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# Saudi Arabia: A Guide to the Hajj

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## **Saudi Arabia: A Guide to the Hajj**

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This paper was prepared by [ ] Office  
of Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis (NESA). It  
was coordinated with the Directorate of Operations

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## Saudi Arabia: A Guide to the Hajj

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### Summary

*Information available  
as of 1 April 1988  
was used in this report.*

The Hajj, or major pilgrimage to Mecca, is the fifth pillar of Islam and is considered the deepest religious experience of a Muslim's life. Every year from 7 to 12 Dhu al Hijjah—the 12th month of the Islamic calendar—from 1 million to 2 million Muslims from around the world descend on Saudi Arabia to perform this act of worship.

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The post-World War II period has seen a dramatic increase in the number of Muslims making the Hajj—from just over 100,000 in 1949 to a peak of 2.5 million in 1983. In 1987, 1.6 million people from 120 countries attended the rite. The pilgrimage has become a mammoth technical and logistic undertaking for the Saudi Government. For several months each year, key ministries are preoccupied with Hajj planning. Although the pilgrimage long ago ceased to be a source of income for Riyadh, Saudi merchants look on the Hajj period much the same as US merchants view the Christmas season.

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The rites of the Hajj are intended to remind pilgrims of how Abraham, his concubine Hagar, and their son Isma'il, did their best to obey God. The three mandatory rituals are:

- The *tawaf*, or sevenfold circumambulation of the Ka'ba, which recalls the hard work of Abraham and Isma'il in building the house of God.
- The *sa'y*, or sevenfold running between the hills of As Safa and Al Marwah, which reminds pilgrims of Hagar's puzzled and hasty steps in search of water.
- The *wuquf*, or standing, on the plain of 'Arafat by the assembled multitude, which is a tribute to the brotherhood of Islam and the oneness of God.

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The primary responsibility for guiding the pilgrims through the prescribed rites, supplying food, shelter, and water, and generally providing for the pilgrims' welfare during the Hajj rests with a group of tightly knit guide organizations, which have been providing these services for centuries. The steady growth in the number of Muslims making the pilgrimage, the tremendous opportunity for corruption among the guides, and growing official concern about security problems have led to increasing government supervision of the guide organizations and other aspects of the Hajj.

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The overwhelming majority of pilgrims are interested only in obtaining the spiritual benefits of the Hajj, and they react harshly to groups that try to politicize it. Official Saudi regulations prohibit the importation of political

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literature, and there is a strict ban on political demonstrations during the pilgrimage. Nevertheless, the annual pilgrimage provides Iran, Libya, and other religious militants with an opportunity to advance their political agendas and to discredit the Saudi regime. [REDACTED]

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The Hajj is a yearly test of the Saudi regime's ability to protect the kingdom from threats to its security. Every year since 1980, Riyadh has improved both the quality and quantity of its Hajj security measures by developing a comprehensive network involving elements of the Ministry of Interior, Saudi intelligence, the National Guard, and the Ministry of Defense and Aviation. Although the Saudis have depended solely on their internal forces to maintain security at the pilgrimage, violence and the poor performance of some Saudi units in 1987 may cause Riyadh to seek external security assistance from Muslim countries in the future. [REDACTED]

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Traditionally, the Hajj has served as an entree into the kingdom for thousands of illegal immigrants, and every year the Saudi Government embarks upon a security sweep of the western provinces to arrest and deport pilgrims who overstay their visas. Most *hajjis* who try to remain in Saudi Arabia are only looking for work, but [REDACTED] a small number of those that remain—primarily Iranians—pose a serious security problem. [REDACTED]

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**Scope Note**

The Hajj, or major pilgrimage to Mecca, is a unique event that has come to assume political importance beyond its religious significance. This Reference Aid is intended as a guide to understanding the Hajj and the context in which it takes place. It examines the Hajj's historical and religious significance, the massive Saudi support structure, the human dimensions, and the extensive security measures Riyadh takes every Hajj season. A glossary of Arabic terms related to the pilgrimage is included for easy reference. An unclassified foldout at the back of this publication explains in detail the religious rites of the Hajj and the timing of various ceremonies during the pilgrimage, as well as other background information.

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This Reference Aid is based on a wide range of sources,

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Most of the statistical and geographical data on the pilgrims is drawn from official Saudi Government figures, but those figures often are inconsistent and incomplete. Until recently, detailed reporting on Hajj security forces—other than the Saudi National Guard—has been fragmentary

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## Saudi Arabia



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## Saudi Arabia: A Guide to the Hajj

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### Introduction

*And proclaim unto mankind a pilgrimage. They will come to 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, and mention the name of Allah on appointed days over the sacrificial animal He hath bestowed on them. Then eat thereof and feed therewith the poor unfortunate.*

*Koran 22:27*

Every year from 7 to 12 Dhu al Hijjah—the 12th month of the Islamic calendar—Muslims from around the world descend on Saudi Arabia to perform the Hajj, or major pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>1</sup> The Hajj is one of the five pillars of Islam and is considered the deepest religious experience of a Muslim's life. Saudi Arabia's claim to leadership of the Muslim world and a large part of the legitimacy of the ruling Al Sa'ud is based on Riyadh's ability to safeguard the holy places and ensure a peaceful and orderly Hajj. The pilgrimage has become a mammoth technical and logistic operation that poses an array of challenges for the Saudi Government. Most important, the pilgrimage has assumed political importance beyond its religious significance.

### Background

#### Historical Context

Islamic scholars believe that the principal rites of the Hajj had their origins in pagan cults before the advent of Islam and that some of them go back to ancient Semitic practices. The center of attention during the Hajj is a sanctuary—the Ka'ba—that was built about

<sup>1</sup> Saudi Arabia uses the lunar Islamic calendar, which has 354 days divided among 12 months. This causes the dates of the Hajj to advance about 11 days each year. In 1988 the Hajj rituals will take place about 22-27 July.

25 centuries before the birth of Mohammad. Through the centuries the site gradually assumed importance for the pagan cults in the area as a place of worship and of commerce. The rituals protected by these cults loosely followed the traditions of Abraham and his son, Isma'il. There is evidence that the pagan ceremonies in Mecca included periodic feasts or fairs, which over time had taken on a commercial flavor, and people traveled long distances to attend them.

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During his exile in Medina, Mohammad apparently became interested in the Mecca pilgrimage as an Islamic rite, according to Islamic scholars. In about 630 A.D., Mohammad incorporated the Ka'ba into Muslim practice as the center of worship, and Islam was historicized by tracing the origins of the Ka'ba back to Abraham. Mohammad probably was influenced by the large Jewish population in Medina, and he utilized the commonly accepted tradition that Abraham was the father of both Arabs and Jews. Under his direction, Islam purged the Hajj celebrations of their pagan influences and institutionalized the annual rituals that are performed today.

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The primary elements of the Hajj as it exists today were set down by Mohammad about 1,350 years ago. Guidance for the performance of pilgrimage rites is derived from Mohammad's own observances as well as his participation in the Hajj of 632, also known as the Farewell Hajj.<sup>2</sup> These observances were passed down in the *hadiths*, or traditions of the Prophet. Although the Hajj ceremonies did not evolve into their definitive form until about the late eighth century—and some of the practices attributed to Mohammad in the *hadiths* are apparently later modifications—Mohammad's observances at the Farewell Hajj are still considered by most Muslims to be the basis for the present-day ceremonies.

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<sup>2</sup> Mohammad died in Medina less than three months after performing the pilgrimage in 632. The Farewell Hajj is generally considered by Islamic scholars to have been the culmination of his life's work.

