Chapter 26
The Islamic Pilgrimage in the Manuscript Literature of Southeast Asia

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The sacred country far away

The Hajj, the Islamic pilgrimage, is a recurrent and varied theme in Islamic literatures, not only those of Southeast Asia. There is nothing remarkable in that, the pilgrimage being a duty incumbent upon the believer who has the means to perform that duty. It is one of the Five Pillars of Islam. The Islamic pilgrimage and the notion of the mythical holy land that for the believers in Southeast Asia lies in the far West, goes much further than that. One only needs to read the first canto of the Javanese mythological history, the Senta Kendo ringgit Parusa, to see the Islamic details in the Javanese narrative:

The beginning tells about Nabi Adam and daces kanok in Mekah. Adam's son Kabiil leaves Mekah, after having killed his brother Abil. He follows the Susan Kabiil. The latter gave himself the nick-name Mainakamay and pretended to have created the world. Kabiil establishes himself in the land Kaci. He gets two children, Asadah and Daliyah. Kabiil goes to Mekah. He wants to see his brother, Nova Si, but the latter's wife who happens to be pregnant tells him that he, Kabiil, has been irrevocably exiled. Kabiil answers that his future child will become king in-law and that he will revolt against his father. Kabiil wishes to return to Kaci but on the road his foot gets stuck in the ground. An angel comes and binds him with a whip. The angel Hames for his emissaries. Then Kabiil sinks down in the earth and comes into Nezakh, Hell.

And so a story unfolds, full of elements foreshadowing the drama that is being developed by the storyteller. The fact that the sacrifice of Ismoil (Ishaun) by his father Ibrahim (Abraham) is not mentioned anywhere, despite the fact that from the Arabian perspective this is the essence of the story of the adoration of the Kha'ba and the pilgrimage as a whole into Islam, does not mean that sacrifice is totally absent from this story. The story of Cain and Abel, Qobil and Hahil in Islamic tradition, is also one of sacrifice and offering, of acceptance and rejection. The two different stories have apparently been fused into one.

In the Senta Kendo ringgit Parusa, Mekkah — if that is the same as the 'Mekah' in the story — seems to be just the carpet on which a very Javanese history of Mekkah and elements of Islamic prophetic lore, Cain and Abel, serve as background, but form no integral part of the story. That the story can easily do without these Arabic details is shown in the Bahad Tanah Jarit, where the beginning of the story and the beginnings of Javanese history are not placed in a location as specific as Mekkah. In the Senta Kendo ringgit Parusa Mekkah scores to be the additional detail of the far-away country, where history begins, a typical Southeast Asian Islamic perspective. Arabia in the beginning of history in the Bahad Tanah Jarit is an element of legitimation.

Wirininga quotes from the preamble of the major Bahad the following lines which give an insight into the function of the double origins, Arabian and Javanese, being a talisman and a heresies, and with these the text is given a position in which it is beyond doubt:

As a reminder, in order not to forget, the genealogy from Arabia is needed and, verify, the Javanese one as well. The enumeration of the ancestors was from of old a talisman.

An heirloom in the form of a book is what our king, Pakubuwana the Fourth, desired, wishing that the beginning of the noble story should not be a bone of contention, lest anyone be troubled.

A conceptual perspective is possible here as well. In that view, the idea of pilgrimage to Mekkah developed into a sort of higher consecration. As such it is, together with that other typically Muslim custom, circumcision, mentioned by Pigeaud in his description of Muslim popular performances on Java:

One of the Javanese popular customs that can serve as an example of how the feeling for and need of consecration has had a mediating effect between Islam and pahroman, is circumcision... Also customs of genuine Muslim origin, such as the pilgrimage to Mecca, have for the traditional Javanese feeling of self-esteem obtained the value of a sort of higher consecration. The performance of Anglic is sufficiently known, especially in former times and in traditional Muslim circles. Remarkable in this respect is the expression saungkai, to become a saungkai also means to be elevated, to be raised. In rank there is the consecration of a Muslim marriage contract (the saungkai), as said of the groom,... If the word saungkai really meant here in the sense of someone going on pilgrimage to Mecca, the expression should be understood as to obtain a higher form of consecration, as the hajj does.

