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16. Group portrait of the Dutch colony of Jeddah. Albumen print. The photograph was taken late 1884, in the courtyard of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah, probably by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje with the aid of a self-timer or by a servant.
WEST-ARABIAN ENCOUNTERS

Fifty years of Dutch-Arabian relations in images (1885-1935)

Catalogue of an exhibition in Leiden University Library
October 21 – November 21, 2004

by Dirry Oostdam
with contributions by Jan Just Witkam

LEGATUM WARNERIANUM
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The exhibition WEST-ARABIAN ENCOUNTERS. Fifty years of Dutch-Arabian relations in images (1885-1935), can also be viewed on the internet: http://ub.leidenuniv.nl/bc/tentoonstelling/encounters_arabia

ISSN 0921-9293, volume 63

Cover: View of Mekka, taken from Qal'at Ġiyad. Photograph of the late 1920s (Or. 12.288 CSH C.9).

Frontispice: Backrow, left to right: Husayn, the qawwās (consular guard) of the Dutch Consulate, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. Middle row, left to right: Unidentified man, then possibly, J.L.A. Brandes, in the centre: J.A. Kruyt, the Dutch Consul-General in Jeddah, next to him sits P.N. van der Chijs, the Dutch (honorary) Vice-Consul in Jeddah, and a merchant by profession. At the far right is an unidentified man. The two unidentified men are possibly Termeulen and Stijnis. Front row, left to right: Jawhar, the servant of Consul Kruyt and Muhammad, the servant of Vice-Consul P.N. van der Chijs. Or. 26.404: NINO 2.2.

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Print: Drukkerij P.J. Jansen B.V., Leiden

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Preface

It is a well-known fact that the Oriental Collections in Leiden University Library contain more than the Oriental manuscripts by which that institution has justly become famous. Its extensive collections of printed materials of all periods and regions, its audio-visual collections, and its vast collections of historical photographs are valuable resources in their own right. It is from the latter that the present book was composed.

What is shown and described here is only a small part of the whole of West-Arabian images, a type of material that is particularly well represented in the Leiden collections. They entered, as part of the Snouck Hurgronje collections, the Library from 1936 onwards. These, and other photographic collections in the Legatum Warnerianum, the Oriental collections of Leiden University Library, are still largely undescribed.

In 1995 the Leiden Library devoted attention to its photographic collections by the publication of an exhibition catalogue on historical photographs from Iran.1 The subject of the present volume is Western Arabia, and more particularly Mecca and Jeddah.

A word may be said about the collaboration of which this book is the result. Ms. Dirry Oostdam has, for a number of years, been working on the description of the photographic collections in Leiden University Library, and more particularly on Middle Eastern photography. When I invited her to compile the catalogue to the exhibition of October-November 2004, which would have Arabian photographs as its subject, she gladly obliged. For the occasion she has rewritten and expanded most of her descriptions. These were extensively edited by myself. She also made available her copy of Snouck Hurgronje’s newspaper articles about the visits of Saudi princes to The Netherlands, which are published in the Appendix.

Leiden, October 3, 2004  Jan Just Witkam,
Interpres Legati Warneriani

Exactly 120 years ago a young Dutch scholar had established himself in Jeddah, a harbour town on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. His aim was to study Islam in its most undiluted form. Jeddah was not his goal, but a means to penetrate Islam's holiest place, Mecca, only at 75km distance from Jeddah, in the interior of Western Arabia. He was, not surprisingly, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936). His teacher in Leiden, the venerable philologist Michael Jan de Goeje (1836-1909) was absolutely horrified at the plan and tried to dissuade his promising student, but to no avail. Snouck Hurgronje may have revealed the full extent of his plan to his mother and to his professor only after he had arrived in Jeddah and after he had understood that visiting Mecca was a distinct possibility.

Once in Jeddah he was able to grasp what the conditions would be under which he would be able to make the journey. He first had to convert to Islam, of course, and the occasional lack of privacy in Mecca would oblige him to have a circumcision performed on him as well. Then he needed a social network to take him to Mecca, and to look after him while he was in the Holy City. For this he joined the Jawa, the inhabitants of Mecca and Jeddah of Southeast Asian origin.

The journey to Mecca was not done with the same secrecy as some other travellers had used. Richard Burton, to name but one example, had gone there more than thirty years earlier, in 1853, and had travelled incognito, as a wandering derwish, and had been under the constant threat of the fatal consequences of discovery.¹

¹ Richard Burton, *A secret pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*. Introduced by Tim Mackintosh-Smith. London 2004. This edition is particularly remarkable since it is illustrated by photographs of Mecca and Medina of the 1880s, among which quite a few by or attributed to Snouck Hurgronje.
But Snouck Hurgronje, apparently, had no such masquerade in mind for himself. Nor was his goal primarily to perform the pilgrimage. Certainly, he would have liked to perform the pilgrimage ritual, about the incorporation of which into Islam by the Prophet Muhammad he had written his thesis a few years earlier.1 Eventually he had left Mecca before the pilgrimage of 1885. The pilgrimage season was not an entirely favourable one for the anthropological observer of Meccan daily life. In ‘the season’ his Meccan friends would turn into ruthless pilgrim hunters, as they had to earn the larger part of their yearly income in a short period of time.

Snouck Hurgronje, however, was enchanted by the Meccan out of season, when he was basically a kind person, good to his family and friends, with an inclination to reckless spending on them. But as soon as the next season was there and the pilgrims were arriving, he was not to be disturbed for such trifles. In the end, and quite unexpectedly, Snouck Hurgronje had to leave Mecca, but not because his cover was blown. The Turkish governor could no longer guarantee his safety, since Snouck Hurgronje’s presence had been compromised by the acting French consul in Jeddah, who suspected him of trying to obtain an old inscription which he himself wished to save for French scholarship. It was the Franco-Prussian rivalry and rancour over Alsatia, which finally obliged Snouck Hurgronje to leave Mecca. No one could have foreseen such a development, let alone have prevented it. The fact that the Ottoman governor of the Hijaz came to visit Snouck Hurgronje in his house in Jeddah, only a few days before the latter was bound for Mecca, indicates that Snouck Hurgronje’s intentions were known to him, and that he must have felt that there was no objection to it.

The photo session with Uthman Pasha, the Ottoman governor of the Hijaz, on Wednesday 21 January 1885 (see photograph No. 13, be-

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low), must also have contributed to a certain understanding and rapport between the two men. And that had to do with the phenomenon of photography itself, another lead in the story of the present book. Snouck Hurgronje had brought with him a camera and equipment for developing and printing his photographs. And although photography as a technique was by that time forty-five years old, it had hardly penetrated Western Arabia. Some more cosmopolitan Meccans or Jeddawi’s may have known about it from reports from Cairo or Beirut, where photographic studios flourished, but photographs must have been a rare commodity in the Hijaz of the early 1880s. The Ottoman Turkish officer Muhammad Sadiq Bey was the first to make a photographic report of Mecca and Medina. That was in 1881. At the time Snouck Hurgronje arrived in Jeddah and Mecca, there was probably no photographer around. Making photographs of local notables and dignitaries, and especially of their children, must have been a profitable business for Snouck Hurgronje, not in the sense of money making, but in an immaterial way. It tore down social barriers that would otherwise have remained in place. It provided an opportunity to establish friendships and acquaintances. Who does not wish to have a portrait of himself or of his children?

As outdoor photographing in Mecca turned to be unfeasible for Snouck Hurgronje (as it is very much today), he turned to portrait photography as one of his many activities in Mecca. The series of some two hundred portraits of Meccans of all walks of life and all social circles brings Mecca in the mid-1880s to life. It will be the subject of a separate publication in the near future.

When Snouck Hurgronje was forced to leave Mecca, he left his photographic equipment with his friend and namesake, ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan physician. This man, who may have had in mind to found Mecca’s first photographic studio, was able to catch the pilgrimage season on photo, and he made some more panoramic landscapes. It is with the panoramas which he made of Mecca and surroundings
that the present book begins its first section, entitled ‘Mecca and its surroundings, 1885–1888’. Snouck Hurgronje had, already in Jeddah, before his going to Mecca, made a considerable number of photographs of the groups of pilgrims coming back from the Hajj of 1884. Many of these have been published by him in the Bilders-Atlas of 1888, which accompanied his two-volume monograph on Mecca. That period being already well covered, the present book only presents a few of its highlights. They are the subject of the second section, entitled ‘Inhabitants of Mecca, 1885’. Jeddah in 1885 gets its share in the present book as well, as it is the logical prelude for any activity in Mecca. It is Snouck Hurgronje’s home front, and his contacts with the world outside Mecca all go through Jeddah. Images of Jeddah and some of its inhabitants form the material of the third section, ‘Jeddah, 1885’. Subsequently the book continues in a purely chronological way. More recent photographs of the Holy City are provided in the section on ‘Mecca and its surroundings, after 1885’.

Nevertheless the personal element remains an important one, and the photographic collections from which the images in the present book were selected contain a relatively large proportion of portraits. A selection of these form the material of the section on ‘Friends and acquaintances of C. Snouck Hurgronje’. Who these friends and acquaintances were is eloquently indicated in the descriptions of and the commentaries to these portraits.

It is with Consul N. Scheltema, who was stationed in Jeddah from 1905 until 1911, more than twenty years after Snouck Hurgronje’s visit to Mecca, that new images of Jeddah give us an impression of life at the Consulate. Snouck Hurgronje had, of course, maintained epistolary relationships with some of his friends in the Hijaz, most notably with his former companion to Mecca, the later dragoman of the Jeddah Consulate, Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat, a most useful collaborator and informant of Sundanese extraction. The intermittent period, however, is less well covered in as far as images are concerned.
Consul Scheltema provided some fresh materials, and a selection of these are shown here. One of these images shows another feature of Snouck Hurgronje, his unreserved commitment to modernity. In fact this is a lead to understanding much of his scholarly life and scientific endeavours. Photographing in the field in 1884-1885 was a thoroughly modern thing to do. The idea of making sound recordings in Arabia is another one. One of the photographs provided by Consul Scheltema shows a recording session in Jeddah in 1909, done at Snouck Hurgronje’s request and with his phonograph. Another instance of Snouck Hurgronje’s modernity would seem to be his decision to travel to the 17th International Congress of Orientalists in Oxford in 1928 by air. But modernity is not measured by such single instances, and Snouck Hurgronje’s constant interest in aspects of contemporary Islam no doubt comes from a research imperative of which his fascination with modernity was an important component.

Another interesting episode in the history between The Netherlands and the Hijaz is the project of the astronomical determination of the geographical latitude and longitude of Mecca and Jeddah in the course of 1910-1911 (see photographs Nos. 37a and 37b, below). The present book closes with some occasional images of Mecca of a later date and with photographic glimpses of the visits of two Saudi princes to The Netherlands.

In a stretch of some fifty years history comes full circle. In 1884-1885 a Dutchman started to document Western Arabia. At the end of the fifty years span the roles are reversed and Western Arabia comes to visit the Netherlands. These fifty years also cover the greatest part of the active life of the great Arabist and Islamologist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, and it is his figure that runs as a thread through the present book. Sometimes he is very visible, at other occasions his involvement is less direct, but in fact most if not all images shown and discussed in the present book reflect his presence.

As it is, the fifty-odd images treated in this
book, and shown in the exhibition which this book accompanies, are but a small selection of what is available. The authors and editors of the book and the organizers of the exhibition, Mrs. Dirry Oostdam and myself, had most difficulty, not in finding the materials, but in selecting from their abundance. In the long run, the Arabian photographs in the Legatum Warnerianum will be the subject of an inventory which will be published in due course. In the shorter term plans are now materializing to publish a portrait album of the inhabitants of Mecca in the 1880s.

The photographs shown and discussed in the present book are all part of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's collections and archives, most of which are now preserved in the Legatum Warnerianum in Leiden University Library. The renewed interest in these important materials makes it imperative to have a better overview of these collections, and the need for the compilation of a good inventory makes itself increasingly felt. Mecca and Jeddah have, once before, been the subject of one of the exhibitions of Leiden University Library, in fact one of the earliest held in its new building of Witte Singel. Then the centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's journey to Jeddah and Mecca was celebrated. The present work goes much further, but Snouck Hurgronje's name is visible on almost every page. The present book ends with the description of an oil painting by the Dutch painter Evert Jan Ligtelijn, the loan to the exhibition by a private owner. It was available for the exhibition, and was deemed to be a colourful addition. It is one of the few colourful documents which we possess of the period of 1885 until 1935, the photographs being all in black-and-white or shades of sepia. It is the colourful end-piece of a series of West-Arabian encounters. One important aspect is not included in the present book. The Dutch were not in Western Arabia for a holiday. The Dutch Consulate in

Jeddah represented the Governor-General in Batavia (now Jakarta). It did not answer directly to the Minister of Foreign Affairs but to the Minister of Colonial Affairs. Its well-defined purpose was twofold. Firstly, it provided protection to the pilgrims coming from the Dutch East Indies against the excesses of exploitation by the Meccan pilgrim guides and arbitrary treatment by the local authorities. Secondly, it was an intelligence outpost, which was used by the Dutch government to keep an eye on the activities of the numerous Dutch subjects who were living in Mecca. The dangers of Pan-Islamism and the possible links with the numerous insurgencies in the East Indies, among which the Aceh war is the best known, were incentives for the colonial government to closely monitor what was happening among its subjects who had chosen to live in the spiritual capital of the world of Islam. Highly interesting as all this may be, it is not the story told in the present book. What this book does try to present is a visual account of Western Arabia in the period between 1885 and 1935, with portraits of some of the Arab, Indonesian and Dutch actors in that field. At the same time the book shows the spread of photography in the Hijaz, and it documents aspects of life in Mecca and Jeddah. If this book has a purpose, it is meant to be, more than anything else, a contribution to the history of photography in an interesting region which in the period of fifty years saw many changes and upheavals. Most localities shown on the photographs have changed to an extent that they have become unrecognizable. All persons of whom portraits are shown have died in the meantime. The period in question witnessed important changes in the nature of the relationship between The Netherlands and Western Arabia. At first the Dutch presence was a mere consular representation on behalf of a colonial government to the authorities in the province the Hijaz, a part of the Ottoman empire, and it was meant to provide protection to its own subjects. As such the idea fitted into the old Ottoman ideas about Consuls of the European powers protecting their subjects as separate
communities. After the Saudi conquest of the Hijaz, things drastically changed and the relationship between the two countries evolved to a different level, that of mutual political representation between two sovereign states. At the end of the period covered by the present book, the Consulate in Jeddah was being upgraded to the status of a Legation, which, in turn was, now already many years ago, upgraded to a full-fledged embassy in Riyadh. That was the moment that the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah was reverted to its original function, the care for Dutch subjects travelling to or staying in the Hijaz, among whom are nowadays, apart from the employees of a number of Dutch firms, an ever increasing number of pilgrims and other visitors to Islam’s most holy places.
The visits of the Saudi princes to The Netherlands

by Dirry Oostdam

From the early 1920s onwards, the relations between the Kingdom of The Netherlands and the kingdom that afterwards came to be known as Saudi Arabia were excellent. After having established stability in his realm, the Saudi king, 'Abd al-'Azîz Ibn Sa‘ūd,' for several reasons turned to The Netherlands. For the health system, for banking and business, for an airline, and even for oil. Dutch government and Dutch companies were not very eager to respond to the king’s demands, however, and hesitated for too long. The Dutch business community lost its potentially privileged position to the Americans and British. There were several reasons why the Saudi’s first looked to The Netherlands. The Netherlands was among the first countries which recognised Ibn Sa‘ūd as king. In addition to that, king Ibn Sa‘ūd was suspicious of the British because they had initially supported his enemy the Amîr Husayn. The Americans had not yet shown up on the Saudi stage. And, finally, Dutch Islamic and Arabic studies as personified in the legendary islamologist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), who had written a book on Mecca and who was known in the Arab world as a supporter of

1 King Ibn Sa‘ūd was born as ‘Abd al-‘Azîz b. ‘Abd ar-Rahmân b. Faysal Ál Su‘ūd in ar-Riyâd on 24 November 1880. In 1891 his father was forced to leave the hometown of the family, ar-Riyâd, and live in exile in al-Kuwayt for about ten years. In 1319/1902 Ibn Sa‘ūd recaptured ar-Riyâd, and from then on slowly enlarged his territories. In 1915 he concluded a treaty with the British (who at the same time supported the Amîr Husayn of the Hijâz) that assured him of a subsidy and assistance and protection. In 1343/1924 the Najd-Hijâz war started, which ended in December 1925. From then on Ibn Sa‘ūd worked continuously to enlarge and consolidate his territories. He died in at-Tâ’îf on 9 November 1953.
the Arabs and Islam, may have attracted the Saudis. As a result of these good relations the Netherlands were included in the first three visits to foreign countries by the sons of Ibn Sa‘ūd. These visits took place in 1926 and 1932 by Prince Faysal,¹ and in 1935 by Prince Sa‘ūd.² For each visit Christiaan Snouck Hur
gonje wrote an article in one of the national newspapers. These articles are republished in this volume.

The 1926 visit
At the end of December 1925 the last city of the Hijāz, Jeddah, surrendered to Ibn Sa‘ūd, after a prolonged siege of fourteen months. The official surrender took place between 20 and 23 December, in a pavilion just outside the walls of the city. The leading citizens came to greet their new ruler and to pledge their loyalty to him, after which the keys of the city were handed to King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Ibn Sa‘ūd. On 23 December Ibn Sa‘ūd formally entered Jeddah, and two days later it was officially announced that the Najd-Hijāz war was over. On 8 January 1926 Ibn Sa‘ūd was proclaimed King of the Hijāz and Sultan of Najd and its

¹ Prince Faysal was born in ar-Riyād on 14 April 1906. After the conquest of the Hijāz he became Vice-Roy of the Hijāz in 1926, and after the foundation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia he became Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom. After the accession to the throne of his brother Sa‘ūd he became Crown Prince in 1953, and he acted as Regent for his brother from 30 March 1964 till 2 November 1964. On 2 November 1964 he was installed as King, which function he held till his assassination by a nephew on 25 March 1975.

² Prince Sa‘ūd was born in al-Kuwayt on 15 January 1902. After the conquest of the Hijāz he became Vice-Roy of the Najd in 1926, and in 1933 he was appointed Crown Prince. From 1950 he acted as Regent for his father, and after the latter’s demise he was King from 12 November 1953 till 2 November 1964, when he was deposed. He died in Greece on 23 February 1969.
Dependencies by the leading figures of Mecca, Medina and Jeddah. He was recognised as such on 11 February by the Soviet Union, on 25 February by the United Kingdom, and after that by France and The Netherlands, the main European countries with a large Muslim community under their protection. As a sign of his gratitude Ibn Sa'ūd suggested in August of the same year that his son Faysal should visit these countries. After deliberations (mainly with the United Kingdom) it was decided that the Soviet Union would be excluded, and the visits would be unofficial.

Prince Faysal departed by boat from England, arriving at Flushing in the afternoon of 12 October 1926. He went by train to The Hague, where he arrived in the evening. He stayed at the famous Hôtel des Indes. In the morning of Tuesday 19 October he left by train, from The Hague to Paris. Prince Faysal was accompanied by 'Abdallāh Damlūjī, the minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hijāz, A.E. Fadl, his private secretary, Daniël van der Meulen, the Dutch consul in Jeddah, and three bodyguards. Although it was not an official visit the programme of the Prince was rather busy.

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1 On 22 September 1932 these territories were merged into al-Mamlaka al-'Arabiyya as-Sa'ūdiyya ('the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia').

2 'Abdallāh Damlūjī was a physician from Mosul (nowadays Iraq). He was educated in Turkey and he spoke French and English fluently. He joined Ibn Sa'ūd around 1914 and became his first Minister of Foreign Affairs. He accompanied Faysal on his trip to the United Kingdom, The Netherlands and France in 1926. In 1928 he retired, totally exhausted, and went to live in the then newly created Kingdom of Iraq, his native country.

3 Daniël van der Meulen was born in Laren (eastern part of The Netherlands) in 1894. In 1912 he went to Leiden for a three-year course for the Civil Service in the Dutch East Indies. After he finished his studies he left The Netherlands on 11 September 1915, and started his work in Bālīge and Samosir in North Sumatra. He returned to The Netherlands in 1923 and was trained by Snouck Hurgronje to become consul in Jeddah. This post he held from January 1926 till 1931, in
which year he was sent on several diplomatic missions to Eritrea and Yemen. From 1932 till a short leave in 1938 he worked again in the colony, this time in Minangkabau on West Sumatra. Before he came back to the Indies in 1939 he made another trip to the Hadramawt in Yemen after which he went to his new post in Makassar (nowadays Ujung Pandang) in South Celebes (nowadays Sulawesi). When the Second World War broke out Van der Meulen was ordered to try to reach Jeddah to replace the consul who was unable to leave The Netherlands. He would stay there till the end of the war in 1945. In the meantime he carried out several diplomatic and exploratory missions to Yemen, the Hadramawt, Palestine, and to ar-Riyád. In the end of 1945 he went back to the Dutch East Indies again where he became a member of the Dutch Information Service, and Chief of the Department of Education and Religion. In 1948 he returned to The Netherlands for a short leave, but before he could travel to Indonesia again, the Dutch had to acknowledge Indonesia's independence. Because of his knowledge of Islam and the Arab world he was asked to organise the Arab department of the Dutch World Service Radio. Before and after his retirement in 1952 he made long journeys and wrote numerous articles and books about Islam, the Arab world and the Middle East. He died in 1989, 95 years old.

On the morning of Wednesday 13 October he visited the Dutch Minister of Foreign affairs, H.A. van Karnebeek, the Houses of Parliament (‘het Binnenhof”), and the Peace Palace, to which he donated two Arabian carpets. In the afternoon he visited the harbour and the locks of Ijund. On the morning of Thursday 14 October he came to Leiden where he visited the City Hall, the University, the Institute for

I Herman Adriaan van Karnebeek was born in The Hague on 21 August 1874. He studied law and political sciences, and after his studies he worked as a civil servant. He was mayor of The Hague from 1 August 1911 till 9 September 1918, on which day he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. This post he occupied till 1 April 1927. On 25 July 1927 he was appointed Minister of State, and from 1 March 1928 he was the Governor of the Province Zuid-Holland, till his death, in The Hague on 29 March 1942.
Tropical Medicine, and the laboratories of the University Hospital. In the afternoon he had an audience with Queen Wilhelmina at the ‘Het Loo’ Palace, to where he went by train. In the morning of Friday 15 October he came to Amsterdam where he visited one of the diamond workshops. He had lunch at the Dutch bank ‘Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij’ (NHM, the Netherlands Trading Company),¹ and in the afternoon he visited the Royal Tropical Museum.

On the morning of Saturday 16 October he came to Rotterdam for a visit to the City Hall and for a tour of the harbour (see photograph No. 47). Later, he had lunch with the Cabinet (see photograph No. 48).

On Sunday 17 October he was invited to a cinema to see the newsreel made of his arrival, and he stayed for a short while on the estate of the Queen near Wassenaar.

In the morning of Monday 18 October he visited a dairy farm in Bergschenhoek, and had lunch in Rotterdam. In the afternoon he made a tour by car through the ‘Westland’, an agrarian area to the south-west of The Hague. A dairy plant was visited, and also the ‘Eerste Nederlandsche Coöperatieve Kunstmestfabriek’ (ENCK, First Netherlands Cooperative Fertilizer Factory) in Vlaardingen.

