly exploded in the "pond" of officers, he suddenly saw a few "goldfish" (referring to superior officers) that started angrily to "snap at a large number of sticklebacks" (referring to the lower ranks). He lamented that the goldfish forgot that they had been ordinary sticklebacks in the past. Sticklebacks, Van der Hoog maintained, should understand that their stand was as good, valuable, and powerful as the position of the goldfish, or even better. The goldfish would soon die, whereas sticklebacks still had the whole fullness of life ahead of themselves.[18]

Because of this article, Van der Hoog was transferred to the most remote military jungle post in Borneo in March 1915.[19] It is reported that in that military camp, Van der Hoog ridiculed the strict military disciplines which had caused a clash between him and the captain of this camp. Van der Hoog declared the captain insane, maneuvered him into a room, and locked him in. Fearing for his life, Van der Hoog fled to the district capital where he was arrested. A year later he was transferred to Banjarmasin, the capital of South Kalimantan. There he was allowed to work at its hospital among the Dayak people,[20] who were known for their tradition of headhunting practices and propensity for nakedness. With the support of his father's military friends he was allowed to leave the military service with light punishment.[21]

In 1921, Van der Hoog returned to The Netherlands.[22] The next year he defended his PhD thesis in medical studies at the University of Leiden on the topic of sexually-transmitted diseases.[23] In Leiden he started to build a family life and a career as a medical practitioner. But given that he was "a born adventurer," as Van der Meulen put it, Van der Hoog often left his first "wife

17 "Ingezonden: De Officiersvereeniging," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 18 January 1915.

18 "Ingezonden: De Officiersvereeniging," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 18 January 1915.

19 "Een slachtoffer," *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 19 March 1915.

20 *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 8 July 1916.

21 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 16–17.

22 *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 15 June 1921.

23 *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 16 March 1922. See P. ven der Hoog, *De Bestrijding der Geslachtsziekten* (Leiden University, 1922). Cf. *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 28 February 1923.

and son, his lucrative practice and his cultured Leiden friends,"[24] travelling as a ship's doctor. In February 1926, Van der Hoog was nominated as the chief medical officer of the Public Health Service in the Dutch Caribbean island of Curacao.[25] According to Van der Meulen, he clashed with the governor over the latter's dictatorial behavior.[26] In that year, Van der Hoog took part in the Dutch Colonial Council on Curacao's plans to solve of the problem of drought and water hygiene. He urged the council to regulate the water supply in accordance with hygiene rules and protection against pollution and disinfection. Water coming from different sources should be investigated at laboratories in order to resist bacterial growth.[27] In a short space of time, Van der Hoog became a founding member of a committee encouraging the improvement of water supply on the island,[28] but it remains unclear whether the committee met with any success. In October 1926 he resigned his post on Curacao and decided to return to Holland.[29] In The Netherlands he continued to attack the governor of Curacao over the island's water policy. As his critique had attracted so much attention, the Colonial Office decided he was a liability and therefore unemployable.[30]

A Dutch Adventurer in Arabia

Two years later, Van der Hoog received an invitation to come to Arabia in order to support the government's medical staff in Jeddah, comprised of Egyptian and Syrian doctors.[31] This invitation was actually a result of the proceedings of the Congress of the Islamic World held in Mecca in 1926 under the auspices of King Abdul-Aziz Al-Saʿūd. One of the Congress's aims was "to examine and promote the improvement of security in the holy precincts of the Ḥijāz; to

24 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 16–17.

25 *Amigoe di Curacao: Weekblad voor de Curacaosche Eilanden*, 13 February 1926; 3 April 1926; 17 July 1926.

26 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 18.

27 "Dr. P.H. van der Hoog over de Watervoorziening," *Amigoe di Curacao: Weekblad*, 14 August 1926; "Watervoorziening," *Amigoe di Curacao: Weekblad voor de Curacaosche Eilanden*, 21 August 1926.

28 "Dr. P.H. van der Hoog over de Watervoorziening," *Amigoe di Curacao: Weekblad*, 14 August 1926; *Amigoe di Curacao: Weekblad voor de Curacaosche Eilanden*, 28 Agust 1926.

29 "Vaarwel," *Amigoe di Curacao: Weekblad voor de Curacaosche Eilanden*, 2 October 1926.

30 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 18.

31 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 18.

better the facilities for transportation, health, communications; to facilitate the pilgrimage, and to remove all obstacles which impede the fulfillment of this religious duty; to guarantee the integrity of the Ḥijāz, and to safeguard its rights."[32]

The Dutch consul to Jeddah, Daniel van der Meulen, reported that due to the poor hygienic state among pilgrims, the King had asked him to procure a Dutch doctor to organize the medical service in the city. "A Leyden doctor," he wrote, "was found who was willing to come to Jeddah and see what he could do. A young Syrian doctor was glad to be his assistant and so it began."[33] The nomination of this Dutch bacteriologist also came as a result of the European negotiations regarding the arrangements for the sanitary regulation of the Pilgrimage. Since the First International Sanitary Convention in 1866, Hajj was an important issue for colonial states. During the Thirteenth International Sanitary Convention (1926) in Paris, for example, European health officials viewed the Hajj "as a significant cholera risk, because of the large movement of people to a crowded space with limited sanitary facilities *en route*."[34]

Van der Hoog arrived in Jeddah at the end of September 1928 to begin his medical duties and stayed for six months. The Dutch press in the Netherlands and in the East Indies welcomed the idea that a Dutchman was selected for the job, and it followed his successful activities with interest.[35] The Foreign Office dispatched him to Arabia without having consulted the Colonial Department. Consequently, Van der Meulen received a letter from his office headquarters in The Hague to warn him about the newly employed Van der Hoog, because he was known as a trouble-maker in the colonies.[36] But after a frank conversation with Van der Hoog, Van der Meulen discovered that he was exactly the type of man required. The official and non-official Arab community seemed

32 See, Martin Kramer, *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 186.

33 D. van der Meulen, *Don't you hear the thunder: A Dutchman's life story* (Brill, 1981), 85.

34 See, Anne Sealey, "Globalizing the 1926 International Sanitary Convention," *Journal of Global History* 6:3 (November 2011): 453–455; Hugh S. Cumming, "The International Sanitary Conference," *American Journal of Public Health* 16:10 (1926): 975; Norman Howard-Jones, *The scientific background of the International Sanitary Conferences* (Genevan: World Health Orgainzation, 1975).

35 See, "Dr. F.H. Van der Hoog naar Djedda," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 14 September 1928; "Nederlansch-Indie: De Bedevaart naar Mekka," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 17 Septemeber 1928; "Nederlander in de Hedjas," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 25 January 1928.

36 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 18.

to trust him; and due to his knowledge and experience "his fame as a doctor rose high."[37]

Van der Hoog's laboratory was placed in the city hospital, where soldiers, policemen, and lower-ranking civil servants were usually treated. In his laboratory, he started his research and vaccine preparation. Van der Hoog gave a detailed description of the unsatisfactory hygiene conditions prevailing in Jeddah during his stay. His first experience with the place was miserable. Urine and faeces were running on the street, which attracted "black clouds" of flies. He found that as soon as patients saw a European face, they would immediately run to him and make beseeching gestures for food. He was surprised to find that the only surgical equipment was a bowl and some rusty medical instruments. In the bowl was some water in which a cigarette butt and a match were floating. Every operation in that hospital was, in his view, equivalent to "murder." Flies swarmed everywhere. On one occasion, Van der Hoog was shocked to see his Syrian assistant doctor sitting down to smoke a cigarette while "a filthy negro" was busy vaccinating a child against smallpox. In the courtyard there were a dozen young cats walking around eating the leftovers in the refuse and faeces.[38]

Van der Hoog's stay in Jeddah coincided with the Hajj season of 1928. He noted that the hygienic condition of Jeddah during the Hajj generally became worse. At the market, meat, vegetables, fruits, treats and fried grasshoppers were covered by thick layers of "billions" of flies. Some distance away, a few sick pilgrims sat in a corner to defecate faeces filled with blood and mucus.[39] The pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies were viewed as rather unhygienic, although in a better state than pilgrims from other territories. Thousands of poor pilgrims were camping on the street or even outside the city walls amid their own faeces, given the lack of public latrines.[40] In Jeddah, there was a service for collecting garbage which was run by young men from Africa (*takayrna* pilgrims). On a donkey cart these men drove through the city collecting all the garbage together by hand, and then directly threw the refuse close to the outside city wall.[41]

Turning to the water supply, Van Der Hoog observed that there were three ways for pilgrims and the town's inhabitants to access water. First of all, there were three condensers which produced sterile water, which became undrinkable during its transportations to houses on donkey carts in old, open kerosene

37 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 19.

38 P.H. van der Hoog, *Pelgrims naar Mekka* (The Hague: H.P. Leopold's Uitg.-Mij, NV, 1935), 58.

39 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims naar Mekka*, 58.

40 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims naar Mekka*, 59.

41 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims naar Mekka*, 59.

cans. Secondly, there were water wells outside the city where water was usually carried to the city in leather bags on camels. Thirdly, in the basement of each house there were a few cisterns that would gather rain water during a couple of days every year when it rained. This water became polluted through the presence of mosquitos. Some of the cisterns were also located nearby the military barracks where about 400 soldiers were incapacitated with malaria.[42]

In Jeddah, Van der Hoog was also informed about a similar hygienic situation in Mecca, which was lamentable for a city that saw about two hundred thousand people visit every year. The water of *Zamzam* usually became infected when people drew it from its source using buckets and cans. Van der Hoog asked some of his friends to bring him some specimens of water and his research showed that it contained 1880 microbes, while the water coming from pipes of Zubayda contained 4638 microbes per cc.[43] The central source of pollution and stench in Mecca, he was also told, was the public place for animal slaughter, where the "rotten" leftovers of meat after the Sacrifice were thrown after the Hajj every year. He was told that the center of filth in Mecca was the slaughtering place, where animal viscera were deposited. "A European," he asserted, "would only be able to endure it here for a few minutes before becoming nauseous."[44] It was a challenging task for a hygienist like him to be there. What was surprising for him was the fact that these miserable conditions had arisen not out of necessity, but out of free will. However, he viewed it as an indestructible desire that drove those millions of people to fulfill their religious duties with no fear, which led to their self-destruction through being exposed to these unhygienic conditions.[45]

Conversion to Islam

In Jeddah, Van der Hoog declared his conversion to Islam in public before his final return to the Netherlands after the Hajj season in 1928, which caused a controversy among the city's European community. Van der Meulen, himself a devoted Protestant Christian, suspected Van der Hoog's real faith as a new Muslim. He asserted that Van der Hoog was only interested in the study of the famous well of *Zamzam*; and conversion would allow him access to the city. In addition, his Muslim assistants had neither the knowledge nor the means to

42 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims naar Mekka*, 59.
43 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims naar Mekka*, 60.
44 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims naar Mekka*, 60.
45 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims naar Mekka*, 61.

bring him a sample of the water in the same state as the pilgrims drank it.[46] It might be relevant to add that Van der Meulen was also strongly convinced that the famous Dutch Orientalist Snouck Hurgronje, famous for his visit to Mecca in the late nineteenth century, died while he was a Christian in his heart, despite his supposed faith in Islam.[47]

Van der Meulen also found that Van der Hoog made his decision of conversion in some haste. He moreover suspected that Van der Hoog was actually more interested in getting material for a number of sensational articles in the Dutch press. His conversion to Islam caused a storm of debate among the European community in Jeddah. In Van der Meulen's words:

> A stone dropped into the quiet pool of our western Christian community; one of our sheep had left the fold and had crossed over to the other side. Van der Hoog had become a 'Muslim.' The condemnation of this act was general; and I myself did not expect such a reaction, still less did Van der Hoog, for he naively believed that he would become a sort of a hero: a man who dared. The contrary happened. The so-called Christian community closed its ranks and those who behaved least like Christians were the sharpest in their criticism.[48]

The Dutch newspaper in the Dutch East Indies, *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, reflected a similar impression regarding Van der Hoog's conversion, who had become a "Mohammedan" in order to enter Mecca. This anonymous journalist reported that the Arabs did not have any solid ground to believe that his faith was sincere since he only had to profess that "*lā illāha illā Allāh* (There is no God, but Allah)." The journalist cynically suspected that Van der Hoog had converted to Islam only in order to "get access to Mecca, rather than to enter the Mohammedan heaven."[49] This suspicion, in the journalist's view, seemed warranted, probably because Van der Hoog would be able to gather more materials for his medical studies on "Arab hygiene." The journalist was told that

46 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 19.

47 D. van der Meulen, *Don't you hear thunder?: A Dutchman's Life Story* (Leiden: Brill: 1981), 74–75.

48 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 19–20. See also, as quoted in, Joos Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten: de verborgen geschiedenis van de Ottomaanse rijk* (ACCO, 2001), 16.

49 "Ter Bedevaart," *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, 10 January 1930; See also, "Christen-Islamieten: Toestanden in en om Mekka," *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 14 January 1930; "Indische Kroniek: Oude bekenden in de buurt van Mekka," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 15 January 1930.

Van der Hoog did not observe the fasting of Ramadan. When Van der Hoog left Jeddah on his way to Palestine and Syria, "the faithful in Jeddah noted that, not without *Schadefreude*, that this new Mohammaden sat to drink an ice cold beer on the board of the steamer on one of the first days of Ramadan."[50] After his conversion, Van der Hoog was not immediately allowed into Mecca. Writing in 1930, the unnamed journalist suspected that Van der Hoog recanted his faith when he was refused entry to Mecca.[51]

Shortly after his conversion, Van der Hoog fell ill, and his weak resistance to malaria affected his heart. A high fever struck him and his heart became severely strained. At this moment, Van der Hoog clarified to Van der Meulen in person that "he had never been a sincere Christian; if he could become a sincere Muslim it would be a change for the better."[52] Nonetheless, Van der Meulen did not believe that this had been the case. After his recovery, Van der Meulen made a sarcastic contrast by denoting that Van der Hoog "found mercy from the God of Christians and Abdul Ali [...] was spared further trial by the Allah of the Muslims."[53]

In Jeddah, some Europeans even perceived Van der Hoog's conversion as "betrayal,"[54] and others even ostracised him. Even Harry St. John Philby (1885–1960), the private businessman in Jeddah, became furious about the "tactless haste" with which Van Der Hoog offended Christians and Muslims alike. In that way, Philby argued, "Van der Hoog had queered the pitch for a long time for every candidate for conversion."[55] In this period, Leopold Weiss (Mohammed Asad, 1900–1990), Jewish-born convert to Islam, was hosted by the Saudi king in Riyad which made him closer to the Palace in many decisions. This made both Philby and Van der Meulen anxious. To Snouck Hurgronje, Van der Meulen wrote: "If Van der Hoog had not made it difficult [by leaving his job and his early departure to The Netherlands] he would, after his conversion to the Mohammadan religion, come in the vicinity of the king and by this would exercise his influence for the sake of the country."[56]

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50 "Ter Bedevaart," *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, 10 January 1930; See also, "Christen-Islamieten: Toestanden in en om Mekka," *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 14 January 1930; "Indische Kroniek: Oude bekenden in de buurt van Mekka," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 15 January 1930.

51 Ibid.

52 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 21.

53 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 21.

54 Quoted in Vermeulen, *Sultans*, 16.

55 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 20.

56 Letter, Daniel van der Meuelen to Snouch Hurgronje, Djeddah, 8 March 1928, Leiden University Library, Or. 8952 A, 1928 (03–08)–1929 (04–03).

It is ironic that Philby himself converted to Islam in 1931, naming himself ʿAbdullāh. It is also worth noting that Van der Hoog was one of Philby's close friends and his medical doctor in Jeddah. Van der Hoog was amazed with Philby's solid faith in the future and revival of Arabia under the rule of King Ibn Saʿūd. Van der Hoog did not underestimate Philby's role in Arabia, but was in the beginning doubtful about Philby's activities in the country. But he later realized that Philby was not only a representative of the Ford Motor Company, but was able to raise himself as an "apostle of a great Arabia" under Ibn Saʿūd's rule.[57]

During his early stay in Jeddah, Van der Hoog was invited along with other Arab notables and European residents in Jeddah to Philby's house where they celebrated the second anniversary of the ascension of King Ibn Saʿūd to the throne of the Ḥijāz. Van der Hoog decided to attend because for him it was "a good opportunity to see different birds of all sorts in one place."[58] There he met the Iraqi medical doctor ʿAbdullāh Saʿīd al-Damlūjī (1890–1971), then a deputy of Foreign Affairs of Arabia, who was also celebrating his birthday on that day as well. It was remarkable for Van der Hoog to see the high officials of the Customs Service of Jeddah among the invited group of people. He stated that most of these officials resembled "highwaymen," since civil servants had been recently ordered to let their beards grow. It was of great significance, Van der Hoog sarcastically wrote, that Philby as representative of a commercial company in Jeddah had to keep his relationship with these officials on good terms.[59] But Van der Hoog's later discussions with Philby had finally convinced him of the "great work" yet to be done in Arabia.[60]

On another level, Van der Hoog's conversion to Islam and his Hajj experience should be viewed within his personal understanding of faith and religion in general. He made it clear that his experience of pilgrimage was a spiritual one. As it might not be entirely convincing or appealing to the secular mindset of his European readership, he tried to pose many rhetorical and philosophical questions regarding the meaning and use of faith and religion to humanity. As a prelude to his Hajj account, he dwelt upon these issues in order to convince or at least to justify to his Dutch readers why he had taken this new step in his life. For him, faith was one of the remarkable human instincts which stimulate man's feelings and thoughts towards a transcendental world. Man therefore places God's worship at the center of that world. However, for many people

57 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 65.
58 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 66.
59 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 67.
60 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 68–69.

who do not suffer as a result of world events, their faith instinct is usually extremely underdeveloped. But ultimately, it is a matter of upbringing. Parents and teachers who find faith necessary shall always deliberately try to develop this instinct in children. Van der Hoog's experience of faith was more spiritual. As the question of faith is not a common sense issue, it was therefore very difficult for him to reason about it with those who did not primarily believe in the Divine might. In his view, "unbelief" or "the inability to believe" is a decisive spiritual defect in a human being. "A person without faith," he wrote, "does not know what he is talking about. He stands as an illiterate before somebody who could read and write; and wants to talk with him about literature."[61]

Van der Hoog made a distinction between the Dutch term "*godsdienst* (literarily, service of God)" and "*religie* (or religion)." He had a pluralistic vision of religion. To him, the term "religion" refers to the personal psychological relationship of humans with the Infinite Eternal Divine, whereas the other term refers more to the external shaping services that manifest this relationship. But in Van der Hoog's view, Prophet Muḥammad's message was the last one. However, he maintained that "although there were numerous small leaders and prophets who had risen after him throughout the centuries, eternal truths were not proclaimed by them."[62]

In his account, Van der Hoog summed up the internal and external fundamentals of the Islamic faith in a traditional way. Nevertheless, he sometimes explained some of these aspects outside the realm of the Islamic normative tradition. As a medical doctor, for example, he found that Islam stipulates male circumcision in a long line of hygienic tradition known among many ancient peoples, including the Israelites and ancient Egyptians. In order to fulfill its hygienic value, man had probably attached a religious or political meaning to it.[63] On another level, he accepted the view that after receiving the Divine message, the Prophet Muḥammad did not radically break with the old pagan norms of Mecca, such as the ritual of *ʿUmrah* (Minor Pilgrimage), which was kept among the pre-Islamic rites in honor of its established nature.[64]

Due to his illness and family circumstances, Van der Hoog was obliged to cut short his stay in Jeddah and returned to his family. In Leiden he resumed his medical career as a practitioner in a private clinic. His fame in the Dutch press and on the radio at this time was much connected to his popular scientific and medical dermatological contributions on such issues as "taking

61 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 7–9.