The visiting of the graves of the santri rang, the nine founding saints of Indonesian Islam is, so it is said, tantamount to the pilgrimage to Mecca. Touring the nine saints is a popular pastime for many Indonesians and much more feasible than to really go, at great cost and discomfort, to western Arabia. Bus tours are organized to accommodate pilgrims for an efficient trip to all nine locations. In the course of 1989, I personally participated in such trips, and I could observe that the purpose of the pilgrims was to visit graves. These Indonesian visitors look for and obtain shug'is (intercession) of the saints whose graves they visit, which they need on the Day of Judgment. The re-enactment of the Abrahamic sacrifice is not their prime concern. At best, the visit, the ziyara, to the grave of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina, following or preceding the pilgrimage to Mecca, but without being part of it, can be compared to the purpose of the pilgrims to the graves of Java's nine saints. This sense of consecration, which Pigeaud has already mentioned, and legitimation, which is mentioned in the beginning of the Bahad Tanah Jarit, can also be seen in some of the considerations of 'Haji Muhammar' Saharto, the former president of Indonesia, when in 1992 he decided to perform the pilgrimage.

The pilgrimage in law and spirit

In contrast to popular belief, religious fanaticism and transvestites and political considerations, the Arabic textbooks on Islamic law which are also used in Southeast Asia are clear and very concrete on the subject. They treat the pilgrimage at the end of the section on the 'ibada', the duties owed towards God. The pilgrimage is not described there in a literary or anthropological way, but the Muslim jurists give a summary of the conditions that make the pilgrimage valid or invalid as a religious act (PI, 4). Now do they devote much space to it, certainly not in comparison to the lengthy discussions on ritual purity and ritual prayer. The pilgrimage was outside the possibilities of the majority of the believers anyway, certainly for those living on the periphery. The jurists write about the al-šāfī, the juridical categories of the acts that together constitute the pilgrimage ritual. They mention the precise acts one has to perform, the exact formulae one has to say, and, to a certain extent, the emotions that the believer should have and display at particular moments during the days of the pilgrimage.

What participating in the pilgrimage does, or should do, to the inner feelings of the believer is not said in the books of Islamic law, nor is it very relevant to the jurists. The Law of Islam deals with the outward part of acts and teaches the believer how to submit, how to be a Muslim and how God knows what is in the hearts. It is the distinction between sin and sin, between outward performance and inner conviction. In order to know more about the desired effects of the pilgrimage on the pilgrim's mindset one should study books on Islamic ethics and mysticism. Al-Ghazal, a contemporary of al-Ghazali and also much studied in Southeast Asia, in his religious encyclopaedia Rāhiṣ al-dīn at-taṣīr 'tārīkh al-dīn treats the pilgrimage more from the inside, as it is already evident from the title of the relevant chapter, Rāhiṣ al-dīn at-taṣīr 'tārīkh at-taṣīr, on the secrets of the pilgrimage'. These 'secrets' (ma'ānī) are distinctively different from the categories of law, the al-šāfī. Al-Ghazal approaches his subject from the
I entered a thousand prayers of thanks to the Most Exalted God. Thus I have forgotten all the hardships and torments along my journey.

For I have yearned and dreamed after the Baitulnisa for many months."

