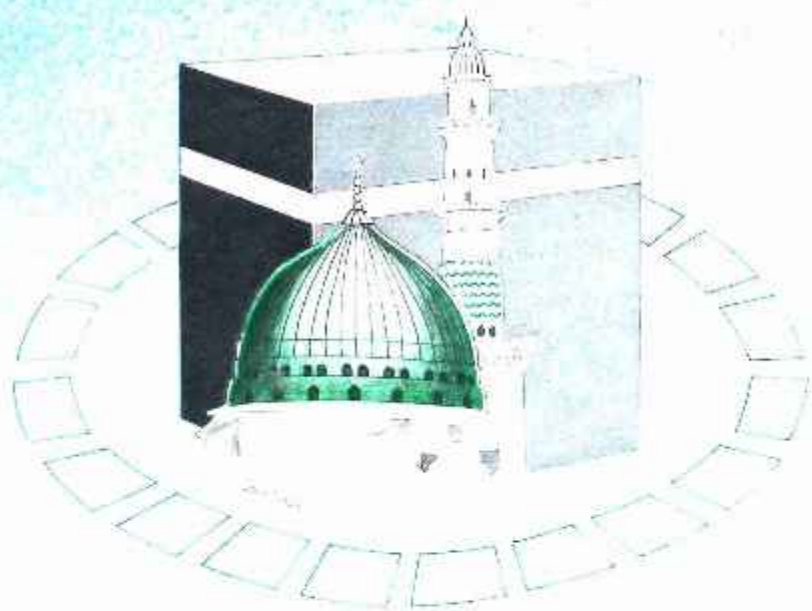


HAJJ IN FOCUS



Editors
ZAFARUL-ISLAM KHAN
YAQUB ZAKI

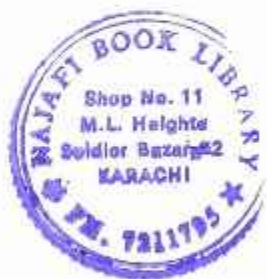


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Hajj in Focus



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Foreword

The Hajj inevitably reflects the state of the *Ummah*. Today's prevailing maladies of the Muslim world are ethnicity, nationalism and sectarianism under the overall cover of secular systems created through the west's colonial dominance. Instead of bringing Muslims together for the exchange of ideas and the common pursuit of the pleasure of Allah, the Hajj, in the hands of the self-proclaimed 'Guardians of the Holy Places', has lost most of its significance. A situation obtains in which these Holy Sites, formerly the partimony of the entire *Ummah*, have become the private property of a ruling family.

Part of the blame must be laid at the door of modern civilization. The Hajj has increased in quantity and declined in quality. In the old days *hujjaj* from distant parts of the Muslim world would take years to arrive at their goal, sometimes even pausing to take employment *en route*; today pilgrims arrive and are dispersed in the course of a few days. One of the salient features of Muslim civilization, and a factor conducive to its cultural cohesiveness, was its trade routes. Islam inherited from antiquity the principal trade routes of the world: there was no way by which the west could trade with the east without passing through territory controlled by Islam. Ideas, too, travelled along these routes. The pilgrims made use of the same routes, as formerly the only way one could travel was by caravan. On their way to Makkah the *hujjaj*, and particularly the scholars among them, would teach and exchange ideas among themselves. A process of cross-fertilisation ensured that the Muslim world would never be stagnant. Scholars in each part of *Dar al-Islam* were kept informed of the intellectual ferment and currents of ideas in all the others. Makkah itself represented the greatest concourse because it was there that the convergence took place: routes, ideas, new and novel theories in the spheres of philosophy, literature and the sciences all converged on this single focus. Never at any time a political capital of Islam, Makkah always had the status of an intellectual capital; scholars and thinkers would take up residence there for a few years of their lives, their doors always open to the seeker after the truth.

Visa restrictions and the rapidity of modern communications

preclude such a thing today. Nevertheless, no invention or discovery is good or bad in itself; it is the use that is made of it that makes it so. The very slickness of modern communications could also have been utilised to transform Makkah into the foremost seat of learning for the entire *Ummah*. No effort in this direction has been made.

Modern history shows secularism to be the handmaiden of ethnicity. Since man cannot survive without an identity, the only alternative to Islamic identity is a racial one. To command the allegiance of its citizenry a State needs to be constructed around some organizing principle: it is this principle that supplies the State with its ideology. The secular regimes that sprang up amidst the ruins of the Caliphate neglected Islam and promoted counter ideologies. In Saudi Arabia, despite an Islamic veneer, the situation has been fundamentally no different from elsewhere. The result is that Islamic monuments and sites, treated for centuries with the respect due to their sacredness, became the private property of a particular family. Thus we have seen in 60 years of Saudi tutelage over the Hijaz a senseless orgy of destruction followed by an equally senseless one of rebuilding, development and reconstruction in which the sacred status of these sites is discounted and the profit motive alone is taken into account.

Since such sites no longer count as the common property of the *Ummah*, the *Ummah* is not only not consulted but is actually discouraged from taking any interest in their physical or spiritual welfare. The Hajj, far from being an annual parliament of the Muslim world, is degraded into a series of rituals. The ritualisation of the Hajj and the systematic evacuation of all its conceptual content, are both part of the modern process of secularization. To explore these issues the Muslim Institute held a four-day world seminar in London in August 1982. This book is based on papers presented at that seminar.

Kalim Siddiqui

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6 Endsleigh Street
London WC1H 0DS

Sha'ban 5, 1406
April 15, 1986

The Hajj in the context of contemporary history*

By Kalim Siddiqui

Perhaps at no time in my life have I felt a greater burden of responsibility on my shoulders than I do today. This is because I have never before persuaded so many brothers from so many lands to leave their homes and travel across the seas in the name of Islam. And never before have so many brothers responded positively to such a call in so short a time. In my letters to you I have given an outline of the reasons for asking you to come to this least holy of places. I am sure you have undertaken this journey in the true spirit of undertaking a journey in the way of Allah. It is customary for a host to welcome his guests.

But before I say a formal word of welcome to you, allow me first to introduce the hosts to the guests. Your host in London is nominally the Muslim Institute for Research and Planning, its Founder Members who live in all parts of the world, its small staff, and a handful of students. But in fact your host today is the worldwide Islamic movement itself, a movement of which hosts and guests alike are vital parts. Thus all of us together, whether we have travelled from distant lands across the seas or from a London suburb, are guests and hosts at one and the same time. Each of us is a host as well as a guest; no Muslim is a stranger to another Muslim. For Muslims, geographical location has always been an accident of circumstance and never an end in itself. Every place is home to a Muslim. Islam is universal, and Muslims are free of all inhibitions of locality, territoriality and nationality.

The fact that we are only a handful in this room this morning need not worry us very much. It appears to me that every particle in Allah's creation represents the whole. The Islamic

*Full text of Dr Kalim Siddiqui's address of welcome delivered on the first day of the Seminar.

movement represents that part of Allah's creation that is mobilized by Islam and Muslims alone have the historical responsibility and right to do so, to establish good and eradicate evil. In my submission, the relative size of the parts committed to good and evil is not important.

The point I am making here is well illustrated by the history that was made in the Hijaz just 1400 years ago. I refer, of course, to the drama of Revelation and Prophethood and the accompanying struggle between those who accepted revealed truth and those who did not. The course of that struggle, the processes of Revelation and the role of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, are recorded in great detail and are known to all Muslims. I only wish to draw your attention to one particular aspect of that episode when Allah, *subhanahu wa ta'ala*, was completing the message of truth to mankind as a message as well as a living, functioning, reality.

The point I want to make emerges from the scale of the events in the Hijaz and the geographical location itself. The area and arena were at that time a remote, inhospitable and inaccessible part of the world. The number of people living there was very small indeed, even by the standards of those days. The population of Makkah was probably no more than a few thousand, the population of Madinah even smaller. There were few other towns or permanent settlements of any size. In the wilderness of the desert was scattered a nomadic, tribal population. They were a fighting, feuding, warring people immersed in *jahiliyyah*, a form of primitive savagery and ignorance recorded by historians in some detail. Immediately to the north, north-east and north-west of this arid wilderness there were vast areas of fertile valleys, large populations and centres of highly developed civilizations and cultures. If the scientific minds of today could have gone out looking for an area where God's truth would be completed for all time to come, they might have chosen some part of the Mediterranean Basin, Mesopotamia or Persia. Further to the east, India and China also had populations that would be considered 'statistically relevant' for the embodiment of the coming truth. But in His supreme divine wisdom Allah *ta'ala* chose the locale of the Hijaz.

The entire process of Revelation and Prophethood, and its inevitable clash with the existing order of the time took place

over a very small area and involved a relatively small number of people. During the first thirteen years, in Makkah, the message was accepted by only about three hundred souls. At the end after 23 years, the number of Muslims had increased to about 100,000, most of whom had joined the faith during the last two or three years. Having delivered the message and completed its embodiment on the smallest of historical scales in a remote place, Allah *ta'ala* launched it as the message of truth for all mankind and for all time. The message of Islam so transformed the people affected it by that they emerged on the stage of the world as Muslims, and went on to establish the greatest civilization in all history.

In this there is a clear lesson for us: it is simply that truth, once it is accepted by the smallest number of people and established even on the smallest scale, is capable of defeating evil, the centres and powers of evil, the culture and 'civilization' of evil, or the States that embody evil. It has been my belief for a number of years that a global Islamic movement has always existed, that, despite the obvious fragmentation of the *Ummah* at many levels, there still exists a solid unity awaiting to assert itself.

The *wahdah* of the *Ummah*, however, cannot be an abstract value; if it has any meaning and modern relevance it must tackle the fundamental problem of eliminating (one by one or in any other order) all the sources of division that now divide us. This must also mean that, as the sources of division and fragmentation are eliminated, they should be replaced by new and powerful institutional arrangements. The highest institution known in Islam is of course the Islamic State. It follows, therefore, that the Islamic movement must establish a number of new Islamic States and eliminate a number of States that exist today. What this means is that the *Ummah*, acting through the Islamic movement, must redraw the map of the world of Islam, if indeed not the map of the whole world.

I have felt for a number of years that at the present time the Muslims have too many States, the nation-States that emerged from the colonial belly of western imperialism. These States are largely the creation of the colonial powers. Their boundaries and frontiers and their political, social and economic systems serve the goals of global imperialism. The ruling classes that control these States are little more than instruments of a new

and more invidious form of colonialism and exploitation from within. Nearly all these nation-States must be abolished. The Islamic movement must commit itself to the abolition of the present generation of nation-States that divides the *Ummah* in the fashion of a jigsaw puzzle. With these nation-States must also go their ruling classes, their armies, bureaucracies, administrative systems, as well as their social and economic systems and the alien values and lifestyles they represent.

The *Ummah* perhaps needs no more than four or five Islamic States. One in the Far East taking in modern Malaysia, Indonesia, Bangladesh, and parts of the Philippines. A second Islamic State would take in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Palestine and the Arabian Peninsula.

The Muslim areas now colonised by the Soviet Union would join this Islamic State as and when they are liberated. A third Islamic State could take in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, and the States of the northern African coast upto and including Morocco. A fourth Islamic State would include Chad, Niger, Nigeria, Mali, Mauritania and the little 'republics' that are strewn along the western and southern coast of West Africa from Senegal to Gabon. This at present is a highly speculative stretch of the imagination. It does not take into account such other areas as, for instance, Tanzania and Mozambique. There are undoubtedly many other anomalies. Yet the Islamic movement has no choice in the matter. If the *Ummah* is to overcome its present lethargy it has to be presented with a bold and imaginative alternative. I am convinced that the goals of the Islamic movement will have to be defined in some such framework for the future political expression of the *Ummah's* Divine unity and purpose.

Looking ahead, far beyond the immediate present and perhaps also the immediate future, is the surest way of lifting the gloom and depression imposed by the 'reality' that surrounds us. This is precisely the technique of Revelation and Prophethood. I am reminded of the occasion when, still in Makkah and surrounded and almost overwhelmed by his enemies, the Prophet, upon whom be peace, predicted the fall of Byzantium and Persia to Islam. When his uncle, Abu Talib, approached the Prophet with a proposal for a 'just peace' with the Quraish, the Prophet replied that it would be most 'just' for Quraish to accept Allah's message, and ultimately it would bring to them, the Muslims, the empire of Persia. This was, let it

be noted, at a time when the followers of Islam numbered no more than a few dozen and most of them had taken refuge in Abyssinia. Today the Islamic movement, with a 'constituency' of one thousand million Muslims spread over all parts of the world, can, following the Sunnah of the Prophet, justifiably speculate upon the future map of the world of Islam. The future we desire must be firmly based on our past, especially in the Sunnah of the Prophet, in the memory and example of the State of Madinah, and in the imagination of versatile and dynamic Islamic movement that sets out to seek only the pleasure of Allah, *subhanahu wa ta'ala*.

It follows from this that today's Islamic movement must establish a direct and uninterrupted link with the roots and continuing history of Islam. In recent years I have repeatedly argued that the present generation of institutions, governmental and private, that has acquired dominance in Muslim societies represents a clean break in our historical experience. Admittedly, before the colonial period set in, the political, social and economic institutions of Muslim society had been on a course of progressive deviation from the norms established by the Prophet, upon whom be peace, and by the early caliphs and Imams. Nevertheless, before the colonialists began their work of plunder, demolition and destruction it was possible to trace the origins of our institutions, including the States, back to our inheritance from the Prophet of Islam. The origins of the States and institutions we have today can only be traced as far back as the colonial experience and the culture and system of exploitation, corruption, brutality, inequality and depravity that the colonialists let loose upon us in the name of progress and modernization. Today, our societies overflow with western filth and squalor, and our people have, through decades of defeat and failure, lost their poise and confidence in their own ability to reverse this drift to destruction.

Among us there are even some who have lost hope in the future. Many have also come to regard our present condition as permanent, especially in relation to the western civilization and the economic, scientific and technological achievements of the west.

Almost the first task of the Islamic movement, therefore, is to restore confidence and poise to the *Ummah*. This can only be achieved if the Islamic movement adopts an imaginative

programme, the twin pillars of which must be a total commitment to the creation of Islamic States over all areas at present lying in Muslim nation-States' control or under colonial rule, and an equally firm commitment to the rejection, abolition and expulsion of all western influence from our societies. Perhaps these two commitments are essentially the same; neither can be made without the other.

This still leaves unresolved the question of establishing a direct and uninterrupted link with our past beyond the colonial period. The link we seek must be institutional and common to every Muslim, a value and practice that has remained universally effective and participatory throughout these 1400 years. The annual assemblage of Muslims, from all parts of the world in Makkah for the Hajj, undoubtedly is that institutional arrangement Divinely provided by Allah, *subhanahu wa ta'ala*. the Hajj links us not only with Muhammad, but also with the Prophets Ibrahim and Isma'il, upon all of whom be peace. The Hajj spans nearly 4000 years and represents the ultimate commitment of the *Ummah* to its unity and to its recovery from decline and deviation. We need to remind ourselves that the Hajj continued to be performed even during the *jahiliyyah*, the primitive ignorance and savagery, that prevailed in Makkah itself. It was against this backdrop of *jahiliyyah* in the geographical centre of the faith that Allah chose to send his final Prophet and to reveal and complete His message to mankind.

Those of us who have been to Makkah in recent years will testify to the fact that the city is once again in the grip of a form of *Jahiliyyah*. This is the neo-*Jahiliyyah* of secular values, secular institutions, secular political authority, moral corruption, greed and avarice. Nor are Makkah and the Hajj immune from the political chicanery of the 40 or so nation-States that keep the *Ummah* divided, defeated and humiliated at the present time. In January, 1981, the heads of State of these 40 symbols of our subservience to imperialism met together in Makkah and staged a contrived show of their alleged piety. No voice was heard against this misuse of the Haram for the staging of a political show designed primarily to mislead the *Ummah* about the satanic nature of the rulers and regimes who met there, or of the host regime itself. This so-called 'Islamic Summit' was convened there precisely in order to deflect the attention of the *Ummah* from the fact that

Makkah and the Hajj are the true centres and focal points of Islam and of the Islamic Movement alone. The nation-States that are not fortunate enough to have Makkah and Madinah located in their territories try to make up for it by sending highly publicized 'delegations' to perform an official Hajj in the company of Their Majesties and Royal Highnesses.

The Hajj is a great leveller of the distinctions of wealth, position and power. But in today's neo-*jahiliyyah* the wealthy and the powerful maintain their distinction even during the Hajj. The mode of transport, the diversity of accommodation based on commercialism, and even the quality of the cloth used for *ihram*, all go to make for the accentuation of these distinctions. This obscenity reaches its peak around the Ka'aba itself when one of the heads of State performs the *tawaf*. The Ka'aba suffers the indignity of being surrounded by uniformed soldiers carrying arms and wearing boots. An area around the Ka'aba is cleared to allow the rulers of these nation-States 'protection', presumably from their own people, in the House of Allah!

The procedure and ritual of the Hajj are so arranged at the present time that the *hujjaj* return home none the wiser about the true state of the *Ummah*. Nearly two million Muslims gather together in Makkah for the Hajj every year. It is a measure of the success of our ruling classes that this great annual assembly of the Muslims poses no threat to the existing order in the Arabian Peninsula or in the world outside. The meaning and manifestation of the Hajj are totally missing from the manner in which two million Muslims perform the ritual years after year. At a time in history when the whole of Palestine, including Jerusalem, is occupied by Israel, the Hajj comes and goes without any effort made to transform it into an instrument for the motivation and the mobilisation of the *Ummah* to confront its enemies.

If a room in my house were occupied by thugs and thieves, would it be possible for my family to meet in a neighbouring room and disperse without discussing the occupation, its implications, and the steps necessary to throw out the intruders? Would it be possible for me to entertain my family in such a way that no member of the family raised the question of the occupation of the family home? Would it be possible for me to ignore my family and establish cordial relations with the

very people who had occupied part of my house and killed and raped members of my household? If I did so, what should my family do with me? I need hardly answer these questions. The Islamic movement today is in precisely this situation; the Islamic movement is a family that has been robbed of a central part of its inheritance, and those who control the rest do not want their enjoyment of these resources marred by a struggle to regain what is lost. Not one of the 40 nation-States wants to liberate al-Quds. An essential part of their strategy to remain in control and allow the family to meet and disperse without discussion of the central issues is to insist that the Hajj is no more than an annual ritual of 'worship' without any implications for the state of the *Ummah*.

This situation is quite unacceptable to the *Ummah*. Exactly what the Islamic movement should do about it is a question that must be answered soon. What is quite clear is that the present state of affairs must be brought to an end as speedily as possible. The *Ummah* cannot begin to function again as a global goal-seeking community of the Faithful, in control of its own destiny and that of mankind, until such time as its central institutional structures are restored to full health.

The paramount institution of all is of course the Islamic State. We must never lose sight of the fact that the first Islamic State in history was created by the last Prophet, Muhammad, upon whom be peace. Indeed, the first Islamic State emerged as part of the struggle that accompanied the completion of Revelation and Prophethood.

The message in the Qur'an was interwoven in the struggle of the Prophet and his companions. That struggle was also the living embodiment of the message. The outcome of that struggle was the Islamic State. The Islamic State is an inseparable and invaluable part of the totality of Islam. It may be significant to note that Allah *ta'ala* did not declare the completion of the *deen* of Islam until after the Islamic State had been firmly established and made dominant in its immediate environment.

The Islamic State is the Muslims' natural habitat, and their dependence on it is as complete as that of fishes on water. If Muslims survive without the Islamic State they survive only like fish in a bowl or an aquarium. The nation States where Muslims live today are aquaria in which Muslims are denied their freedom. The Islamic State is the sole instrument of freedom.

The only freedom that has any meaning to a Muslim is the freedom to live and die for Islam under Islamic authority. Any attempt to produce a model of Islamic practices that allows Muslims to opt out of the struggle is an attempt to restrict the impact of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Any State, even if established by Muslims in the name of Islam, that is dependent for survival on the traditional enemies of Islam cannot be counted an Islamic State. And no State that relies upon any form of nationalism for its legitimacy can at the same time claim to be Islamic.

The task of restoring to the *Ummah* its central functional institutions must begin with the Islamic movement's commitment to converting the entire world of Islam into a limited number of Islamic States. No Islamic movement that takes a geographically limited view of its role is entirely Islamic. Ten years ago, when a group of us began to meet here in London to consider the state of the *Ummah* and what, if anything at all, we could do about it, we came to some conclusions that were written up as the Draft Prospectus¹ of the Muslim Institute. It is a relatively short document, perhaps no more than 300 words in length, but it took us nearly two years to formulate, debate and write. When we decided to publish it we were so tentative in our approach that the final product was still entitled a 'draft'. The document reviewed the situation of the entire *Ummah* and said that the institute we proposed to set up would attempt once again to reformulate the intellectual and institutional framework at the level of the *Ummah*. We then said that we were going to work towards the mobilisation of the resources of the Muslims in the pursuit of the collective goals of the *Ummah*, and we also insisted that the Muslim Institute must not be founded by an exclusive group from any one geographical, national, or ethnic part of the *Ummah*. The Muslim Institute must attract members from all parts of the *Ummah*.

Today we have 800 Founder Members in all parts of the world. We are small, very small. But we have chosen to be small because we have been conscious of the *Sunnah* and the method of the first Islamic movement led by the Prophet Muhammad. That method is to get it right, insist on what is right, even if what is right were to be rejected by the vast

majority. Having got it right and having got it small, the technique exemplified in the *Sunnah* is to keep plugging away, probing the environment. Ten years ago we expected that it would be between fifty and a hundred years before a breakthrough relevant to the entire *Ummah* occurred on the stage of history. The main reason for our pessimism was that the movements of our time that claimed to be Islamic lacked the worldview of Islam. Their programmes, activities, and methods failed to challenge the existing reality, the nation-States, and the post-colonial regimes and their political, social and economic structures. Some of these movements were, and still are, content with playing out their roles as national or regional political parties. They seek and receive generous patronage from their own nation-States as well as other similar States that wish to deceive the *Ummah* in the name of Islam. We took the view that this type of 'Islamic' party could hardly be an instrument of the fundamental and total change that was required after the ravages of the colonial period. But it appeared to us then that this type of 'Islamic' party would remain in vogue for some considerable time to come. Our task was to keep hacking away at them and pointing out the hallmarks of a true Islamic movement. We expected to be at this stage which, in the light of subsequent experience, we may now call the 'pre-revolutionary' stage, for a generation or two. But, as we know, the Islamic movement in Iran, of which we had little knowledge or understanding, has catapulted the entire *Ummah* into a post-revolutionary period.

In the last three years I have written and spoken a good deal on the subject of the Islamic Revolution.^{2, 3} I do not propose to dwell on the subject here at any length, except to say that I have been deeply touched by the transparent *taqwa* of the leadership of the Islamic Revolution. It is their *taqwa* and humility that has captured for them the minds, hearts and souls of the people of Iran. It is also this *taqwa* that has enabled them to overcome the campaign of murder, war and sabotage that the imperialist powers and their local agents have let loose against the forces of Islam. This *taqwa* and humility have also exposed the false commitment to Islam that the western-educated, liberal soft-centre carried in the Revolution. Bani-Sadr and his like could not match the *taqwa* and humility of the *ulama* of Iran. The Islamic Revolution and the

Islamic State demand a degree of commitment and sacrifice that only true *muttaqeen* can produce.

The imitators of *taqwa* soon fall by the wayside, as indeed they have done in Iran.

The other features of the Revolution that have made a deep impression upon us are the total mobilisation of the Muslim masses of Iran in the Islamic movement and the absence of a western-style political party framework. The power of the mobilised masses has been repeatedly tested by the counter-revolutionaries, in collusion with the enemies of Islam outside. The point that has been made beyond any doubt is that the superior organization and technology of domestic despots and invading enemies are no match for the power of the Muslim masses mobilized under a *muttaqi* leadership; and mobilized masses have acquired for the Islamic State of Iran a degree of independence in both domestic and foreign relations that is quite unknown in the framework of modern political science and international relations. One has only to look at the abject subservience and impotence of other Muslim States to appreciate the power of a truly Islamic State and the impact an Islamic State has on its environment. The Islamic State, because it is the instrument of Allah's will on earth, has an ability to deal with Satanic powers that no secular State can match. These qualities the Islamic State of Iran has demonstrated in such measure that even its most stubborn opponents have had to concede that this is unique in Islamic history since the days of the Khulafa' ar-Rashideen.

During recent visits to the Islamic State I have become aware of something else. It is that the undoubted *taqwa* of the leadership has filtered through to all levels of the society. From the earlier days of the Revolution there has been a commitment to restructure the social, economic and political order of the country at all levels, but this is a long task and could never have been achieved all at once. This has been repeatedly acknowledged by Imam Khomeini. Being Islamic has never meant being perfect. Imam Khomeini has insisted repeatedly that this is only the beginning of the Islamic Revolution and that the emergence of an Islamic State with a completely Islamic social, economic and even political order will take a long time. Two years ago, speaking at a seminar in London, I argued that the Islamic State that emerges after an hiatus lasting hundreds of

years would only be a 'primitive model' of the ideal. But once even an approximate model has come into existence and has survived the initial and inevitable onslaught of the enemies of Islam, a breakthrough has been achieved. This is manifestly so in the case of the Islamic State of Iran. The commitment to restructure the society at all levels has also survived the blandishments of the 'right' and 'left' of the westernised elite created by the imperialist culture. The miracle, however, is that the undoubted *taqwa* of the leadership has transformed the Muslim masses ahead of the restructuring of the social order. The revolutionary process and the wars of internal subversion and external invasion have closed any remaining gaps there might have been in the mobilisation of the masses and the leadership. The same processes have infused among the people of Islamic Iran all the attitudes and behavioural norms of a *muttaqi* society. The most common manifestation of this *taqwa* at all levels is the burning desire among people to attain *shahada*. The second most visible manifestation of social *taqwa*, if I may coin a phrase, is the near universal return to *hijab* of the Muslimahs of Islamic Iran.

At this point I crave your indulgence to make digression into western political science. The Christian theological doctrine of 'original sin' has found expression in the Hobbesian view of man. According to Thomas Hobbes, man is by nature evil, aggressive, selfish and brutish. Human life, unless protected by a political Leviathan, is 'nasty, brutish and short'. This proximity of theological doctrine and secular thought is no accident. The claim of western scholars that they are now 'free' thinkers — free, that is, from the 'superstition and ignorance' of religion — is quite unjustified. The fact is that Christian thought, especially in the area of assumptions about the nature of man, is still dominant. More recent thinkers such as Max Weber have held the view that a 'society is held together by its inner conflicts'. There is a school of thought in western universities today, often referred to as behaviourism, that maintains that social conflict is a positive factor in any society.⁴ Whether a society is actually held together by its inner conflicts or not, the important thing is that western observers of western societies think it is. The question that arises for us is, what holds an Islamic society together? For many years I wondered over this question. The obvious answer would appear to be that an Islamic society is

held together by the power of the Islamic State and by the people's allegiance to the Khalifa or the Imam. But this answer never quite satisfied me, though the Islamic State and allegiance to the Leader are obviously part of the answer. Having seen the social order, as it is taking shape in Iran today, I have found the answer I had been seeking for many years. The answer to the question — what holds an Islamic society together? — is that an Islamic society is held together by its inner *taqwa*. The Islamic State and its Khalifa or Imam are the higher manifestations of *taqwa*. Political authority in Islam emerges from the *taqwa* of the Muslims and in turn becomes the instrument and protector of that *taqwa*. This formulation is also useful in another important area. It is essential for us to be able to draw clear distinctions between ourselves and western civilization. Many Muslims today are persuaded in to believing that modern western societies reflect 'Islamic values' because of some superficial resemblances.

What we have to understand clearly is that no 'good' that is imbedded in evil held together by its inner conflicts is 'good' any more. It is certainly not worthy of the attention of the Muslims. Muslims have to restructure their own societies. Societies based on capitalist or communist philosophies and such negative concepts as inherent conflicts among men and classes have nothing in common with Islam or Muslims. Their goals and values are diametrically opposed to Islam.

The emergence and consolidation of an Islamic State, led by an Imam and held together by *taqwa*, has implications for the Islamic movement to which we must now turn our attention. The first point we need to note again is that Islam in Makkah made little headway until it became manifested in the State of Madinah. It is an erroneous impression left in most minds that immediately upon his arrival in Madinah the Prophet, upon whom be peace, became the unchallenged ruler. The fact is that there remained in Medina many enemies of Islam, including the *munafiqin*. The early years in Medina were marked by what we would today call continuous counter-revolutionary activity and repeated invasions by *jahiliyyah*. But once the Islamic Movement had been reinforced by an Islamic State, it made rapid progress. The point at which the Islamic State becomes part of the Islamic Movement is, therefore, a major turning-

point in any period of history.

There are, however, some differences that need to be noted immediately. The primary difference is that the *Ummah* today numbers one thousand million and occupies vast areas of the world, whereas the Islamic State is confined to the frontiers of the former Iranian nation-State and has a population of less than 40 million. The second difference is that the Islamic movement and the Islamic State are not opposed exclusively by the *kuffar* and their military and political organizations; a major source of opposition to Islam comes from Muslims themselves. The Muslims who are opposed to the Islamic movement and the Islamic State often also display some common attributes of personal piety, such as observing prayer-times and fasting. But, although engaged in praying and fasting these Muslims are careful to deny that Islam has any further role to play in the making of human history. They take the view that the scientific and technological advances of the west have finally proved that Islam cannot match their achievements. According to them, Islam's role is limited to personal piety alone. They say that the wider role of the Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be peace, was forced upon him by the circumstances of the time. Today, they argue, the democratic, scientific and technological civilization of the west allows 'religious freedom', and therefore Muslims do not need to be opposed to them. They go further, and argue that it is in fact a duty of the Muslims to work with the west. This is also the view of the rulers of the Muslim nation-States. Indeed, this is the view originally formulated by the colonial powers and propagated among the Muslims through Muslim 'leaders' who served their colonial masters.

These Muslims are today the champions of regional and State nationalism. It is significant that the first full-scale physical invasion of the Islamic State was mounted from Iraq in the name of Arabism. The invasion was financed to the tune of US\$40 billion by the other Arab States, some claiming to be 'Islamic' as well. These States and their ruling classes are prepared to accept — indeed *have* accepted — the existence of a US-zionist State in Palestine, including the occupation of al-Quds, but they are not prepared to accept the emergence of an Islamic State or the free functioning of an Islamic movement.

The only 'Islamic' activity they allow is one that plays a supportive role to the nation-States and their secular regimes. Some cosmetic 'Islamisation' is allowed to give the nation-States a fraudulent 'Islamic' gloss. Thus the Islamic movement and the Islamic State are opposed by powerful and entrenched interests within the *Ummah*, a situation which did not exist at the time of the Prophet's State. A situation arose immediately after the demise of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, when some tribes refused to pay *zakat* to the Islamic State. The Caliph, Abu Bakr, immediately waged war on such tribes. In history these wars are known as the Wars of Apostasy. Again, the difference is that the tribes that revolted against the authority of the Islamic State had lived within the territory of the State; today most Muslims opposing the Islamic State do not live in the Islamic State.

I have argued before that Islam came as a movement and has always been a movement.⁶ At times it has been a movement without a State, as in Makkah, then a movement entirely organized as a State, as in Madinah under the Prophet, upon whom be peace, and under the Khulafa' ar-Rashideen. At present there exists a global but diverse Islamic movement.⁶

Within the last three years there has come into existence a new Islamic State. The relationship between the Islamic State and the Islamic Movement ought to be so close as to make each part of the other. At present, for reasons I do not propose to go into at the moment, the two have yet to develop a deep *rapport*. Perhaps this is because, just as the Islamic State in Iran is still only a rough approximation to the original Islamic State so the Islamic movement outside Iran is only a rough approximation to the original Islamic movement. Perhaps both State and movement continue to include within themselves influences from their recent past that obstruct the development of the harmony that ought to exist between them. This is an area that needs close examination at the level of the State as well as at that of the movement. The impact of the Islamic State will remain restricted until such time as the harmonization between the State and the Islamic Movement has proceeded much further than is the case at the present time.

These differences between the situation 1400 years ago and the situation today require us to develop an overall strategy

within the framework of the *Sunnah*.

But the cornerstone of any such strategy must be a partnership between the Islamic State and the Islamic movement. The Islamic movement is the essential link between the modern Islamic State and those Muslims living outside the Islamic State. The Islamic State is also the leading-edge of the Islamic movement; it represents mobilized resources committed to Islam far in excess of any resources the diversified Islamic movement is likely to command in the near future. The Islamic movement, however, has advantages not available to the Islamic State; it has human resources of variety, depth of experience and competence no single State can match. The Islamic movement's constituency of a thousand million Muslims makes it a global State without a territory.

The Hajj is clearly an annual expression of the *wahdah* of the *Ummah*. It is an institution clearly provided by Allah, *subhanahu wa ta'ala*, as a powerful centripetal force. In the next phase of Islamic history the Hajj must clearly play a crucial role in the motivation and the mobilisation of the *Ummah* to face the challenges that confront us. Exactly how this has to be achieved is one of the issues I hope the learned scholars assembled here will debate in the next few days. The immediate goal of this seminar is to begin a process of discussion which will ultimately restore the Hajj to the original dynamism given to it by the great exemplar himself, the Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be peace. But let us be quite clear on one point: it is that the Hajj is also a mirror of the *Ummah*. Any attempt to try to 'revolutionize' the Hajj ahead of corresponding changes in the *Ummah* as a whole is bound to fail and might even introduce new conflicts.

This is an academic seminar, but its planning reflects a view the Muslim Institute has consistently subscribed to; our view is that academics must abandon the proverbial ivory towers of scholarly isolation. Throughout history Muslim scholars have been men with zest for participation in the great debates, matters of State, and even battles, of the day. The time has come for scholars to play their part in the mainstream of the Islamic movement. Apart from the scholars, there are among us writers and journalists. Our hope is that the discussions here over the next few days will give our writers and journalists

new insights that will be reflected in their writings in the years ahead. The third group at this seminar is that of brothers who are otherwise active in the Islamic movement.

We have also invited a small number of our brothers from the Muslim community settled in this country. Usually the 'big Islamic occasions' in London ignore the community. We were anxious to make this seminar immediately relevant to Muslims living around us. But the size of the academic seminar itself could not be enlarged any further. We have, therefore, introduced a 'public day' at the seminar, which will be our final session on Saturday, August 7. Over the four days we have also arranged an exhibition of books, another exhibition of photographs, and a programme of films and slide-shows. The Muslim community living in London has been invited to come and see these exhibitions.

A final point I must make briefly is that not every one of you has been treated exactly alike. The basic principle of mobilising existing and widely dispersed resources is to distribute burdens according to participants' abilities to pay. Therefore, there are some guests who have paid their own way, often coming from such distant countries as South Africa and Pakistan. There are others who have met 50 percent of the cost of travel themselves. We have worked long and hard to find cut-price fares for others. For your understanding and cooperation in this matter we are extremely grateful. I sincerely hope that the arrangements we have made for your stay here are satisfactory and that you will be comfortable. We are trying to offer you Islamic hospitality without the use of the Hilton or the Intercontinental. We have been mindful of the fact that the Islamic movement will need several gatherings a year in many parts of the world. The resources of the Islamic Movement, wherever these might be, are part of the *bait al-mal*, and the highest standards of care must be taken in their utilisation.

Finally, I pray to Allah *subhana wa ta'ala* that He may give us strength and guide us in our deliberations over the next few days, Ameen!

Notes:

1. *Draft Prospectus: The Muslim Institute*, London, The Open Press, 1974.

2. See Kalim Siddiqui, (ed.) *Islamic Revolution in Iran*, a course of four lectures, delivered by Hamid Algar at the Muslim Institute, especially the introduction, London, The Open Press, 1980.
3. Kalim Siddiqui (ed.) *The Islamic Revolution: Achievements, Obstacles & Goals*, London, The Open Press, 1980.
4. For a discussion and summary of western thought on conflict, see Kalim Siddiqui, *The Functions of International Conflict*, Karachi, Royal Book Company, 1975.
5. See, for instance, Guest Editorial contributed to *Crescent International*, Toronto, August 16-31, 1980, reprinted in Siddiqui (ed.) *Issues in the Islamic Movement: 1980-81 (1400-1401)*, London and Toronto, The Open Press Limited, 1981.
6. See my paper *The Islamic Movement: A Systems Approach*, first published by the Muslim Institute, London, 1976, and by the Open Press Limited, London, 1980.

Hajj as witness to Allah's sovereignty

By Fateh M. Sandeela

Islam, like other religions, has its rituals but, unlike other religions, Islamic rituals are no end in themselves. Nor are they the means of ministering to, appeasing or otherwise humouring the higher powers. For Allah, unlike the gods of man's own making, is above all need. And the demands and dictates of His dispensation are no matters of mere sport or of pastime to Him. They are intended and designed, each and all, to advance man's own well-being. This is as true of the Hajj as of all other Islamic observances and institutions.

In the rituals of the Hajj the individual sees the means of obtaining indulgence and mercy, of achieving personal piety, and of entering into some sort of communion with Allah. Muslim leaders have found and occasionally used the opportunity to get together as the means of establishing contacts, of exchanging ideas, of agitating issues and generally of understanding the common concerns and promoting the common causes of the *Ummah*; even the outsider notes the efficacy of the Hajj as a means of achieving and maintaining the solidarity of the *Ummah*. The Hajj is all that, and more.