62 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 11.

63 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 11–14.

64 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 21.

care of nails and hands,"[65] "ugly legs,"[66] "the excessive hair,"[67] "face massage,"[68] "staying slim,"[69] "vegetarian diet,"[70] among other conditions. He also started to give public lectures in Leiden about his impressions regarding the "miserable" hygienic state in Arabia, introducing himself to the public under his Arabic name Mohammed Abdul Ali.[71]

Moreover, Van der Hoog tried to clarify some points regarding the western understanding of Oriental and Islamic traditions. In 1931, for example, he responded to a press article under the title, "*Vrouwen in het Oosten* (Women in the East)," in which a female writer asserted that "as soon as the Sun of Righteousness will begin to shine and the Gospel will triumph over Islam, Muslim women will be freed from her bondage."[72] In his response, Van der Hoog asserted that he had no faith in the triumph of the Gospel over Islam anymore. "We Christians," he wrote, "are suffering in this respect under too much overconfidence. It seems therefore very useful to mention in this magazine that the peoples of Asia and Africa have since a while ago begun to divest themselves from the domination of Europe by resistance. The colored races do not wish to acknowledge the 'absolute' superiority of the white man anymore."[73] The liberation of the Muslim woman from her bondage, he asserted, would occur solely according to the laws of evolution; any triumph over Islam would be achieved without any need of the Gospel.[74]

A Self-Promise: Back Again to Mecca

However, in the Netherlands Van der Hoog was still determined to return to Mecca for the Hajj. At the point of his departure from Jeddah, he had an inner feeling that he would one day return to Arabia. But a "voice was whispering [in

65 "Verzorging van handen en nagels," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 14 July 1929.

66 "Leelijke Beenen," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 7 July 1929.

67 "Het overtollige haar," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 11 August 1929.

68 "Gezichtsmassage," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 1 September 1929.

69 "Slank blijven," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 29 September 1929.

70 "Het vegetarisch dieet," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 27 September 1929; "Cosmiticie en Bedouinen," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 20 March 1930.

71 *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 11 May 1928.

72 P.H. Van der Hoog, "Christenen en Mahomedanen," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en letterkundig nieuwsblad*, 18-April 1931.

73 Van der Hoog, "Christenen en Mahomedanen."

74 Van der Hoog, "Christenen en Mahomedanen."

his mind]: Never again, because during that time he was obliged to lack all what the western life would offer, including easiness, joy, arts, music, and beauty of women."[75]

Achieving a successful career was not everything that Van der Hoog wanted in life. In the Netherlands, he always remembered his "self-promise" that he had already made to return to Mecca. Concessions were sometimes necessary for man's struggle with his most sacred convictions. Now as a Muslim, he was free to perform the Hajj. In his thoughts, he recalled the scene of countless numbers of pilgrims whom he had helped; those whom he saw suffering; or those dying on the streets of Jeddah or in their caravans in the desert. Those people sold their properties and spent their wealth just to fulfill one wish: "salvation of their immortal soul."[76]

Van der Hoog maintained that he had toiled, worked hard, and fought for his purpose of returning to Mecca. Despite his shortage of money and other hardships, he finally reached his goal.[77] He sent a letter to the King of Saudi Arabia in which he declared his conversion to Islam, asking for permission to visit Mecca. The King sent his congratulations on that step, but requested him to demonstrate his sincere faith by accomplishing various religious duties, especially prayers and fasting. He promised Van der Hoog that after living one year as a devout Muslim, he would be then allowed to come and perform the Hajj.[78] With the help of some Muslim students in the Netherlands, he began to learn Arabic, became familiar with the prayer rituals, and memorized parts of the Qur'ān.[79] From Holland, Van der Hoog wrote again to the King saying that he had tried to live as a good Muslim, and longed to return to the Holy Land and perform the Hajj. Ibn Saʿūd answered him: "Do come, you will be welcome in Mecca. We have not forgotten the services you rendered to our country."[80] After this invitation, there were no obstacles left barring his way to Mecca. He wrote: "as a Muslim it makes me free now to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, the Holy Cities of Islam."[81]

Van der Hoog's published Hajj travelogue is the most important document of his journey. After his return from the Hajj he decided to publish this account for three reasons: 1) to give an overview of the different Muslim peoples from

75 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 72.
76 Van der Hoog, Pelgrims, 75.
77 Van der Hoog, Pelgrims, 73.
78 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 20.
79 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 21.
80 Van der Meulen, *Faces in Shem*, 22.
81 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 74–75.

various parts of the world who annually took part in the Hajj and the Hajj's meaning in respect of pan-Islamism; 2) to shed light on the hygienic "dangers" and diseases such as dysentery, typhus and cholera that were caused through the gathering of hundreds of thousands of Muslims in the Holy Cities every year; and 3) a purely personal account of a man who saw himself reaching the peak of his life and career, but had a sudden feeling that his accumulated experiences, knowledge and understanding throughout the years were not enough for him. As for the last point he remarked: "The storeroom of the spirit, which he thought to be full to the brim, appeared to be almost empty."[82]

Above all, Van der Hoog's aim of going to the Mountain of ʿArafāt was romantic. He was not satisfied with his western environment and its attendant modernity. He could not abide the big cities with their asphalt, concrete constructions, flashing illuminated signs and advertisements, and general air of self-assurance. As his voice was "drowned" by car horns, gramophones, radios and car engines, Van der Hoog longed to hear the human voices and spiritual cries of Mecca. He remembered fondly his feelings of great sympathy to the pilgrims and those who sought inner rest and peace when he came to Jeddah for the first time.[83]

Van der Hoog was well aware that his friends and family in Europe would find his pilgrimage journey peculiar. On the evening of his departure, he stood alone on a platform waiting for the train going South with no friends, acquaintances or family, as he did not have enough courage to see them off. But it was his earlier self-promise that drove him to leave his house, work and beloved people. "And when [I] was in the train which was hurrying to the South," Van der Hoog remembered, "leaving behind all of these things, [I] could do nothing, but whisper in humility the words the Prophet: 'God make me belong to those who repent and those whom You shall purify.' "[84]

The Journey

In his account, Van der Hoog introduced his Dutch readers to the rites of the Hajj in a detailed way, similar to the manner in which they are mentioned in normative Muslim primary sources. Nevertheless, he sometimes digressed from his main narrative about the Hajj to deal with the Saudi religious struggle against the holy shrines and tombs, the Shīʿite-Sunnī conflicts, and the histor-

82 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 2–3.

83 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 4.

84 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 75–76.

ical difference between the Caliphate and Imamate.[85] He was also sometimes inclined to accept other interpretative theories for these rituals which are not commonly accepted by orthodox Muslims. As for the stay on the mountain ʿArafāt, for example, Van der Hoog made a remarkably similar reference to his above-mentioned understanding of *ʿUmrah* that this ceremony on ʿArafāt might have been an attenuated remnant of other religious traditions of the pagan Arabs. Probably, he stressed, ʿArafāt was a place for a big feast-offering for the Arabs before Muḥammad.[86]

Van der Hoog made no secret of his journey. In Egypt he took a steamer to Jeddah along with pilgrims from Bukhara, Palestine and Egypt. He realized that his new experience in his brown Bedouin cloak performing the prayers on the deck of a steamer in the middle of "a flock of ragged pilgrims" made him a totally different person to the adventurous doctor who had been there seven years before. He also felt better that he could travel undisturbed and unconcerned, but was a bit ashamed of what he saw as his "past rashness" before this trip.[87] On a breezy winter morning, the ship approached Jeddah. When Van der Hoog came on the deck of the boat, all pilgrims were already wearing their white iḥrām clothing. Even an Arab prince who had been walking around on board during the journey in his beautiful national dress costume appeared on board in the same humble way in the white iḥrārm.[88]

Despite the tragic scene before him of the wrecked French ship SS Asia that caught fire in Jeddah harbor and was destroyed in May 1930 with 1,500 pilgrims onboard, Van der Hoog sketched a romanticized poetic description of the scenery of Jeddah and its coral banks: "The more we get closer, the better the distant city can be seen: an accumulation of glistening white cubes between which there was one single standing minaret; above which sun rays breaking through the clouds always make it play with wonderful light effects."[89] In the western part of the city, one could easily see the buildings of consulates and diplomatic missions above which their respective flags were waving. In Jeddah Van der Hoog was received by his old friend Said Hossein al-Attas, who accompanied him as a *muṭawwif* (guide) during the Hajj. Finally, after many years, Van der Hoog landed on Arabian soil.[90]

85 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 82–97.
86 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 79.
87 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 99.
88 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 100.
89 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 101.
90 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 101.

XVIII. Pelgrims komen aan boord

XIX. Het dek van een Pelgrimsboot

FIGURE 7.1 *Pilgrims on board in Jeddah* (*taken from Van der Hoog's book*). *Dutch captions read as follows: XVIII. Pilgrims coming on board XIX. The deck of a pilgim boat.*

In Jeddah, he could not immediately continue his journey to Mecca. He had to stay because some European patients pleaded for his help, since the Muslim doctors linked to European legations had already left for Mecca during the Hajj season.[91] Van Der Hoog recalled his memories of those who died during the cholera epidemic in 1893. Dead bodies were heaped on the streets, before the *Conseil Quarantenaire d'Egypt* had sent six doctors, six pharmacists and other medical equipment to deal with the epidemic in that year.[92] "No wonder," Van der Hoog wrote, "that many members of the European colony had died [in Jeddah]."[93] He paid a visit to the Christian cemetery in Jeddah where many Europeans were buried. His first attention focused on the Dutch names on the grave signs who died in Jeddah, such as H.V.D. Houwen van Oordt (1865–1892), the Dutch consul in Jeddah, Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs (1858–1889), the Dutch vice-consul, and a certain Frederik Gerardus van der Zee (1886–1910).[94]

Van der Hoog left Jeddah for Mecca taking the Medina road. Reciting the formula of the Hajj *Labbayka Allāhuma Labbayka* (Here I am, O Allah), he first drove though arid sands where tufts of grass were growing here and there. In the car, a fierce cold wind was whizzing through his ears. In Mecca, Van der Hoog was hosted by some of his old friends. He noted that it was an unforgettable moment when he entered the Ḥaram of the Mecca Mosque with his friend Said al-Attas. In his own words: "we directed our steps to the Kaʿba. There she lies ahead to us, a big black cube surrounded by a band of gold characters, center of the whole Muslim world."[95] Close to the Black Stone, the Arab soldiers keeping guard of the stone noticed that Van der Hoog, as the only European in the crowd, wanted to reach the stone. They delicately pushed the people aside for him till he reached the place. In the depth of the wide oval silver frame, Van der Hoog watched a pitch-black stone glistening therein. He pressed his body to the Kaʿba, "kissing her, just as a man taking a long-coveted woman in his possession."[96]

As for other prescribed rituals, Van der Hoog drank from the water of Zamzam which he had earlier criticized for its unsafe nature.[97] During his performance of the ritual of running between the hills of al-Ṣafā wal-Marwah, Van der Hoog suddenly remembered his two sons in Holland and what they would think of their father in this state of the Muslim Pilgrimage, when they grew up:

91 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 102.
92 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 102.
93 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 102.
94 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 104–105.
95 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 108.
96 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 110–111.
97 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 110.

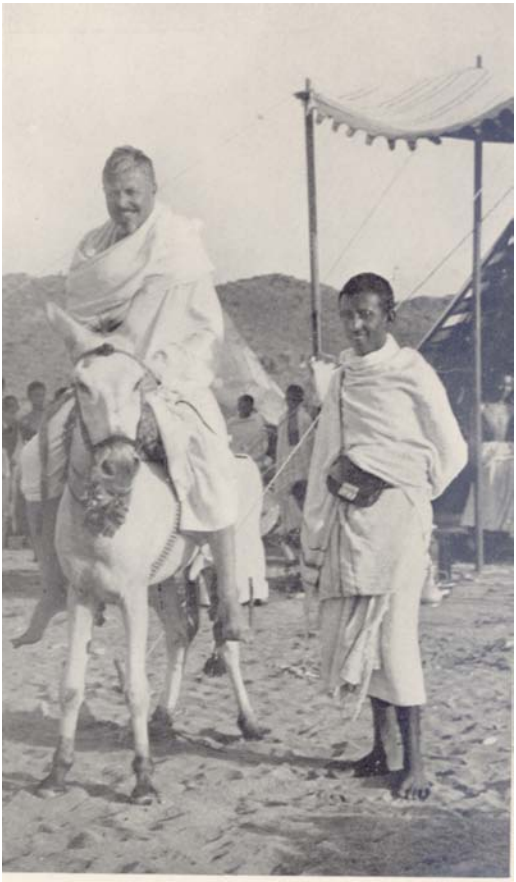

FIGURE 7.2
Van der Hoog on his donkey on the Mountain of ʿArafāt (taken from Van der Hoog's book). Dutch caption reads: The author on his donkey at the plain of Arafah.

They will perhaps shyly smile when they read this account of my pilgrimage and will find it a bit crazy that their "old lord" on his bare feet with two white rags around his body there amid of thousands of other pilgrims from all over the world walking to and fro between the two hills. But when they are older and remember all of this, they will probably appreciate it that their father was thinking of them during the very strangest moment of his life, just as Hagar had thought of Ismael. My doing will therefore find mercy in their modern eyes. I hope this at least.[98]

98 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 110–111.

The Kiswah of Kaʿba as Medical Fees

During his visit in Mecca, Van der Hoog was gifted a piece of the black curtain covering the Kaʿba (known as *Kiswah*) by his friend Qāsim al-Khalīl, a wealthy merchant in Mecca, in return for helping his pregnant wife during the birth of their child. Shortly after Van der Hoog's arrival in Mecca, he was called at 6 o'clock in a morning by al- Khalīl and the latter's father-in-law to come and help his beautiful fifteen year old wife experiencing a complicated labour. When Van der Hoog arrived at the door of the women's room, the ladies inside refused to let him in, and screamed that they would jump from the window if a strange man entered the room. As for the prospective father, Van der Hoog told us, "he stood there like a beaten dog. It is not thus a pleasant scene to see many beautiful women fluttering on the rocks into pieces [... from] the third floor."[99] After six hours, the women inside became distressed and Van der Hoog was finally admitted in. After a successful delivery of a son, Van der Hoog maintained that he, as a European doctor, had broken a "harem record" for Mecca.[100] "To my female readers," Van der Hoog said, "who shall be of course most interested to know, I should inform them that the child was a boy and his father named him Khalid."[101] As for his medical peers, who might be interested to know the fee he calculated for his work, his fees for the treatment were a beautiful piece of the golden brocade of the Kiswah.[102] As the curtain was replaced every year, it was cut into pieces which were usually sold or gifted as relics to Muslim dignitaries and converts. Throughout history, the Kiswah was manufactured in Egypt; this tradition continued till 1927 when King Ibn Saʿūd ordered the establishment of a factory for its manufacturing in Mecca. During his stay in Mecca, Van der Hoog visited this factory where the Kiswah was usually woven. The director, who proudly called himself "Minister of the Holy Carpet," was van der Hoog's tour guide.[103] The curtain is usually made of black brocade.[104]

99 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 113.

100 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 114.

101 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 114.

102 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 114.

103 A. Gouda, "Die Tirāz-Werkstätten der Kiswa für die Kaʿba in Makka: ein Beitrag zur islamischen Textilgeschichte," *Der Islam* 71.2 (1994): 289–301 Aḥmad ʿAbd al- Ghafūr ʿAṭṭār, *Al-Kaʿba wa-l-kiswa munẓ arbaʿat ālāf sana ḥattā al-Yawm* (Makka: [s.n.], 1977).

104 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 116.