H.C. Klinkert, the first translator of Abdullah Munshi’s travelogue, tells the story, possibly on the authority of one of Abdullah’s travel companions, that Abdullah was in fact a convert to Christianity, and there were only a few goonies farther than by that mention, at the end of his chapter on the pilgrimage, the inner acts of the pilgrimage. He begins his final section as follows:

The first thing about the pilgrimage is to mention, by which I mean understanding the position of the pilgrimage in the religion. Then desire for it, then the decision to go on pilgrimage, then cutting the bonds with that hold from doing it, then taking the ticket, then purchasing the ticket, then hiring the railing animal, then the departure, then the journey to the desert, then taking up the ritual state of falls, then washing in the Ka’bah, then knowing to true, then entering Mecca, then completing the aforementioned actions. In each of these things is a remembrance of God, and example for him who takes the example, a demonstration for the truthful pupil, and a learning and an indication for the intelligent. Let us point to his usefulness till when their gates is opened and their courses are known, to every pilgrim the secrets are unfolded, consisting of the necessary purity of heart, the inner chasteandness and his understanding.

But regardless of how important the state of mind of the pilgrimage is, and a lesser cannot exist without his thoughts or feelings, are described and described, in the guides of the genre Mannat al hija, ‘the rituals of the pilgrimage’. In these the pilgim finds detailed instructions and notes, an account of the pilgrimage, a description of the Ka’bah with the names of its important parts. They also treat, albeit to a lesser extent, the pilgrim, the visit to the Prophet Muhammad’s grave in Medina, which is, as already said, not part of the pilgrimage, but which few pilgrims are likely to neglect.

The journey

Coming, staying and leaving are the important moments for the pilgrimage. The Islamic calendar begins on the New Year (10th of Muharram), the day of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). The pilgrimage or Hajj is a religious duty, a pilgrimage to Mecca, performed by Muslims who are able and have the means to make the pilgrimage. The pilgrimage begins in Mecca and ends in Mina, a city near Mecca. The journey to Mecca is a time for reflection and for spiritual growth.

The journey involves several stages. First, the pilgrim travels from their home city to Mecca, usually by plane. Then, they perform the rituals of the pilgrimage in Mecca, including the Tawaf, the seven circuits around the Ka’bah. After the rituals, the pilgrim travels to the city of Mina, where they perform the rituals of the Sa’i, or running around the Ka’bah seven times. Finally, the pilgrim travels to the city of Arafat, where they perform the rituals of the Wudhu, or purification.

Now the hajibul-Makdis had been appointed to bring the ship safety to Jeddah and Mecca. The cargo was distance from Jeddah to Mecca. The region was filled with coral reefs, so much so that the ship appeared green due to the reflection of the light from the surrounding reefs. The Meliton of Jeddah, however, was too large to pass through these channels through which we could navigate. It was through three channels that the ship made its way, with the Meliton on the most exciting to guide the Meliton. The Meliton on the coast...
Plate 2 Description of the Ka'ba in Mecca with captions in Arabic. Illustration in an anonymous bilingual work (Arabic and Jawani) about Manusik al-Hajj, possibly mid-19th century. Bantam collection, Univesity Library (MS Leiden Or 2350, f. 26a).

Mecca, and to a lesser extent Medina as well, is a total pilgrimage experience for the pilgrim, which leaves him with many impressions. The first journey to Jeddah is told, then the food miracles in the ritual are detailed, some local geography is given, and both factual and legendary material is offered to the reader. It seems that Sheikh Dadid, like Abdullah Munah after him, had wanted to participate in Ramadaan in Mecca as well. His style is much less sophisticated than that of Abdullah Munah. When he enters the Ka'ba he says: ‘Upon entering the Ka'ba the shadows disappear, it feels like entering Heaven’.

Visiting the seven wells of Medina, from which the Prophet Muhammad had drunk (as recorded in the narrations about the visits of the Prophet), is a great and important experience. Is it probable that Sheikh Dadid has used an Arabic source for this as well?

Visiting the Ka'ba is the conscious heart harbours companions, not remembering profits and losses, forgetting sadness, grief and selfishness.