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### Religious Significance

The Hajj is the fifth pillar of Islam and as such is foremost an act of worship of God.<sup>3</sup> The Koran states that every able Muslim should make the pilgrimage to

<sup>3</sup> The five pillars of the faith are the recitation of the creed ("There is no God but God, and Mohammad is his Prophet"), daily prayer, almsgiving, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and performing the major pilgrimage to Mecca. [redacted]

Mecca at least once in his lifetime.<sup>4</sup> It is a profound statement of devotion to God, a rejection of sin, and a celebration of the brotherhood of Islam. The Hajj,

<sup>4</sup> According to Islamic scholars, in general, a Muslim must be of sound mind, a free citizen, and have attained the age of puberty in order to be obligated to make the Hajj. Those meeting these qualifications may still defer the Hajj if they are physically or financially unable to travel. Ultimately, the decision is left to the individual. [redacted]

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and especially the gathering on the plain of Arafat, also is viewed as an annual demonstration of universal equality and fraternity among Muslims. According to the Koran, "no ideology or international law can go further in nourishing the hearts and minds and shaping the behaviour of different people." [ ]

The rites of the Hajj remind pilgrims of how Abraham, his concubine Hagar, and their son Isma'il did their best to obey God. Obedience to God is the cornerstone of Islam, and the pilgrimage rituals are a symbolic representation of this belief:

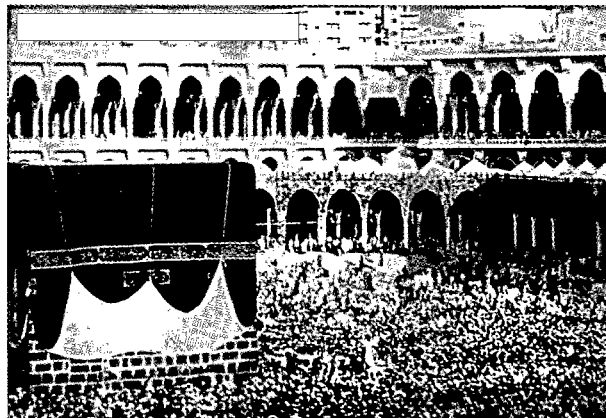
- The *tawaf*, or sevenfold circumambulation of the Ka'ba, recalls the hard work of Abraham and Isma'il in building the house of God.
- The *sa'y*, or sevenfold running between the hills of As Safa and Al Marwah, reminds pilgrims of Hagar's puzzled and hasty steps in search of water.
- The *wuquf*, or standing on the plain of 'Arafat by the assembled multitude, is a tribute to the brotherhood of Islam and the oneness of God.
- The *rami*, or symbolic stoning of the satans in Muna, recalls how both Abraham and Isma'il were tempted by the devil to disobey God.
- The *Id al-Adha*, or Feast of the Sacrifice, is a reminder of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son as a symbol of his devotion (see foldout). [ ]

#### The Pilgrims: "The Guests of God"

Most pilgrims view the Hajj as a once-in-a-lifetime experience and as the spiritual climax of their lives. After performing this rite, a pilgrim often uses the honorific title "hajji" for the rest of his life. Academic sources indicate that a disproportional number of the pilgrims are old and men generally outnumber women 2 to 1. Many make great sacrifices and invest their life savings to travel to Mecca. Some walk thousands of miles believing that, the more arduous and challenging the pilgrim's journey to Mecca, the greater the spiritual benefits. [ ]

Since World War II the number of Muslims making the Hajj has steadily increased—from just over 100,000 in 1949 to a peak of 2.5 million in 1983, according to official Saudi figures. By the early 1980s the large number of pilgrims threatened to overwhelm Saudi Arabia's transportation and infrastructure facilities. The Hajj Research Center recommended that

#### The Ka'ba

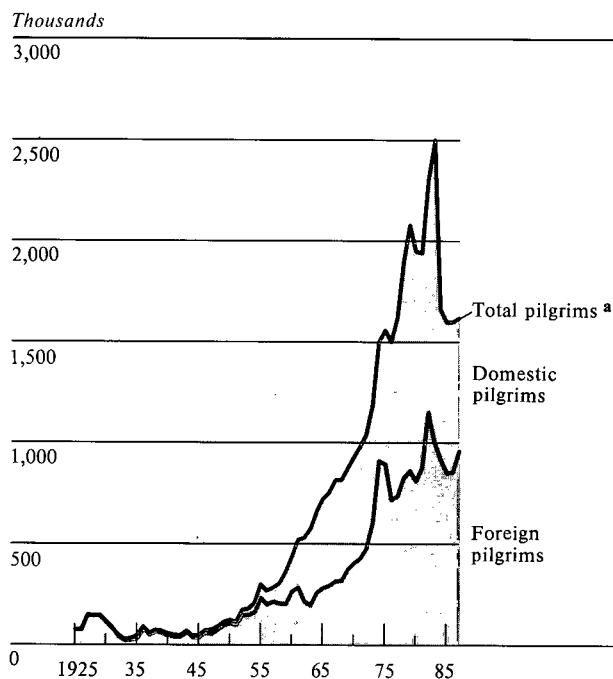


*The Ka'ba, built long before the birth of Mohammad, is a simple cubelike structure of gray stone from the hills surrounding Mecca, measuring 40 feet by 35 feet by 50 feet, that stands in the center of the courtyard of the Grand Mosque at Mecca. The only remaining relic from the original Ka'ba is the Black Stone, which measures 12 inches in diameter and is set in silver in the east corner of the Ka'ba. The door to the Ka'ba weighs more than 600 pounds, is made of gold, and cost \$4 million, according to press reports.* [ ]

*The Ka'ba is covered with a black pall, called the kiswah, decorated with a gold band that contains verses from the Koran. The kiswah was originally made in Egypt and ceremoniously brought to Mecca each year by Egyptian pilgrims, but since the Saudi conquest of the holy cities in 1925, the kiswah has been made in Mecca. Each kiswah is replaced twice annually and is reportedly made from nearly 1,500 pounds of pure silk and 250 pounds of silver and gold, and it is worth \$3 million.* [ ]

*Muslims believe that the original Ka'ba was built by Abraham and his son Isma'il as the house of God. It is the point toward which some 1 billion Muslims—nearly a fifth of mankind—are required to turn five times a day in prayer. Seeing the Ka'ba for the first time is a highly emotional experience for most pilgrims. Although there is nothing inside the building, entering the Ka'ba is considered an honor reserved for special Muslim dignitaries.* [ ]

**Figure 1**  
**Growth of the Pilgrimage, 1925-87**



<sup>a</sup> Total number of pilgrims estimated between 1932 and 1972.

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a limit of 1.5 million be imposed, with the number gradually rising to 3 million by the mid-1990s.<sup>5</sup> The US Embassy in Riyadh reports that in 1984 the Saudi Government began restricting expatriates resident in Saudi Arabia from performing the Hajj if they had done so during the last five years, and religious scholars in 1986 were asked to examine ways to restrict Saudi citizens from repeatedly performing the Hajj. These two groups traditionally account for about half the pilgrims. In addition, the Saudis have tried to develop an acceptable quota system based on

<sup>5</sup> The Hajj Research Center, located at Abdul Aziz University in Jiddah, is an important planning facility and data bank of the Saudi Government. It has a staff of about 150, maintains offices in Jiddah and Mecca, and utilizes high-technology equipment—time-lapse aerial photography for crowd control, for example—to advise the regional Hajj Committee on how to better organize the Hajj.

negotiations with the major Islamic states—Egypt, Iran, and Pakistan—to restrict their numbers. In March 1988, Riyadh announced plans to further limit the number of pilgrims attending the 1988 Hajj by imposing a quota system—1 pilgrim for every 1,000 Muslims in each country.<sup>6</sup> Last year 1.6 million people from 120 countries attended the Hajj, according to Consulate and press reports.

### Hajj Infrastructure

The pilgrimage has become over the past decade a mammoth technical and logistic undertaking for the Saudi Government. For several months every year, the Saudi bureaucracy's attention shifts westward toward the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, as Riyadh attempts to cope with the annual influx of 1-2 million pilgrims. We estimate that, since the oil boom of the 1970s, the government has spent at least \$6 billion—nearly 75 percent of this in the last 10 years alone—on development projects in the Jiddah-Mecca-Medina area, including new construction at the Hajj ritual sites east of Mecca.

The responsibility for organizing the yearly pilgrimage is in the hands of two special committees. According to the US Consulate in Jiddah, the Hajj Committee operates on a regional level and is chaired by the Governor of Mecca, Prince Majid. The Supreme Hajj Committee operates at the national level and is led by the Minister of Interior, Prince Nayif. Both organizations include representatives of the ministries most involved in pilgrimage planning—Interior, Pilgrimage Affairs and Religious Trusts, Defense and Aviation, and Health.

### Influx Control

The Ministry of Interior has the primary responsibility for processing pilgrims entering and leaving the kingdom. Upon arrival in Saudi Arabia, all pilgrims are screened to determine if their passport and visa information is accurate and if an individual presents a security risk.

<sup>6</sup> Only Iran refused to abide by these restrictions, which would limit the number of Iranian pilgrims to about 50,000 in 1988, and threatened to boycott the Hajj entirely.