FIGURE 7.3
Van der Hoog's piece of the Kiswah of Kaʿba (*taken from Van der Hoog's book*). *Dutch caption reads* VIII. *A piece of the kiswah that the author received as a gift.*

The Saudi Royal Family

One of Van der Hoog's unforgettable moments was meeting with Prince Faiṣal in Mecca. Van der Hoog was invited by Ibrāhīm Bey, Prince Faiṣal's father-in-law, to accompany him to a nearby madrasa where the members of the royal family were staying and where the prince would come and greet Muslim leaders and notables. Van der Hoog had met with Prince Faiṣal a few years before during his diplomatic visit to The Hague in 1928. But the meeting in Mecca was different as it made a greater impression on him: "a fairy tale from the *Thousand and One Nights*: memorable due to his Oriental splendor of color and his perfect beauty in form and grace of movement."[105] Van der Hoog found that Prince Faiṣal's face became more "powerful" at that time than during his visit to The Netherlands. He began to look like his grandfather Āl Saʿūd.[106] As a thirty-three year old young man, Van der Hoog went further, he enjoyed a Bedouin upbringing, which might not have been the most suitable training for

105 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 137.
106 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 139.

his position as a minister of Foreign Affairs, in Van der Hoog's opinion. However, he remained "a bold fighting General and first-class equestrian."[107]

In the evening Van der Hoog was invited to a reception at the Royal Palace on the outskirts of Mecca where King Ibn Saʿūd was supposed to meet Muslim leaders and notables as well. The King and some of the politicians and notables present delivered various speeches on the significance of Muslim unity and the significance of the Hajj as a symbol for such unity. This experience of two hours of speeches was, for Van der Hoog, a tangible illustration of "the dream of pan-Islamism" during the Hajj season.[108]

Van der Hoog's pilgrimage was in the same year when three Yemeni armed men made a futile assasination attempt on King Ibn Saʿūd during his performance of Hajj on March 15, 1935. The King survived the attack unhurt, and Van der Hoog listened to rumors among the pilgrims about the attack. Mecca was in a state of commotion. Remarkably enough, Van der Hoog did not consider the assault as a political assassination attempt. According to him, when they came down from ʿArafāt, they saw the King on his horse collecting the stones of *Jamarāt* like any other pilgrim. Then he went in a car to Mecca in order to walk between al-Ṣafaā and al-Marwa. His guards pushed the other pilgrims away, while a few Yemenis were protesting that in the House of God every pilgrim should have the same rights as the King. The three Yemenis rushed at the King with their daggers drawn, but were killed by the King's guards. Later the King and his wounded son, Prince Saʿūd, continued their *ṭawāf*. The former king of Afghanistan, who was in the company of King Ibn Saʿūd at that time, fled the mosque after the assault, an action which provoked hilarity among the people in Mecca.[109] When Van der Hoog came to the Ḥaram to fulfill his *ṭawāf*, people were still busy cleaning the blood off the marble floor around the Kaʿba. He was told that during the turmoil, all the Yemeni pilgrims were hounded out of the *Haram* and were later disarmed.[110]

Van der Hoog was pleased that the King was rescued, who due to his "personality" and "powerful hand" was holding the Kingdom together.[111] The royal family organized a reception in Mina in a big tent in front of the Palace, where the Crown Prince received prominent guests who came to express their relief at the happy ending of the incident. In the reception hall of the Palace, the

107 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 140–141.
108 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 142–149.
109 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 157–158.
110 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 158.
111 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 159.

King appeared surrounded by heavy armed guards, who were mainly slaves. Together with other guests, Van der Hoog greeted the King, kissing his hand.[112]

Mecca as a City

In a separate chapter of his account, Van der Hoog laid out a heavy critique of Mecca as a city where he encountered new, unfamiliar habits. He toured the city and enjoyed the scenery of its hills, especially Jabal Hindī. However, Mecca was, in his perception, like a "dirty furry animal" which had acted like a parasite on the vitality of others for centuries.[113] However, in Van der Hoog's view, as someone who had evidently not divested himself of all European and western influences and perceptions, Mecca (despite its holiness and devotion) was nothing but a filthy and dirty town: "But those who totally submitted themselves for her, she will tell them significant truths of life."[114]

He visited the Takiyya, the Egyptian Hospice in Mecca, where he was received by its Egyptian director Fu'ād Bey and its medical doctor Muṣṭafā. Van der Hoog was shocked by the extreme level of poverty among the people coming to the hospice. He appreciated the benevolent "great job" that the Egyptians were undertaking, even though it was fulfilled in order to support their political position as a leading Muslim power. Van der Hoog furthermore compared the misery in Mecca with what people in Europe would understand under the term "poverty":

> If you have not seen any poverty in your life, come [to Mecca] and you shall get its meaning here. In Europe one believes that he sometimes knows what poverty means [...] But in Europe a poor person always possesses something, even when it is a few tea cups without handles, a mattress, or a set of clothes to cover his body. Here in Mecca there are people who own completely nothing; nothing but their sick and emaciated body. But this is only good in order to let the rich realize how good we have it here on this earth.[115]

In Mecca, Van der Hoog fell very sick. During long hours of perspiring, lying on his mattress with a dry throat, he remembered the scenery of Jabal Hindī

112 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 160.
113 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 120.
114 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 123.
115 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 121.

that he had enjoyed some weeks before.[116] His tough experience of illness and weakness at that moment taught him to look afresh at modern life and civilization. He rhetorically indicated that instead of being a slave of civilization, man should always try to be her master. In Europe, a few telephone calls were enough for a man to get a good health care: "the modern man is the son of the nature. He lost his mother while standing there helpless and lonely deprived of her good care."[117]

Van der Hoog was confronted by the great diversity among the pilgrims from different regions. He found that it was only in places beyond Europe that produced such paradoxes. One human example of this was a poor Senegalese man in rags who had left his village three years earlier by travelling on foot in order to perform the Hajj. People like this who "had no compass, except their faith" greatly impressed Van der Hoog.[118] One example that contrasted greatly with the case of this Senegalese man was the Indian prince Nawab of Bahawalpur, who arrived in Jeddah with a huge retinue, with his own bodyguards and thirty automobiles.[119]

In Mecca, Van der Hoog had a feeling of otherness. As a European, he felt that his appearance in the *Ḥaram* during prayer times was sometimes striking, given the gaze and attitudes of other fellow worshippers. Whenever he tried to sit quietly on his prayer mat in the *Ḥaram* courtyard, various people would immediately come and talk with him out of curiosity. One of those people was Mohammed Ali al-Chougier, a retired Shafiʿite imam, who, in Van der Hoog's view, was appointed by the Ḥijāzi government as an "inquisitor" who ensured that people followed the rules of Islam: "I felt his friendly visit a little bit like a control measure."[120]

The Great Day of ʿArafāt

In many remarkable passages, Van der Hoog philosophized about his calm moments during the rituals on the mountain of ʿArafāt and Jabal al-Raḥma (Mountain of Mercy). He decided to climb alone to the hilly space of ʿArafāt before thousands of pilgrims started to flock there. After this, in the early

116 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 122.
117 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 126.
118 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 128–129.
119 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 129.
120 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 131–132.

morning, he drove by car, and after twenty minutes arrived in Mina, which was for him a symbol of both Biblical and Islamic narrations.[121]

One can discern that by performing the Hajj as a European Van der Hoog experienced a remarkable strangeness, a feeling of entering another world. On the day of ʿArafāt, the peak moment of the entire Hajj, Van der Hoog felt that he had reached the final stage of his spiritual experience. Other friends decided to go to ʿArafāt on camels. But this way seemed boring and monotonous to Van der Hoog. Therefore, he hired a donkey for the journey to ʿArafāt, which was one of the most fantastic journeys in Van der Hoog's life. On the back of his donkey, he firmly stacked his luggage, a mattress, pads, blankets, and clothes and a big bag of water. He greatly enjoyed his eighteen-kilometre tour on his moveable "unsteady throne" in the desert. An Arab donkey, Van der Hoog wrote, was the most wonderful animal that ever existed.[122]

Despite the crowds of pilgrims everywhere on camels, donkeys or walking, a mood of peace and pleasure was spreading among the pilgrims. When Van der Hoog's donkey almost ran into a Moroccan pilgrim, he kindly answered, "*maʿlish*" (Never mind).[123] In the early evening under the light of street lantern, Van der Hoog felt as if there had been a "river of white figures streaming" to the hill of ʿArafāt.[124] By finishing the ritual on ʿArafāt, the peak of Van der Hoog's pilgrimage, the subsequent part of the Hajj did not match the peak of this experience, however interesting they might be.[125]

After finishing the Day of ʿArafāt, Van der Hoog remarked that the "imposing" and "heart-felt" crowd which he had earlier described no longer existed. The whiteness of pilgrims' Iḥrām clothes had become dirty, and most pilgrims had already put on their normal clothes. One could not distinguish the poor from the rich and different nationalities: "it is not the same unanimity inspired by the idea of 'People of God' anymore, which I had seen passing through the last days. Something was lost, but I do not know what?"[126]

Van der Hoog continued to perform the remaining Hajj rituals. During the throwing of Jamarāt, he observed a similar crowd of pilgrims. He was surprised sometimes some zealous Bedouins would grab their revolvers and fire shots at the pillars, these symbols of the devil.[127] He also had two sheep offered up

121 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 134–135.
122 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 150.
123 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 151.
124 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 151.
125 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 156.
126 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 160.
127 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 161.

on the Day of Sacrifice. He was positive about the government's new strict regulations which had been recently introduced to centralize the slaughtering of animals in one place; and that the leftovers of slaughtered animals were directly thrown away in pits that were then disinfected with lime. In that year, Van der Hoog observed, there was a relatively healthy atmosphere: "the Health Services of the Ḥijāz, despite its scant resources, did their best [in that regard]."[128]

After throwing the last stones and observing the ritual prayers, Van der Hoog felt that by so doing the pilgrims had "sincerely tried to drive the devil out."[129] His donkey was loaded again in order to get back home. Along the way, he passed by the Jabal al-Nūr (Mountain of Light), where the Prophet Muḥammad was said to have preached his Farewell Sermon. During his last *ṭawāf*, Van der Hoog sat in between two rows of soldiers and a small, thin, old lady wrapped in heavy yellow silk dress and leaning on her stick, who was in deep reverence before the Black Stone. He was told that she was the Rani of Hyderabad.[130]

The Day of ʿArafāt was Van der Hoog's peak experience of the Hajj. In his opinion, a man should take the path to ʿArafāt at least one time in his life in order to achieve a deep conviction that this path really exits. Under the *Ḥaram*'s portico, Van der Hoog sat and cast a last glance at what he saw as "precious images" deeply engraved in his thoughts: the Kaʿba, the slender minarets, the high houses of Mecca, the mountains, the hundreds of blue doves. Finally, before he left Mecca, he wondered if he would see these images again.[131]

Popularizing the Hajj to the Dutch Audience

Ultimately, Van der Hoog was able to fulfill the entire ritual. After his return to the Netherlands in 1935, he began to publicise the account of his journey in the Dutch press. Among the many themes he wrote about was Ibn Sinā (Avicenna) and other topics related to medicine and science in Islam.[132] He also conducted several public courses at the *Volksuniversiteit* in Leiden on Islam,

128 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 162.

129 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 163.

130 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 163.

131 Van der Hoog, *Pelgrims*, 164.

132 "De weg naar Arafah: een moderne pelgrimstocht," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 24 February 1935; "Mekka en de wereld der Arabieren: Dr. P.H. van der Hoog onder de Pelgrims," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 24 November 1935. See, P.H. van der Hoog, *Ik, Ibn Sina* (The Hague: Zuid-Holl. Uitg. Mij., 1937).

modern Arabia, the Hajj and pan-Islamism.[133] In 1938–1939, as an experienced prominent Dutch pilgrim, Van der Hoog introduced the documentary film *Het Groote Mekka Feest* (The Great Mecca Festival) by the Dutch-Indonesian Muslim filmmaker G. Krugers (d. 1937) to the public, when Dutch cinemas and theatres in The Hague screened the film after Kruger's death.[134]

Conclusion

Van der Hoog's account of the Hajj is indeed a western religious experience which demonstrates that the pilgrim in question did not completely distance himself from his culture of origin. It is a humoristic and vivid literary and autobiographical document of a western Muslim narrator who mixed with another culture for a period of time without suppressing his identity as a Dutchman. Van der Hoog was no "assimilationist," whose aim was either assimilate himself in the Islamic culture, or to incorporate western thought into Islam. He was merely an intermediary figure embarked on an adventure of a lifetime to fulfill an ultimate spiritual goal in the Hajj, at least as he had imagined it.

Imbued by his devout Christian faith, the Dutch consul in Jeddah, Van der Meulen, was unconvinced about Van der Hoog's conversion to Islam. A few years after Van der Hoog's death, the Dutch consul wrote that on the plains of ʿArafāt and Minā Van der Hoog "suffered as a doctor because he couldn't believe as a believer. Now that the forbidden land was no longer forbidden to him, it lost its attraction."[135] However, a careful reading of Van der Hoog's Hajj narrative reveals the story of a European adventurer in a search for new spiritual experiences. Van der Hoog held a mystical Unitarian vision of religion. Islam was just a religious manifestation of the absolute truth which could be

133 "Arabie en de bedevaart naar Mekka," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 11 February 1937.

134 "Pelgrimstocht naar Mekka: een belangwekkende film," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 20 October 1938; cf. "Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland: Congres te Leiden," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 April 1939; "De Mekka Film," *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 11 February 1939. In the late 1920s Krugers went with a camera on Hajj to film the ritual for the first time, which is a unique snapshot of the Hajj experience, and of life in Arabia of that time. The premiere of that film took place in 1928 in Leiden with an introduction by Snouck Hurgronje, which was a red-carpet event attended by the then nineteen-year old Princess Juliana of the Netherlands. http://www.geschiedenis24.nl/nieuws/2012/oktober/Het-groote-Mekka-feest.html?goback=%2Egmr_117118%2Egde_117118_member_179052491 (accessed, 11 Dec. 2012).

135 Van der Meulen, *Faces*, 23.

found in all religious orientations. Throughout his account, he did not take all Islamic institutions or traditions for granted. Regarding the Hajj in particular, he was ready to accept several contemporary critical approaches to the history of the Hajj by Orientalists, which claimed that there were pre-Islamic pagan remnants in the Islamic Hajj rites. During his stay in Arabia, nevertheless, Van der Hoog stated in a press article that his Hajj should be seen as a "modern" pilgrimage. Despite the fact that he himself had warned many against the epidemic dangers of Hajj journey in the press, he dared to take the risk of performing the ritual only because of this new spiritual endeavor.[136]

From the late 1930s, Van der Hoog's formalistic connection to Islam and its religious practices and duties most likely evaporated. He continued writing about his reflections on human physical and spiritual suffering. His book on Ibn Sinā was well received and reprinted several times.[137] The general public knew about his earlier Hajj adventure, but he scarcely spoke about it again with his family. His daughter, Fatima Gudde-van der Hoog, told me in an interview that her father remained until the end of his life a believer in one God, but was no longer a practicing Muslim. She still remembers that he used to receive "Oriental-looking" Muslim men at home in The Hague after the Second World War. Her father even donated money to the building of the first mosque in The Hague that was established in 1955.[138]

As part of Dutch intellectual history, Van der Hoog certainly introduced a specific image about Islam, Arabia and the Hajj to the Dutch public in the interwar period. His conversion to Islam, his pilgrimage and name as Abd al-Ali (a translation of his name in Dutch) are far less well-known among the Dutch public nowadays than the fame of his name on all the cosmetic preparations and creams, still produced by the skin care company under the name Dr. Van der Hoog.

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137 Van der Meulen, *Faces*, 24.

138 Interview, op. cit.

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CHAPTER 8

"I Have To Disguise Myself": Orientalism, Gyula Germanus, and Pilgrimage as Cultural Capital, 1935–1965

Adam Mestyan

The Muslim pilgrimage has long constituted a form of cultural capital. Throughout the dangerous journey to Arabia, and then within Mecca and Medina, scholars and non-scholars have mingled and exchanged ideas, bought books, and have been enriched by new experiences.[1] Back home, the male and female pilgrim have acquired a title, "the one who made the pilgrimage" (*ḥājj* [*ḥājjī*] and *ḥājja*), which has informed his or her status in the community. Making a pilgrimage, in general, activates claims to piety, knowledge, and prestige—a phenomenon that continued in the twentieth century. Such claims and their limits are the subject of this chapter, which examines the doubly curious example of a Muslim Orientalist from Eastern Europe in the interwar and Cold War periods.

Gyula or Julius Germanus (1884–1979), a Hungarian Turkologist and Arabist, and a convert to Islam, acquired and claimed knowledge by making the Hajj to Mecca and also trips in the Ḥijāz. Yet his first two travels occurred in the late 1930s when technology had already transformed the nature of the pilgrimage. Inside Arabia, this was a period of slower transition because the young Saudi kingdom was relatively poor, although as we shall see, modern technology such as radio was available, and thus Nazi radio propaganda in Arabic was discussed. Germanus nonetheless attempted to experience and narrate the pilgrimage as a romantic enterprise and struggle for knowledge. The product was a series of books in which a mixture of scholarship, travel description, and popular convictions created a somewhat literary representation of the Middle East during the Cold War. What his story best exemplifies, however, is the political function of the Hajj within Eastern European-Middle Eastern entanglements.

1 F.E. Peters, *Mecca: A Literary History of the Muslim Holy Land* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994). The author would like to express his gratitude for permission to publish the photographs to Dr. János Kubassek, director of the Hungarian Museum of Geography, and for research help to Dr. Katalin Puskás, chief archivist in the same institution.

By the twentieth century, the figure of the Orientalist as a scholar-traveler became an outdated public image. Germanus was one of the last nineteenth-century-type Orientalist scholars who personally attempted the Hajj. Between 1800 and 1950, around a hundred European adventurers, spies, traders, tourists, and scholars in Arabia tried,[2] but only a few succeeded, or even reached Mecca, usually disguised. John Lewis Burckhardt, Richard Burton, Snouck Hurgronje, and St. John Philby are the best known names.[3] For them, the Hajj was an opportunity to gain information about geography, politics, commerce, and the institutions and rituals of Islam. Germanus included himself in this chain of travelers and scholars in his writings,[4] which painted a relatively static image of "the Orient" for Hungarian readers in the 1960s. This image did not reflect much of the changing reality of Egypt and Arabia in the late 1930s, and by the 1960s, after the discovery of oil he presented it as a lost, nostalgic one to his Socialist Hungarian audience. Germanus is exceptional in his enterprise, however, not only because of his attempt to experience the last remnants of a changing past, but also because he was a convert to Islam. His conversion was advertised and accepted in the Muslim world and, as we shall see, the story of his Hajj had a following in Egypt in the late 1930s.

This example also provides an introduction into the twentieth-century entanglements of Eastern Europe and the Middle East, which have recently gained some attention in scholarship.[5] The career of Germanus, an example of such an entanglement, starts in the shared twilight of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. Born into an assimilated Hungarian Jewish family in 1884, he converted to Protestantism in 1909, after studying history, Turkish, and Arabic in Budapest from 1902 to 1907, spending some time in Istanbul, and one postdoctoral year in England. He entered state service as a

2 Benjamin Reilly, "Arabian Travellers, 1800–1950: An Analytical Bibliography," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 1.43 (2016). Reilly, counting couples as one traveler, provides the number 91 in his period, but he does not mention Germanus.