C. Snouck Hurgronje’s article on this visit was published on 14 October 1926 in the evening edition of the Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant.

¹ The NHM was founded in 1824 by King William I in order to stimulate the Dutch economy commerce. In the second half of the nineteenth century the NHM began to develop banking activities. In 1964 the NHM merged with De Twentsche Bank, by which merger the Algemene Bank Nederland (ABN) was created. Recently ABN merged with the AmRo Bank and the resulting conglomerate is now known as ABN-Amro. Al-Bank al-Hūlandī al-Sa‘ūdī, which has Saudi Arabia as its domain of activities, is a full daughter of ABN-Amro.

The 1932 visit
Whereas the 1921 visit was merely intended to get the western powers acquainted with the
new Saudi regime, the 1932 visit was meant to raise loans for the Saudi-Arabian government. In addition, the purpose of the visit was to renew bonds with old allies and to get acquainted with those European countries which by then had also established consulates in the new kingdom. This foreign journey brought Prince Faysal to Italy, France, the United Kingdom, The Netherlands, Germany, Poland, the Soviet Union, Turkey and Persia.

In the afternoon of Monday 16 May 1932 the Prince arrived by plane from London at Schiphol, Amsterdam’s international airport. He had lunch there, and then proceeded by car to The Hague, where he stayed at the Hôtel des Indes. In the morning of Friday 20 May he left from Schiphol on his way to Germany. Prince Faysal was accompanied by Fu’ād Bey Hamza,¹

1 Fu’ād Bey Hamza was a Druze from the Lebanon, who had worked as a schoolmaster in Palestine. He spoke English well. He became assistant to ʿAbdallāh Damūjī, and after the latter’s retirement, succeeded him.

director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shahīr as-Sammān ², his secretary, Khālid al-Ajūbī, his aide-de-camp, and Daniël van der Meulen, formerly Dutch Consul in Jeddah. Again the programme of the Prince was quite busy: On the morning of Tuesday 17 May he visited the Minister of Foreign Affairs, F. Beelaerts van Blokland,³ in the afternoon he had an audience with Queen Wilhelmina at the ‘Noordeinde’ Palace (see photograph No. 49), and in the evening he attended part of a show.

2 Or as-Samirah. The newspapers of the time use both spellings.

3 Frans Beelaerts van Blokland was born in The Hague on 21 January 1872. He studied law, worked for a short time as a lawyer, and after that for several years as a government official. From 1909 till 1919 he was the extraordinary envoy and minister plenipotentiary of The Netherlands in Beijing. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1 April 1927 till 20 April 1933. Then he became the vice-president of the State Council, till he died in The Hague on 27 March 1956.
On the morning of Wednesday 18 May he visited the Indian Exhibition in a park in Scheveningen, later in the morning he left for Amsterdam where he again visited the Netherlands Trading Company (NHM), and had lunch with the board of directors of the Steamship Company 'Nederland’ on board of the ‘Johan van Oldenbarnevelt'. In the afternoon he made a tour of the harbour, and a trip by car through the city. At the end of the afternoon he visited the Florapark in Noordwijk and early in the evening he returned to The Hague. In the afternoon of Thursday 19 May he visited the Orion-Profiti film Studio where he saw the motion picture that was made of his arrival on the airport, and he recorded the Arabic text himself. In the evening he had dinner with the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs. C. Snouck Hurgronje’s announcement of this visit was published on 15 May 1932 in the Sunday edition of the Telegraaf.

The 1935 visit
The reason for this visit was again to strengthen the ties of friendship between the European countries and Saudi Arabia. This time the trip took the Saudi guest to France, The Netherlands, Belgium (for a visit of the World Exhibition), the United Kingdom and to Switzerland.

Prince Sa’ūd arrived in the evening of Monday 10 June 1935 by train from Paris in The Hague; and he stayed in the Hôtel des Indes. Late in the afternoon of Friday 14 June he left by train from The Hague to Brussels. He was accompanied by Fu’ād Bey Hamzah, director of the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Dr. Midhat Bey Shaykh al-'Ard, his personal physician, by Muhammad Shaykhlū, secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by C. Adriaanse,' Dutch Consul in Jeddah, Dr. G.F. Pijper,' Guillaume Frédéric Pijper (Berkhout 1893-Amsterdam 1988) was a pupil of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who in his official and scholarly careers followed in the footsteps of his teacher. In 1924 Pijper defended his Ph.D. thesis on the

1 C. Adriaanse was consul in Jeddah from 1931 till 1939.
2 Guillaume Frédéric Pijper (Berkhout 1893-Amsterdam 1988) was a pupil of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who in his official and scholarly careers followed in the footsteps of his teacher.
deputy-advisor for Indigenous Affairs in the Dutch East Indies, who happened to be on leave in The Netherlands, and by two guards. Prince Sa‘ūd had, as Prince Faysal before him, a busy program. In the evening of Monday 10 June Prince Sa‘ūd was visited by a delegation of the Islamic Society of the Dutch East Indies, the ‘Perkoempoelan Islam’. Later that evening he went for a ride on the boulevard of Scheveningen. On Tuesday 11 June he went to Eindhoven where he had lunch at the golf club with the directors of Philips. In the afternoon he went to one of the Philips factories and he visited the X-ray installation in St. Joseph’s Hospital. On Wednesday 12 June Prince Sa‘ūd went to Deventer where he witnessed some military exercises and demonstrations of the Hussar regiment. In the afternoon he had an audience with Queen Wilhelmina and Princess Juliana at ‘Het Loo’ Palace. On Thursday 13 June he visited the Minister of Foreign Affairs, A.C.D. de Graeff. He then visited the Peace Palace and made a ride through The Hague.

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1 Andries Cornelis Dick de Graeff was born in The Hague on 7 August 1872. He studied law and completed his training for the East Indian civil service. He went to the Dutch East Indies where he occupied several postings. From 1 January 1920 till 1922 he was extraordinary envoy and minister plenipotentiary in Tokyo, and from 16 November 1922 till August 1926 he held the same post in Washington. On 7 September 1926 he was appointed Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, a function he would hold till 11 September 1931. From 26 May 1933 till 24 June 1937 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs. He died in The Hague on 24 April 1957.
and environment. In the afternoon he had lunch with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, several other members of the Cabinet, and other important persons. In the afternoon he went to Leiden where he visited the University Library (see photograph No. 50), the Hortus Botanicus, and the *Oostersch Instituut*. The afternoon was ended with tea at the house of Professor Snouck Hurgronje, Rapenburg 61. On the morning of Friday 14 June, Sa‘ūd visited Schiphol Airport where he had his maiden flight. From there he went to Amsterdam and had lunch in the office of the Netherlands Trading Company (NHM). Snouck Hurgronje’s announcement of this visit was published on 9 June, in the Sunday edition of the *Telegraaf*. 
1. Panorama of Mecca. Photolithograph, four parts. The panorama was photographed between 1885 and 1888 by 'Abd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan physician. He apparently stands on Jabal Abū Qubays and is looking to the west. Published in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leiden 1889, plates II-V.
Catalogue, by Dirry Oostdam

MECCA AND ITS SURROUNDINGS, 1885–1888

Introductory remark
Never having personally visited Mecca, I had to rely for my knowledge of local topography on accounts of travellers and on maps. A few of these may be mentioned here.

J.L. Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia comprehending an account of those territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans regard as sacred, London (Henry Colburn) 1829 (new impression 1993), especially the chapter ‘Quarters of Mekka’, pp. 109–133. Burckhardt’s map on p. 120 was also useful.


C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka, vol. 2 (The Hague 1889), contains a detailed map as well.

My topographical knowledge of modern Mecca and Jeddah is based on the two modern maps by Zaki M.A. Farisi, Map and Guide of Makkah al Mukarramah and City Map and Guide to Greater Jeddah. I used copies which were purchased in November 1994 in Jeddah by Jan Just Witkam. The reader of my descriptions will no doubt understand that my remarks, even if they are occasionally written in the present tense, are in fact reminiscences of situations of a sometimes distant past.

1. Panorama of Mecca
Photolithograph, mounted on paper, four parts. 24.4 x 19 cm (36.2 x 26.9 cm), published in C. Snouck Hurgronje, Bilder aus Mekka, Leiden 1889,1 BM II; 24 x 18.7 cm (36.2 x 26.9 cm), BM III; 24.5 x 18.8 cm.

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1 From now on abbreviated as BM followed by the number.
cm (36.3 x 27 cm), BM IV; 24.4 x 18.8 cm (36.3 x 27 cm), BM V.

Snouck Hurgronje's caption in BM: '2. Erste Ansicht der Stadt Mekka: links im Hintergrund die Festung Djjād. Das grosse Gebäude rechts ist die Hamidiyyah, links daneben die Druckerei. 3. Zweite Ansicht der Stadt Mekka über die nordwestliche (rechts) und die südwestliche Seite (links der Moschee hinaus. 4. Dritte Ansicht der Stadt Mekka: links Ecke der Moschee; ein wenig südöstlich von derselben das Bāb ės-saām, durch welches die Pilger in die Moschee eintreten. 5. Vierte Ansicht der Stadt Mekka.'

The panorama consists of four parts and was photographed between 1885 and 1888 by 'Abd al-Ghaflīq the Meccan physician and namesake of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. They have been combined here in order to create a continuous panoramic view, which was probably the photographer's intention. He apparently stands on Jabal Abū Qubays and is looking to the west.

At the left from the middle of the panorama is the Great Mosque of Mecca, al-Haram ash-Sharīf, with the Ka'bah in the centre of its courtyard. Around the Ka'bah one can see, at the left side of the Ka'bah, al-Maqām al-Hanbalī and al-Maqām al-Mālikī. To the right side of the Ka'bah is, somewhat larger, al-Maqām al-Hanafi. The Maqāms refer to the law schools in Sunni Islam and indicate the place where the imām of each school stands during prayer. In front of the Ka'bah the roof of the Zamzam building can be seen. It covers the entrance to the sacred well of Zamzam. 2

1 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje took the name 'Abd al-Ghaflīq after his conversion to Islam, preceding his entrance of the Holy City. In Mecca he must have met his namesake. Snouck Hurgronje consistently calls him in his letters hakīm, while 'Abd al-Ghaflīq uses the word tabīb to designate his profession. Either word means physician.

2 During the extension and renovation of the mosque, 1955–1976, most of the buildings in the courtyard were demolished, only the Maqām Ibrāhīm (not visible on the present photograph) was spared. Since 1964 the entrance to the
oval pavement around the Ka'bah is called al-Matāf and the posts around it are used to hang oil lamps. The gate in the foreground in the gap between the houses is Bāb ‘Alī. Here al-Mas 'ā, the running place, is situated. The large house in the foreground is the residence of the governors of the Hijāz.

On the opposite side of the courtyard an extension with a small courtyard can be seen. Beside it is an extension with a small dome. That is the Law Court and the residence of the chief judge.

The minaret in the foreground is the Minaret of Bāb al-Baghlah, later named Bāb Bazān, the one diagonally across of it is the Minaret of Bāb al-‘Umrah, the light-coloured minaret at the end of the open extension is the Minaret of Bāb az-Ziyādah, and the dark-coloured one besides the Law Court is the Minaret of Bāb al-Mahkamah. The two minarets which are visible at the right side of the Mosque are the Minaret of Bāb ad-Duraybah and the Minaret of Bāb Qā’it Bāy. The seventh minaret at the south western corner, the Minaret of Bāb al-Widā', cannot be seen because the photographer left a small gap between the pictures.1 Around the Mosque one sees from left to right: Qal‘at Ajyād, the fort on Jabal Kudā which was built by the Ottoman governor of the Hijāz ‘Uthmān Pasha (1882–1886); al-Ajyād quarter with the Government printing house (the small white building) that was built a few years before Snouck Hurgronje visited Mecca; and the Hamidiyyah (the larger white building), the

1 All minarets have been demolished during the above mentioned building activities, and were replaced by seven taller minarets.

Zamzam well is open and the well can be reached via wide marble steps, and by escalators.

2 Photograph No. 13, below, is his portrait. The fort was demolished at the end of 2001 or the beginning of 2002 to make place for high-rise residences, a five-star hotel, a trade centre and a parking lot. One of the two main contractors of the work is the firm of the Bin Lādin family.
Government building that 'Uthmān Pasha built, with the al-Masfalah quarter in the background; more to the right is the Bāb al-‘Umrah quarter, named after the gate of the Mosque that leads to it, with the as-Sūq al-Saghīr quarter in the background; the ash-Shāmiyyah quarter next to the Mosque with the ash-Shubayqah quarter and the small fort Al-Masfalah quarter contains reasonably well-built houses, and even a few new ones, inhabited by Arab and Bedouin merchants. It is also the residence of poor Indians.

1 Al-Masfalah quarter contains reasonably well-built houses, and even a few new ones, inhabited by Arab and Bedouin merchants. It is also the residence of poor Indians.

2 This quarter is inhabited by a number of pilgrim guides (Mutawwifūn) and, at the time of the pilgrimage, it is bristling with pilgrims, Turkish pilgrims in particular. The streets are narrow; it is the cheapest quarter in the vicinity of the mosque.

3 A wide market street full of shops which sell all kinds of provisions, particularly grain, butter and dates. The houses are low and inhabited by the lower classes.

4 This is a well-built part of the town, mainly inhabited by rich merchants. It contains only a few shops.

5 This quarter contains many good houses and is densely populated. Along the main street are

Qal‘at Jabal Hindī in the background; then as-Suwayqah quarter next to the north western corner of the Mosque, and al-Muddah quarter, with al-Qarārah quarter, al-Falq quarter and the Qal‘at Filfil in the background, and al-Qushāshiyah quarter in the foreground;

6 The main street of this quarter runs parallel to the north-western side of the mosque; it is a dark and narrow street, covered with a wooden roof. In this quarter are the drapery and perfume market, and also the slave market.

7 The main street of this quarter is lined with shops on both sides which sell all kinds of domestic articles, but also all kinds of food.

8 This quarter is perhaps the best built of the whole town. Here the wealthiest merchants have their houses which are all two or three storeys high.

9 The Jawa, the people from the Malay world, prefer this quarter to live in.

10 This is the favourite quarter of the pilgrims with many smaller houses. It contains a number of coffee shops, several gunsmiths' shops and a bath.
then Sūq al-Layl' quarter in the foreground and al-Jawdhariyyah quarter in the background. The two large buildings on the right are palaces of the Sharīfs of Mecca with al-Ghazzah quarter in the foreground. On the far right we can see a small dome and a minaret, which is the birthplace of the Prophet Muhammad.

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1 This quarter contains coffee shops and potteries.
2 The main street of this quarter is lined with shops of clothiers and saddlers; further on in the street are the shops of armourers.
3 Here one finds the shops of carpenters, upholsterers, undertakers and wholesalers in fruit and vegetables. At the north end of the street is the cattle market.
4 The city quarters that were situated close to the mosque were demolished for the extension of the mosque and the creation of parking places in 1955–1978, and again in 1988–1995 when another extension took place. With this later extension two more minarets have been built, which make a total of nine minarets.
5 Immediately after the Saudi conquest of the city in 1924 all monuments of devotional relevance, including the birthplace of the Prophet, were demolished.

On each photograph the signature of the photographer is still vaguely visible: Fūtūghrāfiyyat as-Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffār tabīb bi-Makkah. 'Abd al-Ghaffār used to sign his photographs, and also to provide his photographs with a title or caption. Before the publication in Bilder aus Mekka either the publisher or Snouck Hurgronje decided to retouch this, possibly for aesthetic reasons. The accusation that Snouck Hurgronje had these signatures removed in order to appropriate authorship of the photographs is unsubstantiated.

For the reconstruction of the panorama, the photographs which were published in Bilder aus Mekka, were used. This portfolio appeared in 1889, approximately at the same time as volume 2 of Mekka, but after the Bilder-Atlas, which accompanied the two text volumes. The photographs of Bilder aus Mekka were used here because there is only an original of one of the four photographs in the Leiden collections.

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6 Albumen print. 25.5 x 19.7 cm (27.6 x 21.3 cm), darkened border. Or. 12.288: CSH J.40.
2. The Hārat al-Bāb quarter. Albumen print. The photograph was taken between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ʿAbd al-Ghaffār. Hārat al-Bāb is in the south eastern part of Mecca. Or. 12.288: CSH J.36.
If that one had been used together with three published photographs a colour difference would have been visible in the present composition.

2. The Hārat al-Bāb quarter
Albumen print. 26 x 19.7 cm. Or. 12.288: CSH J.36.
The photograph was taken between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ʿAbd al-Ghaffār. Hārat al-Bāb is in the western part of Mecca, and it is one of the first city quarters one enters coming from Jeddah. It is a broad street, as one can see in the photograph, and is part of the main thoroughfare of Mecca. In the middle of the photograph one sees some good, tall houses, but in the foreground there are lower houses and even some huts. In the background, on the left side one can vaguely see the Qalʿāt Ajyād (Jiyād). The signature of the photographer, Futūghrāfīyyat as-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ghaffār tabīb bi-Makkah, is visible at the bottom of the photograph, and on the upper side the photographer has written the name of the city quarter, Hārat al-Bāb.

3. The Shiʿb ʿĀmir quarter
Albumen print. 26.2 x 20 cm (27.4 x 21.2 cm), darkened border. Or. 12.288: CSH L.17.
The photograph was taken between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ʿAbd al-Ghaffār. Shiʿb ʿĀmir is one of the outer city quarters. It lies in the north of Mecca near the great cemetery of al-Muʿallā (see photograph No. 4, below). It is a poor quarter, as one can clearly see in the photograph. This quarter is inhabited mainly by Bedouin peddlers, and by a few poor Sharīfian families. In this quarter are also the places where linen and cotton are dyed with indigo and saffron. In the beginning of the nineteenth century it was also the quarter where the few prostitutes of the city lived.
At the bottom of the photograph is the signature of the photographer, Futūghrāfīyyat as-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ghaffār tabīb bi-Makkah, and on the upper side the photographer has written the name of the city quarter, Shiʿb ʿĀmir.
3. The Shi‘b ‘Āmir quarter. Albumen print. The photograph was taken between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. Shi‘b ‘Āmir is one of the outer city quarters in the north of Mecca. Or. 12.288: CSH L.17.
4. *Jannat al-Mu‘alla*

Albumen print. 25.5–26 x 19.7 cm (27.8 x 20.7–21.1 cm), irregular darkened border and print. Or. 26.367: OI F.9.

This photograph was taken between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. It shows the great cemetery of Mecca, al-Mu‘alla, where Āmina, the mother, and Khadijah, the first wife of the Prophet Muhammad, are buried.

The domes of the graves were rebuilt after the Wahhabites destroyed them in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but they were again destroyed after the capture of the city by the Saudis in October 1924.

The large dome at the left covers the tomb of Khadijah, the wife of the Prophet; the somewhat smaller dome on the right covers the tomb of Āmina, the mother of the Prophet. The smaller domes cover the tombs of members of the Prophet’s family. Around these tombs lie the smaller graves of other, but nevertheless important people.

At the time that Snouck Hurgronje lived in Mecca it was customary among the Hajji’s to visit these tombs.

At the bottom of the photograph is the signature of the photographer, Futūḥrāfiyyat as-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffār tabīb bi-Makkah, and on the upper side of the photograph is written (from right to left): *Jannat al-Mu‘alla* (‘garden of Mu‘alla’), *Qubbat as-Sayyidah Āmina* (‘the dome of the Lady Āmina’), *Qibāb Ahl al-Bayt* (‘domes of the members of the Prophet’s Family’), *Qubbat Khadijah al-Kubrā* (‘the great dome of Khadijah’).

5. *Panorama of ‘Arafāt*

Albumen print, three parts. 25 x 19.8 cm (27.8 x 21.3 cm), darkened border. Or. 12.288: CSH L.5; 25.8 x 19.6 cm, Or. 12.288: CSH J.35; 25.9 x 19.2 cm, Or. 12.288: CSH J.34.

The panorama consists of three parts and was photographed between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. Here they have been combined in order to create a continuous panoramic view. The effect of the longer exposure time, which in the early days
4. Jannat al-Mu‘allā. Albumen print. This photograph was taken between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. It shows the great cemetery of Mecca, al-Mu‘allā, where Āmina, the mother, and Khadijah, the first wife of the Prophet Muhammad, are buried. Or. 26.367: Ol F.9.
5. Panorama of ‘Arafat. Albumen print, three parts. The panorama was photographed between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. The photograph is taken from west to east. The plain of ‘Arafat is where the emotional climax of the Hajj takes place, namely the ‘standing at ‘Arafat’ which is on the ninth day of the month Dhū ‘l-Hijjah, the second day of the pilgrimage. Or. 12.288: CSH L.5, J.35, J.34.
of photography was necessary, is visible. Several people and animals have moved and are therefore slightly blurred. The intention of the photographer in order to create a wide landscape view is evident, however.

The plain of 'Arafat is c. 21 km from Mecca, c. 6 km wide from east to west, and c. 11 km long from north to south. It is this plain where the emotional climax of the Hajj takes place, namely the 'standing at 'Arafat' which is on the ninth day of the month Dhū 'l-Hijjah, the second day of the pilgrimage. It is looked upon as the very foundation of the Hajj. Pilgrims arrive here before midday on the ninth of Dhū 'l-Hijjah and after the midday sermon the 'standing' (wuqūf) begins and lasts till just after sunset. After sunset the pilgrims leave in the direction of Mecca and stay for the night at Muzdalifah, halfway between 'Arafah and Minā (see photograph No. 7).

The photograph is taken from west to east. One sees a large plain full of people, animals (camels, donkeys and sheep) and tents, with mountains in the background. In the middle photograph a large mountain is seen with a small hill in front of it. This small hill is Jabal ar-Rahmah ('Hill of Mercy'), sometimes called Jabal 'Arafāt, and it is on this hill that all attention is focused. The height of the hill is c. 60 metres, and on its summit we see a white column of c. 7 meters high. It is on this place that the sermon is delivered and the column helps pilgrims to recognise the hill from a distance.

At the foot of the hill one can distinguish the aqueduct, which was built to bring water from at-Tā'if to Mecca.

At the bottom of all three photographs which together form the panorama, one sees the signature of the photographer Futūghrāfiyyā as-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffār tabīb bi-Makkah, and on the upperside of each photograph one sees the title which the photographer gave each picture; from left to right: Yasūr 'Arafāh (the left side of 'Arafat), Jabal 'Arafāt (the mountain 'Arafat), and Yamīn 'Arafāh (the right side of 'Arafat).
6. Panorama of ‘Arafāt
Photolithograph, mounted on paper, three parts. 24.3 x 18.8 cm (36.3 x 27 cm), BM XV; 24.4 x 19.1 cm (36.3 x 26.9 cm), BM XIII; 24 x 18.6 cm (36.4 x 26.9 cm), BM XIV.


The panorama consists of three parts and was photographed between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. They have been combined in order to create a continuous panoramic view.

The photographs were taken from south to north, and the Jabal ar-Rahmah is the small hill left on the middle photograph. Again we see a plain full of people, animals and tents. The attention of the pilgrims is focused on the hill (except for the few that had evidently more interest in the photographer).

On each photograph the signature of the photographer is still vaguely visible:

Fūṭūghrāfiyyat as-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffār tabīb bi-Makkah and the captions he gave to the photographs (now almost invisible).

