

History in the Guise of *Hajj Safarnamas* (the *Hajj* Narratives): An Appraisal of the *Musafir-e-Hejaz* (a mid-twentieth century *hajj* pilgrim's travelogue and manual, compiled in Sindh-Pakistan)

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Abstract

The current study is focused on an overview of the *hajj safarnamas* (*hajj* narratives) which has also been a central theme in Islamic travel writing from the early times. These accounts have informed and entertained readers since the early middle ages with first hand descriptions of cities, exotic regions, and local mores encountered on journeys to and from Makkah. Several of these *hajj* narratives are available, sometimes in old editions. The paper deals with the pilgrimage narratives where the pilgrimage site was far away, as a source of great historical value. These narratives give an entirely different perspective on the pilgrimage itself, and the surrounding area, in contrast to works that are more local. These pilgrimage narratives also highlight a dense web of what we might call 'pilgrimage networks' that crisscrossed Asia in the modern period, which in many cases stretched back to centuries. Some of such narratives were compiled in Sindh-Pakistan as well like in other regions of the subcontinent. History reveals that the people of Pakistan have always been very devoted to the religious obligations and rituals; thus they are very much aware of significance of performing *hajj*. On various occasions in the past, the Muslim rulers had sent ships to properly guide pilgrims to Makkah. This article particularly attempts to focus on one of such prominent and authentic narratives entitled the *Musafir-e-Hejaz* (*the pilgrim to the holy land of Hejaz*) written by Badar Durrani, the Speaker of Sindh Legislative Assembly in 1950 CE. It is a rich source material which has not so far received adequate attention from scholars of navigation and maritime history. The paper critically examines the *Musafir-e-Hejaz*, a report primarily meant as a thorough manual of *hajj* rituals and a companion or guide for sea-going pilgrims and merchants to Makkah from Pakistan. It is the outcome of the first-hand observances and experiences of the voyage which was undertaken during author's first pilgrimage to Makkah. A conclusion is drawn at the end. By examining a *hajj* narrative, one can uncover a wealth of information about this region, the Indian Ocean world, and the Hejaz – a trans-regional

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variety of evidence that encompasses areas of historical enquiry such as religion, social relations, economics, politics, and technology.

Announce the Pilgrimage to the people, proclaimed the Islamic scriptures. They will come to you on foot and riding along distant roads on lean and slender beasts' (Quran 22:27).

Introduction

Over the centuries, Muslims obeying the Quran's teachings have turned the *hajj* into the world's largest public gathering. It is impossible to know how many pilgrims made the *hajj* in pre-modern times, but it is clear that within two or three centuries of the holy Prophet's death, thousands of Muslims traveled each year to Makkah. In the earliest days, pilgrims approached Makkah by one of the camel caravans which organized travelers into groups departing from Cairo, Damascus, and Baghdad, as well as from various points within the Arabian Peninsula itself.¹ As Islam became popular in India, Southeast Asia, and East Africa, pilgrims increasingly arrived aboard ships sailing through the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea.²

From early times, compilation of *hajj safarnamas* has also been a central theme in Islamic travel writing. Called *rihla* in Arabic, *safarnameh* in Persian, these accounts have informed and entertained readers since the early middle ages with firsthand descriptions of cities, exotic regions, and local mores encountered on journeys to and from Makkah.³ Pilgrimage narratives are invaluable and, on some levels, a relatively accessible corpus of sources from which to study Asia's interconnections in modern history. The pilgrimage narratives deal with the *hajj*, termed as the '*hajj safarnamas*'. Several of these are available, sometimes in old editions. There are substantial collections of pilgrimage narratives in major libraries such as the British Library in London, the University Library in Cambridge, and the Bodleian Library in Oxford. In local universities and private libraries across Asia, a wider variety of material can be found.

For historians, the great value of pilgrimage narratives, where the pilgrimage site is far away from the author's home, are that they give an entirely different perspective on the pilgrimage itself, and the surrounding area, in contrast to works which are more local. These

¹ Michael Wolfe, *One Thousand Roads to Mecca: Ten Centuries of Travelers Writing about the Muslim Pilgrimage*, New York, NY, 1997, p.xxv.

² Michael Naylor Pearson, *The Pilgrimage to Mecca: the Indian Experience 1500-1800*, Princeton, NJ, 1996, p.99.

³ Michael Wolfe, *op.cit.*, p.xiii.

pilgrimage narratives also highlight a dense web of what we might call 'pilgrimage networks' that crisscrossed Asia in the modern period, which in many cases stretched back centuries.⁴ Examining a *hajj* narrative from the subcontinent, for example, we can uncover a wealth of information about this region, the Indian Ocean world, and the Hejaz – a trans-regional variety of evidence that encompasses areas of historical enquiry such as religion, social relations, economics, politics, and technology.