But the prime purpose is that set forth in the proclamation of the Hajj in the Qur'an:

And proclaim unto mankind the Pilgrimage. They will come unto thee on foot and on every lean camel; they will come from every deep ravine. That they may witness things that are of benefit to them....¹

'So that they may witness things that are of benefit to them' is, then, the prime purpose of the institution. All other virtues and values that admirers and students of Islam and of the Hajj have noticed or named are incidental to that central purpose; thus

anyone who wishes to comprehend the Hajj must begin by asking what it is that the pilgrims do, in fact, witness.

The answer to this question is not really too difficult to uncover; much of it is, indeed, only too well known. That it is equally well understood cannot be confidently or categorically asserted. What benefit accrues to the pilgrims from what they witness is even less confidently and clearly understood. We shall try in the following pages to read, and reflect upon, the Qur'anic content relative to these matters.

By way of preface, it may be stated that the pilgrims witness four classes of things. They behold, first, the 'plain memorials' of and about the life of the Prophets Ibrahim and Isma'il and Allah's affair with them. They behold, secondly, the institution of the Hajj itself, living witness to the example and inheritance of Ibrahim and Isma'il. They behold, thirdly, the connection between their commitment as Muslims and their convergence upon the Ka'bah. And they behold, finally, the transcendent setting of their commitment and convergence, and the roles and relations consequent upon this.

Of pivotal importance in the entire Hajj experience are the life and works of Ibrahim. Whatever the Pilgrims witness during the Hajj centres on the example and inheritance of that prophet. A pertinent passage in the Qur'an reads:

So follow the religion of Ibrahim, the upright; he was not of the idolaters. Lo! the first Sanctuary appointed for mankind was that at Bakkah, a blessed place, a guidance to the peoples; wherein are plain memorials [of Allah's guidance]; the place where Ibrahim stood up to pray; and whosoever entereth it is safe. And pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither. As for him who disbelieveth, [let him know that] lo! Allah is Independent of [all] creatures.²

What we learn from this passage is that the 'first Sanctuary appointed for mankind', which the pilgrims witness during the Hajj, is not just a signpost of the past but 'a guidance to the peoples', a matter of future and continuing relevance. It is a guidance to the religion of Ibrahim which, in turn, continues to

be a living religion. Thus, the future generations are commanded to 'follow the religion of Ibrahim'. The sights the pilgrims behold during the ceremonies are designed to instruct them in the ways of that religion.

The passage also refers to the prayer of Ibrahim in verse 97. This aspect of the matter is treated in great detail elsewhere in the Qur'an.³

The prayer of Ibrahim is five-fold and is forward-looking in each of its several aspects. There is, firstly, the prayer for the leadership of the Prophet's progeny. Secondly, there is the prayer for the security and prosperity of the people of the region of the Ka'bah. Thirdly, there is the prayer for acceptance of the dutiful observance. Fourthly, there is the prayer for inculcating submissiveness and instituting a submissive nation and orienting it aright. And, finally, there is the prayer for a messenger who shall recite Allah's revelations and shall instruct in the Scripture.

These prayers and the Divine response provoked by them and their over-all context spell out the inheritance even as they perpetuate the example of Ibrahim. The inheritance was earned because of submission and instructing in its ways. The passage begins and ends with a recital of the relationship of command and obedience. Thus, Ibrahim was tried with commands and he fulfilled them. It is particularly significant that after setting out the example and inheritance of Ibrahim the Qur'an goes on:

Those are a people who have passed away. Theirs is that which they earned, and yours is that which you earn. And you will not be asked of what they used to do.⁴

The pilgrims witness the things they do, not to improve their knowledge of the past, but to orient their own conduct in the light of the experience. They share in the inheritance to the extent that they themselves live by the example. The Qur'an brings out this point elsewhere in its argument with the Jews and the Christians.⁵

The prayer as well as the promise are anchored in the ideology and ethic of obedience and observance, of Divine sovereignty and human subjection. And it is in that exercise that each finds

its fulfillment. It is to the ideal of absolute submission that Ibrahim aspired, it is by that ideal that he excelled, it was that ideal that he inculcated in and urged upon his seed, it was that ideal that he wished to be actualised in and through the specially commissioned *Ummah* and ultimate Prophet raised in and for it.

'Show us our ways of worship', he prayed to his Lord, 'And raise up in their midst a messenger from among them who shall recite unto them Your revelations, and shall instruct them in the Scripture and in wisdom and shall purify them.'

It is strictly this prayer that the coming of the Ultimate Prophet answers. Notice the correspondence between the terms of the prayer and those of fulfillment:

Even as We have sent unto you a messenger from among you, who recites unto you Our revelations and purifies you and teaches you the Scripture and wisdom, and teaches you that which you knew not.⁶

It is particularly significant that this announcement comes at the end of the passage dealing with the appointment of the Qiblah. This context brings out the significance of the appointment of the Qiblah and of the pilgrims' witness of it. The context places the pilgrims' witness in an even more inclusive and efficacious setting, for the verse immediately preceding the appointment of the Qiblah reads:

Thus We have appointed you a middle nation, that you may be witness unto mankind, and that the messenger may be a witness unto you.⁷

The significance of the appointment of the Qiblah is more directly brought home in the verse dealing directly with appointment. It reads:

Whencesoever you come forth, turn your face towards the Inviolable Place of Worship; and wheresoever you may be (O Muslims) turn your faces towards it *so that people may have no argument against you, save such of them as do injustice — Fear them not, but fear Me!*

—and so that I may complete My grace upon you, and that you may be guided.⁸

'So that people may have no argument against you', 'so that I may complete My grace upon you', and that 'you may be guided', are the three reasons assigned here for the appointment of the Qiblah. Each of those reasons relates back to the prayer of Ibrahim and the Divine promise held out to him, and the fulfillment of that promise. When the pilgrims come directly to face the Ka'bah, they witness the prayer, the promise and the fulfillment, in their inter-relation, and their comprehensive ideological and ethical setting. It is the Muslim commitment to the faith and ethic of Ibrahim that justifies the special grace and guidance being provided to him. And it is the observance of that ethic that is so disarming for others: '...so that people may have no argument against you, save such of them as do injustice'.

That the appointment and observance of the Qiblah is not an end in itself but only a token of the right commitment and conduct is explicitly stated by the Qur'an:

It is not righteousness that you turn your faces to the East and the West; but righteous is he who believes in Allah and the Last Day and the angels and the Scriptures and the Prophets; and gives his wealth, for love of Him, to kinsfolk and to orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and to those who ask, and to set slaves free; and observes proper worship and pays the poor-due. And those who keep their treaty when they make one, and the patient in tribulation and adversity and time of stress. Such are they who are sincere; such are the God-fearing.⁹

The passage of the Qur'an dealing with the appointment of the Qiblah¹⁰ repeatedly affirms that it is 'the Truth from your Lord', that those who have received the Scripture before know that 'it is the Truth from their Lord' and that 'a party of them knowingly conceal the Truth'. There is a reference to some such thing in the Qur'an's argument about the religion of Ibrahim.¹¹ The repeated and insistent reference to the hiding of the Truth

in this particular context makes it necessary to inquire what the testimony that is being hidden is and how it bears upon the appointment of the Qiblah.

The Qiblah is appointed for the Muslims not because it makes any difference whether they face east or west, but because it helps them orient their commitment and conduct. By centering their attention upon the Ka'bah it imparts to their life the impulse that brought the Ka'bah into being and broadcast its message of unity to the ends of the earth. It is that meaning that the Jews and the Christians knowingly conceal. They know that the religion of Ibrahim and of all the other Prophets was one of submission to God and of neither racial choice nor of indulgent grace. They also know that the grace and guidance that Allah had promised to the submissive *Ummah* was to be that which was requisite for proper submission: communication of His true and proper revelations.

It was this that Ibrahim was seeking in his supplication.¹² When the Muslim faces towards the Ka'bah and, more immediately and directly, when the pilgrim stands face to face with it, he renews his commitment to the religion of Ibrahim and refreshes his consciousness of its true nature. He is rendered immune to the possibility of misdirection of the sort that has led to the widespread misguidance of the Jews and the Christians. And, as a conscious and committed member of the submissive *Ummah*, he becomes a participant in a transcendent process. Other experiences incident upon the Pilgrimage make his participation even more personal and livelier. It is to this aspect of the pilgrims' experience that the Qur'an refers when it says:

Allah has appointed the Ka'bah, the Sacred House, a standard for mankind, and the Sacred Month and the offering and the garlands. That is so that you may know that Allah knows whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth, and that Allah is Knower of all things.¹³

About the offering, or the sacrificing of animals, which is an integral part of the pilgrimage process, the Qur'an says:

Their flesh and their blood reach not Allah, but the devotion from your sacrifice reaches Him. Thus have

We made them subject unto you that you may magnify Allah that He has guided you.¹⁴

That sacrifice itself, like everything else of and about the Hajj is an exercise in submission and surrender; like everything else, it recalls and revives the example of Ibrahim even as it aspires to that great Prophet's inheritance and ideal. It is no mere commemoration of historical event. It affirms, confirms and continues the commitment to the ethics of observance and obedience, of surrender and submission, which every pilgrim owes Allah in his own right, and for his own benefit, as likewise every other object of creation. The terms 'sacrifice' and 'surrender' are bracketed together in the Divine dispensation:

And whoso magnifies the offering consecrated to Allah, it surely is from devotion of the hearts. Therein are benefits for you for an appointed term; and afterward they are brought for sacrifice unto the ancient House. And for every nation have We appointed a ritual, that they may mention the name of Allah over the beast or cattle that He has given them for food; and your God is One God, therefore surrender unto Him.¹⁵

In the sacrificial example of Ibrahim, likewise it is the element of 'surrender' that stands out uppermost.¹⁶

Ibrahim's example marks the farthest possible extent man can reach in surrender and submission; by that criterion nothing is too dear to be spared or excepted. No caveats qualify the quality of the submission; no remission or substitution is offered or accepted; neither hesitation nor remorse attends upon the affair; no compulsion or coercion urges or enforces it. It is altogether a free and voluntary exercise; only the indication of Divine will suffices for argument.

There is another aspect of this relationship which the Hajj reminds and revives no less effectively: it is the utterness of Allah's sovereignty; there are no limitations to the Divine sovereignty; no limits or restraints hinder His authority or His power. Legality and legitimacy issue from His command instead of imposing themselves upon it; right and wrong are determined by His dispensation, instead of determining and directing it.

The Hajj rituals also call attention and invite commitment to yet another aspect of Allah's sovereignty. The pilgrims 'hasten onward from the place whence the multitude hasteneth onward.'¹⁷ And they 'remember Allah by the sacred monument.'¹⁸ Those are the reminders of Allah's providence, of how the most inhospitable of places can become so abundantly bounteous if only the Divine sovereignty so wills. It was in reliance upon that absolute and unfailing providence that Ibrahim prayed:

Our Lord! Lo! I have settled some of my posterity in an uncultivable valley near unto Your holy House. Our Lord! that they may establish proper worship, so incline some hearts of men that they may yearn toward them, and provide Thou them with fruits in order that they may be thankful.¹⁹

It is particularly significant that this is part of the prayer that follows immediately upon the express intimation of Allah's sovereignty in Surah 14, verses 32-4.

The Prayer of Ibrahim, the details and fulfillment of which the pilgrims witness, has an antecedent history which tells of yet another dimension of Divine sovereignty recalled in the Qur'an.²¹

How wholly exclusive and utterly unfailing Allah's sovereignty is, the Qur'an brings out in the detailed account of Ibrahim's encounter with his father.²²

Not least, the pilgrims witness the institution of the Hajj itself, they observe how hosts of men and women converge upon the Ka'bah from the farthest corners of the globe, people with nothing in common except their humanity, their commitment to One God, their community of purpose and their concurrent practices, for in terms of blood, of culture and of society they are strangers one to another yet they feel a bond as strong as only brotherhood can be. The sovereign/servitor relationship between Allah and man is seen here in its universal perspective. And in its fullness no law other than that of Allah applies; no other power or force operates; no pretenders thunder, and no princes parade around; no one invites attention, and none receives it. Every pilgrim openly and insistently proclaims that he is there at the service of the Lord Who has no

partner and to Whom belong all praise, all grace and all sovereignty.

This commitment needs to be carried home, and the obligations implicit in it scrupulously fulfilled ever afterwards. For the Qur'an commands:

And when you have completed your devotions, then remember Allah as you remember your fathers or with a more lively remembrance. But of mankind is he who says: 'Our Lord! Give unto us in the world that which is good and in the Hereafter tht which is good, and guard us from the doom of Fire.' For them there is in store a goodly portion out of that which they have earned. Allah is swift at reckoning. Remember Allah through the appointed days. Then whoso hastens [his departure] by two days, it is no sin for him, and whoso delays, it is no sin for him; that is for him who wards off [evil]. Be careful of your duty to Allah, and know that unto Him you will be gathered. And of mankind there is he whose conversation on the life of this world pleases you [Muhammad] and he calls Allah to witness as to that which is in his heart; yet he is the most rigid of opponents. And when he turns away [from you], his effort in the land is to make mischief therein and to destroy the crops and the cattle; and Allah loves not mischief. And when it is said unto him: Be careful of your duty to Allah, pride takes him to sin. Hell will settle his account, an evil resting-place. And of mankind is he who would sell himself, seeking the pleasure of Allah; and Allah has compassion on [His] bondmen. O you who believe! Come wholly into submission; and follow not the footsteps of the devil. Lo! he is an open enemy for you. And if you slide back after the clear proofs have come unto you, then know that Allah is Mighty, Wise.²³

In this parting prescription for the pilgrim there is a triple warning against hypocrites. There is a warning, firstly, against those who base their calculations exclusively on material considerations; secondly, against those who please by their

language, rather than by their practical conduct; and lastly, against those who, when reminded of their duty toward Allah, respond with arrogant conceit. These warnings pilgrims and other Muslims need urgently to heed, so to beware of hypocrites.

There is hardly any Muslim State that does not pride itself wholly on its material achievements, Most Muslim governments project their performance surely in economic terms: rise in the GNP, the growth rate and the balance of payments position, are regarded as unmistakable indicators of success. Political parties vie with one another in offering alternative programmes to achieve their goals. Even private individuals speak elatedly of their income and standard of living; indeed, the entire *Ummah* is engaged in providing essentially job-oriented instruction to each new generation.

Had the millions of pilgrims that spread out into the world each year taken Allah's warning against the hypocrites more seriously and ordered their roles and relations accordingly, this mischief would certainly have been less menacing. Had they come 'wholly into submission', and been ready and willing to sell themselves, seeking the pleasure of Allah, it would have made a material difference. The Qur'an has spelt out fully what coming 'wholly into submission' means and involves:

Say: Lo! Allah has bought from the believers their lives and wealth because the Garden will be theirs: they shall fight in the way of Allah and shall slay and be slain. It is a promise which is binding on Him in the Torah and the Gospel and the Qur'an. Who fulfils his covenant better than Allah? Rejoice then in the bargain that you have made, for that is the supreme triumph.²⁵

Such, then, is the intensity and extent of commitment that Islam demands of its followers: total in degree as well as depth. It is in that totality of commitment that the pilgrims are instructed in and through the rituals of the Hajj. This totality of commitment they witness in both its universal and transcendent perspective, and having observed it they bear it thence to broadcast it to the ends of the earth.

Total and intense though the commitment of the pilgrim is, it is such only in aspiration and ideal; it gains a great deal in its

practical relevance when it is carried home. For the Hajj is not an end in itself but an integral part of the Islamic dispensation. It is like an orientation course, a training camp, which prepares less for immediate application than for future and further achievement. No one is asked to be a pilgrim in perpetuity, and when he is no longer a pilgrim, his commitment, refreshed and revitalized, calls him to be mindful of a wider range of duties.

Notes:

1. Qur'an, 22: 27-28.
2. Cf. 2: 95-97.
3. 2: 124-133.
4. 2: 134.
5. Cf. 3: 67-68; 2: 135-137.
6. 2: 151.
7. 2: 143.
8. 2: 150.
9. 2: 177.
10. 2: 142-150.
11. 2: 140.
12. 2: 128-129.
13. 5: 97.
14. 22: 37.
15. 22: 32-34.
16. Cf. 37: 101-111.
17. 2: 199.
18. 2: 198.
19. 14: 37.
20. Cf. 14: 32, 34.
21. Cf. 19: 41-48.
22. Cf. 21: 51-71.
23. 2: 200-209.
24. 6: 162-165.
25. 9:111.

Hajj and Islamic *da'wah*

By Wahiduddin Khan

With the advent of the Final Prophet, Muhammad, upon whom be peace and Allah's blessings, Makkah replaced Jerusalem as the centre of divine guidance.¹ The pilgrimage made to this spiritual centre is an annual assembly of those committed to the Islamic cause. From every corner of the globe pilgrims converge on the Sacred Mosque to strengthen their ties with Allah and foster unity amongst themselves. By symbolic repetition of various stages in the life of the greatest exponent of the true religion, Ibrahim, upon whom be peace, they express their determination to emulate him at any cost.

The Qur'an states that Ibrahim was appointed as a 'guide for mankind,'² in other words, he was chosen to communicate prophetic wisdom to the human race. Allah's selection of Ibrahim and his progeny for this task initially manifested itself in Ishaq's branch of the family. For two thousand years, from Ishaq to Jesus, a long succession of prophets followed one another in the same line, all of them born in or around Palestine. After Jesus, this religious leadership was transferred to the house of Isma'il, and it was into this branch of Ibrahim's family that the last of the prophets, Muhammad, upon whom be peace, was born. To him was assigned the special task of establishing the supremacy of religion, for only thus could the preservation of the divine scripture be ensured and the possibility of religion perishing be eliminated. The basic task of other prophets was communication of the faith: the last prophet was charged with establishing its dominance as well.³

For this purpose a group of Companions was required consisting of people endowed with the highest qualities, fit to assist the Prophet in implementing Allah's plan. Ibrahim, in bringing his wife Hajar and son Isma'il to the uncultivated valley known as Makkah and settling them there, laid the foundations for such a community. There, remote from civiliza-

tion, in simple, natural surroundings, a people would emerge from Ibrahim's progeny who were imbued with the highest human qualities; who would view things with clear and objective vision; whose actions would conform to their words; who would be ready to lay down life and properties for what they knew to be true. A people as firm as the mountains which surrounded them, as boundless as the vast desert in which they roamed. When this 'best of communities' had been raised from the barrenness of the desert Allah sent among them the messenger for whom Ibrahim had prayed at the time of the construction of the Ka'bah.

Allah had willed that a prophet be born to Ibrahim's wife, Sarah. This son was born during Ibrahim's life and was called Ishaq, but it took two thousand years for the prayer of Ibrahim, that a prophet be sent among Isma'il's progeny, to be realized. Both prophets were destined to fulfil very different historical functions: hence the difference in the timing of their appearance on earth.

A final prophet needed an alert, vital community, fit to play the part allotted to it by Allah. The formation of this community took more than two thousand years. Only when his people were ready to receive him was the Prophet born amongst them, in accordance with the divine scheme. But the prophetic mission had to continue during the long time that elapsed between the utterance of Ibrahim's prayer and its fulfilment. Thus prophets were raised continuously in the house of Ya'qub (Jacob) successive prophets continued to preach the word of Allah until the time of the coming of the Final Prophet approached and the need for them ceased.

In accordance with this scheme, Ibrahim left his homeland Ur (in present-day Iraq). He settled one wife, Sarah, in Palestine where she gave birth to Ishaq. His second wife, Hajar, and his son Isma'il remained in Makkah, where they assisted in the construction of the Ka'bah. The divine scheme for universal guidance was thus divided into two stages: an initial one in Palestine and a final one in the Hijaz.

After Ibrahim, Palestine became the first centre of divine guidance. Ishaq, Ya'qub, Yusuf, Musa, Dawud, Sulaiman, Yuhanna (John), Isa (Jesus) and many other prophets were born in its vicinity. Ya'qub, the grandson of Ibrahim, was also

know as 'Israel' and his progeny were known as Israelites after him. Finally the rot set in, and they failed to mend their ways in spite of repeated efforts by Allah's messengers. Allah then deposed them from their position as bearers of divine guidance, and the sacred office was transferred to the other branch of the house of Ibrahim: the Ishmaelites. The decline of the Israelites coincided exactly with the full development, after a two-thousand year process, of the Ishmaelites as a people of sufficient energy and dynamism to take on the responsibilities of being witness to Allah's sovereignty on earth. As an outward sign of this transference of responsibility, the direction of worship was altered. All the prophets since Ibrahim had prayed in the direction of Jerusalem; now the Muslims were commanded to face Makkah instead.⁴

The Hajj is essentially a repetition of Ibrahim's experience. By symbolically recapitulating various stages in Ibrahim's all-embracing mission of *da'wah*, or invitation to the true religion, pilgrims make a covenant with Allah that they will devote themselves, in the true spirit of Ibrahim, to that same divine mission. They pledge themselves to maintain this great prophetic tradition even after the termination of prophethood.

Ibrahim's departure from his homeland formed part of the divine plan for the propagation of the word of Allah. Pilgrims also leave their homes, thereby signifying their readiness to forsake home and country for their faith. Ibrahim resigned himself to a simple life. Pilgrims also, by wearing the plain, seamless garments of *ihram*, which are donned during the performance of Hajj, demonstrate their readiness to make do with the bare necessities of life and concentrate on the real end which lies before them. By circumambulating the Ka'bah Ibrahim confirmed his faithfulness to Allah. Pilgrims repeat his action, and in so doing pledge fidelity and servitude to Allah. While engaged in the service of Allah, Ibrahim's family ran between the hills of Safa and Marwah, searching for water. Pilgrims also run between the same two hillocks, asserting thereby that they are ready to go to any length in the service of Allah, even if their families have to endure the same hardships as Hajar and her family faced so courageously. Satan tried to make Ibrahim stray from his path of divine service and Ibrahim pelted him with stones. Pilgrims also fling stones at symbolic

devils, thereby indicating their intention to deal with the real devil in like manner should he try to lead them astray. Ibrahim was commanded to sacrifice his son for Allah. In the same way pilgrims, by sacrifice, exhibit their willingness to undergo any form of self-sacrifice for their faith. Ibrahim's mission of *da'wah* was concerned with making people aware of the Hereafter. Pilgrims also assemble in the plain of Arafat to remember the life after death, so that this most poignant of realities may become an integral part of their thinking and they may be able to warn others about it. Ibrahim answered every call of Allah. In like manner, pilgrims recite continuously, 'I am present before You, Lord, I am present before You. None has any share in Your sublimity. All praise and blessings are Yours — Yours and Yours alone, and all power and dominion belong to You'. With these words pilgrims declare their constant readiness to respond to the call of Allah.

The Ka'bah is, then, the centre of the Islamic message and the Hajj is an annual gathering of those committed to the task of dissemination of this message. The actions performed during Hajj serve as clear reminders of the life of Ibrahim and his dedication to *da'wah*. The rites of pilgrimage symbolically recapitulate events that directly or indirectly marked various stages of his efforts. Pilgrims should not only commemorate these events but follow Ibrahim's example and devote themselves to the call of Islam.

It is clear from the life of Ibrahim that the events commemorated during the Hajj are an essential part of his life of *da'wah*. Nowadays, however, the Hajj has been reduced to little more than an annual religious ceremony. If the *da'wah* spirit were to be rekindled in Muslims' hearts, and they were to become aware of their responsibilities in this field, then the Hajj gathering would automatically become an annual *da'wah* conference, thus assuming an important role in the task of conveyance of the Islamic message. But if the spirit of Islam and the zeal to disseminate it be lacking, as they are today, the rituals lose their inherent meaning and take on moribund form. Pilgrims continue to pelt symbolic devils with stones, but the devils which truly exist in their own lives remain untouched. Their actions only concern symbols and never penetrate to the meanings which these symbols signify.

The most outstanding feature of the Muslims of today is their disunity. Why is it that a unique gathering like the Hajj, in which Muslims annually assemble from every corner of the globe, has not had the powerful cohesive impact one would have expected? The reason is that the Hajj, which was once a congregation of the bearers of truth, has now taken on a traditional and mechanical form.

Only when people have a common mission can they work together for the fulfilment of exalted ideals. A community devoid of a common goal will remain preoccupied with trivia, and massive gatherings will fail to mould it into a coherent force. *Da'wah* is the greatest mission of the Muslims. If missionary ardour be revived among them, then suddenly they will find that their efforts are leading them towards an exalted goal. Only then will the Hajj become a means of forging Islamic unity and be restored to its position of centrality at the heart of the message of Islam.

On the ninth of Dhu'l Hijjah, in the tenth year of the Islamic calendar, Muhammad, upon whom be peace, delivered at Arafat his famous sermon of the Farewell Hajj to more than one hundred thousand of his followers assembled there. This sermon elucidated the fundamental tenets of Islam. The Farewell Hajj is also known as the Hajj of conveyance because immediately after this sermon he secured the testimony of his disciples that he had conveyed the message Allah had given him. He said: 'Be sure that those of you who are present convey my words to those who are absent, for it may be that those who hear it later will be more understanding of the message than those who hear it now. And when you are asked about me what shall you say?' The Muslims assembled before him answered: 'You have discharged your trust, conveyed your message and acted in the very best of faith.' The Prophet then raised his hands, pointed towards the people and exclaimed: 'O Allah, bear witness! O Allah, bear witness!'

The Prophet died three months later. At that time Islam had not yet spread beyond the boundaries of Arabia. It was left to his followers to convey the message beyond their native territory. This was their mission. They devoted their lives and possessions to it. As a result Islam spread to a substantial portion of the civilized world within fifty years.

The Hajj continued to be performed each year. The Imam continues to address the assembled pilgrims much as Muhammad, upon whom be peace, addressed his followers. There are even more pilgrims now than there were then. Yet the sermons being delivered now have no effect. Why should there be such a difference? The reason is that for Muslims of today the Pilgrimage is merely formal and customary, while for Muhammad, upon whom be peace, and those devoted to his call it was dynamic, vital. The people inspired by the words of the Prophet had firmly resolved to follow whatever guidance he gave them. The crowds that gather in Makkah and Madinah today only seek to discharge a ritual and then return home to live exactly as before. If the impact of the pilgrimage is to be revived, first of all those performing it must be alive to their Islamic duties. As long as Muslims lack the dynamism of faith, their pilgrimage will remain as ineffective as a rifle which will not fire.

In order to restore the essential spirit of the Hajj, its function as a means of inculcating the Islamic spirit must be revived. It must be made a centre of universal Islamic *da'wah*, a presentation of basic Islamic truths to all nations. On this international occasion people from every corner of the world should describe the conditions of Islam and its propagation in their native lands. Muslims from each part of the world should be able to understand and benefit from the experiences of their fellows. The sermons delivered should explain the importance of *da'wah* and the means of performing it successfully. Under the auspices of the Hajj, Islamic literature should be prepared in the world's major languages, effective measures should be taken for its circulation, and whatever means are expedient should be used to ensure the accurate and efficient dissemination of the faith.

A revivification of the pilgrimage cannot be accomplished without a revitalization of the lives Muslims lead before and after its performance. The fundamental responsibility of Muslims is bearing witness to Allah's truth before mankind. They should consider themselves as the conveyors of invaluable truths to those who do not yet understand. Contemporary Muslims have neglected this responsibility and have forgotten the duties towards non-Muslims which it implies. They look

upon non-Muslims as enemies and competitors for the goods this world has to offer. They regard the difference as a matter of nationalistic rivalry rather than fidelity to Allah's revelation. In order to revive the Hajj the Muslims must be revived as a community dedicated to *da'wah*. This revival demands that Muslims give up their narrow nationalistic attachments, which make it impossible for *da'wah* to flourish. If all non-Muslims are treated as enemies, who will be willing to disseminate the Islamic way of life and who will be receptive to it?

The preaching of Islam also requires that outstanding universities be established entirely for the purpose of advancing the understanding and realization of Islam. Institutions should be founded to train Muslims how to perform their duties of religious dissemination. Literature should be prepared, both to cultivate the spirit of sharing Islamic wisdom and to show how to share it with those who have not been able to appreciate it. This cannot be achieved without a revision of contemporary Islamic literature, for the books which have been written on the Qur'an and the life of the Prophet in recent times have usually assumed a defensive posture. They present reactions against intellectual, social and political assault upon Islam, rather than positively expressing the excellence of Islam.

Fourteen hundred years ago the Prophet circumambulated the Ka'bah alone. He had hardly any followers. At the present time not an hour goes by without countless people performing circumambulation, and during the Hajj season people from all over the world converge upon Makkah, in such astronomical numbers that, despite continual expansions of the Sacred Mosque, the space it provides always remains insufficient. This astounding increase in numbers has been possible through the application of the principles of *da'wah*. The annual universal gatherings of pilgrims bear unmistakable testimony to the power of these principles. They demonstrate that Allah has put the secret of the basis of Islamic progress in *da'wah*, and that in it lies both the mundane and the eternal salvation of Muslims. History has always shown this to be true. The pagans of Makkah were at first not at all impressed by Islam but from their ranks arose those sterling individuals who were to serve as the standard-bearers of the Islamic movement. This was solely the result of *da'wah*, for at that time Islam had no other

power. Even those who accepted Islam later, such as 'Amr ibn al'As and Khalid ibn al-Walid, were also drawn towards it because of its exalted principles.

Islam's consolidation at Madinah after the emigration from Makkah was also the result of *da'wah*. The Muslim community did not and could not attack Madinah. Their only armament was Islam. A few Muslims went to Madinah and called to their faith in a simple manner. Multitudes accepted Islam there until Madinah became the spiritual, intellectual and administrative centre of the faith.

Centuries later, the Mongols and Tartars invaded the Islamic territories from Central Asia. They were fierce horsemen and powerful swordsmen. They brought destruction to the very heart of the Muslim world. It seemed as if Islam would disappear from the face of the earth... But those violent conquerors themselves accepted the faith and became its supporters.

The modern scientific revolution has unfolded many new opportunities in the field of *da'wah*; it has made it possible for this universal gathering to be used for *da'wah* work on a wider scale than was ever possible before. In this way the Islamic way of thinking and life can regain its former predominance. The Qur'an has referred to this aim as 'establishing the supremacy of religion',⁵ and 'elevation of the word of Allah'.⁶ The hope of achieving this aim undoubtedly lies in the revival of the importance of the Hajj in this context.

The Hajj and its venue, the House of Allah at Makkah, symbolise a great missionary scheme. When Ibrahim's call went unheard in the civilized countries of Iraq, Syria and Egypt, he and his family emigrated to Makkah and constructed the Ka'bah there, so that it could serve as a permanent centre of divine guidance. This point is made clear in the Qur'an. The first House established for the people was that at Makkah, a sacred place and a guidance to all beings'.⁷ It is further clarified in a *hadith* of the Prophet narrated by 'Amr ibn 'Auf that 'faith will take refuge in Hijaz as a snake in its hole, and it will remain attached to Hijaz as goats to their manger. Faith was originally an estranged force, and it will return to its original condition, so blessed are the strangers — those who rectify the wrong people have done'.⁸

This means that the Hijaz will be reinstated as the centre of the call to Islam, the status it held in the Prophet's time, in the future, when religion loses its grip on people's hearts. The venue of Hajj is a centre of *da'wah* and spiritual renewal as well as a place of worship. It is in this context that it must now be re-established.

Notes:

1. Qur'an: 2: 142.
2. 2: 124.
3. 61: 9.
4. 2: 144.
5. 48: 28.
6. 9: 40.
7. 3: 96.
8. Tirmidhi.

The political role of the Hajj

By Muhammad Salahuddin

Politics is the field of thought and action in human society. Thought provides ideological bases and action provides power to enforce and protect the political, legal, judicial, administrative, defensive, economic, social, educational and cultural institutions created by an ideology. Ideology deals with metaphysical questions: the origin of this world, the position of man inhabiting it, the purpose of life, the beginning and end of this life, the concept of the State and its sovereignty, the relationship between the individual and the State, the question of obedience to the State and its limits, the formation and authority of the government, and the system of accountability, as well as other aspects of individual and collective life. Action provides the ideology with a solid and perceptible authority. Authority gradually and systematically proceeds towards the direction determined and the steps defined by the ideology and, passing through various stages of formation and development, achieves its goals and destiny.

The aims and objectives of politics are the purposeful development of mutual relationships for the establishment of peace, enforcement of justice, betterment of people, security of state, curbing of crimes, unity of a nation, unity of thought and action, improvement of moral standards, refinement of culture, and the promotion of equality and brotherhood.

Bearing the demands and objectives of politics in mind, we must study the chain of historical events in the life of the Prophet Ibrahim, which have been set forth in the pages of the Qur'an. These make it evident that the background of Hajj is basically political. Ibrahim rejected the false concept of man's sovereignty, and, staking his life and all his resources, set out to combat this falsehood: he preferred to be thrown into an

inferno rather than accept the false notion of human sovereignty, left his hearth and home and country, broke all the shackles of blood-kinship and took refuge in the desert, surrounded by the barren hills of Makkah. All this, he did to get away from the unacceptable sovereignty of man and to retain his commitment of obedience to Allah.

In fact the Hajj is such an ideal and vivid demonstration by man of his covenant with Allah to remain His servant that it has been ordained the highest form of worship. It has been made obligatory for every Muslim (who can afford the expenses involved) living anywhere in the world, that at least once in his life-time he should abandon country, hearth and home, business, relations, status and even his normal clothing, in order to perform the Hajj. In the performance of the Hajj, man is expected to negate everything concerning his person, including his personal appearance and upkeep, attain such humility and sublimity that in his mind and heart he should think and speak of Allah and nothing else beside. With this state of mind, and donning a simple dress (*ihram*) at a defined date, time and place, he must follow every action in word and spirit, from the Ka'bah to Arafat, as performed by Ibrahim. It is worth enquiring why Allah appreciated this mode of obedience of Ibrahim to the extent that it has been made obligatory for every believer untill the Day of Resurrection and given the status of a Pillar of Islam. From the Qur'an, the only reason would appear to be that Ibrahim has the distinction of being the first man to establish Allah's political sovereignty on earth in an organised human society. The foundations of the House of Allah that he laid in Makkah were in fact a symbol of Allah's sovereignty over the entire universe; he removed every semblance of *shirk* from his path to enable full and complete submission to Allah. Ibrahim declined to submit to the sovereignty of anyone else and fought against it with all his might. For submission to Allah he did not desist from any sacrifice. However, he had the consolation that he was far removed from man's sovereignty and was free to serve his Lord. When Satan attempted to dissuade him, he chased him away by stoning him. He remained loyal to Allah and aloof from others. He successfully demonstrated his belief in the oneness of Allah and his abhorrence of the notion of partnership of any

other authority along with Him. Royal command, paternal pressure, social status, material gain, good life, patriotism, nationalism and familial love could not deter him from his Divinely-ordained mission to establish the sovereignty of Allah on earth. In the final test of his commitment to establish the will of Allah he did not hesitate even to sacrifice his beloved son, Isma'il. This submission to the will of Allah is reflected in certain passages of the Qur'an. His submission began thus:

When his Lord said unto him: 'Surrender!' he said: 'I have surrendered to the Lord of the Worlds.'¹

After this covenant, he calls upon his people boldly and fearlessly:

'O my people! Lo! I am free from all that ye associate [with Him]. Lo! I have turned my face toward Him Who created the heaven and the earth, as one by nature upright, and I am not of the idolaters.'²

No sooner had he denounced and rejected *shirk* than the struggle started and Ibrahim stood steadfastly with courage against all people who opposed his mission.

His people argued with him. He said: 'Dispute ye with me concerning Allah when he hath guided me? I fear not the things ye associate with Allah; unless my Lord willeth nothing will happen. My Lord includeth all things in His knowledge. Will ye not then remember? How should I fear that which ye set up beside Him, when ye fear not to set up beside Allah that for which He hath revealed unto you no warrant? Which of the two factions hath more right to safety? [Answer me that] if ye have knowledge.'³

After refusing to be cowed down by his people he openly declared war against *shirk*:

There is a goodly pattern for you in Abraham and those with him, when they told their folk: 'Lo! we are guiltless

of you and all that ye worship beside Allah. We have done away with you. And there hath arisen between us and you hostility and hate for ever until ye believe in Allah only.⁴

Wrong beliefs and evil concepts always grow and flourish under human and ungodly sovereignty. Therefore unrighteous authority always protects these evil beliefs and wrong actions with all its might. All the messengers of Allah had to fight against the tyrannical rulers of their times. In the final analysis, the concept of human sovereignty is synonymous with *shirk*. The tussle which began with Ibrahim's objection to the worship of idols, the sun, the moon and the stars reached the corridors of power and brought to the fore the real issue:

Bethink thee of him who had an argument with Ibrahim about his Lord, because Allah had given him the kingdom; how, when Ibrahim said: 'My Lord is He Who giveth life and causeth death', he answered: 'I give life and cause death.' Ibrahim said: 'Lo! Allah causeth the sun to rise in the East, so do thou cause it to come up from the West.' Thus was the disbeliever abashed.⁵

It is the same sort of conflict which we later witness between the Prophet Musa and the Pharaoh. Every ruler who denies the sovereignty of Allah deludes himself, declaring 'I am sovereign', and remains therefore under the illusion that 'None is more powerful than I am'. When such power-intoxicated rulers are defeated in the field of logic and argument, they try to crush the truth by the use of brute force. Namrud and his courtiers treaded the same path:

They cried: 'Burn him and stand by your gods, if ye will be doing.' We said: 'O fire, be coolness and peace for Ibrahim.' And they wished to set a snare for him, but We made them the greater losers.⁶

Evil never ceases its mischief until completely crushed. The unbelievers refused to accept the evident fact, even when the burning inferno of Namrud turned into blooming flowers for

Ibrahim. They then considered it prudent to send Ibrahim into exile. Such migration (*hijrah*) and exile have always been a part of life of all those who traverse the paths of righteousness. Ibrahim was, in this way, the precursor of this *sunnah*. He left his father, his people and his country and made the barren valley of Makkah his abode. By the act of *hijrah*, Ibrahim left the place of *shirk* and embarked on the establishment of the first State based on the concept of *tawheed*. This was the decision to abandon the sphere of man's sovereignty and enter the world of Allah's sovereignty. In Makkah submission to Allah was paramount in every facet of life: political, economic and cultural. All of life was subjected to the obedience of the one and the only God. This was the corollary of belief in the oneness of Allah. The dichotomy of submission to one being in worship and obedience to another in politics was brought to an end. The last of the prophets, Muhammad, upon whom be peace, was destined to adopt the same pattern of life:

Say: 'Lo! As for me, my Lord hath guided me unto a straight path, a right religion, the community of Ibrahim, the upright, who was no idolater.' Say: 'Lo! my worship and my sacrificing and my living and my dying are for Allah, Lord of the Worlds. He hath no partner. This am I commanded, and I am first of those who surrender [unto Allah].'⁷

The new community founded by Ibrahim at Makkah recognised only the sovereignty of Allah. From beginning to end, no facet or aspect of life was subject to obedience to anyone else. In this new set-up, *shirk* was completely obliterated. The pattern of the new social order as envisaged by Ibrahim while raising the walls of Ka'bah is evident from his prayer to Allah:

And when Ibrahim said: 'My Lord! Make safe this territory, and preserve me and my sons from serving idols. My Lord! they have led many of mankind astray. But whoso followeth me, he verily is of me. And whoso disobeyeth me — still Thou are Forgiving, Merciful. Our Lord! I have settled some of my posterity in an uncultivable valley near unto The holy House, Our Lord, that

they may establish proper worship; so incline some hearts of men that they may yearn toward them, and provide Thou them with fruits in order that they may be thankful.⁹

First, the sovereignty of Allah in the new State was defined, and now its objectives are being clearly stated as:

1. establishment of peace;
2. organisation and establishment of prayers;
3. devotion to Allah, and making Makkah centre of Allah's political authority;
4. Abundance of food and other commodities.