7. Panorama of Minā
Albumen print, two parts. 25.7 x 19.8 cm (27.6 x 21.2 cm), darkened border, Or. 12.288: CSH L.19; 26 x 19.7 cm, Or. 12.288: CSH J.38.

Owner’s stamp by C. Snouck Hurgronje with his Leiden address Witte Singel 84a on the reverse of either photograph.

The panorama consists of two parts and was photographed between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. The two parts have been combined here in order to create a continuous panoramic view. This time there is no effect of the longer exposure time although there are people and animals in the picture.

Minā lies c. 5 km east of Mecca, between Mecca and ‘Arafāh, and the pilgrims pass twice through this village. On the first day of the Pilgrimage, the eighth of Dḥū ‘l-Hijjah, the pilgrims arrive here from Mecca and stay here for the night,
6. Panorama of ‘Arafāt. Photolithograph, three parts. The panorama consists of three parts and was photographed between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. The photographs were taken from south to north, and the Jabal ar-Rahmah is the small hill left on the middle photograph. Published in C. Snouck Hurgronje. Bilder aus Mekka, Leiden 1889, plates XV, XIII, XIV.
7. Panorama of Minā. Albumen print. The panorama consists of two parts and was photographed between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. The photographs have been taken from north to south. One sees again a plain full of people, animals and tents, and mountains in the background. Or. 12.288: CSH L.19, J.38.
this day being called *Yawm at-Tarwiyah* ('the day of reflection') and the pilgrims prepare themselves for the next day (see photograph No. 5, above) by meditating and praying. The next morning they leave for 'Arafah.

The second time that the pilgrims come to Minā is the tenth of Dhū 'l-Hijjah, the third day of the pilgrimage, and they have to stay here at least for three days and nights, known as *Ayyām at-Tashrīq*, during which they have to perform a number of rites.

Minā was a thinly populated village, except for the above mentioned three days.

The photographs have been taken from north to south. One sees again a plain full of people, animals and tents, and mountains in the background. Just right from the middle is a mosque, the al-Khayf mosque, and in front of it is a medical facility. Beneath the west wall of the mosque were several large vaults which were used to bury the bodies of people who died of the plague during the pilgrimage. The large number of sheep we see are to be sacrificed, as it is in Minā that the sacrifice takes place.

The signature of the photographer, *Fātīghrāfiyyat as-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffār tabīb bi-Makkah*, can be seen on the left photograph in the lower left corner, and on the right photograph in the lower right corner. In the middle of the upper side of each photograph we see the title the photographer gave to each picture; on the left-hand photograph *Sharq Minā* (east of Minā), and on the right-hand one *Gharb Minā* (west of Minā).

**8. Panorama of Sittanā Maymūnah**

Photolithograph, mounted on paper, two parts. 23.9 x 18.7 cm (36.3 x 26.9 cm), *BM* VII; 24.4 x 18.9 cm (36.3 x 27 cm), *BM* VIII.


The panorama consists of two parts and was

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1 Nowadays many pilgrims skip this day and proceed directly to 'Arafah.
8. Panorama of Sittanā Maymūnah. Photolithograph. The panorama consists of two parts and was photographed between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaflār. On the left part the white tomb of Sittanā Maymūnah, with the small dome, is seen in the background. Published in C. Snouck Hurgronje, Bilder aus Mekka, Leiden 1889, plates BM VII-VIII.
photographed between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician 'Abd al-Ghaflār. The parts have been combined in order to create a continuous panoramic view. The festival of Sittanā Maymūnah ('Our Lady Maymūnah') was celebrated annually by the Meccans. Maymūnah bt. al-Hārith was the last wife of the Prophet. The marriage took place around the year 7/629 in Sarif, a village north of Mecca, on the road to Medina. She died in the same village in the year 61/681, and on her grave a tomb was built. The festival is on 12 Safar (the second month of the lunar calendar), and already days before that date the Meccan men (the festival is mainly a men's business) begin to prepare for their departure to Sittanā Maymūnah. In the days spent by them in the valley where the tomb is situated, the men visit the tomb, and pass the time with praying, singing, listening to pious stories, but also with eating, drinking and smoking.1

On the panorama one sees a wide valley with a large number of tents. On the left part the white tomb of Sittanā Maymūnah, with the small dome, is seen in the background. Scattered between the tents one can see clusters of men. Especially the one on the right photograph is very clear; the men stand in a circle and at least one man stands in the middle of it. Possibly this is an example of the 'story telling'. The original captions by the photographer have been retouched, but are still vaguely visible in the upper centre of each photograph.

9a. The exterior of the Mosque of Ibn 'Abbās
Albumen print. 26.4 x 20.4 cm (27.5 x 21.2 cm), darkened border. Or. 12.288: CSH L.14.
The photograph was taken between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaflār. In the photograph one sees a broad street leading to the entrance of the Mosque of Ibn

1 See Snouck Hurgronje's description of the festival in Mekka, vol. 2, pp. 52-55, and in his Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century. Leiden 1931, pp. 42-44.
9a. The exterior of the Mosque of Ibn ‘Abbās. Albumen print. The photograph was taken between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaflār. In the photograph one sees a broad street leading to the entrance of the Mosque of Ibn ‘Abbās in at-Tā’if. The mosque has one minaret and three domes. The largest dome (on the right side of the photograph) is the dome that covers the tomb of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, a cousin of the Prophet, and a transmitter of many of his traditions. The photograph was taken from north to south. Or. 12.288: CSH L.14.
‘Abbas in at-Ta’if. In the street two men are walking away from the mosque. The mosque has one minaret and three domes. The largest dome (on the right side of the photograph) is the dome that covers the tomb of

1 At-Ta’if is the hill resort of both Jeddah and Mecca because it has a pleasant climate. Rich Jiddawi’s and Meccans have second homes there, and stay there in the hot season. It lies on a plateau, on 1703 m. alt., edged with barren peaks, and near the edge of the escarpment that drops to the coastal plain on the Red Sea.

2 Several travellers have mentioned this mosque in the past, and where they mention the domes, all speak of two domes: Doughty in 1878 (Travels in Arabia Deserta, as cited in Angelo Pesce, Taif, the Summer Capital of Saudi Arabia, p. 45.), Philby in 1917 (The Heart of Arabia. A record of travel & exploration vol. I, p. 194), Rutter in 1925. Somewhere in the twentieth century, most probably after the Second World War, the mosque has been extended and became twice as large. The minaret was replaced by a taller one, and the domes have been removed.

‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abbas, a cousin of the Prophet, and a transmitter of many of his traditions. The two entrance gates are covered with light coloured cloth. Just in front of the mosque is a garden with some trees. The entrance of the mosque was in the north wall, and this photograph was therefore taken from north to south. Almost in the middle of the photograph is the signature of the photographer, Futūghrāfiyya as-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffār tabībi Makkah. In the upper part of the photograph the title of the photograph is written twice, Zāhir Masjid Ibn ‘Abbās (‘the exterior of the mosque Ibn ‘Abbās’).

A more recent photograph of the mosque of Ibn ‘Abbās is No. 23, below.
9b. The interior of the Mosque of Ibn ‘Abbās. Albumen print. The photograph was taken between 1885 and 1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffār.

One can see the courtyard, surrounded by cloisters, of the mosque of Ibn ‘Abbās in at-Ṭā‘if. The photograph was taken from south to north. Or. 12.288: CSH L.12.
9b. The interior of the Mosque of Ibn ‘Abbās
Albumen print. 26.7 x 20.7 cm (27.6 x 21.2 cm),
The photograph was taken between 1885 and
1888 by the Meccan physician ‘Abd al-Ghaffār.
One can see the courtyard, surrounded by
cloisters, of the mosque of Ibn ‘Abbās in
at-Tā‘if. The spectator looks at the entrance of
the mosque, therefore the photograph was
taken from south to north. On the left side,
under the large dome, one can see the iron
curtain with which the room, in which the
tombstone is, is secured.
In the lower part of the photograph the signa-
ture of the photographer can be seen,
Futūghrāfiyā as-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffār tabīḥ
bi-Makkah, and in the upper part the title of
the photograph is written twice, Bātin Masjid
Ibn ‘Abbās (‘the interior of the mosque Ibn
‘Abbās’). A more recent photograph of the
mosque of Ibn ‘Abbās is No. 23, below.

MECCAN PORTRAITS, 1885

10. Portrait of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje,
dressed as an Arab
Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 10.3 x 15.4
cm (21.7 x 26.6 cm). Or. 8952: Photo Archive A.2.
The portrait was probably taken in 1885 by
‘Abd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan physician. The
photograph shows a young man dressed in the
Arabian way, sitting on a chair. The back-
ground is covered with a dark-coloured cloth
as a makeshift studio. The sitter wears a white
long robe with a waistband of cloth, and over
it a dark long mantle. He is wearing shoes. In
his right hand he holds an umbrella. The man
wears a fez. He sports a moustache and a thin
line of beard. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje is
easily recognizable from his facial features.
There is no information about the kind of
clothes Snouck Hurgronje wore in Jeddah and
Mecca, but it is safe to assume that, from the
moment he moved out of the Dutch Consulate
and went to live in his own place in Jeddah, he
started wearing Arab-style clothes.
11. Portrait of ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan physician. Albumen print. The portrait was probably taken in 1885 by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. He can be identified with a person shown by Snouck Hurgronje in the *Bilder-Atlas* of 1888, plate No. XIV. Or. 26.403: NINO 1.26.
11. Portrait of ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan physician

Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 10.5 x 16.4 cm (21.5 x 26.5 cm). Or. 26.403: NINO 1.26. Snouck Hurgronje's caption on the cardboard: 'Mekkanischer Arzt.'

The portrait was probably taken in 1885 by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.

The photograph shows a man sitting on a chair. The background is covered with a light-coloured cloth as a makeshift studio. The sitter wears a light-coloured long robe with a waistband of cloth, and a dark-coloured long cloak over it, and he has an umbrella in his right hand. He wears a turban and sports a full beard. He can be identified with a person shown by Snouck Hurgronje in the Bilder-Atlas of 1888.

Not much is known about ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan physician, except what Snouck Hurgronje wrote about him in his letters, and from the scant surviving archival pieces in his handwriting. He designates himself a physician (tabīb); Snouck Hurgronje refers to him as hakīm, meaning more or less the same. He was active, not only as a general physician, but also as an ophthalmologist and a pharmacist. His knowledge of chemicals must have made him a suitable candidate to practice the art of photography.

When Snouck Hurgronje had to leave Mecca prematurely, he left his camera and other photo-

1 There is a considerable number of photographs in the Snouck Hurgronje collection which are mounted on cardboard, and which bear captions in large print, in German. Snouck Hurgronje had these made to pass along among the audience during his lecture ‘Über eine Reise nach Mekka’ held on 5 March 1887 at the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin. The text was published in Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, vol. 14/3 (Berlin 1887), pp. 138-153. Reprinted in Verspreide geschriften, vol. 3, pp. 45-63.

2 Bilder-Atlas, photograph No. XIV, upper row, left. His son is depicted on the same page, upper row, right.
tographic equipment with ‘Abd al-Ghaffār in exchange for the promise that he would continue to photograph and send the results to Leiden. And so it happened that, long after Snouck Hurgronje was back again in Leiden, photographs of people, buildings and landscapes of Mecca and its surroundings kept arriving.

12. Portrait of Muhammad Sālih ash-Shaybī
Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 19 x 24.4 cm (31.4 x 41.9 cm). Or. 26.404: NINO 2.14.
Snouck Hurgronje’s caption on the cardboard: ‘Muhammad Cālih Schēbī mit einem indischen Knaben.’
The photograph was probably taken in 1885 or later, either by Snouck Hurgronje himself, or ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan physician.
Two men are standing. The man on the right is Muhammad Sālih ash-Shaybī, the man, or boy really, on the left is probably a servant. The caption with the original photograph refers to him as ‘an Indian boy’.
Muhammad Sālih ash-Shaybī wears a white long robe with a waistband of cloth, and over it a long, dark cloak. He wears shoes, and, possibly, a turban, which is not well visible on the photograph. He sports a beard and his eyes bulge a little.
The boy wears also a long white robe, but instead of a long cloak he wears a short waistcoat that is embroidered on the front side. He wears a fez. The background is covered with a light-coloured cloth as a makeshift studio.
Muhammad ash-Shaybī was the gatekeeper or key keeper of the Ka‘bah, a function that was assigned to the Shaybī family, the Banū Shaybāh, from times immemorial. The Ka‘bah is normally closed, but at certain occasions the door of the Ka‘bah is opened for the public. The Shaybī family are also responsible for the cleaning of the Ka‘bah.¹

13. Portrait of ‘Uthmān Nūrī Pāshā, Governor of the Hijāz
Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 19.7 x 25.2

¹ Muhammad ash-Shaybī is also portrayed in the Bilder-Atlas, No. IX.
12. Portrait of Muhammad Sālih ash-Shaybī. Albumen print. The photograph was probably taken in 1885 or later, either by Snouck Hurgronje himself, or ‘Abd al-Ghaflār, the Meccan physician. The man on the right is Muhammad Sālih ash-Shaybī, the man, or boy really, on the left is probably a servant. Muhammad ash-Shaybī was the gatekeeper or key keeper of the Ka‘bah, a function that was assigned to the Shaybī family, the Banū Shaybah, from times immemorial. Or. 26.404: NINO 2.14.
Snouck Hurgronje caption on the cardboard: ‘Othmân Pascha, Gouverneur des Hidschâz 1882-86.’ The photograph was taken by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, on Wednesday 27 January 1885, possibly in the courtyard of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah only days before the latter’s departure for Mecca. The photograph shows an elderly, official looking man, sitting on a chair which stands on a rug; the background has been retouched. The man wears a ceremonial uniform with a light-coloured garb draped over it. He holds the ceremonial sabre in his left hand. He wears the fez on his head, and he is fully bearded. ‘Uthmân Nûrî Pâshâ (1840–1898) was an efficient governor. From 1882 till 1886 he took successful measures against the plague. He reinforced the Ottoman garrisons, built the fort Qal‘at Ajyâd (see also photograph No. 1, above), a guardhouse, and several other official buildings in Mecca. He repaired the Haram and rebuilt, repaired, and expanded the water-system of Mecca. A telegraph connection was established. In 1885 the smouldering discord between the Governor ‘Uthmân Nûrî Pâshâ, and the Amîr ‘Awn ar-Rafîq came to a head, and ‘Uthmân Pâshâ was reassigned to the governorship of Aleppo, in fact a promotion. The fact that he visited Snouck Hurgronje in Jeddah only days before the latter departed to Mecca implies that ‘Uthmân Nûrî Pâshâ, and possibly many others, were fully aware of Snouck Hurgronje’s presence and status.

14. Portrait of the Sharîf ‘Awn ar-Rafîq
Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 17.8 x 23.9 cm (24 x 32.8 cm). Or. 26.404: NINO 2.23. The photograph was also published in the Bilder-Atlas of 1888, No. VII, where Snouck Hurgronje gave it the caption: “Aun èr-Rafîq, Grossscherif von Mekka (1882-)”.

The photograph was probably taken in 1885 (but in any case in or before 1888, when it was published), either by Christiaan Snouck

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1 Snouck Hurgronje mentions this in his Jeddah-diary, Or. 7112, on p. [54b].
14. Portrait of the Sharīf ʿAwn ar-Rafīq. Albumen print. The photograph was probably taken in 1885, either by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje or by ʿAbd al-Ghaflār, the Meccan physician. ʿAwn ar-Rafīq, born c. 1836, was Grand Sharīf of Mecca from 1882 until his death in at-Tāʾif on 17 July 1905.

Or. 26.404: NINO 2.23.
Hurgronje or by 'Abd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan physician.
It is a half-length portrait. The man wears an official robe, which is richly embroidered, with medals, hanging from the neck down, and he has a sash from his right shoulder to his left hip. He wears a turban, and he sports a neatly trimmed beard and moustache. The background is covered with a light-coloured cloth as a makeshift studio. 'Awn ar-Rafīq, born c. 1836, was Grand Sharīf of Mecca from 1882 until his death in at-Tā'īf on 17 July 1905.

15. Portrait of 'Abdallāh b. Husayn
Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 9.7 x 13.2 cm (21.5 x 26.5 cm). Or. 26.403: NINO 1.68. Also published in the Bilder-Atlas of 1888 (No. XII, left, below).
The photograph was probably taken in 1885 (but in any case before 1888, when it was published), either by Snouck Hurgronje, or by 'Abd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan physician. In the photograph a small boy is standing. The background is covered with a light-coloured cloth as a makeshift studio. According to Carney Gavin this boy 'wears the boots, astrakhan cap, and military kaftan characteristic today of the Circassian household guards for the Hashemites. At the beginning of the last century [i.e. the 19th century] almost identical uniforms were worn by the 'Georgian Janissaries', who [...] had been protecting the Sharifs since the seventeenth century.'
Gavin adds to this: 'In this case the child has been identified as the Sharif Abdullah (later Amir and still later King of the Transjordan [nowadays Jordan]) by his surviving sister; although she herself had never known him so young, she instantly recognized his stance and expression.'
This identification is now corroborated and it can be stated with certainty that the portrayed

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The photograph was probably taken in 1885, either by Snouck Hurgronje, or by ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan physician. The boy is the later King Abdullah of Transjordan. Or. 26.403: NINO 1.68.
boy is indeed the later King Abdullah of Transjordan. In the Snouck Hurgronje collection of photographs there is an exact copy of this portrait. Although that photograph is also glued on a mount, it is clearly visible that something is written on the backside of the photograph. This inscription could be almost entirely deciphered as: ‘Abdallah Bïk Ibn Ïsh-Sharïf [Husayn Ibn] al-Îshrafi ash-Sharïf ‘Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn ‘Awn, Sînuhu Khamsah’. (‘Abdallah Bey b. the Sharïf Husayn son of the most noble Sharïf ‘Ali b. Muhammad b. ‘Awn, at the age of five).

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje wrote, in a letter from Mekka, dated 25 March 1885, to P.N. van der Chijs in Jeddah (in Dutch): ‘Yesterday I visited, together with ‘Abd Allah Zawâwi [see photograph No. 27, below], the Sharïf Husayn, nephew of the ‘Grandee’ of the reigning Grand-Sharïf, and, it appears, not on the best of terms with him, so recently he rented a house of his own.’ It is possible that the photographs of Husayn’s sons were made at this occasion. The original photograph does not have a caption, but the caption of the photographs published in the Bilder-Atlas (No. XII) reads: ‘[...] drei Neffen des Grossscherifs’ ‘three nephews of the Grand-Sharïf’, but here Snouck Hurgronje made a mistake as ‘Abdallah b. Husayn is really the great-nephew of the reigning Grand-Sharïf ‘Awn ar-Rafïq. It was ‘Abdallah’s grandfather who was the brother of ‘Awn ar-Rafïq.

Another photographic portrait of ‘Abdallah b. Husayn is in the collection, where he wears Arab clothing. Of his elder brother, ‘Alî, there are two photographs as a boy as well, one in cossack uniform, the other in Arab dress. See for yet another photograph in which ‘Abd Allah b. Husayn can be seen, now as an adult, No. 22, below.

1 Or. 26.404: NINO 2.38.
2 Or. 26.403: NINO 1.25.
VIEWS FROM JEDDAH, 1885

16. Group portrait of the Dutch colony of Jeddah

Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 25.7 x 19.8 cm (42.1 x 31.3 cm). Or. 26.404: NINO 2.2. The photograph was taken late in 1884, in the courtyard of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah, probably by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje with the aid of a self-timer or by a servant. The photograph shows seven men and two boys, grouped around a small table, on which a (stuffed?) sparrowhawk is standing.¹

In the backrow two men are standing. The one on the left is Husayn, the qawwās (consular guard) of the Dutch Consulate, wearing Turkish style clothing and a fez. In his right hand he holds a ceremonial club. From his right shoulder to his left hip are ropes or the strap of a bag. From his left hip hangs a sword or sabre, the hilt of which is visible. On the right stands Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, wearing a light-coloured jacket, and trousers a bit darker, on his head he wears a fez.

The middle row contains five men, all sitting. They are, from left to right: an unidentified man, wearing a dark overcoat and grey trousers, he is bareheaded and holds a walking-stick in his right hand. Next is, possibly, J.L.A. Brandes,² wearing a dark suit and spectacles, he is bareheaded. Next, in the centre, is J.A.

¹ The photograph has no legend on the reverse. The identification of the individuals was done with the help of two related photographs, namely Or. 12.288: CSH N.10 (with a note by Snouck Hurgronje concerning Husayn, Jawhar and Muhammed), and Or. 26.404: NINO 2.1 (with a note by Snouck Hurgronje on Kruyt, Snouck Hurgronje and Van der Chijs).

² Jan Laurens Andries Brandes was born in Rotterdam on 13 January 1857. He studied theology and linguistics and literature of the East Indian archipelago. After obtaining his doctoral degree on 3 June 1884, he departed on 6 September to the Dutch East Indies, together with his bride, where he arrived in October/November. On Java
Kruyt, the Dutch Consul-General in Jeddah, wearing a suit and a fez. He is holding a walking-stick in his right hand. Next to him sits P.N. van der Chijs, the Dutch (honorary) Vice-Consul in Jeddah, and a merchant by

Brandes had a distinguished scholarly career. He published about Javanese and Malay manuscripts and about inscriptions. The history of Java was yet another interest. In later years he also researched architecture and the decoration of buildings in Java. He died in Batavia on 26 June 1905, only 48 years old.

Although Snouck Hurgronje does not mention in his Jeddah diary (Leiden Or. 7112) having met him, it is probable that they have met in Jeddah, because it is on the route from The Netherlands to the Dutch East Indies. Considering the fact that Brandes had left The Netherlands on 6 September 1884, Snouck was already in Jeddah when Brandes arrived there.

1 J.A. Kruyt was Dutch Consul in Jeddah from 1878 till 1883, and Consul-General from 1883 till 1885. Early in 1885 he was transferred to a post in the Dutch East Indies.

2 P.N. van der Chijs was vice-consul of the Netherlands, and occasionally of Sweden and Norway, Jeddah agent for the ‘Nederlandsche Stoomvaart Maatschappij “Oceaan”’ (Netherlands Steamship Company “Ocean”), a Dutch subsidiary of the English shipping company Alfred Holt & Co. This company was famous for its so-called blue funnel ships. Van der Chijs was to become a close friend to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, and after the latter’s departure from Jeddah they maintained an epistolary relationship. Van der Chijs’ company was part of a shipping pool which set the prices for the transportation of pilgrims, a highly profitable line of work. When, in the course of 1889, the Amir of Mecca took measures to stop this, Van der Chijs committed suicide (see William Ochsenwald, Religion, Society and the State in Arabia. The Hijaz under Ottoman control, 1840–1908, Columbus (Ohio State University Press) 1984, p. 102.
right hand in his coat, Napoleon-style. It is not impossible that the two unidentified sitting men are Termeulen and Stijnis, who are named by Snouck Hurgronje in his diary as his compatriots and table companions.¹

In the front row two servants are sitting on the ground. The boy on the left is Jawhar, the servant of Consul Kruyt. He is black and wears a long white robe with a waistband of cloth, and a white jacket over it. He seems to wear shoes. He has a fez on his head. The boy on the right is Muhammad, the servant of Vice-Consul P.N. van der Chijs. He is dark coloured, possibly of Indian origin, and wears a long white robe with a waistband of cloth, and a turban on his head. He is barefooted. See the illustration on p. 2.