There are several well-known *hajj* narratives, such as the medieval Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta, whose *hajj* formed only part of a monumental decades-long sojourn across the Muslim world,⁵ and the Victorian explorer Sir Richard Burton, who performed the *hajj* disguised as an Afghan doctor in 1853 CE.⁶ The rituals of the *hajj* are often described in *hajj* manuals, instructions for those who undertake the pilgrimage, as a re-enactment of the physical and spiritual journey undertaken by Hadrat Ibrahim (A.S) and his family more than 4000 years ago.

In terms of South Asia, history reveals that mughal emperors were especially fond of *hajj*. They patronized *hajj* and tried many times to make the journey to Makkah very special and smooth. On various occasions, Mughal emperors had sent ships to guide pilgrims properly to Makkah. The prime embarkation port at Surat (Gujrat) was known as *Bab al-Makkah* (The gateway to Makkah).⁷ The Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 CE) allowed free transportations to the port of Jeddah and had appointed one senior and dignified individual as the leader of the pilgrims to show them the actual way. Regular charity was sent to the Makkah when Emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1657 CE) was the ruler.⁸

Emperor Aurangzeb (1657-1707 CE) was known for his devout approach. He used to sponsor two of his royal ships every year which used to travel all the way to Makkah with huge number of pilgrims. There was a considerable *hajj* traffic by the sea from the Mughal port of Surat to Makkah and Jeddah in the seventeenth century besides the traffic overland by caravans from India. During the fading season of the

⁴ William R. Roff, 'Sanitation and Security: The Imperial Powers and the Nineteenth Century Hajj', *Arabian Studies*, 1982.

⁵ See Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battūta: A.D. 1325 – 1354*, ed. and trans. Sir Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb (New Delhi: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1971).

⁶ Dane Kennedy, *The Highly Civilized Man: Richard Burton and the Victorian World*, Cambridge, MA, 2007.

⁷ Platinum Jubilee volume, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1991, p.31.

⁸ John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.122.

monsoon, imperial Mughal ships often gave free passages to the mendicants and pious people. In addition, there were private ships as well, which carried pilgrims and merchandises to the Red Sea ports and brought them back to Surat.⁹ The Indian Muslim pilgrims used to travel by the overland caravan or by the ships, however, most of the pilgrims preferred to visit Makkah by ships. But the journey through Persian Gulf or Red Sea was tough and perilous due to the presence of Portuguese. Indian ships traveling through the Portuguese territories in the 16th century were forced to carry Portuguese cartaz.¹⁰

However, the *Anis al-Hujjaj* (The Pilgrims' Companion)¹¹ seems to be the earliest compilation of this genre in the subcontinent written by Moin Safi bin Wali, an official of the Mughal court during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir. Safi particularly sheds light on hardships faced by the pilgrims of the middle ages. The copy of the *Anis al-Hujjaj* is preserved in the library of Darl al-Musannifin, Azamgarh (UP-India). It seems to be a copy of an earlier manuscript as noted by Shah Moinuddin Ahmad Nadvi in the journal *Ma'arif* published from Azamgarh in 1964. A copy of the manuscript is also preserved in the Library of British Museum. According to Riu, a copy of the same manuscript is extant in the Library of the Royal Armory (Lucknow) and was examined by Elliot.¹²

Hajj safarnamas in Sindh-Pakistan

Like other regions of the Muslim world, the people of Pakistan are also very religious in their outlook and express their love and devotion for religious obligations, most particularly for *hajj* pilgrimage. Numerous Pakistani scholars have compiled their *hajj safarnamas* or travelogues. In Sindh, a great treasure of such literature is retrieved from oblivion which needs attention of contemporary scholars. The *hajj* narratives are written in Sindhi, Urdu, English and Persian. A list of *hajj safarnamas* compiled in Sindh is given below:¹³

⁹ Michael Pearson, *op.cit.*, p.76.

¹⁰ David Macpherson, *The History of the European Commerce with India*, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1812, p.31.

¹¹ This is an unpublished work. A transcribed copy of this may be obtained from the Research Library of CAS, Aligarh.

¹² Iftikhar A. Khan, 'A *Hajj* Pilgrim's Travelogue and Manual: The Sea Traveler 1676-1677', journal of *Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, LX:1, (January-March 2012), p.7.

