

Introduction – Collectors in Western Arabia

It is nothing short of a miracle that the provincial town of Leiden, the Netherlands, possesses two fascinating collections related to Western Arabia, also known as the Hejaz. The region owes its fame first and foremost to Mecca and Medina, the holiest cities of Islam. One collection, consisting mainly of historical objects of everyday use, clothing items, pilgrim souvenirs and other artefacts, is preserved in the Museum Volkenkunde (established in 1837); the other, containing Islamic manuscripts, photographs, letters, printed books and audiovisual materials, is kept in the library of Leiden University (founded in 1575). Together, they provide a unique insight into a colourful and vibrant society which has all but vanished under the impact of changing political and religious allegiances and the onslaught of modernity.

The fact that these collections exist at all can only be explained in terms of the Dutch colonial presence in the Indonesian Archipelago prior to 1942. Under the legislation of the Netherlands East Indies freedom of religion was granted to Muslims, who then as now constituted the vast majority of the population. This freedom included the right to go on Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent on every Muslim who can afford to do so. Nonetheless, this right was granted only with the greatest reluctance, since the Dutch colonial administration feared that pilgrims would turn into ‘fanatical Muslims’ once they were exposed to co-religionists from other parts of the Islamic world not under European colonial domination, such as the Ottoman Empire. These misgivings were only increased by the fact that the Holy Cities of Islam were impenetrable to non-Muslims. As a result, most political unrest in the Dutch colonies was attributed to pilgrims returning from Mecca.

It was only after the emergence of steam navigation in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the consequent rise in the numbers of pilgrims, that the need arose for a more reliable infrastructure for the Indonesian Hajj. Authorities preferred that pilgrims be transported by Dutch – or at least European – shipping companies, and their movements were controlled by an elaborate system of visas and other travel documents. In 1872 the Ottoman Empire, which included most of the Arab world, allowed the Dutch to establish a consulate in Jeddah, the main port of entry for sea passengers [Plate 1]. The first Dutch consul in Jeddah was Rudolph W.J.C. de Menthon Bake



[Plate 1] Photograph of the exterior of the Dutch Consulate, Jeddah c. 1910, probably by Consul N. Scheltema.
[UBL Or. 26.365: 1]

(1811–1874).¹ In 1930 the consulate was upgraded to the status of legation. In all, nineteen Dutch diplomats served in the Hejaz until 1950, when the last envoy, Herman Henry Dingemans (1907–1985), formally handed over the legation to the newly independent Republic of Indonesia.²

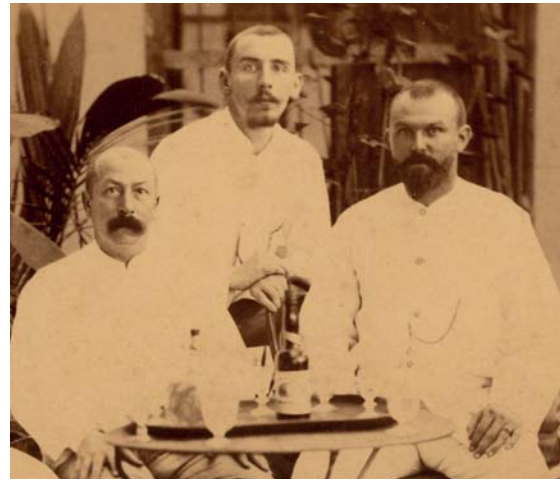
Jeddah was never an easy post for the Dutch consuls, who were ill adapted to the scorching heat and humidity of the Hejaz coast. Although there had been no major outbreaks of violence against European residents since 1858, they were tolerated rather than accepted in the heartland of Islam. The social contacts of the tiny Dutch colony, consisting of the consul and his staff, the odd shipping agent and the representatives of trading firms such as the *Nederlandsche Handels Maatschappij*, were limited to their counterparts from other European colonial powers. For their relations with the Muslim population, the Dutch were largely dependent on their dragomans, interpreters who usually were highly educated Indonesians who spoke Arabic and were well acquainted with Arabian society.



[Plate 2] Photograph of the drawing room of the Dutch Consulate, Jeddah c. 1910, probably by Consul N. Scheltema. [UBL Or. 26.365: 3]

Indonesian pilgrims journeyed to Mecca and Medina in large numbers – in many years they were even the largest contingent – and life at the Consulate was consequently hectic during the pilgrimage season, but otherwise the Dutch consuls and their staff had more than enough leisure time on their hands [Plate 2].

