Franco's Hajj: Moroccan Pilgrims, Spanish Fascism, and the Unexpected Journeys of Modern Arabic Literature

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ONE EVENING IN DECEMBER 1936, THE DISTINGUISHED MOROCcan historian and legal scholar Ahmad al-Rahuni (1878–1953) was listening to the radio while sitting at home in his garden in Tetouan, the capital of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco (1912–56).[1] At the time, al-Rahuni was at the peak of his career as a writer and public figure. Over the previous fifteen years, he had penned a diverse body of work, including a serialized newspaper account of a journey to Spain in 1930, a commentary on Arabic grammar, and a ten-volume history of his native city, *The Foundational Narrators of Tetouan's History* (عمدة الراوين في تاريخ تطاوين; *'Umdat al-rawin fi tarikh Tittawin*), today hailed as a classic of modern Moroccan historiography.[2] Meanwhile, he had assumed important leadership positions reserved for Moroccan Muslims under the Spanish Protectorate, such as chief judge in the Islamic court system from 1923 to 1934. On that evening in December 1936, al-Rahuni was listening to Radio Tetouan, when he was surprised to hear the following announcement in Arabic:

> ان فخامة الخنراليسيمو فرنكو قد هيأ باخرة جميلة لركوب الحجاج المغاربة من سبتة الى جدة ، وان الحجاج المذكورين سيكونون تحت رئاسة العلامة سيدي احمد الرهوني.
> (Al-Rahuni, *al-Rihla* 5)
>
> His Excellency Generalísimo Franco has prepared a beautiful steamship to carry the Moroccan hajj pilgrims from Ceuta to Jidda. And the aforementioned pilgrims will be under the leadership of the most erudite Sidi Ahmad al-Rahuni.[3]

The Spanish Civil War (1936–39) was less than six months old, and Francisco Franco, the leader of the military uprising against the democratically elected Spanish Republic, had taken it upon himself

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to organize the Moroccan hajj, the annual pilgrimage of Muslims to Mecca. After hearing the radio announcement, al-Rahuni went on to lead the hajj sponsored by Franco and would write about it in his *Journey to Mecca* (الرحلة المكية; *al-Rihla al-Makkiyya*).

One of the most enduring ideological legacies of Franco's fascist dictatorship (1939–75) is what scholars now call National Catholicism (*nacionalcatolicismo*), a doctrine that espouses the political and spiritual alignment of the Spanish state with the Spanish Church.[4] Given his reputation as an advocate for a militantly nationalist brand of Catholicism, it is surprising to find Franco sponsoring the hajj, one of the five pillars of Islam.[5] Yet Franco's hajj was part of a vast propaganda effort to represent Franco and his government as allies of Islam, not only in Morocco but also throughout the Arab world. This effort was not limited to Franco's sponsorship of the hajj—sponsorship that continued intermittently through the 1940s and 1950s (Solà Gussinyer; Mateo Dieste 259–62). Franco also created several institutions that were meant to bolster cultural exchange between Spain and the Arab world and to foment the academic study of al-Andalus (medieval Muslim Iberia). Among these institutions was the General Franco Institute for Hispano-Arab Research, founded in Tetouan in 1938 (Valderrama Martínez 814–32). In 1941 the General Franco Institute published *Journey to Mecca*. The text is an eloquent testament to Franco's efforts to cast himself as a friend of the Muslim world and as a defender of the legacy of al-Andalus. The book joined a catalog of publications that emphasized the cultural, territorial, and spiritual continuity between Spain and Morocco, from the medieval period to the twentieth century.

The General Franco Institute's publications codified the idea of "Hispano-Arab culture," which provided the cultural justification for Spanish colonialism in Morocco under Franco. Under the banner of Hispano-Arab culture, Francoist intellectuals promoted a narrative of cultural continuity, casting modern Morocco as the legitimate heir to the culture of al-Andalus. According to this narrative, the Hispano-Arab culture of al-Andalus did not disappear in 1492, with the Christian Reconquest of Granada; rather, it migrated to Morocco, where it remained intact through the twentieth century.[6]