The Ka'bah was made the universal focal point for guidance for the entire world, not only for the people of Makkah or Arabia. It is the pivot of the political sovereignty of Allah and it is the capital of the World Islamic State:

Lo! the first Sanctuary appointed for mankind was that at Bakkah [Makkah], a blessed place, a guidance to the peoples; wherein are plain memorials [of Allah's guidance]; the place where Abraham stood up to pray; and whosoever entereth it is safe.¹⁰

Peace and tranquillity was the distinctive feature of this metropolis, which is the main objective of any political system. Who is it that deserves such peace? Ibrahim explains:

Those who believe and obscure not their belief by wrongdoing, theirs is safety; and they are rightly guided.¹¹

Peace is the product of *iman* (belief). Unbelievers can never establish peace in the world. Peace cannot co-exist with oppression. Therefore Ibrahim puts forward freedom from oppression as the precondition for the establishment of peace. The Qur'an regards *shirk* as the gravest form of oppression. Therefore *iman* should be absolute, free from any semblance of *shirk*.

Ibrahim started his life as a servant of Allah with his acceptance of *islam* (submission to the will of Allah). While

laying the foundation of the new social order in Makkah, he and his son Isma'il prayed to Allah:

And when Ibrahim and Isma'il were raising the foundations of the House, (Ibrahim prayed): 'Our Lord! Accept from us [this duty]. Lo! Thou, only Thou, art the Relenting, the Merciful. Our Lord! And make us submissive unto Thee and of our seed a nation submissive unto Thee, and show us our ways of worship, and relent towards us. Lo! Thou, only Thou, art the Relenting, the Merciful. Our Lord! And raise up in their midst a messenger from among them who shall recite unto them Thy revelations, and shall instruct them in the Scripture and in wisdom, and shall purify them. Lo! Thou, only Thou, art the Mighty, Wise.'¹¹

In fact they were pleading to Allah that, for the full blooming of the new social order that they were engaged in forging, He should ordain a prophet who would wisely and prudently enforce Allah's commandments, guide the people in the light of His instructions, purify them and install them on the highest pedestal of morality. The conferment of prophethood on Muhammad and the sanction of the status of the highest moral being for him, and his saying that 'I have been sent for the perfection and completion of morality,' indicate clearly that the Prophet Muhammad performed the same task which was intended in the supplication (*du'a*) of Ibrahim and his son Isma'il.

The new social order was not only for the establishment of peace, justice and economic well-being; extraordinary care had also been taken of its unadulterated purity and piety:

And [remember] when We prepared for Ibrahim the place of the [Holy] House, saying: 'Ascribe thou nothing as partner unto Me, and purify My House for those who make the round [thereof] and those who stand and those who bow and make prostration. And proclaim unto mankind the pilgrimage. They will come unto thee on foot and on every lean camel, they will come from every deep ravine, that they may witness things that

are of benefit to them.¹²

The purity mentioned in this verse is not confined to removal of dirt from the physical environment but involves keeping people away from all forms of corruption.

There is [to be] no lewdness nor abuse nor angry conversation during the pilgrimage.¹³

Allah has referred to countless benefits which accrue as a result of performing the Hajj; I shall, however, confine myself to my present subject the political role of the Hajj.

It is evident that with the construction of the Ka'bah, Ibrahim had not simply constructed a place of worship but a focal point around which a new social order, based on *tawheed*, could be evolved. It was to be a social order where Allah's sovereignty should reign supreme; one in which peace, justice, economic well-being, cultural and moral decency should prevail; where the real spirit of brotherhood and equality should be the order of the day. The performance of this task is of a purely political nature in a State in which sovereignty is totally and only Allah's; in which every man is His subject and servant. The result is a society of free equals and neither masters nor slaves.

Hajj is such an institution through which worship of anyone except Allah and submission to anyone except Him is completely abolished. Ibrahim on one hand proclaimed the end of the sovereignty of evil by smashing man-made idols and, on the other convinced the people of the unadulterated sovereignty of Allah by exposing the deceptive sovereignty of Namrud through logic. The Prophet Muhammad, for whose birth from among his own progeny Ibrahim had prayed, performed the same task which his forefather had done: he smashed the 360 idols placed in the *baitullah*, brought to an end the political sovereignty of the unbelievers in Makkah, defeated them in the field of logic and argument, and overcame their material force in the battles of Badr, Ahzab and Hunain, thereby freeing Makkah from the bondage of worship of and submission to anyone beside Allah and raising the banner of His sovereignty. In the performance of the Hajj, he revived each and every *sunnah* and act of Ibrahim, his wife Hajar and their son Isma'il. By enforcing the real spirit of *deen* of Ibrahim he once again

made Makkah the city of peace, justice and economic well-being.

Unfortunately during the period of Muslim decline, only the rituals of Hajj remained intact while its real spirit was lost. The *kalimah*, which broke the idols and annihilated the forces of evil, is still uttered but has lost its meaningfulness. More than two million Muslims from all over the world assemble annually at the House of Allah, the focal point of guidance and learning. They raise only one slogan:

'Here I am at Thy service. O Allah! Here I am at Thy service. Here I am at Thy service. There is no partner with Thee. Here I am at Thy service. All praise and all blessings and favour belong to Thee; and all sovereignty is Thine. Thou hast no partner.'

All those who assemble at Makkah leave worldly problems and responsibilities behind them, present themselves before the Almighty and testify:

1. You are one and no one is Your partner.
2. All glory is for You. You are the Creator and the rest is Your creation. Hence no one is Your partner in glorification either.
3. All virtuous things of life in the world have been produced and bestowed upon us by You. If You take away any of these, no one has the power to restore it and if You bestow anything, then no one has the strength to stop it.
4. The entire world belongs to You and You are its Sovereign and Supreme Ruler. No one is associated with You in Your sovereignty. You are the Master of masters and the Ruler of rulers.

This last testimony concerns exclusively and specifically the political sovereignty of Allah. But how many of us consciously realise the meaning and perception of these words? These words negate every other kind of sovereignty. Yet when each one of us returns to his own country after renewing his covenant with Allah, few remember that Allah is the Master of masters; we submit to the forces of evil, and by our unconditional submission, we associate them with the political

sovereignty of Allah.

The institution of Hajj was established so that all those who assemble for it would shun all prejudices of descent, group, tribe, region, language and culture. They would reiterate the covenant of submission to Him alone and reaffirm their acceptance of His oneness and all His qualities. After acquiring the spiritual power and determination which is bestowed upon them, because of the renewed oath of obedience, they would return to their native lands to raise the *kalimah*, the rallying slogan of Allah, endeavour to defeat all forces of evil and establish His sovereignty.

Allah has made the establishment of prayers the foremost vehicle for the greatness and might of the Muslim *Ummah*. By bringing them together in the mosque of their locality five times a day He brings them nearer to each other and creates unity among them. Once a week on Friday, Muslims assemble in greater numbers at a single place of worship, and thus He organises and unites them at a higher level. Twice a year Muslims congregate in still greater numbers at one place for the performance of the prayers of the two Eids. Allah organises them at a yet higher level and inculcates in them a feeling of their organised power and greatness: once every year He calls upon those Muslims who can afford the expenses to assemble at a single focal point in Makkah and provides them with an opportunity to know and understand each other at the great congregation at Arafat. Here they can discuss and exchange views on each other's problems, devise ways and means to lend a helping hand to each other, plan for the optimum use of the available resources, and refresh their determination for the greater glory of Islam. The sphere of unity and cooperation, extending from the community mosque to the mosque around the Ka'bah, emerges from this cardinal point of service to Allah. As the congregation at Hajj is the biggest international assembly of Muslims, countless benefits accrue from it: 'That they must witness things that are of benefit to them'¹⁴. One cannot visualise these benefits without the experience of participation in this assembly.

The individual and collective benefits and advantages of Hajj pervade each and every facet of life; but its foremost and greatest advantage is that it brings forth the conscious realisa-

tion that Allah is the Sovereign, the Creator and Provider of the whole Universe and the Master of all masters. This consciousness is for Muslims the greatest source of strength: it unfolds the real meaning and spirit of *Tawheed*, which is the strongest spur for the determination and morale needed to stand up against the forces of evil. This consciousness enables Muslims to shed the negative attitudes of apathy, frustration, defeatism, helplessness and isolation, and infuses in them the positive attitude which comes of realising that they form an international collective force. It makes each a brother and friend to all the rest; it enables them to regard the forces of evil weak and feeble.

During the days of Hajj, Allah enables His servants to be relieved of every other servility, and retains them under His own sovereignty. During these few days, He enables them to realise the beneficence of peace in an atmosphere of justice, equality, brotherhood and purity, and to abhor conflict, war, obscenity and indecency. He sends His servants back home as messengers to enable the entire world to be acquainted with this serene atmosphere and tranquillity. Through Ibrahim He constructed an everlasting focal point in the shape of the Ka'bah to enlighten the whole of mankind. The returning pilgrims help spread the illuminating rays of the Ka'bah in every corner of the world. Today, the vibrations of these rays have raised the standard of the Islamic Movement throughout the world. From Ibrahim to the last prophet, Muhammad, and again from the righteous *khulafa* to the present day, all the revolutionary leaders among the Muslims were inspired by and sought inspiration from the focal point in Makkah. Whether it be Imam Husain or Imam Hanbal, Mahdi Sudani, Shaikh Sannusi, Sayyid Ahmad, Badi-az-Zaman Nursi, Hasan al-Banna Shaheed, Sayyid Qutb Shaheed, Dr. Ali Shari'ati, Sayyid Abu'l-'Ala Maududi, Imam Khomeini, a *mujahid* in Afghanistan or the fighter against zionism in Palestine, all are inspired by the same focal point. All, following the *sunnah* of Ibrahim, have declared:

Lo! I have turned my face toward Him Who created the heavens and the earth, as one by nature upright, and I am not of the idolaters.¹⁴

They have entered into a covenant with their Allah that:

Say: 'Lo! my worship and my sacrificing and my living and my dying are for Allah, Lord of the Worlds. He hath no partner. This am I commanded, and I am the first of those who surrender [unto Him].'¹⁵

This is the real spirit of the Hajj and its revolutionary political role. For this very reason Ibrahim was declared *khalil Allah*, and every one of his followers was regarded 'as the best of human being': or 'Companion' of Allah.

Who is better in religion than he who surrendereth his purpose to Allah while doing good [to people] and who followeth the tradition of Ibrahim, the upright? Allah [Himself] chose Ibrahim for friend.¹⁶

Did Ibrahim achieve such high status and position because of his formal and ritual prayers alone, or was it a reward for wrecking the lifeless idols, or was he the recipient of all this honour because he defied the political sovereignty of Namrud and his followers and thereby demolished the myth of *shirk*, the association of anyone else with Allah in worship and political obedience? Were the lifeless idols worshipped in their own right and because of their own power or was it the result of the political powers of the evil forces [*taghut*]? The significance of the political dimension of the Hajj is latent in the answers to these questions. In fact, every system of worship is closely and deeply connected with and related to the prevailing political system: we cannot establish the sovereignty of Allah without demolishing the prevalent false authorities and replacing them with the authority of Allah. This is the real message of Hajj.

Footnotes:

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|-----------|-------------|----|--------------|
| 1. Qur'an | 2: 131. | 5. | 2: 258. |
| 2. | 6: 78 - 79. | 6. | 21: 68 - 70. |
| 3. | 6: 80 - 81. | 7. | 6: 161 -3. |
| 4. | 60: 4. | 8. | 14: 35 - 37. |

9. 3: 96 - 97.
10. 6: 82.
11. 2: 127 - 9.
12. 22: 26 - 28.
12. 2: 197.

13. 22: 28.
14. 6: 79.
15. 6: 162 - 3.
16. 4: 125.

An experience of Hajj (1401/1981)

By K.S. Shahabuddin*

It was well past the time for *salat al-isha* congregation on 4 October/6 Dhu il-Hijjah when we arrived at the Masjid al-Haram to perform 'Umrah. Many devotees had returned to their homes, hotels or lodgings, and yet the vast expanse of the Haram ash-Sharif was full of people. Some bowing and prostrating in prayer, others meditating, many settling down to rest, while the whole courtyard around the Ka'bah was filled with pilgrims circumambulating or praying. It is impossible to find suitable words to express one's feelings at the first sight of the Ka'bah, as one enters the Masjid al-Haram. Automatically hands are raised in prayers and in praise of the Lord Almighty, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

Thus, raising our hands and uttering the *bismillah*, the *takbir* and the *tahmid*, we commenced seven circuits of the Ka'bah.

The crowd was enormous and it was impossible to get anywhere near the Black Stone, which it is customary to kiss, if possible, at the end of each circuit. Since the kissing of the Black Stone is not obligatory and the Prophet is reported to have admonished people against crowding others out during the circuits, it is painful to see people pushing and shoving one another and at the same time being beaten by the security guards. One cannot help feeling sad that we Muslims have not acquired discipline as a habit, nor are we tolerant, considerate or patient, even within the sacred precincts. Without regard for the old, women and children, some people move with such frenzy that the weaker among the pilgrims get shoved and pushed all over the place.

Having completed the *tawaf*, two *rak'ahs* of prayers were offered at a place as close to the Station of Ibrahim as possible.

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We then proceeded to the basement, which has separate areas for males and females, with taps to drink water from Zam-Zam.

This was followed by the performance of *sa'ī*, which entails running between the two little hills called Safa and Marwah. These hills, now covered over and enclosed within the precincts of the Masjid al-Haram, beautifully lit and floored with marble, were originally the scene of Hajar's running to and from in quest of water for her baby Isma'il, when she was left there by Ibrahim.

Thus we made our way up to the top of al-Safa, being shoved and pushed from all sides and restraining ourselves from any act of retaliation, exercising patience and uttering *Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar* ... Then facing the Ka'bah and raising our hands, there was just time enough to utter a few words of prayer when the downward stream of pilgrims carried us towards al-Marwah. Thus, we ambulated seven times between al-Safa and al-Marwah, a total distance of about seven kilometres. While treading along the level portion between al-Safa and al-Marwah one is engaged heart and soul in the remembrance of Allah. Singing His Praises, pleading for forgiveness and praying for relatives, friends, in fact, for all with whom one is acquainted. Those who are old, feeble, weak, or are unable to do the *sa'ī* on foot, are propelled in wheel-chairs. Nowadays, *sa'ī* can also be done on the first floor, where the crowding is somewhat less than below.

Having completed the *sa'ī* and symbolical clipping of hair we offered two *rak'ahs* at the Station of Ibrahim and thus completed the rites of 'Umrah and returned to Jeddah.

The following night (5 October/7 Dhu il-Hijjah), having taken a light repast, we entered into the state of *ihram*, donning two pieces of seamless white cloth: one tied around the waist covering the lower portion of the body, and the other over the shoulders. Ladies retain their normal clothing but with their hair fully covered. While in the state of *ihram* certain acts, normally lawful, are forbidden. All talk of an amorous nature and all kinds of disputes are to be avoided, so as to concentrate all one's thoughts on God, not in solitude but in the company of others.

We formed a group of nineteen persons and together we boarded a bus at the Corniche in Jeddah to embark upon the

sacred journey and perform the rites of Hajj. That was a night to be remembered. An excitement was evident in the atmosphere as one by one buses loaded with pilgrims left the bus station for Makkah and Mina. Our own bus, with its full complement of twenty-five persons, started soon after midnight and we joined the vast concourse of people, similarly dressed, all moving in one direction, and all uttering the pilgrim's prayers *labbaik Allahumma labbaik* (Here I am, O Allah, here I am). There were hundreds of buses, Coasters, GMC station-wagons, government buses and cars, and many others, some using the old road while the majority moved along the new eight-lane highway. People were there from all over the world belonging to different races, classes and countries, who had come from far and near in response to the Divine call.

In the area surrounding the Haram it seemed there was hardly an inch of space left for miles and miles. Our bus stopped at a point five kilometres from the Haram and we had to walk the remaining distance along roads crowded with people and all manner of vehicles; on both sides of the road people sat in groups awaiting transport to Mina.

It was nearly 3 am when we finally arrived at the Haram to make *tawaf al-qudum* (the *tawaf* of arrival). On this day 6 October/8 Dhu il-Hijjah, the Sacred Mosque was full to capacity. There was hardly any room anywhere, and yet it proved capable of accommodating more and more as the crowd swelled beyond the courtyard to take in the covered areas round about and even the whole of the first floor. Those who had completed *tawaf* had taken up position for *salat al-fajr*, after which they would proceed to Mina.

Having agreed earlier to re-assemble at a given point we proceed to join the multitude in the courtyard for *tawaf al-qudum*. In the devotional acts of Hajj, *tawaf* occupies the central place, being the first act of the pilgrim on his arrival at Makkah and his last when he departs.

By the time we had completed seven circles of the Ka'bah, the call had been made for *salat al-fajr*. It was with great difficulty that we managed to find a few inches of space in this vast congregation of devotees, all dressed alike, bowing and prostrating and uttering the same language in praise of Allah (*subhanahu wa ta'ala*), pleading for forgiveness and seeking

guidance.

Morning prayers over, our party returned to the bus, walking the distance in small groups along a narrow road crowded with people and vehicles. The entire body of pilgrims were now on the move to Mina, a plain midway between Arafat and Makkah, about six kilometers from the Holy City. This distance has been considerably reduced for pedestrians by the construction of a tunnel in recent years. In fact, one cannot help admiring those who walk to Mina and then on to Arafat, Muzdallifah and back to Mina, spending the night on the roadside, and by day destitute of shade.

Pilgrims are required to reach Mina before noon, so that the noon prayers may be performed there. The road into this plain goes over a hill called al-'Aqabah, famous in the history of Islam because of the two pledges given there to the Prophet by the Madinan Muslims. During the Hajj, the pilgrims' longest, and in fact only, stay is in Mina, which becomes a city of tents during this period every year. Looking at it from any point high above the ground, it is a magnificent sight, a sea of tents for miles and miles, surrounded by hills on all sides.

Elaborate arrangements had been made by the Saudi police to control and direct vehicular traffic, which kept moving slowly but steadily, bringing and depositing pilgrims at places where accommodation had been arranged by their respective *mu'allims*.

On arrival here we realised for the first time, like many others, that we had been let down by our *mu'allim*'s representative, Mr Shakeel Ahmed (from Pakistan), who had been living in Saudi Arabia for many years. According to the agreement and solemn assurances given by Mr Ahmed at Jeddah, in return for the payment of SR1,000 per head he would arrange transportation, accommodation in Mina, a tent at Arafat and food for the duration of the entire period. It was our clear understanding that he would accommodate us in Mina, and provide mattresses, pillows and cold water.

We were, therefore, taken by surprise when, after driving around in Mina for almost two hours without being able to locate the building to which we were supposed to be taken, we finally stopped, and our guide led us to a large tent most of which was already taken up by pilgrims who had arrived before us.

As a matter of fact, tent-living is the normal way to live in Mina, for it is a tiny minority that finds accommodation in buildings. However, since a building along with other facilities had been offered to us by Mr Shakeel Ahmed, we naturally felt we had been let down. We were one and all exhausted, having been on the move since midnight, and by now, past eleven o'clock in the morning, when we arrived at the tent, we had not had so much as a cup of tea.

The tent was a marquee covering an area approximately 45 metres by 15, covered on all sides, not leaving sufficient opening for cross-ventilation. There were cane mats on either side, with a passage down the middle.

However, inspite of the delay and the confusion we were now in Mina, having arrived, as required, before the Zuhr prayers. Some space was created for our party of nineteen persons in this large tent, and we unloaded our luggage from the bus and began settling down in the space provided for us.

It seemed we were not the only ones who had been let down by Mr Shakeel Ahmed. There was a demand from the inmates of the tent to see him but he was nowhere to be seen. His representatives tried to make excuses but could not convince us. There was neither pillow nor mattress as promised, and the ground had not been levelled properly, so there were lumps of stones and rocks under the cane mat. We were placed in a difficult predicament as on the one hand it was only fair that we should ask for the facilities we were promised, and at the same time it was becoming impossible not to lose patience and enter into an argument with those in charge of arrangements here. After all we were in *ihram* and in the midst of performing the rites ordained by Allah. The Qur'an makes it clear:

The pilgrimage is [in] one well-known months, and For Hajj are the months well known. Whoever is minded to perform the pilgrimage therein [let him remember that] there is [to be] no lewdness nor abuse nor angry conversation on the pilgrimage.¹

We hope and pray that the Merciful Allah will forgive us for even the merest thought of annoyance that may have flashed across our minds. This must surely have been a test for us. We

exercised the utmost restraint and accepted the situation with resignation.

More than seventy persons had been accommodated in this tent. At one end, along a narrow passage of not more than two feet, was placed a large water-tank with a tap not more than five or six inches from the ground. I leave to the imagination the trouble the inmates of the tent had in getting water. Since the tap was so low the lid was opened and there was always a rush to fill vessels with water by dipping into the tank.

In a small and confined area at the other end behind the tent were a number of water closets. Each of them could not have been more than two feet by two with a loose curtain in front. Next to these, the contractor had made arrangements to store drinking water and to heat water for making tea.

Outside the tent at one end was a wide road separating groups of tents. At one corner was a public outlet for water. There were four taps in a small concreted area of about five feet by five so that pilgrims could approach these taps from four sides. This group of taps was meant to meet the needs of thousands of pilgrims. On this first day at Mina there was no water in these taps; water started flowing late at night, and there was a scramble for water. There was no drainage, with the result that there were puddles of water all over the place. To try reaching these taps was, like Zam-Zam, a test of endurance and physical feat of no mean order. Even women were expected to use the taps, and those who depended upon themselves to obtain water could never get anywhere near them without being shoved and pushed by men, who had no consideration whatsoever.

With a little thought and planning it should have been possible to provide more convenient washing and bathing facilities, separately for males and females, by placing taps and showers in a row and having suitable drainage to keep the surrounding area dry and clean.

On the first day we were served a meal of rice and meat around 2 pm and in spite of the heat inside the tent and the uneven, hard ground most of us lay down and snatched some slumber.

After the late afternoon prayer (*salat al-'asr*) a few from our group went for a walk around the area and visited some of the

other camps. The entire tent-city of Mina seemed alive with activity as pilgrims moved about and there was every kind of food, cold drinks, tea, coffee and goods available in the shops. The atmosphere was one of 'Meena Bazaar'. Everyone, save of course the shop-keepers and those providing services, was dressed alike, in two white sheets. Since during the Hajj the longest and in fact the only stay for pilgrims is in Mina — a total of four days in all — I have no doubt that one of the objects Allah *subhanahu wa ta'ala* in His wisdom had provided was to enable Muslims from all over the world to meet and get to know one another in an ambience of complete equality. It is indeed a matter of great shame that all Muslims, irrespective of their nationality, do not know Arabic. Otherwise there would have been one language to help unite all Muslims into one universal brotherhood. It is very sad that while every Muslim is taught to read the Qur'an in Arabic, non-Arabs are not necessarily taught the Arabic language. The result is that a very large percentage of Muslims merely read the Qur'an as a ritual and remain ignorant of the knowledge, wisdom and guidance that Allah in His mercy has revealed as 'a blessing for mankind'. Moreover, while some try to understand the message through translations and interpretations, many remain deprived even of this opportunity due to lack of education. We may well ask ourselves what purpose is served by reciting the Qur'an in Arabic, merely as a religious duty, without understanding so much as a single word?

After staying at Mina overnight and completing five obligatory prayers, the pilgrims move to the plain of Arafat, which is situated to the east of Makkah at a distance of about fourteen kilometres. The pilgrims' stay in Arafat lasts only from afternoon till sunset and is known as *wuquf* (station), but so important is the place in the devotional acts of Hajj, that the Hajj is considered to have been performed if the pilgrim reaches Arafat in time on the 9th Dhu il-Hijjah but if he be unable to join the *wuquf* the Hajj is void. The entire time there of the pilgrims, from afternoon till sunset, is passed in glorifying God and crying aloud *labbaik, Allahumma labbaik*.

In the early hours of 7 October (9 Dhu il-Hijjah) all of us boarded our respective buses, leaving our belongings in the tent; and soon after sunrise the entire body of pilgrims started

moving to Arafat, about 11 kilometres from Mina. It was quite a spectacle to see all manner of vehicles loaded with pilgrims chanting *labbaik, Allahuma, labbaik* converging on Arafat from different routes. The pedestrians must have started from Mina much earlier, using the short-cut over the hills. They were seen along the road as well as along the slopes of the surrounding hills, hurrying so as to reach Arafat before midday.

The plain of Arafat was a sea of tents as far as the eye could reach. In the distance we could see the Jabal al-Rahmah (the Mount of Mercy), the slopes of which were already covered with people clad in white. The Prophet delivered the famous *Khutbat al-Wida* (the Farewell Sermon) from this mount.

Our day at Arafat was a far cry from the experience of those who were fortunate to perform the Hajj in the company of the Prophet. Times have changed, and Muslims have failed to abide by the advice given them by the Prophet. The real spirit of Islam as taught and demonstrated by the Prophet and the early Muslims is not visible anywhere. Instead of being the foremost people in the world, the Muslims have become backward, ignorant, steeped in superstition, lacking in discipline, divided, indulging in hypocrisy and every kind of act that helps to create disunity and offer an advantage to those forces that are determined not to allow the real spirit of Islam to emerge. All that is left to us are rituals, in every form and shape, which patently do not help to generate the spirit of brotherhood and unity among Muslims even during the Hajj. 'Each to his own' would be a fitting motto for the behaviour of the Muslims of this day and age.

The driver of our bus seemed to be habitually late in starting and arriving at a destination. By the time we arrived at Arafat and were led to where our tent was supposed to be, all the tents had already been occupied, with the result that there was no place left for us anywhere. Once again, our contractor let us down. The ladies in our group scattered and found space wherever possible to sit in the shade, while the men set about securing temporary shade with sheets we had been carrying to put on the ground. Thus some space was created beyond the edge of one of the tents.

Exactly as in Mina, a set of four taps had been installed in different places, and the one next to the group of tents we were

in was congested all the time and there was a constant struggle for water. The drainage here was even worse, and it was impossible not to step into a puddle of water while trying to fetch water or perform one's ablutions. The contractor had been thoughtful in realising one need for public conveniences, and set up four or five enclosures each about 1½ feet by 1½ feet covered by canvas on all sides; he did not, however, consider it necessary to have holes dug in the ground. The result was that there was no outlet and human excreta remained on the surface within the four canvas walls. There was hardly any room to use the toilets elsewhere, but the kind of toilets made available to us hardly shows any sense of responsibility or even propriety on the part of the contractor and the authorities in control. Not only that, these so-called toilets lay within ten yards of the washing-place with the four taps, and with the overflow water collected all round the approaches to the toilets. Perhaps the pilgrims are so emotionally charged that no one thinks of or realises the fact that conditions are such as to make one feel impure. Admittedly, the pilgrims spend just one day here in the whole year, but, this being the most important part of the Hajj, surely a little attention should be paid to provide suitable toilets, proper drainage and adequate washing and bathing facilities separately for men and women, who normally accept so much inconvenience without complaint as part of the hardships one is supposed to bear. It is one thing to accept and bear with patience what is unavoidable, but for the authorities not to take care of the basic requirements of the pilgrims, which today can so easily be provided, is another thing altogether. It is indeed a pity that so far no one really seems to have bothered, and these matters were left to unscrupulous businessmen.

We felt that visit to Arafat would not be complete unless we joined the congregation in or outside the mosque, which was at a distance of four to five kilometres from our tent.

Midday was approaching and everyone began to feel the effects of the heat, but there was little talk and most men and women were engaged in silent prayers, *dhikr* and meditation. I omitted to mention that soon after our arrival in Arafat we noticed a single propeller aircraft spraying what appeared to be some kind of disinfectant.

Three of us, men from our party, decided to make the trip to the mosque. We managed somehow to perform our ablutions, though we could not be sure if the puddles, which we could not avoid, were clean. However, we equipped ourselves with parasols and began walking. There was a narrow path between groups of tents leading to the mosque, and this seemed to be the only approach for so large a number of pilgrims. On top of that, some thoughtless people had parked their cars as well, which made the passage even narrower at those points. The three of us managed to stick together despite the pushing and shoving, and finally found some place in the open space outside the mosque, where we spread our prayer-mats and sat down. Since the mosque is not large enough to hold so many people a little thought might be given to cleaning up the area outside. Many of the pilgrims spread their prayer mats over wet ground amidst discarded tin cans, etc. But, of course, no one really bothered about such trifles; and the entire congregation sat silently listening to the *khutbah* with rapt attention.

At Arafat on that hot sunny afternoon of 7 October, 1981, after the sermon the Imam led the congregation in performing *salat al-zuhr* and *salat al-'asr* combined. We considered ourselves fortunate to have been a part of that vast congregation, bowing and prostrating together singing the praises of the Lord of the Universe. Prayers over, we made our way towards our tent.

Towards the evening there was peace and quiet as the pilgrims, each in his own way, prayed silently and with complete devotion, as this hour was most precious, and Allah alone knows how many of us would get another such opportunity.

The sun was setting behind the hills of Arafat and in silhouette we could see the outlines of Jabal al-Rahmah (the mountain of mercy) as we waited to board our buses. Many must have been contemplating silently, hoping and praying that Allah in His mercy might make it possible for them to witness yet another sunset behind these hills.

It was dark when our bus joined the heavy traffic leaving Arafat for Muzdallifah. At some point our driver must have taken a wrong turning as after some time we arrived at a junction from which no U-turn was allowed and traffic police signalled us to move on. Eventually, the driver entered an area

where there were no lights, which, he said, was within Muzdallifah. Other buses had parked there as well and pilgrims had spread out their mats and sheets to spend the night. We found a suitable spot next to the parked bus, and our ladies proceeded to spread out the sheets on the ground to prepare for our overnight stay here as directed by Allah (2: 198-9).

Soon after the Maghrib and 'Isha prayers it appeared that someone in our party was not satisfied that we were actually in Muzdallifah. They pointed out that the place for the night stop that they remembered from their previous visit was well lit, and if this were not Muzdallifah, spending the night here would not serve the purpose of fulfilling this particular requirement of the Hajj.

I spoke to the driver of a water tanker, a Saudi, whose tanker was here to provide water, and he confirmed that this place was a part of Muzdallifah. In any case, many other pilgrims had camped here to spend the night, and yet more buses were arriving with pilgrims. I tried to explain that what is desired is that we stop at Muzdallifah and not at any particular spot therein. After all, many places expand over the years and newer parts are added to it but it still retains its identity.

It speaks volumes for the majority in our group that, to meet the wishes of only two or three persons, they consented to move, whereupon we rolled up our mats and the sheets and reboarded the bus. The driver was visibly annoyed, and with reason; pointing at the pilgrims who had already settled down for the night and the buses which continued arriving he asked 'are these people not Hajjis? What is so special about this group?' However, he did not refuse our request to move from here. Back on the road once again, we drove from place to place until we spotted the area with bright street lights and, not without difficulty, found a place by the side of the road to park our bus.

Leaving the bus on the road, we made our way down the slope to the open ground and selected a spot near a tree to set up camp. It was already well past midnight and we endeavoured to sleep, but we discovered, a bit too late, that we were not far from the edge of a slope which had been transformed into an open public lavatory. Tired as we were, and being out in the open on soft ground, we fell asleep. Throughout our trip we

lacked both pillows or mattresses, since the contractor had assured us that these would be supplied by him at Mina; and used towels, prayer mats etc. to serve as makeshift pillows.

After Fajr prayers we returned to Mina. The bus ride was smooth and uneventful, and we were back in our tent around eight o'clock, when we were served tea by the contractor's men.

This was the 10th of Dhu il-Hijjah (8 October), which is called *yaum al-nahr* (the Day of Sacrifices), being the day which is celebrated as 'Id al-Adha all over the Muslim world.

On the 10th Dhu 'al-Hijjah the pilgrims pelt stones at the first Jamrah, perform the sacrifice and emerge from the state of *ihram* by having their heads shaved or hair clipped.

The three concrete objects at which stones are thrown are popularly known as the three *shaitans*.

All of us had collected the requisite pebbles at Muzdallifah the previous night, which we were to pelt at the three *shaitans*. One is required to throw seven stones each time. It is permissible, apparently, for ladies to depute the men accompanying them to cast the stones on their behalf.

Thus properly equipped, a party of us proceeded to perform the first lapidation of the *shaitans*.

It looked as if the entire population of pilgrims in Mina were on the move. The main street leading to the Jamrahs was packed with pilgrims moving in either direction going and coming. At the same time people converged on the main stream of pedestrian traffic from all sides. This being the main thoroughfare, vehicles were also moving in a single direction, arriving from Muzdallifah with pilgrims. At a certain point the congestion was such that we had to walk over a parked car! Nobody bothered about anyone else, and those who were strong shoved and pushed to get ahead.

The place where the three *shaitans* stands is approached via flyover. We walked past the first, popularly known as the Little Shaitan, then the next, the Middle Shaitan, and on to our target for the day, the Great Shaitan. There was no such thing as one-way traffic; and instead of discipline, patience and tolerance, the people seemed charged with violent frenzy. As we approached the great *shaitan* and started pelting our stones, there was a sudden stampede from the rear. I merely disposed of my stones not knowing on whose head they fell, as

by now not a few pebbles were falling on my head from the back. We were being compressed from both sides, and it is a miracle we survived the trauma, and got back to our tent in safety.

As we walked back, in twos and threes, I wondered how I would answer my Lord for my failure to perform this devotional and symbolic act in accordance with the example set by the Prophet. Any thought that I might have entertained of giving the Devil a good pelting was overshadowed by the priority of saving my own life and holding on to my companions. There was no sense of the spiritual struggle which man must constantly wage against evil. Nor was there any feeling of love or affection for my brothers in Islam. I was pained to think how far Muslims had wandered from the true Islamic spirit, and as a result become what we are today: weak, ignorant, undisciplined and disunited.

May Allah forgive me if I err, as I have no right to judge others; but the general attitude and behaviour of pilgrims leaves much to be desired, and this may be due to the fact that those entrusted with authority for providing religious guidance to the majority of people probably never stress right conduct and good behaviour, which Allah has called 'the best of provisions'. (2: 197).

Admittedly the number of pilgrims today is hundreds of times more than those who had performed the Hajj in company with the Prophet. But this does not mean that there should be any change in the basic spirit and attitude in performing the various rites of the Hajj, and there can be no excuse for the mass undiscipline which has become a part of the Muslim character.

Returning to the tent, we lay down for a while, as we were utterly exhausted, having walked more than eight kilometres under trying circumstances. Then four of us set out to do the Qurbani. We had agreed to share the expenses, which meant that for fifteen persons concerned we would need to sacrifice two cows and one goat.

The slaughter-house for sacrificing animals was some distance from our tent, in the opposite direction to the Jamrahs. Once again there were hundreds and thousands of people on the road moving to and fro between the slaughter-house and

thier respective tents. This time the crowd was not so dense and we managed to keep together without any difficulty. By now I had started to feel the strain; my back, legs and hip were aching, which made our progress slow. For some odd reason I cannot now remember the approach to the entrance of the abattoir was blocked; there was overcrowding, as usual, and we had to follow some of the crowd to cross over to the abattoir, walking over a large sewer pipeline. Having got there, we managed to enter the narrow gate by pushing our way through — by now we had learnt to behave like the rest. Another hazard one had to face in this crowd was people moving with open knives to slaughter the animals. We too had bought a knife, which we had wrapped with cloth so as not to hurt anybody.