Fortunately, many consuls put their leisure time to good use. Johannes Adrianus Kruyt (1841–1928), for instance, who was consul from 1878 until early 1885, took an active interest in the Hejaz and in 1880 published a lengthy article on Jeddah and its hinterland.³ It was the same Consul Kruyt who, when on leave in the Netherlands in 1884, contacted the young Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), an Arabist and Islam scholar from Leiden who had written his doctoral dissertation on the origins of the Hajj.⁴ With the help of Kruyt, Snouck Hurgronje obtained a government grant of 1500 Dutch guilders (roughly 700 euros) to travel to Jeddah and monitor the radical tendencies among the Indonesian pilgrims and residents in Arabia. Together they arrived in Jeddah in August 1884. Snouck Hurgronje, who spent the first months as a guest of the consul, converted to Islam and in February 1885 travelled onwards to Mecca, where he observed local life until he was expelled from Arabia in August 1885, just before the Hajj of that year. His two-volume monograph *Mekka*⁵ was critically acclaimed and paved the way for several influential advisorships on Islamic, indigenous and Arab affairs in the Netherlands East Indies. He stayed in the colonies from 1889 until 1906, when he took up the chair of Arabic in Leiden. He retired in 1927 and died in 1936, only six years before the Dutch domination of Indonesia would come to a sudden and violent end.⁶



[Plate 3] Photograph of the European staff of the Dutch Consulate, Jeddah 1884. From left to right: Consul J.A. Kruyt, C. Snouck Hurgronje and P.N. van der Chijs, detail. [UBL Or. 26.404: 1]

Both during his stay in Arabia and in the ensuing years, Snouck Hurgronje was an avid collector of ethnological research materials, irrespective of purpose or medium, which could complete the picture of his first-hand observations of local Meccan life. These materials were shipped to Leiden with the generous help of Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs (d. 1889), a Dutch shipping agent and vice-consul in Jeddah [Plate 3]. The powerful and overbearing Snouck Hurgronje is often credited exclusively with the Arabian collections in Leiden, but this is only partly true. Consul Kruyt, to name but one example, was a collector in his own right who donated a sizeable collection of artefacts to the Museum Volkenkunde. Snouck Hurgronje's interest in Arabia dwindled during his stay in the Netherlands East Indies, but was revived after his return to Leiden in 1906. He advised the government on the appointment of Dutch consuls in Jeddah, many of whom had also been his own students. He corresponded frequently with them, but there is nothing to prove that the consuls collected materials exclusively at Snouck Hurgronje's behest. For instance, he may not have been aware that Emile Gobée (1881–1954, consul in Jeddah between 1917 and 1921) was privately collecting ethnographica, as a paragraph from a letter by Consul Daniël van der Meulen to Snouck Hurgronje suggests: 'Then I heard to my great surprise that Gobée was ever busy collecting ethnographica here. Didn't you tell me that he had failed to do this, in spite of your insistence?'⁷

Until recently, little attention was devoted to the Indonesian dragomans of the Dutch Consulate, such as the Javanese aristocrat Raden Abu Bakar Djajadiningrat (c.1854–c.1914)⁸ [Plate 4] or the Sumatran Haji Agus



[Plate 4] 'A Javanese resident of Mecca', photograph of dragoman Raden Abu Bakar Djajadiningrat, probably by C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1884 or 1885. [UBL Or. 26.403: 66]

Salim (1884–1954),⁹ one of the fathers of Indonesian independence. As Muslims they were in an ideal position to gather information, render services and seek out reliable suppliers of ethnological artefacts in Mecca. The local scholars, merchants and dealers, whose expertise and commitment were absolutely indispensable to the Dutch collectors, remain even more obscure, with the notable exception of Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi, a physician who took photographs of Mecca during and after Snouck Hurgronje's sojourn in Arabia. Yet Snouck Hurgronje managed to avoid mentioning his Arab associate's name but not his role in the creation of many attractive photographs of Mecca and the Hajj, and he chose to describe him as his 'pupil' and as a mere tool in his hands.¹⁰ Perhaps it is better to describe the work of all those concerned as a collective effort; in any case it is now generally accepted that the contribution of the Oriental collaborators has 'coloured Western scholarly interpretation of Muslim society'.¹¹

Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden

The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ethnographic Hejaz collection in Museum Volkenkunde (Museum of Ethnology) consists mostly of artefacts that were originally used in a Western Arabian domestic setting, either urban or Bedouin. Although the



[Plate 5] Selection of Arabian everyday wares and souvenirs. Chromolithograph in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka*, Haag 1888, plate 37. [UBL 21522 A 16]

collection is far from comprehensive, the objects visualise key social phenomena such as the presentation of food, welcoming and farewell rituals, dress codes and pastimes. The collectors chose to assemble both everyday wares and luxury items whose richness of materials, decorative patterns and wide colour palette attracted attention [Plate 5]. And it is these characteristic details that escape us in the black-and-white photographic images of the Hejaz, in which objects were present but hardly ever the main focus. Moreover, the objects exemplify the high level of craftsmanship in late nineteenth-century Western Arabia, when even water jars of cheap unglazed earthenware were embellished with intricate geometric patterns.