3 F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), Chapter Five.

4 He refers to his "honorable predecessors" ("dicső elődök"), ranging from de Couillon to Burckhardt to Hurgronje. Germanus Gyula, *Allah Akbar!* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1984; original edition 1936), 95–114.

5 The interest of recent scholarship is still limited to Balkans–Middle East comparisons. See Karl Kaser, *The Balkans and the Near East: Introduction to a Shared History* (Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2011); Vangelis Kechriotis, "Requiem for the Empire: 'Elective Affinities' Between the Balkan States and the Ottoman Empire in the Long 19th Century," in Sabine Rutar (ed.), *Beyond the Balkans: Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe* (Wien, Zürich, Berlin: Lit, 2014), 97–122.

teacher of Turkish in 1912 at the Academy of Oriental Trade in Budapest. During WWI, he served on small-scale, semi-diplomatic missions. In the post-imperial Hungarian period he strove to remain in national academia while serving as the secretary of the Hungarian branch of the PEN Club (Poets, Essayists, and Novelists). Between 1928 and 1931, he taught Islamic Studies at the University of Shantiniketan in India. Germanus converted to Islam in 1930 in Delhi and took the surname ʿAbd al-Karīm (Abdul Karim). After WWII, in his late age, he became a prominent Orientalist in Socialist Hungary in the 1960s. I have written in detail about the first half of his career elsewhere.[6]

Germanus's travels demonstrate the continued political significance of the pilgrimage and, to some extent, its educational features in the age of mass travel for Orientalist scholars. He instrumentalized the Hajj for several goals: to improve his Arabic, to build a personal network in Egypt, and to boost his political and scholarly profile in Hungary. I argue that through his pilgrimage, whether intentionally or not, Germanus effectively became a bridge between Soviet Eastern Europe and the increasingly Socialist Middle East (especially Egypt and Iraq) in the 1950s and 1960s. However, his conversion and travel were not enough to achieve scholarly recognition in a field dominated by linguists. Personal testimony became an asset in academia only if it was accompanied by philologically sound work. Neither did Germanus establish himself as an anthropologist that would have rather fitted his interest and character.

This chapter focuses on his three travels to the Ḥijāz: the Hajj in 1935, a curious trip in 1940, and an invitation by the Saudi government in 1965. In terms of networking, Germanus' first travel established friendly connections with Egyptian and Saudi individuals; his second visit helped him to further deepen these friendships; while the third trip, officially organized, seems to have functioned as a form of cultural diplomacy. Germanus' first two visits were both preceded by long periods of learning and preparation in Egypt, during which he acquired a good knowledge of learned Arabic (*fuṣḥā*) and a unique familiarity with modern Arabic literature and its producers in Egypt. In his descriptions of the last two visits, published during the 1950s and 1960s, respectively, there is a textual interplay between memory, scholarship, popular Orientalism, and Cold War politics. This chapter draws on the critical analysis of these and other works, as well as on hitherto unpublished archival material.

6 Adam Mestyan, "Materials for a History of Hungarian Academic Orientalism—The Case of Gyula Germanus," *Die Welt des Islams* 54.1 (2014): 4–33.

Pilgrimage and Learning

As a professor of Islam in India between 1928 and 1931, Germanus felt the embarrassing absence of experience in Arabic-speaking lands. He felt his Arabic needed improvement, even though (or perhaps because) he had already started to translate the Qurʾān into Hungarian at that time. In fact, in the 1920s the Caliphate and the translatability of the Qurʾān were two major questions for Muslims all over the world, especially in colonial India,[7] and Germanus may well have been influenced by such debates. He thus sought to enhance both his knowledge and his legitimacy within the field of Islamic studies. It is possible that the plan to make the Hajj preceded his conversion to Islam in Delhi in 1930. Only a few months after his conversion, Germanus, still in India, asked the Hungarian Ministry of Education to finance his Hajj to Mecca, writing: "I have to disguise myself, too, to venture my dangerous trip *pretending* to be Muslim".[8]

The wording was possibly a device to convince the authorities in interwar Hungary of the scientific spirit behind his conversion. Regardless, no financial assistance was forthcoming in the context of the world economic crisis. Yet a few years later Germanus managed to secure the support of the Hungarian authorities. After he returned, his workplace in Budapest, the Faculty of Economics at the Royal Pázmány Péter University, permitted him to take an official holiday for "a scientific expedition" in 1933. He applied to his faculty and the Ministry of Education with a plan to "finish the Qurʾān-translation according to the various rites" in Egypt, make the pilgrimage, study manuscripts in Medina, and research the "still intact" system of Bedouin tribes in Najd.[9] Dean Count Pál Teleki warmly supported his request; and Germanus received a travel grant from the Ministry.[10]

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7 Reza Pankhurst, *The Inevitable Caliphate? A History of the Struggle for Global Islamic Union, 1924 to the Present* (London: C. Hurst and Co., 2013), 37.

8 Letter dated 2 August 1931, from Germanus to Ministry of Education, in Germanus Gyula személyi dossziéja, in 490 d, K636, Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National Archives; hereafter, MOL) (emphasis added).

9 Undated Letter, Germanus to the Faculty, in 6/b 35, A budapesti királyi magyar Tudományegyetem Közgazdaságtudományi Kar Dékáni Hivatala iratai (hereafter, KKDH), Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem Levéltára (hereafter, BCEL) (Documents of the Dean's Office at the Economics Faculty at the Hungarian Royal University of Sciences in Budapest in the Archive of the Corvinus University in Budapest).

10 The decision of the Faculty is dated 30 November 1933, in 6/b 35, KKDH, BCEL. The decision of the Minister, including the 1000 pengő, is dated 16 February 1934, in Germanus Gyula személyi dossziéja, in 490 d, K636, MOL.

Germanus' Muslim friends in India also supported him by sending articles about his conversion to the journal of Mecca. He was in contact with the Indian poet and Muslim philosopher Muḥammad Iqbal.[11] Perhaps through Iqbal, or through his contacts in the PEN Club, Germanus also approached some Egyptians. For instance, ʿAlī Ibrāhīm Pasha, said to be the rector of al-Azhar at that time (was he perhaps the famous Dr. ʿAlī Pasha Ibrāhīm, Minister of Health?), 'invited' Germanus to Egypt (in another letter, however, it seems that ʿAlī Ibrāhīm only supported Germanus).[12] In his letters to his Muslim friends, Germanus likely refrained from referring to the pilgrimage as a "scientific expedition," and certainly there was no mention of disguising himself. He also contacted a surprising number of Egyptian writers—in particular, the lawyer-writer-historian (Muḥammad) ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān (1898–1986), who eventually became a close friend.

In his Hungarian book *Allah Akbar!* (1936) Germanus narrates the story of his conversion, travel to Egypt, and Hajj. In this peculiar description, based on his travel diary,[13] Germanus made conscious references to previous famous European travelers in Arabia such as Burckhardt and Hurgronje.[14] He depicted "the Oriental man" and the noble but uncultured Bedouin, and expressed a huge admiration towards King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Saʿūd, whom he actually met in person.[15] To his merit, some of his naïve reflections are interesting today (such as "the *wahhābī* Najd entering Mecca meant the victory of nationalism over cosmopolitan Islam").[16] He provides a fascinating account of the Saudi kingdom before the age of oil. Overall, however, the book must be read with some caution.

In his narrative, Germanus left Budapest sometime in June 1934 to apply for a visa at the Egyptian Embassy in Vienna. His application was refused thanks

11 Letter dated 24 May 1934, from Iqbal to Germanus, in English, in Box 36, Heritage of Gyula Germanus (personal papers of Germanus) in Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum, Érd (Hungarian Geographical Museum, Érd; hereafter, MFM).

12 The letter of ʿAlī Ibrāhīm Pasha, dated 7 March 1934, is referred to in a letter dated 16 March 1934, from the Dean to the Pál Förster, chargé d'affairs, in 6/b 35, KKDH, BCEL. It remains unclear how Germanus could approach this pasha. Undated letter, Germanus to the Faculty, in 6/b 35, KKDH, BCEL.

13 The original diary is in Box 36, MFM. It would be an interesting literary exercise to compare the diary with the published book.

14 Germanus, *Allah Akbar!*, 95–114. He had mentioned these travelers already in his applications for Hungarian state support, before the Hajj.

15 Germanus, *Allah Akbar!*, 499–507.

16 Germanus, *Allah Akbar!*, 502.

to the malicious intrigues of a Muslim imam in Budapest who did not want to accept his conversion.[17] At the travel agency in Vienna he met an English lady, a former love, who immediately upon hearing his troubles took him to England, where he briefly met Lawrence of Arabia—a meeting Germanus capitalized upon as a legitimizing device. Upon getting the visa in London, he sailed to Alexandria via Venice.[18] He established himself in Cairo and began to make friends and tried to improve his Arabic from October 1934 onward.

As a Muslim scholar Germanus reached out to Muslim educational institutions in Egypt. He wanted to study at al-Azhar, perhaps imitating his former teacher, the legendary Ignác Goldziher, who attended classes at Al-Azhar—but without conversion—in the early 1870s. Germanus also gave a talk in Arabic about Muslims in Hungary to *Jamʿiyyat al-Shubbān al-Muslimīn* (The Society of Young Muslims) in December 1934.[19] Next, he met Sheikh Muḥammad al-Ẓawāhirī (1878–1944), the Grand Sheikh of al-Azhar, informing him about his wish to study at al-Azhar in order to continue his translation of the Qurʾān into Hungarian. When al-Ẓawāhirī showed reluctance, Germanus produced an emotional cry that he only wanted to learn; as he described it, "my voice was trembling with honesty" and so, finally, he was admitted.[20] But like Goldziher, Germanus could not study at al-Azhar for a longer period. He had to set off once the prescribed time of the Hajj season approached. Interestingly, the events can be read in a new light if we note that Sheikh al-Ẓawāhirī seriously opposed the translation of the Qurʾān.[21]

In March 1935, Germanus stayed at the famous house of Muḥammad Naṣīf in Jeddah but was arrested. Already in Cairo there was rumor that he was a spy.[22] These suspicions were perhaps based on his public use of English instead of Arabic, or because of the malicious intrigues of the imam from Budapest against him. In Jeddah, he was soon released thanks to the recommendation letters to the famous British agent and traveler Jack "Abdullah" St. John Philby (1885–1960), then a trusted advisor of King Ibn Saʿūd[23] and who was likely one

17 Mestyan, "Materials for a History," 25–26.

18 Germanus, *Allah Akbar!*, 75–84.

19 Published as Duktūr ʿAbd al-Karīm Jirmānūs, ustādh al-taʾrīkh bi-jāmiʿat Būdāpast, "Al-Islām fī bilād al-Majar," 19 December 1934, *al-Siyāsa*, press cut, in Box 35, MFM.

20 Germanus, *Allah Akbar!*, 134.

21 *Al-Siyāsa wa-l-Azhar: min Mudhakkirāt Shaykh al-Islām al-Ẓawāhirī* (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 2011; orig. 1945), 312–317.

22 Germanus, *Allah Akbar!*, 176.

23 Germanus, *Allah Akbar!*, 301 and 307.

of Germanus's role models.[24] Henceforth, the Hungarian pilgrim continued his travel to Mecca in a state-owned car used for the transportation of pilgrims. This was a relatively new development in the slowly motorized kingdom.[25] In Mecca he observed the neglected condition of the city and its monuments. He embarked upon the rituals of *ʿumra*—by firstly making seven circumambulations around the Kaʿba, and then running seven times between al-Ṣafa and al-Marwa. At the Kaʿba "the ecstasy of the mob grasped" him in a "spiritual narcosis," so he was not able to "record the scene as a researcher."[26] Later he performed all the necessary stages for the Hajj at Mina, the mountain of ʿArafāt, and Muzdalifa; at the end, he slaughtered a black goat for the ritual sacrifice.

It was also in Mecca that Germanus met King Ibn Saʿūd in person. In that year, the king had just survived an assassination attempt and Germanus joined a group of pilgrims who went to congratulate him. He asked God to bless the king and introduced himself as an Azharī sheikh, but soon had to reveal that he was a Hungarian scholar. Apparently Ibn Saʿūd liked him and later invited him to his company. Next, aided by his servant Maḥmūd, Germanus travelled with a caravan to Medina, but became ill along the way. In Medina, he was hosted by a certain Yaḥyā, a friend of Maḥmūd. After visiting the tomb of the Prophet, Germanus's health seriously deteriorated at Yaḥyā's house, though the family did everything in their power to cure him. Finally, he decided to return to Egypt.[27]

In his post-pilgrimage texts Germanus wanted to publicise his spiritual experience in Mecca. Back in Cairo around the middle of April 1935, he published an article (in Arabic, translated from the English) in the Egyptian journal *al-Balāgh*, describing the benefits of the Hajj to the Egyptians.[28] The article was intended to be a proof of faith and a means of strengthening his belonging to the Muslim community. Germanus left Egypt, arriving in Greece via Mandate Palestine and Mandate Syria. In his book *Allah Akbar!*, Germanus admitted that "Athens was the reward for all my sufferings." The description of his Hajj ended here, when he shifted to imagine Beethoven writing a tenth symphony about "the ideal beauty of ancient Greece in its ennoblement by the ethical good. The

24 Philby, too, had converted to Islam in exactly 1930; for his travels see H. St. J.B. Philby, *Sheba's Daughters: Being a Record of Travel in Southern Arabia* (London: Methuen & Co., 1939).

25 David Holden and Richard Johns, *The House of Saud: The Rise and Rule of the Most Powerful Dynasty in the Arab World* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1981), 102–105.

26 Germanus, *Allah Akbar!*, 352–356.

27 Germanus, *Allah Akbar!*, 352–356.

28 "Khawāṭir ʿan al-ḥajj li-l-duktūr ʿAbd al-Karīm Jirmānūs," *al-Balāgh*, 15 May 1935, press cut, in Box 35, MFM.

goal of human life is righteousness and beauty." And these are the last sentences in *Allah Akbar!*.[29]

As a result of his Hajj journey, Germanus not only established friendly connections in Egypt and Saudi Arabia and improved his knowledge of Arabic, but also became widely known as an Arabist in Hungary. This was entirely due to the success of his publication of *Allah Akbar!*. Germanus was named "the pilgrim of scholarship" and staged as such (image 8.1), and was invited to give lectures on the radio and even in England. The book was also translated into Italian and German. He was celebrated as the successor of Vámbéry, Goldziher, and Hurgronje, despite the fact that these scholars were of very different caliber.[30] The book provided an appealing blend of scholarly knowledge and the lure of exploration. In this regard, Germanus stood as a potential hero for the Hungarian public caught up in the interwar rush for undiscovered territories.

Orientalism not only functioned as academic knowledge, or popular imagination, but also as a social tradition, almost a celebrity-type of framing. With the publication of *Allah Akbar!* Germanus gained a level of acclaim and recognition rarely achieved by academics. His name was known even in small countryside villages because he was invited to give lectures on radio, the most important media in the interwar period. In 1936, he lectured both in Hungarian and in English on the radio. One of his English radio lectures was even heard in Cairo by the writer Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (1888–1956), who described it in his book about Arabia, *Fī Manzil al-Waḥy* (1937) as an important element spurring his own Hajj.[31]

In this way, Germanus indirectly inspired and joined a generation of revivalist Muslims for whom the Hajj became an important religious experience again after the reading of Haykal's description (published in 1937, with huge success). A certain Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Ḥabīb testified that he was partly inspired by Haykal's text that motivated him to go on Hajj in 1938.[32] The Hajj narratives

29 These sentences are repeated verbatim in a later work, *A félhold fakó fényében*, published first in 1957. I used a new edition: Germanus Gyula, "A félhold fakó fényében," in Germanus Gyula, *Kelet varázsa* (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1979), 11–210, at 160.

30 See the Hungarian reviews in Mestyan, "Materials for a History," 30, n. 175.

31 Germanus later recollected that his radio lectures were in Arabic (Germanus, "A félhold fakó fényében," 161), but from the description of Haykal it is clear that what he heard was in English. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, *Fī Manzil al-Waḥy* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1967), 41–42.

32 Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Ḥabīb, *Riḥla fī al-Arḍ al-Muqaddasa* (*Bayn Miṣr wa-l-Ḥijāz*), *1938* (Beirut: al-Dār al-ʿArabiyya li-l-Mawsūʿāt, 2014), 33, 36.

FIGURE 8.1
"The Pilgrim of Scholarship": an official photo of Gyula Germanus (1939)
1629-91, HUNGARIAN MUSEUM OF GEOGRAPHY, PUBLISHED WITH PERMISSION

of Haykal and other Muslims were actually different from that of Germanus. While they noted the infrastructural shortcomings in Arabia, their central concern was the regaining of spiritual and moral purity according to Islam. Indeed, it is interesting to read Germanus's Hungarian description of Hajj in 1935 and Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Ḥabīb's Arabic diary of 1938 together with an eye on their different social settings, perceptions of Mecca, and the place of the ego in both descriptions.[33]

Meanwhile, politics became toxic in Europe. In Budapest, an anti-Jewish law was promulgated in 1938, a second one in 1939, and a third in 1941. The man who signed most of these laws was Count Pál Teleki—Germanus' former boss at the Faculty of Economics. Teleki returned to grand politics in 1938 as Minister

33 It is especially different that the pilgrimage was more of a family enterprise for Egyptian Muslims. Ḥabīb, *Riḥla*, 41.

of Education and soon became Prime Minister.[34] Germanus had to deny not only his Jewish origins—like many other assimilated Hungarians—but also his Muslim conversion by convincing both the public and Teleki of his Christian faith.[35]

Fighting Hitler in Arabia

It was in this atmosphere that Germanus wanted to repeat his trip to the Ḥijāz. From the information available it is possible to discern that he considered the first pilgrimage as a failed scientific expedition. He did not complete his original plan to research the "still intact" system of Bedouin tribes in Najd. He later recalled that "it is my duty to go back to accomplish this work."[36] Teleki, now Minister, helped his former subordinate when Germanus applied for a new sabbatical to "do research in the libraries of Mecca and to visit the cities in the Najd plateau" in May 1938 (when the first anti-Jewish law was debated in the Parliament). In order to accomplish the trip, Germanus also asked for a fund of 150 British pounds and recommendation letters.[37] Teleki permitted the sabbatical and gave financial support. A handwritten note on Germanus's application that "the sabbatical should be from 1 June 1939 to 31 August 1940" was, in all likelihood, written by Teleki himself.[38] In May 1939, Teleki became Prime Minister (and negotiated with Hitler on behalf of Hungary).[39] This change meant that Germanus had a supporter in the second highest position in the Hungarian administration (the highest being Regent István Horthy); just having this relationship may have protected Germanus from the anti-Jewish laws until 1941.