The animals were a little further away, and as we started moving towards them I slipped and would have fallen if one of my companions had not held me up. I realised to my great horror that we were actually walking over the carcasses of dead animals that had been slaughtered earlier. It was the most terrible sensation which I had ever experienced in my life. I must have been hysterical as I kept repeating to myself in Arabic, 'O Allah, is this Islam? Have mercy upon us'. We moved a little further, my companion gripping my hand tight and in the process cutting himself with the knife he was carrying. We were stepping over blood and filth and I wondered how long I could endure this nightmare. Fortunately, the person who was ahead of us found it would be impossible to get to the animals as the place was overcrowded, and we decided to beat a strategic retreat out of abattoir. The entire floor was littered with carcasses of animals which had just been left there dead or dying, with their throats cut.

I was quite shaken after this traumatic experience and must have looked quite stupid, for it seemed others went about their job without any concern. Outside the slaughter-house was a jeep with a loudspeaker, advising pilgrims, firstly in Arabic and then in Urdu, that the act of sacrifice is a sacred duty and drawing their attention to the need to perform this act with due solemnity. It was quite obvious that the men in the jeep were either completely ignorant of what went on inside the slaughter-house, or they were not bothered, as long as they did their duty of sermonising, even if their pious utterances fell on deaf ears.

What were we to do now? Go back and return later in the afternoon when the crowd was likely to be less, or walk further up a couple of kilometres to another slaughter-house which had an incinerator, where carcasses of slaughtered animals were burnt instantly? We could in fact see smoke coming out of a chimney not too far away. They suggested that I should wait here or return to the tent but I was prepared to accompany them, so we continued walking and I followed them slowly.

Here also there was a crowd outside the narrow gate trying to force their way in, and a policeman 'on duty' was wielding his stick trying to keep them out.

I regret to say that I lost heart and decided to wait outside as I had not the stamina to go through the same horrible experience all over again. So I sat on the side of the road on a rock and waited while the others made their way into the slaughter-house.

It was a long wait after which my three companions emerged from the slaughter-house after completing their mission, carrying two legs of mutton. They reported that the gate had been closed after they got in, which restricted the crowd, and they were able to buy two healthy cows and one goat and perform sacrifice with due solemnity on behalf of all of us. They collected the two legs of mutton and left the slaughtered animals to be incinerated alongwith the others.

On our long and weary walk back I was depressed. This was the second time on the same day that I had the feeling I had failed. At the same time, I could not help wondering whether the mere act of slaughtering an animal and leaving it to be buried or incinerated, which seemed such a waste, be in accordance with Qur'anic injunction and actually fulfil the object of sacrifice.*

We were back in the tent around 2 pm, having had our hair clipped, but looking filthy and dirty as a result of our experience

*Cremation of the dead is forbidden by Islam as an outrage against that which was created in God's image. Since the whole of creation reflects the majesty of God this applies to all God's creatures. Since the decision to terminate life is a prerogative of the All-Wise, permission to do so is given only in the case of food. To slay an animal that is not going to be eaten is *haram*, besides being waste: to incinerate the carcasses is the final insult whose only effect is to show that the Saudi authorities have no understanding of Islam (editor's note).

at the first slaughter-house. We then proceeded to clean ourselves and have a bath, for which one had to jostle with the crowd of pilgrims around the taps; thus we emerged from *ihram* and donned ordinary clothing.

While it may not be difficult for the young and strong I could not help marvelling at how those who are old or weak go through this test of physical endurance with complete devotion and faith in Allah. However, it would be of immense help to the old and the weak, who wish to perform these devotional acts themselves without asking others to deputise for them, if some kind of transportation could be made available. Also pedestrian traffic could be regulated, and it could be impressed upon pilgrims that they should exercise patience and tolerance and behave in a disciplined manner. After all, the entire code of life in Islam is based on discipline. It is indeed sad that we, the Muslims, are probably the most undisciplined people in the world.

However, during the remaining two days of our stay at Mina, members of our group carried out the symbolic lapidation of the Shaitans, as required, and we also visited the Masjid al-Haram in Makkah to perform *tawaf al-ziyarah* (the Tawaf of Visit), *sa'i* of al-Safa and al-Marwah, as well as *Tawaf al-wida'* (the Tawaf of Departure).

Thus, on Saturday 10th of October/12 Dhu il-Hijjah, having completed all the rites of the Hajj we bade farewell to Mina, after the Zuhr prayers, and returned to Jeddah.

During the Hajj season pilgrims visit Madinah before or after the Hajj, as convenient, and pass as much time as they can afford. Since it is the desire of every Muslim, while in Arabia, to proceed to Madinah to pray at the Prophet's Tomb, take part in prayers in the Prophet's Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Nabawi*), and visit historical sites in and around the town, fourteen of us set out for Madinah on Sunday 11th October by a state transport bus.

There was a brief stop at a place, the name of which I omitted to note, where some kind of a toll or tax was collected from each of us. Further on, at about the half-way mark, we stopped at a place called Rabigh, well known for the 'fish' dinner available there. Considering that it is about the most popular place, although there may be others as well, for

travellers to stop, it was sad to see that no attention had been paid by the owners or the authorities concerned to provide proper toilet and washing facilities for men and women. The toilet was in a disgraceful condition, and most passengers were to be seen using the open ground in the rear. What happens during the day I do not know. One wonders why they are so neglectful of such simple and basic requirements so necessary for travellers on a long journey between Jeddah and Madinah. Not only that, a small area was marked out for prayers, and a few cane prayer mats had been left which did not even cover the entire ground.

However, most of us dozed off during the rest of the journey, and as we approached the city centre we could see the flood-lit dome of the Prophet's Tomb. It must have been well past 11 pm when we reached the Madinah Bus Station, where we took taxis to our destination, which was next door to the Prophet's Mosque.

We slept for a few hours and were woken up in time to pray at the Mosque and invoke the blessings of Allah and salutations on the Holy Prophet and his two Companions, and join the congregation for *salat al-fajr*. During the next two days, as more and more pilgrims arrived, the Mosque was filled to overflowing all the time. One had to be content with finding room wherever and whenever it was available. During congregational prayers a large number of devotees were obliged to find a place outside the mosque.

In the afternoon of Tuesday, 13 October, we hired a van and visited some of the historical sites in and around Madinah. First we went to the graveyard of the martyrs of the Battle of Uhud, who included Hamza, the Prophet's uncle, then on to Masjid al-Qiblatain (the Mosque of the two Qiblahs). It was here while praying facing Jerusalem that the congregation received word the Qiblah had just been changed and obediently turned round and faced south instead of north.

While moving around in this city, now in particular as well as at other times, one is reminded to look within oneself and ask: Have we not disgraced ourselves, in general, by not accepting and applying to our practical lives the knowledge and wisdom which the Prophet had passed on to mankind, and the glorious examples set by him for us to follow?

Our next stop was at the Seven Mosques, historically

connected with the Battle of the Trench. And, finally, to Masjid al-Quba', the first mosque built after the advent of Islam. On the way back to the Prophet's Mosque for *salat al-maghrib* we stopped at Jannat al-Baqi' and offered *Fatihah*.

In spite of the hustle and bustle there was a kind of peace and tranquillity in Madinah, and one wished it had been possible to spend more time there. The entire area around the Mosque has been concreted and a fairly large portion has cover, which makes it very convenient for everyone to move around. Since we had to catch the Hajj Flight from Jeddah to Dubai on the 16th of October, with utmost reluctance we said farewell after *salat al-'isha*, invoking Allah's blessings on the Prophet, upon whom be peace.

The Prophet's *Khutbah* in *Hajjat al-Wida'* (10 AH)

By Zafarul-Islam Khan

Hajjat al-Wida': an introduction

The Prophet's Hajj, in Dhu 'l-Hijjah 10 AH, was not only his first since his *hijra* to Madinah but also his first since he became a prophet.¹ The Prophet, upon whom be peace, had performed four 'umrahs²: 'Umrat al-Hudaibiyah (Dhu 'l-Qa'dah 6 AH), 'umrat al-Qada' (Dhu 'l-Qa'dah 7 AH), 'Umrat al-Ji'irranah (Dhu 'l-Qa'dah 8 AH), after the conquest of Makkah, and the 'Umrah he performed shortly before his Hajj in Dhu 'l-Hijjah 10 AH.

The Prophet's Hajj is commonly known as *Hajjat al-Wida'* ('Hajj of the Farewell'). In early times Muslims used to call it *Hajjat al-Islam* ('Hajj of Islam').³

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, left Madinah on his way to perform the Hajj on Thursday, 24 Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 10 AH and reached Makkah in the morning of Sunday, 4 Dhu 'l-Hijjah. He took the high road to Makkah through Kada' and camped at al-Abtah. On the first day of his stay at Makkah he performed *tawaf* and *sa'ī*⁴ between the small hills of Safa and Marwah riding his camel, with a saddle worth not more than four dirhams.⁵

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, spent Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday night at Makkah.⁶ On the morning of Thursday, which was the 'Day of Mina' or 'Day of Deliberation' (*yaum al-tarwiyah*), as it is also called, the Prophet wore *ihram*⁷ at al-Abtah and went to Mina, where he performed the prayers of *zuhr*, *'asr*, *maghrib* and *'isha*. After spending the night at Mina and performing the morning prayers on Friday (10 Dhu 'l-Hijjah) he moved on to Arafat, where he put up in a tent. In the afternoon, he rode his she-camel, al-Qaswa', to the middle part of the Arafat valley and

delivered his famous speech known as the *Khutbah* of the Hajjat al-Wida', the translation of which is given hereunder. Here also, as the Prophet stood at Arafat⁸ praying, the following historic *ayah* of the Qur'an was revealed to him:

This day have I perfected your religion for you
and have completed my favour unto you,
and chosen for you as your religion Al-Islam!

After delivering the *Khutbah*, the Prophet, upon whom be peace, performed the two prayers of *zuhr* (afternoon) and *'asr* (evening) with one *adhan* and two *iqamahs*. Then the Prophet, upon whom be peace, rode to the Mauqif in Arafat and continued praying to Allah until the sunset of that day (Friday). Then he moved to Al-Muzdallifah, where he performed the two prayers of *maghrib* (sunset) and *'isha* (night) with one *adhan* and two *iqamahs* and retired there. On Saturday 11 Dhu 'l-Hijjah, (known as *yaum al-nahr* [the Day of Sacrifice] or *yaum al-adhiyah* [the Day of Sacrifices] or *yaum al-'Id* [the Day of the Feast] or *yaum al-Hajj al-Akbar* [the Day of the Great Pilgrimage]), the Prophet performed the morning prayers at Al-Muzdallifah and ordered children and women to proceed to Mina in the early morning ahead of the general rush. He himself left Al-Muzdallifah before the sunrise and, while riding, smote the Jamratul 'Aqabah with seven small stones, pronouncing the *takbir*¹¹ each time. On the same day (Saturday) the Prophet delivered another *Khutbah* at Mina, which was similar in many ways to the one he delivered at Arafat.¹² Then he offered his sacrifices (100 camels, out of which he himself slaughtered 63 and the rest were sacrificed on his behalf by his son-in-law Ali, may Allah be pleased with him). Then the Prophet shaved his head, and cut his moustache, beard and nails. He ordered his hair and nails to be buried. Then he used scent and donned normal dress, taking off his *ihram*. His crier announced to the people: 'These are the days of eating and drinking'. On the same day, the Prophet rode to Makkah and performed the *tawaf al-ifadah*¹³ before *zuhr* and returned to Mina on the same day.

At Mina people came to him, saying 'I made *sa'i* before *tawaf*, or 'I delayed something', or 'I performed something before it was due'. The Prophet used to tell them: 'No objection, no

objection! Objection and death are only for the person who wrongfully violates the honour of a Muslim'.¹⁴

At Mina the Prophet spent the rest of the same day (Saturday), Sunday and Monday (as well as Tuesday) which (the first three) are the 'three days of Mina or the 'days of throwing stones'. On Sunday the Prophet also spoke to the people. Ordering good behaviour with one's relatives and prohibiting injustices of all kind, he said: 'No Arab has superiority over a non-Arab or non-Arab superiority over an Arab, no black man over a red and no red over a black except by *taqwa* (fear of Allah)'.¹⁵

In the afternoon of Tuesday (the 13 Dhu 'l-Hijjah, known as *yaum al-nafar*), the Prophet moved to al-Muhassib at al-Abtah in Makkah, where he stayed in a tent. Here he prayed *zuhr*, '*Asr* and *maghrib* of that day as well as '*isha* of the night of Wednesday (14 Dhu 'l-Hijjah) and slept briefly. Before the morning prayers he went to the *Haram* (the precinct of Ka'bah) and performed *Tawaf al-Wida'* (*Tawaf* of Farewell), leaving Makkah for Madinah via Kada'. In all, he stayed ten days at Makkah during this Hajj.¹⁶

Footnotes:

1. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqat al-kubra*, II, pp.172-3, 189; Ibn Hazm, *Hajjat al-Wida'*, p.137.
2. 'Umrah is a pilgrimage to Makkah at any other time than the prescribed days of *Hajj* in the pilgrimage month of Dhu il-Hijjah.
3. *Ibid*, pp.172-3.
4. *Tawaf* (circumambulation), an essential part of both *Hajj* and '*Umrah*, consists in walking seven times around the Ka'bah in Makkah; *sa'i* (the running) consists in running between the small hills of Safa and Marwah, adjacent to the Ka'bah, seven times.
5. Dirham is an ancient Arabic coin of silver.
6. The night of Thursday', according to the ancient Arab chronological habit, means the night preceding the day of Thursday.
7. *Ihram*, or pilgrimage dress, entails donning a two-piece unsown white cloth before the embarking on either *Hajj* and '*Umrah*.
8. Ibn Sa'd, *Op. Cit.*, p.188.

9. *Qur'an*, 5:3.
10. *Adhan* is the call for prayer; *Iqamah* is the signal to stand up, chanted before the congregational prayer starts.
11. *takbir* the (Magnification) signifies the pronouncement of the phrase *Allahu Akbar* (God is the Greatest).
12. For a text of this Khutbah, see: al-Waqidi, *Kitab al-Maghazi*, vol. 3, p.1111.
13. This *tawaf* is performed during the three days of Mina.
14. *Hadith* narrated by Usama ibn Shuraik: Abu Da'ud, *al-Sunan (Kitab al-Manasik)*.
15. *Hadith* narrated by Abu Nadhrah: Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *al-Musnad*, V, p.411.
16. This narrative of the Prophet's Hajj is summarised from Ibn Hazm, *Hajjat al-Wida'*.

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Text of the Prophet's *Khutbah* in the Hajjat al-Wida'

(Friday, 10 Dhu il-Hijjah, 10 AH)

[The Prophet, upon whom be peace, praised and glorified Allah, and then said:]

'O people, listen to what I say, as I do not know if I shall ever meet you at this place after this year.

'O people, your blood and your property [and your honour]² are sacrosanct, until you meet your Lord, even sacrosanct as this day and this month are sacrosanct. You shall meet your Lord and He shall ask you of your deeds. I have conveyed [the message]. He who has a trust with him, let him return it to the one who has entrusted him with it.

'[Behold, everything of the *jahiliyyah*³ [is trampled] under my feet].⁴ All usury is abolished, but you retain your capital. Do no wrong and you shall not be wronged. Allah has ordered that there should be no usury. All the usury of 'Abbas ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib is abolished. All the [unavenged] blood claims of the *jahiliyyah* are abolished and the first claim I abolish is that of the son of Rabi'ah ibn Al-Harith ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib⁵; he was fostered among Banu Laith, [where the tribe of] Hudhail killed him. This is the first of the *jahiliyyah* blood claims that I begin with.

[O People, Allah has assigned unto everyone his due. Bequest to an heir is illegal.⁶ The child belongs to the bed,⁷ and the adulterer is to be stoned. Whoever claims to be the son of one who he is not his father and whoever claims to be the client of one who is not his master⁸ on him rests the curse of Allah, the angels and all humanity. Allah shall not accept his repentance or redemption].⁹

'O People, Satan has despaired of ever being worshipped in this land of yours. But if he can be obeyed in anything less

[than worship] he will be content with matters you may regard as of little importance. So beware of him in your religion.

'O People, "Postponement of a sacred month is an excess in disbelief whereby those who disbelieve are misled; they permit it in one year and forbid it in another year, [deluding themselves] that they may make up the months which Allah has prescribed as sacrosanct; thus they permit what Allah has forbidden"¹⁰ And forbid what Allah has permitted. The cycle of time was shaped on the day that Allah created the heavens and the earth. "The number of the months with Allah is twelve".¹¹ Four of them are sacrosanct: three consecutive¹² and the Rajab of Mudar,¹³ which is between Jumada [al-Thaniyyah] and Sha'ban.

'O People, you have rights over your wives and they have rights over you. You have the right that they do not permit into your homes anyone you dislike and they should not commit openly indecent acts. If they do, Allah permits you to put them in secluded rooms and to beat them without severity. If they refrain [from such things] they have a right to their food and clothing in kindness. Take good concern of women, for they are in your trust and have no control of their selves. You have only taken them as a trust from Allah, and you have been permitted by the words of Allah to have sexual relations with them.

'O People, understand my words. I have conveyed [the message], I have left with you as plain indication that which if you hold fast to it you will never go astray: the Book of Allah and the practice of His Prophet.

'O People, listen to what I say and understand it. Know that every Muslim is a brother to every Muslim and that the Muslims form one brotherhood. It is not lawful for a person to take from his brother except what he gives him willingly. So never wrong yourselves. O Allah, have I not conveyed [the message]?

'You will be asked about me, so what you will say? (They said: "We witness that you have conveyed and have performed your duty and that you have meant well with us"). [Pointing his index finger to the heaven and then to the people, he said: O Allah, be witness; O Allah, be witness; O Allah, be witness.]¹⁴

'[Let the present convey the message to the absent. Many a listener may comprehend better than those who may be

[present] listening. Return not to disbelief after me, killing each other.]¹⁵

Footnotes:

1. The text is taken from Ibn Ishaq's narrative as recorded by Ibn Hisham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah* II, pp.603-4. Insertions are from other narratives references to which are given below.
2. Addition from Ibn 'Abbas's narrative, al-Bukhari, *Al-Jami' al-Sahih* (Bab al-Khutbah ayyam Minan).
3. *Jahiliyyah* refers to the state of ignorance prevailing in Arabia before the advent of Islam.
4. Addition from the Hadith of Jabir ibn 'Abdullah: Muslim, *Al-Jami' al-Sahih*, (Kitab al-Hajj, Bab Hajjati an-nabi, sallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam).
5. The son of Rabi'ah' was called Iyas. He was slain accidentally during the skirmish between the tribes of Sa'd and Hudhail.
6. It is not legal for a person on the verge of death to deprive or give more to certain heirs in excess of what they are entitled according to the Shari'ah.
7. The child, regardless of his actual father, will be regarded as a son of his legal father if the child's mother be married.
8. A client is a slave who was freed by someone; he continues to be known as a 'client' of his previous master.
9. Addition from the narrative of 'Amr ibn Kharijah: Ibn Hisham, *Al-Sirat an-Nabawiyah*, II, p.605.
10. *Qur'an*, 9:37.
11. *Qur'an*, 9:36.
12. These three consecutive months in which wars are prohibited are Dhu il-Qa'dah, Dhu il-Hajjah and Muharram, as well as Rajab.
13. 'Rajab of Mudar' is specified because another tribe, Rabi'ah, used to refer to the month of Ramadhan as 'Rajab'.
14. Addition from the narrative of 'Abdullah ibn Jabir; Muslim, *Op. Cit.*
15. Addition from the narrative of Abi Bakrah: Al-Bukhari, *Al-Jami' al-Sahih*, (Bab al-Khutbah, ayyam Minan).

Khutbah al-Wida': An Interpretation

By Ahmad Abdul Hamid Ghorab

In an historical perspective, the Hajjat al-Wida', or Farewell Pilgrimage, should be seen not as an isolated event in the life of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, but as the climax of a long historical process. The climax is expressed in the Qur'an as 'perfection' of the Muslim *Ummah* through *deen* (the perfect way of life). This means that the Muslim *Ummah* becomes perfect through perfect understanding and practice of Islam. In this perfection lies the greatest favour of Allah bestowed on the Muslims, as Allah says in the verse revealed in the day of Hajjat al-Wida':

'This day I have perfected your *deen* for you and completed My favour to you, and I have chosen Islam as the way of life for you.'¹

Allah, the Most Powerful, could have brought that perfection to the Muslims overnight, or at any earlier stage of the Prophet's mission. It took twenty-three years, almost the whole time of the Prophet's career. No human being can claim to know the Divine wisdom in all its aspects. But, the manifestations of the Divine wisdom are clear in the Divine plan of revealing the Qur'an in stages, as well as in the emergence of the best *Ummah* in stages.

The *kuffar* wanted the whole of the Qur'an to be revealed at once. But Allah's wisdom in revealing it at intervals, covering the whole career of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, is made clear in the Qur'an itself. It was revealed at intervals in order to provide continual support to the Prophet, and to give him time to teach his Companions how to live according to its instructions. In this manner, the best *Ummah* could emerge after a

long and thorough process, taking its natural course to achieve perfection.²

The periodic revelation of the Qur'an is directly connected with the long historical process of producing the best *Ummah*. That historical process went through various stages, the most important of which are the following:

The first, roughly covering the pre-Hijra period in Makkah. It extends to about thirteen years, during which time the Muslims lived under uninterrupted persecution, which included torture, and the constant fear of Islam being rooted out completely.³

It is necessary to go through all those vicissitudes in order to build the best *Ummah* because human effort, endurance and suffering for the sake of Allah are necessary, so that Allah's word may rule supreme. This stage is called in Qur'anic language *ibtala'* (affliction), or *fitnah* (commotion), testing the faith of the Muslims, on both the communal and the individual level, to prove their sincerity and ascertain whether they can withstand the harshest conditions of the struggle for Allah's cause:

If He wanted, Allah could have defeated them (the *kuffar*) but He wanted to test you (thus it is ordained) that He may test you by one another.⁴

Indeed, We shall test you, till We know those of you who strive hard [for Allah's cause] and the steadfast, and We test your records.⁵

Do people think that they will be left [at ease] because they say: 'We believe' and will not be tested with affliction? We tested those who were before you; Thus Allah establishes those who are sincere [to their beliefs] and knows those who feign.⁶

This testing was, at the time of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, an inseparable part of educating the Muslims. This process of education was based on two criteria: (a) the Divine guidance given to them by the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, and (b) the actual 'training' through bitter experience of the struggle.

This is the Divine norm. Those who think that Islam can spread, and the best *Ummah* can emerge, without Muslims

going through the long and arduous process of education and without hard and bitter struggle for Allah's cause, are absolutely mistaken.

In the Qur'an, there are many reference to *hijra*; especially as an effective means to fight the *jahili* way of life and to change the conditions of the Muslims from a state of oppression to a state of strength, through getting together and living an Islamic way of life.

Allah says:

When angels take the souls of those who have wronged themselves, they ask: 'In what were you engaged?' They will say: 'We were oppressed in the land'. [the angels] will say: 'Was not Allah's earth spacious enough for you to migrate therein [away from oppression]?' Such persons' abode will be hell: what an evil refuge! Except those who are [really] weak, men, women and children, who have no means, nor guide. For those there is hope that Allah will forgive them. Allah is ever clement and forgiving. Those who migrate for the cause of Allah will find much refuge and abundance in the earth.⁷

Thus Muslims must never consent to live in conditions under which they are humiliated, oppressed and unable to practice their *deen*. They should do everything they can to change the evil *status quo*, because it prevents them from living an Islamic way of life. Therefore, *hijra* in Islam is a form of *jihād*, which is why it is mentioned in connection with *jihād* in several verses.⁸ The Prophet's *hijra* was not a flight, as orientalists and missionaries usually describe it, but one stage of a Divine plan to change the conditions of the Muslims. Thus, in Madinah, they were able to live Islam together as an *Ummah* and apply the *Shari'ah*. They were also in a better position to fight the tyranny of the *mushrikun* of Makkah and the treacherous conspiracies of the Jews and *munafiqun* in Madinah. At the same time, they were being prepared by the Prophet, upon whom be peace, to play their future role of achieving the universal goal of Islam, i.e. to spread it beyond the Arabian Peninsula and to liberate humanity from the two most tyrannical systems of the time: the Persian and Byzantine

empires.

Within a century of its advent, Islam penetrated deep into Africa and Europe. We cannot fully understand that expansion unless we reflect on the steps taken by the Prophet and their meanings. We should concentrate on the steps taken during a relatively short period before the *hajjat al-wida'* (i.e. during the three years between 7-10 AH). We refer especially to the following steps:

- a. **Universal messages:** In the 7th year, the Prophet sent messages to six non-Muslim rulers outside Arabia, including the Persian and Byzantine emperors. This step demonstrated the universality of the Islamic message and the Prophet's concern to have that message spread to all mankind.
- b. **Elimination of the Jewish influence in the peninsula:** This step is clearly demonstrated by the campaign of Khaybar (Muharram-Safar, 7 AH) and the subsequent evacuation of Jews from Madinah and all nearby areas. Obviously, this step had to be taken in order to protect the Muslim *Ummah* from the Jews, whose treachery had already been bitterly experienced by the Muslims, especially during the Battle of the Ditch or al-Khandaq (also known as the Battle of the Allied Parties, or *al-Ahzab* — Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 5 AH). In that battle the Muslims were besieged by the enemies of Islam — the *mushrikun* of Makkah and the Jews of Khaybar together with their bedouin allies. During the siege, the Jews (who had been under solemn agreement with the Muslims to defend the city against any outside attack) colluded with the enemy and treacherously helped them, that they might conquer the city and annihilate the Muslims. By Allah's Power and Mercy, the Muslims were saved, their enemies defeated and the Jews of Madinah consequently punished for their treachery.
- c. **The elimination of *shirk*:** This step is clearly demonstrated by the conquest of Makkah (Ramadhan 8/January 630) and the destruction of all the idols in and around the Ka'bah. This conquest was followed later by a decree forbidding any *mushrik* from entering the Haram or doing *tawaf* therein

(some of them had been in the custom of doing *tawaf* naked). All immoral practices associated with *shirk*, like usury, alcohol, gambling, prostitution, female infanticide, and enslaving and exploiting the weak, were abolished. This immoral way of life followed by the *mushrikun* is the reason why they are described in the Qur'an as *najas*, which means that they are unclean physically and mentally. There can be no co-existence between the believers 'who love to be purified',¹⁰ and people who revel in *najasah*; there is always the danger of contamination. There would be little hope of spreading Islam as a pure way of life if Muslims cohabited with those who are *najas*.

- d. **Campaigns against the Roman Empire:** The preparations to spread Islam beyond Arabia were demonstrated by the campaign of Muthah (Jumadah I, 8 AH) and Tabuk (Rajab, 9 AH). These campaigns were part of the Prophet's far-sighted plan to spread Islam outside the Arabian peninsula; especially in Syria and Egypt, the two pearls of the Byzantine Empire.

The answer to the mystery of how it was possible to spread Islam in so short a time is because the Muslim community had acquired certain characteristics without which success would not have been possible. The Prophet's *khutbah* in the *Hajjat al-wida'* spells out these characteristics. A reading of the Prophet's *khutbah* will show that the most important of them are:

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, began the *khutbah* by saying: 'O people', not 'O Arabs'. Throughout the *khutbah* he continued addressing the Muslims, saying 'O People'. This is a clear indication that the message of Islam was for all mankind.

Behind the brevity of the expression lies a great ideal, which humanity still dreams of achieving, that all human beings are equal, regardless of race, colour or nation. In Islam, the only criterion of superiority is *taqwa*. This criterion is emphasised in the Qur'an: 'O People, We have created you through male and female and have made you nations and tribes that you may know one another. The noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the

best in conduct.'¹¹

The Prophet alluded to this criterion in the *khutbah* referred to: "O People, your Lord is one, and your ancestor is one, you are all from Adam, and Adam was made of dust. The noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the best in conduct. No Arab is better than a non-Arab except by *taqwa*.'

Allah says, 'the best believers are brothers'.¹² The *khutbah* emphasizes this brotherhood. The Prophet urged the Muslims to live by this principle and declared that for Muslims shedding each others' blood is an act of unbelief (*kufr*). He said, 'After my death, do not turn unbelievers, cutting each others' throats'.

The believers' faith in Allah cannot be true unless they do justice to each other, especially the rulers to the ruled, the rich to the poor and, generally, the strong to the weak. Islam, as a religion of justice, would not have spread as fast as it did if Muslims had been committing injustice against each other. This is why in his *khutbah* the Prophet stressed that all *jahili* forms of oppression and exploitation have been abolished.

The principle of *i'adat al-amanat* (safe return of trusts to their owners) is one of the most important moral and legal obligations of the Islamic government towards the Muslim community. This is why the principle is linked to ruling people justly. As the Qur'an says, 'Allah commands you to return trusts to their owners, and, if you judge between people, judge justly.'¹³

This is illustrated by the Prophet's reference to the practice of *nasi*: the Unbelievers of the *Jahiliyyah* used to tamper with the calendar according to their whims and interests, to postpone a sacred month in which killing was forbidden when they wanted to make war and make up for it by hallowing another month. This behaviour is condemned in the Qur'an as 'excess in unbelief'.¹⁴

The *khutbah* had made it clear that no more of this tinkering with time is allowed. Time is very precious, as also is making good use of it by pursuing worthwhile activities (*'amal salih*).

The family is the most vital unit of the Muslim community. The whole structure of the Community would not function according to Islam were its units not leading an Islamic way of life. Few people would be convinced of the Islamic ideal if it were not even working in reality, especially in family life. So

long as husbands and wives do not know their rights and duties in Islam and act accordingly, and as long as Muslim women are kept in a state of ignorance and oppression, and as long as the children are not brought up according to Islam, the attempt to establish a Muslim *Ummah* and an Islamic State is futile. The Prophet enjoined the believers: 'Do treat your women well and be kind to them, for they are your partners and committed helpers'.

The Prophet said: 'I am leaving you the Book of Allah and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet. If you follow them, you will never go astray'.

It is obvious that the plight of contemporary Muslims stems from the fact that they take their guidance from east or west, but not from the Qur'an and *Sunnah*.

The Prophet emphasized that what he said should be conveyed to other people, and repeatedly asked Allah and the Muslims to witness that he himself conveyed the Divine message:

The Qur'an emphasized that *tabligh* is an obligation on every Muslim qualified for it. There are many verses emphasizing this obligation on both the Prophet and scholars.¹⁶

These are the main points emphasized in the *khutbah*. It is clear that the Farewell *khutbah* is not just a casual speech on a passing occasion but rather constitutes a historical declaration of the most vital principles of Islam and the most essential characteristics of the Muslim community.

From the *khutbah*, contemporary Muslims can learn important lessons, some of which are the following:

1. Muslims cannot claim to be Muslims while leading a *jahili* life and living by *jahili* values.
2. The contemporary Muslim community has either to live according to the Divine principles of Islam in its totality or face annihilation, so that a new *Ummah*, moulded on the model of that 'best *Ummah*' may once again emerge.

The Qur'an has given us both the warning and the description of the new *Ummah*, which possess the unique qualities of those believers who love, and are loved by, Allah:

'O you who have believed, whoever among you turns

back from his *deen*, Allah will produce [other] people, whom He loves and who love Him; who are humble with the believers, firm with the unbelievers, fighting in the way of Allah and fearing no blame of any blamer. [This] is the grace of Allah, which He awards to whom He wills. Allah is All-Embracing and All-Knowing.¹⁶

Notes:

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|-----------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| 1. Qur'an: 5:3. | 9. | 9:28. |
| 2. 25:32; 17:106. | 10. | 9:108. |
| 3. 8:26. | 11. | 49:13. |
| 4. 47:4. | 12. | 49:20. |
| 5. 47:31. | 13. | 4:4. |
| 6. 29:2-3. | 14. | 9:37. |
| 7. 4:97-100. | 15. | 5:67; 3:187; 2:159. |
| 8. E.g. 2:218; 3:195; 9:20. | 16. | 5:54. |

Pilgrimage in time-perspective: the West African experience

By Ahmed Mohammed Kani

It is generally believed that the Saharan and northern fringes of the Sudanic belt were exposed to Islamic influences from the eighth century CE. Long before the destruction of the Empire of Ghana by the Murabitun in 1076 CE, Islam was firmly interwoven into the social fabric of the Sahelian belt of West Africa.*

One of the earliest States to be established in West Africa under the tutelage of Islam was the kingdom of Takrur at the beginning of the eleventh century. The agents of Islamisation were mainly itinerant scholars and traders who came across or from the Sahara. In the process, both human and cultural contacts were consolidated by way of settlements, building of mosques, establishment of schools and display of Islamic *Shari'ah* and the manifestation of Islamic practices which mould the character of a Muslim.¹

The performance of pilgrimage is one of the foundations on which Islam was built. Pilgrimage, according to the Qur'an, the *Sunnah* and the consensus of Muslim jurists, is a duty binding upon Muslims, both male and female, but unlike the other religious obligations such as prayer and fasting, its performance is contingent on *istita'a* (ability).² This *istita'a* is understood to be both physical and financial. While all schools of jurisprudence emphasise *istita'a* as a prerequisite of Pilgrimage, the interpretation of *istita'a* in the Maliki *madhhab* signifies the physical ability to reach Makkah by either walking or riding, and it does not signify whether what the intending pilgrim may ride on belongs to him or is hired. The Maliki *madhhab* does not

*West Africa lies between latitudes 10° to 17° north and longitudes 15° west and 15° east. It is bounded to the north by the Sahara and to the south by the forest zone. For practical reasons this study does not include areas such as the Volta region, Dahomey and Yorubaland. The Pilgrimage tradition in those areas requires separate treatment.

place much emphasis on *zad* (provisions) and *rahila* (means of transport). *Zad* can be compensated for by any lawful occupation *en route* Makkah and *rahila* by the ability to walk.³

It is against this background that one must understand the special position in which the Muslims of West Africa have placed Hajj. Being predominantly Malikite, West Africans adhere almost literally to this injunction of the Maliki school. Over the centuries and in spite of the changing social conditions and the rise and fall of political institutions, hundreds of thousands of men and women, young and old, move towards Makkah to fulfil this particular obligation.⁴ Hajj occupies a position of centrality in the life of the West African Muslim. Many believe that unless one performs the Hajj one's *iman* (faith) is incomplete. Despite the hardships endured during the arduous journey and in spite of the hazards and security risks, thousands of people abandon their homes, families and properties for the sake of this Islamic obligation. Many prospective pilgrims and those returning from Pilgrimage may die, get lost or be forced by social and financial circumstances to settle in a particular place; yet each year hundreds of thousands of people converge on the Holy Places for the performance of this noble duty. The Hajj provides optimum opportunities for Muslims to learn about each other's customs, problems and way of life. It acts as a forum for the exchange of ideas and transmission of knowledge. In the context of West Africa the performance of Hajj established special and unique traditions which the present paper will try to tackle from a chronological point of view. The traditions may have parallels in other parts of the Muslim world but the historical circumstances in which they were maintained and the roles played by specific groups and individuals is certainly different.

Before the introduction of modern transport one could distinguish between two categories of pilgrimage: (i) the organised Hajj, and (ii) the private. The organised Hajj could be further subdivided into (a) royal, and (b) non-royal Hajj. One can also surmise that the earliest pilgrimages in West Africa were patronised by the monarchs. In many instances the rulers themselves acted as leaders of the Hajj caravans to Makkah.⁵ Still, even now, West Africans and people of West African descent are generally referred to in the Middle East, and

particularly in the Holy Places, as Takrur (sing. Takruri).⁶ This may suggest that the first people to have performed the pilgrimage were the inhabitants of the eleventh-century kingdom of Takrur. Many Middle Eastern historical records referred to the inhabitants of West Africa as Takrur and the rulers of the individual countries as the kings of Takrur.⁷

The fourteenth-century records mention that the first king of Mali to profess Islam was Barmandana. He was also the first king to establish a Hajj tradition in Mali. In addition, Ibn Khaldun lists three other Mali kings who performed pilgrimage before 1406 CE.⁸ Islam was well established in Mali during the reign of Mansa Musa (1312-37). Mansa Musa's fame spread beyond the Malian Empire. He became well known in the Middle East after performing his famous pilgrimage to Makkah in 1394 CE. A full account of his pilgrimage was given by Shihab al-Din ibn Fadlallah al'Umari (in his *Masolik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar*), who came to Egypt twelve years after this historic event. Ibn Khaldun placed the event in its historical perspective. Thousands of people forming a great caravan, accompanied Mansa Musa to Makkah. About 60,000 people were believed to have joined Mansa Musa in his journey to the Holy Places. The arrival of such a large number of pilgrims aroused a sensation in Egypt at the time. All along the pilgrimage route and especially in Egypt, Mansa Musa was said to have spent his wealth to the extent that by the time he wanted to return home all his resources were exhausted, and he was reduced to borrowing money from some Egyptian merchants.⁹ Mansa Musa's caravan followed Mali-Walata across Tuwat and then to Ghadames and Cairo before arriving at Makkah. While in Egypt, Mansa Musa established diplomatic relations with Sultan al-Nasir ibn Qalawun, the then ruler of Egypt.¹⁰ One could equally surmise that similar contacts might have taken place with the *ulama* of Egypt and the Hijaz with a view to acquiring scholarship.

The power of Mali began to decline from the beginning of the fifteenth century. Mali lost control over the greater part of Takrur and Timbuktu. After the decline of Mali, Songhay emerged as a formidable power and successor to Mali. Songhay's hegemony extended over a large area of Western and Central Sudan. During the reign of Sonni 'Ali (1464-92), Songhay was

transformed into a great imperial power, but it was Askia al-Hajj Muhammad (1492-1527) who made great efforts in the Islamisation and the establishment of the supremacy of Islam over a vast area of Western Sudan. In contrast to Sonni 'Ali, Askia respected the *ulama* and made great contributions to the spread of both Islam and learning within his empire.