¹³ This list is provided by Dr. Idrees Soomro, who is an eminent scholar and an expert of Islamic literature particularly of Sindh. He is well-known for having a rich treasure of rare manuscripts in his personal collection. I am

- *Safarnama-e-Iraq wa Shaam ba rasta-e-Nejd wa Baitul Haram* by Khawaja Hasan Jaan Sirhindi, compiled in 1914.
- *Sardar Lahej Saar (Hajj travelogue)* by Abdullah Shah Fattahi, compiled in 1926. Translated and edited by Syed Mohsin Ali Shah Bukhari, published by Bukhari Publications, Kandyaro, Sindh in 1999.
- *Bhali Paar di Safar* by Haji Faiz Muhammad Memon Bhariyai, compiled in 1932, published by Bilawal Institute of Historical Research, Nawabshah in 2010.
- *Musafir-e-Hejaz* by Agha Badaruddin Durrani, compiled in 1950, published by Inqilab Publications, Sukkur in 1950.
- *Hajj jo Safarnamo* by Haji Muhammad Alam Mahesar Rafiqi, compiled in 1955, edited by Dr. Mustafa Ali Kalhor, published in 2008.
- *Moro* alias *Safarnamo* (poetic version) by Hakim Shahnawaz Shaiq Badenwi, compiled in 1956 published by Rahim Publications, Badin, Sindh in 1981.
- *Paryan jo Paar* by Hakim Muhammad Ahsan compiled in 1960, published from Karachi in 1961.
- *Safar-e-Hajj ji Dairy (Road Map to Hejaz)* by Haji Faiz Muhammad, compiled in 1971, published by R. H. Ahmad and Brothers, Hyderabad, in 1971.
- *Diyar-e-Yaar mein ji dam guzaryam* by Sardar Ali Shah, compiled in 1979, published from Hyderabad.
- *Janib jo Jamal (Hajj travelogue)* by Ahsan Ali Ahsan Jokhio, compiled in 1993, published by Ahsan Library, Gharo, Sindh, in 1998.
- *A Road to Madina* by Altaf Sheikh, published by New Fields Publications, Hyderabad, in 1997.
- *Mata al-Saqlain fi Ziyarat al-Haramin* alias *Khushbo jo Safar* by Faqir Ghaus Muhammad Gauhar, compiled in 1999, published by Al-Qaisra Academy, Kotri, Sindh.
- *Bhali Paar taan Bhiri* by Altaf Sheikh, published by Roshni Publications, Kandyaro, in 2000.
- *Haramin jo Safar* by Maulana Mufti Abdul Wahab Chachar, compiled in 1995, published by Shariyat Publications, Sukkur, in 2002.

very thankful to him for his guidance and providing me with this rare book for my article.

- *Haramin ji Saak jo Safar* by Maulana Amir Mehar (not dated), published by Ghazali Academy, Mirpurkhas.
- *Sachi Khushi (Hajj travelogue and manual)* by Haji Ishtiyag Ali Murad, compiled in 2003, published by Samawat al-Arz Publications, Karachi, in 2004.
- *Pariyan Sindhi Paar De (Hajj travelogue)* by Abdul Hai Palejo, compiled in 2004 published by Moomal Sindho Publication, Thatta.
- *Bhali Paar Jon Ziyarton* by Faqir Miyan Ali Muhammad Qadri/ Faqir Miyan Ghulam Sarwar Qadri, published from Qalam Qabilo, in 2006.
- *Missan khan Madina Taen* by Maulvi Muhammad Yamin Shoro, published by Sindhica Academy, Karachi, in 2007.
- *Heera Moti Arr Miya (Glimpses of Hajj travel)* by Haji Khair Muhammad Jokhio, published from Thatta in 2007.
- *Sauji Rahat Rooh ji* by Professor Muhammad Rahim Rawalai compiled in 2007, published by Peacock Prints and Publication, Karachi, in 2013.

Musafir-e-Hejaz: Hajj travel by a Muslim pilgrim of Sindh-Pakistan

The current article is an attempt to focus on a gigantic work of its genre, the *Musafir-e-Hejaz*, a *hajj* travelogue and manual compiled by Agha Badaruddin Durrani. It is a complete compendium of the *hajj* memoirs. This work, primarily meant as a companion or guide for pilgrims to Makkah, is the outcome of the first-hand observances and experiences of the voyage which was undertaken during author's first pilgrimage to Makkah in 1950 CE. It is a rich source material which has not so far received adequate attention from scholars of navigation and maritime history.

The author, during his journey, kept a day wise record of his travel. Thus, he compiled the book entitled the *Musafir-e-Hejaz* which seems to be the most excellent compilation of its type as it gives the comprehensive knowledge, along with charts, pictures and maps regarding all the affairs related to the great sacramental performance of *hajj*. The author, Badar Durrani was a well-known public figure, distinguished scholar and famed politician. He held a promising position as the Speaker of Sindh Legislative Assembly. The book reflects his keen knowledge and intense observation skills.