**Table 1**  
**Total Number of Pilgrims, 1978-87**

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,899,420</b>	<b>2,079,689</b>	<b>1,949,634</b>	<b>1,943,180</b>	<b>2,308,555</b>	<b>2,501,706</b>	<b>1,663,000</b>	<b>1,599,740</b>	<b>1,600,475</b>	<b>1,619,324</b>
Foreign pilgrims	830,236	862,520	812,892	879,368	1,150,555	1,003,911	918,193	851,761	856,718	960,386
Domestic pilgrims										
Resident expatriates	669,005	872,412	844,466	839,513	883,000 <sup>a</sup>	1,204,833	526,218	495,804	504,550	387,482
Saudi citizens	400,179	344,757	292,276	224,299	275,000 <sup>a</sup>	292,962	218,589	252,175	239,207	271,456

<sup>a</sup> Estimated.

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**Table 2**  
**Pilgrims From Selected Countries**  
**Attending the Hajj, 1982-87**

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Algeria	40,400	32,232	30,000 <sup>a</sup>	27,890	54,203	29,675
Bangladesh	12,258	24,226	18,000 <sup>a</sup>	15,057	13,631	17,644
China	12	500 <sup>a</sup>	1,200	1,500 <sup>a</sup>	1,790	1,578
Egypt	98,408	121,453	133,071	130,872	98,606	97,216
India	28,000 <sup>a</sup>	30,000 <sup>a</sup>	30,000 <sup>a</sup>	33,691	39,344	40,854
Indonesia	57,478	54,904	40,928	41,965	59,172	57,519
Iran	89,503	103,430	150,173	152,227	152,149	157,395
Iraq	21,105	21,178	25,000 <sup>a</sup>	33,856	14,551	29,522
Israel	3,000 <sup>a</sup>	3,100	2,050	3,317	2,657	2,567
Jordan	25,429	16,409	15,000 <sup>a</sup>	14,532	15,000	21,748
Lebanon	3,000 <sup>a</sup>	3,300 <sup>a</sup>	3,500 <sup>a</sup>	3,862	4,298	4,797
Libya	17,787	38,986	25,000 <sup>a</sup>	13,441	14,509	28,864
Morocco	25,000 <sup>a</sup>	24,000 <sup>a</sup>	24,000 <sup>a</sup>	22,935	22,912	29,334
Nigeria	81,128	76,153	23,655	25,000 <sup>a</sup>	30,054	20,737
North Yemen	63,241	110,480	65,279	41,131	43,512	61,416
Pakistan	72,844	85,019	91,872	87,889	92,305	93,013
Sudan	27,712	39,024	49,072	25,331	28,724	28,784
Syria	27,890	45,432	18,729	11,143	15,803	14,972
Taiwan	1,500 <sup>a</sup>	1,600 <sup>a</sup>	1,700 <sup>a</sup>	1,909	2,267	2,500 <sup>a</sup>
Turkey	43,788	41,853	41,000 <sup>a</sup>	41,693	54,624	96,711
USSR	10 <sup>a</sup>	10 <sup>a</sup>	10 <sup>a</sup>	15 <sup>a</sup>	27	17

<sup>a</sup> Estimated.

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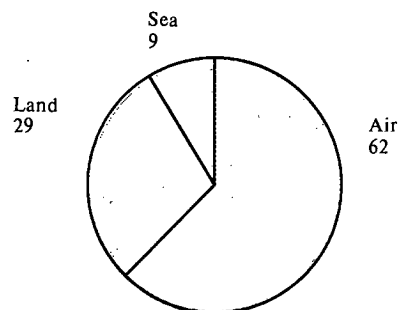
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**Figure 2**  
**Changing Modes of Transportation**

Percent

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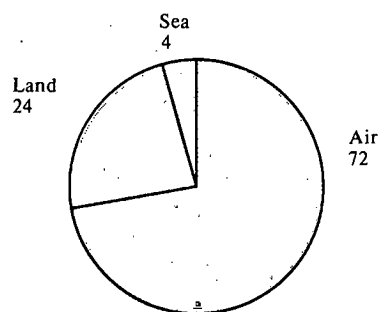


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### Transportation Network

**Air Links.** Since the mid-1970s most pilgrims from abroad—almost 75 percent in 1987—have arrived by air, according to diplomatic and press reports. Most of these—more than 500,000 in 1987—begin arriving in a massive airlift during the three weeks preceding the onset of the Hajj celebrations. During this period King Abdul Aziz International Airport in Jiddah becomes one of the busiest airports in the world, with more than 600 flights arriving and departing daily.

1987



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the Hajj terminal, located at the northern edge of the airfield, can accommodate up to 20 747-size aircraft and reportedly can handle 80,000 people a day. The airport in Medina also has been used heavily in the past, especially by Shia pilgrims, according to US Embassy reporting.

**Seaports.** Official Saudi figures indicate that only about 5 percent, or less than 40,000 in 1987, of foreign Hajj pilgrims travel to Saudi Arabia by sea. According to the US Embassy in Riyadh, most of these are from India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, although traditionally several thousand from North Africa also travel by ship. This contrasts sharply with the mid-1960s, when more than 125,000 pilgrims were transported annually to the Hajj by ships.

Those pilgrims traveling by sea usually arrive some six weeks before the start of the pilgrimage. Since the early 1980s the Saudi Government has permitted ships to dock only at Jiddah because of its better processing facilities and its ability to better monitor

the pilgrims' whereabouts. The pilgrims are lodged at the port facilities until they continue their journey to Mecca and Medina.

**Land Travel.** Official Saudi figures indicate that nearly 25 percent of foreign *hajjis*, just over 200,000 in 1987, travel overland to Saudi Arabia. A senior US official reports that pilgrims entering the kingdom by vehicle must follow specific routes to the holy sites. They are routed around major cities and are subject to frequent identification checks at police roadblocks scattered throughout the country. To limit congestion, the Saudi Government in 1981 restricted vehicles from entering Mecca with fewer than nine people.

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Despite these obstacles, large numbers of Turks, Iraqis, Jordanians, and North Yemenis continue to travel overland to the pilgrimage. [redacted]

#### Health and Safety Measures

The potential for a serious disease outbreak during the pilgrimage and the threat the Hajj presents for the spread of international epidemics has long been a concern of Saudi and international health officials.<sup>7</sup> To help alleviate these problems, Riyadh has rigorously enforced international sanitary regulations. It requires all *hajjis* to have up-to-date health certificates and has on occasion refused entry to pilgrims on medical grounds. In 1972, for example, the press reports that two plane loads of *hajjis* from Sierra Leone were forced to return home because their health documents were not in order. The Saudis also maintain quarantine facilities on islands off Jiddah and Yanbu' al Bahr ports, but these apparently have not been used since 1968, when 2,000 Filipinos were quarantined off Jiddah. [redacted]

Health and safety problems in recent years have been minor. During the 1985 Hajj, which fell in mid-August, 1,000 cases of sunstroke were reported. A few dozen isolated cases of cholera broke out among Nigerian and Turkish pilgrims in 1986, and last year a meningitis outbreak caused several dozen deaths, according to Embassy reporting. Saudi authorities have quickly extinguished the small fires that periodically threatened to ravage the tent city at Muna, and there has not been a serious fire since 1975. [redacted]

Saudi officials have taken great pains to ensure that they are well prepared to cope with medical or safety emergencies:

- Each national contingent is required to provide medical teams to accompany their pilgrims. In 1983, Iran sent a 500-member medical staff to the Hajj.

<sup>7</sup> Many medical experts believe that the spread of cholera westward from India in the 1830s can be attributed to infected Indian pilgrims traveling to the Hajj. The world cholera epidemic of 1865, in fact, originated at the Hajj, where 15,000 pilgrims died, and it was responsible for killing at least 200,000 people worldwide. [redacted]

- The Ministry of Health established 46 health centers in 1987, 13 of which were in Mecca and another 33 scattered between Mecca and the plain of 'Arafat, to treat the sick and injured.

- With the cooperation of the Saudi Red Crescent, special clinics have been set up to treat victims of sunstroke and heat exhaustion. Summer temperatures in Mecca and Medina can reach 126 degrees Fahrenheit.

- Civil defense helicopters and firefighting equipment from all parts of the kingdom are stationed throughout the Mecca area in case of a fire emergency.