17. The office of P.N. van der Chijs
Albumen print, glued on paper of the same size. 17.2 x 20.6 cm. Or. 12.288: CSH J.25.
The photograph was probably taken in 1884 by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.
The photograph shows a large building in typical Jeddawi architecture, with elaborate mashrabiyyāt (projecting oriel windows with a wooden latticework enclosure). Just outside the entrance on the right, two men are standing. At the left a boy is standing. In the doorway a third man in Arab dress can vaguely be seen. It is tempting to identify man in the white suit and the topee as P.N. van der Chijs, but the person on the photograph does not seem to have a beard.
On the roof is a flagpole with the Dutch flag. This photograph is a cutout from a photograph in which a second flagpole is visible with the flag of Sweden.²

¹ See Or. 7112, the Jeddah-diary of Snouck Hurgronje, p. [2].
18. Portrait of Prince Nūr of Bacan
Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 24.8 x 19.6 cm (42 x 31.1 cm). Or. 26.404: NINO 2.16.
Snouck Hurgronje’s caption on the cardboard: ‘Prinz Nūr von Batjan mit seinem Oheim und einem Imām.’
The photograph was taken by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje on Thursday 16 October 1884 in the courtyard of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah.¹

Three men from South-East Asia can be seen, sitting on chairs. The one in the centre is clearly younger than the other two, and he is evidently Prince Nūr. According to the caption, this is Prince Nūr with his uncle² and an Imām. The uncle is the man on the right, with an umbrella in his hand; the Imām

Ahmad is the man on the left, with papers in his hand.
Snouck Hurgronje writes in his diary on 16 October that the three men came for the common Thursday rice table, and on 22 October he mentions in his diary that they came to take their leave, and that they promised to send him books.³

19. Bayt al-Bughtlīlī
Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 22.3 x 17.2 cm (41.9 x 31.5 cm). Or. 26.404: NINO 2.7.
Snouck Hurgronje’s caption on the cardboard: ‘Haus des Mūsā Baghdādī in Dschidda (vom Meere aus).’
The photograph was probably taken by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, either in 1884 or early 1885, apparently from a boat. The photograph shows a large house (almost a palace) situated on the waterfront, built in the traditional Jiddawī-style. It is the house of the

¹ See Or. 7112, the Jeddah-diary of Snouck Hurgronje, p. [23].
² In his diary Snouck Hurgronje writes ‘cousin’, Or. 7112, p. [23], so there seems to be a contradiction between the diary (‘cousin’) and the caption to the photograph (‘uncle’).
³ See Or. 7112, the Jeddah-diary of Snouck Hurgronje, p. [24].
al-Baghdādī family. When Snouck Hurgronje was in Jeddah, it was the house of Mūsā al-Baghdādī, according to the inscription on the photograph. It was then, as well as later, one of the famous houses of Jeddah. It was once the residence of the Ottoman Turkish Governor. For a few years the famous explorer and writer, H. St. John Philby, could call it his home. From 1933 onwards it was Aramco’s

first office in Saudi Arabia. In the early 1930s Lady E. Cobbold, a converted Englishwoman on pilgrimage, stayed with the Philby family in the house and she described it as follows:

‘The Philby’s house, ‘Beit el Baghdadi’, is one of the largest and finest in town, with a roof garden extending round two sides on which

regular visitor, though that only developed into a close relationship after Philby’s conversion to Islam in 1930. In 1932 he obtained permission to explore the desert of Saudi Arabia, the Rub’ al-Khali (Empty Quarter), and in 1936–1937 the Southern Marches. During the Second World War he stayed in the United Kingdom, but in 1945 he went back to Saudi Arabia. Between 1950 and 1953 he explored the north of Saudi Arabia. In 1955 he was banned from Saudi Arabia by King Sa‘ūd, and he went to live in Bayrut, where he died in 1960. He was the father of Kim Philby, the Soviet spy.

1 Harry St. John Bridger Philby was born in 1885 in Saint Johns, Badula, Ceylon. After a study at Cambridge University he went to work as a civil servant in India in 1908. During the First World War he worked from 1915 to 1917 in Mesopotamia (as Iraq was then usually called). In the end of 1917 he went for the first time to what is now Saudi Arabia, as part of a government mission to persuade Ibn Sa‘ūd to attack pro-Turkish rulers. After the War he stayed working in Iraq and Trans-Jordan. In 1924 he resigned from government service, and started working for himself in businesses in the Middle East, with little success, however. In 1925 he met King Ibn Sa‘ūd for the second time, and from then on he became a

Portion of an Arabian City, London, 1974, p. 120.
flowers are carefully cultivated in pots; mostly large pink periwinkles, which are perpetual-flowering, seeding themselves, and very effective [...]. There are several bathrooms, mostly round stone cupolas with marble floors and domed roofs pierced with holes elaborately carved in arabesque designs [...]. There are loggias built over part of the roof garden in which we take refuge from the sun and the view looking West over the sea is enchanting.'

In 1953, when the fate of this house was already decided, another traveller gave the following description: ‘Beit Baghdadi is one of the finest examples of Jiddah architecture to be seen. Hand-carved shutters cover its windows; its walls, broken by a series of dilapidated screen balconies, hand carved and unpainted, impart an air of shabby grandeur handed down from the time it housed the Turkish Governor…’ By the end of the 1950s this beautiful house was demolished and made place for modern offices on King Abdulaziz Street. See the illustration on p. 6.

20. Jeddah children
Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 24.5 x 19.2 cm (42 x 31.4 cm). Or. 26.404: NINO 2.15. Snouck Hurgronje’s caption on the cardboard: ‘Dschiddasche Kinder.’ The photograph was taken in 1884 or early 1885 by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. A group of ten children, boys and girls, are shown, who are apparently posing for the picture. Added is a cut-out of a detail of the group portrait. Two children, a girl and a boy. They are the only ones of the group who wear shoes. Would that imply a family relationship? The girl wears a long light-coloured dress with a striped pattern. Her dress is with long sleeves. She is bareheaded. The boy wears clothing

1 Lady E. Cobbold, Pilgrimage to Mecca, London, 1934, pp. 13-14, as quoted in: Angelo Pesce, Jiddah. Portrait of an Arabian City, London 1974, p. 120.

2 R.H. Sanger, as quoted above.
made of Central-Asian silk ikat, Bukhara style, and he has a fez on his head. The girl’s dress may be of the same sort of making, but this is difficult to establish with certainty. The boy’s clothing evidently refers to his Bukharan origin. The group as a whole is of a heterogeneous composition. A few African children can be discerned, and also children from other origins. Most have moved while the photograph was taken and their faces are somewhat blurred as a consequence. See also the illustration on p. 8.

MECCA AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN THE YEARS AFTER 1885

21. The flood in Mecca
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 22.9 x 16.9 cm. Or. 26.364: Ot C.2.
Caption on reverse in Malay, in pencil: ‘Waktoe kena bandjir pada 23 Hadj 1327.’
The photograph was taken on 23 Dhū ’l-Hijjah 1327 (5 January 1910) by an unknown photographer. The courtyard of the Haram with the Ka‘bah and all its buildings flooded. Inside the courtyard we see from left to right: al-Maqām al-Malikī, al-Maqām al-Hanafi, the Ka‘bah, the Maqām ʿIbrāhīm, the Bāb Banī Shaybah, the Zamzam building (the large white building), and (only the roof of) al-Maqām al-Hanbalī. The minarets from left to right are: the Minaret of the Bāb az-Ziyādah, the Minaret of the Bāb al-Mahkamah, and the Minaret of the Bāb ad-Duraybah. The minaret on the most right is not a minaret of the Great Mosque. The building with the two white domes is the Qādī’s office, or Law Court. Outside the Mosque we see from left to right: the ash-Shāmiyyah quarter, the as-Suwayqah quarter, and the al-Qushāshiyyah quarter.

Floodings occurred from time to time, because Mecca lies amidst mountains, and the location of the Mosque is the lowest place of the narrow valley. Normally, it does not rain for years on end, but when it does, it can be heavy and violent. Then a torrent (sayf) can pour down each side-valley towards the city and the
21. The flood in Mecca. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken on 5 January 1910 by an unknown photographer. The courtyard of the Haram with the Ka'bah and all its buildings is flooded. Or. 26.364: OI C.2.
Haram. Although dams were built in the main valleys that posed a threat, negligence would cause the flooding of the Mosque. Presently such floods do not occur anymore since more solid dams have been constructed.

The photograph was sent by E. Gobée from

[1] Emile Gobée was born in Den Helder on 3 December 1881 and died in Voorschoten on 7 December 1954. After his High School he joined the Marine Corps of the Dutch Navy, and it was with the Marines that he departed to the Dutch East Indies. He came back to The Netherlands in 1906. There he enrolled in a training course for the Civil Service in the East Indies. In 1908 he returned to the East Indies and had postings in several places, including Aceh. There he became interested in studying Arabic, which he did when he was on leave in The Netherlands in 1915. He became a student of Snouck Hurgronje. After having completed his studies he was appointed consul in Jeddah, which post he held from 1917 till 1921. In 1922 he went again to the East Indies, and from 1926 onwards he was Adviser for Indigenous Affairs to the colonial government in Batavia (Jakarta), as Snouck Hurgronje had been many years before. He remained in this function until his retirement in 1937, in which year he repatriated. After his retirement he participated for a while in the project of the Concordance of the Hadith (A.J. Wensink, e.a. (eds.) Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane, Leiden (E.J. Brill) 1936–1988). Later he was one of the editors of the official advices of Snouck Hurgronje (E. Gobée & C. Adriaanse (eds.), Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889–1936 (3 vols.), ’s-Gravenhage (Martinus Nijhoff) 1957–1965). See R.A. Kern, ‘Levensbericht Emile Gobée’, in Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden 1953-1955, pp. 59-64.

22. The Mahmal in Mecca
Caption on reverse in Arabic, typewritten: ‘Murur al-Mahmal min amama Bayt Banāja bil-Qushāshiyah’ (the passing of the Mahmal in front of the Banājah House in the Qushāshiyah quarter).
22. The passing of Mahmal in Mecca. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken before the pilgrimage in July 1924, by the latest, by an unknown photographer. In front of the Mahmal stands ‘Alī b. Husayn, the eldest son of the reigning Amīr. The man besides him, in military uniform, might be his brother ‘Abdallāh b. Husayn, the later King of Transjordan. Behind them is the Governor-General of the Hijāz. Or. 26.362: Ol A.14.
The photograph was taken before the pilgrimage in July 1924, by the latest, by an unknown photographer.¹

The picture shows a procession at a corner of al-Mas‘ā (‘the running place’) and al-Qushāshiyyah (one of Mecca’s quarters, here especially the small street on the right). All along the houses people are watching. On the left side is the wall of the Mosque and the Minaret of Bāb Bazān (formerly known as Bāb al-Baghlah). On the right side is the residence of the Governor-General of the Hijāz. The white building at the corner is the House of the Bānājah-family, one of the leading merchant families, originating from the Hadhramawt (now in Yemen).

In front of the Mahmal (the large ‘litter’ carried by a camel) stands ‘Alī b. Husayn, the eldest son of the reigning Amīr, dressed in a dark robe and wearing a white turban. The man besides him, in military uniform, might be his brother ‘Abdallāh b. Husayn, later King of Transjordan (see also the commentary to photograph No. 15, above). Behind them is the Governor-General of the Hijāz.

The photograph was sent in 1927 by Daniël van der Meulen in Jeddah to C. Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden.

23. The Mosque of Ibn ‘Abbās in at-Tā‘if
Caption on reverse in Arabic, typewritten: ‘Masjid Ibn ‘Abbās bi-Madīnat at-Tā‘if’ (‘the mosque of Ibn ‘Abbās in the city of at-Tā‘if’).

The photograph was taken by an unknown photographer before 1927, and most probably before September 1924.

The mosque is built into the south wall of at-Tā‘if, and protruding from it. The brick wall which can be seen on the left side of the photograph, and which is connected to the north western corner of the mosque, is the city wall. Two men can be seen near the southern wall of

¹ The photograph may have been taken much earlier than that, of course. Mecca was captured in mid-October 1924 by Ibn Sa‘ūd.
24. Portrait of Amīn al-Madanī. Albumen print. The photograph was taken in 1883 in Leiden by the Leiden photographer Goedeljee. Amīn al-Madanī was in Leiden to attend the 6th Congress of Orientalists. Or. 18.097: S48.1
the mosque; one of them sits at the south western corner of the mosque.
In the foreground is a barren stretch of land with some shrubs and a few small heaps of stone. Where some people are visible is the cemetery.
The photograph was sent in 1927 by Daniël van der Meulen in Jeddah to C. Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden.
Older photographs of the Mosque of Ibn ‘Abbās are Nos. 9a and 9b, above.

FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES OF CHRISTIAAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE

24. Portrait of Amin al-Madani
Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. Carte de Visite. 9.9 x 14.7 cm (10.8 x 16.7 cm). Or. 18.097: S48.1
The photograph was taken in 1883 in Leiden by the Leiden photographer Goedeljee.
The portrait shows Amin b. Hasan al-Hulwānī al-Madani al-Hanafi, a friendly looking scholar with glasses, who sports a neatly trimmed beard and a moustache. On his head he wears a white turban, and, as far as can be seen, he wears a striped gown with a small white collar. The portrait was made when Amin al-Madani was in Leiden to attend the 6th Congress of Orientalists, after the conclusion of the Colonial Exhibition in Amsterdam where he had been a participant.
Amin al-Madani was a teacher (mudarrisi) in the Prophet’s mosque in Medina. He had a wide scholarly interest. He was also a learned bookseller, and not at all averse of travelling. He thereby combined ziyāra and tijāra, the ‘visiting’ and ‘trade’ as practised by many a Muslim scholar in search of learning and sustenance. To the East he travelled as far as Singapore and also stayed for a while in Bombay, where some of his works were published. It is also known that he lived for some time in Cairo. He played an active role in polemics with the Sufi establishment in Egypt and Istanbul, who used their assumed possession of hairs of the Prophet as a means to increase their authority among their flock. When
visiting The Netherlands in 1883, he even approached the Dutch government with the suggestion to establish a small mosque in Amsterdam, and to pay for the salary of its staff, as a service to the Dutch Muslim subjects from the East Indies. Amīn had come to Amsterdam in 1883 in order to participate in the Colonial Exhibition, the other stand from Egypt being that of the Cairene perfume seller Mustafā. His trade did not flourish at all, but after a while he and his collection of manuscripts were spotted by the Leiden scholars. His important manuscript library of some seven hundred volumes was first purchased by Messrs. E.J. Brill, the Leiden bookseller and publisher, who had a sales catalogue made of it by Carlo de Landberg. In the same year the Leiden University Library purchased the entire collection from Brill's, with special funds allotted by the Dutch government. It is now registered as Or. 2363 - Or. 3025 (and Or. 8409). It so happened that in that same year the 6th Congress of Orientalists was held in Leiden, and Amīn visited it. His account of the congress was published in Arabic, in issues of the newspaper al-Burhan in October and November 1883, and it was later on translated into Dutch by C. Snouck Hurgronje. Amīn al-Madani was murdered in 1898 by bedouins in the desert near Tripoli (in present-day Lebanon), where he had come to from Medina. In his biography of Amīn al-Madani, az-Zirikī includes the report that the bedouins suspected that he was a spy, and that they therefore killed him.

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1 Carlo de Landberg, Catalogue de manuscrits arabes provenant d'une bibliothèque privée à el-Medina et appartenant à la Maison E.J. Brill, Leiden 1883.


3 Al-A'lam (2nd ed.), vol. 1, p. 357. I have drawn from the biography written by Jan Just Witkam for the Leiden library's web-site: http://ub.leidenuniv.nl/bc/olg/portret/content.html
On the reverse of the photograph Amīn al-Madanī wrote a line of poetry in Arabic script: 
\[ \text{Fa-’in lam taku ’l-mir’ātu abdat wasāmātan,} \]
\[ \text{fa-qad abdatī ’l-mir’ātu jabhata dayghami} \]
(Although the mirror did not reflect any beauty, it nevertheless showed the image of a lion), the English equivalent of which could be something like ‘Beauty is only skin-deep.’ The photograph must have been, with the poetical quotation on the reverse, a present from the portrayed person to C. Snouck Hurgronje given to the latter during Amin’s visit to Leiden.
Goedeljee’s photograph was the model for the lithographic portrait by A.J. Wendel, which was published as frontispiece to Snouck Hurgronje’s translation of Amīn’s account of the congress in Leiden.

25a. Portrait of Raden Aboe Bakar
Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 10.3 x 17.3 cm (21.5 x 26.5 cm). Or. 26.403: NINO 1.66.

1 With thanks to Dr. Arnoud Vrolijk, curator in Leiden University Library.

Snouck Hurgronje’s caption on the cardboard: ‘In Mekka ansässiger Javane.’
The photograph was taken in 1884 or 1885, probably by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.
One sees Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat as a young man, sitting on a chair and looking straight into the camera. He wears a long, light-coloured, striped dress, covered by a long, dark coat. He wears shoes and has a turban on his head.
The Sundanese Aboe Bakar was an important figure in Snouck Hurgronje’s life. First he assisted him in Jeddah and witnessed his conversion to Islam. Then he provided Snouck Hurgronje with a living in Mecca for some time. Later on, he collected information and materials (books, manuscripts, etc.) for Snouck Hurgronje, both in Jeddah and Mecca, and he continued to do so, till long after Snouck Hurgronje’s departure. He thereby enabled him to write his famous book Mekka, and he kept him informed on the affairs of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. All this took place within the framework of a lifelong friendship, which
25a. Portrait of Raden Aboe Bakar. Albumen print. The photograph was taken in 1884 or 1885, probably by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and shows Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat (c. 1854 – c. 1914) as a young man. This Sundanese was an important figure in Snouck Hurgronje's life. First he assisted him in Jeddah and witnessed his conversion to Islam. Then he provided Snouck Hurgronje with a living in Mecca for some time. Later on, he collected information and materials for Snouck Hurgronje, both in Jeddah and Mecca, and he continued to do so, till long after Snouck Hurgronje's departure. He thereby enabled him to write his famous book Mekka, and he kept him informed on the affairs of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. All this took place within the framework of a lifelong friendship, which was for the mutual benefit of either of them. Or. 26.403: NINO 1.66.
was for the mutual benefit of either of them. Above Bakar’s exact date of birth is not known, but he was born after 1854. He was the brother of the regent of Pandeglang, Banten, West-Java (since 1870), Raden Adipati Murawan Sutadiningrat, and the son of the previous regent, Raden Adipati Nata-diningrat (who reigned from c. 1850 till 1870).

According to Snouck Hurgronje, Above Bakar was already five years in Mecca for the purpose of study, when he arrived in 1884.¹ Thanks to

¹ See Or. 7112, the Jeddah-diary, p. [10]. It could be that Above Bakar’s arrival in 1879 was not the first time he was in Mecca. In a letter of 23 September 1892 to the first Secretary of the Colonial Government Snouck Hurgronje writes that Abu Bakar already resided in Arabia for twenty years. However, it is not known when he arrived in the Hijaz for the first time, how long he stayed, and when he returned to the Dutch East Indies (E. Gobée & C. Adriaanse (eds.), Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889–1936 (3 vols.), ’s-Gravenhage (Martinus Nijhoff) 1957–1965, p. 770).

the mediation of Snouck Hurgronje, Above Bakar was officially employed by consul J.A. de Vicq² on 13 June 1885 as a dragoman to the Dutch Consulate and the Nederlandsche Stoomvaart Maatschappij “Oceaan”. Mastering several languages such as Arabic, Malay, Javanese and Sundanese, Above Bakar’s job consisted of translating. Another task of his was monitoring the activities of the Jawa, the members of the Dutch East Indian community in Mecca, both residents and pilgrims. Being a Muslim he could easily travel to and fro between Jeddah and Mecca, which enabled him to provide services as a liaison officer between the Dutch consul and the Ottoman governor and the Sharif of Mecca.

In 1912 Above Bakar retired, yet was appointed vice-consul in Mecca. He stayed in Mecca, with his Arab family until his death in c. 1914.

² Dr. Joan Adriaan de Vicq (11 October 1857–4 September 1899) was successor as Dutch Consul in Jeddah to J.A. Kruyt. He was on his post from March 1885 till April 1889.
25b. Portrait of Raden Aboe Bakar at a more advanced age, with a Sundanese servant. Albumen print. It is not known when this photograph was taken or by whom. Or. 18.097: S66 A.3.
Later in his career he was awarded a royal decoration for services rendered.

25b. Portrait of Raden Aboe Bakar
Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 10.2 x 13.2 cm (22 x 26.5 cm). Or. 18.097: S66 A.3.
Snouck Hurgronje’s caption on the cardboard: ‘10. Raden Aboe Bakar en een Soendanees.’
It is not known when this photograph was taken or by whom.
Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat is shown, at a more advanced age than in the previous photograph, together with a young boy at his side.
According to the caption of the original photograph, the boy is also Sundanese.
Aboe Bakar wears a long, dark, broad striped dress with a cloth waistband, and a dark coat over it. It is clear that the clothes are of better quality than the clothes in the previous photograph. He wears shoes and a turban, and he sports a moustache.
The boy wears a long white dress with white trousers underneath. He also wears a turban, and has slippers on his feet. The boy carries a book in his right hand. He has the pose of a servant or a personal assistant.

Albumen print, mounted on cardboard, Carte de Visite. 8.8 x 13.5 cm (10.8 x 16.2 cm), white border, (18.8 x 16.2 cm), mount. Or. 12.288: CSH J.23.
The portrait was made by a professional photographer, George Saboungi in Beirut. A man is sitting in a chair beside a small table. He wears an official dress, and has a ceremonial sabre in his left hand. His right hand rests on a small table. In his waist band the hilt of a dagger is visible. He has a full, dark beard and wears a turban.
Al-Habīb ‘Abd ar-Rahmān az-Zāhīr was one of the leaders in the Aceh war, but he had surrendered to the Dutch in 1878 on the condition (from the Dutch side) that he leave the country for good, and (from his side) that he got a lifelong monthly pension of thousand dollars, a considerable sum at the time.
Al-Habīb ‘Abd ar-Rahmān az-Zāhīr was born
26. Portrait of al-Habib ‘Abd ar-Rahman az-Zahir. Albumen print. The portrait was made by a professional photographer, George Saboungi in Beirut. Al-Habib ‘Abd ar-Rahman az-Zahir was one of the leaders in the Aceh war, but he had surrendered to the Dutch in 1878 on the condition (from the Dutch side) that he leave the country for good, and (from his side) that he got a lifelong monthly pension of thousand dollars. Or. 12.288: CSH J.23.
in the Hadramawt (now in Yemen) in 1249/1833-1834. When he was two years old the family moved to the south-western coast of India. When he was five years old his father sent him to Cairo to study the Qur’ān, and to learn to read and write. In 1842 he returned to India where he studied for another six years. After his studies he travelled extensively, even to Europe, for periods of varying length when he settled and worked in several places. In 1281/1864 he arrived in Aceh where he soon attained a high position in the service of the Sultan. When war broke out in 1873 he was sent on a mission to Turkey and some European powers to seek help against the Dutch. After this mission had failed he was charged with the command of the Acehnese troops for a while. However, since he became convinced that the Acehnese never could win this war he tried to persuade them to surrender. The Acehnese were unwilling to do this, so eventually the Habīb surrendered himself to the Dutch in Kuta Raja (now Banda Aceh) on 13 October 1878. He was then transported by a Dutch warship to the Hijāz where he arrived on 28 January 1879. The Habīb died in Mecca on 29 July 1896.