The book includes a forward written by Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, a renowned scholar and dignitary of Sindh.¹⁴ The author himself pointed out the aim of compilation in the preface of the book where he writes that he compiled this book to remove dogmatic thoughts and misconceptions that prevailed among the common people and to highlight the real philosophy of *hajj*. The book comprises of five exhaustive chapters including 476 pages. The first chapter titled as '*Zarurat-e-Hajj*' (significance of *Hajj*) explains religious as well as philosophical importance of *hajj* in terms of its spiritual, political and economic efficacy with the help of different verses from the holy Quran and *hadith*. The second chapter under the title '*Rahnuma-e-Hajj*' is a guidebook or manual for the pilgrims. The third chapter with the title of '*Masa'il-e-Hajj*' elucidates different problems and their solutions which a pilgrim usually faces during the performance of *hajj*. This chapter is quite deliberate and the longest part of the book. The fourth chapter titled '*Roznamcha*' or diary includes day-wise record of author's observations and visits to different sacred places during his *hajj* journey starting from 21 September 1949 till his return home on 22 October 1949. The last chapter is an introduction regarding the history and geography of Nejd and Hejaz. Chapter two is our main concern for this essay.

Though, the author himself travelled to Hejaz by air from Karachi to Jeddah via Bahrain but he mentioned all three means used for travel to Hejaz in his times, for instance: land-route, sea-route and air-route. He tells that the air travel takes nine to eleven hours to reach Jeddah from Karachi via Bahrain or Riyadh covering almost 2400 miles. It seems that the travel by air became quite easy and short later on as the author of the *Piryan je Paar* (C. 1960 CE), Hakim Muhammad Ahsan travelled through the direct flight of PIA in 1960 CE, from Karachi to Jeddah that took seven and a half hour.¹⁵

For travelling through sea-route, it takes almost a week to reach the port of Aden (in Yemen) covering almost 1370 miles in the Indian Ocean via Persian Gulf and Red Sea. Then, after crossing Bab-el-Mandeb,¹⁶ the pilgrims travel through the deep sea covering 730 miles to reach Jeddah within three to four days. It takes altogether nine to twelve days covering 2200 miles to reach Jeddah from Karachi by ship. On the

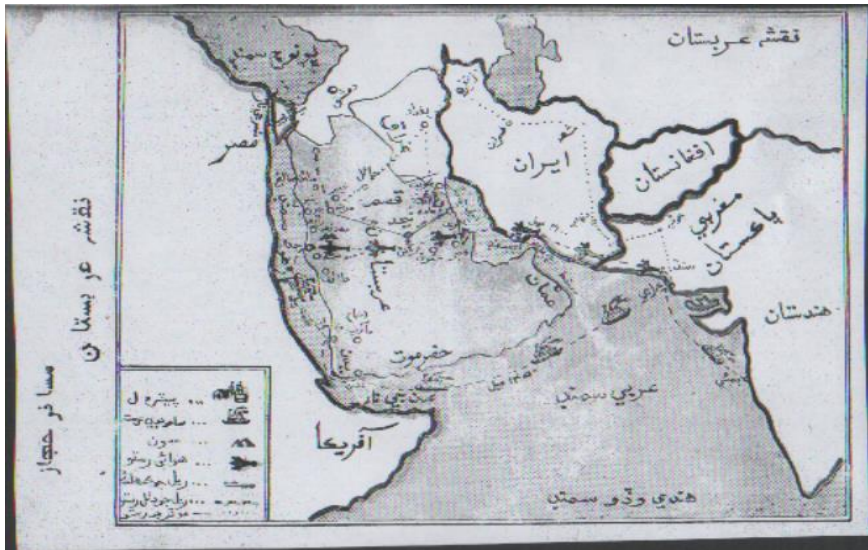
¹⁴ Agha Badaruddin Durrani, *Musafir-e-Hejaz*, Preface (Sukkur: Inqilab Publications, 1950).

¹⁵ Hakim Muhammad Ahsan, *Piryan je Paar* (c. 1960), (Karachi: 1961), p.12.

¹⁶ Bab-al-Mandeb is a strait between Arabia (northeast) and Africa (southwest) that connects Red Sea (northwest) with the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean (southeast). Ref. *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

other hand, some pilgrims travel from Karachi to Riyadh via Kuwait by ship, then further travel by land-rout to Hejaz or some of them takes another route where they reach Basra by ship then further travel by rail to Baghdad from where they reach Hejaz via Kuwait through the land-rout. Sometimes, the pilgrims first visit Madina, then leave for Makkah.¹⁷ The author of the *Safarnama-e-Iraq wa Shaam ba rasta-e-Nejd wa Baitul Haram*, Khawaja Hasan Jaan Sirhindi who travelled by sea in 1914 CE reached Kuwait via Basra and Baghdad by ship then continued his journey to Hejaz by land passing through the main towns of Nejd such as Qaseem, Buridah, Village of Zulfi etc.¹⁸