#### Information Services

The Ministry of Pilgrimage and Religious Trusts in cooperation with the Ministry of Information is responsible for publishing literature in several languages that explains both religious and governmental rules for the Hajj, according to US Embassy and press reports. The Saudi press reports more than 500,000 of these pamphlets are distributed annually. In addition, the Ministry of Information in 1984 began broadcasting on Saudi radio—in Arabic, English, French, Urdu, Persian, and Indonesian—information on Hajj

rituals, traffic, and health to assist pilgrims in performing their religious duties. Saudi television in 1982 began transmitting live, via satellite, all the pilgrimage rites to 45 Islamic countries. [redacted]

### The Guide System: Guiding the Faithful

The primary responsibility for guiding the pilgrims through the prescribed rites, supplying food, shelter, and water, and generally providing for the pilgrims' welfare during the Hajj rests with four tightly knit guide organizations, which have been providing these services for centuries. The steady growth in the number of Muslims making the pilgrimage in the post-World War II period, the tremendous opportunity for corruption among the guides, and the growing concern over security have caused the government to supervise the guide system more closely. Since 1965, Riyadh has instituted several reforms and, according to Consulate reporting, in 1983 established the current system where the Ministry of Pilgrimage and Religious Trusts supervises all guides. [redacted]

### The Mutawwifin

The *mutawwifin*'s (singular—*mutawwif*), or guides', main function is to guide and serve pilgrims during their stay in Mecca. This usually includes leading them in the performance of religious rituals, arranging transportation, providing accommodations, and sometimes providing food. Although not religious scholars, the guides are expected to know all the required prayers and have detailed knowledge of the Hajj ceremonies. In 1982 there were 1,160 *mutawwifin* working in Mecca, according to academic sources, and we suspect that, because of increased government streamlining, the number in 1988 is less than 1,000. [redacted]

According to Embassy and press reporting, the *mutawwifin* are organized into officially recognized companies, each handling pilgrims from a different geographic region of the world—Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Arab countries, Iran, Europe, and the Americas. *Hajjis* are then distributed to individual *mufawwifin* on the basis of the guides' expertise and language ability. No foreign pilgrims have been allowed to

enter Mecca except as part of a group led by a *mutawwif* since 1986, and individual guides are prohibited from soliciting business within the holy city, according to Embassy reporting. A single *mutawwif* may lead up to 3,000 *hajjis*—although few handle more than 500—and will have numerous assistants, usually one helper for every 50 pilgrims. The *mutawwifin* are paid by the Ministry of Pilgrimage Affairs and Religious Trusts and not directly by the pilgrims, in large part because of the guides' infamous reputation for fleecing the faithful. It was not unusual in the late 1970s for guides to make \$100,000 during the Hajj. The US Embassy in Riyadh reports that guide fees in 1985 averaged about \$80 per pilgrim. The fees are paid directly to the government, which then redistributes a share to the guides. [redacted]

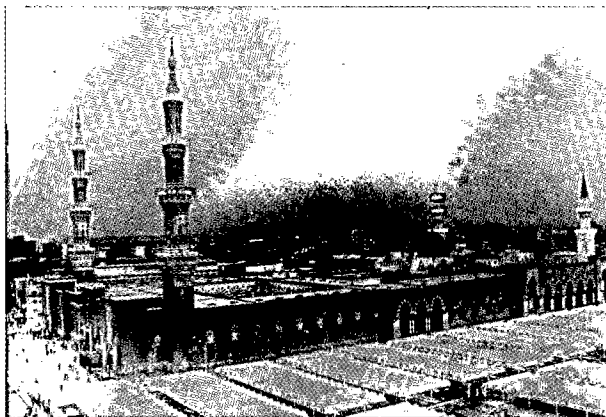
### The Wukala

Each *mutawwif* generally has *wukala* (singular—*wakil*), deputies or agents, based in Jiddah, who essentially function as expeditors. The *wukala* are responsible for meeting the *hajjis* on arrival; guiding them through customs if necessary; finding adequate housing, food, and water during their stay in Jiddah; and arranging transportation for their journey to Mecca, according to academic sources. The *wukala*, like the *mutawwifin*, are divided into groups according to the nationality of the pilgrims they serve. Saudi regulations require the *wukala* to assist the *hajjis* in processing travel documents. The *wukala* are responsible for ensuring that upon completion of the Hajj all pilgrims depart the kingdom as scheduled. [redacted]

### The Adilla

The *adilla* (singular—*dalil*) are Medina's rough equivalent of Mecca's guides, and they perform many of the same services, but on a smaller scale. The primary difference between the guides in Medina and those in Mecca is that the *adilla* are responsible only for taking care of the physical needs of the pilgrims and do not act as spiritual guides like the *mutawwifin* of Mecca. Moreover, not all pilgrims make the trip to the Prophet's Mosque and tomb in Medina because it is not officially a part of the Hajj. Thus the demand

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**The Prophet's Mosque**

*Second only to the Grand Mosque in sanctity is the Prophet's, or Great, Mosque in Medina, with its green dome and four minarets. It is reportedly the site of the first mosque ever built by Mohammad and has special reverence for Shia Muslims because it is the site of the Prophet's tomb, and many visit it either before or after the Hajj ceremonies in Mecca.<sup>a</sup> The mosque has undergone a series of enlargements since the 1950s. A \$1.3 billion expansion, which was begun in 1985, is nearing completion, according to press reports. After it is finished, the mosque will have 27 entrances, 18 escalators to carry worshippers to the roof, and underground parking for 1,300 vehicles, and will accommodate 255,000 worshippers.*

<sup>a</sup> Medina in general is important to the Shias because it is where several Islamic figures are buried, including several early caliphs, Mohammad's daughter Fatima, and some of the Prophet's early followers.

for guides in Medina is much less than in Mecca, and press reports indicate that there were only 200 *adilla* in 1980.

**The Zamazimah**

The *zamazimah* make up what is probably the oldest of the Hajj service guilds, according to academic studies. Their function is to distribute water to the

pilgrims from the holy Bi'r Zamzam well, located inside the Grand Mosque. The *zamazimah*, though independent businessmen, often develop a working relationship with a specific *mutawwif*. Although they work year-round supplying visitors with water, the *zamazimah* earn the greatest part of their incomes during the Hajj.

**Economic Impact of the Hajj**

The Hajj, which was the primary source of the regime's income before the discovery of oil, long ago ceased to be profitable for the Saudi Government.<sup>8</sup> Riyadh spends far more on the pilgrimage, directly and indirectly, than it receives in the form of fees. In addition, Saudi Arabia receives no compensation from other governments, and the financial burden of the Hajj falls solely on the kingdom. According to 1972 estimates, the government received nearly \$9 million in taxes and fees but spent a minimum of \$45 million—about \$45 per pilgrim—on Hajj services for that year alone. Revenues were further decreased in 1975, when Riyadh abolished the \$16 entry fee to lighten the pilgrim's financial burden.

The pilgrimage, however, continues to be an economic blessing for the region's business community. Saudi merchants look on the Hajj much the same as US merchants view the Christmas season, according to academic sources. Businesses stock up on items for the pilgrims, and prices skyrocket, despite the government's efforts to control prices on Hajj-related goods and services. Regulations issued in 1985 prohibit foreign Hajj committees from importing foodstuffs, with the exception of meat, into the kingdom, and all food must be purchased at local markets.

In 1985 the average *hajji* spent about \$900 in Saudi Arabia, contributing an

<sup>8</sup> In 1949, for example, the Hajj provided the Saudi Government with over 80 percent of its income.

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estimated \$1.5 billion to the local economy. A sample 1985 bill, in US dollars, of Hajj expenditures breaks down as follows:

<b>Total</b>	<b>1,480</b>
Airfare	600
Lodging	200
Food	200
Guide fees	100
Local transportation	80
Miscellaneous	300

Iranian pilgrims have been the most popular customers. They constitute the largest national group and generally are big spenders—at least twice as much per individual by our estimates. During the 1986 pilgrimage, for example, Japanese companies such as Sony, Toshiba, Sanyo, and Seiko undertook major sales campaigns using Persian-language brochures to sell their products. Total annual Iranian spending related to the Hajj over the past few years probably has approached \$400 million.

### Politicizing the Hajj

#### Religion or Politics?

The overwhelming majority of pilgrims are interested only in obtaining the spiritual benefits of the Hajj and react harshly to groups that try to politicize it.

Official Saudi regulations prohibit the importation of political literature, and there is a ban on political demonstrations during the pilgrimage. Every year since the early 1980s, Minister of Interior Nayif has warned pilgrims to avoid public political activity, stating that violators will be dealt with firmly and

troublemakers deported. Nevertheless, a fundamental difference exists between the majority of Sunnis, who see the Hajj solely as a religious occasion, and Shia and radical fundamentalist elements, who believe the pilgrimage is also a political event.

In addition, Iran, Libya, and other radical countries have tried to take advantage of the pilgrimage to send subversive elements into the kingdom to undermine the Saudi Government. The anti-Saudi propaganda of these countries focuses on the alleged non-Islamic nature of the regime and Riyadh's ties to the United States, portraying the Al Sa'ud as unworthy guardians of Islam's holiest sites.