Accompanied by a large retinue of his officials and a host of scholars, Askia al-Hajj Muhammad left his capital, Gao, with the intention of performing the Hajj, in Safar, 902/October-November, 1496. His military escorts were estimated at about 1,500. According to al-Maqar, Askia's caravan might have travelled from Gao through Tekedda, Air and Fezzan before reaching Egypt.¹¹ Although Askia's arrival at Cairo did not create a sensation like that of Mansa Musa, some traditions suggest that while abroad Askia was appointed a 'caliph' of the lands of Tadrar. According to *Tarikh al-Fattash*, the Sharif of Makkah, Maulay al-'Abbas, appointed him 'as the eleventh in the line of the *khulafa*.'¹² On his return journey Askia al-Hajj Muhammad and his scholars are said to have come into direct contact with the famous scholar Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 1505), who seemed to have had a special relationship with West African rulers in general and Askia in particular.¹³

In the eastern part of West Africa it is suggested that Islam made its first impact in Kanem-Borno area right from the seventh century CE. The earliest recorded appearance of Muslims in Kanem-Borno occurred in 46 AH (667 CE), when Muslim vanguards under the leadership of 'Uqbah ibn Nafi' arrived in the region of Kawar. However, it is presumed that the route traversed by 'Uqbah and his followers connected Kanem directly with the Tripolitanian coast and provided a channel for early Islamic influences to penetrate.¹⁴ The proximity of Kanem-Borno to the Middle East facilitated to a great extent the performance of Pilgrimage from Kanem-Borno and Hausaland. It is probable that the first Bornoan ruler to establish direct contacts with some parts of the Middle East was Dunama Dabalimi in the twelfth century. The main factor for such a contact was the performance of Pilgrimage. It is clear from the records that Pilgrimage provided a great opportunity for the rulers and the people of Kanem-Borno to maintain cultural, intellectual and diplomatic links with the societies of

the Middle East. Trading activities between the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa were greatly enhanced. These relations led, in the end, to the establishment of a school at al-Fustat near Cairo, known as Madrasah of Ibn Rashiq, which specialised in the education and training of the students from Kanem-Borno. In his survey of the schools in Egypt during the thirteenth century, al-Maqrizi gives a detailed account of the Maliki school located at Hamam al-Rish in Cairo. The school, he states, was built by the Kanem people who came to Cairo in about 640 AH (1242-43 CE) on their way to perform Pilgrimage. The school was entrusted to al-Qadi 'Alam al-Din ibn Rashiq. Kanem people are reported to have continued to maintain this school financially for quite some time.¹⁵ It could be inferred from the statement of al-Maqrizi that the school attracted a large number of students from various parts of West Africa because according to him the school had already 'acquired great reputation in Bilad al-Takrur'. Some Bornoan lists of kings and history books from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century referred to certain Borno rulers with the title 'al-Hajj', which suggests that these rulers had performed Pilgrimage at least once in their life-time. But it is certain from the account given by Imam Ahmad ibn Furtuwa that Mai Idris Aloma performed Pilgrimage either once or twice — this towards the last quarter of the 16th century. Describing the first Pilgrimage of Mai Idris Aloma, and the benefits associated with it, Ahmad ibn Furtuwa writes:

Look at his journey to the house of God that he might win a sure glory. Thus, leaving the kingdom he loved and an envied pomp, he went East, turning his back on delights and paying his debts to God so that he performed Pilgrimage and visited Tayba, the Tayba of the Prophet.... Among the benefits which God Most High of His bounty and beneficence, generosity and constancy conferred upon the Sultan was the acquisition of Turkish musketeers and numerous household slaves, who became skilled in firing muskets.¹⁶

The arduous journey and the risk of being overthrown during prolonged absence did not discourage the Bornoan rulers from

performing the Hajj more than once. Clear evidence of this is the pilgrimage of Mai 'Ali ibn 'Umar, who, according to some sources, performed pilgrimage to Makkah thrice, in 1648, 1656 and 1667.¹⁷ This 'impressive achievement' prompted the Bornoan song-writers to praise him thus:

Dala Mai, grandson of Shatima, 'Ali the smoke of Mada,
the lion of Mada, the journey to Makkah was to him as a
night ride.¹⁸

As regards Hausaland, it is believed that Islam began to spread in this part of West Africa some time before the fifteenth century. The agents of Islamisation were mainly itinerant scholars and travellers who passed through or settled in the region. Unlike the case of Kanem-Borno, the earliest Islamic influences seem to have come from the west rather than the east. Documentary sources at our disposal associate the coming of Islam to Hausaland with the Wangarawa,¹⁹ who came to Hausaland between 1349-1384. The *Tarikh Arbab hadha al-Balad al-Musamma Kano*, otherwise known as the 'Kano Chronicle', states:

The Wangarawa came from Melle, bringing with them the Muhammadan religion. The name of their leader was 'Abd al-Rahman Zaite (Zaghiti).²⁰

The original motive behind the movement of this group of Wangarawa, according to a seventeenth-century manuscript entitled *Asl al-Wangarawiyin*, was to perform pilgrimage to Makkah but, for socio-political reasons, their journey to Makkah had to be terminated in Hausaland.²¹ Al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman Zaghiti, as mentioned in *Asl al-Wangarawiyin*, was accompanied on his journey by a large contingent of his followers, including about 3,640 erudite *ulama*. While in Hausaland, the Wangarawa first passed through the lands of Gobir, Azbin and Katsina before finally settling in Kano. Some followers of Shaykh Zaghiti chose to settle in Gobir and Katsina for one reason or another. Although documentary evidence is missing, one would venture to presume that the presence of the Wangarawa in Kano was bound to have a great impact on the

socio-political life of its people. It was also likely to have brought about significant changes regarding Islamisation and the transmission of learning. On their arrival in Hausaland the Wangarawa are reported to have established contacts with the rulers and persuaded them to abandon their old religion in favour of the new one. Thus, Islam came to be recognized in Kano as a political force during Yaji's time (1349-84). As a result of the influence of the Wangarawa, Sarki Yaji commanded his subjects to observe the times of prayer and an Imam and a *mu'dhdhin* were appointed. A mosque was constructed under the sacred tree (!) The chief of the pagans was also sacked, and for the first time the *ulama* were requested to pray for the victory of the ruler against his enemies.²²

It is unfortunate that our sources are silent on the activities of the Wangarawa and other groups of scholars in other parts of Hausaland, but, given the fact that the Wangarawa had passed through Gobir, Azbin, Katsina and other places, one can assume they had a great impact on those places as well.

From the fifteenth century onwards the Central Sudan began to witness waves of migrations from the west. These migrations were primarily motivated by political, economic, social and spiritual motives. Between 1454-1463, i.e. during the reign of the ruler of Kano, Ya'qub Abdullahi Burja, Hausaland witnessed another wave of scholars migrating from Western Sudan. This time, a group of Fulani scholars came from Melle and supplemented the activities of the Wangarawa. Although the sources at our disposal do not indicate the reason behind their migration, one cannot rule out the possibility that their original intention was to perform Hajj. This group was associated with the introduction of the study of *ta'weed* and etymology in Kano. The only known works before the arrival of these 'new' sciences were those dealing with Fiqh and Hadith.²³ It is probable that some of these scholars might have proceeded to perform the Hajj.

Another kind of Hajj which was frequent among the Muslim population of West Africa was that undertaken by individuals, who could be scholars, students or ordinary citizens. A person might leave his country with a desire to acquire knowledge or disseminate it in the process of performing the Pilgrimage. On many occasions the student or the individual scholar may be

forced by social, political or economic conditions prevalent at a given locality to sojourn there or settle down, the individual will subsequently be absorbed in that particular society. Hausaland is an example in point: it is evident that some scholars from the Western Sudan continued to frequent Hausaland on their way to Makkah and, in the process, some of them sojourned therein for a brief period to teach or to learn from other scholars. In certain instances, some of them were persuaded by the rulers to settle and take up administrative or judicial responsibilities. For example, a grandfather of Ahmad Baba al-Timbukti,²⁴ known as 'Umar ibn Muhammad ibn 'Atiq, is said to have settled for a while in Kano and Katsina on his return journey from Makkah. His visit to Hausaland took place before the death of Sonni 'Ali in 1492 CE.²⁵ Another prominent scholar who settled in Hausaland was al-Waykh at-Tadhikhati, known as Aida Ahmad. After performing Pilgrimage in about 915 (1509) he visited Katsina, where he was persuaded to take up a judicial appointment.²⁶

Hausaland was marked in the eighteenth century by the advent of a distinguished scholar whose reputation and influence extended beyond its borders. This scholar was Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Katsinawi (d. 1741). After distinguishing himself at home, al-Katsinawi was said to have performed Pilgrimage but died in Egypt. He was highly respected by some scholars in Egypt. His biographer 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti pays him a glowing tribute in his historical and biographical work *'Aja'ib al-athar fi il-tarajim wa al-akhbar*. He is described as 'the cynosure', 'the theologian', 'the ocean of learning', 'the sea of knowledge', 'the unparalleled', 'the garden of science and disciplines', and other such superlatives. Before leaving for Pilgrimage, al-Katsinawi excelled himself in astrology and taught that science to al-Jabarti al-Kabir.²⁷

In the eighteenth century central Sudan witnessed the advent of a reformer in the person of Shaykh Jibril ibn 'Umar. Shaykh Jibril, who is reputed to have performed Pilgrimage twice, may have acquainted himself with the social and political conditions in certain parts of the Muslim world in general and Central Sudan in particular. He may even have been exposed to some revolutionary trends in either Egypt or the Hijaz. The radical reform ideas advocated by him were a by-product of

Pilgrimage. The attention given to Shaykh Jibril does not consist merely in his advocacy of social change only but stems from his profound influence on the leadership of the nineteenth century Jihad movement headed by Shaykh 'Uthman bin Fudi (d.1817).²⁸

Shaykh Jibril ibn 'Umar contributed immensely to the development of scholarship in Hausaland at the time. He was not an ordinary scholar confining himself to teaching and preaching; he was one of those scholars who openly criticised and condemned the decadent social order in the central Sudan area. Moreover, Jibril is reported to have attempted several times to initiate reforms in Ahir, and Jibril was one of the scholars who inspired the Jihad of Shaykh 'Uthman b. Fudi. This is attested to by the following statement of 'Uthman bin Fudi himself:

I wonder whether we would have been guided to the right path had it not been for this shaykh, for the destruction of customs contrary to Islam in our Sudanese country was initiated by him and completed by us.²⁹

The performance of Hajj or the intention to perform it may be an expression of dissatisfaction with a regime or with a political climate; it may also be a reaction to civil strife, droughts, economic crisis, social upheavals and injustices. From the eleventh century various parts of West Africa were undergoing political and social change. Such change must have affected certain segments of society, and a disaffected group or individual might find relief or refuge in Hajj.

The nineteenth century Sokoto Jihad succeeded *inter alia* in transforming a greater part of the Western and Central Sudan both socially and politically in accordance with the precepts of Islam. An interesting aspect of this movement, especially in its initial stages, was the adoption of an attitude of self-criticism. This approach created to some extent an atmosphere conducive to the conduct of affairs.

As far back as 1808, exactly four years after the Hijra to Gudu, 'Abdullah ibn Fudi (d. 1829) began to criticise the behaviour of some members of the community. From the beginning it was clear that 'Abdullah's criticism was directed to

some people who manipulated the objectives of the Jihad to serve their personal interests. When 'Abdullah saw that the objectives were being betrayed by certain group interests, and that some people were looting the property of the innocent and accumulating wealth in the name of Jihad, he decided to desert the Jihad and emigrate to the Holy Places, but when he arrived at Kano he was persuaded by the community of Kano to abandon the idea of Hajj and settle down with them. It was at Kano that Abdullah wrote his voluminous work entitled *Diya' al-hukkam* (1806) at the request of the Kano community. He also read to them the whole of his *Tafseer* of the Qur'an.³⁰ The effects of 'Abdullah's teaching and preaching were tremendous. Many bad customs which were hitherto practised in Kano were abandoned in response to his criticism.³¹

Condemning the behaviour of some leaders of the Jihad, 'Abdullah writes:

Then there came to me from God the sudden thought to shun the homeland and my brothers and turn towards the best of God's creation in order to seek approval, because of what I have seen of changing times and [my] brothers and their inclination towards the world and their squabbling over its possession and its wealth and its regard, together with their abandoning the upkeep of the mosques and the schools and other things besides. I knew that I was the worst of them and that what I had seen from others would not deter me. I considered flight incumbent upon me, and I left the army and occupied myself with my own [affairs] and faced East towards the Chosen One, (may God bless him and give him peace) if God would make it easy.³²

However, 'Abdullah ibn Fudi was not allowed to continue with his journey to Makkah. Tradition speaks about special delegation sent to him by Shaykh 'Uthman bin Fudi to persuade him to come back and continue with the Jihad.

It may be appropriate here to point out that none of the early Jihad leaders had performed the Pilgrimage. The apparent reason for this is their preoccupation with the Jihad and later

with the administration of the 'Khilafah' which did not permit them to travel to Makkah. It is also worth mentioning that the first writing of Shaykh 'Uthman ibn Fudi was a poem written in 1774, in which the Shaykh expresses his strong desire to perform the Pilgrimage and visit the Mosque of the Prophet at Madinah.

A whole book was written by Sultan Muhammad Bello ibn 'Uthman ibn Fudi (d. 1837) in 1370 CE on the performance of the Hajj,³³ which highlights some essential features of the Hajj. Issues like the actions that vitiate the Hajj and the relationship between Jihad and Hajj were tackled in the book. The popular view that stressed Hajj as a priority under normal circumstances is re-emphasised by Bello in the book. But in a serious situation such as waging Jihad for the establishment of Muslim supremacy Jihad, according to the author, takes precedence.³⁴

Another instance of the Hajj as an expression of political dissatisfaction occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century. A prominent scholar in the person of Modibbo Raji decided to leave Gwandu for the East. He left with his family and disciples, their original intention being to go to Makkah, but political conditions in Bagirmi prevented him from proceeding. Modibbo Raji was later in 1862 persuaded to return to Yola, where he died seven months later. His arrival enhanced the quality of scholarship in Fombina Emirate and many *ulama* from the west flocked to him.³⁵ Before his departure, Modibbo Raji despatched a letter to the Emir of Gwandu, Khalil ibn Abdullahi b. Fudi, expressing his disaffection with the attitude of the sons of the officials, who went out of their way to apprehend innocent people and confiscate their property.

The areas around the Senegal river up to the Niger bend were the scene of political movements in the 1850s which culminated in the establishment of an Islamic State based on the ideology of the Tijaniyyah *tariqah*,³⁶ the leader being al-Hajj 'Umar al-Futi (d. 1864). The significance attaching to this movement lay in the ability of its leaders to transform the Tijaniyyah from a quietist movement into a radical one. Before the establishment of the Tijaniyyah state, 'Umar's original plan was to follow the Saharan route, but for security reasons he opted to pass through Hausaland and Bornu. His journey to Makkah through Hausaland in 1825 coincided with a 'cold war' between the

Sokoto *khalifah* and the Borno shaikhdom. At that time 'Umar's position was 'neutral'.³⁷ His policy was not to get involved in issues that might have deterred him from performing the duty for which he had left the country. He left Borno on his way to Makkah in 1825, passing through Fezzan and Egypt. Before reaching Makkah 'Umar is reported to have engaged some Egyptian *ulama* in hot theological disputation.³⁸ His sojourn in Makkah and Madinah lasted four years, during which time he submitted himself spiritually to Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghali, the Tijani *khalifah* in the East. While at Madinah, 'Umar al-Futi was elevated from the status of *mugaddam* of the Tijaniyyah to the rank of *khalifah*.³⁹ The appointment of 'Umar as a *khalifah* of Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani over the whole of Western Sudan was later to have a profound impact on the social and political life of the people of the area. After touring many places in the Middle East, including Syria, Palestine and Egypt, al-Hajj 'Umar returned to Sokoto, but before arriving he sojourned in Borno for some time. The apparent cordial relationship which existed between him and Shaikh 'Umar al-Futi was abruptly severed to the extent that the Shaikh of Borno declared him *persona non grata*.

Some sources claim that Sultan Bello was converted from the Qadiriyyah to the Tijaniyyah by 'Umar al-Futi, but this claim was categorically denied by Bello's *wazir* Gidado ibn Lamia in his *Kashf al-hijab wa Raf' al-Niqab*. Shaykh 'Umar spent about eight years in Sokoto (1830-1838). Till the death of Muhammad Bello in 1837 Shehu 'Umar is said to have received the patronage and cooperation from the Amir al-Mu'minin, but after Bello's death and with the appointment of Abu Bakr 'Atiqu as 'Amir al-Mu'minin this patronage was withdrawn, an event perhaps not unconnected with his involvement in the internal politics of Sokoto.

Al-Hajj 'Umar, together with hundreds of disciples and members of his family, left for Masina and then Futa Jallon in 1838. It was at Futa Jallon that he laid down the organizational structure of his movement.⁴⁰ The spread of Tijaniyyah order in large areas of the Western and Central Sudan was attributed mainly to the political and spiritual activity of al-Hajj 'Umar.

With the introduction of the horse to Africa at the end of the second millennium and the beginning of the first millennium

BC, and with the appearance of the camel in the Western part of the River Nile after the first millenium BC,⁴¹ the social relations and communications among the various societies inhabiting sub-Saharan Africa and areas to the north began to improve. The nature, however, of the relationship that existed between these nations up to the Roman conquest of Ghadames and Garma in 20 BC is a matter of speculation. According to Mauny, the arrival of Islam in the region of Tripolitania in 66 AH (666-7 CE) marked a new era as far as communications and human relations were concerned.⁴² The earliest Pilgrimage routes up to the middle of the fifteenth century connected Walata (in Mali), Taghaza and Sijilmasa. Sijilmasa acted as a meeting point between the Sudanese and the Moroccan pilgrims.⁴³ In the fifteenth century and after the establishment of Songhay Empire a new route was developed by the Pilgrims' caravan, connecting Timbuktu, Tekeda (Tekkida) and Air. It then passed in a northerly direction through Ghat to Fezzan before reaching Egypt. This is the same route as that taken by Askia al-Hajj Muhammad in 1515.

The Moroccan invasion of Songhay at the end of the sixteenth century disrupted the flow of Pilgrimage through the above route, and one consequence may have been a reduction in the number of pilgrims. Internal routes following an easterly direction were followed instead.⁴⁴ These routes happened to pass across the Central Sudan, notably Hausaland and Borno. It was expected that the performance of pilgrimage along the internal routes would be more arduous and hazardous. This re-routing gave rise to a school of thought which offered a flexible alternative to the performance of Hajj.⁴⁵ Jihad was advocated as an alternative in view of the political conditions prevailing at the time.

Hausaland became a centre of attraction for the intending pilgrims from Western Sudan. On the colophon of a book written by Ahmad Baba al-Timbukti, entitled *al-Lami' fi il-Isharah li-Hukm Tabghh*, the route and the duration of visit to Makkah and other holy places was described as follows: Katsina to Aghades 15 days, Aghades to Fezzan 40 days, Fezzan to Wujil 12 days, Wujil to Egypt 30 days, Egypt to Makkah 40 days (day and night), Makkah to Madinah 10 days (day and night), Madinah to Jerusalem 40 days, Jerusalem to Syria 10 days.

Perhaps the most important of all the trading (and pilgrimage) routes from the ninth to the nineteenth century was the one that passed from Nigimi (or Nguimi) — Aghades — Kawar — Madama — Tumu — Tedjer — Gatron and then to Zuwaila.⁴⁷

The establishment of the Sokoto *khilafah* in the nineteenth century ushered in a period of stability in Hausaland and other parts of central Sudan. According to al-Naqar, due attention was paid to the organization of the Hajj and 'for the first time as records go an organised pilgrimage under an Amir al-Hajj was run from a Sudanese State'.⁴⁸

At the beginning of the nineteenth century and as a consequence of political and economic conditions, a new but vital route which continued to play an important role as far as migration, settlement, political and social relations were concerned was opened. This route stretched from Adamawa in the Sokoto *khilafah*, passing through southern Bagirmi, southern Waday and Darfur. The significance lay in its being a pilgrimage route and also in that it was the route that people would follow when the Expected Mahdi appeared.⁴⁹ A letter to this effect was written by Sultan Muhammad Bello to the Adamawa and Bagirmi Jihad leaders.

The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century was a period of great political upheaval in West Africa. This was when the imperialist powers, particularly Britain, Belgium and France, decided to partition Africa in general and West Africa in particular, with the aim of colonising the African people, destroying their cultures and exploiting their human and material resources. The conquest of West Africa by the imperialist powers prompted a strong reaction.

The establishment of colonial rule in West Africa among other things was to alter social relations, production, industry and trading activities. In particular, trading activities were diverted from the Sahara to the Atlantic. The same could be said of the traditional Pilgrimage routes.

In 1895 French imperialist forces completed the destruction of the Segu-Tokolor State of Mali and the Emir of the Segu-Tokolor Empire, Ahmad, together with a multitude of his followers, fled to Sokoto on the way to Makkah.⁵⁰ In March 1903, Sokoto, the capital of the Sokoto *khilafah* was sacked by the British, and the *khalifah* Attahiru accompanied by a large

retinue of his people, fled in an easterly direction. They were joined by the Segu Muhajirun in their flight from Sokoto.

After the early defeats of the Sokoto forces by the British three options were contemplated by the leaders: (1) to resist the colonial rule to the last man; (2) to emigrate to the Holy Places in expectation of a saviour (*munqidh*), who would deliver them later from the shackles of colonialism;⁵¹ and (3) to resort to *taqiyya* (dissimulation) for the preservation of the Faith.⁵² Judging from what transpired later, the *khilafah* had no alternative but to fight. After the defeat of Muslim forces, thousands of people joined their Sultan in his Hijrah to Makkah, to the astonishment of the British officials. Sensing the danger of such a move, the British pursued the Sultan and finally caught up with him at Burmi (in present Combe Emirate of Federal Republic of Nigeria). Sultan Attahiru was finally killed at Burmi in July, 1903.⁵³ The survivors of the battle that followed, consisting of Sokoto and Segu Muhajirun, resumed their journey eastwards. This journey later terminated in the Sudan, which happened to be also under British control.

The imposition of British colonial administration in Nigeria disrupted the traditional Hajj routes but created new ones. The Saharan routes were eclipsed and a new route stretching from Maiduguri, then headquarters of Borno Province, was opened. The pilgrims were bound to follow Maiduguri — Ngala — Afade — Kussuri (in the Cameroons) — Fort Lamy — Bokoro — Atia — Abashe (in Chad), and then to Genaina and Obeid⁵⁴ (in Sudan), where they took the train to the Red Sea port of Sawakin. The Pilgrimage routes kept changing within the host country. This was caused by factors such as wars, change in the mode of transport, and Mahdiyya. In 1916, 'Ali Dinar, Sultan of Darfur (1896-1916) had declared war against the British colonialist forces.⁵⁵ This affected the Pilgrimage routes. Many pilgrims were trapped and forced to settle in Darfur; some continued their journey but via a different route which passed through southern Darfur and the northern part of Bahr al-Ghazal in the southern region. Eventually, and as a consequence of such difficulties, some groups of pilgrims decided to settle in the northern part of Bahr al-Ghazal province. One of the settlements founded by the pilgrims was Kafia Kingi, which was transformed by the pilgrims from northern Nigeria into a

centre of Islamic *da'wah* in the southern Sudan.⁵⁶ The British colonial government, which had already declared the south a restricted district, dismantled Kafia Kingi settlements and moved both the northern Sudanese and the pilgrims further north.⁵⁷

Social and political integration of the pilgrimage

Before concluding this paper it is worth touching briefly on the social, political and economic ramifications of Pilgrimage. It is evident that at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of this, mass exodus to the East in resistance to colonial rule was one of the serious problems confronting colonial administrations. A British official observes that

"... the people appear to rise *en masse* at the Sultan's call; men, women, and children leaving their towns and villages deserted to follow him, thus showing fanaticism which I, for one, never for a moment thought they possessed".⁵⁸

According to the colonial records, had it not been for the martyrdom of Sultan Attahiru at Burmi, the whole of Northern Nigeria could have been depopulated.⁵⁹ In the years that followed hundreds of thousands of people continued to leave the Western and Central Sudan in defiance of colonial policies such as imposition of taxation and forced labour. The usual explanation given by the pilgrims was that they were leaving for Hajj. The bulk of the Muhajirun consisted of peasants, non-official *mallams*, petty traders⁶⁰ and artisans. Even musicians are reported to have left their homes for Makkah.

However, these intending pilgrims were to confront new problems in their host countries; usually financial handicaps, marriages, or other social and political conditions compelled them to settle down either permanently or temporarily. Pilgrim settlements are to be found all along the 'Sudan Road' in present-day Chad, Central African Republic, and the Sudan,⁶¹ but a detailed study of this phenomenon is outside the scope of this paper. A new process of social and political integration would begin in the host countries for the returning, the intending or the stranded pilgrims. Records have shown that

the presence of these 'pilgrims' in their host countries, especially in the Sudan, had a great impact on the economic, social and political conditions of the country.⁶² It is important to mention here that Pilgrimage was not the only factor at work in migration to the East. Other factors such as Mahdiyya, searching for pasture, political upheavals and colonialism were some of the causes of migration from the earliest time to date. But pilgrimage has been one of the principal factors in most cases, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At times it is difficult to differentiate between pure 'religious', economic or political motives: all these three find expression in the Hajj.

Notes:

1. It is unfortunate that in the study of the history of Islam and its impact in West Africa we have to rely on books such as *Islam in West Africa* and *History of Islam in West Africa* by J. Spencer Trimingham, and *Ancient Ghana and Mali* by N. Levtzion. In most cases these studies are biased, distorted and misleading. One of the projects embarked upon by the present author is a book on the history of Islam in West Africa.
2. See al-Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh al-sunnah*, Beirut, 1969. Also 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jaziri, *al-Fiqh 'ala al-Madhahib al-Arba'*, n.d., pp.632-33.
3. 'Umar al-Naqar, *The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa*, Khartoum, 1972, p.xvii.
4. This is in compliance with the verse: 'And proclaim the Pilgrimage among men: They will come to Thee on foot and [mounted] on every kind of camel, lean on account of journeys through deep and distant mountain highways'. Qur'an, 22:27 (Yusuf Ali trans.).
5. *Vide infra*, pp.4-5.
6. See Muhammad Bello, *Infaq al-Maysur*, ed. C.E.J. Whitting, London, 1957, p.3. According to Bello, while the name Takrur was common in Makkah, Madina and Abyssiniya, the inhabitants of Bilad al-Sudan were not aware of it at all.
7. One of the Middle Eastern scholars who referred in his writings to West Africa as *Bilad al-Takrur* was al-Imam Jalal al-din al-Sayuti (1445-1505). He developed a special interest in the land of *al-Takrur* through his association with the rulers and *ulama* of that area. This interest must have derived from his constant contacts with the Takrur pilgrims who passed through Egypt on their way to Makkah.

8. Umar al-Naqar, *op.cit.*, p.6.
9. M. Levtzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, London 1973, pp.212-13.
10. Umar al-Naqar, *op.cit.*, p.12.
11. *Ibid*, p.20
12. The authenticity of this statement has been contested by serious studies, some of which have suggested that it was a local fabrication: al-Naqar, *op.cit.*, p.22.
13. *vide supra*, n.7.
14. Abdullahi Smith, 'The Early States of Central Sudan', in J.F.A. Ajayi & M. Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa*, New York, 1971, p.171.
15. Al-Maqrizi, quoted by M.A. al-Hajj in 'Contribution to the Study of International Relations of Borno in the Reign of Sultan Idris Ibn 'Ali known as Aloo', paper (unpublished) read at the Borno Seminar December, 1972, p.1.
16. Ahmad ibn Fartuwa, 'History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Aloma, 1571-1583', as quoted by al-Naqar, *op.cit.*, p.31.
17. *Ibid.*, p.33.
18. H.R. Palmer, *Bornu Sahara and the Sudan*, London, 1936, p.248.
19. The Wangarawa were the Dyula branch of the Mande people who spread over a great deal of Western and Central Sudan. The Wangarawa played a significant role in the transmission of learning not only in Hausaland but also in Senegambia and the Guinea forest.
20. 'Kano Chronicle', Palmer translation, Lagos, 1924, III, pp.104-5.
21. M.A. al-Hajj, 'A Seventeenth Century Chronicle on the Origins and Missionary Activities of the Wangarawa', *Kano Studies*, vol. 7, no.4, 1968 (Arabic text, p.21).
22. 'Kano Chronicle', III, p.105.
23. *Ibid*, III, pp.109-111.
24. Ahmad Baba was born in Urwan to the north of Timbuktu. He belonged to a scholarly family noted for its high position, especially in judiciary. He was one of the most learned of his time. Ahmad Baba was taken captive during the Moroccan invasion of Songhay in 1591, later released in 1004 AH (1595). He was strongly opposed to the invasion and took a firm stand against the Moroccan rulers. He wrote a number of books, including *Nayl al-ibtihaj*, *Kifayat al-Muhtaj*, and *al-Kashf wa al-Bayan*. Died in 1037 AH (1627).
25. A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, 'The Arabic Literature of Northern Nigeria to 1804: A Provisional Account', *BSOAS*, XXV (1962), 209-10.
26. *Ibid.*, 110
27. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, '*Aja'ib al-Athar fi al-tarajim wa al-akhbar*, vol.I, Cairo, 1960, pp.31-33. See also Bivar and Hiskett, *op.cit.*, p.136.

28. 'Abdullahi ibn Fudi *Tazyin al-Waraqat*, ed. M. Hiskett, Ibadan, 1973, p.31.
29. 'Uthman ibn Fudi, *Nishat al-Umma al-Muhammadiyah li-Bayan hukm al-Fyraq al-Shaytaniyyah allati Zaharat fi Biladina al-Sudaniyyah* (MS), NHRS, 2/4, 5.
30. M. Hiskett (ed), *op.cit.*,
31. *Ibid.*, p.70 (Arabic text).
32. *Ibid.*, pp.120-21.
33. Muhammad Bello, *Tanbih al-Raqid 'ala ma Ya'tawir al-Hajj min al-Mafasid* (MS) NHRS, 86/2.
34. *Ibid.*, chs. 8 and 9. See also Umar al-Naqar, *op.cit.*, pp.57-58, and John Works, *Pilgrims in a strange land: Hausa communities in Chad*, MS Ibadan University Library, No. 82/256.
35. Sa'ad Abubakar, *The Lamibe of Fombina*, Zaria, 1977, pp.106-7.
36. B.O. Oloruntimehin, *The Segu Tukolor Empire*, Ibadan, 1972, p.1.
37. A treatise entitled *Tadhkirat al-ghafilin 'an qubh Ikhtilaf al-Mu'minin* (MS), NHRS, was written by 'Umar al-Futi, expressing his disaffection with the hostilities between Sokoto and Bornu.
38. O. Jah, 'Sufism and the Nineteenth Century Jihad Movements in Western Sudan: A Case Study of al-Hajj 'Umar al-Futi's Philosophy of the Jihad and its Sufi Bases', Ph.D thesis submitted at McGill University, Montreal, 1970. p.130-31.
39. *Ibid.*, p.132.
40. *Ibid.*, p.152.
41. R. Mauny, *Tariq al-Tijara 'abr al-Sahara' bayna Libya wa Manatiq al-Savanna fi al-Niger wa Tchad qabl al-Fath al-'Arabi* (trans.) in *Majallat al-Buhuth al-Tarikhyyah* no.1, Jan., 1981, pp.118 and 122.
42. *Ibid.*, p.129.
43. 'Umar al-Naqar, 'The Historical Background to the "Sudan Road", in Y.H. Fadi (ed.), *Sudan in Africa*, Khartoum, 1971, pp.98-99.
44. *Ibid.*, p.99.
45. *Ibid.*, p.110.
46. A. Baba, *al-Lam' fi al-Ishara li Hukm Tabgh* (MS), NHRS, uncatalogued.
47. R. Mauny, *op.cit.*, p.130.
48. 'Umar al-Naqar, *op.cit.*, p.104.
49. *Ibid.*, p.104.
50. Anonymous biography of Amir al-Mu'minin Ahmad ibn al-Hajj 'Umar in the National Archives, Kaduna, Kadcap O/AR 12/7, and M.A. Al-Hajj, *The*

- Mahdist Tradition in Northern Nigeria*, Ph.D. thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, 1973. See also R.A. Adeleye, 'The Dilemma of the Wazir: The Place of *Risalat al-Wazir ila Ahl al-'Ilm wa al-Taddabur* in the *History of the Conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate*', *JHNS*, IV 2 (1968), p.294.
51. A school of thought within the Sokoto Caliphate believed in the advent of the Mahdi in the East. A corpus of literature about Mahdism is to be located in various archival collections in Nigeria, both public and private, especially the NHRS of ABU, Zaria. For detailed information on the topic, see M.A. al-Hajj, 'Mahdist Tradition', already cited.
 52. R.A. Adeleye, *op.cit.*, p.290, and M.A. al-Hajj, *op.cit.*, pp.166-7.
 53. For a detailed analysis of the Caliphate's resistance to colonial rule see R.A. Adeleye, *op.cit.*, pp.288-313, also the same author's *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria*, Ibadan, 1971., M.A. al-Hajj, *op.cit.*, pp.147-85.
 54. 'Umar al-Naqar, 'Historical Background', *op.cit.*, p.105.
 55. R.S. OFahey and J.C. Spanding, *Kingdoms of the Sudan*, London, 1974, p.186.
 56. Ahmad 'Abd al-Rahim Nasr, 'Malwurno of the Blue Nile: Study of an Oral Biography', Ph.D. thesis submitted at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1977. p.42.
 57. The philosophy behind such an action is easy to grasp. It was the British point of view that if the Southern Sudan were opened to the northerners it would lead to the Islamisation of the south. The 'closed districts' law was promulgated to guard against such a contingency. Northerners wanting to travel to the south were obliged to obtain permits from the colonial authorities.
 58. Wallace to Colonial Office, 406 1903 C.O. 886/31 quoted in M.A. al-Hajj, *op.cit.*, p.157.
 59. *Ibid*, p.185.
 60. *Ibid*, p.176.
 61. West African settlements along Pilgrimage routes seemed to have existed before the eighteenth century. This, however, suggests that long before the nineteenth century, pilgrims from Bilad al-Takrur were frequenting the eastern Sudan route. See M.A. Wasr, *op.cit.*, p.17.
 62. John Works, *op.cit.*, pp.168-217, and M.A. Nasr, *op.cit.*, pp.13-49.

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Nigerian government's Hajj policy

By Usman M. Bugaje

The greater part of what is today known as Nigeria had been, and still is, part of the *Bilad al-Sudan*: the Savanna grassland stretching from the Sene-Gambia in the West to the Nile Valley in the East. Since the eleventh century Islam had been spreading in this vast region of *Bilad al-Sudan* and beyond. Hajj, the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah, had played a crucial role in the spread of Islam in the region, not only by exposing the region to the wider world of Islam but also, and perhaps more important, by integrating the region into the Islamic *Ummah* and inspiring its people to resist *jahiliyyah* and attain the ideals of Islam. The celebrated examples of Usman Dan Fodio, Ahmad Labbo, 'Umar al-Tuti and even Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi are cases in point.

When the region fell prey to European imperialism in the last century, it was the Muslim communities and polities that offered the greatest resistance to the invading forces.¹

The imperialists were prompt to realize that the source of inspiration for the Muslim resistance was Islam and such of its nourishing institutions as Hajj. The Hajj thus became a target for imperialism. If they could frustrate the Hajj they would succeed in isolating this fragment of the *Ummah* from its integral whole and consequently insulate it from the inspiration that had always moved its members to resist imperialism and the domination of any brand of *kufr* and *jahiliyyah*.

Following the phantom independence, the governing of the new nation-States passed over to a secularized elite — a good number of whom were converts to Christianity — whose mental make-up and perception had been prepared to see in the colonial master the ultimate in wisdom and perfection. It is the Hajj policy of such a nation-State — Nigeria — that this

paper primarily seeks to examine; but Hajj being a part of an integral whole, namely Islam, any policy on Hajj cannot be separated from the policy towards the whole (Islam). This paper therefore endeavours to review the Nigerian government's policy towards Islam, for this will give a fuller picture of the issues involved and put in proper context the Hajj policy.

Before proceeding further, it must be made clear that the Nigerian government is not known to have a Hajj policy as such. What is therefore referred to as Hajj policy here is no more than the attitude of the government as reflected in its pronouncements on Hajj and, equally important, its vision as well as handling of the actual operation.

The term 'Nigerian government' also needs clarification, not only because this government had changed hands over the period it has existed but also because the point at which the Nigerian government was born is subject to debate. Those who see the window-dressing of 1960 as a genuine independence may wish to date Nigerian government from 1960. But those who see the 1960 gimmick as a mere 'change of guard', would date Nigerian government from 1903, when the latest and largest portion — the Sokoto Caliphate — fell to the invading British army. In either case it will undoubtedly be useful to start this survey from 1903. Given the length of the period, however, this is hardly feasible. This paper, therefore, wishes to begin with a comparatively brief survey of the earlier periods and gradually expand as the contemporary period is approached, justifiably focusing more attention on the present.

Realizing the role Hajj had played in the social and political changes in the region and recalling their then fresh and bitter experience of Muslim resistance, the colonial government during the period 1903-55 took every conceivable measure to curb any movement to or from Hajj. The scholars in particular were highly suspect and thus brought under close surveillance, for the imperialists, particularly the French, believed that the scholars were engaged in pan-Islamic propaganda and that literature inciting to revolt was brought back by returning pilgrims.² The movement of scholars and all associated with them was monitored and controlled. It was in the process of the frantic efforts to forestall any wave of Muslim resistance that innumerable and priceless manuscripts were seized from

our scholars and taken back to European capitals, where they repose in museums and libraries.