Along with other Spanish cultural institutions in Tetouan, the General Franco Institute sparked a revival of various Moroccan cultural practices that claimed descent from al-Andalus—including Andalusi music and Moroccan ceramic tilework.[7] Today, these Andalusi arts have become the pillars of Moroccan national culture, and assertions of Morocco's Andalusi identity permeate Moroccan literature, political discourse, and tourism—particularly in Tetouan. The city's cultural scene and tourism industry now revolve around the memory of al-Andalus.[8] Nevertheless, the "Andalusification" of Moroccan culture extends far beyond Tetouan, implicating Fez, Rabat, and many other historic Moroccan cities, whose elite families trace their lineage back to al-Andalus (González Alcantud, "Los andalusíes"; Shannon 90–93). Morocco's Andalusi identity has become such an institutionalized element of Moroccan culture that it is enshrined in the most recent Moroccan constitution (2011), whose preamble cites the influence of al-Andalus on Morocco's "identité nationale" ("national identity"; La Constitution 2).

Thus, in one of the ironies of colonial history, the Spanish insistence on Morocco's Andalusi heritage, which had served as a justification for Spanish colonialism, sowed the seeds of the Moroccan national culture that would supplant colonial rule. Al-Rahuni's *Journey to Mecca* is a key text for understanding the history of Spanish colonialism in Morocco—and, in particular, the process by which Spanish colonial discourse metamorphosed into Moroccan nationalist discourse.

Written by a leading Moroccan scholar and funded by the Spanish government, al-Rahuni's text has, nonetheless, been almost entirely ignored by Spanish and Moroccan scholars alike.[9] *Journey to Mecca* deserves critical attention for many reasons. It illuminates the surprising collaboration between Spanish fascism and the Moroccan intellectual elite and gives insight into how an educated Moroccan viewed Spanish colonialism and, especially, the Francoist celebration of al-Andalus. It also places Hispano-Moroccan relations in a dense, transnational network that includes other colonial powers and other Muslim cultures. Any of these characteristics would justify a careful study of al-Rahuni's text. The goal of this article is not only, however, to recover an understudied source about a perplexing chapter in Hispano-Moroccan relations but also to illuminate the scholarly practices that have made it possible to ignore or forget al-Rahuni and the journey of the Moroccan pilgrims to Mecca in 1937.

Journey to Mecca has suffered from almost complete scholarly oblivion because it undermines the master narratives that have structured our understanding of modern Arabic literature and of European colonialism in the Arab-Islamic world. Scholars in both areas have largely taken for granted the binary distinction between Islam and the West and between colonizer and colonized.[10] In what follows, I emphasize the ideological ambivalence and generic hybridity of al-Rahuni's text, which moves between pan-Islamism and colonial apology, between colonizers and colonized, and between traditional religious learning, ethnographic observation, and various modes of Arabic travel writing.

Al-Rahuni's text complicates our understanding of colonial relations and discourses while exposing the conceptual assumptions that have underpinned the study of modern Arabic literature. In the conclusion, I will address the text's vexed place in the field of modern Arabic literature, where scholars have tended to focus on Egypt, the novel, and secular epistemologies. *Journey to Mecca* speaks to the persistence of Arabic prose genres that do not fit easily under a Eurocentric notion of literature: not only hajj narratives but also biographical dictionaries, Islamic jurisprudence, and other genres that have been dismissed as traditional.[11] In general, these genres have been ignored altogether by scholars, or they have become the exclusive province of historians and scholars of religion, who mine them for data about historical events or social and religious practices. Instead of treating them as vestiges of a dying literary order or as stepping-stones on the path to full-fledged modernity, I propose that we allow texts like al-Rahuni's *Journey* to point us toward other epistemic and discursive modes that coincide with and even exert force over literary forms that we have normalized as modern.