Weeping is following the same, the exemplary behaviour, of the Prophet Muhammad. Tears are an old part of the prescribed show of emotions, not only when the pilgrim sees Medina from afar, but on other occasions as well. It is difficult to weep on command, also for Muslims, but Dadid already has, without humour, shown that the believer how he can produce tears if they do not come spontaneously. And in order to weep, Sheikh Dadid prescribes his readers exactly what al-Ghazzali says one should do in order to weep. That similarity gives once more force to the idea that much more than we think of the 'Suir Masik al-Madina' is based on Arabic sources, rather than on personal experiences. Not only is the story of Sheikh Dadid’s pilgrimage the result of a total physical experience in the holy city and on its outskirts, but it also relies on a wealth of earlier traditions.
they enter Mecca themselves since they were Christians. They therefore totally depended on the services of those Musulmans who would offer themselves to provide useful knowledge of all sorts. An elaborate system of espionage and surveillance was set up for this purpose, and all consuls had informants in place. For the Dutch this was particularly important because the Netherlands had, since 1610, been involved in a war of attrition with the sultanate of Yezid, and Mecca was considered to be the place from where anti-Dutch sentiments were emanating to the colony.

In the course of the pilgrim season of 1682, a small group of mostly fragmentary manuscripts with texts in Arabic, with sometimes an interlinear Javanese translation on Manawi al-bajj came into the possession of the Dutch consul in Jeddah, Johannes Adrianus Krouyt (1644–1727) [PL. 3]. How he obtained these documents is not known. He may have received them as a gift, but it is more likely that they were confiscated, as the Dutch authorities were all the time in a state of alert against adversive writings. Krouyt handed the manuscripts over to Christiano Snouck Hurgronje (1858–1936), who happened to be in Jeddah preparing his own journey to Mecca, probably in order to allow him to give an impression of their content. Snouck Hurgronje kept the manuscripts among his books and after his death in 1936 they became the property of Leiden University Library.

A few of these could be identified by short notes written in pencil by Snouck Hurgronje, who somewhat conjecturally mentions Consul Krouyt’s ‘pilgrim X’. Such notes can be seen in several of the manuscripts in the Snouck Hurgronje collection in Leiden University Library. If the Jeddah provenance of these manuscripts had not been known, they would have simply been texts on Manawi from Jeddah, of which there are thirteen in a now. Today they give an indication of the sort of books that were in the possession of the Javanese pilgrims or the Javan residents of Mecca [PL. 4].

Tuanku Imam Bonjol’s prayer book

Associated with the pilgrimage, but mostly in popular imagination, is the prayer book that is said to have belonged to Tuanku Imam Bonjol (1772–1842). According to the stories that have come with it, it was ‘found’ or rather captured, in Bonjol, West Sumatra, where the Imam in 1837 fought his last stand against the Dutch-Indian army. That fact marked the end of the Padi Wars (1811–37), which were inspired by Wahhabi sentiments among returning pilgrims. It appears that Imam Bonjol himself had never performed the pilgrimage. The manuscript that is said to have been his personal prayer book is presently kept in the library of Leiden University, after it had been transferred there in 1864 from the Royal Academy in Delft. Its association with the Imam has always remained somewhat obscure. There are no signs of his ownership in the manuscript itself, but the

The manuscript does not contradict his former ownership either. It was copied in 1871–4 (1292 AH) in Bandar Natar (Natal in Sumatra’s west coast, not far from Bonjol). It is provided with numerous illustrations, many of a magical and eschatological nature, and also with several drawings that somehow show a connection with the pilgrimage or at least with the holy cities in Arabia. About one third of the volume (pp. 357–90) is taken up by the text of the Da‘wil al-dhikr al-Da‘wil. That is not a book on pilgrimage but on the devotion for the Prophet Muhammad, yet it is well known for its images, first of the Prophet’s grave in Medina, and later of the mosques in Mecca and Medina [PL. 5]. The latter two mosques are shown here (i.e. 68b–69a), and the one in Medina once more, in an entirely different style of drawing (i.e. 83a).