This collection is striking in several ways. Firstly, contrary to expectations, the collectors chose to represent both secular and religious aspects of daily life instead of focusing exclusively on religious artefacts. In fact, less than fifteen per cent of the more than 400 Western Arabian artefacts relate to the Islamic faith or the Hajj. While this might partly be explained by the interest of the collectors, perhaps more important is the fact that this was entirely in line with the wide scope of the collections from Japan, China and Indonesia, which had already been part of Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden for decades and which probably served as an example. Secondly, it is noteworthy that the collectors chose to portray late nineteenth-

century Meccan society as almost devoid of modern development. Western imported objects that were rapidly replacing local kitchen utensils, display objects or lighting devices, such as candelabra in the houses of the well-to-do, were hardly collected at all.¹² This can be explained as a typical orientalist approach in which the romantic East was portrayed as static and unchanging, but it might simultaneously have been a deliberate choice to focus on, and preserve, what was rapidly disappearing.

The Western Arabian collection in Museum Volkenkunde was assembled between 1880 and 1939 by ten Dutchmen: six consuls/envoys at the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah, a vice-consul, two academics and an engineer. With a total of 86 objects dispatched to the Museum in five separate batches between 1880 and 1885, Consul Kruyt laid the foundation of the Museum's Western Arabian collection. He was the most active collector after Snouck Hurgronje. His enthusiasm seems to have caught on: his direct successors, Joan Adriaan de Vicq (1857–1899, consul between 1885–1889), Hendrik Spakler (1861–1936, consul between 1889–1892) and Hendrik van der Houven van Oordt (1865–1892, briefly consul in 1892), donated twelve, 44 and 21 objects to the Museum respectively. It remains unclear, though, how these four consuls actually acquired the objects and to what extent local informants aided them. There can be no doubt, however, that collecting activities in Mecca or Medina required the assistance of Muslim intermediaries. In their letters to Museum director Lindor Serrurier, the consuls remained silent on this topic. An exceptional recognition of the involvement of the Muslim citizens of Jeddah was a brief reference in the *Nederlandsche Staats-Courant* (Dutch Government Gazette). It mentioned that three gentlemen from Jeddah, Hasan Jawhar, Sayyid 'Umar ibn Muhammad al-Saqqaf and Yusuf Qudsi Efendi, had donated several items of dress and a saddle to the Museum through the intervention of Consul Kruyt.¹³ The article did not disclose any information about their background, but all three appear in Snouck Hurgronje's diary or correspondence. Hasan Jawhar belonged to a merchant family of British Indian descent. His son 'Ali was one of the first to welcome Snouck Hurgronje upon his arrival in Jeddah. 'Umar al-Saqqaf ('El Sagoff'), from a merchant family with strong ties to Southeast Asia, was active in the transport of pilgrims from Singapore. He was also the owner of the Dutch Consulate building. Jawhar and al-Saqqaf were in business with Vice-Consul Van der Chijs. Qudsi, apparently a convert, was the dragoman of the British Consulate.¹⁴ In all probability, Yusuf Qudsi and 'Umar al-Saqqaf also aided the Dutch consuls in acquiring objects.¹⁵

Consul Kruyt practiced what he preached: in a public lecture and article he called for scientific research on the Arabian Peninsula in the fields of geography, philology, ethnography and botany and on the phenomenon of pilgrimage.¹⁶ He surmised that collecting naturalia, ethnographical objects, coins and inscriptions would not only advance Dutch academic knowledge of the Arabian Peninsula, but also provide information for possible trading opportunities. This topic was close to Kruyt's heart, as he envisioned the development of a Dutch trading establishment in Jeddah as an alternative to Port Said, Egypt. That his taste for collecting remained strong is obvious from a letter to Museum director Serrurier in which Kruyt articulated his intention to continue his collecting activities for the Museum after his relocation to his new post in Penang in the Straits Settlements.¹⁷ Serrurier's enthusiasm for expanding the collections and his personal involvement with the collectors might have also stimulated the consuls in procuring the objects. They not only provided him with lists of the objects' names in Arabic, in transliteration and in Dutch but also added precious information about their particular functions and uses.¹⁸