Describing significant routes taken by the pilgrims, the book also reveals that the railway was another very important and commonly-used mean of transportation for pilgrims from Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Iran had its royal railway service connected with Pakistan via Zahedan-Quetta junction. It was further connected with Saudi Arabia via Dammam, Riyadh, Madina and Makkah. The railway was considered a swift and comfortable mean of transport for *hajj* pilgrimage.¹⁹



The map mentions different routes to Hejaz. (Ref. Musafir-e-Hejaz)

¹⁷ *Musafir-e-Hejaz*, op.cit., p.15.

¹⁸ Khawaja Hasan Jaan Sirhindi, *Safarnama-e-Iraq wa Shaam ba rasta-e-Nejd wa Baitul Haram* (Tando Allah Yar: Indus Printers, 1960), pp.16-44.

¹⁹ *Musafir-e-Hejaz*, op.cit., p.16.

Another route used by the pilgrims from Sindh to Makkah was the land-route. The people used cars or buses for their *hajj* voyage. They passed through Quetta via Shikarpur, Sindh, from where they entered the Iranian borders and travelled via Mashhad and Tehran entered Iraq via Baghdad from where they might use two different routes: Damascus or Najaf for reaching Madina or from Baghdad they reached to Makkah via Kufa, Kuwait and Riyadh. The author mentions that the pilgrims, who could not get tickets for travelling by air or ship due to limited government quota, used different land-routes, which were quite long, insecure, uncomfortable and full of trouble.

Though, the Government of Pakistan usually did not issue passports to such travelers but these staunch followers of Islam did not pay heed to any such legal hindrance in their way to approach the holy land. Pilgrims from upper Sindh took the route from Jhal Magsi via Balochistan, Iran and after crossing Persian Gulf reached Hejaz, while the people from lower Sindh travelled via Karach and Lasbella, after crossing Iranian border reached the Port of Bandar Abbas, crossed the Persian Gulf and travelled across Bahrain or Kuwait to finally reach Makkah via Riyadh. The author gives an elaborated map mentioning all types of routes used for pilgrim's voyage from Sindh, Pakistan, to Hejaz.²⁰

The account highlights the significance of Persian Gulf and its ports such as Bandar Abbas for travelling from Pakistan to Saudi Arabia through sea-route. It is also mentioned that there were numerous well-organized and well-reputed shipping companies for carrying pilgrims to Makkah. The maritime travelling had become popular among the Indian people after the Second World War.²¹ These ships were usually full of pilgrims and merchants of different races and countries and replete with merchandise and considerable goods ready and bound for Jeddah.

However, Badar Durrani started his journey from his home town Garhi Yaseen to Karachi on 21 September 1949, where he spent six to seven days. He advises the pilgrims that they must arrive in Karachi atleast a week before their voyage to Makkah for necessary arrangements. Afterwards, Badar left Karachi on 27 September at 10 PM, and arrived at Jeddah airport next morning on 28 September 1949 / 5 Dul-Hajj 1368 AH at 5.30 AM. The time difference between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia was five hours as the clocks in Jeddah showed 12.30 AM. He further proceeded to Makkah same day arrived at his destination after travelling three hours by road. Having reached Makkah, it was

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.16.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.18.

obligatory to report to the Saudi police about ones arrival, the process in which the author had to face some difficulties and ill treatment.²²

Here our traveler and his companions donned the *ihram* (wrapper or sheer for *hajj*). The pilgrims were bound to select any of the '*mu'allim*' (instructor or demonstrator) of their own choice for instructing or educating them about *hajj* rituals. Otherwise, the Saudi government held the option to appoint one of their own choice. The author's '*mu'allim*' named Hassan bin Sarwar was from Saudi Arabia.²³ At this point, the author opines that the native Arab *mu'allim* were far influential and authoritative than their counterparts from other countries. The author further elaborates the responsibilities of a *mu'allim* (each separate for Makkah and Madina), the most significant were to take care of performance of different *hajj* rituals like *tawaf*, *sa'ee*, provide separate lodging and transportation facilities in Makkah, Madina, Mina Arafat and Jeddah, verification of passports and some other such duties.²⁴ Particularly in Makkah, *mu'allim*'s prime responsibility was to select a person holding immense intelligence and influence from the list of pilgrims such as a political leader or a cleric or a saint, or one who could be an expert of carrying out any propaganda activity. These people were given extra care and attention treated as the royal guests by the Saudi government in order to secure their favor for establishing goodwill and loyalty with the people and governments of different Muslim countries.²⁵ Though, there was a Hajj Officers in Jeddah appointed by the Government of Pakistan, who was responsible to look after the pilgrims from Pakistan.²⁶ *Amir al-Hajj* was also appointed to take care of the Pakistani pilgrims. Harem Police appointed by the Saudi government was very efficient and dutiful too.