The prayer book also shows (i. 65b) Medina’s main cemetery, Bu‘id al-Ghurud (PL. 6), not in stylized drawings as we see in Mohied al-Din Lari’s Fihrist al-hadis (a mid-nineteenth century Persian illustrated pilgrimage’s guide), but in an entirely different, typically Southeast Asian style, which is rather a collage of elements that the artist thought to be important. The Malay captions of the main part, the cemetery, reads inihi katuh umam bantad (‘these are the graves of the ordinary people’). The illustrator has made the image fuller than reality permits by adding the two palms of Fatima, which actually belong to the iconography of the inner court of the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina (inihi rumpat Fatinah, where rumpat must mean ‘grass’), by adding a sort of enclosure of the Messenger of God (inihi tina nasirallah, where tina means ‘curtain’), with drawings of the graves of the four righteous caliphs (‘Uthman, Abu Bakr, ‘Ali and ‘Umar, in that order), whereas in the foreground the grave of the Prophet Muhammad is displayed) in a more colourful way (plates 6 and 7). The only realistically drawn element in the drawing of Bu‘id al-Ghurud is the somewhat crooked form of the road that leads through the graveyard.

The prayer book has many more images (PL. 7), including a whole series of males, magical seals (e.g. i. 50b–60a), and pupils, ceremonial umbrellas, and banners (e.g. i. 58b–59a), under which the believers can gather on the Day of Judgment. As a compilation the volume shows the great variety of forms used in Southeast Asian Islam, a mixture of poetry and magic. If the provenance of the prayer book is genuine, that is if it has really been in the possession of Tuanku Imam Bonjol, who is said to have been deeply influenced by Wahhabism, its content does not confirm this at all. True, the prayer book, which was copied in 1871, proceeds the Padi Wars. It might show today’s reader that the simple Wahhabi message of Tashid, unity of God, would still allow for manifold manifestations, at least so far away from Arabia. A similar illustrated compilation from elsewhere in the Islamic world would be the Ottoman prayer book that goes by the collective title Evliya’s Seyah that falls outside the scope of the present subject. The

Conclusion

After a legendary and a conceptual treatment of the Islamic pilgrimage from Southeast Asia in general (the sacred
Notes


2. With Cain and Abel we are, in an Islamic context, in the realm of story telling, as they are not mentioned by name in the Qur’an, only in the Hadith, see Rusun and Wihtam 1988: 81. Habib will tell. Qasal. The short Qur’anic reference to them (‘ang dunnt, Q. 3:17) tells the essence about the offerings.

3. Rusun 1987: 76. See also the nonsensical table of the beginning of the story in three other Balinese in Wieringa 1999: 255.


5. Pijper 1968: 457 (456). Another etymology is offered here as well, however.

6. For the political playing field for Subaha’s pilgrimage, see Bintz 2001: 175–76.

7. See e.g. the ‘Esdh al-‘asabiyyah al-Shafi‘iyyah, the Bishri, al-‘Abbas, a companion of the 7th-century in which numerous manuscripts and printed editions exist, which till today is in use in Southeast Asia. Here to the text published in the magazine of its companion in al-Ghazali 1992: 27–37. Voelkle 1972: 268 mentions manuscripts of this text and the cluster of commentaries and other works that came from the 12th century, from the Malay World and far and Java, not only in Arabic, but also in Malay and Javanese.

8. MS Leku Or. 4:565 is a Javanese translation of al-Mubdi‘ fi fi‘l, a compendium in Arabic on Islamic law that only exist in manuscripts from Indonesia. Strange, this particular manuscript completely omits the pilgrimage story altogether (I. 199). On the Arabic, see Voelkle 1972: 270–71. For the full contents of MS Leku Or. 4:565, collective volume on shari‘a, Javanese paper, see Pijper 1968: 452.