Mecca in al-Andalus: Al-Rahuni in between Ideologies and Genres

What would Francoism sound like if it spoke Arabic and converted to Islam? *Journey to Mecca* provides us with a tantalizing window into this hypothetical question. Yet the text eludes easy classifications of ideology, genre, and audience. Its Arabic title, *al-Rihla al-Makkiyya*, signals a clear indebtedness to the Arabic *riḥla* (رحلة; "travelogue") tradition.[12] Like al-Rahuni, the two archetypal authors of the *riḥla* genre, Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217) and Ibn Battuta (d. 1368), took the pilgrimage to Mecca as the impetus for their travel narratives. Like Ibn Battuta, the medieval Arab traveler par excellence, al-Rahuni embarked on a pilgrimage to Mecca that took him far beyond Mecca. In fact, the title of al-Rahuni's text is misleading: what al-Rahuni writes is not merely a "journey to Mecca" but rather a journey to Spain, Libya, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Italy. Mecca takes center stage but is bookended by two separate visits to Spain, which compete with the hajj for pride of place

in al-Rahuni's narrative. Al-Rahuni's text should thus be read alongside the extensive corpus of hajj narratives and also the important tradition of Arabic travel writing about Europe.[13] *Journey to Mecca* evokes both travel-writing traditions but also displaces them because it subverts binary distinctions between Europe and the Muslim world and between secular travel to Europe and religious pilgrimage to Mecca.

Beyond the thorny questions of ideology and genre, al-Rahuni's text also raises the question of audience: For what audience or audiences did al-Rahuni write? How does the text's meaning shift and adapt to the expectations of different readerships? The text espouses two key tropes of Francoist ideology with regard to Morocco and the Muslim world: first, that Franco is helping to revive al-Andalus in Spain and Morocco and, second, that he is defending monotheistic religion against the onslaught of communism. Nevertheless, al-Rahuni parrots Francoist discourse in a language and in an epistemological framework that would have been undecipherable to a Spanish audience. He writes in Arabic at a time when few Spaniards, including those working in Morocco, could read the language (Zarrouk 15–16, 234–36; Villanova 230–31). Just as significantly, he peppers his text with Qur'anic language and Prophetic traditions (*aḥādīth*). The text's rhetorical power thus resides in its translation of Francoist discourse into Arabic and also into an Islamic idiom. This translational movement in and out of languages and cultural codes demands what we might call a "multidirectional" hermeneutics, one that treats contradiction as productive and allows multiple meanings to run through the text without resolving them into one totalizing reading.[14] In my translations of al-Rahuni's text, I try to trace the Moroccan writer's movements between Francoist and Qur'anic discourses without reducing those movements to one monolithic ideological position.

It is difficult to overstate the sheer political strangeness of this moment of Hispano-Moroccan collaboration, which required both Spaniards and Moroccans to perform discursive acrobatics. Al-Rahuni's pilgrimage to Mecca coincided with the massive Spanish campaign to recruit eighty thousand Moroccan soldiers to fight in Franco's rebel army in the civil war.[15] To ensure Moroccan support for the rebel cause, Franco granted unprecedented freedoms to the Moroccan nationalist movement, including the creation of an Arabic-language nationalist press and the legalization of Moroccan nationalist parties (Madariaga 283–99; Benjelloun 113–78). The rebels also wooed the caliph Mulay al-Hasan (r. 1925–56), the highest Moroccan authority based in the Spanish Protectorate zone, with vague promises of Moroccan independence in exchange for his support in the civil war (Balfour 273–74). Despite their reliance on Muslim Moroccan soldiers, the rebels frequently referred to the Spanish Civil War as a "Crusade," a term that evokes the historical conflict between Christians and Muslims. To square this rhetorical circle, Franco audaciously transformed the meaning of the term. The Francoist Crusade was an alliance of the monotheistic religions against "the godless communists," a Francoist trope for describing the Republicans that also appears in al-Rahuni's hajj narrative.[16]

In a similar move of symbolic inversion, al-Rahuni justified his support for Franco and his cause by casting them as part and parcel of the Muslim world. *Journey to Mecca* opens with the scene in which al-Rahuni hears the announcement, on Radio Tetouan, of his appointment as the leader of the Moroccan delegation of pilgrims. The narrative then describes a visit that he received on the following day from Juan Beigbeder, the high commissioner of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco and the mastermind behind the campaign to recruit Moroccan soldiers for Franco's army.[17] Al-Rahuni hails Beigbeder as

حبيب المسلمين وصديقهم. (5–6)

the Muslims' beloved and friend.

The epithet anticipates the language that al-Rahuni will later use to describe Franco, whom he calls

حبيب المسلمين في جميع الاقطار. (21)

the beloved of Muslims in all places.