The political atmosphere of Europe on the brink of the Second World War is reflected in urban legends about Germanus' second travel. In an anecdote recounted by the late SOAS professor Géza Fehérvári, Prime Minister Teleki

34 Balazs Ablonczy, *Pal Teleki (1879–1941): The Life of a Controversial Hungarian Politician* (Boulder: East European Monographs, Budapest: Institute of Habsburg History, 2006), 165–166.

35 Mestyan, "Materials for a History," 30.

36 Germanus, "A félhold fakó fényében," 161.

37 Letter, May 1, 1938, from Germanus to Minister, in 736 d, K636, MOL.

38 Note dated August 12, 1938 from Minister to Dean, in 736 d, K636, MOL. The final note to the Faculty from the Ministry about Germanus' sabbatical is dated February 27, 1939, in 6/b 35, KKDH, BCEL.

39 Ablonczy, *Pal Teleki*, 174, 206–207.

asked Germanus to act as his go-between by delivering a secret message to the British Government. When Germanus arrived in Alexandria in the autumn of 1939 (see below), he was flown from there by British airplane to London, where he passed an envelope over to an officer in the British Foreign Ministry. In the 1950s, Fehérvári, then a young student, asked Germanus about the content of the message, who summarized it in two points: 1) Hungary would never let the German army use its territory against Poland, and 2) Hungarians would take up arms to resist the Germans if necessary.[40] It is important to note, however, that this story cannot be verified[41] as Germanus never included it in any of his published or unpublished works we have seen so far. Balázs Ablonczy, the leading expert on the life and politics of Count Teleki, does not exclude the possibility of such a mission because the content of the message reflects Teleki's anti-German conviction (which probably led to his suicide in 1941). It would also fit in with his character that favoured informal communication instead of establishing contacts through the pro-German Hungarian state administration. Nonetheless, Ablonczy considers the story in this form unlikely.[42] A curious detail is that Germanus, in fact, visited England, possibly to give a talk in the late summer of 1939 *before* leaving for Arabia (just as he had done prior to his first travel in 1934). On his way back from London he could not fly to Budapest because France closed its air space, so he had to take a train from Paris via Italy.[43] This event occurred around the time of the invasion of Poland (September 1, 1939). If Germanus had ever carried any secret message to the British, it should have been delivered during this trip. The anecdote, as was told to and by Fehérvári, possibly merged two chronologically close, but distinct events, which is a common aspect of Germanus's narrative style.

Contrary to the supposed arrangements in Alexandria, Germanus wanted to *avoid* British-controlled Egypt during his second trip. He travelled from Budapest on a ship as a member of the crew on September 23, 1939 with the intention of reaching Saudi Arabia via Mandate Lebanon, Transjordan, and Iraq.[44] The reason for his disguise as a sailor is not clear. Fehérvári believed

40 Dr. Fehérvári Géza, "Germanus Gyula—A tanár, mint nagyapa," in Edit Lendvai Timár (ed.), *Germanus Gyula—A tudós és az ember* (Érd: Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum, 2009), 56–63.

41 I have found no evidence thus far in either the MOL or in the National Archives of Britain.

42 Email of Balazs Ablonczy to me, 26 August 2011.

43 Germanus, "A félhold fakó fényében," 162. He visited Oxford every year after 1936 until WWII. "Emlékezéseim a PEN-Clubra," 8, MFM.

44 Letter dated 26 June 1939, from Foreign Ministry to Hungarian Royal Legation in Cairo, in 7. tétel, 15. csomó, K90, MOL.

FIGURE 8.2
Gyula Germanus dressed as a sailor on the ship "Duna" (1939)
1674–91, HUNGARIAN MUSEUM OF GEOGRAPHY, PUBLISHED WITH PERMISSION

that travelling undercover was connected to Germanus' secret mission. In Germanus's own words, "I had no other chance, only to join the Hungarian navy" in order to reach Arabia. However, Hungary was officially neutral at that time. His preparations in June–July 1939 prove that he chose to travel as a sailor *prior* to the outbreak of the war.[45] A photograph shows Germanus happily posing in his sailor suit during the summer (image 8.2). It seems that the boat trip, then, was part of an effort to actually avoid British-dominated Egypt.

The narrative related to this trip was only much later published, in 1957, after the failed Hungarian revolution of 1956. In this book, entitled *A félhold fakó fényében* (*In the Light of the Dull Crescent*), Germanus described his heroic

45 His "Ideiglenes tengerészeti szolgálati engedély" (Temporary permit for service at sea) is dated 31 July 1939, in Box 36, MFM.

struggle with the sea, his illness, the French-Arab custom officer in Beirut who refused to let him leave the boat (on suspicion that Germanus was a spy), and his unexpected stay in wartime Cairo. Finally, the travel in the Najd constituted an enjoyable sequence of adventures, spiced with Orientalising tropes. *In the Light of the Dull Crescent*, unlike *Allah Akbar!* which was published in 1936, contains references to socialism. It is important to underline that this book, perhaps after revisions and self-censoring, was published *after* the 1956 revolution, under the reaffirmed socialist regime. For instance, he recalled that during his 1939 Cairo visit, he met with the brother of the Afghan king at the palace of the famous Egyptian feminist Hudā Shaʿrāwī (1879–1947), and his Afghan prince according to Germanus, "absorbed progressive doctrines in the Soviet Union."[46]

Although Germanus' description in *In the Light of the Dull Crescent* seems to be devoid of politics, it is possible to read it as a statement of his political loyalty to the regime after 1956. References to socialism—an officially despised ideology in interwar Hungary, especially in 1940—were all the more peculiar if we consider his narratives in the light of the available documents. Possibly due to Teleki's support, Germanus enjoyed the help of the Hungarian official authorities once again.[47] When he arrived in Cairo in November 1939, the Hungarian Royal Legation asked the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to recover some of his confiscated items that were taken in Beirut[48] and Alexandria.[49] Soon Germanus took up his residence at "21 rue Kasr al-Nil,"[50] and socialized again (or, in the 1950s, remembered to socialize) with the crème of Egyptian intellectuals: Ṭaha Ḥusayn, Shawqī Amīn, Salāma Mūsa, Ḥusayn Haykal, Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, Maḥmūd Taymūr, etc, including the closest friend, Muḥammad Amīn Ḥasūna. Germanus again studied Arabic at Fuad I University (today's Cairo University)

46 Germanus, "A félhold fakó fényében," 176.

47 The Hungarian Foreign Ministry furnished him with a letter asking "all Hungarian authorities, all foreign authorities" to let Germanus freely move in their territories, help and protect him if needed. Letter dated 11 July 1939, in Box 36, MFM.

48 The confiscated items were sent from Beirut to "La Direction de la Surveillance Palestinienne à Caiffa." Letter dated 16 January 1940, from Hungarian Consul in Beirut (Ferdinand Girardi), to Hungarian Royal Legation in Cairo, in 7. tétel, 15. csomó, K90, MOL.

49 Letter dated 15 November 1939, from Hungarian Royal Legation in Cairo to Egyptian Foreign Ministry. Soon Germanus got his papers back, letter dated December 1939 from Egyptian Foreign Ministry to Hungarian Royal Legation in Cairo. Both in 7. tétel, 15. csomó, K90, MOL.

50 Card dated 19 November 1939, from Germanus to Hungarian Royal Legation, in 7. tétel, 15. csomó, K90, MOL.

in Giza as an audit student (at the age of 56),[51] when Ṭaha Ḥusayn was the Dean of the Faculty of Letters. The Hungarian Royal Legation (the name of the Hungarian embassy at the time) asked for a visa for Germanus to travel to Saudi Arabia in February 1940.[52] Germanus, meanwhile, was becoming a proper part of the expat Hungarian community in Egypt.[53]

It is unclear when exactly Germanus left Cairo for Saudi Arabia through Suez, but it should have been sometime after February 1940. In Jeddah he was hosted by his "friend," ʿAbd Allāh Zaynal ("Zeinel," perhaps Zaynal ʿAli Riḍā, Alireza, the owner of Alireza Company). For the welcome dinner, Zaynal invited a number of famous Saudi personalities, including the above-mentioned Muḥammad Naṣīf and his son, the writer and editor of *al-Manhal* magazine ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī, and (ʿAbd Allāh) Sulaymān al-Najdī (d. 1965), the first Minister of Finance in the Saudi Kingdom. Germanus later telegraphed King Ibn Saʿūd, and Sulaymān al-Najdī received him in his office. In Jeddah, Germanus observed, there was plenty of alcohol in the new offices of the American oil company and every evening Americans had a drinking party as they were sickened by boredom.[54] After two weeks in Jeddah he drove to Mecca where he lodged in Zaynal's house in the city and performed the *ʿumra*. A rich Meccan, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, invited him to a dinner with many friends, where they listened to the gramophone. After visiting the neighbouring mountains, Germanus returned to Jeddah.

Both WWII and the Cold War are present in Germanus's narrative. In Jeddah he met with King Ibn Saʿūd for the second time and was invited for dinner, where the king presented him with "old Arabic books." Later Germanus travelled to Medina where he lodged in the Egyptian guesthouse. There he met his old friend Yaḥyā, who had cared for him during his first visit in 1935. In Medina he was keen on meeting with a number of official dignitaries, including the governor of the city, doctors, *ʿulamā'*, and most importantly again with al-Anṣārī, editor of the cultural journal *al-Manhal* (founded 1937). During an evening conversation in Medina, a Saudi friend asked Germanus why he did not mention that the Germans were Muslims, an idea that Nazi radio propaganda in Berlin

51 Permission dated 6 February 1940, in Box 36, MFM.

52 The Consulate asked for a free visa of return in his name from the Foreign Ministry, dated 6 February 1940, in 7. tétel, 15. csomó, K90, MOL.

53 "A magyar kolónia névsora, Kairó" (List of Members of the Hungarian Colony, Cairo), dated 15 March 1940, in 15. csomó, 6. tétel, K90, MOL.

54 This remark about Americans might be understood again within the Cold War atmosphere of the 1950s.

in Arabic was repeating.[55] Germanus ironically answered that he did not discuss matters of religion with the Germans, since they are *shiʿī*, "and with this sentence I not only tossed aside the suspicion [of being a liar], but also struck a death-blow on the Arabic propaganda of Hitler."[56]

In Arabia Germanus continued his research by investigating "the [ancient] trench that the Prophet Muḥammad ordered" around the city and made excursions to the famous places of early Islam. He travelled to Uḥud, Badr, and Khaybar with a caravan, accompanied by his servant Maḥmūd who accompanied him during his visit in 1935. The final destination was Riyadh, the capital of the Najd. The journey was ostensibly an attempt to discover the "still intact" tribes of the Najd. But after leaving the village of al-Sulaymī, the caravan lost its way, leaving the travelers with neither food nor water. Sickened, Germanus arrived in an oasis ("Hamellie" at the "Abenat" mountains) in the territory of the *ḥarbī* Bedouins, where he was cured. When he finally arrived in Riyadh, the progressive Saudis were surprised to see him traveling with a caravan instead of a car or bus. He insisted that the trip was "a study and an experience." Yet, once in Riyadh, apart from his "philological research," he was most interested in horses, since horse-riding was his favorite hobby. His account provides more description of the horses than of the *Najdī* dialect of Arabic at the time, even though he claimed to have spent an entire month in the capital, before returning (by car) to Jeddah.[57]

The 1940 expedition was at least framed as an effort to experience the Bedouin life, but he never published on them or their language. Instead, in his narrative he deployed familiar tropes revealing a touristic fascination with Arabia, bringing to mind the American Syrian Christian Amīn Rīhānī's 1920s' longing for a caravan in Arabia.[58] Germanus' account must be again contrasted with the available contemporary documents. He could not have spent a month in Riyadh since his visa request was refused in Jeddah as early as mid-April 1940.[59] He fell ill again, so the Royal Legation had to ask the Egyptian Foreign

55 There was an organized Nazi radio propaganda in Arabic, transmitted from Berlin from 1939. David Motadel, *Islam and Nazi Germany's War* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014), 92–106.

56 Germanus, "A félhold fakó fényében," 189–190.

57 Germanus, "A félhold fakó fényében," 207.

58 Cited in F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 339–340.

59 His telegram, dated 18 April 1940, begs the Legation to get the visa urgently, in 7. tétel, 15. csomó, K90, MOL.

Ministry to obtain the visa for him.[60] His later claim that "the Grand Sheikh of Azhar and my Egyptian friends helped me to get the visa" is thus not correct.[61] Germanus arrived back in Egypt after spending around one and a half months in Saudi Arabia.

In sum, during this second journey, the Hungarian Orientalist strengthened his already existing connections with Egyptian intellectuals in Cairo, further improved his *fuṣḥā* Arabic, acquired new friends in Saudi Arabia, and certainly had interesting experiences with the caravan. Unfortunately he never published anything scholarly about the Najd. It is unclear how he returned from Cairo to still neutral Hungary in the early summer of 1940. In Budapest, Regent Horthy promoted him to a higher salary grade in July 1940,[62] possibly inspired by Germanus's account of the horses in Arabia (Horthy was also a great fan of horses). Germanus still had to prove, nonetheless, that he was not a Jew in 1940. At the time, his conversion to Protestantism before 1918 and marriage to a lady belonging to an old Christian family were enough evidence that he was not connected to Judaism anymore. His Muslim conversion was not mentioned in the documents in this regard. In 1940 these conditions were sufficient to state "I cannot be considered a Jew" according to the law.[63]

The Cold War in the Ḥijāz, 1960s

The post-WWII years witnessed the general Sovietization of Hungarian science, including the field of humanities, which started with a controversial form of cultural diplomacy.[64] Germanus survived the Holocaust and the Second World War in his flat in Budapest, without harm or deportation. However, his wife committed suicide for unclear reasons. After the war, Germanus became an important member of the Hungarian de-Nazification trials post-1945. One of Germanus' former students, Mátyás Rákosi (1892–1971), became the Stal-

60 Letter dated 23 April 1940, from Legation to "Aly Maher Pacha," Egyptian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. The Egyptian Ministry informed the Legation about the permission of the visa in a letter dated 5 May 1940. Both in 7. tétel, 15. csomó, K90, MOL.

61 Germanus, "A félhold fakó fényében," 208.

62 Petition dated 6 June 1940 in 6/b 35, KKDH, BCEL, and letter from Bálint Hóman Minister to Regent Horthy, 11 July 1940, K636, 490 d, MOL.

63 "Nyilatkozat" (Statement), dated 30 May 1940, in his personal dossier at 490 d, K636, Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National Archives; in the following MOL).

64 Tamás Scheibner, *A magyar irodalomtudomány szovjetizálása—A szocialista realista kritika és intézményei, 1945–1953* (Budapest: Ráció Kiadó, 2014), especially Chapter Two.

inist dictator of Soviet-occupied Hungary; and this had possibly helped Germanus to save some friends, such as the famous Count László Almássy (1895–1951), from execution. Nevertheless, Germanus remained in minor university appointments in Stalinist Hungary and maintained only written correspondence with Arab scholars. He also re-married. His public image as an Arabist, carefully built up in the second half of the 1930s, however, lingered on in the 1950s. In 1955, the Egyptian Government of the Free Officers invited Germanus for a lecture, and he was even received by President Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. This was a sign of friendship between two anti-imperialist states (although the Egyptian government was still undecided on its exact ideology) through cultural relations. In Cairo, Germanus dined at embassies, such as the Saudi one, met with his old Egyptian friends, and travelled to Damascus for another lecture. He reported the experiences of this small lecture tour to the Hungarian authorities back home.[65] Every Hungarian academic traveller was required to report his travels at the time of closed borders. This mission should be also seen in the light of the Czechoslovak arms deal with Egypt in that year.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, in his eighties, Germanus had become a celebrated scholar in Socialist Hungary and the Middle East. Finally, he enjoyed the success he was able to completely gain in the interwar era. After the 1956 revolution, he helped to restore the international prestige of the regime, especially in the eyes of the "friendly" Arab countries. In 1958, he managed to create a new Department of Arabic Literature and Muslim Cultural History (Arab Irodalmi és Mohamedán Művelődéstörténeti Tanszék, 1958–1962) at the state university Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem (ELTE).[66] Later he was also elected (approved) as a member of the Socialist parliament. In terms of his relations with the Arab and Muslim world, Germanus was elected a member of the Egyptian, Jordanian, and Iraqi academies of sciences and was invited for lectures in India.

The chief manifestation of his political importance was a lecture-tour in Cairo, Damascus, and Baghdad in 1962. Then, in 1964 Germanus was again invited for a conference on the occasion of the millennial celebration of al-Azhar in Cairo. He gave a lecture entitled "Islam in Medieval Hungary."[67] Pres-

65 1955.-ös kairói látogatás—Jelentés piszkozata—Jelentés egyiptomi és szíriai utamról (1955. Február 27.–április 30-ig.), MFM.

66 Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem, Kari Tanácsi jegyzőkönyvek (Minutes of the Meetings of the Faculty of Humanities at the Eötvös Lóránd University of Sciences): 8/a/54 kötet (1956–1957–1958), minutes on 16 October 1958.

67 Printed invitation to the lecture "al-Islām fīal-Majar fīal-qurūn al-wusṭā," from Jāmiʿat al-Azhar, Kulliyat al-Dirāsāt al-ʿArabiyya, dated 5 March 1964, Box 36, MFM.

ident ʿAbd al-Nāṣir again received him among the invited scholars; his "old friend" Ṭaha Ḥusayn greeted them as well. And the following year he was invited to Saudi Arabia, which he described, together with his travels in the late 1950s, in a new book entitled *A Kelet fényei felé* (*Towards Eastern Lights*, 1966).[68]

Germanus's invitation to Arabia in 1965 took place in the framework of the Muslim World Congress organized by the Muslim World League (*Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī*), under the patronage of the new King Fayṣal (r. 1964–1975), who swore in as king in November 1964.[69] The conference was conveniently scheduled in the same period as the Hajj in April 1965 (Dhū al-Ḥijja 1384).[70] The event functioned in numerous ways as a symbolic occasion in the international relations of the Arab countries. 1965 is often viewed as an important moment in Saudi Arabian attempts to counterbalance the idea of Pan-Arabism promoted by Egypt with their support of Pan-Islamism. The Congress was also an opportunity for visitors to recognize King Fayṣal's reign as legitimate. And, finally, the conference was possibly also a reaction to the great Egyptian conference about al-Azhar in 1964. Germanus avoided any mention of political stakes or context in his printed book in 1966. His visit, nonetheless, seems to have had high diplomatic importance for Hungarian authorities, too. He received his passport within one day—miraculous speed in state bureaucracy.