9. Qur’an 45: 69, 70, 353, 481, 482.


12. This work is known under several different titles. This one is derived from the Malay text in the edition by Kleinert 1897: 35–47. Kleinert had prepared his edition of the Malay text at the same time he published his Dutch translation, ‘Verhaal van reisprisis van Singapuor naar Malia door Abdullah Wie Alladi Kadir Mynim, gedrukt in het jaar 1671’ (Kleinert 1671). In Singapore, he had also his autograph, which had come into the possession of the Protestant missionary Benjamin F. Kisalety (1890–97). Cope for his edition. Kleinert’s copy of that autograph is now the property of the Dutch Bible Society, MS Leku Or. 65, which is on permanent loan in Leiden University Library. The manuscript bears the title Jala’i fi‘li‘l: Abdullah al-Darazi al-Malaysia (Kisal al-Darazi), and that title may be the most authentic. The title of the edition by Kaisar Uzaid, which is ultimately based on the Leiden manuscript, is also somewhat different (Kaisar Uzaid 1989). Swerker 1989: 273 has the title Jala’i fi‘li‘l: Abdullah al-Darazi al-Malaysia (Kisal al-Darazi), which is in total supported by any of the handwritten and printed versions which Swerker used (Swerker 2005: 305).


15. The short epilogue immediately following the lines of poetry mentions as Abdullah’s Mounia’s cause of death in the text, which literally means ‘pleasure’, ‘pastime’, but it can be any contagious disease. Chot-Rzos translates it with ‘strokes’ (Kleinert 1697: 303). Kleinert’s translation leaves it out but provides an epilogue of its own on p. 417; Kaisar 1989: 145; Chot-Rzos 2000: 200.

16. Kleinert 1697: 410. He adds to it that it is remarkable that such a well-educated prince as Abdullah, with many English ministrants among his acquaintances, never converted to Christianity and was never possibly killed by Islam. This is the sort of detail which Kleinert’s works aboard. Another striking example of Kleinert’s belittling attitude towards Abdullah Mounia is that in his translation he took away the word ‘Mecca’, which is in the manuscript, from the title of the traveller and replaced it with Malaya. With the little poem at the very end of the text, Abdullah’s journey apparently goes as far as Java. See also Patern 2006, but van der Putten does not treat Abdullah’s final journey.

17. See the numbers to the two years, 1670 and 1671, in Kleinert 1697: 5 resp. 6.

18. The year 1270 is mentioned in Swerker 2005: 355, but the readings are contested in his comparative tables.


20. Instead Swerker 2005: 299 acknowledges the help of Dina Penabdull for clearing up the problems of the chronology of the traveller.


22. Swerker 2005: 299, where he states MS Jakarta W 25 is nearest to the original. The lack in the edition of good photographs of the Javanese manuscript prevents the reader from an evaluation of Swerker’s medio sapehu.


33. MS Leku Or. 4:356, Or. 3537, Or. 5358. Wieringa 2000: 179, 275–280.


36. Translation put online by the University of Michigan; http://good. ll.com/chidich/1999/burrin/ (last accessed on 20 February 2005).


38. al-Bari‘ 1996. al-Bari‘ treats the text as authentic and his edition is mainly based on MS Rampur, Reva Library No. 3609, which is dated in Shawwal 1310/1664.


It is a sacred duty for Muslims, wherever they may reside, to go at least once in their lives to Mecca, the heartland of Islam. Now drawing millions of pilgrims annually, the Hajj is a powerful bond that brings together Muslims from across the world. Following on from the British Museum’s critically acclaimed exhibition Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam in 2012, this volume is the result of a conference that was held in conjunction with the exhibition.

Together the 29 essays tell the story of the Hajj from different perspectives, ranging from its early history to the present day. The multidisciplinary approach is reflected in the widely diverging subject areas that are represented by these essays which span history, archaeology, Islamic art, linguistics, religious and social studies. The contributors evoke the lives and experiences of pilgrims across time, and highlight the beautiful objects from textiles to manuscripts and tiles that are associated with the Hajj and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

Venetia Porter is curator of Islamic and Modern Middle Eastern art at the British Museum. She was the curator of Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam and editor of the accompanying catalogue. Her publications also include Word into Art (2006) and Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum (2011).