One other effective control which had immediate consequences for the Hajj and its implications was the patrol by the ruthless colonial troops along indiscriminately drawn boundaries. Travel documents, taxation and such other colonial devices only came later to replace the ruthless patrols as the colonial armies gained ever firmer control of their colonies. These more subtle devices were to be used not only to stop Muslims from performing the Hajj but also, and more important, to procure cheap labour for the production of agricultural raw materials for imperial industries. The case of present-day 'Sudan', in which millions of West African pilgrims were trapped through such colonial devices and forced, as it were, to produce cotton from the Gezira farm for Lancashire textile mills, is a classical example of colonial subterfuge.

This of course did not put a complete stop to the movements of the Hajj. But the handful who were able to make it did so in spite of the colonial government and after taking risks which were sometimes incalculable. Examples of some Emirs and notables who went for Hajj during this period may be cited, but this can neither atone for nor disguise the patent hostility the British colonial government maintained throughout this period against the Hajj and all that it stood for.

In 1956, for the first time, the colonial government sent two representatives to Saudi Arabia, assigned to the British Embassy there, to render some assistance to pilgrims from Nigeria. Following the 1956 Suez Crisis and the consequent severance of relations between Saudi Arabia and Britain, the Nigerian representatives moved into the Pakistan Embassy. This seemingly benevolent gesture must however be seen against the background of the period under review.

By 1956 the British had ruled for over five decades, during which they had worked hard to eliminate the influence of Islam, especially the inspiration and the ideological bearing it confers on its adherents. What was left of the influence of Islam by 1956 was that which in the calculations of the colonial government either posed no serious danger to the colonial interest or could always be contained. Though the process through which this was achieved is outside the scope of this

paper, it will be helpful to appreciate that this was accomplished through the production of indigenous western secular educated elites to whom power was gradually handed over, as the *ulama* and *umara* were gradually phased out by being assigned harmless and ceremonial positions. Thus by 1956 the inspiration that Hajj infuses in the pilgrim and the socio-political changes it is likely to spur had been securely forestalled within the colonial framework.

By 1956 Saudi Arabia, the very site of the Hajj and rendezvous of the Muslim *Ummah*, had itself fallen prey to and undergone decades of another brand of European imperialism. Though the style differed, the effects were virtually the same. Though Muslims from world over continued to flock to Makkah and Madinah for the Hajj, the true spirit of Hajj, as indeed of Islam, had already begun to exhibit signs of weariness. The unremitting work of the educational centres with their independent *ulama*, on which the Muslim world counted for inspiration, were increasingly coming under the sway of the monarchy backed by the western powers. Thus the British colonial government in Nigeria had reason to feel safe in allowing Muslims to perform the Hajj.

Furthermore the representatives sent to Saudi Arabia by the colonial government during this period, were not charged with the responsibility of restoring the lost spirit of the Hajj institution, though some of them may have wished to. Rather they were primarily charged with the responsibility of rendering clerical services: issue of travel documents, recording travel formalities, collection of tax and tariffs, facilitating monetary exchange, etc. Though the representatives have some welfare functions their major function seems to be the operation of the colonial devices, and it may be that they have ended up serving more the interest of the colonial government than the welfare of the pilgrim.

It should, however, be recalled that during the period under review, Ahmadu Bello, the Sarduna of Sokoto, emerged as a leader and a force in the predominantly Muslim north of Nigeria. Judging from Sarduna's concern and in fact pre-occupation with resuscitating what remained of Islam in the north, and judging from the fact that these representatives were his close associates and often appointed by him, this

representation may well have been a result of his foresight, courage and untiring efforts to serve the cause of Islam. But the fact still remains that the British colonial government felt safe to allow this, for it was doubtful if the Sarduana could have made the representation without the lief compliance of the colonial government. Thus the sending of representatives for the Hajj by the colonial government during this period did not reflect any change in the colonial government's attitude to the Hajj, rather it only reflected the maturation of the colonial systems that succeeded the crude and ruthless methods of the earlier period.

1960-66: With 'independence' in October 1960, and the helm of affairs in Sardauna's hands, the low diplomatic representation in Saudi Arabia of the preceding period was improved to Embassy status. Though the job of the Embassy staff may not have been qualitatively any different from that of the earlier representatives, an embassy automatically affords a wider scope and influence. At home, government departments and offices associated with the Hajj continued to use the procedures established during the colonial period, but they were now naturally more flexible and responsive to the needs and convenience of the pilgrims.

The actual Hajj operation with all its logistics throughout this period was handled by private Hajj agencies which grew as the number of pilgrims continued to rise. No thought seems to have been given to the possibility of setting limits to the swelling numbers of such agencies; in fact, the private agencies were exploiting many avenues to encourage Muslims to embark on Hajj. Though this encouragement was commercially motivated it contributed indirectly to reviving the institution of Hajj, not least by reminding the Muslim that he has a duty to go to Hajj. The overall performance of these agencies may have left much to be cleared but by allowing them to continue handling the Hajj, the government could not have intended unnecessary suffering to the pilgrims.

During the period under review, that is to say since independence in 1960 till 1966, there was no deliberate effort by the government to revive the true spirit and significance of the Hajj, which six decades of colonialism had suppressed and injured. Of course the Sarduana was unmistakably engaged in

championing the cause of Islam generally and taking bold and courageous steps to protect Muslim interests in the north. This was a crime sufficient to warrant his murder by a people who to this day have neither shown any remorse for their action nor even tried to conceal their motive.

His assassination and the events which were to follow revealed one important feature of Nigerian 'independence'. It brought to the fore the fact that independence did not mean a free hand for the indigenous population to operate a system which embraces their aspirations in a manner they deem beneficial, rather 'independence' simply means another way of perpetuating the colonial arrangement with all its prejudices and hostility to Islam and the interests of Muslim peoples.

The 'law-and-order' concept of the colonial period was replaced by a 'peace'-and-'stability' one after independence: a 'peace'-and-'stability' to be guarded in much the same way as the colonial arrangement was guarded by the imperialists.

It could now be seen that the comparatively positive attitude of the government towards Hajj during the period under review was more the making of the person of Ahmadu Bello than independence, which in reality was never given. With his departure from the scene, Muslims lost a leader who not only shared their true aspirations but saw it as his prime responsibility to protect their interests at all cost. With his tragic death the Hajj lost a guardian and Islam a champion.

1967-75: The period from 1967 and 1975 saw a rapid expansion in the numbers of pilgrims handled by private agencies and a corresponding increase in the inefficiency of some agencies. In response to this development the government abolished the private agencies and created the Pilgrim Welfare Board to handle the operation. The Board was to oversee the collection of fees, issue of tickets and passports, inoculation and air transport, and to provide an aid group. Though the Board was also to make provision for Islamic preachers to guide and preach to the pilgrims, its function remained purely operational.

This period also witnessed the emergence of a non-Muslim (mainly Christian) lobby which employed the mass media to instigate public opinion against the government's participation in the Hajj. The major argument advanced by this lobby was drainage of Nigeria's foreign reserves, which they thought was

being wasted through Hajj. The government's silence gave this lobby more room to sell its idea to the public, an idea to which the government eventually became susceptible also.

The government's decision to abolish the private agencies and replace them with a Pilgrim Welfare Board generally appears commendable, even though it was not long before the Board began to be afflicted by problems hardly distinguishable from the ones suffered by the private agencies. To be sure, these problems centred around one phenomenon which became characteristic of the period under review: the loosening of the moral fibre of society and the growth of corruption. The concern of this paper, lest we digress, is to assess the possibility of the government's attitude being otherwise. The nature of the circumstances or background against which the government made its decision is no doubt essential to this assessment.

These circumstances are fairly complex and, given the time constraint, cannot for the moment be taken up here. A glimpse of the government's attitude can still be caught, however, not necessarily from the way the operation kept deteriorating but mainly from the fact that the government's concern was, as in the previous period, limited to purely operational matters to the exclusion of the spiritual and ideological. Even more important in assessing the government's attitude is its silence over and implied reluctance to combat the anti-Hajj propaganda mounted by the Christian lobby. Thus even if there be not as yet sufficient information to show the negative attitude of the government towards the Hajj during this period, there is sufficient evidence to show that the government's attitude was not positive.

1975-79: Though the period of 1975-79 was heralded by the late General Murtala Muhammed, with his unique sterling qualities, his all too brief term of office does not justify his taking responsibility for whatever may turn out to be the attitude of the government towards the Hajj during this period. It needs however to be mentioned that, as with other governmental concerns, he embarked with a positive attitude towards Hajj.

Although this period saw some improvements over the earlier arrangements in the Pilgrim Welfare Board, the Nigerian Pilgrim Board, now under the Ministry of External Affairs,

continued to busy itself with only the operational aspects of the Hajj. By far the most serious developments in Hajj operations in 'independent' Nigeria took place during this period. There was first the cut in the Basic Travelling Allowance (B.T.A.) of the pilgrims and later a cut in the number of the pilgrims themselves. The activities of the anti-Hajj lobby were high throughout this period.

Muslim response to these developments, the cuts in the B.T.A. and number of pilgrims, was naturally prompt. These cuts in themselves were of course not sufficient to determine the government's attitude towards Hajj, for genuine reasons can prompt these measures, as the case of *Tanbih-al-Raqid*⁴ of Muhammad Bello shows. But the basis on which and indeed the manner in which these decisions were taken will vividly portray the government's attitude.

If therefore we reflect on the basis and manner in which these decisions were taken we shall recall that the one dominating argument was the drainage of foreign reserves. The other argument, apparently an afterthought, was to reduce the suffering of the pilgrims by reducing their number. Concerning the first argument, it may well be true that Nigeria's foreign reserves were dwindling and measures had to be taken to curb their drainage. But even in 1978, when the number of pilgrims was at one of its peaks, the total expense for pilgrims, as contained in Central Bank report, was 41.8 million Naira, only 29.8% of the total expense on travelling and only 2.8% of the total expense of Nigeria's service account for that year. Thus the pilgrims' foreign reserve demands were clearly too low to warrant cuts. Even if the figure was many times this, the Hajj should have been spared such measures, considering the fact that Muslims constitute a majority and the Hajj to them constitutes a fundamental pillar of their belief and practice. Thus by cutting pilgrims' B.T.A. the government during the period under review was either expressing its lack of regard for the Hajj, and therefore for the Muslims who perform it, or was succumbing to the activities of the anti-Hajj lobby, or even both.

Regarding the cuts in the number of pilgrims, it must be repeated that where genuine reasons exist — as in the Sokoto Caliphate of Muhammad Bello — this will be in order. But until the author lay his hands on a more convincing reason it will be

taken that the government reduced the number either in submission to the anti-Hajj lobby or in an attempt to shirk its responsibility. In either case, the government's negative attitude towards the Hajj and disregard of its Muslim population are implied. So, as is evident, the government's attitude towards Hajj during the period under review was, to say the least, unfavourable.

1979-83: This period under review, namely 1979-83, witnessed the return of a civilian government after a fairly long break. Government during this period maintained, though with minor adjustments, the cuts in B.T.A. and number of pilgrims started in the preceding period. There were of course developments which are characteristic of this period. Foremost among these developments was the diversion of Hajj from its independent and non-partisan, if deficient, course to a partisan and largely unpleasant course. For it was during this period that Hajj operation both at the Federal and State level became one of those political 'booties' through which party supporters, friends, relatives and even hangers-on were rewarded. More disturbing is that this sordid affair is carried out at the expense of thousands of innocent Muslim souls who now spend days and nights in queues or give bribes running into hundreds of Naira to obtain a seat. Even the performance of the Hajj itself has not been spared by these politicians; some of them carry their party flags to the holy places and shouted party political slogans in a place consecrated to other purposes.

The other important development during this period is the activities of the anti-Hajj lobby championed by the Christian clergy. Having achieved, at least partially, their earlier objectives of effecting cuts in the B.T.A. and number of pilgrims, they now turned to campaign for equal government attention for Christian pilgrimage. The objective of this Christian lobby, to be sure, is not centred around Christian pilgrimage, something they are themselves, as yet, neither clear about nor convinced of. Rather their target is the Hajj. For as late as April this year (1983) the Vice-Principal of ECWA theological seminary Jos, Dr Yusuf Turaki, was writing to say, *inter alia*: 'The lack of a clear and definite concept of Christian pilgrimage poses many theological questions: should Christian pilgrimage be defined and understood in terms of *Christian Scriptures* and traditions, or in

terms of *Islamic Scriptures* and traditions? *Is it necessary for Christians to go on pilgrimage?*⁷⁶ (emphases added). By going ahead to campaign for equal attention regarding pilgrimage, before they are even sure whether they should go at all, this group is laying bare the real motive for their campaign.

Coming now to the government's attitude towards Hajj during the period under review, it should first be noted that by maintaining the cuts started earlier the government in this period condones the arguments on which the cuts were based and therefore is capable to the extent it continues policies unfavourable towards the Hajj. But by diverting the Hajj to a partisan and rather vulgar course and seeing it as no more than a political weapon through which political ends are achieved, the government during this period has gone far ahead of that of the preceding period and earned for itself an unprecedented reputation for notoriety and contempt for this sacred institution.

Thus in addition to carrying forward of the earlier unfavourable attitudes toward Hajj, the government in this period is in fact contemptuous of Hajj. The recent Federal Government's directives for delaying the Hajj until after certain elections, only confirms the government's perception of Hajj: a political weapon for achieving political ends, no more. The arguments which have been marshalled to lend support to the Federal Government's decision, i.e., that electing into political offices people who will hide behind secularism to frustrate Islam is more important than Hajj, are, to say the least, unfair and unacceptable.

Regarding the vocal Christian lobby and its campaign for equal attention, the government has so far maintained its silence. But from all indications this campaign, like the previous one, will find its way. For a government that did not find it difficult to bring the Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury and chains of cardinals who, not without government approval, chose the predominantly Muslim north as the venue for their programmes, should not find it difficult to create a Pilgrim Board or even a Ministry for the Christians.

The scope of this paper does not permit a thorough review so for the moment only some general points can be raised *a propos* government policy toward Islam. The hostility of the

colonial government towards Islam was never hidden nor was it surprising. In its encounter with Islam imperialism was left in no doubt about the fact that once Islam is allowed to flourish, the achievement of imperialist objects — exploitation of human and material resources for its selfish ends — will become impossible. Measures had to be taken by the British colonial government to phase out those ideas and institutions in Islam which supply Muslims with their personality and strength. Foremost among these was the spirit of *jihad*, and the Shari'ah. The British worked hard and made sure by 1960 that hardly any of these things remained with the Muslims.

By failing to return these to the Muslims the so-called 'independent' government was simply treading the path of its mentors and upholding the prejudice and hostility of the colonial period. The assassination of Ahmadu Bello and his associates, and later of General Murtala, for no other reason than the possibility that they might seek to restore Islam, clearly indicates the extent the imperialists had gone to in planting enormous obstacles against the realization of Islam. The last attempt to reinstate the Shari'ah during the draft constitution debate only revealed further how the Nigerian Government views Islam. For by subjecting the issue to debate the government was not, as some would have us believe, being democratic. Rather it was humiliating the Muslims, who had to go about begging non-Muslims to raise up their hands for Allah's law to be given only a court. The government could lay claim to democracy only if they had subjected British law to a similar debate. Until this is done, any claim to democracy is an insult to the Muslim intelligence.

Just as the colonial government went about spying and bringing Muslim activists under close surveillance, so does the present-day government of Nigeria. The recent Matatsine riot in Kano (December 1980-January 1981), which obviously has no relation to Islam beyond the claims of its instigators, has only given the government a cover to keep a close watch on Muslims. The over-surveillance of Muslims has its roots in the fear which imperialists entertained of Islam during the colonial period.

There are of course the more subtle hostilities against Islam in such places as educational institutions, government depart-

ments and agencies and even the 'ethical revolution'. The last, if a passing remark can be squeezed in, is primarily aimed at preventing the Muslims from reverting to their Qur'an and persuading them to accept an idea hatched in the United States and a 'solution' which will be as devoid of Islam as the Nigerian constitution.

To be fair to the government, however, not all the failures in Hajj operation and other Muslim projects emanate from its hostility to Islam. The failure in NEPA, P & T, NET etc., should suffice as evidence. One may even go further and say that it is not fair to expect a government which cannot provide its citizens with ordinary water to drink to carry its pilgrims to and from Saudi Arabia efficiently. The inflated views of government powers which the generality seem to have does not help the situation.

Concluding Remark

Except for isolated cases, one finds it difficult to distinguish between the Hajj policy of the 'independent' Nigerian government and that of its precursor — the British colonial administration. Perhaps the major difference one finds is that the policies of the 'independent' Nigerian government are more subtle than the crude and brutal ones of the colonial era. It is naive to believe that a government which has been created largely at the instance of imperialism can do any better than it is already doing.

But before blaming the government for its hostility we should first blame ourselves as Muslims. For by allowing and fanning disunity among ourselves under the flimsy excuse of *bid'ah* we rendered ourselves impotent. By allowing our quest for wealth and power to override the interests of Islam we became tools of this neo-colonial arrangement by which Islam is frustrated. By failing to exert ourselves to the utmost and expending our material resources to realise Islam we are only giving room for these anti-Islamic policies to operate.

Notes:

1. The French experience with 'Umar al-Futi and Samore Toure and the

British with al-Mahdi in the Sudan remain glorious examples of such resistance to imperialism.

2. Umar al-Naqar, *The pilgrimage tradition in West Africa*, Khartoum, Khartoum U.P., 1972.
3. J.S. Birks, *Across the Savannah to Mecca: the overland pilgrimage route from West Africa*, Totowa, N.J., F. Cass, n.d. but c. 1978.
4. Muhammad Bello ibn 'Uthman ibn Fudi, *Tanbih al-raqid ala ma Ya 'awiru al-Hajj min al-mafsadi*, MS. Ibadan University Library, No. 82/256.
5. Dr Y. Turahl, 'An ethical appraisal of Christian pilgrimage in Nigeria', *Today's Challenge*, March-April 1983, p.12.

Hajj Organization under the Ottoman State

By Fehmi Koru

There are several legend-like narratives in Ottoman chronicles claiming divine signs for the inception of the Ottoman State. Some of them are a little farfetched but all testify to the orientation of the new State: that is, a State of God-fearing and deeply religious people. The founder of the new State, Osman Gazi, and his warrior-companions were prompted by the desire to realize Allah's kingdom on earth.

All the institutions the Ottomans inherited from the previous Islamic States, or the new ones they set up for the first time, were directed towards the ultimate goal of making this State last forever (*daulat-abad-muddat*) and extending the Word of Allah to every corner of the world (*i'la-yi kalimatullah*).

As soon as the Ottoman State had consolidated its rule the Ottoman Sultans developed an interest in the Holy Cities of Makkah and Madinah. Starting with the third Ottoman Sultan, Yildirim Beyazid, and his son, Celebi Mehmed, they introduced the tradition of sending gifts and alms to the people living in those cities. Pious endowments for the upkeep of the Holy Places, constructions to facilitate the Hajj, new *masajid*, *madrassas*, water supplies, etc., were the concern of every Sultan throughout the history of the Ottoman State.

The land of Hijaz, where the two cities are located, had been under different dynasties and States after the Khulafa al-Rashideen; first the Umayyads and Abbasids, followed by the heretical Qaramitah, during which time al-Hajar al-Aswad, the Black Stone, was carried off to Bahrain (c 317H/929 CE) returned only some 20 years later. In 951 CE, a grandson of Imam Ali, Sharif Musa ibn 'Abdullah, became the Amir of Makkah. His and two other families of the Quraish, all of the pure descent of the Prophet, ruled the Hijaz until 1925, when

the Wahhabis conquered the area.

Due to the poor economic conditions of the Hijazi territory and out of respect for the ancestors of the people living in the area, various Islamic States had made it a custom to send gifts to the poor of the Holy Cities. By doing so they sought to gain favour among the Sharifs, the descendants of the Prophet, as well as to prove their attachment to Islamic tenets.

The first ruler to send gifts was al-Wathiq bi-'illah (840 CE) of the 'Abbasid dynasty, but this gesture did not persist until al-Muqtadir bi-'illah, (923 CE) of the same dynasty, reintroduced the practice some 80 years later. Al-Muqtadir sent 315,426 dinars to be distributed among the people of the Hijaz. After the 'Abbasids many others, ranging from Ayyubids and Mamluks of Egypt to Ilkhanids and Ghaznawids, followed suit and sent gifts to the Hijaz every year.

Mamluks and Ilkhanids established a position which was closely related to their respect for the Holy Cities and the descendants of the Prophet: *naqabah*. Later adopted and developed by the Ottomans, this system made certain that the descendants of the Prophet (Sayyids and Sharifs) were taken care of properly. The chief of the descendants, *naqib al-ashraf*, kept records of every member of the pure descent, distributed State-aid to them, and in the case of misdemeanour on the part of a *sharif*, punished him. Upon a new sultan's ascending the throne, traditionally the first to give allegiance to him was the Naqib. Whenever he entered the Sultan's presence the Sultan always stood up out of respect.

Sharifs and Sayyids living in the State capital, Istanbul, participated in seeing off and welcoming back the armies by fighting in *jihad* by carrying the Sanjaq-i Sharif (relic casket) and repeating *takbirs* and *salawats*.

The Ottomans, as Sultans individually and as a State, showed great interest and enormous care over the Holy Cities and their populations. Since the third Sultan, Yildirim Beyazid, the Ottomans sent gifts and alms (*surre*) to the people of the Hijaz. Even in time of financial trouble or important military campaigns they never failed to send the annual caravan and with it the *surre*.

Sultan Murad II gave away 1,000 dinars each year to the Sharifs of the place where he was residing. He also sent 3,500

dirhams to the population of Makkah, Madinah, al-Quds (Jerusalem) and Khalil al-Rahman (Hebron). During his life he endowed the revenues of all the villages in the Balikhisari area (near Ankara) for this purpose. According to his will, after his death 3,500 dirhams were distributed to each of the poor in Makkah.

Fatih Sultan Mehmed, the Conqueror, immediately after the conquest of Istanbul, sent a letter together with precious gifts to the Amir of Makkah, in which he described Istanbul and informed the Amir that he had changed churches into mosques. In his gift boxes, the Amir of Makkah received 2,000 gold coins and also 7,000 from the *khums* (war booty) was sent to the Makkans. The Sultan sought their good wishes for him in their prayers. His son, Beyazid II, besides his own endowments, sent 14,000 dinars to Makkah and Madinah to be distributed equitably among the poor.

All these gifts and beneficial acts happened sometime before the Ottoman Sultans shifted their attentions to the lands south of Anatolia. By then, they were fighting on several fronts, consolidating their hold on Europe, and extending Dar al-Islam to the farthest corner.

Yavuz Sultan Selim led his armies towards the south, taking first Syria (1516) and the following year Egypt (1517), thereby putting an end to the Mamluk State. As the news of Yavuz's conquest reached the Hijaz, the Amir of Makkah, Sharif Barkat bin Muhammad Hasani, sent his twelve-year-old son Abu Numayy to Cairo to deliver the key of Makkah to the new conqueror. He gave allegiance on behalf of his father, and from then on the name of the Ottoman Sultans was included in the Khutbah as 'Servant of the Two Holy Cities' (Khadim al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn), a title in which all of the Ottoman Sultans took great pride. On his return to the Hijaz, Abu Numayy was accompanied by 200,000 dinars and considerable quantities of grain. Yavuz Selim also doubled his father Beyazid II's annual allowance to the Hijazi population. The Hijazis, for their part, greatly appreciated these gifts and named them *Sadaqat Rumiyyah*, as opposed to the *Sadaqat Misriyyah*, sent from Egypt each year.

These gifts, officially called *surre* (Surra), or purse, had been dispatched every year regardless of circumstances. The Otto-

mans considered this alms-giving not only as generosity towards the people whom they respected but also as a precious opportunity to show their State's commitment to being the servants of the Holy Cities, and to prove that their State was the ultimate Islamic State.

With this purpose in mind, the importance of the ceremonies that took place every year in Istanbul during the time of the dispatch the *surre* is not difficult to understand. An extraordinary event demanded commemoration by ceremonies of an extraordinary nature, in which the Sultan himself took part.

Each year, in the middle of the month of Rajab, a *surre amini*, or Purse Commissioner, was chosen from among important State functionaries or from among *ulama* reputed for their piety and sincerity. Since this position called for sacrifice in every sense, such people had to be wealthy as well. After receiving his appointment, the *surre amini* would go to the Palace and participate in the ceremonies. The *mahmil*, the camel with its canopied seat, represented the camel which had carried the Prophet during his Hajj. It was loaded with money, the registers of the Sharifs and the Sultan's letter addressed to the Amir, and behind it the pilgrim caravan would set out for the Hijaz. On its way to Damascus, the group and its possessions were delivered by one official (normally a Governor) to another against a receipt. Damascus was a resting-point for the caravan. During the pilgrims' stay there, they would be joined by tens of thousands of other *hujjaj* from different parts of the Sultan's dominions. They did not carry a passport or official papers of any sort, and they were not subject to customs control, since all of them lived under one Islamic State.

The Amir al-Hajj, or Commander of the Pilgrimage, would be appointed in Damascus. He was usually a Damascene notable or governor of *sanjaqs* near Damascus (e.g., Nablus, Gaza or, later, in the 18th century, the Governor of Damascus himself).

The departure of the group as a caravan would take place in the month of Shawwal. By that time, a similar group of North and South African *hujjaj* would start their journey to Makkah from Cairo. After a long, tiring and dangerous journey the two groups would be met by the Amir of Makkah in Mada'in Salih and al-'Ula or in Madinah and sometimes in ar-Rabi'. The *hujjaj* would spend their days in Makkah praying and carrying out

the rituals of the Hajj. All responsible people, the Amir al-Hajj, governor of Jeddah and Amir of Makkah, had the obligation to make their stay in the area safe and comfortable.

We learn from the diary of an early 18th century pilgrim that the Hajj journey in which he participated took 238 days. Of these, 133 were spent on the road to Makkah and 91 from Makkah to Istanbul. The *hujjaj* had only 14 days in which to perform the pilgrimage and visit other places of interest in Makkah.

According to a recent study, the Hajj in the 18th century used to cost 70 *qurush* (piasters) from Damascus to Makkah and another 100 or 110 *qurush* to return. Most of this amount went on transportation. *Hujjaj* paid the money in two installments, half on departure and the other half on arrival. The State did not participate in the individual pilgrim's expenses for the very good reason that the Hajj was considered incumbent only upon such as could afford it.

Every year two caravans assembled to proceed to the Hijaz: one in Damascus and one in Cairo. Although the Egyptian caravan was far more important in numbers and function, after a time the Syrian caravan gained considerable importance. Since it carried imperial gifts from Istanbul to the Holy Cities and important state personalities also travelled with it, the Syrian caravan assumed superiority.

As previously observed, due to its growing importance the position of Pilgrimage Commander came to be concentrated in a single person, the Governor of Damascus. He not only led the caravan to the Hijaz but even outranked everybody else in responsibility once he arrived. He had the right to punish anybody who committed a crime against the State or Shari'ah in Hijazi territory.

The organization of the caravan was a local venture. Provinces of Damascus, Sidon and Tripoli were under obligation to collect the moneys necessary to cover all expenses. Needs and salaries of the troops accompanying the caravan, stocking of provisions for them and their riding beasts, had all to be taken care of. Like the other governors, the Hajj governor collected tax, but, unlike them, did not remit the amount to Istanbul, instead retaining it for Hajj. He also spent a couple of months in neighbouring provinces to collect the tax due at the

expiry of the fiscal year (*daura*). If there were still a deficit between his estimated expenditure and the actual collection he had the flexibility to avail himself of other sources, such as the revenues of the Damascus tobacco customs. In extraordinary circumstances, he could call upon the central government to come to his aid: but, as a result of good book-keeping and austerity measures designed to minimise expenditure, the total expenses for the Hajj never exceeded 3 percent of the State budget. Most necessities of the *hujjaj* and the journey itself were defrayed by the pious foundations (*auqaf*) endowed by the Sultan and other wealthy Ottomans for this purpose.

The commander of the Pilgrimage had a responsibility to ensure the safe journey of the Pilgrims. The most ominous danger was attacks by tribes along the route. Even though the Ottoman State tried very hard to engage the services of tribesmen in the Pilgrimage by encouraging their settling in areas near caravanserais and their cooperation in selling goods to the *hujjaj* whenever the caravan rested, and by delegating them to provide the caravanserais with their needs, in times of trouble or natural disasters such as excessive heat or drought tribes did attack the caravan to plunder the pilgrims. Attacks in 1701 and 1757 particularly were the worst ones. In 1701, 30,000 pilgrims died after a ten-day struggle and only 150 struggled through to reach Damascus barefoot. In 1757, in another attack, 20,000 pilgrims were killed.

In order to prevent or at least discourage such attacks on the Hajj caravan, the Amir al-Hajj had special troops under his command. This special force, the *jarda*, consisted of 12 to 15 thousand troops taken largely from the Jaridlu tribe.

The caravanserai system was another security measure. Caravanserais were dotted along the pilgrimage route from Damascus to Makkah at convenient intervals. The caravan could make this long journey only by stopping in caravanserais along the way. The longest distance between two caravanserais was 29 hours while the average was 15 hours. These caravanserai-fortresses provided the caravan with every essential necessity: food, lodging, *hammams* (baths), *sabil* (drinking-water) and market-stalls. Each caravanserai was guarded by a special unit sent from Damascus. The State encouraged the people to settle in these remote caravanserais by exempting

them from the payment of tax. People living in and around a caravanserai stocked their products inside warehouses and sold them to pilgrims during the Hajj season. It was a two-day arrangement beneficial to both; settlers and pilgrims alike gained much from it. The system maintained security by encouraging tribes around a fortress to participate in the Pilgrimage and thereby avoiding their hostility. At the same time, pilgrims were able to make their journey easily without having to carry all their necessities with them.

The introduction of the steam-engine and opening of the Suez Canal shortened the trip to four months. At the end of the 19th century the cost of the Hajj had risen to TL 50. Construction of the Hijaz Railway during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II rendered the journey more secure and agreeable and reduced expenses dramatically. A return ticket to Madinah from Damascus or Beirut cost only TL 7.

During Ottoman times the Hijaz continued to be ruled by a semi-autonomous Amir. The Amir of Makkah was elected from amongst and by the Sharifs, and names of suitable candidates had to be submitted by the governors of Egypt, Damascus and Jeddah to the Sultan for approval. The Ottoman Sultan did not usually interfere with the selection or acts of an Amir in normal times. There were not even laws regulating his duty and responsibility: the Amir was expected to maintain the security of the *hujjaj* by checking the tribes in the area and also to distribute the *surre* equitably.

The Sultan would inform an Amir of his continuation in office with the letter annually dispatched with the Syrian caravan. The Amir would receive 25,000 *qurush* from the Sultan's personal funds annually. The Syrian caravan would deliver another 5,000 *qurush* to the Amir together with other gifts to inhabitants of Makkah and Madinah. The Amir also received half of the revenues of the Jeddah customs.

The Ottoman State was represented in the Hijaz by a governor. The Governor and the troops under his command tried to ensure a safe pilgrimage in their area. Amirs did not usually want strong governors, and struggled by various means to break their strength. If they failed to gain control over a governor they would urge the central government to depose him. The history of the Hijaz is full of accounts of such friction

between Amirs and governors. Knowing that they would be deposed if they did not behave, most governors tried to get along with Amirs somehow or another.

Rivalries between families of the Sharifs or individual Sharifs sometimes stirred armed conflicts. More often than not, the central government had to accept whomever gained the upper hand. In 1691 CE Sharif Sa'id rebelled against the Amir, Sharif Muhsin, and entered Makkah. Istanbul had to accept Sharif Sa'id's Amirate and send him a *berat*. Sometimes struggles reached extremes and disturbed every Muslim deeply. In CE 1789 two factions battled inside Makkah for days, the *adhan* was not called for eighteen consecutive times, nor could prayers be offered. A bullet fired by a rebel even broke a piece off the Hajar al-Aswad.

Sometimes Amirs transgressed their responsibilities and committed intolerable crimes. In 1827 CE Amir Yahya ibn Surur killed the 80-year-old Sharif al-Munimi, whom he saw as a rival to his authority, while the latter was offering Maghrib Prayers in the Haram ash-Sharif. In this case, as in several others (e.g., 1851, 1856, 1882), incumbent Amirs were deposed by the Sultan.

However, should a third party attack them, as happened in 1542 CE, when Portuguese pirates attacked the port of Jeddah, the Amir of Makkah and the representative of the central government got together to repulse them. But when the central government had some kind of a problem, such as a military campaign against an enemy or a foreign threat, Amirs got their way easily and the State usually failed to act.

With no proper speedy means of communication and due to the remoteness of the area from Istanbul, the autonomous State of Hijaz lasted for centuries without interference from the capital. After 1814 CE, however Amirs started to be appointed by Muhammad 'Ali Pasha of Egypt. Since he, in his capacity as Governor of Egypt, sent troops to Makkah the Ottoman State lost its say in Hijazi affairs.

The semi-autonomous state of Makkan Amirates lasted till 1916, when Sharif Husain bin 'Ali rebelled against the Ottoman State during the First World War. He was replaced by a new Amir, Sharif 'Ali Haidar, but his replacement could not pass beyond Damascus. This marked the end of the Ottoman rule

over the Hijaz, together with the Hijazi Amirate. Not long after this event the Wahhabis came from Najd and forced Sharif Husain (1924) and then his family (1925) to leave the Hijaz.

In conclusion, characteristics of the Hajj during the Ottoman period are:

1. Ottoman Sultans showed particular concern for the welfare of the Holy Cities right from the inception of the Ottoman State. After the conquest of Syria and Egypt, which brought the Hijaz under their rule, this concern was intensified. Since the majority of Muslims were citizens of the Ottoman *daula*, they felt it especially necessary to show their attachment to Islam. The Hajj, which takes place every year, gave them this opportunity.
2. The major problem in Hajj organization was to maintain security along the pilgrim route and in the Hijaz. By building fortresses and keeping a substantial number of troops under the command of the Amir al-Hajj and particularly by encouraging tribesmen to participate in and benefit from the organization, they by and large accomplished this purpose. In some exceptional years Hajj caravans and *hujjaj* suffered attacks.
3. The Ottomans did not alter the semi-autonomous State of the Amir of Makkah. Although they checked some of his excessive acts through their governors and troops stationed there, generally speaking they did not interfere in the internal affairs of the Hijaz. They also respected and organized descendants of the Prophet and provided them with financial assistance.
4. The Hajj was a long and dangerous undertaking. A pilgrim had to spare a good part of a year to achieve his goal. New technologies, such as the steamship or locomotive, were introduced by the Ottoman State to facilitate the performance of the Hajj.
5. Financially, the Hajj was an individual responsibility. The State provided facilities and security but the *hujjaj* had to defray their own expenses. Pious endowments set up for the construction or maintenance of religious buildings, or other beneficiary purposes, likewise facilitated the performance of

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On the subject of this paper, unfortunately, there are not many comprehensive works written in languages with which the author is familiar. Documents and collection of records on the Amirate of Makkah, Procession of the Purse (*Surre Alayi*), pious foundations (*auqaf*) and the pilgrimage in general, are hidden in archives of the Prime Minister's Office (*Basvekalet Arsivi*) and of Topkapi Palace Museum, both in Istanbul. Nevertheless, the author must acknowledge his indebtedness to two pioneering books from which he has benefited in his research in resources, that of *Mekke-i Mukerreme Emirleri* by Ord. Prof. I.H. Uzuncarsili, and *The Dynamics of Ottoman Rule in Damascus During the First Half of the Eighteenth Century* by K.K. Barbir.

The list of books and articles read for the preparation of the paper is, in fact, extensive. We give only a selection here.

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The pilgrimage organization in Turkey

By Mehmed Erkal

The management of anything concerning Islam in the Turkish Republic has been assigned to the Department of Religious Affairs, according to the first article of Decree no. 633 (issued December 22, 1965) on the establishment of that Department. Because there was no clear jurisdiction in the said decree about the performance of the Pilgrimage, a unit for conducting the affairs of the Pilgrimage had to be created within the Department.¹ But after the experiences gained from applications, it was clear that during the performance of the rituals in Makkah and the journey thither the chaos could not be controlled and pilgrims would come across many problems in the Holy Places. Thus a consensus arose that the pilgrimage should be conducted by the Department of Religious Affairs. This view was expressed by officials of the Department of Religious Affairs sent to Makkah, Madinah and Jeddah and in the reports of the Turkish Embassy in Jeddah.² As a result, big changes were introduced in the rules and regulations relating to the Hajj.

It was decided that the Department of Religious Affairs should be entrusted with all affairs relating to the Hajj. A new decree (No. 7/8984) was issued by the Council of Ministers on 28 September, 1974. Later, changes were introduced in some articles of the decree, and these were published in the Official Gazette (Issue No. 16388, 25 August, 1978).

The rules and regulations of this decree consist of four parts. In the first part 'The Pilgrimage Commission' and 'Permanent Pilgrimage Committee' and the members of the Commission and the Committee and their way of working is explained. The Commission meets six months before the Pilgrimage season commences, and the Permanent Pilgrimage Committee meets

continuously in coordination with the Ministry of the Interior. The second part of the rules explains the passport transactions, the third part matters concerning the journey and the means of transportation, and the fourth part deals with rules and arrangements to be met should a pilgrim die in the course of the journey.