Snouck Hurgronje met him in Jeddah in 1884 and writes about about him in his diary:]

'[4] […] When the well-known Mudabbir al-Mulk of Aceh, al-Habīb ‘Abd ar-Rahmān az-Zāhir, had returned from his journey to Egypt and Syria, allegedly to perform the ḥajj, he came to visit us in the evening, dressed in his ihram, shortly after we had arrived. In spite of his unbridled vanity, [5] his fawning attitude, and his somewhat peculiar outward appearance, which was rendered even more strange by his hair and beard which were dyed pitch black, he made a not unpleasant and certainly interesting impression on me. He is a very well-read and literary-minded person, certainly not without a sharp mind. He seemed to find it pleasant, not to mention remarkable, to meet a European who had taken some pains to

1 See Or. 7112, the Jeddah-diary, pp. [4]–[6]. See for his role in the Aceh war also Paul van ’t Veer, De Atjeh-oorlog. Amsterdam 1980, pp. 119-125.
learn ‘the science’. This transpired particularly during a conversation about a nasīḥah, a juridical or political recommendation, concerning the Aceh question, which he said he would gladly write for the Dutch East Indian government, from whose rice he had been feeding himself for five years. He understood that the Acehnese, staunch Muslims as they were, would be content if their internal government was regulated by a believer, albeit under the supervision of the Dutch government. By this, he meant a Nizārat ad-Dākhiliyyah, a Ministry of the Interior [note written in the margin by Snouck Hurgronje: ‘See the letter which Habīb has written later, and which is now in my possession’], which was to be under a Muslim, who, 1° would not have the title of Sultan or King, but rather that of Vizir or Mudabbir al-Mulk in order to leave the supremacy of the Dutch government unimpaired; 2° would not be an Acehnese by birth, in order not to arouse envy; and 3° for which function Habīb would be the ideal person, which emerged with ever more dazzling clarity as the conversation progressed. This vizir would be established in Kuta Raja and by connecting this place with Oleh-leh (the residence of the governor) by a railway line there would be no danger of defection and the like. Under such circumstances the population would increasingly adjust itself to a more orderly life and exchange its weapons for the plough. Soon, order and concord would reign. [6] When I pointed out to him the un-Islamic character of such ‘vizirate of kāfirs’, he found a clever way out using the Ahkām ad-Darūrāt (the rules to be applied in case of emergency), which had to be applied here because of the victory of the Christians. For this he quoted a text by a certain Ardabīlī that was specially applicable in such a situation. And when I remarked that such a situation viewed from the Islamic perspective would always be temporary and transitional, in which one could not, when conditions improved, permanently acquiesce, he simply answered: ‘And how could it be otherwise? Who does not wish to have the upper hand if he can?’ He would write down his opinions and propositions in Arabic, so that I could translate them and they could be brought to the attention of the Government. So far, however, he has failed to realize his plan. One day after his visit I visited him in the house of his host, Bā Hārūn, the chief of the Sayyids
here in Jeddah, where the Hābīb showed me with great pride his pedigree, which went all the way back to the Prophet. We were soon engaged in theological discussions, [...]’

27a. Portrait of Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Zawāwī
Albumen print. 11 x 15.4 cm (14.6 x 17.6 cm), darkened border. Or. 12.288: CSH P.21.
Photograph of a photograph. The portrait was taken in 1884 by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. An adult, but still young looking man is sitting on a chair in what can be recognised as the courtyard of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. He wears a long, light-coloured, striped robe with a dark coat over it. On his head he has the fez, and on his feet he wears a pair of bootees. In his right hand he holds the Islamic rosary. In the background one sees the potted plants and the window that are so characteristic of the photographs made by Snouck Hurgronje in the courtyard of the Dutch Consulate.
Although the caption of the original photograph does not say that this is ‘Abd Allāh Zawāwī, but only: ‘Son of a Qādī of Jeddah’, it is likely that this young man is Zawāwī. As is mentioned below, his father, Muhammad Sālih, acted sometimes as qādī, a judge. Besides, if one compares this photograph with the one following next, it is evident that there is a very strong likeness, notwithstanding the difference in age.

27b. Portrait of Sayyid ‘Abdallāh Zawāwī
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 7.3 x 9.8 cm (8 x 10.5 cm) small white border. Or. 12.288: CSH J.18.
Snouck Hurgronje’s caption on the reverse, in pencil: ‘Seyyid Abdallah Zawawi (p. 184 sqq.)’. Another hand has written in pencil: ‘Sajjid Abdullah’.

1 Translation by Jan Just Witkam in his forthcoming publication of Snouck Hurgronje’s Jeddah diary.
2 Although Snouck Hurgronje writes in his diary that he became ill and therefore could not make the intended photograph, it is quite possible that the opportunity came later.
3 Or. 26.403: NINO 1.43.
27a. Portrait of Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Zawāwī (1850-1924) at a young age. Albumen print. Photograph of a photograph. The portrait was taken in 1884 by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. He was the teacher of Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat, and most probably also of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, while in Mecca. Or. 12.288: CSH P.21.
27b. Portrait of Sayyid ‘Abdallāh Zawāwī (1850-1924) at an advanced age. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was probably made at the end of the 1910s or the early 1920s by an unknown photographer. ‘Abdallāh Zawāwī became a lifelong friend of Snouck Hurgronje, after they had first met on Sunday 14 September 1884, in Jeddah. Or. 12.288: CSH J.18.
The photograph was probably made at the end of the 1910s or the early 1920s by an unknown photographer. An old man is sitting in a chair and reading a book. He wears a long white dress with long sleeves, a white turban on his head, and a ring on the little finger of his right hand. ‘Abdallāh Zawāwī also became a lifelong friend of Snouck Hurgronje, after they had first met on Sunday 14 September 1884, in Jeddah.¹

‘Abdallāh Zawāwī was born in 1850 in Mecca, but his family originated from Morocco, according to Snouck Hurgronje.² He was the son of Muhammad Sālih Zawāwī, who sometimes acted as Qādī of Jeddah, and who was a leading Shaykh of the Naqshbandiyyah mystical, or ṣūfī, order in Mecca. The young Zawāwī was educated and trained at home by his father, and when he was twenty years old he became a teacher at the great mosque of Mecca. He was the teacher of Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat, and most probably also of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. Zawāwī was for years at odds with the reigning Grand-Sharīf, ‘Awn ar-Rafīq, and in 1893 he was forced to go into exile. First he travelled to Egypt and India, and in 1895 he was in the Straits Settlements and Riau before he went to Kutai on East Borneo (nowadays Kalimantan). In 1896 he became Muftī of Pontianak. In 1908, after Husayn b. ‘Alī became Grand-Sharīf, ‘Abd Allāh Zawāwī went back to the Hijāz, where he assumed the position of Shaykh al-‘Ulamā’, head of all the religious scholars, in Mecca. Shortly after the beginning of the ‘Arab revolt’ the relationship between Husayn and Zawāwī was broken, a situation which lasted for a while.

‘Abd Allāh Zawāwī died in at-Tā’īf in 1924, possibly in the fighting between Hashemites and the Saudis and Wahhabites.

¹ See Or. 7112, the Jeddah-diary, p. [11].
² See Or. 7112, the Jeddah-diary, p. [10].
28. Portrait of Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930). Albumen print. The photograph may have been taken in 1885 in Mecca either by ‘Abd al-Ghafr, the Meccan physician, or by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. The man at the left is Haji Hasan Mustapa. At the right stands an unidentified Acehnese. Snouck Hurgronje had first met Haji Hasan Mustapa in Mecca. After his departure for Holland in 1906 they maintained a busy correspondence. Or. 18.097: S66 D.1.
28. Portrait of Haji Hasan Mustapa

Albumen print, mounted on cardboard. 10.1 x 13.7 cm (10.8 x 16.4 cm). Or. 18.097: S66 D.1.

Caption on the reverse, in pencil (written by P. Voorhoeve?): ‘Hadji Hasan Moestapa en?’

The photograph may have been taken in 1885 in Mecca either by ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan physician, or by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.

Two men are seen standing with a pedestal in between. The man at the left is Haji Hasan Mustapa. He wears white trousers, a dark jacket, a dark turban, and shoes. He smiles slightly. The man on the right is, possibly, an Acehnese. He also wears trousers and a jacket, but obviously of more modest material, an Acehnese cap, and he is barefooted.

Haji Hasan Mustapa was born on Thursday 14 Sha‘bān 1268 (3 June 1852) in Cikajang Garut, a district in the east of the Priangan Regencies, West Java. When he was only eight years old he was taken by his father to Mecca, where he performed the *Hajj* and where he studied. In all, he went three times to Mecca, for a total period of twelve years, to study and teach. Snouck Hurgronje mentions him in his diary in a long list of Dutch East Indians residing in Mecca for study or teaching, which Raden Aboe Bakar had presented to Snouck Hurgronje. It is not unequivocally documented that they really met in Mecca, but it is a fact that they were there at the same time, otherwise it would not make sense that Raden Aboe Bakar should have mentioned him.

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1 See Or. 7112, the Jeddah-diary, p. [53].
2 Although Snouck Hurgronje claimed that they had met in Mecca in a letter to the Governor of Aceh of 26 October 1892, and in which letter he also stated that Haji Hasan Mustapa had returned home in 1885 (E. Gobée & C. Adriaanse (eds.), *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889–1936*, (3 vols.), ’s-Gravenhage (Martinus Nijhoff), 1957–1965, vol. 1, p. 131). But Snouck Hurgronje’s Jeddah diary ended before he went to Mecca, and a meeting may have taken place there.
3 In a recent published biography of Haji Hasan Mustapa, however, the author argues that they
Between 1889 and 1891 Hasan Mustapa accompanied Snouck Hurgronje on his journey through Western Java, and at the latter's intercession he became first Penghulu Besar (chief religious authority) in Kuta Raja (now Banda Aceh), Aceh from 22 February 1893 till 9 September 1895. He was then appointed chief penghulu in Bandung, a position he would hold till 1917. During his years as an official in the Dutch colonial government and after his resignation he wrote his literary works which contain theological works, poetry, philosophy, etc.

After the departure of Snouck Hurgronje for Holland in 1906 they maintained a busy correspondence. Haji Hasan Mustapa died in Bandung on Monday 12 Sha'ban 1348 (13 January 1930).

CONSUL N. SCHELTEMA, 1905–1911

29. The Dutch Consulate in Jeddah

Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 11.7 x 17 cm. Or. 26.365: OI D.1.

Caption on the reverse, written in pencil, by Consul N. Scheltema: ‘Hollandsch Consulaats-gebouw te Djeddah’.

It is not known with certainty when the photograph was taken and by whom. It may have been Consul N. Scheltema. If he is the photographer, the photograph dates from his period of office, 1905-1911.

An attractive building in typical Jeddawi architecture, with elaborate woodwork is shown. There hangs a lantern near the entrance, and two lantern posts at the entrance of the low gate. According to some authors,¹ this

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¹ F.E. Peters, Mecca. A literary history of the Mus-
29. The Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. It is not known when the photograph was taken and by whom. It may have been Consul N. Scheltema. If he is the photographer, the photograph dates from his period of office, 1905-1911. Or. 26.365: OI D.1.
building was let to the Dutch government by a member of the merchant family ‘Ali Ridā (Alireza).’ In all, there exist photographs of four different buildings which have functioned as the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. Of only one of these edifices it is certain when it was used by the Dutch for a consulate, namely the building that was handed over to the Indonesian government in 1950. Of all other buildings it is yet to be established when it was purchased or rented, until when, and from whom. From other photographs (see e.g. the photographs No. 30 and No. 35, below) it is evident that the building on the present photograph was used as Consulate in the early 1900s.

1 This same family renders honorary consular services to the Dutch government, till the present day.

Another building of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah is shown on photograph No. 42, below.

30. The staff of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 16.7 x 12.1 cm. Or. 26.365: OI D.5.
The photograph was taken in April 1907 by either an unknown photographer, or by Consul N. Scheltema with the aid of a self-timer.
Seven men are grouped around a table, which stands between the entrance of the Consulate and the low gate in front of it (see also the previous photograph). The social status of the men can easily be discerned, the three most important men are sitting, the ‘lesser’ personnel standing behind them. From left to right: Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat
30. The staff of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken in April 1907 by either an unknown photographer, or by Consul N. Scheltema with the aid of a self-timer. From left to right: Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat, Mas Muhammad Hasim, Husayn, Consul N. Scheltema, Muhammad Saleh alias Soeradi, Haji Agus Salim and Ahmad b. Husayn. Or. 26.365: OI D.5.
(sitting). Mas Muhammad Hasim, Husayn N. Scheltema (sitting), Muhammad Saleh alias Soeradi, Haji Agus Salim (sitting), and Ahmad b. Husayn.

1 See the photographs No. 25a and No. 25b, above.
2 N. Scheltema was Consul of The Netherlands in Jeddah from 1905 till 1911.
3 He was born on 8 October 1884 as Mashhud al-Haqq Salim in Kota Gedang (near Fort de Kock, nowadays Bukittinggi, Sumatra). In 1903 he passed his final examination in high school. Between 1906–1911 he was employed as dragoman in the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah, and was an assistant to Raden Aboe Bakar. In the documents of the time his first name is written as August. But after his repatriation his career started to diverge from Dutch colonial policies. Between 1917–1919 he was the editor of the newspaper Neratja. Later he became the editor of the newspapers Hindia Baroe and Bendera Islam. In 1927 he founded the newspaper Fadjat Asia, and worked as an editor for it. From 1919–1922 he was a member of the central board of the Sarekat Islam. Between 1922–1925

31. The foreign consuls in Jeddah
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, mounted on cardboard. 15.4 x 11.8 cm (18.7 x 13.8 cm). Or. 26.365: OI D.9.
Caption on the reverse, written in ink, by Consul N. Scheltema: ‘Eenige notabelen van Djeddah. Van links naar rechts: D. Tonći (Oostenrijksch Consul); he was a member of the Volksraad. Between 1925–1927 he was leader of the Al-Islam congresses, and as such he was a delegate to the congress in Mecca. In 1929 and 1930 he was a delegate for the Indonesian trade union to Geneve. In 1945 he was actively involved in the writing of the Declaration of Independence and the Indonesian Constitution. In 1946–1947 he was, during the struggle of independence, Indonesia’s Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs in the third Sjahrir Cabinet. In 1947–1949 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Sjarifuddin Cabinet, and in the first Hatta Cabinet. In 1948 he was imprisoned by the Dutch government. In 1950 he was the first ambassador of Indonesia to the United Kingdom. In 1953 he went to the United States to give lectures. On 4 November 1954 Haji Agus Salim died.
31. The foreign consuls in Jeddah. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken before 1912, by either an unknown photographer, or by Consul N. Scheltema with the aid of a self-timer. From left to right: D. Tončić, the Austrian consul; P. Lépissier, the acting French consul; N. Scheltema, the Dutch consul; J.H. Monahan, the British consul; Haji Agus Salim, secretary and dragoman of the Dutch Consulate; D. Dimitrieff, the Russian consul; Miller, the Italian consul (an Englishman); Joannou, health inspector (of Greek extraction). The room is inside the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. Or. 26.365: OI D.9.
P. Lépissier, wd. Fransch Consul); N. Scheltema, Nederlandsch Consul; J.H. Monahan, Engelsch Consul; A. Salim, L. Sec. Drogman; D. Dimitrieff, Russisch Consul; Miller, Italiaansch Consul (Engelschman); Joannou, Inspecteur Sanitaire (Griek). The photograph was taken before 1912, by either an unknown photographer, or by Consul N. Scheltema with the aid of a self-timer.

Eight men are grouped around a small table, in the corner of a room. From left to right they can be identified as: D. Tončić, the Austrian consul; P. Lépissier, the acting French consul; N. Scheltema, the Dutch consul; J.H. Monahan, the British consul; Haji Agus Salim, secretary and dragoman of the Dutch Consulate; D. Dimitrieff, the Russian consul; Miller, the Italian consul (an Englishman); Joannou, health inspector (of Greek extraction).

The room is inside the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah.

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1 The translator of the second volume of Snouck Hurgronje’s Mekka, which appeared in 1931 under the title Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century.

32. On the way to inspect a pilgrim ship


Caption on the reverse, written in pencil, by Consul N. Scheltema: ‘Op weg ter inspectie van een pelgrimsschip. Van rechts naar links: August Salim, N. Scheltema, Achmad (kawas), Mohd Jahja (samboekdji)’.

The photograph was taken before 1912 by an unknown photographer.

A small boat, a sunbuk, is taking off, the sails still taken in. Five men are on board. From left to right: the ship’s boy, standing ready at the ropes to hoist the sails; Muhammad Yahyá, the skipper; Ahmad, the qawwās (the consular guard) of the Dutch Consulate, N. Scheltema, the Dutch Consul in Jeddah, and (under the umbrella) Haji Agus Salim, dragoman and secretary of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah.

33. Issue of passes to Indonesian pilgrims at the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah

Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, mounted on cardboard. 17. x 11.8 cm (18.8 x 13.8 cm). Or. 26.365: Ol D.7.
32. On the way to inspect a pilgrim ship. Gelatine printing-out-paper. The photograph was taken before 1912 by an unknown photographer. From left to right: the ship’s boy; Muhammad Yahyā, the skipper; Ahmad, the qawwās of the Dutch Consulate, Consul N. Scheltema, and (under the umbrella) Haji Agus Salim, dragoman and secretary of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. Or. 26.365: OI D.38.
33. The issue of passes to Indonesian pilgrims at the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was possibly taken on 21 February 1909, but at least before 1911, by an unknown photographer. Consul N. Scheltema and Haji Agus Salim are supervising the consular employee Ahmad b. Husayn, who stamps the papers of one of the pilgrims. Or. 26.365: OI D.7.
Caption on the reverse, written in ink, by Consul N. Scheltema: ‘Passenuigtfe o/h Nederl. Consulaat te Djeddah’.
The photograph was possibly taken on 21 February 1909,¹ but at least before 1911, by an unknown photographer.
In a room in the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah Consul, N. Scheltema sits behind a table. At his right hand sits Haji Agus Salim, watching the procedure, on the left hand of the Consul stands the consular employee Ahmad b. Husayn, who stamps the papers of one of the pilgrims.
Before the table eighteen pilgrims are squatting on the ground, waiting for their turn. At the side of the table ten pilgrims stand waiting. Consul Scheltema wrote on January 13, 1908, to C. Snouck Hurgronje on a similar situation (in Dutch):

‘I hope that the epidemic will have subsided when the pilgrims come back to Jeddah, but I think it will not. We will be obliged to take the necessary precautions when we must receive some four or five hundred pilgrims on a daily basis, to have them around us and to accept from them the passes of residence to which the cholera bacilli are sticking.’

34. Distribution of rice to destitute pilgrims
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. postcard. 13.9 x 8.8 cm. Or. 26.365: OI D.47.
On the reverse is the preprinted text of a postcard. It was used to send the image by mail. The addressee is: ‘Den Hooggel. Heer Prof. C. Snouck Hurgronje, Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland’. The text of the message is:

‘Djeddah 22/2 ’09
Hooggeachte Professor
Gister een kiekje genomen hebbende van Javaansche pelgrims die – met retourbiljetten in hun hand – al een maand hier wachtende op een boot om naar huis terug te keeren, geen geld meer

1 See the commentary to photograph No. 34, below.

2 The cholera that was raging during the pilgrimage of 1908. Letter preserved in Or. 8952.
34. Distribution of rice to destitute pilgrims. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, postcard. Javanese pilgrims who, with return tickets in their hands – are waiting already for a month in Jeddah for a ship to return home, have no money left to buy food and therefore come every morning to the Consulate in order to get some rice.

Or. 26.365: OI D.47.
hebben om eeten te kopen en daarom elken morgen op het Consulaat komen om wat rijst te krijgen, kan ik niet nalaten U er een afdruk van te zenden.

Met beleefde groeten
hoogachtend   Uw dienstw.

N. Scheltema'

The postcard was sent by registered mail. It shows postmarks from Djedda (no date visible, stamp removed), Suez (5-III-09), Alexandria (6-III-09) and Leiden (11 Mrt 09).

The photograph was taken on Sunday 21 February 1909, by Consul N. Scheltema. A large group of Indonesian pilgrims are standing in front of the entrance of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. Most of them are men. Two women and three girls are squatting on the ground before them.

Consular employee Ahmad b. Husayn is emptying a can with rice in the bag of one of the women. The sack from which he takes the rice stands at his feet. Dragoman Haji Agus Salim performs the administrative procedures.

Consul Scheltema’s text on the reverse reads as follows:

Jeddah, 22-2-1909
Dear Professor,
Having taken a snapshot yesterday of Javanese pilgrims who, – with return tickets in their hands – are waiting already for a month here for a ship to return home, have no money left to buy food and therefore come every morning to the Consulate in order to get some rice, I cannot desist from sending you an image of it.
With polite greetings, yours faithfully, your obedient servant, N. Scheltema.’

Ahmad b. Husayn and Haji Agus Salim wear the same clothes as on the previous photograph, No. 33, so it may be assumed that photographs Nos. 33 and 34 were taken on the same day.

35. Pilgrims in front of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah

Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 17.1 x 11.7 cm. Or. 26.365: OI D.23.

Caption on the reverse, written in pencil, by Consul N. Scheltema: ‘Ned. Indische pelgrims vóór het Holl. Consulaat te Djeddah.’

The photograph was taken before 1912, proba-
35. Pilgrims in front of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken before 1912, probably by Consul N. Scheltema. A large group of East Indian pilgrims stands in front of the Dutch Consulate. They are apparently waiting for something to happen. Or. 26.365: OI D.23.
bly by Consul N. Scheltema.
A large group of East Indian pilgrims stands in front of the Dutch Consulate. The door of the Consulate is open. The pilgrims stand in small groups talking and listening, some of them seem to be looking and pointing at the photographer. It may be assumed that they are waiting for something, either to have their papers stamped, or for food being distributed, as in photographs Nos. 33 and 34, above.

36. A recording session of Arabic music in Jeddah
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, glued on cardboard of the same size, postcard. 13.9 x 8.8 cm.
Or. 26.365: Ol D.44.
On the reverse is the preprinted text of a postcard. It was used to send the image by mail. The addressee is: ‘Den Hooggel. Heer Prof. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland’. The text of the message is:

‘Djedda 20/2 ’09
Hooggeachte Professor,
Zoals U aan ommezijde ziet, is het mij toch nog gelukt Sajjid Moehammad te pakken te krijgen (hoewel het moeite heeft gekost). Hij heeft een drietal rollen bezongen met het door U gewenschte lied en ze zijn aardig gelukt.
Eerstdaags hoop ik de adân enz. af te doen.
Met beleefde groeten
hoogachtend Uw dienstw.
N. Scheltema’
The postcard was sent by registered mail. It shows postmarks from Djedda (no date visible, stamp removed), Suez (5-III-09) and Leiden (11 Mrt 09).