#### Chronic Troublemakers

**Iranians.** Iranian leaders insist that political acts during the Hajj are part of the religious obligation of Iranian Shia pilgrims. The annual pilgrimage provides Tehran with an arena for spreading Ayatollah Khomeini's message of revolution and an opportunity to confront the regime in Riyadh.

Every year since the Iranian Revolution, pilgrims from Iran have conducted political demonstrations in Mecca and Medina, according to Embassy reports. Normally 30,000 to 50,000 pilgrims, nearly all Iranians, have been involved in the protests, although a 1986 demonstration in Mecca may have included as many as 100,000 people. Tehran claims that these unity rallies are directed at the enemies of the Muslim people—the United States, the USSR, and Israel. Chants of "death to America" and "death to Israel" are commonly heard.

Riyadh and Tehran apparently reached a modus vivendi about 1985, allowing the Iranians to stage at least two demonstrations annually—one in Medina and another in

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**Hajj Violence, 1980-87**

*1980. Fighting breaks out between Iranian and Iraqi pilgrims in Mecca on three occasions in early October. Dozens are injured and several houses are burned before order is restored.*

*1981. Iranian pilgrims hold demonstrations in late September and mid-October in Medina. Police arrest 60 protesters. During mid-October a series of large-scale Iranian demonstrations take place in Mecca in which six people are injured and dozens arrested.*

*1982. A large number of Iranians participate in a protest in Mecca on 24 September. More than 100 are arrested. In Medina a week later, police break up another Iranian demonstration, resulting in many injuries.*

*1983. In early September, about 10,000 Iranian pilgrims stage an anti-US, anti-Soviet, anti-Israeli demonstration in Medina. Police detain several hundred. Minor injuries reported.*

*1984. Saudi security forces in Mecca clash with 200 Libyans celebrating the anniversary of the Libyan Revolution on 1 September. Less than a week later,*

*Saudi security forces use water cannons and electric prods to disperse 12,000 to 15,000 Iranians holding an anti-US, anti-Soviet, anti-Israeli demonstration in Mecca. Fighting between Iranian and Iraqi pilgrims takes place on 14 September in Medina, leaving six dead.*

*1985. In early September, police use water cannons to break up a violent demonstration near the Grand Mosque by 250 to 300 Libyan pilgrims commemorating Libyan National Day.*

*1986. Saudi authorities report several minor clashes between Iranian demonstrators and police during protests—one involving about 80,000 people—in Mecca and Medina.*

*1987. Iranian-instigated rioting in Mecca on 31 July leaves 402 dead, including 275 Iranian pilgrims, and 649 injured. Saudi security forces equipped with riot gear take nearly five hours to end the disturbance and arrest several hundred protesters.*

Mecca—with the limitations that slogans be approved in advance and that there be no violence.<sup>9</sup> These protests have been relatively peaceful. In fact, the violence during the 1987 pilgrimage was preceded by three similar, yet peaceful, demonstrations.

In addition to holding political demonstrations, Tehran distributes large quantities of pro-Iranian propaganda to other pilgrims. The leaflets contain harsh criticism of the superpowers, Israel, and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn and are usually printed in

several languages, including Persian, Arabic, and English. The Saudis have attempted to stem the flow of such materials into the kingdom.

The Iranian regime relies heavily on its Revolutionary Guard to undertake political activities during the pilgrimage.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] We estimate that since 1981 Revolutionary Guard members and other religious zealots have made up 5 to 10 percent of Iran's annual Hajj delegation. [REDACTED]

**Libyans.** On several occasions in recent years, Libya has sought to use the Hajj to discredit the Saudi regime and to intimidate Libya's opponents. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In 1984 and 1985, Libyan pilgrims staged violent demonstrations, attempted to assassinate anti-regime opponents, and plotted to disrupt the pilgrimage:

- In both those years, Libyan pilgrims attacked police with canes and rocks during political demonstrations near the Grand Mosque in Mecca.

- [REDACTED]
- In 1984 the Saudis forced a planeload of *hajjis* to return to Libya after discovering explosives and weapons among the pilgrims [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Although there have been no major incidents since 1985 and the number of Libyan *hajjis* has declined to an average of about 20,000 annually, Riyadh remains concerned about the potential for future problems. [REDACTED]

**Militant Shia and Sunni Fundamentalists.** In addition to the Iranians and Libyans, other Muslim extremists have tried to use the Hajj to further their own political causes. Since the mid-1980s, Saudi authorities appear to have become increasingly concerned about the potential for serious problems among Shia pilgrims from Lebanon and, to a lesser extent, from Syrian Sunni fundamentalists. In general, Sunni fundamentalist elements have been some of the most vocal critics of the Al Sa'ud regime, decrying its decadent behavior and close association with the West as un-Islamic. [REDACTED]

#### Riyadh's Annual Security Nightmare

The Al Sa'ud take seriously their religious obligation to allow all Muslims—regardless of political affiliation—access to the holy cities, but they also have shown a growing willingness to take forceful action to prevent disruptions of the ceremonies. The annual presence of more than 100,000 Iranians and 15,000 Libyans at the Hajj over the past five years has placed an enormous strain on Saudi security resources, and the potential for a serious, bloody confrontation is always high, as the 1987 Mecca rioting proved.

Riyadh also is deeply concerned that radical elements will attempt to carry out terrorist acts to embarrass the Saudi Government at a time when international attention is focused on the pilgrimage. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

### Hajj Security Forces

Every year since 1980, Riyadh has improved both the quality and quantity of its Hajj security measures.<sup>10</sup> The Saudis have developed a comprehensive Hajj security network [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In the wake of the 1987 riots, 1988 security preparations are likely to be more extensive than ever. [REDACTED]

**Ministry of Interior.** The Ministry of Interior (MOI), under the direction of Prince Nayif, has the primary responsibility for maintaining security during the pilgrimage and is the kingdom's first line of defense. Riyadh's increased preoccupation with security is reflected in the marked expansion of MOI personnel assigned to Hajj duties in the past six years. An estimated 30,000 were involved in the 1987 pilgrimage, nearly twice the number in 1981. Although the MOI personnel are assigned many functions, ranging from routine traffic control to quelling civil disturbances, their major responsibility is the detection and monitoring of potential troublemakers. [REDACTED]

The MOI components involved in Hajj security preparations include:

- *Police* throughout Saudi Arabia are responsible for monitoring all border crossings and ports of entry into the kingdom. Special attention is given to Shia pilgrims traveling across Saudi Arabia's northern borders. In 1985 the countrywide system of road-blocks was augmented to prevent pilgrims from entering cities other than Mecca and Medina [REDACTED]

<sup>10</sup> The year 1980 appears to have been a turning point for Saudis. The Iranian Revolution in 1979, the seizure of the Grand Mosque by Saudi religious zealots in November 1979, and riots in the Ash Sharqiyah (Eastern Province) in 1979 and 1980 emphasized threats to the regime overlooked before and stressed the need for Riyadh to improve its security forces quickly. [REDACTED]

- [REDACTED]
- *The Special Security Force (SSF)* is a quick-reaction paramilitary force of 3,000 to 4,000 men used to counter civil unrest during the Hajj. [REDACTED]

- *The Special Emergency Force (SEF)*, created in 1981, is a specially equipped crowd-control unit of about 3,000 men. The SEF suffered many injuries during last year's clashes with Iranian pilgrims. [REDACTED]



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[redacted] antiterrorist capabilities. Many MOI security personnel appear to have received at least elementary crowd-control training. [redacted]

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**Saudi Arabian National Guard.** The Saudi Arabian National Guard (SANG) has played an expanding role in the Hajj over the past six years. In the early 1980s the SANG Hajj contingent usually numbered about 1,000 but now is estimated to exceed 6,000 annually. The primary task of these uniformed troops is to assist in crowd control—especially of large groups of Iranian and Libyan pilgrims.<sup>12</sup> Elements of the SANG also function as a reserve force to help quell serious civil unrest. In addition, some guardsmen dress in civilian clothing and support police in and around the Grand Mosque, according to US defense attache reporting. Until at least 1984, all SANG personnel were prohibited from carrying arms in Mecca, but this is no longer the case. [redacted]

Units such as the SSF and SEF are especially well instructed in riot-control tactics, according to defense attache sources. Although generally considered well-disciplined, less than 50 percent of SANG personnel receive even limited crowd-control training before their deployments, according to defense attache reporting. [redacted]

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Despite these efforts, training programs have not kept pace with the growing security commitment. [redacted]

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**Ministry of Defense and Aviation.** The Saudi military's security role during the Hajj is limited to establishing a reserve force of 1,500 to 2,000 in the At Ta'if area, as well as placing additional units on standby status. Active involvement is historically confined to elements of army units [redacted]