In the rules and regulations, it is observed, however, that only the part of the journey *within* Turkey was to be organized and that decisions do not extend abroad. Later, after application of these rules, this restriction was dropped in view of the reports submitted.³ New regulations were issued in 1979 which filled the gap by extending the Department of Religious Affairs' supervision of pilgrimage affairs to abroad as well.

In 1974 Decree no. 633 on 'The organisation of the Department of Religious Affairs' was submitted to Parliament to be reissued with amendments. In this project, the establishment of a unit to undertake Pilgrimage affairs was foreseen. When passing of the amendment to the decree was delayed for various reasons, a 'Directorate of Pilgrimage Affairs' was established⁴ in the Central Organization of the Department by the decision (No. 7/12998) of the Council of Ministers, dated December 10, 1976.

The Department of Religious Affairs, taking into consideration the probability of the project's being passed as a decree, and as a preparation to its implementation, organized a Pilgrimage journey by land transport in 1977 in cooperation with the Turkish Religious Foundation. This experiment, though on a small scale, was declared a success.⁵

In 1978 the decision and precautions taken by government for the Pilgrimage season differed considerably from previous years. These precautions, although not enough to solve all the problems of pilgrimage in Turkey, were seen as an important step towards the solution of the problems.

These decisions and precautions and their application may be summarized as follows:

- a. In 1978, a maximum application period of 15 days was given to those intending to go on to Pilgrimage. This proved beneficial, because the number of the candidates was known beforehand and the necessary preparations inside and

outside the country were undertaken accordingly. But the 15 days' period was found short and since 1979 this has been fixed at one month.

- b. In 1978, for the first time the wearing of a uniform was made obligatory for pilgrims. The purpose was to have all pilgrims readily identifiable and to ease the finding of those who are lost in a foreign land due to lack of acquaintance with language.
- c. In the same year permission was not given to those who had performed one Pilgrimage previously, as pilgrimage is obligatory only once in the lifetime for those as have the means. According to Islamic rules the Pilgrimage performed more than once in *Nafilah*. Until recently, Pilgrimage was being performed in ease and comfort in the Holy Places. But now with the development in transport and communication in recent years, the number of people coming to the Holy Places from within and without Arabia, has increased tremendously. The facilities there are no longer sufficient, especially in Makkah, Madinah and Mina. Now, it is common for people to be crushed to death, die due to the immense crowds.

Looking at the subject from this angle, withholding permission for supererogatory Pilgrimage by the Turkish authorities in 1978 was appropriate, but if considered in the light of the 18th article of the Constitution, which guarantees freedom of travel abroad, it is open to criticism and has already been made the target of much criticism.

All Muslim countries, whose citizens go on pilgrimage, have encountered the same problems.⁶

During the Republican period, until 1978, Pilgrimage journeys were organized by private companies, but the State has established for these journeys rules different from those governing abroad. In 1978, the Department of Religious Affairs, a government organization, together with the Turkish Religious Foundation, organized an 'experimental' Pilgrimage journey. A total of 4,468 Pilgrims took part under the leadership of Tayyar Altikulac, head of the Department of Religious Affairs. The pilgrims received assistance with passport and exchange transactions and the visas were obtained in groups. Expenses

were calculated and announced beforehand. Buses collected the Pilgrims from appointed places at specific times; 76 buses assembled at one point in Iskenderun at an appointed time. Saudi Riyals were distributed in as short a time as two hours, and the pilgrims set off in three convoys.⁷

Each bus had a religious officer, and for each ten buses a group leader and an assistant were appointed. For the planes, one religious officer was appointed for each forty travellers. In each group one ambulance was present, and, for all groups, three specialized doctors and seven health officers were appointed.⁸ Outside the country, travel transactions were carried out by the officials on duty, and the pilgrims were instructed on various topics and received help with the performance of rituals as well.

Pilgrims were accommodated in houses that had been rented in advance in Makkah and Madinah. In Makkah, Madinah and Mina a tent was erected, to serve as an office for communications between the tents, where officials were on round-the-clock duty.

As already observed, the Council of Ministers issued a decision on April 26, 1979 (No. 7/17439), amending the decree on the establishment and duties of the Department of Religious Affairs, to fill in gaps in the rules and regulations.⁹ The main points of this decision may be summarized as follows:

1. The Pilgrimage shall be organized by the Department of Religious Affairs; no private person or agency may organize Pilgrimage journeys.
2. A Pilgrimage Commission shall be formed, under the control of the Deputy Prime Minister, consisting of the following members: Head of the Department of Religious Affairs, Under-Secretaries of the Ministries of Interior, Finance, Health and Social Assistance, Customs and State Monopolies, Communications, Tourism, Foreign Affairs, and representative of the Turkish Red Crescent.
3. The Department of Religious Affairs shall announce each year the duration of the Pilgrimage, after consulting the Pilgrimage Commission. Citizens who wish to go on pilgrimage must apply to the Department of Religious Affairs in writing at least four months before the date (of 'Id al-adha).

4. The Department shall prepare accommodation in Saudi Arabia in advance, and foreign currency for the purpose will be supplied by the Ministry of Finance.
5. Applicants shall have to obtain a certificate of satisfactory health, if their age is over 60, for land, and 65 for air, transportation.
6. Applicants who have not been on Pilgrimage between 1979 and 1981 shall be eligible to take part.¹⁰

When the above-mentioned decision of the Council of Ministers was made, no budget for the financial matters of the Pilgrimage Organisation was established. It was decided that the Department of Religious Affairs should cooperate with the Religious Foundations (Auqaf) of Turkey. Thus Pilgrimage affairs in Turkey became an organization 'in the management of the State handled by the capital formed by the funds of the Applicants'. The decision of the Council of Ministers also stated that other details related to the Pilgrimage would be arranged by the Department of Religious Affairs in consultation with the Pilgrimage Commission.

The Department of Religious Affairs Regulation of the Pilgrimage was published in the Official Gazette, no. 16650, dated May 26, 1979. The Regulation consists of rules, from application to the pilgrim's exit from Turkey, such as the declaration of Pilgrimage period, application, passport, health report, vaccinations, bureaucratic arrangements, the conditions required of the applicants, setting-up of the Pilgrimage Bureau, visa and foreign exchange formalities, transportation, appointment and training of personnel, training of Pilgrimage applicants and refund of deposits paid by unsuccessful applicants! Some changes were introduced in 1980. Conformity in implementation of the rules is secured by regular circulars and bulletins about changes and new developments in regulation, sent out by the Department of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Interior, Directorate-General of Security and the Religious Affairs Foundation of Turkey since 1980, following the Council of Ministers' decision in 1979 to organize the Pilgrimage.

Works undertaken within the country

To study means of implementing the Department of Religious

Affairs' Regulations of Pilgrimage, a seminar was held between May 25-27, 1979, in which the regional Muftis took part. The seminar discussed the basic principles of the Regulation and the duties that should be performed by the Muftis in their respective areas.¹²

Following Decree no. 213, dated 31 May, 1979, issued by the Department of Religious Affairs, the Pilgrimage Organisation has been officially launched, and at the proposal of the Mufti and the approval of the City Governor a 'Pilgrimage Office' was opened in each city and staff were recruited to man them. It was announced to intending pilgrims that they should apply to the Pilgrimage Office in their area or directly to the Department of Religious Affairs between June 1 and July 2, 1979. All necessary documents for applicants were printed and distributed to the Pilgrimage Offices. After the completion of the application forms and provision with the necessary documents, all formalities were completed by the Pilgrimage Office staff.¹³

A file was opened for each application made to the Pilgrimage Offices. After the expiry of the application period the number of applications was reported to the Department. This helped each Pilgrimage Office to prepare statistical data about age, sex and preferred means of transportation of the candidates. Afterwards, the files were sent to the Head Office of Department of Pilgrimage after examination by the General Directorate of the Security Department, and, after checking procedures, the files were sent to the General Directorate so they could issue passports. As a result, passports were issued within the pre-set period.

While the work of issuing passports for the Pilgrimage season of 1979 was under way the Pilgrimage Commission met again. At the request of the President of the Department of Religious Affairs, decisions about the itinerary, dates of travel and amounts of Riyals allowed the pilgrims, according to the Saudi Pilgrimage Regulations, were taken. The Commission also decided on the details of the standardisation of pilgrims' costumes and personal articles.¹⁴

Past experience has shown that one of the most important problems in Pilgrimage organization is the fact that many pilgrims get lost in the huge crowds during the Hajj period. A

solution to this problem was found in 1979, when each pilgrim was issued an identity card bearing his name, group-leader's name, the number of the number-plate of his bus, his group and his address. This helped on assembling information about those who had an accident or were lost from the police or hospitals. For each bus-load of pilgrims, a leader was appointed.

Now we propose to discuss the process of selection and training of the personnel in charge of groups of pilgrims and their transfer to assembly points, which is one of the most important features of the internal Pilgrimage organization.

During the 1979 Pilgrimage season, while the passport, visa and foreign exchange allocations formalities were being undertaken, the work for the formation of pilgrim-groups was done. Taking account of past experience it was decided that each group should comprise six buses. In each bus, one person was appointed as 'leader' for each group and one communication car as well as one doctor and two health workers were charged. For pilgrims travelling by air, one person per forty pilgrims and one official per plane were assigned.¹⁶

In the 1979 season, 15 communication cars and four ambulances were in service, and medicine worth TL3 million was bought. The number of buses used totalled 281.

Religious personnel who were to be in charge during the Pilgrimage organization were mostly selected upon recommendation by the city Mufti.

In 1979, a total of 347 personnel were in charge, helping the candidates from the beginning to the end of the Pilgrimage. These officers took part in a two-day seminar in Ankara before the departure of the pilgrims; in addition, 15 doctors, 3 nurses and 21 sanitary employees, who were responsible for the health care of the candidates, had a one-day seminar for training purposes.

According to the plan, groups were transferred to the frontier city of Iskenderun. Here foreign exchange collected from the Central Bank by the organisation employees was distributed to the pilgrims, bus fares were paid, then groups were driven to Antakya, on the frontier, and customs formalities were undertaken by the personnel in charge without delay.¹⁷

Mostly these same procedures have been followed in 1980 and 1981; lessons learnt during the 1979 operation were taken

into account.

The start of the 1980 season was announced following the meeting of the Pilgrimage Commission on June 10, 1980. At this meeting some changes in the regulations were agreed.

As observed before, in 1979 passports were issued to the pilgrims at the General Directorate of the Security Department in Ankara. In practice, some difficulties and disadvantages incident on this practice were apparent; and, in 1980, it was decided that passports should be delivered to the Pilgrimage Organization staff by the Security Department of each city. As a result, more favourable results were achieved.¹⁹

In 1979 those who preferred to travel by air had to pay TL50,000 as well as TL50,000 for bus transport.²⁰ In 1980, following the devaluation of the Turkish Lira, TL113,000 for air travel and TL100,000 for bus transport were required.²¹

In 1980, a total of 22,597 candidates preferred bus transport, while 3,009 chose to travel by air. After evaluating the experience of 1979 it was decided that a Pilgrimage group should comprise no less than five and no more than 9 buses. Groups formed were under the direction of a group leader and religious officers. In this way, in 1980, 109 groups left on 724 buses for the Pilgrimage. In 1980, 1,115 personnel took part in the organization, 18 persons rented houses in Makkah and Madinah, 135 helped the pilgrims, 9 were assigned at the customs, 937 were religious leaders on buses and air planes, and 16 acted as directing executives.²²

In 1980, Iskenderun Airport was chosen as the assembly point. All the soldiers, with the Commander-in-chief of the Iskenderun Garrison, did their best to provide services. The Pilgrims prayed and rested in tents erected by the soldiers and had food and drinks from canteens supplied by the Garrison.²³

Groups which gathered at Iskenderun Airport with a group leader were then brought by degrees to the Central Bank in the town, where foreign exchange procedures were completed. Thereafter the groups were directed on to Antakya, the frontier city, where they were met by another escort to help them through the customs and medical check-up.²⁴

In 1981, the Pilgrimage period started with a decree of the Pilgrimage Commission, which held a meeting on April 20-21, 1981. During this meeting, the results of the 1980's operation were evaluated. Decisions were taken concerning the applica-

tions, the amount of foreign exchange allocated to each Pilgrim and new measures were made public for the 1981 Pilgrimage.²⁵

In 1981, considering the changes in the exchange rates, Pilgrim candidates were asked to deposit TL118,000 for a bus journey or TL160,000 for a journey by air.²⁶

In 1981, 22,922 passports belonging to 30,470 persons were issued. 152 groups were organized for 27,816 pilgrims travelling by road, 28 buses were sent as emergency transport; seven ambulances, one repair van, and one pharmacy truck accompanied the passengers.²⁷

Emphasis was put on training programmes for the personnel; three seminars were organized to explain the details of the organization to all participants. Booklets were published and distributed to the workers. 1,264 officials were assigned to the organization of the 1981 Pilgrimage. Of these, 878 were religious officers on the buses, 152 group leaders, 74 religious officers and 10 group leaders were working on the airplanes, 23 people were on duty in Makkah and Madinah before the arrival of the groups, and there were 73 doctors, 9 nurses and 87 medical staff.²⁸

In 1981, all departures and arrivals were organized from Iskenderun Airport.

Organizational efforts abroad started in 1979 with the assignment of 16 personnel to Makkah and Madinah for renting houses for the Pilgrims and deciding the itinerary for the vehicles. The officials gave a report to the Prime Minister's Office on the proposed itinerary. But due to the directives issued by Saudi Arabian authorities, Turkish Pilgrims were obliged to take the Syrian-Jordan road. Mr Tayyar Altikulac, President of the Department of Religious Affairs, visited Damascus to have meetings with officials on problems faced in previous years and the measures to be taken to solve them.²⁹

A group of five officials worked two weeks in Makkah and Madinah to reach an agreement with house-owners, then another group of nine officials went to sign the rent-contracts and supervise the furnishing of the houses. Thus, accommodation was prepared before the pilgrims left Turkey, and each group knew in advance where it was to stay.³⁰

In conformity with the agreements, at every border-point on the transit road an official from the Turkish Embassy and a

member of the Department of Religious Affairs were present to help solve any problems that might arise.

In 1979, as planned, groups of Pilgrims travelled to Damascus, then visited Madinah and journeyed to Makkah. They were received on entering Makkah and directed to their living quarters.

Pilgrims who had chosen air transport were met at Jeddah Airport by three officials, then transferred to Makkah where they stayed in houses reserved for them.

During the Pilgrimage period, the religious officers accompanied the pilgrims all the time to help them with the rituals. Medical assistance was provided by three small hospitals and mobile units, whilst services were organized from six offices, where officials worked on a 24-hour basis.

The pilgrims, after their visit to Makkah, left for Madinah, where they stayed for eight days. They occupied houses specially rented for them and commenced their return journey from this city, according to a well-laid-out programme. The same measures were applied on their way back to Turkey at the borders and the customs. Once in Turkey, the groups were escorted until reaching the pilgrims' hometowns.³¹

In 1980, a group of 18 officials worked in the renting operations of the houses. Of this group 11 officials were assigned to Makkah and seven to Madinah. The same year, two interpreters and one embassy representative helped the Pilgrims through customs clearance at the Syrian and Jordanian borders.³²

The stay in Makkah and Madinah was organized in the same disciplined manner as in 1979. The only visible difference was in medical care as compared to 1979. The Department of Religious Affairs proposed that the Turkish Red Crescent should provide the care. An agreement was signed, and in 1980 the Red Crescent took charge of this side of things.³³

In 1981, with the evaluation of the past experiences, the Pilgrimage Organization deliberated carefully on how to overcome the difficulties encountered in the previous years in Syria Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Mr Tayyar Altikulac, President of the Department of Religious Affairs, paid an official visit of seven days to Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. During these visits, he met with officials, and held talks on medical services,

houses to rent, tent places in Mina and Arafat, points of transit-crossing on borders and so forth.³⁴

In 1981, 23 officials were sent to Makkah and Madinah to rent and prepare lodgings for the pilgrims; 13 were assigned to Makkah and 10 to Madinah. Lodging for 31 thousand people was prepared in both cities. Housing was assigned according to the city of origin, before the arrival of the pilgrims. Two buildings were transformed into hospitals, and one main depot and eight branch depot centres were opened for commodities.³⁵

In the same year another new measure was the communication of the number-plates of the buses to the Syrian, Jordanian and Saudi authorities before the start of the Hajj season. Again, a representative of the Turkish Embassy and two officials of the Religious Affairs Department were present at each border point to help the pilgrims. The stay of the pilgrims at Makkah and Madinah, the organization of the rituals and their return trip were all organized as planned in previous years.³⁶

Notes:

1. Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi 1980 Yili Hac Mevsimi Dolayisiyla Hazirlanan *Hac Raporu*, Ankara (unpublished), 1981, p.2.
2. *Ibid.*, pp.1-2.
3. *Ibid.*, pp.1-2.
4. *Ibid.*, p.2
5. *Ibid.*, p.2
6. *Ibid.*, p.38
7. Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi 1978 Yili Hac Mevsimi Dolayisiyla Hazirlana *Hac Raporu*, Ankara (unpublished), 1979, p.32.
8. *Ibid.*, p.33
9. Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi 1981 Yili Hac Mevsimi Dolayisiyla Hazirlanan *Hac Raporu* (unpublished), 1981, EK: 2, pp.1-4.
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33. *Ibid.*, pp.17-29, 30.
34. Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi 1981 Yili Hac Mevsimi Dolayisiyla Hazirlanan *Hac Raporu*, Ankara (unpublished), 1981, p.22.
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The architecture of the Holy Shrine in Makkah

By R.A. Jairazbhoy

In histories of architecture the Haram ash-Sharif in Makkah receives summary treatment because it is a composite work practically extending over the whole span of Islamic history. The names involved in its many buildings and restorations read like a roll-call of great Muslim rulers and *khulafa*.

The Holy Shrine is very different stylistically from what it once was. Where once it was a patchwork of the past intriguing to explore and to identify, it now has a mechanical and uniform cast of modernity written all over it.

Seldom has anyone set out to disentangle its different phases, and its trials and tribulations in a chronological manner. This is what we have attempted here with the aid of the rich literary sources at hand. Though the reports are not always strictly accurate, they allow a clear picture to emerge, which makes it possible to assign a proper place to the parts that go to make up the whole.

The pre-Islamic temple of Makkah was not cubical in shape. According to al-Azraqi (d. 837 CE), it measured $32 \times 22 \times 31 \times 20$ cubits (1 cubit = 24 fingers, equivalent to length of forearm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger) and it was 9 cubits high.¹ Nor was it truly a building because it had no roof.

The first rebuilding after this took place in 608 CE, when the Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be peace, was 35 years old. The Quraish employed the carpenter-builder Baqum to rebuild it. According to Ibn Hisham they wanted the structure roofed in because part of the treasure, which was in a well in the middle of the Ka'bah² had been stolen. Baqum doubled the height to 18 cubits, using wood and stone in alternating courses.

When 'Abdullah ibn az-Zubair (nephew of the Prophet's wife,

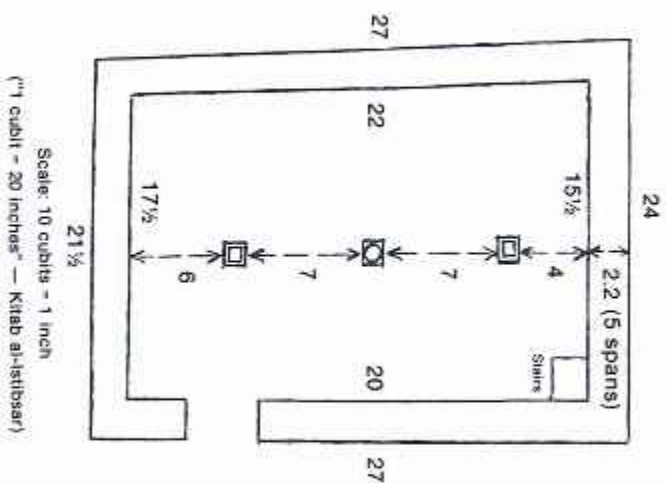
'A'isha) reconstructed the building in 683 CE, after the destruction during the siege, he employed more or less the same foundations. We are told that he raised the height of the building from 18 to 27 cubits, and that he also lengthened it by 7 cubits.³ If this were the case its dimensions would now have been 32 × 29 × 31 × 27 cubits, which does not agree with later accounts; thus the dimensions that Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi⁴ gives us are 25 × 20 × 21, and 27 cubits high. This proves the assertion that 'immediately after 'Abdullah ibn az-Zubair was killed 'Abd al-Malik ordered al-Hajjaj to tear down the accretions of Ibn az-Zubair and restore to the building the form it had in the lifetime of the Prophet'.⁵ However, what is important is that it was during the reconstruction of 683 CE that the building received its approximately cubic shape. This may have been deliberate, since we are told that the name of the building was changed from *baitullah*, or 'House of God', to al-Ka'bah, signifying 'cube'.⁶ The sequence of events just outlined argues that the shape of the Ka'bah was arrived at as the result of a gradual process.

Quite apart from its name, we have reason to think that the early Muslims were conscious that there was something special and sacrosanct about the shape of the Ka'bah. Al-Azraqi reports that the houses of the people of Makkah were made circular out of respect for the Ka'bah.⁷ And according to as-Samhudi, Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz made (c. 710 CE) the chamber of the Prophet's Tomb in Madinah irregular so that no one would pray towards it instead of the Ka'bah.⁸ As will be seen from the plan we have drawn (fig. 1), based on the account given in the *Kitab al-Istibsar*'s (before 1191 CE), almost no two measurements are the same.⁹

We have observed that in his rebuilding of the shrine Baqum had employed alternating courses of wood and stone. Creswell held that this mode of construction was one of the proofs that its architect was an Abyssinian¹⁰, but I have shown elsewhere that the constructional technique was very ancient, and have also cited an example of its use in pre-Islamic Arabia.¹¹

At any rate, after its destruction by fire in the siege, 'Abdullah ibn az-Zubair reconstructed the edifice using stone only. The thickness of the walls would have been 6 palms (3½ feet) as asserted by Nasir-i Khusrau (1050 CE).¹² We know from the

Fig. 1. The plan of the Ka'ba after the Kiliab al-istibsar (before 1191 CE).



Scale: 10 cubits = 1 inch

("1 cubit = 20 inches" — Kitab al-istibsar)

Fig. 2. View of the Ka'bah after the measurements of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih!

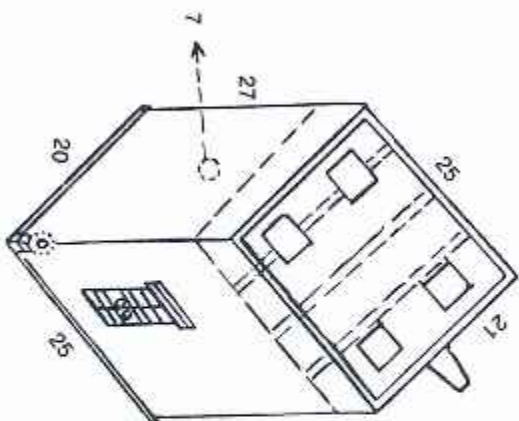
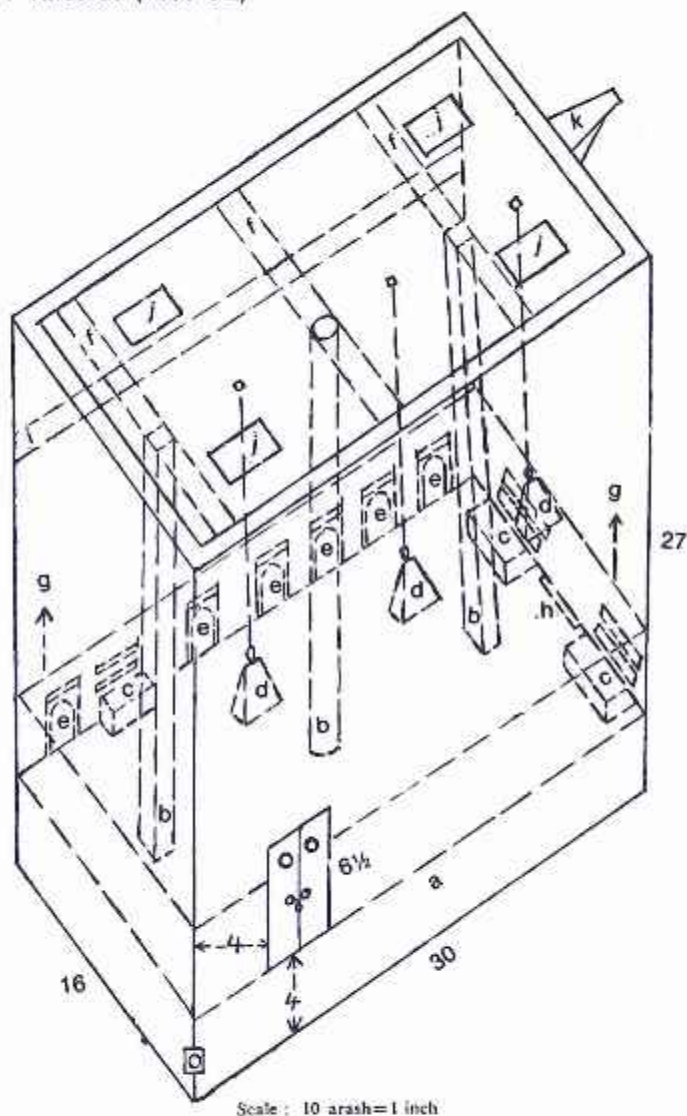


Fig. 3 A view of the interior and exterior of the Ka'bah after Nasir-i- Khusrau (1050 CE)



description of 900 CE that there was a plastered wall a foot high and about a foot wide protecting the base of the House from torrents of rain-water.¹³ Ibn Jubair observed that the walls were composed of large blocks of dark granite held by viscous cement. His observation was made despite the green silk veil covering the House.¹⁴

The custom of covering the exterior of the House with material began in the earliest times, and appears to have been the continuation of a practice of pre-Islamic Arabia. According to Ibn Hisham, a *kiswa*, or covering, was first given to the House by a Himyarite king of Yemen by name Tubba' As'ad Tubba'. According to al-Azraqi, the Quraish were in the habit of supplying a covering every other year.¹⁵

The roof of Baqum's reconstruction was supported by two rows of three pillars.¹⁶ This was evidently reduced to three columns in the reconstruction of 683 CE, which refers to three marble columns enriched with painted and gilt ornamentation.¹⁷

In the rebuilding of 693 CE al-Hajjaj gave the House a double roof.¹⁸ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, c. 900 CE has left us a description of this roof: the lower of the two roofs (we know from later accounts that the roofs were two cubits apart) rested on three rafters of teakwood (fig. 2)¹⁹ He adds that the roof was pierced by four apertures in pairs for light. According to al-Azraqi²⁰, the skylights were covered with translucent marble from the Yemen named *balaq* (alabaster?) which let in the daylight.

In 1050 CE there was a staircase to the roof through a silver-plated trap-door. It was in a square construction of 3 *gaz*, which was entered by a little silver door called Bab al-Rahma ('Door of Mercy').²¹

The door of the shrine had been raised a little over 4 cubits above the ground by Baqum in AD 608.²² 'Abdullah ibn az-Zubair (683 CE) included a second door in his reconstruction so that there was one for entry and the other for exit, both on ground level.²³ However, al-Hajjaj in his rebuilding of 693 CE blocked the west door, and again raised the east door by 4 cubits,²⁴ or over head-height. When (c. 900 CE) al-Muqaddasi described these doors they were two-leaved and covered in plates of silver-gilt.²⁵ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (c. 900 CE) is still more precise: he says that the door was 5 cubits from the Aswad

corner²⁶ or, in other words, not central and on the east side of the Ka'bah. Fashioned of teak-wood, it measured 6 cubits 10 fingers x 3 cubits 28 fingers. On the outside it was plated with gold and on the inside with silver. Each of the two leaves of the door had six crosspieces and two hooks into which a golden lock was fixed.

The shrine built by Baqum had been painted with pictures. When the Prophet entered it in 630 CE after the conquest of Makkah he ordered that all these be erased, including one of Abraham practising divination with arrows.²⁷

According to al-Mas'udi²⁸ the Ka'bah of Ibn az-Zubair (683 CE) was decorated with mosaics removed from a church at San'a which had been erected by Abraha the Abyssinian (c. 570 CE). It is doubtful if these mosaics survived the rebuilding of al-Hajjaj in (693 CE), considering the structure had been pulled down and re-erected. The next renewal was the repair of the floor in 854 CE by the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mustansir. He sent 100 blocks of marble from Baghdad, which were sawn and laid down by Iraqi masons.²⁹

By 900 CE the ceiling of the Ka'bah was plated in gold,³⁰ and it would appear that this was executed by the 30 goldsmiths sent by the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 855 CE to work on the plating of the House under the supervision of Ishaq ibn Sulaiman.³¹

The clearest picture of the interior of the Ka'bah emerges through the description of the Persian traveller Nasir-i Khusrau (1050 CE),³² enabling us to make the following reconstruction. As one enters the door, which is raised 4 *arashes* above the level of the court, one sees a small bench against the opposite wall, and there are two further benches along the north wall. On the same opposite wall on the west are six silver *mihirabs* fixed to the wall with nails. Each is a man's height, and they are ornamented with incrustations of gold and dark niello. The walls are bare up to a height of 4 *arashes* from the ground, but above this to ceiling height the wall is clad with marble plaques ornamented with arabesques and carvings, much of which is gilt. The beams and the ceiling are entirely covered in satin. This might have been the work of the Fatimid ruler al-'Aziz since a gold inscription just below the ceiling gives his name.

Nasir-i Khusrau observes that one of the three pillars support-

ing the roof is round and the other two are square, and three lamps hang between the pillars. There are four windows (skylights?), one at each of the corners, and each set with a pane of glass which lets in daylight and excludes rain. Finally, in the centre of the summit of the north wall is a gutter spout (the *mizab*) inscribed in letters of gold. We know that the roof sloped gently towards that side to let the rain-water drain off.

A further focus on the west wall of the Ka'bah emerges from the accounts of Ibn Jubair (1183 CE) and the anonymous author of the *Kitab al-Istibsar* (before 1191 CE).³⁵ The marble slabs mantling the wall are red and green in alternation, and are claimed to have been sent by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid; the three silver *mihhrabs* (not five) are inscribed with the names of the 'Abbasid Khalifas al-Muti and al-Muqtadir; above are two inscriptional friezes; above them again the silver-gilt decoration. Situated at a height in the corners are windows closed by leaves of green marble slabs. The skylights in the ceiling must have survived, and one more added (since Ibn Jubair counted five); they were of richly stained Iraqi glass.³⁶

Nasir-i Khusrau describes two relics in 1050 CE.³⁶ The first consisted of a pair of planks fixed to the wall above each of the three seats. Khusrau claims these to have come from Noah's Ark. The second was a long rectangular plaque of red marble resting on the floor toward the northern side of the Ka'bah. It is stated that the Prophet had prayed on this spot. Later accounts also mention this *musalla*, or praying place of the Prophet, but transferred to a spot in front of the door and facing the west wall.

Alongside the west wall was a basin which Ibn Jubair says was intended to be 'one of the pools of Paradise'.³⁶ At about this time there were further relics in the Iraqi corner which included 'the earrings of Maryam, the amulet, and the ram's horn'.³⁷

Finally there is the Black Stone (*al-hajar al-aswad*). Ibn Hisham describes how it had been set into one of the outside corners of the House by the Prophet with his own hands.³⁸ It was split in three in the fire of 683 CE, and rejoined in the restoration of Ibn az-Zubair. The silver rim round the Black Stone was renewed by Harun al-Rashid (786-809 CE).³⁹ The heretical Karamathians (al-Qaramitah) stole the Black Stone

in 929 CE under Abu Tahir, and took it away in the vain hope of thereby attracting to themselves pilgrimage revenue. It was returned to Makkah in 950 CE, albeit broke in two.⁴⁰ In 985 CE al-Muqaddasi described the Black Stone as having the shape of a man's head, and it was positioned at the edge of the angle at shoulder height.⁴¹

In the description of Ibn az-Zubair's rebuilding of the Ka'bah in 683 CE there is a mention of the dry well inside, the Bīr Ahsif, in which treasures were deposited, including the golden vessels which had been presented to the Ka'bah.⁴² Presumably the well still exists under the elevated floor, and the treasures are still there. This could be established by excavation or by magnetometer survey.

Thanks to al-Azraqi we know and can list the succession of fabulous treasures sent to the Ka'bah by Muslim rulers from distant lands.⁴³ Most surprising is the golden idol seated on a silver throne, and wearing a gold crown encrusted with precious stones, which was sent by the king of Tibet when he was converted to Islam.⁴⁴

Where were all these kept, for certainly they were not seen by any of our travellers, who described the sanctuary in detail? I suggest that the 2-cubit space between the roof and the ceiling may have served as the treasury. The well being under the floorboards would of course have been long inaccessible. In support of this I can point to at least one contemporary parallel. We know from Miskawaihi that in 934 CE the chamber of the palace of Yaqut in Shiraz had an attic between the ceiling and the roof which served as a treasure hoard.⁴⁵

The secondary structures are set out on the plan drawn on the basis of Nasir-i Khusrau's description (fig. 4).

This is an area on the north side of the Ka'bah. Here are said to have been the graves of the Prophet Isma'il and his mother Hajar. This area was a part of the Ka'bah built by Ibrahim but was left unbuilt by the Quraish (due to shortage of funds) during the reconstruction of 608 CE. Stones were erected in the unbuilt area to remind people that it formed part of the whole. Ibn az-Zubair included this area in the reconstruction of 683 CE, but al-Hajjaj demolished it (693 CE) and rebuilt the House on the foundations of the 608 CE reconstruction by the Quraish.⁴⁷ Al-Muqaddasi (c. 985 CE) describes it as a waist-high

g. e aram at akkah after Nasir-i-Khusrau (1050 CE)

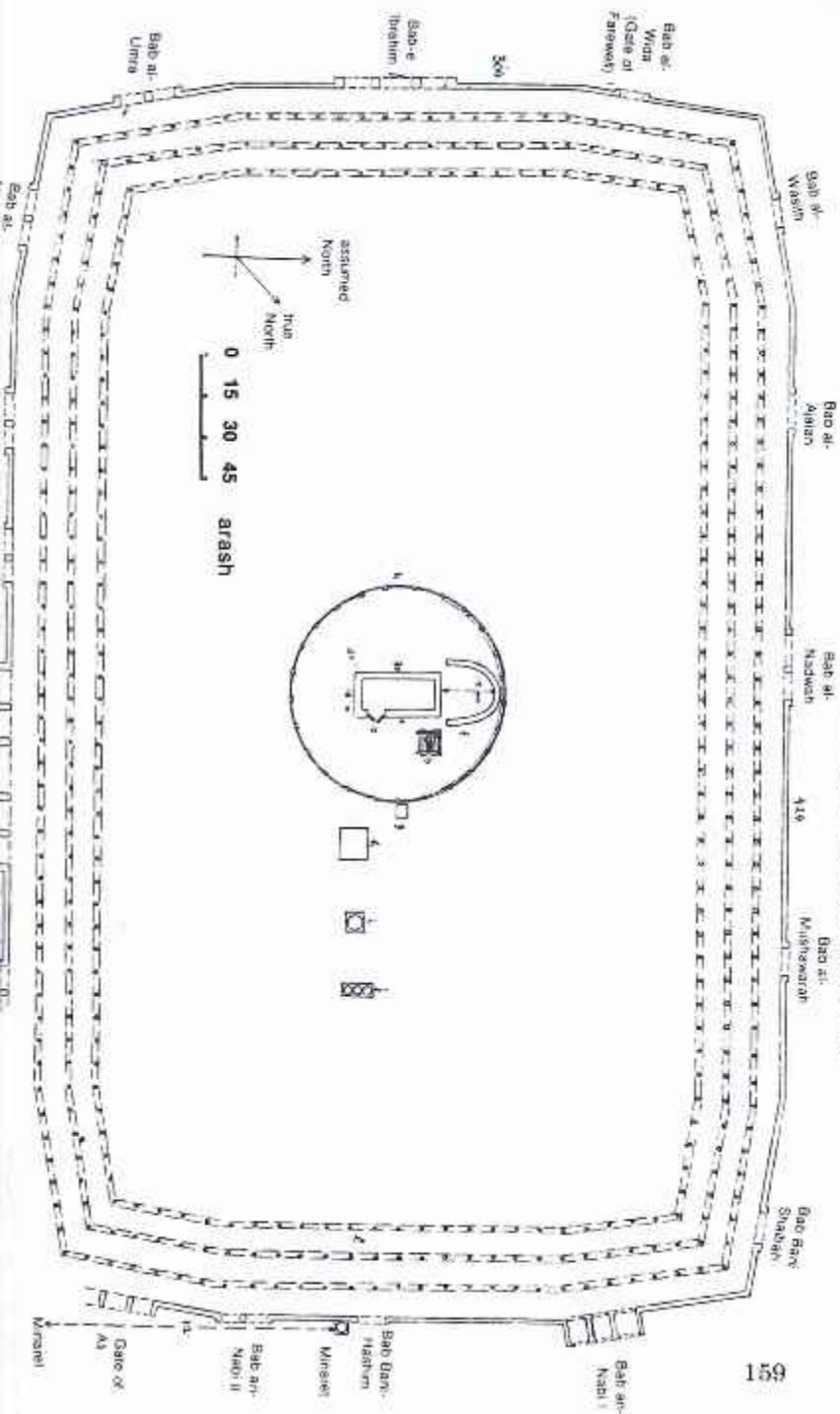
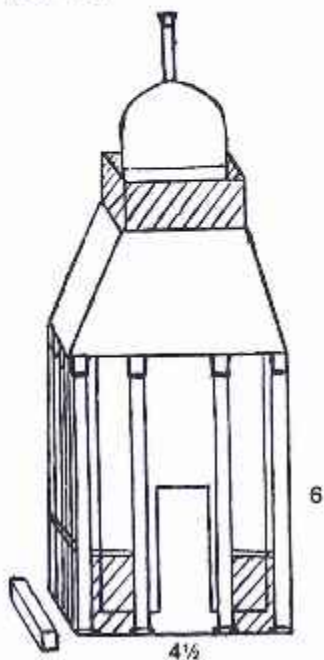
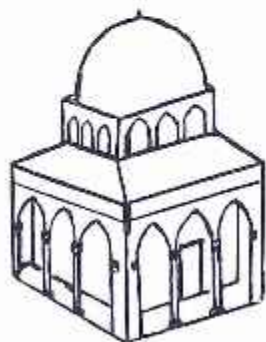


Fig. 6 Zamzam according to Ibn Jubayr (1183 CE) and The Kitab al-Istibsar (before 1191 CE)

Fig. 5 View of the structure over Zamzam as described by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi

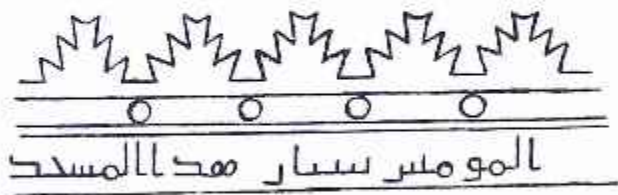


6

4½

Scale: 1 cubit = ½ inch

Fig. 7 Cresting over the Facades of the Haram Court according to Ibn Jubayr (1183 CE)



wall faced with white marble. It formed a semicircle and measured 25 cubits around.⁴⁸ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi was acute enough to observe (c. 900 CE) that the interstices of the marble in the Hġr wall were filled with lead. He notes that the curved wall of the Hġr stopped 2 cubits short of the Ka'bah at either end, and these openings were for entry and exit.⁴⁹ At the time of Nasir-i Khusrau's visit (1050 CE) the Hġr was paved with coloured marbles,⁵⁰ and Ibn Jubair testifies that this marble mosaic was tessellated with discs of varying sizes, chessboards, bendings, etc....⁵¹ In other words it was a polychrome marble geometric pavement, this being one of the earliest instances in the Muslim world.