The photograph was taken in February 1909 by Consul N. Scheltema.
Four men are sitting on the ground in the corner of one of the rooms of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. The central figure, the musician Sayyid Muhammad, sits in front of a phonograph. He holds an ‘ud (the Arabian lute), and he is probably singing as well. The style of his headgear shows his higher status. The man sitting behind him, with the turban, may be the consular employee Mas Muhammad Hasim (see also photograph No. 30, above). The other person, who is bareheaded, and who is holding a piece of paper, may be Tadjoedin, who had been in-
36. A recording session of Arabic music in the Consulate of Jeddah. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken in February 1909 by Consul N. Scheltema. Tentative identification, from left to right: Tadjoedin, the musician Sayyid Muhammad, the consular employee Mas Muhammad Hasim, Haji Agus Salim. Or. 26.365: OI D.44.
structed by Snouck Hurgronje to make the recordings. The man sitting on the far right is Haji Agus Salim.
The recording machine is the Edison wax-cylinder phonograph No. 47461, then belonging to C. Snouck Hurgronje, and presently to Leiden University Library. When Snouck Hurgronje repatriated from the Dutch East Indies in 1906, he had his recording equipment sent from Batavia to Consul Scheltema in Jeddah (where it arrived in 1908), with instructions to Tadjoedin for the making of all sorts of recordings: music, songs, street noises, religious chant, etc. Later on, the machine and the wax cylinders containing some twelve hours of recordings, were sent to Leiden where in the meantime Snouck Hurgronje had been appointed to a professorship.
The photograph was sent as a postcard to Snouck Hurgronje by Consul Scheltema. On the reverse Scheltema wrote (in Dutch):

Jeddah, 20 February 1909.
Dear Professor, as you can see on the reverse I did succeed in finding Sayyid Muhammad (although it took some trouble). He recorded the song you asked for on three cylinders and they came off pretty well. One of these days I hope to complete the adhān, etc.
With polite greetings, yours faithfully, your obedient servant, N. Scheltema.'

The original recording machine and the sound which was recorded (possibly the oldest known sound from Arabia) are kept in the sound archives of the Legatum Warnerianum, in Leiden University Library. It is known that Tadjoedin also made recordings in Mecca, but the scene shown here is probably in Jeddah, as Consul Scheltema had been instrumental in finding the musician.

1 The sound on the wax cylinders was digitized in 1996 by the Phonogram Archiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. The present description has been mainly derived from the text written by Jan Just Witkam for the website: http://ub.leidenuniv.nl/bc/.scaligerinstitute/collections/previous.html

The photograph was probably taken between 25 January and 23 March 1911, possibly by Consul N. Scheltema, with the aid of a self-timer. Haji Agus Salim and Consul Scheltema are on the roof of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah, making astronomical observations in a project aiming at the determination of the geographical latitude and longitude of Mecca and Jeddah. Or. 26.365: OI D.31.
37a. *An astronomical observatory in Jeddah I*

Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, postcard. 7.4 x 6.9 cm (13.9 x 8.8 cm), white border. Or. 26.365: Ol D.31.

On the reverse, in the hand of Snouck Hurgronje, in pencil: ‘Ontv. van Scheltema. 2/6 11’.

The photograph was probably taken between 25 January and 23 March 1911, possibly by Consul N. Scheltema, with the aid of a self-timer.

Haji Agus Salim and Consul Scheltema are on the roof of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. Haji Agus Salim is looking through a universal-instrument. Scheltema sits ready to note observations in a notebook. On the crate, used by Scheltema as a table, stands a thermos. In front of the crate stands a lantern and a bottle of wine more than half empty. Both men wear dark clothes, apparently winter wear.

The activities of the two gentlemen document a project to exactly determine the geographical latitude and longitude of Mecca and Jeddah. In the summer of 1910, during his leave, Consul Scheltema practiced the use of the instruments at the ‘Leidse Sterrenwacht’ (the Observatory of Leiden). After his return to Jeddah he started his measurements in the beginning of November 1910. However, one of the instru-

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1 This is the small Universal-Instrument Pistor & Martins No. 905 manufactured in Berlin. The instrument was borrowed by Scheltema from the Technical University of Delft. It is now in the University Museum of Utrecht (presently inventory No. UUM 1651). The instrument was used for the astronomical determination of positions by way of measurement of the height of the sun (during the day), or the stars (at night).

This same instrument had been used, a few years earlier, by Samuel Pierre L’Honoré Naber (1865–1936), an officer in the Royal Dutch Navy, for his observations for the determination of the exact border between Liberia and French West Africa (see S.P. L’Honoré Naber & J.J. Moret, *Op Expedite met de Franschen. Reisherinneringen aan de Fransch–Libraansche Grensregelings-Expeditie in de jaren 1908 en 1909*, Den Haag (Mouton & Co) 1910).
37b. An astronomical observatory in Jeddah II. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, postcard. The photograph was probably taken between 25 January and 23 March 1911, possibly by Consul N. Scheltema with the aid of a self-timer. Haji Agus Salim and Consul Scheltema are on the roof of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah, making astronomical observations in a project aiming at the determination of the geographical latitude and longitude of Mecca and Jeddah. Or. 26.365: Ol D.43.
ments (the chronometer) broke down on 2 December. He had to order a new one, and he could only resume his work on 25 January 1911. The measurements were completed on 23 March 1911.1 The result of the observations for the Ka‘bah in Mecca as obtained by Scheltema and Haji Agus Salim is Lat. 21°25′18″4 N (± 2″1) and Long. 39°50′59″.2 E. The result for Jeddah (Mecca-gate), was 21°29′5″.5 N (± 2″7) and Long. 38°24′4″.2 (± 4″4) E. As Scheltema could not enter Mecca, the Meccan observations were done by Haji Agus Salim alone. The latter made also a great number of observations on the road from Jeddah to Mecca, a stretch which he covered on foot, while counting his steps.

37b. An astronomical observatory in Jeddah II
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, glued on cardboard of the same size, postcard. 13.9 x 8.8 cm. Or. 26.365: OI D.43.
Caption on the reverse, written in ink, by Consul N. Scheltema: ‘Astronomical observations (!) te Djeddah’.
As the previously discussed photograph, the present photograph was probably taken between 25 January and 23 March 1911, possibly by Consul N. Scheltema with the aid of a self-timer.


I am most grateful to Dr. Robert H. van Gent who provided me with all technical information and the references to the relevant literature concerning Scheltema’s observations.
38. The family of Haji Agus Salim. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken before June 1911 by an unknown photographer, possibly Haji Agus Salim. The Arab wife of Haji Agus Salim with their daughter sitting on her lap, is at the far right. The two other women are her sisters, with two of their children. Or. 26.365: OI D.30.
The photograph is almost identical to the previous one except for the fact that both gentlemen now wear light-coloured clothes (summer wear?), and that the wine bottle is empty. Consul Scheltema looks away from Haji Agus Salim, contrary to what he did on the previous photograph. It is probable that he looks into the camera. It is not certain, however, that the present photograph was taken on exactly the same day as the previous one.

38. The family of Haji Agus Salim
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 8.4 x 8.8 cm. Or. 26.365: OI D.30.
The photograph was taken before June 1911 by an unknown photographer, possibly Haji Agus Salim.
Three women and three children can be seen in a room. The wife of Haji Agus Salim with their daughter sitting on her lap, is at the far right. The two other women are her sisters, with two of their children.
It is known that Haji Agus Salim married an Arab woman when he lived in the Hijāż, but the date of marriage is not known. Their daughter died in infancy. It is not known whether Haji Agus Salim brought his Arab wife with him, when he repatriated to the Dutch East Indies. The framed photograph hanging above Haji Agus Salim’s wife shows the staff of the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. It is the same photograph as No. 30, above.

VARIOUS IMAGES OF A LATER DATE

39. King ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn Sa‘ūd after his eye operation
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 15.8 x 11.4 cm. Or. 12.288: CSH J.2.

1 His hand was identified with that of his letters in the Snouck Hurgronje Archives in Leiden University Library (Or. 8952).
39. King ‘Abd al-‘Azîz Ibn Sa‘ûd after his eye operation. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The central figure is sitting in an easy-chair. He is King ‘Abd al-‘Azîz Ibn Sa‘ûd. Behind him the operating surgeon. The obese man on the left is Shaykh Hâfiz Wahba, acting Prime Minister, but originally a professor at al-Azhar University. The thin man on the right is an engineer with the Zubaydah-pipeline. Next to him stands the Egyptian director of the hospice in Mecca. The tall, dark man on the left is the Royal Chauffeur. Or. 12.288: CSH J.2.
Hafiz Wahba, ungeveer eerste Minister, v. afkomst prof aan de Azhar. – Magere rechts ingenieur Zoebaida-leiding. Daarnaast Eg. directeur Takija te Mekka. – Lange donkere type links, koninkl. chauffeur die mee aan tafel zit met den democr. Wahhabieten-koning. –

The photograph was taken in 1926 by an unknown photographer in the courtyard of the royal palace in ar-Riyād. A group of men is seen. The central figure is sitting in an easy-chair. This is King ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, better known as Ibn Sa‘ūd.

The caption on the reverse of the photograph reads: ‘Ibn Sa‘ūd after the eye operation. Behind him the operating surgeon. The obese man on the left is Shaykh Hāfiz Wahba, acting Prime Minister, but originally a professor at al-Azhar University. The thin man on the right is an engineer with the Zubaydah-pipeline. Next to him stands the Egyptian director of the takīyyah (hospice) in Mecca. The tall, dark man on the left is the Royal Chauffeur who sits at the same dining table as the democratic Wahhabite-King’. Snouck Hurgronje must have received the photograph at some stage from Daniël van der Meulen.

40. Inside the Royal Tent
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 16.9 x 11.8 cm. Or. 12.288: CSH J.3.

Caption on the reverse, written in pencil, by Daniël van der Meulen (same hand as on previous photograph): ‘In de koninkl. tent te Mekka; in ’t midden (het blanke type) Faisal na’ib oel Malik, Gouv. v. Mekka. links jongere broer nog zonder functie groot liefhebber van paard- en auto rijden. Geheel rechts een paar kleine prinsjes. – The photograph was taken in the late 1920s by an unknown photographer. A large tent is shown, with on the left side a group of men squatting on the ground, their rifles at hand. They are probably soldiers, or
40. Inside the Royal Tent at Mecca. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken in the late 1920s by an unknown photographer. In the centre Prince Faysal, Governor of Mecca. At the left a younger brother. At the right some young princes. Or. 12.288: CSH J.3.
guards. On the chairs are the notables. Van der Meulen’s caption on the reverse reads: ‘In the royal tent at Mecca; in the middle (the man with the pale face) Vice-Roy (Nāʾib al-Malik) Faysal, Governor of Mecca. At the left a younger brother, still without a function, a great lover of horse- and car riding. At the right some young princes’. Snouck Hurgronje must have received the photograph at some stage from Daniël van der Meulen.

**41. Portrait of Muhammad Nasīf in Jeddah**

Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 14 x 8.4 cm (14.6 x 9.2 cm), darkened border. Or. 12.288: CSH J.t4.

Caption on the reverse, written in pencil, by Daniël van der Meulen (as on the previous photographs): ‘Prof. Snouck. – Mohammad Nasīf op de jawn oel ’id. Djeddah. April ’27’.

The photograph was taken in Jeddah on Monday 1 Shawwāl 1345 (4 April 1927), possibly by Consul Daniël van der Meulen.

The interior of a café is shown. The man at the right is Muhammad Nasīf, who is being served coffee by a young boy. In the background another man is looking on.

Muhammad Nasīf was born in Jeddah in 1884 in a rich merchant family. He was famous for his collection of manuscripts and books which eventually consisted of more than six thousand volumes, and which included a collection of local newspapers. He was also host to many important visitors of Jeddah, both royals such as King Ibn Saʿūd and foreigners such as T.E. Lawrence (who wrote his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* in Jeddah), but he is also known to have assisted destitute pilgrims. The books collected by Muhammad Nasīf are now in Jeddah’s University Library, and the family home, where the books were originally kept, the so-called ‘Nasīf-house’, is now a museum and restaurant. It is one of the nicest examples of the old Jeddah-style built houses, of which nowadays only few remain. Muhammad Nasīf died in the late 1960s, or the early 1970s.

The caption on the reverse, in the hand of Daniël van der Meulen reads: ‘Professor Snouck, Muhammad Nasīf on Yawm al-‘Īd, Jeddah, April 1927.’
41. Portrait of Muhammad Nasīf (1884 - late 1960s, or early 1970s) in Jeddah. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken in Jeddah on Monday 1 Shawwāl 1345 (4 April 1927), possibly by Consul Daniël van der Meulen. Muhammad Nasīf was born in Jeddah in 1884 in a rich merchant family. He was famous for his collection of manuscripts and books. Or. 12.288: CSH J.14.
Snouck Hurgronje must have received the photograph at some stage from Daniël van der Meulen.

42. The Dutch Consulate building, Jeddah 1926
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, from an album. 10.7 x 7.8 cm (10.9 x 8 cm), small white border. Or. 12.288: CSH B.25.
This and the following photograph are pasted in an album, presented on 27 June 1927 by Dr. D.G.W. van Voorhuyzen to Snouck Hurgronje. The dedication on the first leaf of Or. 12.288 B reads: ‘Aan Prof. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, ter erkentelijke herinnering aan vriendelijke ontvangst, wordt dit album met foto’s genomen tijdens bezoek aan kustland van Arabië, anno 1926, hoffelijk aangeboden door Dr. D.G.W. van Voorhuyzen [...]’
Caption on p. 25 of the album: ‘Het Nederlandsche Consulaat’.
The photograph was taken in March 1926 by Dr. D.G.W. van Voorhuyzen.¹

¹ Dr. Dirk Gerrit Weigardus van Voorhuyzen, was born in Rotterdam on 25 October 1888, and died in The Hague on 21 April 1942. He was an ear, nose and throat specialist who worked in the Dutch East Indies. In 1926, on his voyage back to Holland for leave, he stopped over in the Hijāz where he made a considerable number of photographs. The present album, containing some of his photographs, was presented by him in 1927 to C. Snouck Hurgronje. Van Voorhuyzen describes his journey in a letter, dated 29 June 1927 (now in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive, Or. 8952).

This building is not identical with the one in photograph No. 29, above. It is clearly less beautiful and elaborately built.
On the right of the photograph, against the wall of the Consulate, the coffee-house which is fully shown on the next photograph (No. 43, below), is partly visible.
42. The Dutch Consulate building, Jeddah 1926. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, from an album. The photograph was taken in March 1926 by Dr. D.G.W. van Voorthuysen. Or. 12.288: CSH B.25.
43. A coffee house in Jeddah, 1926
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, from an album. 10.7 x 8 cm (10.9 x 8.2 cm), small white border. Or. 12.288: CSH B.26.
Caption on p. 26 of the album (about which see the previous photograph): 'Koffie club naast Nederl. Consulaat.'
The photograph was taken in March 1926 by Dr. D.G.W. van Voorthuysen.
Part of a street, or rather a passage-way between two buildings, is shown which is used as a simple coffee house. It is covered with cloth or rush-mats, under which tables and benches are placed. In the centre a man is making coffee, or perhaps preparing a water-pipe. There are two customers. To the left is the wall of the Dutch Consulate, in the background is a row of Jeddawi houses.

44. The pharmacy and outpatients clinic of the Dutch Vice-Consulate in Mecca

The photograph was taken in the early 1930s by, or at the request of, Dr. Abdoel Patah, as part of a larger collection, all documenting medical aspects of life in the Hijāz. The Sundanese physician Abdoel Patah was born in Bandung (West-Java), and worked from 1926 till 1933 as a medical officer attached to the Dutch Vice-Consulate in Mecca. The book in which Abdoel Patah’s photograph was published is his Leiden Ph.D. thesis, which he defended in the course of 1935. The original photographs are small snapshots with typewritten captions.

A room is shown, the backside of which is separated from the front part by a screen. This is probably the part where the outpatients clinic is situated. The front part functions as a pharmacy as can be seen from the bottles and scales. In the front room stand two Dutch East Indians posing. The man on the right, who is dressed in white may be the doctor (would he be Dr. Abdoel Patah himself?), the man on the left may be the pharmacist.

The Netherlands was the only non-Islamic
44. The pharmacy and outpatients clinic of the Dutch Vice-Consulate in Mecca. Halftone. The original photograph was taken in the early 1930s by, or at the request of, Dr. Abdoel Patah, as part of a larger collection, all documenting medical aspects of life in the Hijaz. The book in which Abdoel Patah’s photograph was published is his Leiden Ph.D. thesis on the medical aspects of the pilgrimage, which he defended in the course of 1935.
country that was represented in Mecca by a Vice-Consulate. It must have been established before 1912 since Raden Aboe Bakar was appointed Vice-Consul in Mecca in that year.1 The original photographs of Abdoel Patah, showing, among other things, the Dutch Vice-Consulate in Mecca, were temporarily unavailable and could not be included in the present publication. Instead, the published image from Abdoel Patah's thesis were used.

45. Arthur Neervoort van de Poll
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, from an album. 7.8 x 10.8 cm (8.2 x 11 cm), small white border. Or. 12.288: CSH B.41.
From the same album as photograph Nos. 42 and 43, above. The caption on p. 41 of the album reads: 'A. Neervoort van de Poll. –'.
The photograph was taken in the harbour of Jeddah in March 1926 by Dr. D.G.W. van Voorthuysen.

Mr. Arthur Neervoort van de Poll is shown here, wearing a white pair of knickerbockers, dark-coloured knee socks, a light-coloured shirt, a white turban, and sunglasses. He is talking to another man, wearing a turban, who stands beside him. They are both on board Mr. Neervoort van de Poll's yacht 'Knikker' which is more fully shown in the next photograph (No. 46).

Not very much is known about Arthur Neervoort van de Poll. He was born in Amsterdam in 1891, the third son to a wealthy family. As a young man he left The Netherlands and settled in Jeddah in 1911. He was an employee of the English trading firm Robinson, but soon he bought out his partners and continued the firm under his own name, Van de Poll.2 In 1915 he converted to Islam. His business went exceedingly well. He obtained the sugar import monopoly from King Husayn b. 'Alī, but soon

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1 See also the commentary to photograph No. 25a, above.

2 He hardly ever used the first part of his family name, Neervoort, and is always succinctly named 'Van de Poll'.
45. Arthur Neervoort van de Poll (born 1891), in Jeddah, 1926. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, from an album. The photograph was taken in the harbour of Jeddah in March 1926 by Dr. D.G.W. van Voorthuysen. As a young man he left The Netherlands and settled in Jeddah in 1911. His business went exceedingly well. Or. 12.288: CSH B.41.
he left the daily business to his assistants. He was not very popular with Europeans nor with Arabs. He had a reputation of being adventurous, opportunistic and noisy. In 1920 he lost the sugar monopoly. He was also agent for the Netherlands Trading Company (NHM) and equally for some Dutch shipping companies which were active in the transport of pilgrims. His rather steep commission on each pilgrim transported secured him a continuous and stable income. After the conquest of the Hijāz by Ibn Sa‘ūd, Arthur Neervoort van de Poll imported motorcars (and was with that a direct competitor to Philby), electricity generators, textiles, and other articles, whereas the Netherlands Trading Company (NHM) gradually began to operate as the first bank in Saudi Arabia. Neervoort van de Poll sold his firm in 1931 and left for Algeria. However, in 1934 he was back again in Jeddah and started to work for the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate. It is not known when and where he died.

46. The yacht of A. Neervoort van de Poll
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, from an album. 10.8 x 7.8 cm (11.1 x 8 cm), small white border. Or. 12.288: CSH B.40.
From the same album as photograph Nos. 42, 43 and 45, above. The caption on p. 40 of the album reads: ‘Het jacht van A. Neervoort van de Poll.’ The photograph was taken in the harbour of Jeddah in March 1926 by Dr. D.G.W. van Voorhuyzen.
A large motor vessel, named ‘Knikker’ (meaning ‘marble’) is shown. A man is standing on the bow. Another man is standing at the rail. This may be Daniël van der Meulen, the Dutch Consul in Jeddah at the time. He is identified by the black beard. He is facing, or talking to, three men in a sunbuk that lies alongside.

SAUDI PRINCES VISIT THE NETHERLANDS, 1926, 1932, 1935

47. Prince Faysal visits Rotterdam, 1926
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 24.4 x 19.3 cm (25.3 x 20.2 cm), white border.
The original photograph is kept in the Municipal
46. The yacht of A. Neervoort van de Poll. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper, from an album. The photograph was taken in the harbour of Jeddah in March 1926 by Dr. D.G.W. van Voorthuysen. A large motor vessel, named ‘Knikker’ is shown. The man standing at the rail may be Daniël van der Meulen, the Dutch Consul in Jeddah at the time. Or. 12.288: CSH B.40.
47. Prince Faysal visits Rotterdam, 1926. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken on Saturday 16 October 1926 by an unknown press photographer. The man in the middle is Prince Faysal, immediately recognizable because of his Arabic clothes and his characteristic features. On his left side are the mayor of Rotterdam, Mr. J. Wytema, and the secretary of the mayor, Mr. James. On the right side of Prince Faysal are the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Ibn Sa'ūd, ‘Abdallāh Damlūjī (wearing a western-style suit), and the Dutch Consul in Jeddah, Mr. Daniël van der Meulen. Gemeente archief Rotterdam, Inventory No. 1971-525, negative No. AJ-699-12.
The photograph was taken on Saturday 16 October 1926 by an unknown press photographer. A group of five men is posing in a room, in front of a mantelpiece. The man in the middle is Prince Faysal, immediately recognizable because of his Arabic clothes and his characteristic features. On his left side are the mayor of Rotterdam, Mr. J. Wytema,¹ and the secretary of the mayor, Mr. James. On the right side of Prince Faysal are the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Ibn Sa‘ūd, ‘Abdallāh Damlūjī (who is wearing a western-style suit), and the Dutch Consul in Jeddah, Mr. Daniël van der Meulen. In October 1926, Prince Faysal, the third son of Ibn Sa‘ūd, visited The Netherlands. He visited Rotterdam in the morning of Saturday October 16th. He arrived at the station Delftse Poort (as the central station was called before the Second World War) at c. 9:30 hrs., then visited the City Hall, made a tour through Rotterdam harbour and left the city around 11:30 hrs.

See for further details of this visit the chapter especially devoted to the subject, above.

48. Prince Faysal and his Dutch hosts, The Hague 1926

Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 29.5 x 20.9 cm (30.4 x 21.4 cm), white border. The original photograph is kept in the Municipal Archive of The Hague (Haags Gemeente Archief).

The photograph was taken on Saturday 16 October 1926 by an unknown press photographer. The Dutch government had invited Prince Faysal and his retinue for lunch. The present photograph illustrates the final moment of that

¹ Johannes Wytema was born in Appingedam (Groningen) on 30 May 1871. He studied law and political sciences, and after his studies he worked as a civil servant in Assen, Schiedam and Haarlem. He was appointed mayor of Dordrecht on 20 April 1920, which function he held till he was appointed mayor of Rotterdam on 15 September 1923. This function he occupied till the day he died, on 11 July 1928.
48. Prince Faysal and his Dutch hosts, The Hague 1926. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken on Saturday 16 October 1926 by an unknown press photographer. Front row, from left to right: Mr. J.A.N. Patijn, the mayor of The Hague; Monsignor W.H. Nolens, Minister of State and Member of the Dutch Parliament; Dr. J.C. Koningsberger, the Minister of Colonial Affairs; Prince Faysal; Mr. H.A. van Karnebeek, the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. ‘Abdallāh Damlūjī, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hijāz; Mr. Th. Heemskerk, Member of the Dutch Parliament, president of the political party ARP, and Minister of State. The second row, from left to right: Mr. Daniël van der Meulen, the Dutch Consul in Jeddah; Mr. G.A. Scheltus; Mr. L. Carsten; Mr. A.E. Fadl, the private secretary of Prince Faysal; Mr. J. Schokking, Member of Parliament and president of the political party CHU: Professor Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje; Mr. J.C.E.C. Rendorp; Mr. J.C.A. Everwijn, the director of the Dutch bank, ‘Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij’ (NHM); Mr. A.M. Snouck Hurgronje, the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr Th. van Voorthuysen; Mr. Th. Koster; Mr. R.H. de Vos van Steenwijk. Haags Gemeente Archief.
event. The Arab guests in their traditional dress stand in the midst of their formally dressed hosts.