Kruiy's initiative to recommend Snouck Hurgronje as a special advisor to the Dutch government in the Hejaz in 1884 was also instrumental for the growth of the Museum's collection of Western Arabian artefacts. Snouck Hurgronje's academic interest in the region was already evident from his research into the origins of the Hajj. He started collecting objects during his stay in the Hejaz, in Jeddah from August 1884 to February 1885 and subsequently in Mecca until August 1885. These complemented the observations he was entrusting to paper and the visual information derived from his photographs of people and daily life. He did not allow his hasty departure in the summer of 1885 to compromise his collecting activities. During the next three years he time and again made requests to Vice-Consul Van der Chijs and dragoman Raden Abu Bakar Djajadiningrat to collect objects for him. The latter also did so in Mecca.¹⁹ Their extensive correspondence shows Snouck Hurgronje's persistence and Van der Chijs's willingness to procure a wide range of objects, from a *Kiswa* fragment that once covered the Ka'ba, earthenware water jugs, musical instruments, clothes, sandals and jewellery, to bottles of Zamzam water [Plate 6].²⁰ Of the latter he demanded several litres with the aim of scientifically analysing the water's components, and comparing this with the results of water tests from other Hejazi sources.²¹



[Plate 6] Fragment of the *Kiswa*, the textile hanging of the Ka'ba, Mecca 1880s. Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-152]



[Plate 7] A modest display of Arabian artefacts on a windowsill in a room of the Oosters Instituut/Islam Stichting, Leiden c. 1930. Note the early Saudi flag on the right (*Jaarverslagen Oostersch Instituut* 1928–1930, facing p. 18). [UBL V 1303]

In 1887 Snouck Hurgronje made his first donation to the Museum Volkenkunde. It consisted of a carpet broom and six wooden combs embellished with geometric patterns. With a loan of 216 objects in 1897, which was turned into an official donation in 1919, the collection of Western Arabian artefacts suddenly became substantial.²² But even before their dispatch to the museum, people could already get a visual impression of part of his collection by consulting the coloured lithographs of 52 objects in his *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka*.²³

Two later diplomats, Emile Gobée and Cornelis Adriaanse (1896–1964, chargé d'affaires in Jeddah 1931–1939), continued the collecting practice of their predecessors, but they did not dispatch all of their collected items to Museum Volkenkunde during their lifetime or correspond about them with the then acting director. Gobée seems to have collected ethnographic objects privately (see above, p. 7), and only one of his collected items, a precious *Kiswa* fragment, was loaned to the Museum by his widow in 1959 five years after his death. It was immediately recognised as an important piece, displayed and published.²⁴

Besides having built up a private collection, which was donated to the museum a year after his death in 1964, Cornelis Adriaanse became committed to collecting for the Islam Stichting (Islam Foundation). Set up by Professor Cornelis van Vollenhoven (1874–1933) in Leiden in 1927, it aimed to collect artefacts from Muslim countries. In 1929 a small number of Islamic objects were displayed in a room of the Foundation in the former Heilige-Geest Orphanage in Leiden [Plate 7]. In 1937 this display was relocated to the

former home of Snouck Hurgronje at Rapenburg 61, Leiden.²⁵ When the Islam Stichting was dissolved in the late 1950s, the ownership of its collection was transferred to the Oosters Instituut or Oriental Institute. The Oosters Instituut (pre-war spelling Oostersch Instituut) was founded in 1927 by Snouck Hurgronje and occupied the same premises as the Islam Stichting at the Orphanage and subsequently at Rapenburg 61. It has survived until the present day as a grant-giving body.²⁶ In 1958 it presented part of the collection to Museum Volkenkunde as a permanent loan.

The involvement of these diplomats and scholars eventually resulted in what is now a unique ethnographic collection, one that is contextualised through their observations and photographs and those of their contemporaries. The collection could not have become significant without the contribution of local Muslims. They shared common goals: to further the study of Islam and its Holy Cities in the Netherlands and to present to the Dutch public an image of social, secular and religious life in Mecca and Jeddah through objects of everyday use and luxury artefacts.

Leiden University Library

The Amin al-Madani Manuscript Collection

Islamic manuscripts related to Western Arabia and the Holy Cities have found their way to the library of Leiden University ever since the second half of the seventeenth century. Many early acquisitions hail from the private



[Plate 8] Studio photograph of the Medinese scholar and bookseller Amin al-Madani, by Jan Goedeljee, Leiden 1883. [UBL Or. 18.097 S 48.10]