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**Equipment.** Violent clashes between demonstrators and Saudi security forces have led Riyadh to arm its personnel with specialized crowd- and riot-control equipment. [redacted]

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[redacted] The commander of the Western Region told US diplomats in 1986 that he can have reinforcements at an airstrip in Muna within one hour of receiving the order. No military units, however, have been used to augment security forces trying to quell civil disturbances—including the 1987 riots. [redacted]

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#### Security Preparations

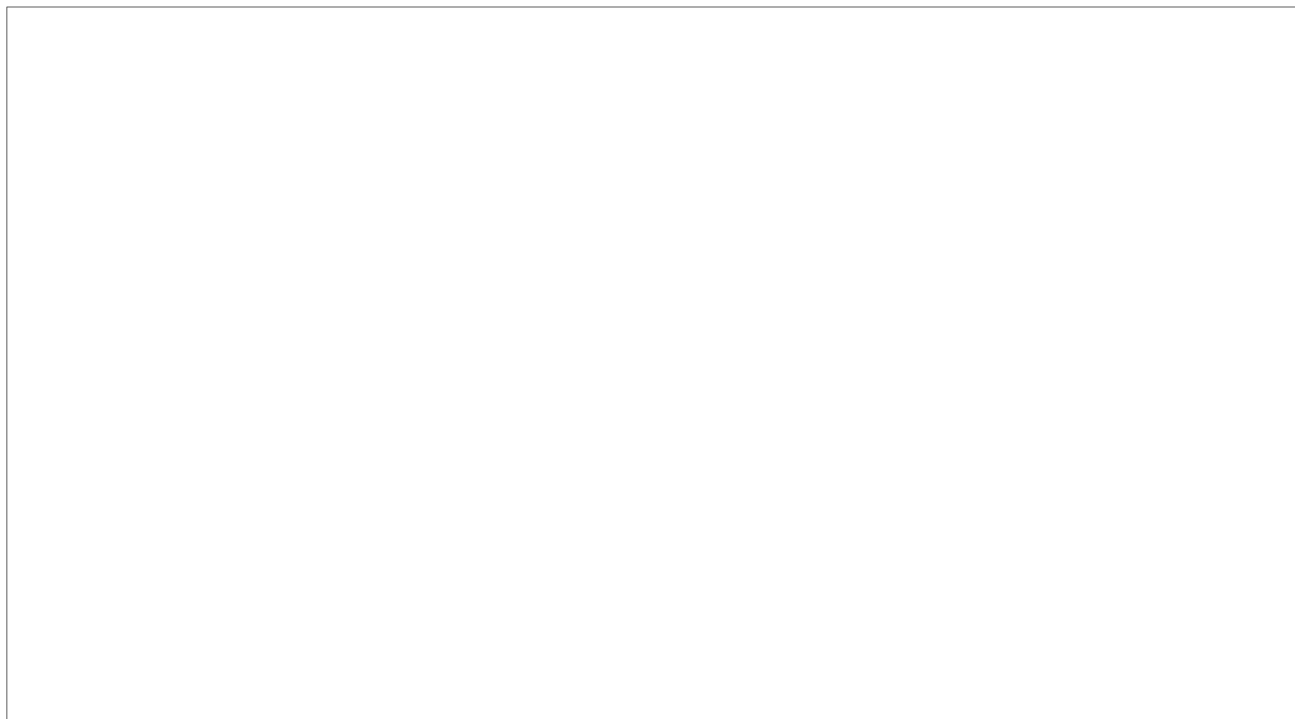
**Training.** The focus of Riyadh's training efforts in recent years has been almost exclusively on crowd control, although attempts have been made to improve [redacted]

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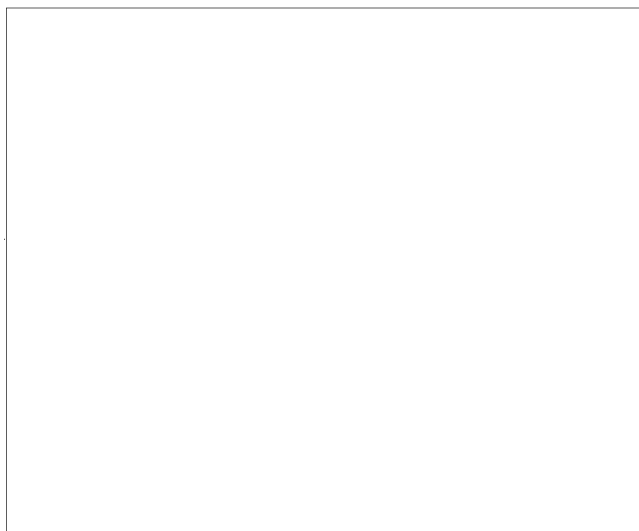
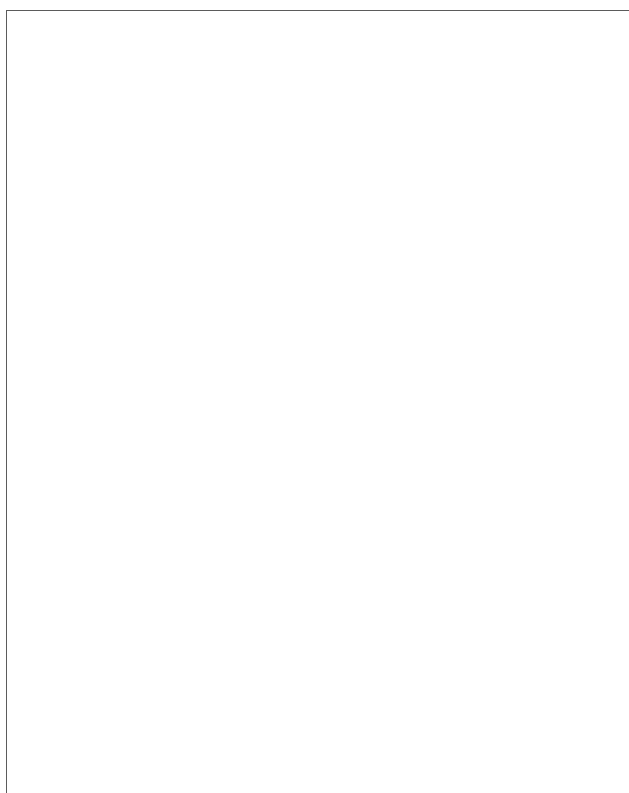
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**External Security Assistance**

The Saudis have depended solely on their internal forces to maintain security at the pilgrimage.

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*The Mecca Riot in 1987*



*Iranians rioting in Mecca, 1987.*

*The worst outbreak of Hajj violence in memory occurred on 31 July 1987, when Iranian demonstrators clashed with Saudi security forces in Mecca. Following the afternoon prayer, thousands of Iranian pilgrims—estimates range from 20,000 to 40,000—shouting political slogans*

*The situation in the Al Ma'abidah area worsened rapidly. Personnel equipped with riot gear from the Ministry of Interior's Special Security Forces (SSF) and Special Emergency Force (SEF) were dispatched to help suppress the disturbance,*

*that elements of the 2nd and 3rd Combined Arms Battalions of the Saudi National Guard—about 1,000 men—armed with rifles and bayonets were ordered to the area to assist in extricating security force personnel from the mob.*

*The rioters moved south along the Al Masjid al Haram road, which leads to the Grand Mosque. A security cordon of SEF personnel armed with riot batons and supported by elements of the 4th Combined Arms Battalion of the National Guard was established less than 1.6 kilometers (a mile) north of the mosque, according to defense attache sources.*

*Order was restored by nightfall.*

*Official Saudi figures state that 402 people, including 275 Iranians, were killed and 649 injured in the rioting. Local observers believe—correctly in our view—that the actual casualties suffered by the Iranians were considerably higher. Tehran later claimed more than 400 Iranian pilgrims died, according to press reports. At least 85 Saudi security personnel—mostly from the Ministry of Interior—died, and the National Guard reportedly suffered almost 250 casualties,*