Arrangements for proper lodging particularly in Jeddah and Makkah had always been prime concern of the pilgrims. Regardless of presence of numerous hotels and inns in Jeddah, the pilgrims usually faced unavailability of accommodation as per their requirement. Consequently, they were forced to acquire accommodation through the agent of their *mu'allim*. Though there were many hotels in Makkah run by some munificent Indian and Pakistani Muslims but, in fact, it was responsibility of the *mu'allim* or his agent to provide any suitable place to stay. These agents charged the pilgrims in thousands despite

²² *Ibid.*, p.146.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.148.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.32.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.37-38.

²⁶ *Piryan je Paar, op.cit.*, p.19.

inadequate capacity of the rooms.²⁷ The Egyptian hotels were the best place to stay in terms of cost and comfort. The author of the *Piryan je Paar* (c. 1960) also praises for the Egyptian hotels for providing the excellent services and facilities such as air-conditioners, elevators, flush and sanitary system.²⁸ The hotel reservation in Makkah usually got closed four to six months prior to the hajj days.²⁹

In order to facilitate the pilgrims, there were limited and rather costly postal and telegraph services in Makkah, Madina and Jeddah operated by the Saudi government. The entire system of the country-wise distribution of mail dispatched by the pilgrims was controlled from Egypt. The pilgrims used to conduct correspondence with their relatives in Pakistan through the postal address of their *mu'allim* or any other well-known personality of the city. In addition, there were some public telephone booths in Makkah, Madina and Jeddah but the cost of a three minute call was as high as 6 Qarsh Miri/12 Qarsh Darji.³⁰

The also author gives graphic description of various tombs of the venerated companions and members of the Prophet Muhammad's family, the Ka'aba, the well of Zam Zam and the tropic view of other places and the distance between each other. The various caravans of pilgrims that came from various parts of the world are also mentioned. The illustrations of these caravans are worth mentioning. There were Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian and Iranian caravans. The Iranian caravans came to Makkah through the route of Bandar Kung and along the Coast of the Persian Gulf or through Baghdad and Najaf.

Besides simple narration of facts, remembrances of the scenic view and stories are interwoven throughout the account. The *Musafir-e-Hejaz* contains the author's observation of life during his travel to Hejaz, and various experiences leading to suggestions for pilgrims. He uses numerous terms, maps and charts which are very useful and informative for the future pilgrims. For instance, the book includes an elaborated map of Saudi Arabia, pictures of Holy Ka'aba, Prophet's mosque, author's companions and the King of Saudi Arabia Shah Abdul Aziz bin Saud. For the guidance of pilgrims, a list of accessories of daily use, a guide for Sindhi to Arabic translation of the words and sentences of common use, price list of general commodities in different cities of Saudi Arabia, units of measurement, distance and weight, Saudi currency, Saudi time, common means of transportation, arrangement for lodging, function of

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.50.

²⁸ *Piryan je Paar*, *op.cit.*, pp.41-43.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.73.

³⁰ Qarsh Darji and Qarsh Miri is old local currency used in Hejaz.

post offices and telegraphs, and a list of items which were exempted from custom duties is also incorporated with the text.³¹

A list of estimated travelling cost is attached according to different categories such as the first, second and third class which mentions that the total cost on travel for Pakistani pilgrims in 1949 was Rs. 3500, Rs. 3000 and Rs. 1500 respectively.³² This amount shows, however, it was not financially affordable to bear this high cost of *hajj* pilgrimage for an average-income or upper average-income person in Pakistan. The ticket cost by ship from Karachi to Jeddah was Rs. 900, 790 and 330 for the first, second and third class respectively in 1949, while the author of the *Bhali Paar di Safar*, Haji Faiz Muhammad Memon Bhariyai, who compiled his *hajj safarnama* in 1932 states that the tickets' cost was Rs. 550, 450 and 160 for the 1st class, 2nd class and deck respectively.³³ The official exchange rate of one Indian rupee was 22 Qarsh in 1932 CE, but in the open market, it was 16 to 20 Qarsh.³⁴ While in 1960, one Saudi Riyal was equal to one rupee and two *aanas* of Pakistani currency.³⁵ The pilgrims also used traveler cheque in 1960.³⁶ The author of the *Safarnama-e-Iraq wa Shaam ba rasta-e-Nejd wa Baitul Haram* (C. 1914 CE), Khawaja Hasan Jaan Sirhindi gives the tickets prices from Karachi to Basra by ship as Rs. 86.50 for 2nd class and Rs. 21 for deck respectively.³⁷ This data highlights the inflation in prices within 17 years. On the other hand, it is also mentioned that before partition of India in 1947, the ships carried *hajj* pilgrims from Karachi to Hejaz first boarded at Bombay port. However, vaccination was must for every pilgrim before leaving for pilgrimage. This service was available at the Haji camp in Karachi.³⁸

³¹ *Musafir-e-Hejaz*, *op.cit.*, pp.40-45, 52-53.