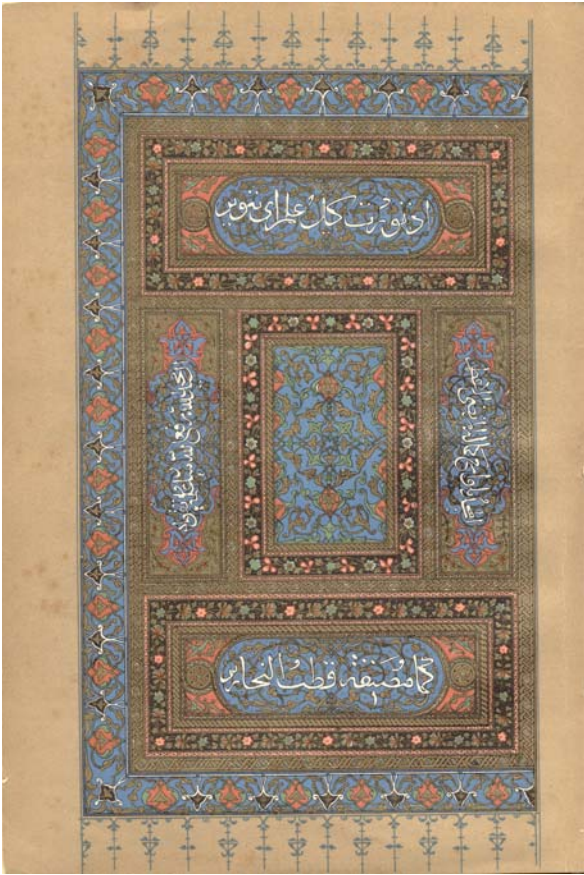
collection of the German Levinus Warner, an envoy of the Dutch Republic to the Ottoman Empire, who lived in Istanbul from 1645 until his untimely death in 1665. Precious manuscripts from all of the Arabic-speaking provinces of the Empire gravitated towards the capital Istanbul, the unrivalled centre of the antiquarian book trade. Warner assembled about a thousand manuscripts, which he left to Leiden University after his death.²⁷ That Istanbul held its own as a centre of the manuscript trade and manufacture until the twentieth century is amply shown by manuscripts with exquisite miniatures of Mecca and Medina in the collection of the German Orientalist Franz Taeschner (1896–1967), part of which was sold to Leiden University in 1970.²⁸

The richest source of Western Arabian materials at Leiden University, however, is the manuscript collection of Sayyid Amin ibn Hasan al-Halawani al-Madani, acquired in 1883, only a year before Snouck Hurgronje's voyage to Jeddah and Mecca [Plate 8]. Al-Madani (d. 1898) was an Islamic scholar from Medina who for some time taught at the Prophet's Mosque.²⁹ His financial situation, however,



[Plate 9] The central gallery of the International Exhibition, Amsterdam 1883. Chromolithograph in *Herinnering aan Amsterdam in 1883*, Amsterdam 1883, plate 14. [UBL Hotz 4849]

forced him to opt for the book trade as a sideline, and by 1880 he was established as a bookseller in Cairo. In 1883 al-Madani took a large collection of more than 650 Arabic manuscripts to the Internationale, Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling (International, Colonial and Export Exhibition), held in Amsterdam from May to late October [Plate 9]. The fairgrounds were located at what is now Museumplein, immediately behind the new Rijksmuseum. Registered in the official catalogue under no. 6323 and the barely recognisable name 'Mouhammed Madi' of Cairo, al-Madani exhibited his treasures in a small Egyptian wing. It seems he was the only participant who dealt in antiquarian books or manuscripts, let alone Middle Eastern manuscripts.³⁰ Snouck Hurgronje met al-Madani at his stand in Amsterdam and again later that year in Leiden at the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists. The young scholar prepared a Dutch translation of al-Madani's memoirs of his visit to the Netherlands, *Het Leidsche Oriëntalistencongres. Indrukken van een Arabisch congreslid* (The Leiden Congress of Orientalists. Impressions of an Arab Conference Member).³¹



[Plate 10] Facsimile of an opening page of Or. 2530, a Persian manuscript in the Madani collection. Frontispiece in C. Landberg, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes provenant d'une bibliothèque privée à El-Medîna ...*, Leiden 1883. [UBL OOSHSS A 8]

In his translation of al-Madani's travel reminiscences, Snouck Hurgronje writes that he came to Amsterdam in the hope of finding a market for his manuscripts, but that he spent months on end at the fair in complete isolation and apparently without any hope of attracting a buyer.³² But al-Madani was by no means acting on his own. The Swedish Orientalist Carlo Landberg (1848–1924), an acquaintance of al-Madani from Cairo, negotiated the sale of the collection to the Leiden firm of E.J. Brill and also prepared an inventory, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes provenant d'une bibliothèque privée à El-Medîna et appartenant à la maison E.J. Brill* (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts from a Private Library in Medina, belonging to the Firm of E.J. Brill).³³ As a frontispiece a magnificent illuminated page from a Persian manuscript was chosen [Plate 10].³⁴ The same year, Brill resold the collection to Leiden University for the substantial amount of 14,250 Dutch guilders, or approximately 6500 euros. The necessary funds were provided by the Dutch government rather than the University.³⁵ The manuscripts were newly catalogued by the Leiden professor Michael Jan de Goeje and his assistants, but unfortunately their work remained unfinished.³⁶