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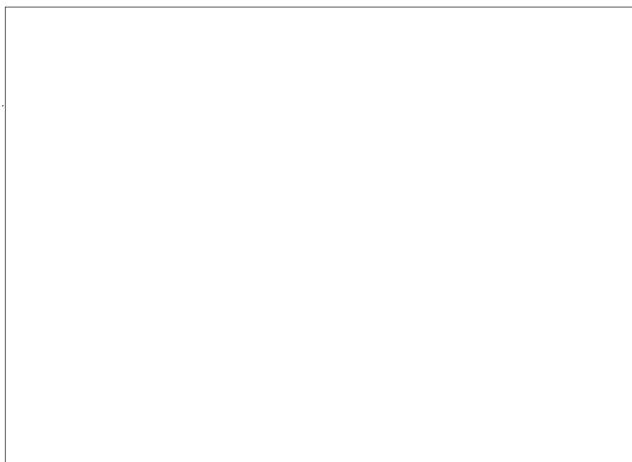
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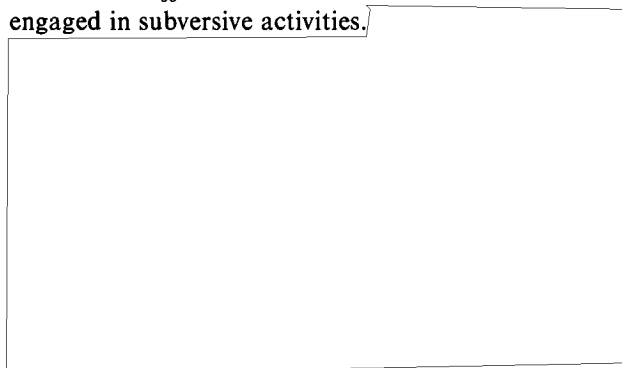
Although the vast majority of *hajjis* who try to remain in Saudi Arabia are only looking for work, [redacted] a small number of pilgrims—primarily Iranians—do pose a serious security problem. After the 1983 pilgrimage, the US Consulate in Dhahran reported that Aramco security personnel in the Eastern Province were warned that 30 Iranian *hajjis* had traveled to the area and were engaged in subversive activities.

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**Post-Hajj Security Roundup**

The US Embassy reports that traditionally the Hajj has served as an entree into the kingdom for thousands of illegal immigrants, and each year the Saudi Government embarks on a security sweep of the western provinces in an effort to arrest and deport pilgrims who overstay their visas.

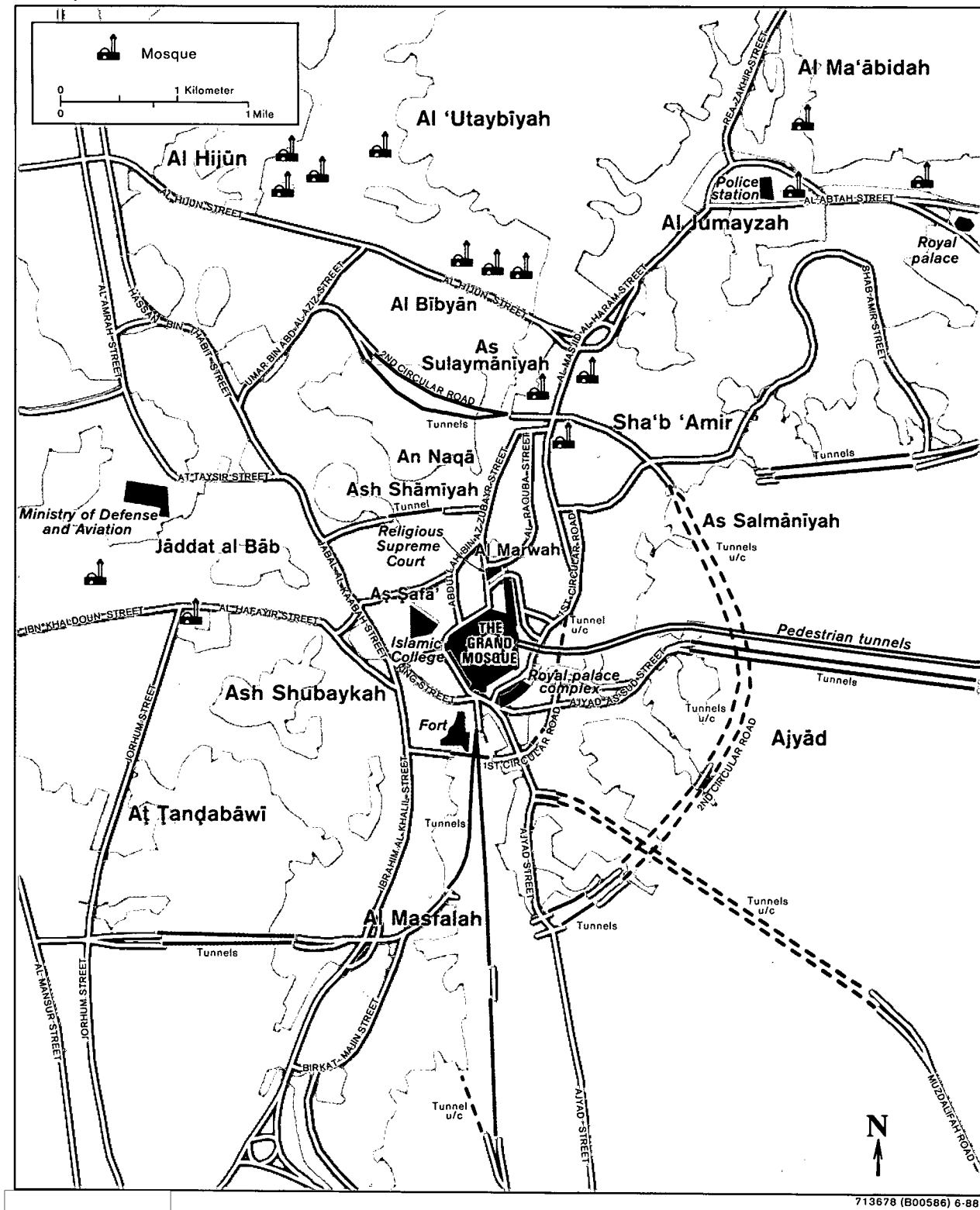


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Figure 6  
Mecca, Saudi Arabia



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## Glossary

### Arafat

The arid gravel plain about 24 kilometers (15 miles) east of the Grand Mosque in Mecca where one must be standing on the afternoon of 9 Dhu al-Hijjah, Standing Day, for the Hajj to be valid.

### Dalil

(Pl. adilla) A member of guild of guides in Medina who look after visitors to the city, particularly during the Hajj season.

### Dhu al-Hijjah

The 12th month of the Muslim lunar calendar during which the Hajj occurs.

### Ifadah

The mass exodus, or rushing, from 'Arafat to Al Muzdalifah after sunset on Standing Day.

### Hajj

The major pilgrimage to Mecca. It may be performed alone or together with the Umrah, the minor pilgrimage.

### Hajji

One who makes the Hajj.

### Id al-Adha

The Feast of the Sacrifice, observed on the 10, 11, and 12 Dhu al-Hijjah, usually by butchering an unblemished animal. This feast is celebrated not just at the Hajj but throughout the Islamic world.

### Ihram

The ritual purification performed before entering Mecca to perform the Hajj or the Umrah. It also refers to the special garments worn by one in the state of ihram—two seamless, usually white pieces of toweling or sheeting. The upper part is called the *izar* and the lower part the *rida*.

### Jamrah

The term used to designate three pillars in Muna at which stones are thrown during the Hajj ceremonies. Representing satans, they are the Jamrat al-Aqabah, al-Jamrah al-Wusta, and al-Jamrah al-Ula.

### Ka'ba

The stone structure in the center of the Grand Mosque in Mecca toward which all Muslims face while praying. It is covered by a black brocade and gold cloth called the *kiswah*.

### Kiswah

The black brocade and gold cloth covering the Ka'ba. Made in a factory in Mecca, it is replaced twice each year.

### Muna

A small town located between Mecca and 'Arafat in which the three jamrahs are found; also the site for the observance of the Id al-Adha for those making the Hajj.

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**Mutawwif**

(Pl. mutawwifin) A Hajj guide from Mecca who looks after the secular as well as spiritual needs of the pilgrims under his charge. An alternative term for mutawwif is shaykh al-Hajj.

**Al Muzdalifah**

A small town located between Muna and 'Arafat, used as a camping area during the Hajj.

**Rami**

The act of throwing seven stones at the jamrah—the pillars in Muna that symbolize satans.

**Sa'y**

One of the rites of the Hajj and Umrah, consisting of seven one-way trips between the hills of As Safa and Al Marwah.

**Talbiyah**

A special ritual prayer repeated throughout the Hajj.

**Tawaf**

The sevenfold circumambulation of the Ka'ba. There are generally three tawafs during the Hajj—the tawaf al-qudum (arrival tawaf), the tawaf al-ifadah (performed on 10 Dhu al-Hijjah), and the tawaf al-wada' (departure tawaf).