Liana Saif is curator of the Hajj Legacy Project at the British Museum. She is also a post-doctoral researcher focusing on the intercultural exchange of esoteric ideas between the Islamic world and Europe in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Her book Arabic Influences on Early Modern Occult Thought will be published in 2014.
The Hajj: Collected Essays
Edited by Venetia Porter and Liana Saif
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Mecca, during the month of Dhu al-Hijja, seen the largest annual congregation of people at any given place and time in the world. Towards it some three million Muslims converge from the four corners of the earth in order to fulfill their religious duty of Hajj. Dressed in their white ritual garments, the pilgrims stand shoulder to shoulder equal before God, regardless of race, gender, wealth or rank. I am always deeply moved by the sight of the mass of pilgrims circumambulating the noble Ka'ba chanting their prayers in a timeless ritual; one might as well be reading an account by a medieval traveller. The physical journey has obviously changed over the centuries the camed has now been replaced by motorized transport and the pilgrim caravans by chartered flights. The spiritual journey, however, remains—in essence—unchanged.

It is curious that the subject of Hajj, the fifth pillar of Islam and the one that lends itself most readily to artistic expression, had not been seriously addressed in an exhibition before the British Museum's recent Hajj: journey to the heart of Islam. The huge success of this exhibition is a tribute to the foresight and imagination of the Director, Neil MacGregor, in his enthusiastic promotion of world cultures, as well as the vision and tireless efforts of its curator, Venetia Porter. In so eloquently relating this fascinating story from its beginnings to the present day, the exhibition made the subject of Hajj accessible to all, not least among those who are unable to take part. For Muslims and non-Muslims alike, it presented a way of exploring what is common to all faiths and shared by all. One should not forget that many of the rites of Hajj revolve around the central figure of Abraham who is equally venerated by Jews, Christians and Muslims. There is, after all, far more that is common to these religions than separates them.

Since 1979, The Khalili Family Trust has been actively involved in assembling a comprehensive collection of Islamic art. Simultaneously, we have focused our attention on putting together a notable collection of objects relating to Mecca and Medina and the arts of pilgrimage in general. We were therefore extremely proud to have been involved so closely with the British Museum, and pleased that we could play a significant role in the presentation of this landmark exhibition.

I am also delighted that we have been able to support this publication which is the fruit of the multidisciplinary conference associated with the exhibition. The 29 essays included in this book cover many aspects of Hajj. They demonstrate the depth and richness of the subject, from the religious and social importance of Hajj to the ancient remains of its sources; from the personal accounts of pilgrims to the experience of Hajj today; and from the remarkable gifts of textiles for the holy cities to the material and contemporary culture of Hajj. I am certain that the publication will be a vital source of information and inspiration for years to come.

Nasser D. Khalili
Founder
The Khalili Collections
Introduction

Venetia Porter

This volume of 29 essays comes out of a conference sponsored by the Arts and Humanities Research Council that accompanied the exhibition Hajj: journey to the heart of Islam. The exhibition was sponsored by HSBC Amanah with the King Abdulaziz Public Library as organizational partners. The intention of the conference, as with the exhibition, was to try to tell the story of the Hajj from different perspectives, from its early history to the present day. This multidisciplinary approach is reflected in the widely diverging subject areas that are represented by these essays: history, archaeology, Islamic art, linguistics, religious and social studies. The contributors evoke the lives of the pilgrims, the routes they took, the objects they left behind, the dangers of the journey and the strong sense of belief that impelled them to undertake the journey to Mecca. Also highlighted are the many objects associated with the Hajj: the lavish textiles, the beautifully painted tiles, the richly illuminated manuscripts and the everyday objects made for or to bring to the holy cities and the Hajj.