[Plate 11] 'A Meccan Doctor', photograph of Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi, probably by C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mecca 1885. [UBL Or. 26.403: 26]

The Amin al-Madani collection is of mixed Middle Eastern origin, but the same holds true for any other collection now preserved in Saudi Arabia. The Holy Places of Islam have always been – and still are – crucibles of cultures and nations. The uniform bright-red leather binding and industrially manufactured marbled paper of many volumes are strongly reminiscent of the styles then prevalent in Cairo.³⁷ Yet the ex libris of owners from Mecca and Medina indicate that at least part of the collection may very well have belonged to a private library in Medina, as Landberg's catalogue asserts. There were many such libraries in Medina, both public and private: in 1936 the German Orientalist Otto Spies (1901–1981) calculated the manuscript holdings at an impressive 50,000 volumes.³⁸ From this point of view the Madani collection was only a modest one, but in 1974 the Saudi scholar and bibliographer Abbas Saleh Tashkandy nevertheless mentioned al-Madani's name in relation to the 'depredation of a national treasure [of manuscripts]'.³⁹ Unfortunately, he neither specified cases of book theft nor identified possible owners.

Photography and Film

The resourceful Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje enjoys the reputation of having been the first Westerner to take photographs in Jeddah and Mecca. In 1884 he spent 600 Dutch guilders – a considerable part of his 1500-guilder government grant – on a camera of no doubt impressive dimensions and a set of glass plates. On his arrival in Jeddah in August 1884, he started taking pictures in the Consulate's courtyard of bewildered-looking pilgrims arriving from all parts of the Muslim world, but most particularly of Indonesians, the subject of his reconnaissance trip. He also portrayed scenes from Jeddah's street life. Shortly after his arrival in Mecca on 22 February 1885 he had his camera sent on from Jeddah. In Mecca, however, where religious sensitivities were stronger than in Jeddah, he persuaded the local élite to appear before the lens in a studio setting, but felt reluctant to take open-air pictures. The man who saved the day for Snouck Hurgronje was the Meccan doctor Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi [Plate 11]. Inquisitive and open-minded, he provided Snouck Hurgronje with a room to serve as a studio and offered to take photographs in public spaces which appeared to be impracticable or improper for Snouck Hurgronje. When the latter was forced to leave Mecca in August 1885 he left his camera with the doctor in exchange for his promise to continue taking pictures.

The intricate dealings between the two men, assisted by Vice-Consul Van der Chijs, are beyond the purview of this book, but they have been studied in detail in recent years.⁴⁰ Suffice it to say that the men had widely different interests: Snouck Hurgronje typically insisted on 'authentic' Oriental pictures of shopkeepers, women, slaves, children, pedlars, muleteers et cetera, thereby suggesting a society untouched by modernity, whereas Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar looked upon photography as an attractive and modern business venture. As a consequence, the Meccan doctor showed a marked preference for portraying local notables, who supposedly paid handsomely for the privilege, while neglecting the common townsfolk. Nor did Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar hesitate to introduce modern Western elements into his studio settings, such as occasional tables, little piles of books, pretty bouquets and European bentwood furniture, much to Snouck Hurgronje's distress.⁴¹ Recent research has also shown that Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar adopted a perfectly businesslike attitude by using pictures from other photographers and signing them as his own.⁴² Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the Meccan doctor kept his promise and sent a considerable quantity of



[Plate 12] Photograph of a sunlit street in Jeddah, by pharmacist H.F. Tillema, Jeddah 1927 or 1928. [UBL Or. 18.097 S 67.2: 26]

photographs to Van der Chijs, who duly forwarded them to Leiden. Many of these exposures contain breathtaking scenes of the Hajj which demonstrate his natural talent as a photographer. Snouck Hurgronje used a narrow selection from his own photographs and those of Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar for both his albums of plates, *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka* (1888a) and *Bilder aus Mekka* (1889). The vast majority of photographs, however, have never been published. In both albums the signatures of the Meccan doctor have been erased from the plates.

More photographs were sent to Snouck Hurgronje after his appointment as professor of Arabic in 1906. Practically all consuls, starting with Nicolaas Scheltema (1870–1955, consul between 1905 and 1911), sent smaller or larger collections to him. Some photographs were taken by the consuls themselves, as in the case of Scheltema and Charles Olke van der Plas (1891–1977, consul between 1921 and 1926),⁴³ but most were acquired from commercial photographers who were active in Mecca, such as H.A. Mirza & Sons of Delhi, India, or the Anatolian-born Mahmud Hamdi 'Arabgirli, whose identity has recently



[Plate 13] Edison phonograph and wax cylinders, used for the earliest sound recordings in the Arabian Peninsula by Consul N. Scheltema and staff, Jeddah 1908–1909.
[UBL Or. 27.130, Or. 27.131]

been established by the Saudi scholar Meraj Nawab Mirza.⁴⁴ It is remarkable that so few photographs in the Leiden University collections were taken or acquired by Daniël van der Meulen (consul between 1926 and 1931 and chargé d'affaires between 1941 and 1945), who was an enthusiastic photographer as is evident from his extensive collections in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.