**Umrah**

The lesser or minor pilgrimage, which can be performed jointly with the Hajj or separately at any other time during the year. It consists of at least ihram, tawaf, and sa'y.

**Wakil**

(Pl. wukala) One who looks after the needs of *hajjis* from their arrival in Saudi Arabia until the time of their departure from the country after the Hajj. Wukala work in conjunction with a mutawwif.

**Wuquf**

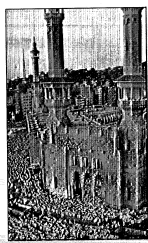
The "standing" vigil at 'Arafat, which begins at noon and ends after sunset on 9 Dhu al-Hijjah.

**Zamzami**

One who provides water from the holy Bi'r Zamzam well.

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## The Rites of the Hajj



The Hajj rites encompass all the ceremonies—both obligatory and discretionary—held between 7 and 12 Dhu al-Hijjah, the last month of the Islamic calendar. There are three ways of performing the Hajj, and the pilgrim chooses one by making a private declaration of intention. They are:

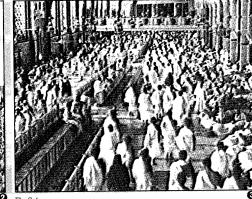
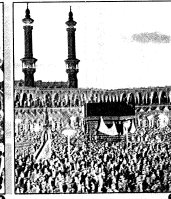
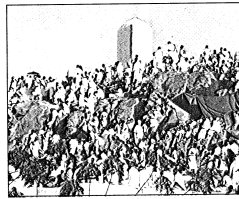
- **Hajj Tawaf**, which calls for performing the Hajj rituals alone. A pilgrim who takes this option participates only in the rituals from 8 to 10 Dhu al-Hijjah.
- **Hajj Tamattu'**, which combines the Umrah—or minor pilgrimage—and Hajj rituals in two separate parts. A pilgrim first performs the Umrah at any time and then on 8 Dhu al-Hijjah returns to Mecca to participate in the Hajj rituals.
- **Hajj Qiran**, which combines the Umrah and Hajj rituals at the same time. The pilgrim performs the Umrah first and then continues with the Hajj rites.

### The Pillars of the Hajj

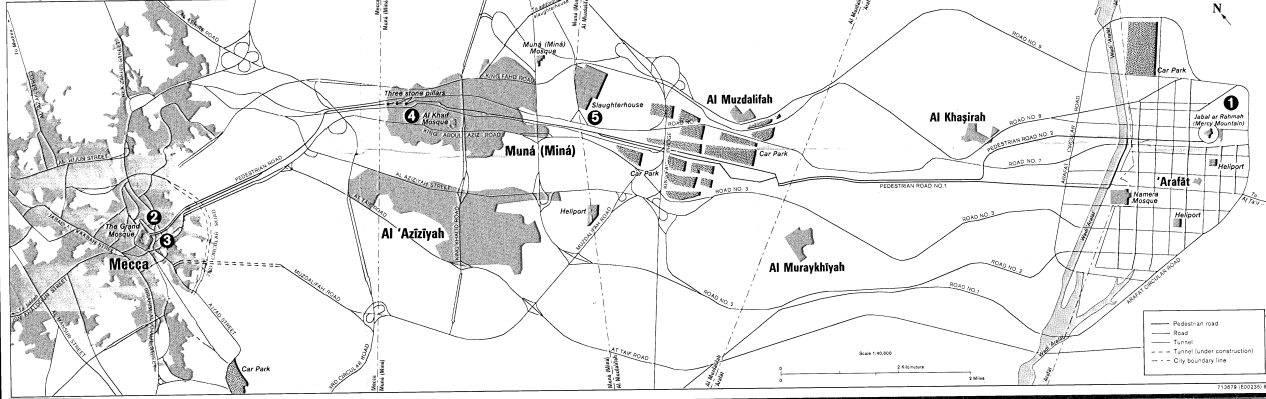
It took between one and two centuries after Muhammad's death for the Hajj rites to evolve into a definitive form, according to Islamic scholars. Minor variations remain in each of the four orthodox schools of Islamic jurisprudence, but these mainly concern whether a specific observance is obligatory or merely recommended and the precise manner in which it is to be done. All schools agree that four rites—the Pillars of the Hajj—are mandatory.<sup>4</sup>

- **Ihram**. This is the state of ritual purification. It must be assumed before entering Mecca to perform the Hajj or the Umrah. There are special stations, or miqat, outside the city designated for performing the rites of entering into the state of ihram and donning the special white seamless garments. While in this state a pilgrim must abstain from sexual activity, bathing, the spilling of blood, and other prescribed activities.

- **Waqf**. This is the "standing" vigil on the plain of 'Arafat that begins at noon and ends after sunset on 9 Dhu al-Hijjah. It is the grand climax of the entire Hajj, and each pilgrim must be in attendance or the whole Hajj is forfeited. Emotional sermons are delivered, and pilgrims are often driven to a religious frenzy.
- **Tawaf**. This involves the sevenfold counterclockwise circumambulation of the Ka'ba, located in the center of the Grand Mosque. During each circuit special prayers are said, and it is traditional—though not always physically possible—to touch the sacred Black Stone after each circuit.
- **Sa'y**. This consists of making seven one-way trips between the small hills of As-Safa and Al-Marwah, located in the enclosed area of the Grand Mosque complex. The sa'y begins at As-Safa, and the pilgrim repeats a small prayer after each trip, finally completing the sa'y at Al-Marwah.



### The Pilgrims' Route From Mecca to 'Arafat



### Other Rituals

Several other important rituals are associated only with the Hajj, and nearly all pilgrims participate in these customary rites:

- After the noon prayer on 7 Dhu al-Hijjah, there is a sermon in the Grand Mosque in preparation for the coming ceremonies. The following day the Ka'ba is washed and cleaned, and the *khushu'*—the black and gold covering—is briefly replaced by a white covering, some hat analogous to the *ihram* garments.
- Sunset on Standing Day, 9 Dhu al-Hijjah, is followed by the "rushing" of pilgrims to Al-Mudalifah (a small town about 6 kilometers (4 miles) from 'Arafat).
- In Mecca, pilgrims throw 21 stones at three pillars, which represent satans and is considered a deactivation process.
- The 14 al-Atha, or Feast of the Sacrifice, involves the slaughtering of an unblemished animal, usually a sheep or goat.<sup>5</sup>
- At the completion of the Hajj, the pilgrim receives a ritual haircut and is free of all *ihram* restrictions. Although not necessary, many men shave their heads.



### Timing of Hajj Rituals<sup>6</sup>

Date	Day 1 7th Dhu al-Hijjah	Day 2 8th Dhu al-Hijjah	Day 3 9th Dhu al-Hijjah	Day 4 10th Dhu al-Hijjah	Day 5 11th Dhu al-Hijjah	Day 6 12th Dhu al-Hijjah
Location	Mecca	Mecca	'Arafat	Al-Mudalifah	Mecca	Mecca
Activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Assume ihram</li> <li>Listen to sermons</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Washing of the Ka'ba</li> <li>Feast of arrival</li> <li>Perform sa'y</li> <li>Remain overnight (in Mecca)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Day of Standing</li> <li>Combined prayers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rushing to Al-Mudalifah</li> <li>Collect stones</li> <li>Stoning of the Jamarat al-Akaba</li> <li>Sacrifice animal</li> <li>Get haircut</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Perform tawaf</li> <li>Perform sa'y (optional)</li> <li>Stoning of Jamarat al-Ula</li> <li>Stoning of Jamarat al-Wusta</li> <li>Stoning of Jamarat al-Akaba</li> <li>Sacrifice animal, if not already done so</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stoning of Jamarat al-Ula</li> <li>Stoning of Jamarat al-Wusta</li> <li>Stoning of Jamarat al-Akaba</li> <li>Sacrifice animal, if not already done so</li> <li>Perform tawaf</li> </ul>

### The Islamic Calendar

The Islamic calendar is based on the lunar year, which has 354 days divided among 12 months. This causes the date of the Hajj to advance about 11 days each year.

Approximate starting dates:
1988 22 July
1989 11 July
1990 30 June
1991 19 June
1992 8 June
1993 29 May
1994 17 May
1995 5 May

<sup>4</sup> For the Umrah, which can be performed at any time during the year, there are no mandatory rituals. The Hajj, however, is mandatory. The more than 70,000 sheep and goats have been slaughtered annually. About two-thirds of these are quick frozen by the Saudi Government and distributed to poor Muslims in Africa and Asia.

<sup>5</sup> With the huge numbers of pilgrims making the Hajj each year, administrative rather than theological considerations play a major role in determining how and when the rites are performed.

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