The volume opens with an exposition of the rituals of the Hajj expressing clearly what Hajj represents for Muslims and shows the experiences of the Hajj today by Muslims from the United Kingdom. In between, the essays fall into several groups. In the section 'Religion, Early History and Politics', the contributors examine pre-Islamic Hajj and its early politicization under the Umayyad caliphate. The next group of essays, under the heading 'By Land and Sea: Archaeology, Hajj Routes and Ships', concentrates on different aspects of the routes. An Arabic text on Damascus craft's ships lies on objects traded on Hajj; there are new discoveries about the Hajj route from Baalbek; the rediscovery of an Ottoman fort at Mafaq along the Syrmian route and the reinterpretation of Ottoman royal inscriptions. A survey of the Sinai route looks at the extensive network of fortresses, while a discussion of the Trans-Saharan route focuses on the fascinating city of Tadmur. The all-important role and history of the Hajj ports on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean are examined along with an analysis of the different types of ships used to make these journeys.

The third group of essays fall under the title 'Travellers' Tales and Colonialist Histories'. We start with pilgrims' accounts: one told in Mehir of a journey from Oman by camel; and the second of a hajji who travelled on the Trans-Siberian railway. We then look at how colonialism affected the Hajj, under the French in Algeria with the atrocities they imposed on pilgrims and in India during the Raj with a focus on the role played by Thomas Cook. The last two articles in this section highlight Britishmen who went on Hajj—some as genuine believers, others as impostors.

The essays in the last section are grouped under the loose heading 'The Material and Contemporary Culture of Hajj'. Here the contributors look mainly at objects, and there is a deep analysis of the depiction of the holy sites on tiles, a discussion of the inscriptions on the Hajj textiles and keys to the Ka'ba, an examination of the making of the Hajj textiles in Cairo, a description of the textiles of Medina and, that supreme political symbol of the Hajj, the mubrak, is considered from a number of different perspectives. The role that the Hajj has played in the transmission of architectural ideas is also highlighted, as are the literary and manuscript traditions of the Ottoman and southeast Asia. We conclude with the modern-day sour notes that are brought back by pilgrims today.

The articles in this book develop and deal in depth with many of the ideas that were touched upon in the exhibition and the accompanying multiauthored publications Hajj: journey to the heart of Islam and The Art of Hajj. They further demonstrate how multifaceted and what a fruitful area of research the study of the Hajj is. My thanks therefore go first and foremost to the contributors of the excellent articles in this volume. They have provided us with thought provoking new material on a wide range of subjects and have truly confirmed that a new subject area called 'Hajj studies' has been created.

My greatest thanks go to my co-editor Lianna Safi who worked tirelessly with the contributors and translated the two articles by Sami Saleh 'Abd al-Malik and Muhammad al-Moejan. I would also like to thank Sarah Faulks, our editor at the British Museum Press, for all her hard work, kindness and professionalism. Without Professor David Khalid this book is unlikely to have seen the light of day, and to him and to Nablah Nassar, curator of the Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, whose enthusiasm for the subject of Hajj knows no bounds, I am extremely grateful. Nablah helped us with some of the texts, provided photographs and regularly offered much needed support. Others who have provided assistance and guidance in several ways are James Allan, Colin Baker, William Fawcett, Anabah Gallop, Tim Insell, Selin Ipko, Hugh Kennedy, James Piccaro, Tim Stanley, Arnaud Vrolijk and Rahul Qaisar.

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Practical notes on the text

All the dates are given as Hijri dates and are included in which case they are presented as 7h/m/95-3. We decided to keep the transcription to a minimum and therefore diacritical marks are only included where essential, as in Janet Watson's article. We apologise to those who may find this irritating. All non-Western words are italicized unless they have formed part of English vocabulary such as isami or shi'ite. Turkish spellings have been used for the names of the Ottoman sultans and other Turkish words. The references for each article are treated as endnotes and an integrated bibliography is at the end of the book, alongside a basic glossary and an index. The translations of the Qur'an that have been principally used are by Alan Jones (2007) and M. `Abd al-Haleem (2009).

Notes

1 The essays by William Fawcett and Qaisar Khan are based on lectures given at different times during the course of the exhibition.
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