Not only diplomats sent photographs to Leiden, but also a number of Dutch travellers, who for the greater part were medical practitioners. A case in point is Dr Dirk Gerrit Weigardus van Voorthuysen (1888–1942), an ear, nose and throat specialist who had a practice in Oegstgeest, the Netherlands, and another one in Surabaya, Netherlands East Indies. In 1926 he made delightful pictures of Jeddah and surroundings, which he sent to Snouck Hurgronje the following year.⁴⁵ Another set of attractive, semi-professional photographs was taken by the millionaire pharmacist and philanthropist Hendrik Freerk Tillema (1870–1952), who visited Arabia in 1927 or 1928 [Plate 12].⁴⁶ Both men visited Arabia after the establishment of Saudi rule, when the security situation had vastly improved and pilgrims once again returned in great numbers after years of (civil) war.

In the same decade the Dutch filmmaker George Krugers (1890–1964) from Bandung, Netherlands East Indies, made the first moving images of Mecca. With no

previous knowledge of Islam or its rites, Krugers sought the advice of Haji Agus Salim, who had returned to his native country. He accompanied a group of Indonesian pilgrims on the Hajj of the year 1346 (May–June 1928), and his documentary film *Het Grootte Mekka-Feest* (The Great Mecca Feast) had its premiere on 8 November 1928 in the presence of Crown Princess Juliana.⁴⁷

Audio Recordings

When living in Batavia (present-day Jakarta), Snouck Hurgronje owned an Edison 'phonograph', a forerunner of the gramophone, which played wax cylinders instead of flat records. On his departure for the Netherlands in 1906 he had this machine shipped to Jeddah, where it was used in 1908 and 1909 under the supervision of Consul Scheltema, the shipping agent Muhammad Jamal Taj al-Din (Tadjoedin) and dragoman Haji Agus Salim to record Qur'an recitation, music and speech. They are beyond doubt the oldest historical sound recordings ever to have been made in the Arabian Peninsula. Both the phonograph – still in working order – and approximately 355 wax cylinders are preserved in the Leiden University Library; a detailed inventory by Anne van Oostrum is now in press [Plate 13].⁴⁸

Exhibitions

In the past few decades, the Leiden University Library has hosted several exhibitions of the Arabian collections. In 1985, on the centennial of Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Mecca, curator Jan Just Witkam organised *Honderd Jaar Mekka in Leiden 1885–1985* (One Hundred Years of Mecca in Leiden, 1885–1985), with a selection of 59 objects from the collections of Leiden University and Museum Volkenkunde.⁴⁹ In 2004 Dirry Oostdam and Jan Just Witkam highlighted the photographic legacy from Arabia in *West-Arabian Encounters*.⁵⁰ In 2007, on the 150th anniversary of Snouck Hurgronje's birth, Arnoud Vrolijk and Hans van de Velde curated the exhibition *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936): Orientalist*.⁵¹

Already in the year 1885 the Museum Volkenkunde allowed the public to view the results of the collecting activities in Western Arabia when it opened a new exhibition space devoted to both Persian and Arab objects.⁵² The official number of visitors in the second quarter of 1885, however, amounted to no more than 62, but figures show that visiting museums was not a popular pastime in the Netherlands in this period.⁵³

Since 2011, two large showcases with a selection of some 50 Western Arabian artefacts have given an impression of late nineteenth-century everyday life in Mecca and Jeddah in the Museum's Asia section. An exhibition on the Hajj, entitled *Verlangen naar Mekka. De Reis van de Pelgrim* (Longing for Mecca. The Pilgrim's Journey), which was held in Museum Volkenkunde in 2013–2014 and curated by Luitgard Mols, featured many artefacts from the Arabian collections [Plate 14].⁵⁴ It was the Museum's largest exhibition on an Islamic subject, attracting more visitors than ever before to a temporary exhibition. More recently, a scaled-down version of the exhibition, which also includes objects from contemporary Hajj-related collecting endeavours, has been put on semi-permanent display in one of the Museum's galleries.

In the same spirit, this book aims to deepen our understanding of the unique Western Arabian cultural legacy in Leiden, and to enhance our awareness of the history of the Holy Places of Islam.