This was also a good opportunity for Germanus to make the Hajj again. During the trip he brought along his second wife, Kató Kajári (1903–1991), who also converted to Islam and took the Arabic name ʿĀ'isha. She also performed the Hajj, though it is not clear whether she sought to do so primarily for the "sake of her husband," as Germanus wrote, or out of her own devotion. Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Najjār, whom Germanus described as "an old friend of the royal dynasty," was sent to Budapest to personally collect the old scholar and his wife. From Budapest they flew to Beirut via Vienna and then on to Jeddah. In his book *Towards Eastern Lights*, Germanus now compared interwar Jeddah, which was the "plain country of the romantic Middle Ages," with that of 1965 where the "oil-wealth erased its past."[71]

ʿĀ'isha and ʿAbd al-Karīm lived in the American-style Kandara Palace Hotel. This fascinated the old Hungarian Muslim Orientalist—it was certainly luxurious compared to the quality of life in Socialist Hungary. They looked for his

68 Germanus Gyula, *A Kelet fényei felé* (Budapest: Táncsics Könyvkiadó, 1966).

69 Holden and Johns, *The House of Saud*, 240.

70 Typewritten Arabic invitation, from Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī, from al-Amīn al-ʿĀmm, dated 29/10/1384 (3 March 1965), in Box 36, MFM.

71 Germanus, *A Kelet fényei felé*, 282.

"old friends." Germanus found the aging Muḥammad Naṣīf and together they mourned the old days and Naṣīf's deceased son, the historian Ḥusayn.[72] The couple also visited ʿAbd Allāh Zaynal (Alireza?), another old friend, who had become by that time a very wealthy man. Finally, Germanus and his wife were received by King Fayṣal in his Jeddah Palace. While Germanus discussed the significance of "religious law" with the King, his wife chatted with two princesses about fashion.[73] As Germanus described these visits to his Hungarian readership, he highlighted the symbolic importance of a Muslim Orientalist from Eastern Europe for the Saudi Kingdom.

Despite the high social life and the congress, the Hajj was the couple's main goal. Najjār's family prepared Kató for the pilgrimage rituals. The Saudi government sent a special car for them and the two old Hungarian Muslims arrived in their *iḥrām* in the holy city, after a little stop to pose for photos. They circled seven times around the Kaʿba, but could not shuttle between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. The Germanuses were put into wheelchairs and pushed seven times between the hills. They were extremely tired (images 8.3 and 8.4). After this, Najjār took them to a palace for a rest but the old couple was so exhausted that they had to be taken to the hospital in Jeddah.[74] This means that ʿĀ'isha and ʿAbd al-Karīm performed the *ʿumra* instead of the Hajj; for Germanus, it was his third time in Mecca.

Back in Jeddah Germanus gave a lecture about the relation between Islam and natural sciences to a large audience of Muslim scholars. After this event, Kató asked her husband to return to Hungary. They were both exhausted and she did not want to die in Saudi Arabia. Germanus paid a last visit to Muḥammad Ibn Surūr al-Ṣabbān (1898–1971), the minister of Finance and General Secretary of the Muslim World League in Mecca 1962, in order to request Ṣabbān to read his second lecture during the conference. An Arabic letter, sent by the General Secretary of the Muslim World League, expressed great sorrow over his early departure.[75] In the company of Najjār they went to the airport of Jeddah. Describing this final departure, Germanus wrote evocatively: "Arabia sent his glowing sun's breath of fire, the last message to his faithful wanderer."[76]

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72 Germanus, *A Kelet fényei felé*, 284.

73 Germanus, *A Kelet fényei felé*, 285.

74 Germanus, *A Kelet fényei felé*, 288–290.

75 Typewritten Arabic letter, from Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī, from al-Amīn al-ʿĀmm, dated 2/12/1384 (3 April 1965), in Box 36, MFM.

76 Germanus, *A Kelet fényei felé*, 291.

FIGURE 8.3
Kató Kajári, Ms. Germanus, in Mecca (1965)
2843-91, HUNGARIAN MUSEUM OF GEOGRAPHY, PUBLISHED WITH PERMISSION

Despite the fact that there was no further need to boost his personal fame or legitimize himself in the Hungarian university system, Germanus quickly published *Towards Eastern Lights* in 1966. It became quickly a successful book, which blended the style and nostalgia of an interwar scholar with popular academic details in a very entertaining style. In this period, apart from enjoying parties at embassies and publishing his most important scholarly contribution to Hungarian Orientalism—a history of Arabic literature[77]—Germanus helped some of his students secure travel grants and secured for himself more state recognitions. He also continued to accept invitations and returned to give talks in Egypt. By the end of his life, he had come to embody both Hungarian Orien-

77 Gyula Germanus, *Az arab irodalom története* ([Budapest]: Gondolat, 1962).

FIGURE 8.4
Gyula Germanus during his last pilgrimage in Mecca (1965) 2842-91, HUNGARIAN MUSEUM OF GEOGRAPHY, PUBLISHED WITH PERMISSION

talism and a vital connection between the Middle East and Eastern Europe in the Cold War.

Conclusion: Pilgrimage as Image

This chapter has shown the modern Hajj as a means and an occasion of learning in the twentieth century. Through the adventures of Gyula Germanus we can observe how the Hajj was instrumentalized for the production of popular travel description and for knowledge acquisition in terms of language and religion. Through his travels and his personal connections with intellectuals in Egypt and Saudi Arabia, Germanus himself became a subject worthy of study. He was both a Muslim and a popularly acclaimed explorer who translated expe-

rience into scholarly fame. In the Socialist era, his travels, personal relations, and knowledge were much valued by both the Hungarian and the Arab governments. His pilgrimage became his image.

By critically comparing Germanus's printed narratives with the available documentation, it is possible to discover discrepancies in this image. The point of noting this, however, was not simply to question seeming inaccuracies, but rather to reveal both the potential *and* the limits of his experiences and their translatability to cultural capital.

Though originally not an Arabist, and without any significant scholarly achievements, Germanus nonetheless successfully transformed himself into the head of an Arabic Studies Department after the failed revolution of 1956. The Hajj and Islam established his credits for the larger public. At the same time, despite acquiring a good grasp of literary Arabic, establishing friendships in the region, performing the Hajj, and visiting the Najd in 1940, Germanus was unable to make much scholarly use of this knowledge. The reasons are likely varied—from personal shortcomings to WWII to the isolation of Hungarian scholarship during the Stalinist and Socialist era. The Hungarian philologist establishment looked upon him with understandable suspicion. *Ḥājj* Germanus became the member of three Arab academies in the 1950s–1960s, but he was never elected a member of the Hungarian one. While this failure shows that travel and pilgrimage as cultural capitals could be no more translatable into scholarly recognition—a basic development in the twentieth-century institutionalization of knowledge—Germanus' works embody an anthropological interest resulting in a popular Orientalist discourse in Eastern Europe during the Cold War.

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CHAPTER 9

The Franco North African Pilgrims after WWII: The Hajj through the Eyes of a Spanish Colonial Officer (1949)

Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste

Introduction

In this chapter I will analyse a report written by a Spanish colonial officer who described a Hajj trip by air from Morocco, when he was accompanying and supervising a group of Moroccan notables in 1949. The document, narrated in the first person, is different from other colonial sources of the same period, which were more official and technical. The flight took three days after its departure from Tétouan by stopping at Nador, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Benghazi, Alexandria, Luxor, and finally Jeddah. By giving a particular and informal perspective, the officer gathered the impressions of the pilgrims, mainly Tétouani notables, their contacts with local populations at the stops on the journey, his own feelings of disorientation in Jeddah, and many other problems related to passports and borders. The Spanish officer's report shows how he and Moroccan notables had encountered similar problems, especially that the Moroccan delegation could not communicate well in the Mashriq Arabic dialects, and that they discovered other customs and traditions that were not common in the Maghrib. By analysing the report, we situate the question of the Hajj in the political realms of Franco's Spain, the Spanish colonial views of the Hajj, as well as this colonial officer's perceptions of the social agency of the Moroccan notables during their religious rituals of the Hajj after WWII.

Spanish Policy towards Islam and the Hajj

This Hajj report should be seen within the colonial context of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco (1912–1956). It was, however, written at the end of the period of Spanish colonisation, when colonial authorities were concerned about the pressure of Moroccan nationalism, even if an important group of these nationalists participated in the Protectorate's political structures and benefited from long-term clientelism with the Spaniards.

In the beginning, the Spanish policy encountered a phase of resistance in many tribal areas between 1909 and 1927, combined with a progressive clientelism between the Spaniards and certain Moroccan dignitaries. This was followed by the administrative control of the tribes from 1927 onwards by means of a system of indirect rule, where the Spanish promoted the dignitaries who were capable of maintaining the colonial status quo, even if they had earlier fought against Spain. The Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) had great impact on the Protectorate, especially after the recruitment of colonial troops and the control of the colonial administration by the Franco regime. Throughout the 1930s onwards tension increased between traditional dignitaries and urban nationalists, who were followers of an Islamic reformist policy in the country.[1]

Spanish policy regarding Islam was not immune to the political and ideological context of the time. In the 1920s, in its policy guidelines for colonial officers the Delegation of Indigenous Affairs (DIA) highlighted the need for respect towards Islam, provided that this respect did not contradict the principal objectives of political domination on the country. In this regard, Spanish Africanism that appealed to Spain's Islamic past was stressed. As was stated in the manuals written for colonial officers, the official strategy indicated a formal respect of Islam, combined with the aim of controlling the chiefs of the Sufi brotherhoods in order to avoid potential dangers.[2]

Once local resistance was defeated in 1927, the DIA promoted the reconstruction of religious buildings and supported certain rituals that reinforced the submission of the local political and religious authorities or which legitimised the power of the new colonial *makhzan*.[3] In accordance with this propaganda policy, the Spanish administration restored buildings, promoted rituals and maintained the formal independence of the *ḥabūs* (*waqf*) properties. Yet during the Spanish Civil War this political propaganda concerning religion was promoted in order to fight the Republicans, presenting them as the main

1 Mª Dolores Aranda, "Evolución del nacionalismo marroquí en los años treinta," *Awrāq* XVII (1996): 167–188.

2 Manuel Nido y Torres, *Marruecos. Apuntes para el oficial de Intervención y de Tropas Coloniales* (Tetuán: Editorial Hispano-Africana, 1925), 111. Eduardo Maldonado Vázquez, *Cofradías religiosas en Marruecos*, Curso de Perfeccionamiento de Oficiales del Servicio de Intervención (Tetuán: Alta Comisaría de la República Española en Marruecos, Inspección de Intervención y Fuerzas Jalifianas, 1932).

3 Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, *La "hermandad" hispano-marroquí. Política y religión bajo el Protectorado español en Marruecos (1912–1956)* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2003), 231–247.

enemies of Islam.[4] Apart from the distribution of sheep for ritual slaughtering during the annual Feast of Sacrifice, the DIA was definitely interested in the promotion of the Hajj to Mecca because of its international and political impact on the Muslim world.[5] The Spanish policy was focused on facilitating transport, financing some flight tickets, and supervising Moroccan delegations during the Hajj trips. This strategy was not implemented in an organised manner until the Civil War years, when the funding of the Hajj was represented as a reward for the participation of Muslim troops in the war. The purpose of the organised pilgrimage journeys in the years 1937, 1938 and 1939 was to politically exploit "all those aspects that primarily affect the spirit and feelings of this people."[6] In order to implement this policy, the DIA organised pilgrimage journey and offered various subsidies for pilgrims. Propaganda became a major challenge, given that until that moment French shipping companies monopolised the transport of pilgrims. Given the context of Civil War, the High Commissioner sought ultimately to organise Hajj trips for Moroccans that were controlled by Spaniards in order to prevent the exposure of pilgrims to French propaganda.[7]

In November 1936 Colonel Juan Luis Beigbeder y Atienza (1888–1957) proposed for the Board of Burgos[8] to organise a pilgrimage trip, which was approved to be arranged on the ship *Domine*.[9] At the beginning of 1937, the DIA exploited the Hajj in Spanish propaganda by sending a ship from Ceuta which left for Mecca on January 29 with 298 pilgrims on-board. On this ship other pilgrims had joined at the stops of Melilla, Tripoli and Benghazi. Later, several pilgrimages were organised by the High Commissioner. For example, on January 14, 1938, the Spanish ship *Marqués de Comillas* sailed for Mecca carrying 331 pilgrims from Ceuta, 128 pilgrims from Melilla, 235 pilgrims from Tripoli

4 Mª Rosa de Madariaga, "The Intervention of Moroccan Troops in the Spanish Civil War: A Reconsideration," *European History Quarterly* 22 (1992): 67–97; Ali Al Tuma, "The Participation of Moorish Troops in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Military value, motivations and religious aspects," *War & Society* 30 (2) (2011): 91–107.

5 Mercè Solà i Gussinyer, "L'organització del pelegrinatge a la Meca per Franco durant la Guerra Civil," *L'Avenç* 256 (2001): 56–61.

6 Peregrinación a la Meca, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas (DAI), Tétouan, August 13, 1946 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, Archivo General de la Administración, Alcalá de Henares, AGA).

7 Letter from the DIA to the Interventor Regional, Peregrinación a la Meca. Circular, Tétouan, November 16, 1939 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

8 Letter from colonel Juan Beigbeder to the president of the Junta Técnica del Estado de Burgos, Tétouan, December 6, 1936 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

9 Peregrinación a la Meca, DAI, Tétouan, August 11, 1936, 1 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

and 102 pilgrims from Benghazi. In the next year (8 January 1939), the steamer *Marqués de Comillas* headed for Mecca with a total of 800 pilgrims.[10]

Due to World War II the Spanish government did not organise any Hajj trips between 1940 and 1943. After making the needed preparations for the Hajj in 1940, the trip was cancelled, which sparked a wave of rumours stating that after the Civil War, Spain would no longer finance the travel to Mecca, like the French did after WWI.[11] In order to lessen the negative effects on Spanish policy, the DIA ascribed the travel suspension on the pilgrimage ships to the French and British interference, which was not completely true.[12]

The Spanish sponsorship of the Hajj revealed the nature of colonial politics of this time. In fact, such Hajj expeditions were monitored by an *interventor* (colonial officer) who had to write a report about the trip to be submitted to the government after their return. The processing of ticket itineraries was also carried out by the *Intervenciones* offices. For the pilgrimage trips of 1937 to 1939, grants were awarded to notables but also to soldiers from lower social classes. In 1939 the High Commissioner donated 388,760 pesetas for 128 ticket itineraries and travel grants paid in pounds sterling for travel expenses.[13] The distribution of such grants was new "colonial capital" that was negotiated between the *interventores* and their notable clients. Each *Intervención* and Regular forces group proposed lists of "loyal Moroccans, without recourses or with merits of war." In 1938, 71 grants were awarded as based on official requests that were submitted to the High Commissioner, the DIA, the Sahara and Ifni, as well as different military barracks.[14]

The Moroccan chiefs selected for the Hajj became an issue with political meaning in the Spanish colonial discourse. The trip committee had to include a "religious leader, a hakim, an imam, a *qadi*, two notaries and two muezzin."[15] They were accompanied by a Spanish *interventor*, a medical team and a security

10 Letter from the DIA to the captain of "Marqués de Comillas," Tétouan, January 12, 1938 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

11 Letter from the Interventor Regional of Gomara to the Delegado de AI, December 16, 1939 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

12 Letter from the DIA to the Interventor Regional, Peregrinación a la Meca. Circular, Tétouan, November 16, 1939 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

13 "Estado demostrativo de las resultantes del viaje a la Meca de 1939," Comandante Inspector del viaje a la Meca, DAI, Tétouan, September 15, 1939 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

14 Rapport to the Delegado de Asuntos Indígenas, Tétouan, November 1, 1939 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

15 "Gestiones a realizar para la organización de una peregrinación a la Mecca," Delegado de Asuntos Indígenas, Tetuán, August 31, 1943 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

service (a *muqaddam* with ten *makhazni*—Moroccan police). In 1937, the religious leader was Aḥmad al-Rahūnī (1871–1953), a prominent Muslim scholar, historian and former Minister of Justice in the Spanish Zone of Morocco, and whose riḥla (travelogue) was later published in 1941 by The Franco Institute of Arabo-Spanish Research as part of Franco's propaganda in the Muslim world.[16] In 1938, the Blue Sultan, Sīdī Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā Mrabbi Rabbu (1879–1942), son of Sheikh Mā' al-'Aynayn,[17] was chosen as a chief for the Hajj delegation financed by the Spanish authorities. Most of the delegates were chosen from the *makhzan*, including pashas, *mudīr*s and justice officials. Also loyal leaders (*qā'id*s) of tribes, such as Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī of Banī Waryāgal, were selected for his support in recruiting Moroccan troops during the Spanish Civil War. In 1939, the DIA recommended the Delegate of the Grand Vizier in the Eastern region, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ḥajj Ṭayyib, as the hakim of the expedition, for being a prominent *moro amigo* (moor friend).[18]

In a period of nine years (1937–1946), several High Commissioners were nominated for the position; some supported the Hajj to Mecca while others discouraged its organisation. These changes of policy in the DIA regarding the Hajj illustrate the political anxieties among the Spanish authorities. In 1943 the Delegate of the DIA feared that the pilgrims would be exposed to "dangerous propaganda," but at the same time he acknowledged that in spite of "these inconveniences, we have to satisfy the religious feeling of these Muslim people."[19] In fact, at that time the Franco regime had already adopted an international policy of rapprochement with the Arab world in order to counterbalance the isolation imposed on Spain by the Western countries.[20] The Spanish authorities justified this approach by using the idea of a particular brotherhood between Spain and the Arab world which was based on Spain's Muslim past.[21]

16 Ahmad al-Rhoni, *Al-Riḥla al-Makkiyya 1355–1356 h.* (Tetuán: Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigación Hispano-Árabe, 1941).