In the front row are shown, from left to right:
Mr. J.A.N. Patijn,\textsuperscript{1} the mayor of The Hague;
Monsignor W.H. Nolens,\textsuperscript{2} Minister of State

\begin{enumerate}
\item Jacob Adriaan Nicolaas Patijn was born in Rotterdam on 9 February 1873. After his study in The Netherlands he went to Paris (École libre des sciences politiques). Later he worked both in the diplomatic service, and in other governmental functions. On 1 October 1911 he was appointed mayor of Leeuwarden (Friesland), which function he held till he was appointed mayor of The Hague on 1 October 1918. This function he occupied till 1 October 1930. From 1 October 1937 till 10 August 1939 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs. He died in The Hague on 13 July 1961.
\item Wilhelmus Hubertus Nolens was born in Venlo (Limburg) on 7 September 1860. He studied theology, philosophy, law and political sciences, and after his studies he worked as a priest and a teacher. He was a Member of the Dutch Parliament from 3 October 1913 till the day he died, on 27 August 1931. On 22 August 1923 he was appointed Minister of State.
\item Jacob Christiaan Koningsberger was born in Hazerswoude (Zuid-Holland) on 17 January 1867. He studied mathematics and physics, and after his studies he worked as a teacher in botany and zoology, and from 1894 till 1919 in several functions in this same field in Buitenzorg, Java. He was appointed Minister of Colonial Affairs on 8 March 1926, which function he held till 10 August 1929. He died in The Hague on 19 March 1951.
\item Theodorus Heemskerk was born in Amsterdam on 20 July 1852. He studied law, and after his
\end{enumerate}
Parliament, president of the political party ARP, and Minister of State.
In the second row are seen, from left to right:
Mr. Daniël van der Meulen, the Dutch Consul in Jeddah;
Mr. G.A. Scheltus;
Mr. L. Carsten;
Mr. A.E. Fadl, the private secretary of Prince Faysal;
Mr. J. Schokking, the Member of Parliament and
president of the political party CHU;
Professor Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje;
Mr. J.C.E.C. Rendorp;
Mr. J.C.A. Everwijn, the director of the Dutch bank, ‘Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij’ (NHM, Netherlands Trading Company);
Mr. A.M. Snouck Hurgronje, the Secretary

studies he worked as a lawyer from 1876 till 1901. He was Minister of Internal Affairs from 1908 till 1913, in the years 1908 till 1918 he was several times acting Minister of Colonial Affairs, and acting Minister of Justice. From 1918 till 1925 he was Minister of Justice. From 1925 till 1929 he was president of the parliamentary party ARP, and from the same time onwards Member of Parliament till the day he died on 12 June 1932. On 27 August 1926 he was appointed Minister of State.

1 Jan Schokking was born in Amsterdam on 10 May 1864. He studied theology and law, and after his studies he worked as a vicar from 1895 till 1901, and from 1909 till 1918. He was a Member of Parliament from 1901 till 1909, and from 1918 till 1932, with a short interruption when he served as Minister of Justice, from 1925 till 1926. At the same time he was a member of the Provincial States of Zuid-Holland, from 1918 till 1925, and from 1927 till 1932. And he was a member of the Provincial Executive of Zuid-Holland from 1920 till 1925. He acted as president of the parliamentary party CHU from 1921 till 1925. In 1927 he was appointed mayor of Katwijk (Zuid-Holland), which function he occupied till 1932. Then, from 1932 till 1940, he was member of the Council of State. He died in The Hague on 15 July 1941.

2 Aarnout Marinus Snouck Hurgronje was born in The Hague on 24 September 1882. He studied
General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr Th. van Voorthuysen; Mr. Th. Koster; Mr. R.H. de Vos van Steenwijk.

49. Prince Faysal arrives at the Royal Palace at the Noordeinde, The Hague 1932
Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 29.5 x 20.4 cm (30.4 x 21.6 cm), white border. The original photograph is kept in the Municipal Archive of The Hague (Haags Gemeente Archief).
The photograph was taken on Tuesday 17 May 1932 by an unknown press photographer. Prince Faysal is sitting in an open coach, holding his sword. Opposite him sits a man in a uniform, the chamberlain and Master of Ceremonies of Queen Wilhelmina, baron Van Hardenbroek van Hardenbroek. The coach stands in a courtyard and part of the Palace can be seen in the background. The coach is surrounded by a Dutch guard of honour. According to the newspaper reports the coach was pulled by four horses, and it was escorted by a guard of honour of around a hundred men of the 2nd Regiment of Hussars. The coach was followed by two other coaches, in which the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hijāz, Fuʻād Bey Hamzah, the former Dutch Consul in Jed-dah, Daniël van der Meulen, the secretary of the Prince, Shahīr as-Sammān (or as-Samūrah'), and the aide-de-camp of the Prince, Khalid al-Ayyūbī, were seated.
When the procession arrived at the ‘Noordeinde’ Palace they were waited upon by another guard of honour of around one hundred men, this time of the Grenadiers. The Royal Military

law, and then worked as a civil servant in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from 1907 till 1948. He was the Ministry’s Secretary-General from 1921 till 1941 and from 1945 till 1948. From 1948 he was secretary of the International Court of Arbitration till the day he died in The Hague on 26 March 1951. Though a namesake of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, he was only remotely related to the latter.

1 The alternative spellings of his name are based on the Dutch newspapers’ accounts of the visit.
Band played, by lack of an Arabian national anthem (or they did not know it?) an old Dutch song ‘The Young Prince of Friesland’.

After Prince Faysal had alighted from the coach he inspected the guard of honour, before entering the palace.

See for further details of this visit the chapter especially devoted to the subject, above.

50. Prince Saʿūd visits Leiden University Library, 1935

Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. 23 x 16.8 cm (24.4 x 17.9 cm), white border. Or. 8952: Photo Archive A.1.

The photograph was taken on Thursday 13 June 1935 by an unknown press photographer. Six men are walking on the entrance of the University Library, at the time situated on the Rapenburg, Leiden’s main canal. The tall man wearing glasses is Prince Saʿūd, at his left side walks Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje. Behind them walk Fuʿād Bey Hamzah, the minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hijāz, and Professor A.J. Wensinck, Snouck Hurgronje’s successor as professor of Arabic. ¹ Behind them walks one of the two bodyguards of the Prince. The man behind him is not known. On the street, outside the gate a car and chauffeur can be seen.

A few minutes after the present photograph was taken, the visitors and their hosts posed in front of the entrance of the University Library.

¹ Arent Jan Wensinck was born in Aarlanderveen (Zuid-Holland) on 7 August 1882. He started first to study theology, but after one year changed his studies in Semitic Languages, first in Utrecht, later in Leiden. After his studies he worked as a teacher and lecturer, and in 1912 he was appointed professor of Hebrew at Leiden University. In 1927 he succeeded Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje as professor of Arabic, Syriac, and Islamology. He was actively involved in the publishing of the Encyclopaedy of Islam, first edition (published 1913–1938), and the Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane, Leiden (E.J. Brill) 1936–1988. He died in Leiden on 19 September 1939, only 57 years old.
50. Prince Sa‘ūd visits Leiden University Library, 1935. Silver gelatine developing-out-paper. The photograph was taken on Thursday 13 June 1935 by an unknown press photographer. The tall man wearing glasses is Prince Sa‘ūd, at his left side walks Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje. Behind them walk Fu‘ād Bey Hamzah, the minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hijāz, and Professor A.J. Wensinck, Snouck Hurgronje’s successor as professor of Arabic. Or. 8952: Photo Archive A.1.
That photograph is better known, as it has been published at several occasions.¹
See for further details of this visit the chapter especially devoted to the subject, above.

51. View of Jeddah by Evert Jan Ligtelijn
Oil paint on board, 49 x 37.5 cm, framed. Signed E.J. Ligtelijn, and designated: ‘Jeddha’ (right hand, below). Private collection, Leiden.
A street view of old Jeddah, painted in impressionist style, showing a street with houses and a few people in the street. A minaret is visible on the left hand. It is impossible to determine the exact location which was the painter’s inspiration. Old Jeddah has only been partly preserved in the present-day old city, and sixty or seventy years ago there may have been many more traditional street scenes than the few that can be seen today.
Evert Jan Ligtelijn (Amsterdam, November 13, 1893 – Laren, December 26, 1975) lived and worked in Amsterdam, in Naarden until 1937, in Amsterdam until 1954, in Gorssel, Amstelveen and again in Amsterdam. He travelled many times abroad (Canaries, Central-, South- and North America). In painting he was mostly an autodidact.² He is not known to have travelled to the Orient, but the same private collection which has this view of Jeddah also has a painting by him of a Japanese landscape. If he has made a trip to the Far East, he almost certainly would have made a stop in Jeddah. If he did not personally visit Jeddah, he may have been inspired by photographs or other images.

¹ KITLV, Photographic Collection, No. 8077.
APPENDIX

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje’s newspaper articles on the three visits of Saudi princes to The Netherlands

Presented by Jan Just Witkam

Introductory remark
This appendix contains Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje’s newspaper articles which were published on the eve of the three visits by Saudi princes to The Netherlands between 1926 and 1935. Snouck Hurgronje had been, for a number of years, a regular contributor of articles on Arab and Islamic affairs in the Dutch press, and it is therefore not surprising that he took up the pen on these occasions as well.

The Snouck Hurgronje Archives in Leiden University Library contain, among many other materials, a collection of cuttings of his journalistic writings. The three articles which follow below were selected for republication for two reasons. First their contents match the final section in the catalogue of images (photographs Nos. 47-50, above) showing Western Arabian encounters from the other direction, in this case not Dutchmen in Western Arabia, but rather princes from the Hijāz coming to The Netherlands. The other reason for republication is the very authorship of Snouck Hurgronje. His name is intimately linked with the half century of relations between The Netherlands and Arabia. This book begins with photographs made with his camera in the late 1880s, and it ends with the images in which his involvement with Arab-Dutch relations can be seen. The fifty-odd photographs which are described in the catalogue were all made by him, by his pupils or friends or were given to him because of his interest in Arab affairs. The greater part of these photographs originate from the Snouck Hurgronje Archives in Leiden University Library.

In the articles Snouck Hurgronje gave his views on the importance of what were then recent events and important developments in Arabia. He commented upon them from his position of a well-informed participant and academic expert. In this capacity Snouck Hurgronje was an important player on the scene of Arab-Dutch relations. An important source for Snouck Hurgronje’s knowledge of current Arabian affairs was the Meccan weekly newspaper Umm al-Qurā to which he subscribed.

Snouck Hurgronje’s articles are not an account of the three visits as such, rather informing the general
public in The Netherlands about the importance of the imminent visits, and they give the Dutch the background information necessary to appreciate the importance of the visits. The reader will, now that these three pieces are juxtaposed, see immediately that there is an overlap between them, and a certain amount of repetition, which is unavoidable.

However, in the interval of nine years between the first and the third visit, progress has taken place as well, and this too emerges from the three pieces that, after such a long time, see the light of day again.

Prins Faisal bin Abdal-Aziez Al-Sa’oed
Het bezoek van den drager van den hierboven prij-kenden naam, den tweeden zoon van Abdal-Aziez bin Faisal Al-Sa’oed, Sultan van Nedjd (Centraal-Arabië) en Koning van den Hidjaaz (de provincie der heilige steden van Arabië), aan onze Koningin maakt den 14den October 1926 voortaan tot een gedenkwaardigen datum voor ons land. Tot dusver heeft, zoover onze herinnering reikt, nog nooit een beheerscher van Mekka en Medina aanleiding gevonden tot het zenden van een gezantschap naar Nederland. Thans heeft de Vorst van bijna geheel Arabië, Bin Sa’oed, zooals men hem gewoonlijk noemt, geheel spontaan aan diengene zijner zonen, die in zijn naam het bestuur over Mekka voert, opgedragen, de hoofdsteden van die Europeesche staten, die hem in zijn dubbele vorstelijke waardigheid erkend hebben, namens hem te gaan begroeten en van zijn vriendschappelijke gezindheid te verze-keren.

De jaren 1924 tot 1926 waren voor het Arabische schiereiland rijk aan groote gebeurtenissen. Koning Hoesein, de laatste Grootseerief van Mekka, uit het geslacht dier roofridders van heiligen bloede, die

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1 The article first appeared anonymously in *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of 14 October 1926, Avondblad D. It was republished in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften*. Deel VI. Leiden (E.J. Brill) 1927, pp. 465-470. The present text was copied by Ms. Dirry Oostdam from the newspaper collection in the Royal Library, The Hague. The version in *Verspreide Geschriften* (VS) contains a few corrections which are noted down in footnotes.

Typographical and grammatical differences between the two versions are not recorded. Some have been corrected in silence.
sinds 1300' Mekka en een deel van den Hidjaaz beheer scht hadden, ontsloeg zich in 1916 van den vier eeuwen ouden band met zijn Turkschen opperheer en proclameerde zich tot koning van den Hidjaaz en van een zoo groot deel van Arabië als zich daarbij mocht voegen. Verschillende kleine en groote gebieders in Arabië waren ongeneigd zich onder zijne vaan te scharen; verreweg de voor naamste tegenstander, dien hij op zijn weg ontkoette, was de Vorst van Nedjd, de afstammeling van dien Centraal-Arabische legeraanvoerders der Mohammedaansche hervorming, die een 125 jaar geleden uit het binnenland opgerukt waren naar de heilige steden, om die te zuiveren van hetgeen in hunne oogen onduldbare afgoderij was, die echter na eenige jaren van hevigen strijd moesten wijken voor de op bevel van den Sultan van Turkije op hen afgezonden legers, en wier nazaten zich sindsdien hadden moeten tevredenstellen met de uitoefening van gezag over een nu eens kleiner, dan wat grooter deel van Nedjd.

Men telde die hervormde Mohammedanen van het Arabische binnenland, die Wahhabieten, zooals men ze naar hun in de achttiende eeuw beroemd

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1 VS: 1200

 geworden leeraar Mohammed bin Abdal-Wahhaab noemde, nauwelijks meer mede; men beschouwde ze in wijde Mohammedaansche kringen als ketters, omdat zij tegen eeuwenoude gebruiken - misbruiken in hunne oogen - hardhandig waren opgetreden en omdat zij de wapenen hadden durven voeren tegen den Turkschen Sultan, destijds door de meesten nog als chalief van den Profeet beschouwd. Aan deze obscuriteit van meer dan een eeuw maakte Abdal-Aziez bin Sa'ood in enkele jaren een einde. Eerst heroverde hij den troon zijner vaderen uit de handen van het concurreerende huis van Bin Rasjied, aan welks bestaan hij een einde maakte, om vervolgens zijn oppergezag over bijna geheel het binnenland van Arabië uit te breiden, overal de wet van den Islam in al hare gestrengheid handhavend, de roofzuchtige Bedoewienen dwingend tot een gezeten, of althans tot een rustig en ordelijk leven. De voortschrijdende hegemonie van Bin Sa'ood kwam noodwendig in conflict met de heerschzuchtige plannen van Koning Hoessein, die zich als den toekomstigen Koning van den geheelen Arabischen Islam beschouwde en zelfs zoover ging van, toen de Turken het chalifaat hadden afgeschaft, den titel van Chalief, Heer der Geloovigen, aan te nemen. Deze ijdele aanmatiging was het begin van zijn val.
In September 1922 namen de troepen van den Vorst van Nedjd het Oostelijk van Mekka gelegen Ta’if, in October Mekka in; Hoesein vluchtte eerst Noordelijk naar Akabah, van waar hij in Mei 1925 „op verzoek” der Engelse regeering zich naar Cyprus inscheepte. Zijn zoon Ali handhaafde nog ruim een jaar lang een schijn van gezag te Djeddah, welk gezag ook te Medina vertegenwoordigd was. Bin Sa’oed belegerde beide plaatsen al dien tijd met onuitputtelijk geduld en onbezingen t,olharding, vast besloten om zoo weinig mogelijk bloed te doen vergieten, moeilijkheden met Europeesche mogendheden te vermijden en geen voedsel te geven aan kwade geruchten, die zijne vijanden in de Mohammedaansche wereld verbreidden, als zou hij de heiligdommen van den Islam aan verwoesting willen prijsgeven.

In December 1923 vielen beide steden in zijne handen en moest de laatste telg van het sjeriefengeslacht, die nog den vorstentitel gedragen had, het land verlaten.

Nog geen jaar lang is dus Bin Sa’oed’s gezag over den Hidjaaz onbetwist gevestigd. Lang genoeg echter om hem te doen kennen als een heerscher van zeldzame politieke begaafdheid. Spoedig na de verovering is hem door de notabelen der bevolking het gezag met den vorstentitel formeel opgedragen. Zorgvuldig heeft hij die waardigheid van het sultanaat van Nedjd gescheiden gehouden, zoodat hij als Koning van den Hidjaaz niet gebonden is aan eenige afspraak, die hij als Sultan van Centraal-Aрабië heeft gemaakt. In eene sedert 17 December 1924 te Mekka verschijnende wekelijkse courant en in een aantal op zijn last uitgegeven geschriften tracht hij de geheele Mohammedaansche wereld ervan te overtuigen, dat hij wel krachtiger dan andere Mohammedaansche vorsten tegen in den Islam ingeslopen misbruiken optreedt, maar dat hij verre is van onverdraagzaamheid, en dat hij zelfs bij de afschaffing van verkeerde gewoonten in zijn eigen gebied de geleidelijkheid niet wil verwaarlozen. Hij onthoudt zich van alle wraakoefening tegen geweven vijanden en handhaaft de ambtenaren van zijn voorganger, die zich naar de nieuwe regelen gewend waren.

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1 VS: 1925.
2 VS: koningstitel.

3 Here the author refers to Umm al-Qurā. His own copy of that newspaper is now in Leiden University Library (class mark: V 3015). No. 1 of this weekly appeared on 12 December 1924.
willen schikken. Toen bij de laatste bedevaart naar aanleiding van zekere, met het overbrengen van het in Egypte geweven nieuwe kleed voor den tempel van Mekka gevoegd gaande gebruiken tusschen de Egyptische troepen, die deze zending vergezeld en de ijveraars uit Nedjd een gevecht had plaats gehad, waarbij verscheidene onderdanen van Bin Sa’oed het leven lieten, haastte hij zich, over dit misverstand de spons te halen, en daarna zond hij zijn oudsten zoon tot het ondergaan van een ooghelekundige behandeling naar Cairo, waar hij al eenige weken als de geeerde gast der Egyptische regeering vertoeft. Bij gelegenheid dierzelfde bedevaart riep hij een Al-Islamcongres naar Mekka bijeen om te beraadslagen over gemeenschappelijke belangen der Mohammedanen, voorloopig bovenal zulke, die met de jaarlijksche bedevaarten samenhangen. Hij had de voldoening, daar afgevaardigden verenigd te zien van Egypte, Turkije, Afghanistan, Zuid-Arabie en ook van vereenigingen uit Britschen en Nederlandsch-Indië. Al werden er nog niet vele belangrijke zaken tot afdoening gebracht, Bin Sa’oed is meer dan iemand doordrongen van de waarheid van het Arabische spreekwoord: „overhaasting is uit den Duivel en geduld is uit God”, en men besloot, deze congressen jaarlijks te herhalen.

Wat misschien meer zegt dan dit alles: Bin Sa’oed heeft in die enkele maanden in geheel het door hem beheerschte Arabië eene mate van veiligheid weten te scheppen, die sinds duizend jaren niet bestaan heeft en die men zich gewend had voor Arabië als onbestaanbaar te beschouwen. Waar vroeger karavanen met militaire dekking niet zonder groot gevaar voor leven en goed konden reizen, daar reist thans een ongewapend persoon zoo rustig als in eenig land van Europa.

Voorts paart dit staatkundige genie aan onverholen godsdienstig conservatisme eene even besliste neiging om gebruik te maken van alle uitvindingen op technisch gebied, die het moderne verkeersleven kenmerken. Hij bejvert zich om het kameel, het trage „schip der woestijn”, als transportmiddel te doen plaats maken voor den automobiel en weldra ook de vliegtuig, heeft noch tegen electrische verlichting noch tegen photographie het vooroordeel, dat men bij Arabieren van denouden stempel pleegt aan te treffen. Hij wil, zooals uit de zending van Prins Faisal blijkt, ook op politiek gebied nieuwe wegen bewandelen.

In de Mekkaansche courant is van dezen nieuwen koers, die allicht bij vele zijner onderdanen verba- zing wekken kan, rekenschap geven. De verschil-
Iende volken, zoo heette het in dit weekblad, hebben in onze tijd meer dan ooit behoefte aan vriendschappelijke aanraking met elkaar. Wanneer Bin Sa’oed zijn zoon, den Goevemeur van Mekka, naar den Koning van Engeland, naar de Koningin der Nederlanden en naar den President der Fransche republiek zendt, om deze staatshoofden te danken voor hunne erkenning van zijn koningschap, dan is dit niet alleen om te voldoen aan een plicht van internationale beleefdheid, maar ook om in het belang van den Hidjaaz en van de derwaarts reizende pelgrims welwillend contact te hebben met bestuurders van groote Mohammedaansche bevolkingen. Bin Sa’oed beschouwt het als een groote politieke fout van zijn voorganger Koning Hoesein, dat deze de hem geboden kans om in den Volkenbond vertegenwoordigd te zijn, vergooid heeft, omdat zekere hersenschimmige wenschen van hem niet aanstonds voldad werden. Hij wil met alle middelen aansturen op een internationale waarborging der politieke neutraliteit van den Hidjaaz als een religieus palladium van den Islam. Het bezoek van Prins Faisal aan alle staten, die Bin Sa’oed erkenden, beteekent dan ook, dat de Koning van den Hidjaaz met allen op gelijken voet wil verkeeren, met handhaving der onafhankelijkheid, die de geheele Moslimsche wereld ten aanzien van dit gebied in stand gehouden wil zien.

Zoolang Bin Sa’oed de teugels van het bewind in handen heeft, zijn de betrekkingen, die hij met de vertegenwoordigers van Nederland - den consul te Djeddah en den Javaanschen vice-consul te Mekka - onderhield, zoo aangenaam mogelijk geweest, zeer ten gerieve van de Nederlandsche onderdanen, die zich door hun godsdienst verplicht achten, de heilige steden van Arabië te bezoeken. De meeste moeilijkheden, die onder het Oud-Turksche regime en onder dat van Koning Hoesein telkens terugkeerden, werden in vriendschappelijk overleg uit den weg geruimd. Het bezoek van Emier Faisal aan ons land kan slechts strekken om die wederzijds zoo welwillende betrekking te bevestigen. Moge de Prins van ons land en zijne bewoners geene andere dan aangename herinneringen naar zijn vaderland medenemen!
Het bezoek van Emier Faisal

door prof. dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje

Maandag bereikten ons land hoog Arabisch bezoek, langs den modernsten weg, den luchtweg. Prins Faisal, zoon van Koning Ibn Sa’oed, komt dan uit Londen op Schiphol aan. Prof. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje vonden wij bereid, nevenstaand artikel te wijden aan de betekenis van dit bezoek.