[Plate 14] Photograph of the opening of the exhibition *Longing for Mecca* at Museum Volkenkunde, 9 September 2013. In the centre a *mahmal* with the monogram of Ottoman sultan Abdülaziz (1831–1876). [Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, TXT 38]

Notes

1. Staatsalmanak 1873, 63.
2. De Vries & Daniëls 1992, 8; for a list of consuls or envoys see Appendix II, p. 183.
3. Kruijt 1880.
4. Snouck Hurgronje 1880.
5. Snouck Hurgronje 1888–1889.
6. For general information on Snouck Hurgronje see Charité et al. 1979–2008, II, 523–526 (Drewes); Vrolijk & Van Leeuwen 2014, 117–150.
7. Van der Meulen to Snouck Hurgronje, Jeddah, 24 March 1926, UBL Or. 8952 A: 691, fol. 4a.
8. Laffan 1999; 2003, 59–61; 2003a.
9. Laffan 2003, 181–191.
10. Snouck Hurgronje 1889, intr.
11. Laffan 2003a, 359.
12. Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 146.
13. Nederlandsche Staats-Courant, 12 September 1884.
14. Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah diary, UBL Or. 7112, 2–4; Laffan 2003, 51, 105, 249.
15. Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Chijs, Leiden, 9 February 1886, UBL Or. 8952 L 4: 22.
16. Kruijt 1880, 344.
17. Kruijt to Serrurier, Jeddah, 18 December 1884, RMV Archive, series dossier RV-465.
18. RMV Archive, series dossiers RV-345, RV-346, RV-431, RV-465, RV-543, RV-559, RV-628, RV-811, RV-819, RV-870, RV-884, RV-1117, RV-1973, RV-B106.
19. Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Chijs, Leiden, 27 October 1885; idem, Leiden, 22 December 1885, UBL Or. 8952 L 4: 21.
20. Van der Chijs to Snouck Hurgronje, Jeddah, 7 November 1887, UBL Or. 18.907 S 32: 1; idem, Jeddah, 24 February 1888, UBL Or. 18.907 S 32: 2.
21. Idem, Jeddah, 24 February 1888, UBL Or. 18.907 S 32: 2.
22. UBL Or. 26.706, dated Leiden, 11 March 1897.
23. Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, pls. 37–40.
24. RMV Guide 1962, 49. See also below, pp. 56–57.
25. Jaarverslagen Oostersch Instituut 1928–1930, 18; *ibid.* 1934–1940, 49.
26. De Bruijn 1989, 108–114.
27. Warner 1970; Vrolijk et al. 2012.
28. Schmidt 2000–2012, III, 26–27.
29. Snouck Hurgronje 1897; Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913–1938, I, 328, s.v. Amin.
30. Officiële catalogus 1883, 306–307; Herinnering aan Amsterdam 1883, map, no. 92.
31. Snouck Hurgronje 1883; Zaytsev 2004.
32. Snouck Hurgronje 1883, 8–9.
33. Landberg 1883.
34. A manuscript of *Lawami' al-asrar* (The Glittering Secrets), a philosophical commentary by Qutb al-Din Razi (d. 1364 CE), UBL Or. 2530, fol. 2a.
35. Van der Zande 1999, II, 707; Vrolijk 2014a, 121.
36. De Goeje et al. 1888–1907.
37. Personal communications from Dr Kathryn Schwartz and Jake Benson, which are hereby gratefully acknowledged.
38. Spies 1936, 94.
39. Tashkandy 1974, 20, 28–29; Witkam 2006–..., III, 119.
40. UBL Or. 8952 L 4: 16–34; Or. 18.097 S 32: 1–2; Oostdam & Witkam 2004; Witkam 2007; Van der Wal 2011.
41. Van der Wal 2011, 43. Many photographs with these Western props are kept in UBL Or. 26.368.
42. Vrolijk 2013.
43. UBL Or. 12.288 M; Or. 26.365.
44. Mirza 2011, 137–141.
45. UBL Or. 12.288 B.
46. UBL Or. 18.097 S 67.2; a similar set in album RMV RV-10765; Charité et al. 1979–2008, V, 507–509 (E. Vanvugt).
47. In 2015 Leiden University acquired a digital copy of the film and original archival materials (UBL Or. 27.020, Or. 27.021).
48. UBL Or. 27.130, 27.131; Gavin 1988; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 108–110; Vrolijk & Van de Velde 2007, 92–99; Van Oostrum 2012; eadem 2016; eadem forthc.
49. Witkam 1985.
50. Oostdam & Witkam 2004.
51. Vrolijk & Van de Velde 2007.
52. Rassers 1937, 32.
53. Nederlandsche Staats-Courant, 4 August 1885.
54. Mols 2013.