17 Julio Caro Baroja, *Estudios saharianos* (Madrid: Júcar, 1990), 330–332.

18 DAI. Sección política. 1939. Viaje a la Meca. Comisión oficial de este viaje, Tétouan, November 8, 1939 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

19 "Gestiones a realizar para la organización de una peregrinación a la Mecca," Delegado de Asuntos Indígenas, Tétouan, August 31, 1943 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

20 Isabel González González, "La hermandad hispano-árabe en la política cultural del franquismo, 1936–1956," *Anales de Historia Contemporánea* 23 (2007): 183–198. María Dolores Algora Weber, *Las relaciones hispano-árabes durante el régimen de Franco. La ruptura del aislamiento internacional (1946–1950)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1995).

21 Mateo Dieste, *La "hermandad,"* 223–230.

FIGURE 9.1 *"Peregrinos del Protectorado español en Marruecos a bordo del Marqués de Comillas" (1937 or 1938)*
TOMAS GARCÍA FIGUERAS, MARRUECOS. LA ACCIÓN DE ESPAÑA EN EL NORTE DE ÁFRICA (MADRID: EDICIONES FE, 1944) 272–273

Context of the 1949 Hajj Journey

After World War II, the DIA regained its interest in promoting the Hajj despite the changes in international political context. The main fears of the DIA were the pilgrims' exposure to new political ideologies and movements in the Mashriq, especially through their contacts with people like ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khaṭṭābī who was then a refugee in Egypt.

By 1945 the DIA had already considered any opposition to the Hajj as inappropriate. By 1946 the DIA became reluctant to continue its promotion of the Hajj, despite the advantages that could be gained by means of this propaganda for the Spanish policy. According to the DIA, the gradual expansion of a pan-Arab ideology in the Hajj region, as well as its high costs, all led the High Commissioner José Enrique Varela to discourage the organisation of the Hajj trips anymore.[22] In that year, the French authorities disseminated leaflets about the Spanish inability to organise the Hajj as means of counterpropaganda in order to attract Moroccan pilgrims from the Spanish zone to Tangier and Casablanca.

22 Letter from the Alto Comisario to the Delegado of DIA, Tétouan, April 15, 1946 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

Some Spanish officers in the border regions, like the Kert, hesitated to undertake the right policy: losing prestige after closing the borders, or sending pilgrims to a "dangerous area."[23]

In these post-war years the international isolation of the Franco regime made the organisation of the Hajj more difficult.[24] Finally, the DIA did not recommend any Hajj trips organized by the IMA[25] for political reasons: "given the current exacerbation of Arabism and nationalism in that part of the world."[26] However, later in 1947 the DIA tried to organise a trip, but it was finally suspended when the colonial authorities observed that several rumors were circulating in the Protectorate. As the Spanish feared that the pilgrims would come into contact with ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khaṭṭābī in Cairo, three of his former fellow leaders in the Rif area were banned from undertaking the Hajj by the *qāʾid* of Gueznaya in line with the policy of the Spanish authorities.[27] Another rumour was spread about this trip that Moroccan nationalists would burn the Spanish ship upon its arrival at Port Said. It was also said that having heard about these reports many working-class mothers began to discourage their sons from their travel on Hajj. Besides, the news about the spread of a cholera epidemic in Cairo in September 1947 was the impetus for the Spanish authorities to stop the trip.[28]

In 1948 the reluctance of the Spanish authorities to organise the pilgrimage was even greater when compared to the years of the Civil War: "The virulence of the war in Palestine during the latter months pointed against the Pilgrimage to Mecca by the Muslims of our Protectorate zone."[29] Therefore the Spanish authorities decided to arrange the 1949 pilgrimage by plane in order to reduce the number of pilgrims. Also in order to minimise the political impact of the Hajj on Moroccans, the authorities selected a specific group of distinguished elite pilgrims, who were known for their loyalty to the Spanish and non-involvement in any nationalist, anti-colonial movement.

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23 Letter of the Delegado de AI, at Villa Nador, July 31, 1946 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

24 In fact, the Franco policy towards the Arab world was specially conformed by this international isolation. González González, "La hermandad."

25 "I.M.A. Agencia de Prensa de Información del Mundo Arabe," located in Madrid in 1945.

26 DAI, Asunto. Peregrinación a la Meca en el año 1946, Tétouan, May 28, 1946 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

27 Territorial del Kert, Villa Nador, August 13, 1947 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

28 DAI, Suspensión del viaje a la Meca, 1947 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

29 DAI, Tétouan, September 6, 1948.

Beneitez Cantero: Colonial Officer and Costumbrist

The 1949 Hajj trip was dispatched by the Spanish authorities under the leadership of Valentín Beneitez Cantero (d. 1975), a cavalry major of the Spanish army. He became *interventor de cabila* (or tribe officer) in the Spanish Protectorate, where he came into close contact with Moroccan rural life, especially in the Jebala area of North Western Morocco. He worked as an *interventor* in Banī ʿArūs in western Jebala for years. Like other colonial officers, such as Emilio Blanco Izaga,[30] Beneitez Cantero wrote some ethnographic texts about Northern Morocco in spite of the lack of his anthropological training. In fact, colonial officers received a rather scarce education in sociology or linguistics and only in the last years of the Protectorate when the DIA created an Academy of *Interventores* in Tétouan.[31] Beneitez Cantero was appointed as a teacher of this academy.[32]

Just as many other officers of his time, Cantero supported the Franco coup d'état of 1936, when the political structures of the Protectorate were controlled by the military. Since the 1920s the *interventores* received the main mission of controlling tribal authorities, using techniques of indirect rule.[33] In this sense, the political role of Beneitez Cantero during the Hajj journey of 1949 was part of his activities as a supervisor of Moroccan notables.

During his stays in Jebala he gathered a rich amount of costumbrist information related to Moroccan local customs and manners, such as witchcraft, tattoos, rituals and other beliefs of superstition.[34] His view of Moroccans was dominated by paternalism and evolutionist notions, like many of his contem-

30 Vicente Moga Romero, *El Rif de Emilio Blanco Izaga: trayectoria militar, arquitectónica y etnográfica en el Protectorado de España en Marruecos* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2009).

31 The Academy was founded in 1946. José Luis Villanova, *Los interventores. La piedra angular del Protectorado español en Marruecos* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2006), 233.

32 See his conference, Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Supersticiones marroquíes y tatuajes en la zona," Selección de conferencias y trabajos realizados por la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1949–1950 (Tetuán, 1950).

33 Mateo Dieste, *La "hermandad,"* 103–138.

34 Abdelmajid Benjelloun, "L'identité jeblie et la sociologie coloniale espagnole," in *Les Jbala. Espace et Pratiques*, ed. Groupe Pluridisciplinaire d'Étude sur les Jbala (Kénitra: Université Ibn Tafaïl, 2001), 191–206; Alberto López Bargados, and Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, "Parler au désert. Bilan de l'anthropologie du Maghreb en Espagne," *Prologues. Revue maghrébine du livre* 32 (2005): 110–125; Pablo Gonzalez-Pola de la Granja, "La aportación militar a los estudios etnográficos," in *Aproximación a la historia militar de España*, ed. A. Valdés (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2006), 1177–1189.

porary Spanish and French officers in both French and Spanish Morocco.[35] He wrote about Islam, agriculture, popular religion, food, songs and many other anthropological topics in Africanist journals, which were promoted by the Franco regime.[36] His main work, *Sociología marroquí* (*Moroccan Sociology*),[37] won a prize of sociology in 1949, which was organized by the Alta Comisaría. In this book, we find a chapter devoted to religion and Islam. In this section he described the five pillars of Islam and under the Hajj he listed the conditions to perform the pilgrimage and its different rites: "Ihrám (…) Tauaf (…) Sái (…) El Uukuf fi Yebel Aarafa (…) Ed Dahhía (…) Et Tauaf del ifáda (…) Et Tauaf el uadaa."[38] He published an article about the same question, where he presented Spain as "the friend of the Arabs par excellence."[39] In this sense, Cantero reproduced the official rhetoric of the Franco regime which defined Moroccans as "brothers," but they were situated in an inferior stage of development and civilization.[40] This paradoxical combination of ethnocentrism and proximity between coloniser and colonised emerges many times in the 1949 report as well.

The Hajj Report of Beneitez Cantero

Beneitez Cantero joined two Hajj trips to Mecca: in 1949 by aeroplane, as the main Spanish supervisor of the group, and in 1951 by sea.[41] I will analyse his colonial report of the first trip in 1949 for its value as an unpublished document

35 Hassan Rachik, *Le proche et le lointain. Un siècle d'anthropologie au Maroc* (Marseille: Éditions Parenthèses, 2012), 127–138.

36 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Fiestas musulmanas en Yebala," *África* 59–60 (1946): 32–36; *Vocabulario español-árabe marroquí* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948); "La agricultura en Yebala," *África* 99 (1950): 112–115; "La yemaa en Yebala," *África* 120 (1951): 600–604; *La alimentación en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951); "Miscelánea costumbrista de Beni Aaros," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos* 22 (1952): 15–28; "Los Zocos de nuestra zona," *África* 134 (1953): 65–68.

37 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, *Sociología marroquí* (Ceuta: Instituto General Franco, Imprenta Olimpia, 1952b).

38 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, *Sociología marroquí* (Ceuta: Instituto General Franco, Imprenta Olimpia, 1952b), 79–80.

39 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a Mec-ca," *Cuaderno de Estudios Africanos* 31 (1955): 37–46.

40 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "La evolucion de Marruecos", *Sociología marroquí* (Ceuta: Instituto General Franco, Imprenta Olimpia, 1952b), 263–276.

41 "Peregrinación a la Meca. Año 1951" (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

of the Spanish colonial administration. As we have already said, despite being an official document for the DIA, this 24-page report was written in the first person and in an informal style, expressing the author's observations, feelings and sometimes disappointments with himself and with the group of Moroccan pilgrims.[42]

The flight left Tétouan on September 25 and stopped in Nador in order to get more passengers for the Hajj. Before reaching Jeddah on September 27, it also made several stops, for logistical reasons (see illustration). Besides Beneitez Cantero as the only Spanish trip supervisor, the flight Spanish crew included two pilots, a mechanic, a radio technician and a stewardess. The flight was conducted in a British Bristol model aircraft.

Itinerary and stop-overs of the 1949's trip

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– 25 September: Tétouan, Nador, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli
– 26 September: Tripoli, Benghazi, Alexandria
– 27 September: Alexandria, Luxor, Jeddah

←

– 13 October: Jeddah, Wadi Halfa (Sudan), Tobruk, Tripoli
– 14 October: Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Nador, Tétouan

On board there were thirty-two pilgrims who were considered by the Spanish authorities as "trustworthy" and loyalist Moroccan dignitaries and a few members of the lower class who had received a grant from the Spanish administration. The pilgrims came from different parts of the Spanish zone, especially from Tétouan and Jebala, Chefchaouen, Rif as well as the Eastern region. Some of these notables belonged to the Tétouani Andalusian bourgeoisie, such as Slawī or Rkaina and some other notables of rural origin, such as Sī Baraka (Banī ʿArus). From the Eastern region were a delegate of the Grand Vizier Aḥmad bin ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Haddād, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ḥajj Ṭayyib, and the *qāʾid*s ʿAbidallah (Kebdana) and ʿAmar Ushshan (Banī Saʿīd).[43]

The pilgrims were therefore selected according to specific political criteria. It is noteworthy that the colonial administration used to manage disputes in

42 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

43 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

different regions which required that each regional office had to recommend their preferred notables to represent the region during the Hajj. After the selection, the pilgrims had to provide a vaccination certificate issued by the Health and Public Hygiene Department of the Spanish Protectorate. Then the Spanish administration facilitated the payment of duties, the provision of passports, and money to exchange in Saudi Arabia.[44]

The farewell of Tétouan pilgrims was a public ritual during which people observed prayers in the city mosque of Sīdī Saʿīdī.[45] The departure of the aircraft, from Tétouan's Sania Ramel Airport and Nador's Tauima Airport, was also accompanied by political ceremonies, such as military marches and speeches given by Spanish and Moroccan authorities. Just as previous Hajj trips by boat, the Spanish authorities took advantage of the occasion as propaganda by displaying their official protection of the Moroccans and the Spanish-Moroccan brotherhood. In Tétouan some *makhzan* Moroccan ministers were also present as well as Spanish High Commissioner general Varela and the leader of the DIA, general Larrea.[46]

It should be noted that Beneitez Cantero's offered a political vision of his personal evaluation of the events that happened on and off the aeroplane. But his narrative described interesting references to the pilgrims' reactions during a journey that was emotionally significant for the spiritual life of Moroccan pilgrims.

Rituals and Prayers

Rituals have often been studied not only as means of social reproduction, but also as an eventual mechanism of political transformation.[47] In their performance, people may develop creative adaptation to new situations that are not codified by the religious texts, as we will see when the trip by air generated unexpected situations for the Moroccan pilgrims. For instance, according to the report, during turbulences, some passengers became airsick while others kept

44 Certificados de vacunación, Dirección de Sanidad e Higiene Pública. Peregrinación de 1949 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

45 *ABC*, 27 September 1949, "Informaciones de Marruecos. La peregrinación marroquí a la Meca."

46 *Diario Africa*, 15 October 1949, "Feliz regreso de los peregrinos a la Meca."

47 Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Modernity and its Malcontents. Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).

FIGURE 9.2 *Moroccan Pilgrims in 1949*
REVISTA ÁFRICA, Nº 94 (OCTOBER 1949): 37

praying in silence or reciting the Qur'ān.[48] When the pilgrims were encountering uncertainties and fears, they yielded to their rituals as protective tools on such occasions.

The views from the air triggered various emotions for the pilgrims. For example, Beneitez Cantero noted that when the aircraft flew over the Algerian town of Mustagānim, the sheikh of one of the Sufi brotherhoods, probably of al-'Alawiyya order, paid special tribute and attention to the landscape as their spiritual leader Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-'Alawī (1869–1934) was born there.[49]

The group of pilgrims did not have any medical staff on board. After departing Tunis, an older passenger, who was a rural chief of Banī Bū Īfrūr, became seriously ill because of air pressure. He became delirious and started to cry and laugh. Besides, a *ṭālib* (seeker within the Sufi order) began to loudly recite Qur'ānic verses that are related to life and death. Some of the passengers thought that he was already dead because the chief's eyes turned white for

48 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 1 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

49 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 1 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA). See Martin Lings, *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century. Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi. His Spiritual Heritage and Legacy* (Cambridge: Golden Palm Series, 1961).

a while. Since the pilot was also a veterinarian, he intervened and sprinkled orange blossom water that was brought by one of the Tétouani notables on the chief's face who soon recovered his consciousness.[50] It is interesting to note that the pilgrims were able to observe their daily collective prayers in the aircraft, which were led by the *faqīh* (religious jurist) al-Hājjaj.

Travelling by air was a new invention for these pilgrims. As they were not certain about the journey dangers, one of the pilgrims told Beneitez Cantero that all of them had already written their wills before their departure in case that they would never return back. Imbued by his ritual inclinations, the same Moroccan informed Cantero that his family members had requested him to call their names aloud three times, when he would approach Jeddah and Mecca by turning his face to the direction of Morocco as a representation of their spiritual presence in the Holy Cities of Islam.[51]

Cantero was even keen on recording many details with no political relevance in his report, such as their breakfast and getting water for their ritual ablutions. In Luxor they exchanged their normal clothes with *iḥrām* clothing. Sarcastically Beneitez Cantero depicted the scene of the pilgrims as if they were "dressing themselves in underwear or like second-class Romans." Beneitez Cantero was even addressed by the title of *al-ḥājj* by the Moroccan pilgrims and was moreover invited to make ablution in order to wear his *iḥrām* clothing as well.[52] As followers of Mālikī school of law, these pilgrims had chosen to put on their Hajj ritual clothing before approaching the *miqāt* (the stations bordering the Sacred Territory of *iḥrām*) for North Africans, which is al-Juḥfah, which is more meritorious from a Mālikī point of view.[53] Some of the pilgrims, such as *al-faqīh* al-Hājjaj and al-Karkarī, preferred to postpone the wearing of their *iḥrām* clothing until the aeroplane approached Rabigh, an ancient town on the western coast of Saudi Arabia close to al-Juḥfah. While these pilgrims were putting on their *iḥrām* clothing on board, the Spanish stewardess felt embarrassed and left the passengers' cabin for a while pretending that she was dizzy.[54]

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50 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 2 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

51 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 4 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

52 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 5 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

53 See Muḥammad Jawād Mughnīya, *The Hajj* (Alhoda UK, 1997), 33–34.

54 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 5 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

When the pilgrims were approaching the Muslim Holy Lands, one of the pilgrims, al-Ghazuanī, got a piece of paper with Arabic writings out of his pocket and started to recite religious chants quietly with other pilgrims. In Cantero's description: "Some of them, not knowing the words of the chants, took a look at the page held by their neighbour. Others had curious obsolete boxes with rubber feet containing a complete collection of pilgrimage chants; and that had been used by their ancestors during past Hajj journeys."[55] Beneitez Cantero also noted that when they reached the right coast of the Red Sea, he saw a few circular signals meant for planes that they should not fly over Mecca.[56]

On their return trip, the pilgrims wanted to observe *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Algiers Airport. In order to control the pilgrims, the French authorities requested Beneitez Cantero to lead them in a group to the washing place if they needed to have their ritual ablution. Beneitez Cantero rudely replied to the French officers that these pilgrims were free enough to walk alone.[57]

Food

Beneitez Cantero usually became impatient with pilgrim delays to the journey schedule by taking their time during meals and prayers.[58] However, he made several ironic references to the food served to the Moroccans during the journey. In Algiers Beneitez Cantero discovered that there was nothing special prepared for the pilgrims, except coffee, some cold drinks and bread with cheese. Between Algiers and Tunis, the stewardess served the pilgrims glasses of typical Moroccan green tea with mint and biscuits. Also boiled eggs were served with bread, almonds, dry fruits and chewing gum. The pilgrims, including the country notables, were told that chewing gum should not be swallowed! In this regard, Beneitez Cantero cynically remarked that "everybody was chewing gum like children."[59] It is evident that the social displacement of

55 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 6 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

56 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 6 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

57 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 23 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

58 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 2, 4 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

59 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 1 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

the rural pilgrims in another environment was connected to anecdotes that Beneitez Cantero was interested in recording. In a hotel room in Tripoli, a pilgrim from the tribe of Ahl Sharīf was locked inside because he was not familiar with such doors, till another pilgrim from Tétouan helped him get out of his room.[60] In Tripoli Airport, the pilgrims were served tomato juice, eggs, liver, bread, butter and jam with coffee and milk for their breakfast, while the Spanish crew were eating bacon.[61] Cantero did not mention any conflict over this issue.