³² *Ibid.*, pp.30-31.

³³ Haji Faiz Muhammad Memon Bhariyai, *Bhali Paar di Safar* (c. 1932) (Nawabshah: Bilawal Institute of Historical Research, 2010), p.34.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.68.

³⁵ *Piryan je Paar*, *op.cit.*, p.48.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.24.

³⁷ *Safarnama-e-Iraq wa Shaam ba rasta-e-Nejd wa Baitul Haram*, *op.cit.*, p.3.

³⁸ Haji Faiz Muhammad Memon Bhariyai, *op.cit.*, p.57.

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نوع	تفصیل خرج جو	کلاس	بیس	لاڈی	تک
۱	چاند کان مکہ معطر جو	۶۰۰	۳۰۰	۲۰۰	۱۰۰
۲	اوت موت مکتور	۶۰۰	۳۰۰	۲۰۰	۱۰۰
۳	مک معطر کان عرفات	۶۰۰	۳۰۰	۲۰۰	۱۰۰
۴	چاند کان مدینہ عارفہ	۶۰۰	۳۰۰	۲۰۰	۱۰۰
۵	اوت موت مکتور	۶۰۰	۳۰۰	۲۰۰	۱۰۰
۶	چاند کان مکہ معطر جو	۶۰۰	۳۰۰	۲۰۰	۱۰۰
۷	اوت موت مکتور	۶۰۰	۳۰۰	۲۰۰	۱۰۰
۸	چاند کان مکہ معطر جو	۶۰۰	۳۰۰	۲۰۰	۱۰۰
۹	اوت موت مکتور	۶۰۰	۳۰۰	۲۰۰	۱۰۰
۱۰	چاند کان مکہ معطر جو	۶۰۰	۳۰۰	۲۰۰	۱۰۰
۱۱	اوت موت مکتور	۶۰۰	۳۰۰	۲۰۰	۱۰۰
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The Estimate of Hajj Travel Expenses

The author also tries to furnish some advices for the people who intend to start their journey to Hejaz for performing *hajj* through sea-route, land-route or by air. He gives every minute detail regarding applicant's qualification, passport or pilgrim pass, procedure of approval of application, *hajj* booking office, medical examination, vaccination, ticket, and etc. However, vaccination was must for every pilgrim before leaving for pilgrimage. This service was available at the Hajj camp in Karachi.³⁹ The Hajj camp in Karachi was established by the British government in order to facilitate the pilgrims as the pre-partition *hajj* narratives also give its references.⁴⁰

For the passengers of ship, the author advises that they should go to the port and have a closer look at the ship which he has decided to board in order to check its capacity and other necessary services. He should not rely on the information provided by others. As far as possible, he should desist from selecting accommodation on the deck (*arshah*). Even though a passenger is not prone to nausea, he does not remain unaffected from it and weakness abroad in a ship. A traveler should

³⁹ *Musafir-e-Hejaz, op.cit.*, p.33.

⁴⁰ *Bhali Paar di Safar, op.cit.*, p.57.

reserve his accommodation either at ship's centre below the deck or near the middle of the mast where shaking is less than at the extremities. If the passenger is in possession of goods and luggage, he must himself decide where to keep them so that it may be safe and secure from dampness. To look after and facilitate the passengers, there are physicians, barbers, restaurant, clinic and wireless room at the ship. The author mentions that though the ship had capacity of 1700 passengers but there were hardly 1100 passengers in the ship. The arrangements were very good; standard of cleanliness and hygiene was quite high. The crew was very affable and caring. The captain of the ship was an English man who took rounds of the all compartments regularly in order to take care of pilgrims. The pilgrims followed the instructions given by the captain. The use of stoves at the ship was strictly prohibited.⁴¹ Yalalam, a hilly area about 50 km to the southeast of Makkah is *miqat* for the pilgrims who come from Pakistan by ship.