The Maqam (station of) Ibrahim was situated 27 cubits east of the Ka'bah according to Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (c. 900 CE). He describes it as an irregular stone with footprints of Abraham set on a raised platform which was protected by a perforated iron cage. Al-Muqaddasi (c. 985 CE) calls it a large iron box containing reversed prints of Abraham's feet. According to Nasir-i Khusrau (1050 CE) a mobile wooden staircase wide enough for 10 people was rolled before the elevated door of the Ka'bah when required. There was a *minbar* (pulpit) on the east side of the Ka'bah for Friday prayers. It is described as having three parts (presumably door, stair, canopy) in the *Kitab al-Istġbar* (before 1911 CE). *Minbars* were sent successively from the leading capitals. Harun al-Rashid (786-809 CE) sent one from Baghdad; the Mamluk al-Mu'ayyad sent one from Cairo in 1415 CE; and the Ottoman ruler Sulaiman sent one in white marble in 1561 CE from Istanbul.⁵²

The Well of Zamzam was covered with a roof in the reign of the 'Abbasid *khalifa* al-Mu'tasim.⁵³ It was described by al-Muqaddasi (985 CE) as being east of the Ka'bah, and as having a vaulted building over it.⁵⁴ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi specifies (c. 900 CE) that it was 30 cubits from the Ka'bah, and his detailed description allows us to attempt a conjectural reconstruction (fig. 5). He speaks of an arched roof with mosaic work, redwood balustrades within, and a circumscribing veranda. The proportionate measurements given by Ibn Jubair result in a more stilted building (fig. 6). He singles out its lattice balustrade of perforated wood, and domical canopy.

Drinking Fountain: According to al-Muqaddasi the drinking

fountain consisted of a reservoir situated at a little distance from the Ka'bah.⁵⁷ This is very likely the same building that Nasir-i Khusrau calls the Siqayat al-Hajj (Pilgrimage Fountain), which he says was east of the Ka'bah.⁵⁸ The *Kitab al-Istibsar* asserts that it was 25 cubits from Zamzam, and comprised some sort of vault supported on wooden feet and surrounded by a grill with a small door admitting to the interior. The base was whitewashed, there was mosaic work in the ceiling, and the cupola was surmounted by the figure of a copper bird, which turned with the wind like a weather-vane. Its purpose may have been to prevent real birds from breeding and perching there; the Fatimids had such birds on columns in the al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo.⁵⁹

The *mataf* was the area set aside for circumambulation. Its circuit was 107 cubits according to al-Muqaddasi (c. 958 CE). There was sand over the area, and it was surrounded by pillars of bronze and posts fixed with lanterns for candles.⁶⁰ Ibn Abd Rabbihi (900 CE) observes that the lighting was for facilitating the nocturnal *tawaf*. According to him there were large rectangular pillars of iron with gold shafts and capitals. They formed a ring at a distance of about 27 cubits from the Ka'bah.⁶¹ Nasir-i Khusrau observes that the columns were linked at the top by carved and painted beams.⁶² According to the measurements furnished by the *Kitab al-Istibsar* (before 1191 CE) the *mataf* was 42 cubits away from the Ka'bah, and its width was also 42 cubits.⁶³ From modern plans it is evident that the *mataf* is not circular but oval.

The Khazanat az-Zait, or oil store, lay beyond the fountain. Two descriptions help here. Ibn 'Abd Rabbahi (900 CE) says it consisted of a big rectangular room covered with three vaults having a door in each side,⁶⁴ while Nasir-i Khusrau confirms that it was an oblong building with three cupolas.⁶⁵

Maqams for the Four Schools of Law existed already in the 12th century CE but, as described by Ibn Jubair, they were lightweight, fence-cum-trellis structures with suspended lamps and a *mihrab*.⁶⁶ In more recent times four small buildings are described as having been on the four opposite sides of the Ka'bah where the Imams of the four schools led the congregation in prayer.⁶⁷

There had been no mosque around the *baitullah* either in

the Prophet's time or in that of the first *khalifah* Abu Bakr. Al-Baladhuri (d. 892 CE) says that in 638 CE, during the reign of the second *khalifah*, 'Umar bought up, and where this was not possible, forcibly demolished encroaching houses, raising an enclosure wall not taller than a man on which lamps were placed. 'Uthman again enlarged the area in 674 CE with more resistance of the residents and severer penalty, and al-Baladhuri cites a report that this was the first time porches were erected in the Mosque.⁶⁹

The Haram was restored in 709 CE by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid at a cost of 30,000 dinars. At this time marble columns and marble panelling, glass mosaics, gilt spouts and crenellations were introduced.⁷⁰

The Abbasid *khalifah* al-Mahdi enlarged the Mosque on the north and south in 754-757 CE, and made it twice as large as it had been before.⁷¹ He had marble pillars brought by sea from Alexandria for enlarging the Haram.⁷² Al-Mu'tadid rebuilt walls, made new gates, and enlarged the west side of the Mosque in 894 CE.⁷³ From this time onward we can piece together the details so as to conceive a coherent picture.

Al-Ya'qubi says in 889 CE that the area covered was 120,000 square cubits.⁷⁴ Ibn Abd Rabbihi (c. 900 CE) gives the dimensions of the Mosque as 404 × 304 cubits,⁷⁵ but this does not concur with those given by Ibn Khurdadbeh in *Al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik* and al-Muqaddasi, *i.e.* 370 × 315 cubits.⁷⁶

The figures given for the number of marble columns in the triple-portioned Haram Mosque also varies — Ibn Abd Rabbihi has 425; Ibn al-Faqih has 465, al-Ya'qubi has 484. Three centuries later Ibn Jubair (1183 CE) himself counted 471. The *Kitab al-Istibsar* says that in addition to 470 columns in the Mosque, there were 129 in the annexes and 26 indoors, making a total of 621.⁷⁷ Because the columns had been imported already cut from abroad, there appears to have been a great diversity of types. Burton went so far as to claim that no two capitals or bases of columns were exactly alike, and he cited the dates of 863 AH and 762 AH as found thereon.⁷⁸

Ibn Abd Rabbihi says there were 23 entrances without doors but with flanking columns.⁷⁹ Muqaddasi names and gives the relative positions of 20 gates around the exterior wall of the Haram. Nasir-i Khusrau gives the relative positions of 18 doors

(see fig. 4) and specifies the number of arches of each which are supported by marble columns.⁸⁰ The *Kitab al-Istibsar* says there were 17 doors, and that the statue of the pre-Islamic god Hubal was embedded in the threshold of one of the Gates for people to tread on. This must have been the idol called Hubal whose image had originally been by the well in the middle of the pre-Islamic Ka'bah according to Ibn Hisham.⁸¹ Al-Azraqi (d. 837 CE) had described a triple-arched entrance of the Haram, enabling us to essay the following reconstruction. The three arches were 10 cubits high and were supported on two columns. The facade (spandrels?) was decorated with mosaics, and the grilled windows were of carved and gilt teak wood. The jambs of the gate were faced with red and white marble. Steps led down into the Mosque. There do not appear to have been doors to the gates, and even European travellers observed that the Mosque was open at all times, and there were people in it at all hours of the night either praying or walking about.⁸²

The porticoes consisted of three rows of columns circumscribing the court. Ibn Abd Rabbihi says the white marble columns were about 10 cubits apart, and states that there were 50 columns east-west along the court, and 30 north-south.⁸³ However, according to Nasir-i Khusrau, there were 23 columns along the width of the court, and 45 along the length.⁸⁴ The *Kitab al-Istibsar* has 46 arches on the long side and 31 on the short side.⁸⁵ I leave it for someone else to resolve these disparities between the various authors.

We have already referred to the first decorative treatment the Haram received under al-Walid in 709 CE. Al-Muqaddasi states that the mosaics on the facades were executed by Syrian and Egyptian artisans, who had signed their names on their work.⁸⁶

The crenellation over the colonnades of the Haram court is described in some detail by Ibn Jubair (1183), and permits reconstruction (fig. 7). The merlons have each three angles, the lowest angle (almost) touching its adjacent one (evidently this is the stepped, undercut variety typical of early Muslim architecture). Under each junction is a round hole a span in circumference (again the typical perforated parapet). Below these is a carved stucco inscription in the middle of each side of the court, each inscriptive frieze being 30 spans in length.

Nasir-i Khusrau makes the surprising claim that the surrounding walls were irregularly shaped, almost ovoid, and confirms that as a result the court appears to be narrower in certain places and wider in others.⁸⁷ The rounded plan of the Haram Mosque is borne out on modern plans only on the exterior of the south-east wall.⁸⁸ This observation could have eluded other visitors because at one time the domestic houses came right up to the exterior. As for the arcades, Burckhardt observed in 1814 that none of the facades of the court ran quite in a straight line 'though at first sight the whole appears to be of a regular shape.'⁸⁹

Nasir-i Khusrau refers to only two minarets of the Haram, which he places on the east side of the exterior beside two of the entrances.⁹⁰ Ibn Jubair counts seven minarets: one at each of the four corners, one in the north wall at the Dar an-Nadwah, one in the south wall at the Safa' Gate (but too narrow to be mounted), and one in the west wall at the Ibrahim Gate. He describes the minarets as four-sided below and cylindrical above. The former stage is angulated at the four sides with carved masonry (*muqarnas* cells?), and is surrounded by a wooden lattice (the muezzin's gallery). The cylinder is encircled by a similar gallery, terminating in a masonry globe. Each of the minarets is a variation on this scheme.⁹¹

I have chosen to bring this account to a close toward the end of the 12th century CE because in my opinion all that came after had little that could be called new or original. For the subsequent history of the shrine the reader is referred to my previous article on the subject and to the bibliography therein.⁹²

In brief, in the following centuries successive restorations involved the whole of the Haram being torn down and re-erected by order of Egyptian or Turkish rulers. The character of the older building was supplanted by styles reflecting those prevailing in the lands of their new patrons. The disposition of the main buildings remained, but domes and minarets were built in an alien style, and the gilt plating, glass mosaic, marble panelling and carved timber from the earlier, golden age of Islamic art vanished from the scene. Even more drastic transformations have been effected in recent years. Whether they can be justified either spiritually or aesthetically needs a careful consideration.

Notes:

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2. Ibn Hisham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah*, ed. al-Saqqa et.al., Cairo, Mustafa al-Halabi, 2nd edn., 1955, I, p.193. Also Guillaume, A., *The Life of Muhammad*, London, 1955, p.84.
3. al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, tr. Hitti, P.K., 1916, I, pp.73-74; and Mos'udi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, tr. Barbier de Meynard, 1869, V, p.166.
4. Ibn Abd Rabbihi, tr. Muhammad Shafi'i, apud *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E.G. Browne*, 1922, pp.423-429.
5. See references in Dixon, A.A., *The Umayyad Caliphate*, London, 1971, p.138.
6. Buckhardt, J.L., *Travels in Arabia*, 1829, I, p.243 ff; Creswell, K.A.C., *Early Muslim Architecture*, 1940, II, p.374.
7. al-Azraqi, *Akhbar Makka*, ed. Wustenfeld, Leipzig, 1858, I, p.196.
8. al-Samhudi, *Khulasat al-Wafa'*, Cairo, 1898, p.114; J. Sauvaget, *La Mosquee omeyyade de Medine*, Paris, 1947, p.89.
9. *Kitab al-Istibsar*, tr. S.Z. Abd al-Hamid, Cairo, 1958, p.7ff.
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13. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *loc. cit.*
14. Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst, 1952, p.80.
15. Ibn Hisham, I, pp.24-25.
16. al-Azraqi, *op.cit.*, I, 104 ff. For plan and reconstruction see Creswell, K.A.C., *op.cit.*, p.99.
17. Mas'udi, *op.cit.*, V, p.192.
18. Burckhardt, *op.cit.*, I, p.243ff; Mas'udi, *op.cit.*, V, p.183.
19. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op.cit.*, p.423ff.
20. al-Azraqi, p.205.
21. Nasir-i Khusrau, *op.cit.*, p.194ff.
22. al-Azraqi, I, p.104ff.
23. al-Baladhuri, *op.cit.*, I, pp.74-75.

24. See n.18, *supra*.
25. al-Muqaddasi, tr. Ranking, G.S.A., and Azoo, R.F., London, 1897, p.113 ff.
26. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *loc.cit.*
27. Ibn Hisham (Cairo, 1955), II, p.413. Al-Azraqi, however, claims that the picture of Mary and Jesus was retained (al-Azraqi, *op.cit.*, I, p.110, Mecca ed., 1352 AH, p.104ff.).
28. Mas'udi, *op.cit.*, V, p.192.
29. al-Azraqi, *op.cit.*, p.209.
30. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *loc.cit.*
31. Cf. Paret, R., EI, II, 1961, 128.
32. Nasir-i Khusrau, *op.cit.*, p.194ff.
33. Jairazbhoy, R.A., 'The History of the Shrines at Mecca and Medina', *Islamic Review*, Woking, Jan-Feb., 1962, p.25.
34. Ibn Jubair, *op.cit.*, p.79; *Kitab al-Istibsar*, *op.cit.*, p.10.
35. Nasir-i Khusrau, *loc.cit.*
36. Ibn Jubair, *op.cit.*, p.80.
37. *Kitab al-Istibsar*, *op.cit.*, p.10.
38. Ibn Hisham, *op.cit.*, I, 197.
39. al-Azraqi, *op.cit.*, p.333.
40. See De Goeje, *Memoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain*, 1862, pp.42-3, 54-5.
41. al-Muqaddasi, *loc.cit.*
42. al-Baladhuri, *op.cit.*, I, pp.74-5.
43. Listed Grabar, O., *The formation of Islamic Art*, New Haven and London, 1973, pp.60-61.
44. Cf. Aga Oglu, *Art Bulletin*, September 1954, p.182.
45. Miskawaihi, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, tr. Ahmedroz and Margolouth, 1921, I, p.338.
46. *Akhbar Makkah*, Leipzig, 1858, pp.156-7. See further Wensinck A.J., 'Quelque remarques sur le soleil dans le folklore des Semites', in *Memorial Basset*, 1928, II, pp.267-277.
47. Ibn Hisham, *Sira*, Cairo, 1955, I, 5 (13 ff).
48. al-Muqaddasi, *loc.cit.*
49. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *loc.cit.*
50. Nasir-i Khusrau, *loc.cit.*

51. Ibn Jubair, *loc.cit.*
52. Nasir-i Khusrau, *loc.cit.*
53. Jairazbhoy, *op.cit.*, 1962, pp.26-27.
54. al-Azraqi, *op.cit.*, p.335.
55. al-Muqaddasi, *loc.cit.*
56. Ibn Jubair, *op.cit.*, pp.96-7.
57. al-Muqaddasi, *loc.cit.*
58. Nasir-i Khusrau, *loc.cit.*
59. al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, IV, p.49.
60. al-Muqaddasi, *loc.cit.*
61. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *loc.cit.*
62. Nasir-i Khusrau, *loc.cit.*
63. *Kitab al-Istibsar*, *loc.cit.*
64. See Jairazbhoy, *op.cit.*, 1962, p.22.
65. *Ibid.*, p.23.
66. *Ibid.*, p.27.
67. Burton, R.F., *Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Meccah*, London, 1893, II, p.308.
68. al-Baladhuri, *op.cit.*, I, pp.73-4.
69. *Ibid.*, I, p.74.
70. al-Azraqi, Wustenfeld ed., I, pp.146-7, 309-10; Burckhardt says that the capitals were covered with thin plates of gold.
71. al-Azraqi, pp.310 ff., 330. Cf. al-Tabari, *Chronique de Abou Djafer Mohammed Tabari*, tr. Zotenberg, H., 1867, IV, p.371.
72. al-Muqaddasi, *op.cit.* p.115.
73. al-Azraqi, pp.216-7.
74. al-Yaqubi, *Les Pays*, tr. Wiet, G., 1937, p.153.
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77. Jairazbhoy, R.A., 1962, pp.22, 26.
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85. *Kitab al-Istibsar*, *loc.cit.*
86. al-Muqaddasi, *loc.cit.*
87. Nasir-i Khusrau, *loc.cit.*
88. See Jairazbhoy, *op.cit.*, 1962, p.33, n.41.
89. Burckhardt, *op.cit.*, 1829, p.243.
90. Nasir-i Khusrau, *loc.cit.*
91. Ibn Jubair, *loc.cit.*
92. Jairazbhoy, *op.cit.*, 1962, pp.31-34, and n.54. See also Esin, Emel, *Mecca the Blessed, Medinah the Radiant*. London, 1963, pp.179-80.
93. The enlargement (*tausi'a*) costing 1 billion Saudi Riyals took more than a decade (1965-76) and increased the mosque area to 190,000 square metres; the Haram can now accommodate 600,000 worshippers at one time (Ghazy Abdul Wahed Makky, *Mecca the Pilgrimage City*, London, 1978, pp.41-2).

Al-Haramain: A Development Study

By Ahmed Youssef

The Arabic term *haramain* is the dual form of *haram*, which means 'sanctuary' or 'inviolable area'. The term is generally understood to signify the two shrines of Makkah and Madinah, although in its wider connotation the term embraces the whole of the two cities and their immediate environs.

In the Haram of Makkah stands the Ka'bah, and the Haram of Madinah houses the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be peace. Ka'bah is also an Arabic word meaning a cube. The Ka'bah of Makkah had been known to peoples of pre-Islamic times and even formed a goal of pilgrimage, as testified by the following verse of the Qur'an:

Lo! The first Sanctuary appointed for mankind was that at Bakkah (Makkah), a blessed place, a guidance to the peoples.¹

Legend has it that the original House was constructed by Adam himself. He is said to have wandered about the region of Arabia after being cast out of Paradise. Later, while treading in the desert of the Hijaz, a sign of forgiveness was given him. A pearly stone, placed under a canopy supported by four emerald columns, illuminated the whole valley. Adam then circumambulated the site where the vision had appeared seven times, thereby establishing the rite of *tawaf* (circumambulation). He then collected stones from Mount Hira' nearby to build a wall. It is said that this was the foundation of the Ka'bah and thus the world's first work of architecture.²

The Babylonians, who lived about 2,000 BC, knew the word 'Makkah' as meaning a sacred house. In ancient Semitic languages the term 'Hajj' was used with the same meaning as

today, namely 'pilgrimage'. This is confirmed by passages from two books, both attributed to authors of ancient Semitic origin, namely *Taj al-'Arus* and *Lisan al-'Arab*.³ However, the proper form and sequence of the Hajj rituals as presently performed date back to the Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be peace. During the Farewell Pilgrimage in 10 AH that he gave these rites their definitive form.

Some Muslim scholars hold the view that the Ka'bah is located at the lower extremity of an axis which traverses the Seven Heavens. They add that at the level of each Heavenly world there is another sanctuary, each visited by angels like the one in Makkah, and every one marking the same axis like the latter, the Supreme Throne of Allah being their prototype.⁴

In graphic terms the Muslim world may be compared to a gigantic wheel with Makkah at its hub and the Ka'bah at its centre, the spokes being imaginary lines drawn from all the mosques of the world to this centre. Thus the Ka'bah in Makkah can be regarded as the axis mundi of Islamic cosmology.⁵

The primitive Ka'bah is believed to have been destroyed by the Great Flood at the time of the Prophet Nuh. Later, when Allah ordered Ibrahim to leave his wife Hajar and son Isma'il in the vicinity of its remains, He caused the water of Zamzam very close to that site so that they might be saved from dying of thirst. Some years after this, Allah instructed Ibrahim to rebuild the Ka'bah on its ancient foundations and to announce to mankind the duty of pilgrimage. The relevant verse in the Qur'an runs as follows:

And proclaim unto Mankind the Pilgrimage. They will come unto you on foot and on every lean camel; they will come from every deep ravine.⁶

For many centuries people refrained from building any structure near the Ka'bah. It was only when Qusayy ibn Kilab, an ancestor of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, became chieftain of Quraish that the building of dwelling places was allowed in its vicinity. In the course of time many houses were constructed, arranged in concentric rows, those closest to the sanctuary belonging to the highest-ranking descendants of Quraish.⁷ Nevertheless, a certain space was always kept free for

circumambulation and, to avoid any likeness between the cubical House of Allah and the houses near it, the latter were built on a circular plan. As an expression of reverence, heights too were kept lower than that of the Ka'bah. To guarantee easy access to the sanctuary, passages were left open between the dwellings.⁸

During the pre-Islamic era pilgrimage consisted merely of the ritual of circumambulation. It could be performed at any time of the year and therefore no need for fencing or extending the *tawaf* area arose. But after Islam was established the Hajj became restricted to a defined period of the lunar year. Due to this change, an enormous number of people gathered at a specific time at the Haram. In consequence, when 'Umar ibn al-Khattab became *khalifah*, space problems called for new arrangements. The local flooding of Makkah in the year 17 AH hastened his decision to take action. He bought the row of houses nearest to the Ka'bah and had them demolished, thus extending the *tawaf* area. In addition, he ordered a fence to be built around it with several gates, to which oil lamps were fixed, in order to facilitate access to the sanctuary at night. He also constructed a dam to divert flood waters to a place called Wadi Ibrahim.⁹

Nine years later the third Khalifa 'Uthman removed the next row of houses, thus adding more space to the *tawaf* area. He covered it partly by a timber roof, thus providing shelter for the pilgrims. Further extensions were made on orders of 'Abdullah ibn az-Zubayr in 66 AH and al-Walid ibn 'Abdul Malik in 91 AH. Other substantial additions and alterations date from the 'Abbassid era, such as those made on orders of al-Mansur in 139 AH¹⁰ and al-Mahdi in 160 AH, followed by those ordered by al-Muhtadi-billah in 284 AH and al-Muqtadi-billah in 306 AH. In 803 AH a fire devastated part of the wooden structure which surrounded the Ka'bah at that time. The Mamluk Sultan Faraj ibn Barquq initiated repair works in 804 AH, but due to the scarcity of a particular kind of wood the roof could not be finished until 807 AH. Then in 979 AH serious cracks appeared in the building, and the Ottoman Sultan Selim II ordered renovation works that included the rebuilding of some of the galleries. He also had the timber roofs replaced by stone domes, many of which are still extant. Following his death in 982 AH

his son Murad III continued the works until they were completed in 984 AH.¹¹ For the next four centuries no changes worthy of mention were carried out, until in 1375 AH King 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Sa'ud embarked on the most substantial extension ever undertaken in the Haram of Makkah.

These construction works continued for twelve years, during which the area of the whole complex was increased from 29,000 to 160,000 square metres.¹² The result is the Haram as we know it today. It can accommodate half a million pilgrims, which makes it the world's largest congregational mosque.

As to the appearance of the Ka'bah, mention must be made of the *kiswa*, which means 'cover' in Arabic. The *kiswa* is a black cloth, embroidered with Qur'anic verses relating to pilgrimage, by which the Ka'bah is covered and which accounts for its striking appearance. The custom of 'clothing' the sanctuary is said to have been introduced by a Himyarite king of pre-Islamic Yemen. He is said to have first used palm fronds and then a striped cloth for the purpose.¹³ Yemeni cloth was also used for the *kiswa* during the era of the Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be peace, and his successors.

It was the custom to renew the *kiswa* every year at pilgrimage time, but without removing the old, and until the year 160 AH each one was placed over the previous one. But then, alarmed by the ever-increasing weight on the structure, the Abbassid Khalifah al-Mahdi ordered that the new one be placed on the Ka'bah only after the preceding one had been removed.

The *kiswa* was not always black. At certain periods it was white, at others yellow or green. Its manufacture took place in different Islamic countries until in 750 AH Sultan al-Salih Isma'il ibn Al-Nasir of Egypt established a *waqf*, or pious endowment, consisting of the revenue of three Egyptian villages to finance the manufacture of the *kiswa*. In the Ottoman era the revenues of seven more villages were added. Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, governor of Egypt at the beginning of the 13th century AH, dissolved this *waqf* and charged the Egyptian Government with the expenses. But in 1346 AH King 'Abdul Aziz ibn Sa'ud decided to have it manufactured in a special factory in Makkah.¹⁴

To manufacture this covering 875 square metres of cloth are needed. The embroidered strip, called the *hizam* (band or

zone), measures 61 metres long by 94 centimetres wide. The heavily embroidered door-curtain measures 7 x 3.50 metres.¹⁵ The weight of the *kiswa* is approximately 2,300 kilograms.

We must now address our attention to the other Haram, that at Madinah, also known as the Prophet's Mosque. It is the second in importance of all Islamic sanctuaries and also houses Muhammad's tomb. There is a *hadith* urging believers to render respect to the Prophet, upon whom be peace, by visiting his grave in this sanctuary.

Soon after the Prophet had settled in Madinah (until then known as Yathrib), in 622 AD, he began to build a mosque. The site chosen for this building was the one on which his tomb, the *minbar* and *sufah* (a place for sheltering poor Muslims) in today's mosque are located. As building materials he used mud-bricks for the walls, palm-trunks for the columns and fronds for the roof-covering. The structure contained also his living quarters, with the rooms of his wives located on the eastern side, the first addition being quarters for 'Aisha, the second for Sauda. In the course of time other rooms were added for each of the seven more wives he took. After the conquest of Khaybar in the year 7 AH, the Prophet, upon whom be peace, extended the size of the original Mosque of 60 by 60 cubits to approximately 100 x 100 cubits, and by the year 10 AH the building was already double its original size. The Prophet, upon whom be peace, used to refer to this particular Mosque as 'My mosque' and is furthermore reported to have said: 'If this mosque were to be extended even as far as to San'a' [Yemen], it still would be my mosque'.¹⁷ Hence, any addition to its structure has always been regarded as being an integral part of the whole.

When 'Umar became *khalifah* he had the palm trunks replaced with columns of brick, and raised the roof to about five metres. Before his death 'Aisha granted him his wish to be buried next to the Prophet, upon whom be peace, namely in her room. Abu Bakr had previously been granted the same wish, so that the same chamber now housed three tombs. By tradition all prophets are buried at the exact spot where they die, and the Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be peace, had died in this room. By the time of Uthman's succession (30 AH) the area of the mosque had reached 4,400 square metres. Timber had been used for the roofing and ornamented stones

for the walls. Under the rule of Umayyad Khalifah al-Walid the Mosque area was once more doubled, with the three graves incorporated into the structure, but surrounded by a wall of irregular plan so that no resemblance would occur between this burial chamber and the Ka'bah in Makkah.

In 165 AH the Abbassid Khalifa al-Mahdi had some of the old houses near the mosque which had belonged to some of the Prophet's prominent companions demolished, thus including additional space to the mosque.¹⁸ In 654 AH a fire destroyed most of the building. Contributions for repairs poured in from all over the Muslim world. A second fire in 886 AH also caused great damage and the Mamluk Sultan Qa'itbay carried out subsequent repair works. About four centuries later the building needed thorough renovation. It was undertaken by the Ottoman Sultan 'Abdul Majid in 1265 AH (AD 1849). Red stones were brought from a nearby quarry and used for walls and columns.

Of special concern to the renovators was always the area between the Prophet's tomb and *minbar*. They tried to beautify it by different ornaments and special lighting. Ottoman Sultan 'Abdul Majid, for instance, revetted its columns with red and white marble. The Prophet, upon whom be peace, is reported to have said: 'Between my house and my *minbar* lies one of the gardens of Paradise'. He used to deliver his sermons from a simple *minbar* of three steps. The first Umayyad ruler Mu'awiya increased this number to six. The *minbar* was destroyed by fire in 654 AH and a new one was presented by the governor of Yemen. Further replacements were made by the Mamluk Sultans al-Zahir Baybars in 664 AH, Barquq in 797 AH, al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh in 820 AH, all made of timber. After another fire in 886 AH the people of Madinah constructed a *minbar* of brick, replaced by one of marble presented by Qa'itbay in 888 AH.¹⁹ Finally in 998 AH, Sultan Murad III sponsored another marble one, relocating the previous one in the nearby Quba' Mosque.

During the time of the Prophet and the Four Rightly-Guided Khulafa' the Haram at Madinah had neither a *mihrab* nor a minaret. It was the Umayyad ruler al-Walid who introduced minarets at the four corners of the mosque and installed a *mihrab*. A fifth minaret was added in 1265 AH by Sultan 'Abdul

Majid. However, during the construction works undertaken by a king of the House of Sa'ud in the 14th century, two minarets were replaced by very high minarets 70 metres in height.

The first dome over the Prophet's tomb was built in 678 AH by Sultan Qalawun of Egypt. It was repaired and rebuilt many times, the last time being in 1233 AH by the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud. First it was painted in white, then in blue. In 1253/1837, Sultan 'Abdul Hamid gave orders to paint it in green and from then on it has been known as the Green Dome, or *al-Qubbah al-Khudra*.²⁰

As to the size of the area occupied by the Haram of Madinah, it was King 'Abdul 'Aziz bin Saud who brought about the most substantial addition. In 1370/1951, he began construction works during which it was extended to about 16,000 square metres.²¹ These works went on for several years, giving the Prophet's Mosque its present appearance. However, it was King Faisal ibn 'Abdul 'Aziz who more than doubled the praying space by constructing a large roofed area just outside the building. This addition has been welcomed because it offers additional space for prayers and convenient shelter for pilgrims who otherwise cannot find accommodation.

We have now seen how the Haramain developed and expanded during the ages. Unfortunately, the pilgrims for whom these works were ultimately done did not better their relationships with each other at the same pace. Although equality of status before Allah is expressed by the uniformity of dress, namely by the *ihram*, they do not in reality reflect the ideas which the two buildings symbolise. Neither do they represent a united *Ummah*. Class distinction and national barriers do not cease to operate during the Hajj, thus heightening only the great lack of communication from which pilgrims suffer. On the other hand, the annual gathering of such a large crowd of Muslims could be of enormous significance for the entire world. The benefits of the Hajj are not meant to be religious only. Islam, being a complete way of life, offers many channels through which knowledge can be acquired and transmitted.

The annual event of the Hajj could be a perfect way of concretely demonstrating the practice of Islam to the world at large. The Hajj should not exhaust and isolate the pilgrim: on

the contrary, it should enrich and develop his feeling for peace and brotherhood. Furthermore, the unique experience of Hajj should deepen his faith and open his mind for new streams of thought, creative, religious and above all social. Every pilgrim should return home with a better understanding of what Islam is aiming at, to develop the better side of human nature. This in consequence will help him the better to evaluate, the doctrines and teachings of his religion and to follow them with submission.

If anyone at all, it should be the Muslim who, after performing the sacred rituals, has the best conception of what has been called 'the human condition'. He who pleads for Allah's forgiveness has made a great step forward towards self-knowledge. For this purpose he visited places which, were it not for religion in general and Islam in particular, would be but baseless spots in a great desert. These places are therefore of the greatest importance to mankind, and they were shaped by the desire to overcome the purely material world. It is therefore no overstatement to say that the two sanctuaries here discussed are the most significant sites in the entire world.

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Recommendations of the International Hajj Seminar (London, August 4-7, 1982)

COMMON HERITAGE

This seminar is of the view that the Haramain in the Hijaz and their immediate environs are a common heritage of the entire *Ummah*, and that authority over them must eventually pass to such institutions as may by consensus of all schools of thought be created for this purpose in the future. This seminar hopes that discussion on this issue will be initiated at all levels.

DEFENCE

This seminar has taken note of the fact that maps prepared by international zionism show Madinah al-Munawwara in the State of 'Greater Israel'; recent policies of the traditional enemies of Islam, including the superpowers, the European States and the State of Israel, leave us in no doubt that a grave potential threat to the defence of the Haramain exists.

In the opinion of this Seminar the defence of the Haramain is the duty and historical destiny of the entire *Ummah*, as is indeed the liberation of Al-Quds; no single nation-State or a group of States based on sentiments and philosophies of local or regional nationalism can perform the task of the liberation of Al-Quds and the defence of the Haramain. Institutional arrangements will have to be developed to allow for the emergence of an agreed political, administrative and military framework for the effective defence of the Haramain and the liberation of Al-Quds.

WAHDAH

The Qur'an has clearly proclaimed that the Believers are a single *Ummah*. This Seminar is of the view that the Hajj should cease to be merely an annual performance of certain rituals;

the Hajj should now be developed into a dynamic expression of the *wahdah* of the *Ummah*.

This Seminar is aware that there exist in the *Ummah* a number of Schools of Thought and great many more diverging opinions on many kinds of issues. Yet this Seminar is firmly of the opinion that diversity exists within the overall framework of beliefs and practices that unite the *Ummah*. Facilities should be provided in the Hijaz for the expression of views in the peaceful and serene atmosphere of the Hajj.

This must mean:

1. The provision of facilities for *hujjaj* to express and exchange views.
2. The provision of facilities for the *hujjaj* to participate in activities designed to increase their knowledge and awareness of the major issues facing the *Ummah*.
3. The provision of facilities for the youth of the *Ummah* to undertake study and spiritual training in and near the Haramain.

TRAVEL

This seminar expresses its concern over the ever-increasing administrative and bureaucratic impediments in and through all countries to free travel and access to the Haramain that have come into existence. In the view of this seminar, free and unhindered access to the Haramain at all times of the year is an inalienable right of every Muslim; this right must be restored immediately and all visas and other restrictions abolished totally.

CENTRES OF LEARNING

The Haramain throughout history have been centres of learning and erudition. Their decline as centres of learning and the emergence of secular educational institutions, values and norms are a major loss to the *Ummah*. This Seminar is of the view that steps should be taken to re-establish such centres of learning that may serve the needs of the scholars and students from all parts of the *Ummah* in the Haramain and the Hijaz

INFLATION AND THE COST OF HAJJ

This Seminar is alarmed at the rapidly increasing cost that the

hujjaj face in the Hijaz. This rate of inflation and the prevailing scarcity prices of essential services as accommodation, transport and professional fees is out of all proportion to the general levels of inflation and prices in the world today. The level and degree of profiteering and bureaucratic corruption add greatly to the hardship of the *hujjaj*.

This Seminar takes the view that efforts should be made to create a 'Hajj economy' in the Hijaz which is more in line with general levels of incomes in the *Ummah*. In this connection the old established *waqf* lands, rabats and properties must be restored to their original purposes to alleviate the hardships now suffered by the *hujjaj*.

UTILIZATION OF MEAT

The Seminar notes with deep regret the continued waste of nearly all the meat of the many hundreds of thousands of animals that are sacrificed during Hajj each year. The *Shari'ah* gives clear instructions on the question of the utilization of this meat. Waste of any kind is greatly frowned upon in Islam. With careful planning and the use of freezing techniques it should be possible to preserve this meat and ship it to the areas of great poverty and need in the Muslim world.

This Seminar asks the Muslim Institute to consult with Muslim engineers and technologists in this matter.

MONUMENTS AND BUILDINGS

This Seminar notes with deep regret that many historical buildings and monuments in the Hijaz have over the years been allowed to be demolished and disappear for ever. The Seminar calls upon the authorities now in physical control of the holy places to take steps to identify, preserve and protect such monuments and buildings of historical importance and interest as still remain. Monuments that have disappeared should be marked with suitable plaques on sites where they once stood.

THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE HARAMAIN

This seminar notes with deep concern the growing commercialism that surrounds the Haramain in the form of advertisements for goods and services which are often in conflict with the teachings and spirit of Islam.

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The Haramain and the Hijaz are the common heritage of the *Ummah*. About this there can be no doubt. This fact also affects how we perform the Hajj. There is a need to develop a new understanding of the role of Hajj in the remarking of the history of Islam.

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