For Beneitez Cantero, it was his first time encountering different Arab cultures during this trip, much like the Moroccan pilgrims. He shared with his fellow Moroccan voyagers their surprises and cultural shocks which emanated from their lack of knowledge about the Arab world, not only on the cultural level, but also because of the lack of language communication. It is interesting to see that Cantero as a Spanish officer spoke in the pronoun "we," when he placed himself and the Moroccan pilgrims versus the other Arabs. About a café in Tripoli, he said: "they served a different tea from ours ['ours' meaning 'Moroccan'], with the sugar added to each glass of English tea" and lemon.[62] When the waiter brought them a narguile to smoke, Beneitez Cantero found it an "exotic" instrument, which was not common in the Spanish Zone of Morocco in contrast with kif pipes and snuff.[63]

At Jeddah Airport the pilgrims were exhausted because of the high temperature. Looking for water, they were given a jug containing warm water because of the heat. In Cantero's account, they entered a canteen to get cold Coca-cola bottles, which were so expensive. He wrote: "we ask for a cold Coke, which was brought in glasses with large chunks of ice. We almost fell sick, when we heard the price of such small bottles."[64] Beneitez Cantero was surprised by the dominant presence of Coca-cola consumption in the Middle East. In Alexandria he

60 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 3 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

61 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 3 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

62 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 2 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

63 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 2 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

64 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 6 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

described it "a Coca-cola invasion," which was enhanced by big advertisement posters on buildings, Coke in bars, vending machines, etc.[65]

Politics

As an integral part of Beneitez Cantero's supervision mission of this Hajj trip, he was assigned to make pro-Spanish propaganda in the Arab world by showing his country's "respect" for Islam as well as their "protection" of Moroccans. Due to the isolationist international situation of the Franco regime, Beneitez Cantero had to take measures in case of any unexpected political encounters during the journey. At Tunis Airport, the pilgrims were served by two "friendly" Spanish waiters whom Cantero described as *rojos* (Republican refugees and thus enemies of the Franco regime). Therefore, he tried to distance himself and the pilgrims from them.[66]

We also note that Beneitez Cantero's experience of travelling through the French colonies was extremely cold-shouldered, while the stop in Libya was reminiscent of the previous political affinities between the two fascist regimes.[67] We have to recall as well that in the years when Spain had organised a pilgrimage by sea, the only ports where non-Moroccan passengers boarded outside the Spanish Protectorate were Tripoli and Benghazi.[68]

In Tripoli the pilgrims were taken by bus to the city where they stayed at the hotel Albergo Mehari. Some of the Tétouani notables in the group, such Baraka, Rkaina and Slawī, had already visited Tripoli on their way to Mecca before by ship. At a café in Tripoli, Beneitez Cantero joined the pilgrims. A Libyan waiter, who did not notice Cantero's presence, started to criticise the British military occupation in the Arab world openly. After the waiter's

65 See the advertising campaign of Coca-cola in the Middle East in 1955 (United States, Saudi Arabia, 10', 1955, http://www.desorg.org/titols/online/coca-cola-bottling-plant-arabia-north-africa/, accessed April 12, 2015).

66 After the escape of the fascist persecution, some of these exiled Spanish Republicans in North Africa were interned in French concentration camps in the Tunisian and Algerian desert. José Muñoz Congost, *Por tierras de moros. El exilio español en el Magreb* (Móstoles: Ediciones Madre Tierra, 1989).

67 Lybia remained an Italian colony until 1947. Angelo del Boca, *Gli italiani in Libia. Dal fascismo a Gheddafi* (Roma: Mondadori, 1988).

68 Peregrinación a la Meca de 1938, DIA, Tétouan, June 2, 1946 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA). Number of passengers boarded in Lybia in 1938: Tripoli (235), Bengasi (102)—from a total of 796 pilgrims.

critiques, Beneitez writes: "some young lads asked us how Spain behaved, and they (the Moroccans) answered perfectly at my presence by counting the aids and facilities given for this trip, and the schools that the [Spanish] constantly built."[69] The presence of the Spaniard probably curtailed the free expression of opinions by the Moroccans, although there were no anti-colonial North-Moroccan nationalists among the pilgrims.

It is clear that the Hajj trip allowed the contact between people from different colonial situations, and these kinds of exchanges were liable to generate undesirable political views that were bothersome to Spanish authorities, especially among the transnational networks and activities led by young Moroccan nationalists in the Mashriq throughout the interwar years.[70]

During their stay in Libya, Beneitez Cantero was especially interested in collecting information about the images of the Protectorate in the Spanish Zone as perceived in the Arab world. At a café in Tripoli he heard local people saying that a spy under the name of al-Khuḍīrī was sending critical letters about the Spanish Protectorate, from Tangiers to Tripoli and Benghazi, after he had been expelled from Tétouan.[71]

Moroccan notables expressed their gratitude to Spain in their conversations with other Muslims. The deputy of the Grand Vizier ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ḥājj Ṭayyib exaggerated his loyalty by describing himself as a "friend of Spain." During their meeting with the Spanish consul in Alexandria, al-Ḥājj Ṭayyib extolled his love for Spain by thanking Franco and the Spanish authorities for their support for Morocco.[72] In Jeddah al-Ḥājj Ṭayyib even insisted on thanking the Spanish authorities publicly among a big group of pilgrims from different Muslim countries. Beneitez Cantero stated that it was as if he was challenging those pilgrims.[73] We need to remark that ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ḥājj Ṭayyib was portrayed by the Spanish press as one of the most loyal *moros amigos* since his

69 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 3 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

70 Toumader Khatib, *Culture et politique dans le mouvement nationaliste marocain au Machreq* (Tétouan: Publications de l'Association Tétouan Asmir, 1996).

71 We have no further information about this person. Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 3 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

72 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 24 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

73 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 6 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

collaboration with the Spanish authorities in the 1920s and particularly against the revolt of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khaṭṭābī.[74]

Borders and Bakshish

The pilgrims had to deal with the changing social and political frontiers in the post-WWII era. In the report, Beneitez Cantero described some of the border conflicts and administrative obstacles in different regions. At Alexandria's Fuad I Airport, for example, a black Egyptian officer entered the aircraft shouting and asking rudely for passports. The official wanted some taxes to be payed, but Beneitez Cantero did not speak English at all. In fact, only the stewardess spoke English, while Beneitez Cantero and "his pilgrims" suffered various misunderstandings of this type during the trip due to such linguistic difficulties.

The Spanish aircraft landed in Jeddah on 27 September. At the airport's pilgrim office a tall Englishman and an Arab in European clothes tried to force the pilgrims to "quickly pay the taxes, with bothersome inflexibility."[75] According to Beneitez Cantero, such continuous obstacles were caused by local officers. The European passports were sent to the governor and some *bakshish* (tips) were paid to speed up the procedures. Beneitez Cantero repeatedly mentioned the practice of this *bakshish* as the most effective way to solve any kind of problem during the trip. This phenomenon must be contextualised as a social practice based on informal networks and the role played by intermediaries.[76] We will see the importance of these people during the last step of the Hajj in Jeddah.

In Mecca, one of the Moroccan pilgrims died. At the same time, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ḥājj Ṭayyib asked Beneitez Cantero if it was possible to admit another Riffian on board, who had started the Hajj from the Riff two years ago and was not able to get back to Morocco. Cantero replaced the place of the dead pilgrim, who was already buried in Mecca, with this Riffian who had no passport. In order to achieve this, Cantero resolved the situation by paying more *bakshish* to the border officials.[77]

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74 See his obituary: "Abdelkader, ejemplo y justificación," *ABC*, November 13, 1950, 11.

75 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 6 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

76 See works about the *wāsṭa* or intermediary: Amina Farrag, "El *Wastah* among Jordanian Villagers," in *Patrons and clients in Mediterranean societies*, ed. Ernest Gellner, and John Waterbury (London: Duckworth, 1977), 225–238; Robert B. Cunningham and Yassin K. Sarayrah, *Wasta: the hidden force in Middle Eastern society* (Westport: Praeger, 1993).

77 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 22 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

'Lost' in Jeddah

In Jeddah, Cantero accompanied the pilgrims to the city centre by bus. For him, the city was dusty, hot and crowded. Cantero and the Moroccan pilgrims tried to find accommodation, with the pilgrims looking for transport to Mecca and arranging the services of a *muṭawwif*, a guide.[78] Amidst the crowd and the chaos, some of the Moroccan pilgrims managed to negotiate the price of renting a car and horses. The chauffeur accompanied Cantero and some of the Moroccans to the chief of *muṭawwifs*, who arranged accommodation in houses especially prepared for pilgrims.[79] Communication with local guides was not easy for the Moroccan pilgrims. According to Cantero, Baraka and ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ghazuanī were not able to communicate with them as he could not speak a proper "Arabian Arabic."[80] The pilgrims dispersed in order to find their own *muṭawwif*.

In the city, Cantero could not find any proper accommodation for himself, since hotel rooms were either unclean or shared with other people. Having failed to find a proper clean accommodation in Jeddah, Cantero asked if there was a "hotel for non-Muslims" in the city. Local people laughed at him and answered that the only non-Muslims who lived in Jeddah were some diplomats.[81] Meanwhile, Cantero tried to telegram his superiors in Madrid and Tétouan asking for assistance, but due to the large number of pilgrims he was not able to send it. Then he decided to go back to the airport looking for the Spanish aeroplane and ask the pilots to "let him in Alexandria"[82] and bring him back again to Jeddah after the end of the Hajj rituals. He asked Sī Baraka to take the responsibility of the pilgrims if something should happen in his absence. In order to get his passport, he again paid *bakshish* and left to Cairo (October 2) where he stayed for a few days at the Spanish Embassy.

After his stay in Egypt, Cantero returned to Jeddah from Alexandria Airport. When he met the Spanish crew of the Bristol aeroplane, he felt at home among

78 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 7 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

79 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 7 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

80 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 7 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

81 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 8 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

82 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 8 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

the Spanish. At Jeddah Airport, a long queue of aircrafts was waiting to carry the pilgrims back home. At the Airport Cantero met an English officer who invited him for a glass of whisky at his house in Jeddah. Searching for the Moroccan pilgrims, he first met Sī Baraka, who immediately informed him of the death of ʿAnān Ahwārī, a Riffian pilgrim in the group from Frakhana close to Melilla, which we have already referred to above. Ahwārī died because of a heat stroke beside the Kaʿaba. He was one of the few poor Riffians who had been primarily funded for this trip because of his loyalty to Spain.[83]

According to Baraka, one of the biggest problems that the Moroccan pilgrims faced in Mecca was bargaining and paying the *bakshish*.[84] The pilgrims were proud of their Meccan gifts, which they showed to Cantero. Sī Baraka bought some gifts for the *khalīfa* of the Moroccan Spanish Zone, Ḥasan bin al-Mahdī, and he brought a narguile, a copy of the Qurʾān belonging to Sheikh Muḥammad al-Tāwudī (1700–1795), a Moroccan scholar who had taught at al-Azhar and became mufti of the Qarawiyyīn Madrasa of Fez, which was kept in a golden box.[85]

Coming Back

When the plane was approaching Morocco, the pilgrims collected 60 duros as tips for the stewardess, but she felt embarrassed and brought the money to the pilot in the cockpit.[86] This anecdote may reflect different notions of reciprocity between the Moroccans and the stewardess, who replied to them that this kind of gift was not allowed.[87]

It is well known that the Hajj constitutes a remarkable rite of passage, with the three phases described by Arnold van Gennep:[88] separation, liminality and reincorporation. The pilgrims were now performing the last phase of the

83 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 23 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

84 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 22 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

85 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 22 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

86 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 24 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

87 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 23 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

88 Arnold Van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris: E. Nourry, 1909).

ritual. In the air over the Chafarinas Islands, near Nador, Beneitez Cantero observed that the pilgrims' emotions went high when they saw the landmarks of their home again. This moment had awakened their feelings and even tears. Their return was also accompanied by political ceremonies arranged by the Spanish administration. At Villa Nador Airport, the pilgrims were well saluted by a group of Regulares, *interventores*, police officers and many journalists, and fireworks went off.[89]

In Tétouan they were again welcomed by higher authorities, including the Spanish High Commissioner Varela and the *khalīfa* of the Spanish Zone, Mūlāy Ḥasan b. al-Mahdī (1915–1984). Before this welcome ritual, the pilgrims changed their clothes and put on white burnooses and the new *razzat* (a Moroccan flat turban) bought at Mecca. After the official welcome at the airport by the authorities, the pilgrims went to the shrine of Sīdī Saʿīdī in Tétouan. They were surrounded at Bāb Saʿīda by a crowd of men and women who wanted to touch and kiss the clothes of the *ḥājj*s.[90] Beneitez Cantero ended his report in a patronising way that was connected to the Spanish Africanist policy in Morocco by saying: "The pilgrims and other Riffians kissed my shoulder as if I had brought the *baraka* of Muhammad that was stuck to my body."[91]

Conclusion

The report of Valentín Beneitez Cantero is an illustration of the Spanish colonial policy and its effects on the Hajj. Since the Spanish Civil War the Franco regime was instrumentalizing an official rhetoric of support for Islam as a sign of friendship and closeness to Morocco. This policy hid two basic objectives: in the international scene, it was meant to prevent the isolation of Spain by seeking the complicity of the Arab world while it was sustained in the colonial sphere so as to justify the Spanish presence in Morocco. The colonial authorities used the pilgrimage of 1949 to show in the press the "generosity" of Spain to Morocco. They emphasized the feeling of "gratitude" that was dominant among the pilgrims after their return, especially in the case of those dignitaries who defined Franco and the High Commissioner as "friends of Islam."[92]

89 "Feliz regreso de los peregrinos a la Meca," *Africa*, October 15, 1949.

90 "Feliz regreso de los peregrinos a la Meca," *Africa*, October 15, 1949.

91 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 24 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

92 "Del Protectorado. De Villa Nador. Una rosa más en el Jardín de la Paz. La peregrinación a la Meca"; "Noticias de prensa sobre la peregrinación a la Meca desde el Protectorado";

The 1949 trip also represents a change in travel logistics over previous pilgrimages by steamships. The promotion of an airplane flight was a new strategy of the Spanish administration which allowed a better control of the pilgrims, at a time of rising Arab nationalism and anti-colonial ideologies. Spanish propaganda reinforced the legitimacy of the aeroplane trip in this time of political uncertainty. Beneitez Cantero himself wrote a text for the journal *África* explaining that the airway was a licit resource which could not be defined as religious innovation. Then he quoted Abū Ishāq al-Shāṭibī (1320–1388), a Sunni scholar of Granada, "who had already resolved the case five centuries ago," explaining that the most important thing was to get Mecca and fulfill the religious duty of the Hajj, but not primarily the way to do it either "by air or walking on the sea."[93]

The report expresses the particular perspective of Beneitez Cantero in describing informal aspects of the trip and illustrating the existing patronage between Spanish and Moroccan authorities. The text reveals the way its author constructed and participated in the idea of a "brotherhood" between Spaniards and Moroccans; at the end of the trip he was excited to observe the satisfaction of his "protected" people.

At certain times during the trip, Beneitez Cantero identified himself with 'his' pilgrims in that feeling of strangeness by the Moroccans in the Mashriq. The officer, like many of the pilgrims, was decoding a new world. However, this identification was partial, instrumental and circumstantial. Of course Cantero was imbued by the official rhetoric of the proximity between colonisers and colonised. In this sense the trip generated ambiguous and paradoxical situations: the coloniser exercised as such and he was the guardian of the pilgrims. However, the Spaniard could not have control over all situations during the Hajj. For example, in the café in Tripoli, Beneitez Cantero had to hide his identity in an openly anti-colonial arena. Travel as a social process may produce multiple identities and identifications.[94] This situated identity was clearly conformed by a political strategy, as we have seen in the pro-Spanish discourses pronounced during the trip by the delegate of the Grand Vizier ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ḥājj Ṭayyib, or in the way Beneitez Cantero defined himself as

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"Melilla. Aviones especiales para la peregrinación a la Meca. La decisión del Gobierno español causa extraordinario júbilo entre los musulmanes," in Tomás García Figueras, *Miscelánea. España en Marruecos*, vol. 88, n.d. 69–96 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

93 "Peregrinación del Marruecos Español a la Meca. España les paga parte de los gastos. Mañana salen en avión para el Sagrado Lugar," *Africa*, September 24, 1949.

94 Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, *Muslim Travellers. Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination* (London: Routledge, 1990), 15–17.

part of the group of pilgrims, when he wrote: "They (Libyans) are kind to us [Muslim Moroccans]."[95]

The report shows the weight of successive social boundaries that emerged along the journey. On one hand, the Hajj and diverse religious rituals generated enthusiastic feelings among the Moroccans, reinforcing the mechanisms of *communitas*. On the other hand, the trip brought evidence of forms of differentiation exerted by the new nation-states or the colonial powers. As Turner wrote, ritual houses this dual connotation of structure and anti-structure.[96]

Finally, the rituals of the journey were not exclusively defined by Islamic precepts. The trip also ritualised the Spanish colonial policy, and the Moroccan notables took part in that. Therefore, the religious ritual adopted a dual role of political ceremony and propaganda. Taking part in a pilgrimage organised by the colonial *makhzan* meant that the notables were receiving a gift,[97] which functioned as a mechanism of reciprocity, as far as the Moroccans secured political loyalty during the rite of passage of *al-ḥajj*. As Bourdieu wrote of circumcision, this was not just a rite of passage, but also a rite of institutionalisation.[98]

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95 Valentín Beneitez Cantero, "Peregrinación a la Meca. Memoria del viaje," Tétouan, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, October 1949, 3 (Box 3013, IDD 13, AFR, AGA).

96 Victor Turner, and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

97 Mohamed Jadour, "Le don du Makhzen: acte de générosité ou aspect de subordination?", in *Le don au Maghreb et dans les Mondes Occidentaux*, ed. Khalil Saadani (Casablanca: Publications de l'Université Hassan II-Mohammedia, 2008), 63–88.

98 Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), 117–126.

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