The pilgrims were to be taken care of by the *mu'allim* and other staff of the ship. The pilgrims are advised by the author to keep different kinds of perfumes for removing bad odor in the ship and keep the people in elegant mood. He further advises that different varieties of food should be preserved in the ship, such as fresh and dry fruits and confectionary items to the extent that it may last for the voyage and, if possible, for the whole journey during the pilgrimage. In order to remain healthy and strong, the passengers were advised to carry varieties of confectionaries (biscuits and *halwa*) etc. Likewise dry fruits, whatever available, must not be ignored. *Amrat dhara*, lemon and pickle is recommended as to be useful for avoiding nausea and diarrhea during the travel.⁴²

The author warns against use of unhygienic food. Some containers of drinking water for oneself and friends were, of course, essential. The fixed quantity of water that is served in the ship was mostly distasteful and it is necessary for the passenger to economize in the use of water in his container. If the fresh water is exhausted, the sea-water may be sublimated and sweet water may be obtained from the sea. But in case of weakness or giddiness, it must not be used because it will lead to nausea.

The author advises that a person must collect sufficient information regarding the history and geography of a place, where he wishes to go. He gives information about physical features, climate conditions, demography, means of transportation, ports, famous cities,

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.46.

⁴² *Musafir-e-Hejaz, op.cit.*, pp.18-24.

minerals, agriculture, trade and commerce, telecommunications, industries and judicial setup of not only the kingdom of Hejaz and Nejd but of the whole Saudi Arabia.⁴³ He gives detailed history of Hejaz and Nejd with particular reference to the historical background of the Saud dynasty of Saudi Arabia.⁴⁴ As it was a political union established after the Kingdom of Hejaz had been conquered by the Sultanate of Nejd under Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud in 1925, author traces its history from the times of Hadrat Ismail (A.S) passing through different phases of the Muslim rule such as the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Sharifs, the Ottomans and finally the Ibn Saud. The author also highlights the conditions of political turmoil in which Wahabi movement took its birth in the seventeenth century. Undoubtedly, the *Musafir-e-Hejaz* may be credited as one of the most useful manual and guide for pilgrims as well as the best source for revealing history and geography of this region during the mid-twentieth century.

There seems a considerable improvement in the standard of *hajj* narratives compiled in Pakistan as the later writers were more critical in their approach and vision towards different issues related to the *hajj* pilgrimage. Referring different shortcomings in *hajj* arrangements, they also give suggestions to resolve them. Besides the religious significance of *hajj*, they also highlight its political and economic perspective. The *hajj* occasion might be a good opportunity for the leaders of all Muslims countries to come together in order to resolve different issues and challenges they were facing.⁴⁵ They freely criticize different government policies such as high rate of taxes on different fares and prices of commodities, which were ranging up to 50 to 100 per cent.⁴⁶ However, some electrical appliances such as transistor sets were cheaper than from the prices in Pakistan. Smuggled foreign items were also available in the markets. Some custom officers forcibly levied illegal taxes from the pilgrims on ports in which admirals of the ships were also involved.⁴⁷ The author suggests the Saudi government to pay attentions towards training of the pilgrims, improvement in conditions of public toilets in Arafat, and government control over the high rates of taxes and fares of carts, taxis, buses and vessels etc.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp.410-28.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.429-55.

⁴⁵ *Bhali Paar di Safar, op.cit.*, p.103.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.26.

⁴⁷ *Safarnama-e-Iraq wa Shaam ba rasta-e-Nejd wa Baitul Haram, op.cit.*, p.8.

Conclusion

There are mainly three themes running through the narrative: The first is a practical 'how-to' guide for the people who indent do *hajj*. Badar Durrani sets out in rich detail the problems and pitfalls that pilgrims can expect to encounter, and offer suggestions on how to overcome them. In this sense, it is a precursor of modern-day travel guides. The second is to present a case as a devoted parliamentarian, for greater involvement of the Government of Pakistan with the help of the Saudi government in regulating and ameliorating *hajj* policy in order to lessen the hardships of the pilgrims. The author suggests that the Government of Sindh (Pakistan) should establish 'Sindh House' in Makkah in order to resolve the problems of pilgrims from Sindh at the spot. The author's fundamental assumption is that the pilgrims themselves have no capability or capacity to exercise their own agency in this regard. Finally, and most important, is a more universal theme – the intense power of the *hajj* on the spiritual lives of Muslims. It is this theme that most powerfully connects Agha Badaruddin Durrani's narrative to a long tradition of *hajj* pilgrimage accounts that stretch back to the first centuries of Islam. This is one of the reasons why pilgrimage narratives offer such a great example of both continuity and change.

Thus, using pilgrimage narratives alongside official records, historians can go a long way in re-constructing a rich picture of interconnections in Asia that were formed through religious impetus, which, in doing so, led to an efflorescence of other connections in turn. The pilgrimage account of Badar Durrani is but a small snapshot into the huge phenomenon of the *hajj*, a ritual that connected the South Asian region to the Arabian Peninsula, one which continues to do so today.