In October van dit jaar zal het zes jaren geleden zijn, dat Prins Faisal, de tweede zoon in leven van Koning Abdal-Aziez bin Abdar-Rahmân Aal-Faisal Aal-Sa’oed, gewoonlijk Ibn Sa’oed genoemd, onze Koningin en Hare Regeering een bezoek kwam brengen. Toen was het nog geen twee jaren geleden, dat Ibn Sa’oed zijne gebiedsveroveringen in het Arabische schiereiland ongeveer tot hare tegenwoordige grenzen had uitgebreid, dat deze Emier

van Riaad, die in 1908 het erf zijner vaderen aan de overweldigende hand van zijne mededingers had ontrukt, zich geleidelijk eene positie had weten te scheppen, die enkele jaren later hare juiste uitdrukking vond in den toen door hem aangenomen titel van Koning van den Hidjaaz en van Nedjd en Onderhoorigheden.

Ibn Sa’oed zette uit den aard der zaak het werk zijner doorluchttige vaderen voort, d.w.z. hij dwong de door hem onderworpen Arabische stammen tot het strenge naleven van de voornaamste voorschriften van den Mohammedaanschen godsdienst in dien rigoristischen vorm, die door de buitenwereld meestal naar den naam van den beroemden Nedjdie-tischen leeraar uit de achttiende eeuw (Mohammad ibn Abdal-Wahhaab) het Wahhabietisme wordt genoemd. Allerlei gewoonten, die volgens deze puriteinsche opvatting als bijgelooft gelden werden door hem afgeschaft. Aan de bloedige stamoorlogen en rooverijen, die sedert eeuwen de Arabieren onderling verdeelden, alle rustig verkeer in het schiereiland onmogelijk maakten en leve en have der bedevaartgangers naar de heilige steden voor- durend bedreigden, maakte hij in korten tijd een einde. Het doel, dat de stichter zijner dynastie in het einde der achttiende eeuw slechts had weten te

1 The article appeared De Telegraaf, Sunday 15 May 1932 (Eerste Blad - p. 1). It was illustrated with a photographic portrait of Prince Faisal. The present text was copied by Ms. Dirry Oostdam from the newspaper collection in the Royal Library, The Hague.
benaderen, werd door hem bereikt. 
De vrees, die aanvankelijk door velen gekoesterd werd, dat de Wahhabietische legerscharen zich door fanatisme zouden laten verleiden om, nadat zij geheel Nedjd en den Hidjaaz onder hunne tuucht hadden gebracht, naburige Moslimsche landen te veronrusten, heeft zich niet bewaarheid. Bij elke gelegenheid heeft Ibn Sa’oed getoond, niets liever te willen dan met zijne buren, den Imaam van Jemen, den Koning van Irak, den Vorst van Transjordanië in vrede en vriendschap te leven, en met verderaf gelegen Mohammedaansche landen welwillende betrekkingen te onderhouden. Wat meer zegt: Ibn Sa’oed is onder de beheerschers van het Heilige Gebied van den IslAm, en onder de vorsten van Arabië de eerste geweest, die van den aanvang van zijne regering af met alle kracht de vriendschap van Europeesche regeringen heeft gezocht. Dat hij in 1926 Prins Faisal, destijds reeds Gouverneur van Mekka en, bij afwezigheid van zijn vader, diens stedehouder in den Hidjaaz, naar Europa liet reizen om aan de staatsheerschen van Engeland, Nederland en Frankrijk brieven van zijn vader te overhandigen, geschiedde, naar de vaak gebezigde Arabische term luidt, „ter versterking der vriendschapsbanden”. Behalve deze drie landen, was toen Rusland de eenige te Djeddah officieel vertegenwoordigde Europeesche staat. Sindsdien zijn Duitschland, Italië, Zwitserland en Polen daarbij gekomen, om niet te spreek van het vriendschappelijk verkeer van Ibn Sa’oed’s regering met andere Mohammedaansche landen, zoals Turkije, Perzië, Afghanistan en zelfs Egypte, al heeft de verwijdering van dit laatste land nog niet geheel voor broederschap in den IslAm plaats gemaakt. De Arabische Koning heeft nu gemeend, die later tot stand gekomen Europeesche vriendschappen met evenveel waardeering te moeten begroeten als hij in 1926 jegens Engeland, Nederland en Frankrijk had betoond. Maar dan sprak het voor zijne Oostersche beleefdheid vanzelf, dat zijn vertegenwoordiger tevens aan de oudere vrienden de hernieuwde verzekering zijner oprechte genegenheid ging aanbieden.

Die vertegenwoordiger is ook nu Prins Faisal, die sinds eenigen tijd met het ambt van Gouverneur van Mekka en den Hidjaaz dat van minister van Buitenhuisde Zaken verbindt. In de waarneming dezer laatste functie wordt hij ter zijde gestaan door een kundigen Directeur, den heer Foe’aad Hamzah, die een paar Europeesche talen spreekt en die uit zijn Syrische vaderland de noodige bedrevenheid in den omgang met Europeanen heeft medegebracht.
Tot ons leedwezen vernemen wij, dat dit tweede bezoek veel korter zal duren dan het eerste, toen de Prins ongeveer een week in Den Haag vertoefd heeft en van daar uit, ondanks minder gunstig weer, verschillende uitstapjes heeft gemaakt. De bijzonder intieme relaties, die de dubbele Arabische monarchie met ons land onderhoudt, zouden anders er toe uitlokken om den Prins en Zrjn gevolg een aantal Nederlandsche inrichtingen te verloonen, waarmede de kennismaking wellicht voor zijn land van eenig nut zou kunnen zijn. Men vergete niet, dat de eenige te Djeddah toegelaten bankinstelling eene Nederlandsche (het kantoor der Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij) is; dat het bacteriologisch laboratorium te Djeddah door een Nederlandsch arts werd ingericht; dat de koning de geologische opname van den Hidjaaz aan een Nederlandsch geoloog zou hebben opgedragen, indien men het over de condities eens had kunnen worden; dat op het oogenblik een Nederlander als financieel adviseur bezig is een onderzoek in te stellen naar de financiële levensvoorwaarden van den Hidjaaz. Moest zich dit tweede bezoek van Prins Faisal niet tot een paar dagen bepalen, dan zou het voor de hand liggen, het hooge gezelschap iets te laten zien van hetgeen Nederland zou kunnen bijdragen tot verbetering der toestanden op het gebied der luchtvaart en der Marconi-stations in Arabië, beide onderwerpen, die bij Ibn Sa’oed de hoogste belangstelling vinden. Het reusachtige schiereiland van Arabië is in de laatste jaren op een keerpunt zijner politiek en economische ontwikkeling gekomen, en de mogelijkheden, die zich daar, juist voor een klein land als het onze, openen, worden ten onzent in veel te engen kring eenigermate ingezien. Zelfs dit vluchtige bezoek van den Arabischen Prins-Minister kan indirect medewerken om dezen en genen op te wekken tot overweging der vraag: wat kunnen Nederlanders bijdragen om dat enorme gebied tot ontginning te brengen?

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Wanneer Koning Ibn Sa’oed, of ook wanneer Prins Faisal eene der steden van zijn gebied bezoekt, dan wordt hij altijd bij zijne aankomst begroet door een of meer dichters, die opzettelijk voor de gelegenheid vervaardigde Arabische gedichten, qasiedahs, voordragen. Hoe gaarne zouden wij den jongen vorst, wanneer hij in den middag van Maandag 16 Mei op Schiphol nederdaalt, in eene klinkende qasiedah de vriendschappelijke gevoelens zijner Nederlandsche gastheeren vertolken! De Arabische
dichtkunst stelt echter aan talent en bedrevenheid bijzonder hoge eischen: in Nederland, en ik durf wel zeggen in geheel Europa zal men vergeefs iemand zoeken, wiens product op dit gebied genade zou vinden in de oogen, ik zeg niet van den Arabische dichter-vorst al-Moetanabbi, maar zelfs in die van den minsten zijner tegenwoordige epigon in Hidjaaz of Nedjd. Zelfs het talent van nabootsing van den qasiedah-vorm in eene Europeesche taal schijnt met Friedrich Rückert ten grave te zijn gedaald, en bovendien zou al de genegenheid, die Prins Faisal ons vaderland toedraagt, niet voldoende zijn om hem eene Nederlandsche qasiedah te doen genieten. Wij moeten het dus laten bij een prozaïschen, maar zeer hartelijken welkomstgroet: Ahlan wasahlan wamarhabâ!*)

*) Een moeilijk letterlijk te vertalen, maar nog steeds algemeen-gebruikelijke oude Arabische welkomstgroet.
(Nadruk verboden)

De troonopvolger van Sa’oedija naar Nederland

doctor Prof. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje

Het aanstaande bezoek van den oudsten der levende zonen van den koning, die meestal bij verkorting naar den stamvader van zijn geslacht Ibn Sa’oed genoemd wordt (eigenlijk Abdal-Aziez ibn Abdar-Rahmaan Aal Faisal Aal Sa’oed) maakt het wellicht voor velen gewenscht, de herinnering aan enkele hoofdzaken uit de geschiedenis dezer jonge monarchie nog eens op te frissen.

1901 was voor den toen ongeveer 20-jarigen Abdal-Aziez een gewichtig jaar. Hij leefde toen met zijn vader buiten zijn vaderland als gast bij den Emier van Koeweit daar het den Emier van Ha’il, Ibn Rasjied, gelukt was, de familie Sa’oed uit het erf harer vaderen te verdrijven, waarna hij dat gedeelte van Nedjd van de hoofdstad Riaad uit door

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1 The article appeared in De Telegraaf, Sunday 9 June 1935. Ochtendblad, Eerste Blad - p. 3. It was illustrated with a photographic portrait of Ibn Sa’oed. The present text was copied by Ms. Dirry Oostdam from the newspaper collection in the Royal Library, The Hague.
een stadhouder liet besturen. Abdal-Aziez deed nu, in het eerste jaar dezer eeuw, met een kleine troep volgelingen een vermetelen, nachtelijke aanval op die bezetting van Riaad, en dat was voor hem het begin, niet slechts van herovering van het kleine gebied, dat zijn geslacht na den val van het Wahhabietische rijk in de eerste jaren der 19de eeuw had weten te behouden, maar van het geleidelijk herstel van dat oude rijk in zijn vollen omvang.
De sjeichs van Bedoevestam, de emiers van de verschillende staatjes of oasen moesten de een na den ander het oppergezag van onzen krijgsheld erkennen; niet weinig droeg daartoe de omstandigheid bij, dat hij aan zijn veroveringstochten het karakter van „heiligen oorlog” wist te geven: het was hem, niet minder dan den stichter der Wahhabietendynastie 1¼ eeuw tevoren, te doen om hervorming in den geest der Mohammedaansche wet, van het veelszins daarvan afwijkende leven der bevolking van Arabië.

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Het duurde niet lang, of Ibn Sa’oed kon zich heer, weldra Koning van Nedjd en Onderhoorigheden, d.w.z. van nagenoeg het geheele binnenland van het Arabische schiereiland noemen; ook aan de macht van de heeren van Ha’i, de Ibkn Rasjied’s maakte hij voor goed een eind. Gebeurtenissen, die met den wereldoorlog samenhangen, brachten Ibn Sa’oed voorts in een tamelijk langdurig conflict met den laatsten der sjeriefen van Mekka, die zich als Koning Hoesein van de Turksche souvereiniteit had losgemaakt, en het einde van dien strijd was de verovering van den Hidjaaz, de heilige provincie van den Islaam, door Ibn Sa’oed, waardoor hij nu sinds 1925 den titel aannam van Koning van den Hidjaaz en van Nedjd en Onderhoorigheden, en deze dubbele monarchie, gerekend naar de hulpmiddelen, die hem ten dienste stonden op bewonderenswaardige wijze wist te besturen.
Voor zijn Nedjdiërs bleef hij de bevorderaar van een terugkeer tot den Islaam der oudste tijden. In enkele maanden schiep hij in zijn reusachtig gebied, waar duizend jaren lang anachorie, roof, onveiligheid hoogtrij gevierd hadden, een nergens ter wereld overtroffen toestand van veiligheid voor verkeer. Na zijn verovering der heilige steden valte hij zijn taak als gastheer der pelgrims uit alle Mohammedaansche landen zoo verdraagzaam op als de gezindheid zijner wel iets fanatieke schriftgeleerden van Nedjd het maar gedooogde.
Met zijn naaste buren, Iraak en Transjordanië, waar zoons van den door hem verdreven Koning Hoesein den scepter voerden, gelukte het hem, na eenige jaren van gespannen verhouding, een tractaat van vriendschap te sluiten. Verleden jaar gaf een grensgeschil met Jemen (Zuidoost-Arabie) aanleiding tot een eigenaardigen oorlog, waarin Ibn Sa’oed als winnende partij zich zoo-toegefelijk mogelijk gedragen heeft, zoodat ook hier een verdrag ten vrede en vriendschap het besluit vormde.

Met minstens evenveel ijver als waarmee hij de meest puriteinsche, ouderwetsche opvatting van den Islaam in zijn vaderland handhaft, tracht deze geniale vorst dat land van alle nieuwigheden op technisch gebied te laten profiteren, die het maar betalen kan. De duizenden auto’s, die Arabië doorkruisen, doen het langzame „schip der woestijn”, het kameel, een gerveldige concurrentie aan. Telegraaf en telefoon, Marconistations, electrische verlichting, photographie winnen alle onder Ibn Sa’oed steeds meer veld, en op handige wijze heeft hij de gemoedsbezwaren, vooral van zijn Nedjdiërs, tegen al dat nieuws onschadelijk weten te maken, hij, die geenerlei modern onderwijs heeft genoten, die opgegroeid is in een Arabisch sfeer van de meest bekrompen soort.

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De Hidjaaz, Mekka en Medina, bestaan van hetgeen de bedevaart der Mohammedanen van de geheele wereld hun aan directe en indirecte voordeelen oplevert. Indien die vreemdelingen, alvorens toegelaten te worden, zich aan een onderzoek naar hunne orthodoxie volgens de door Ibn Sa’oed vertegenwoordigde richting moesten onderwerpen, zouden slechts weinigen aan de eischen voldoen; ja, de Moslims van landen als Turkije en Perzië zouden nauwelijks enige kans hebben. De Koning, als wijs econoom, heeft van den aanvang af zijn poorten voor allen, die zich Moslims noemen, wijl opengezet en verlangt alleen, dat de bezoekers zich tijdens hun verblijf in het Heilige Land in acht nemen voor het geven van aanstoot aan zijn bevolking. Met al die landen is Ibn Sa’oed bereid, op voet van gelijkheid tractaten van vrede en vriendschap te sluiten, en de voornaamste zijn sedert lang door gezantschappen of consulaten te Djiddah vertegenwoordigd.

Wat nog meer zegt: nooit hebben tusschen Arabië en niet-Moslimsche staten zoo hartelijke betrekkin-
gen bestaan als gedurende de tienjarige regeering van dezen als reactionair gedoodverfden vorst. Hij is doordrongen van het inzicht in de noodzakelijkheid der hulp van „ongeloovigen” voor de economische ontwikkeling van zijn land. Men herinnert zich, dat hij zich o.a. tot onze regeering wendde om hulp voor de inrichting van een bacteriologisch laboratorium, voor de regeling van het financieel beheer, voor de geologische opname. Aanvankelijk van oordeel, dat eventuele ondergrondsche schatten van Arabië alleen aan zijn onderdanen, of althans aan Mohammedanen, ter exploitaat gegeven mochten worden, is hij daarvan geheel teruggekomen: het Oostelijk deel der monarchie wordt thans door de California Standard Oil geëxploiteerd, en in het Westen spoort een te Londen gevestigde maatschappij andere mineralen op. In Italië worden thans een aantal jongelieden uit den Hidjaaz tot vliegers opgeleid. Onder geen vroeger régime heeft onze vertegenwoordiging te Djiddah (eerst consulaat, nu gezantschap) van de lokale autoriteiten eene medewerking ondervonden, die ook maar geleek op de tegenwoordige.

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Met al die wijze maatregelen ter verzekering van gewenschte betrekkingen met het Mohammedaansche en niet-Mohammedaansche buitenland en ter ontsluiting van bronnen van welvaart voor het land, moest eene verveiging van het eenhoofdig gezag over de vaak sterk van elkaar verschillende deelen der bevolking gepaard gaan. Eerst werden enige pogingen gedaan tot verzet tegen den nieuwen meester met onverbiddelijk geweld, maar, eenmaal gebroken, met zacht beleid verijdeld. Vervolgens had de veroveraar er naar te streven, de bevolkingselementen zijner dubbele monarchie tot één natie saam te smelten. In 1932 werd die unificatie formeel voorbereid door een decreet, waarbij de dubbele naam der monarchie: de Hidjaaz en Nedjd en Onderhoorigheden, die de gedachte aan een tegenstelling levendig hield, in den enkelvoudigen van Sa‘oedietisch Arabisch Koninkrijk (bij verkoeling: Sa‘oodja) werd veranderd, waardoor tevens hulde werd bewezen aan den vorst (Sa‘ood) die in het einde der 18e eeuw het eerste Wahhabietische rijk had gegrondvest. Dit decreet deed zich voor als het antwoord op een uitgelokte, van boven althans aangemoedigde volkspetitie, waarin de nagestreefde eenheid als reeds bestaande werd voorgesteld en om bevestiging van dat feit door de bedoelde naamswijziging dringend werd verzocht.
In die petitie werd bovendien aangedrongen op vaststelling van een voor het geheele rijk geldende staatsregeling en op aanwijzing van een troonopvolger. Die gevraagde bestuursregeling werd in uitzicht gesteld, en de aanwijzing van een kroonprins door den vorst overgelaten aan een commissie van notabelen, die wel wist, in welken zin zij beslissen moest. Zij stelde de benoeming voor van des Konings oudsten zoon in leven, Sa’oed, de Koning bekrachtigde de keus en nu volgde de algemeene huldiging van Emier Sa’oed door eene eindeloze reeks van vertegenwoordigingen van verschillende deelen der bevolking.

* * *

Sa’oed werd geboren in datzelfde jaar 1901, waarin deze door de nachtelijke verrassing der bezetting van Riaad den grondslag legde van zijne macht: de geboorte werd den jongen vader bericht, terwijl hij zich nog te Riaad bevond! Sa’oed is dus 34 (of in Moslimsche maanjaren 35) jaren oud. Hij voert het bestuur te Riaad, wanneer zijn vader te Mekka is, gelijk de ons door herhaald bezoek aan Nederland welbekende tweede zoon des Konings: Faisal Mekka bestuurt, wanneer zijn vader te Riaad is. Beide bestuursfuncties worden waargenomen onder omstandigheden, die de bekleeders niet in staat stellen, te toonen, of zij iets van het geniale talent van hun vader geërfd hebben. Eene persoonlijkheid als die van Abdal-Aziez laat nu eenmaal naast zich geen plaats voor andere politieke talenten om zich te ontwikkelen. Lieden uit de omgeving van Sa’oed zeggen, dat hij op zijn vader gelijkt, in gestalte, in dapperheid en beleid, in kracht gepaard met zachtheid en innemende manieren. Veel, zoo niet alles zal eenmaal voor het Koninkrijk Sa’oedijja afhangen van de thans noodwendige latente eigenschappen van Emier Sa’oed. Voorspellen laat zich te dien aanzien nog niets.

De dubbele monarchie van Abdal-Aziez was nauwelijks geboren, of haar vorst gaf blijk van een levendig verlangen naar goede relaties met Europeesche staten: zoowel in 1926 als in 1932 zond hij zijn zoon Faisal, die wellicht de meeste ervaring in den omgang met Europeanen had, naar de landen, die zich tot geregeld verkeer met het nieuwe Arabische rijk bereid verklaard hadden, waaronder Nederland. Thans vindt hij blijkbaar den tijd gekomen om ook den kroonprins eenige internationale ervaring te laten opdoen. Met een klein gevolg, waaronder assistent-minister van Buitenlandsche
Zaken Foe’ad Hamzah, die ook Emier Faisal bij zijn tweede bezoek aan ons land begeleidde zal Sa’oed Italië, Frankrijk, Nederland, Engeland en Zwitserland bezoeken. Hij wordt hier ’s avonds van den tweeden Pinksterdag verwacht en schijnt voor-nemens, ongeveer vijf dagen in ons land te blijven. Zijn bezoek is iets minder officieel dan indertijd die van Faisal, die bijv. een brief van zijn vader voor de Koningin meebracht. Toch zal Sa’oed als gast der regeering in het Hotel des Indes logeeren. Dit is eerst de tweede maal, dat Sa’oed voor korte tijd Arabië verlaat; de eerste maal was het voor een verblijf van enkele weken in Egypte, waar hij zich onder behandeling stelde van een oogarts. De Egyptische regeering, met welke overigens de officiele betrekkingen van Sa’oedijja nog altijd te wenschen overlaten, heeft hem toen als een geëerde gast in een paleis gehuisvest.

Geen der zoons van Ibn Sa’oed heeft eenig modern onderwijs genoten. Dit brengt ondermeer het bezwaar mee, dat de Koning, hoe meer zich zijne buitenlandsche relaties uitbreiden, des te meer behoefte heeft aan geïmporteerde ambtenaren, op welke hij zich natuurlijk slechts tot zekere hoogte verlaten kan. De toekomstige positie van Emier

Sa’oed zal daardoor niet gemakkelijk worden. De Koning zou op deze bedenking met de vraag kunnen beantwoorden: zou ik hetgeen ik deed, beter gedaan hebben, indien ik wat Europeesch schoolonderwijs genoten had? Voor hem was met recht „het leven de school van het leven”, maar wordt zulk een politiek genie wel tweemaal achtereen in hetzelfde land, laat staan in dezelfde familie geboren?

Emier Sa’oed’s bezoek is, volgens officiele courant van Mekka, bedoeld als een middel om de bestaande banden van vriendschap tussen de beide landen nog te versterken. Moge dat doel bereikt worden!

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1 See Umm al-Qurā, No. 545 (17 May 1935), p. 1. An account of the visit can be found in Umm al-Qurā No. 550 (14 June 1935), p. 2 and No. 551 (20 June 1935), p. 2.
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*Umm al-Qurā* (weekly). Mekka 1924-. [Leiden University Library class mark: V 3015]

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**Index of class-marks**

(with reference to the numbers of this catalogue. Not included are the class-marks mentioned in the captions of the illustrations).

Abbreviations:
CSH = C. Snouck Hurgronje
NINO = Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabij Oosten
OI = Oosters Instituut

Note that the latter two abbreviations have been added to some of the Leiden Oriental class-marks (with the prefix Or.), so that their previous ownership is indicated. The ownership of the photographs was transferred to Leiden University Library in 1996. C.E.S. Gavin, *The King Fahd Archives* [...], Cambridge (Mass.) c. 1984, refers to the old numbers.

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