Al-Rahuni's obsequiousness toward Franco is unsettling, especially when one considers that Franco launched his career in the Rif War (1921–27), in which the Spanish army used brutal tactics, including chemical warfare, to suppress Moroccan resistance against colonialism (Balfour).

Despite Franco's role in Spain's violent colonial occupation of Morocco and his famous Catholicism, al-Rahuni's text makes Franco appear Muslim. It also figures Spain as a second Mecca. Before al-Rahuni went on the hajj, Franco and Beigbeder invited him to visit Spain to greet wounded Moroccan soldiers. Al-Rahuni writes:

ثم اعلمني اني رشحت اولاً قبل السفر للحج للطواف على مستشفيات اسبانيا وزيارة مجاريح المغاربة الذين بها وتسليتهم وشكرهم نيابة عن سيدنا الخليفة وفخامة الرئيس الخنزاليسيمو فركنو. (*Al-Rihla* 6)

Then, [Beigbeder] informed me that I was nominated first, before the trip to the hajj, to make the rounds of the Spanish hospitals and to visit the wounded Moroccans in them, to console them, and to thank them on behalf of our lord the caliph and His Excellency the leader Generalísimo Franco.

The verbal noun that al-Rahuni uses to describe his impending visit to Spain is *al-ṭawāf* (الطواف), which I have translated as "to make the rounds of" but is also the technical term to describe the ritual circumambulation of the Kaaba, the most famous sanctuary of Islam, during the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca. In fact, circumambulating the Kaaba is one of the central metaphors of al-Rahuni's narrative, where it serves to collapse the distance between Spain and Mecca. Throughout the text, al-Rahuni strategically deploys hajj terminology, such as *al-ṭawāf*, to cast Spain—and, in particular, the Islamic heritage sites of al-Andalus—as a metaphoric Kaaba to which Muslims should make pilgrimage.

In al-Rahuni's description of Spain, the language of pilgrimage and the language of paradise often converge, making Spain, by turns, the Kaaba, the heavenly paradise, and the site of bygone cultural splendor. Al-Rahuni stayed in Spain from 10 to 21 January 1937. While there, his home base was Seville, a rebel stronghold during the civil war and a vibrant cultural center in eleventh- and twelfth-century al-Andalus. The Spanish authorities organized an itinerary for al-Rahuni that emphasized, in equal measures, southern Spain's Muslim past and its Francoist present. On his first full day in Seville, al-Rahuni was taken to a hospital where wounded Moroccan soldiers were receiving treatment:

وفي يوم الاثنين شرعنا في الطواف على المستشفيات ... فرأينا من حسن تنظيمها ونقاوة فرشها ونفع ادويتها ولطافة اطبائها ونضارة ابنيتها ورياضها ولذة مطاعمها الأمر المدهش ، لبن ، حليب وبيض ولحم طري ودجاج كذلك ، والكل يذبحه جزار مسلم والطباخ مسلم ، والممرضات كأنهن البيض المكنون يطفن عليهم باكواب واباريق وكاس من معين. (30)

On Monday, we began making the rounds of the hospitals. . . . We saw the excellence of their order, the fineness of their beds, the usefulness of their medicines, the kindness of their doctors, the splendor of their buildings and gardens, the delight of their restaurants (a wondrous thing!): yogurt, milk, eggs, fresh meat and also chicken, all slaughtered by a Muslim butcher. And the cook is Muslim. The nurses, *like protected eggs*, go round them *with glasses, flagons, and cups of a pure drink*. (my italics)

To emphasize the luxury of the Spanish hospitals, al-Rahuni quotes, without attribution,

two Qur'anic descriptions of the heavenly paradise, descriptions that would be familiar to many Muslim readers. In my translation of the passage, I have italicized the Qur'anic citations to signal how al-Rahuni folds them into his description of the hospitals. The Moroccan traveler compares the Spanish nurses to the women of paradise, whose beauty is likened, in the Qur'an, to that of precious ostrich eggs being kept "protected" from dust and damage.[18] To intensify the comparison between the Spanish hospital and the heavenly afterlife, al-Rahuni echoes another Qur'anic image of the garden of paradise, where "يَطُوفُ عَلَيْهِمْ وِلْدَٰنٌ مُّخَلَّدُونَ / بِأَكْوَابٍ وَأَبَارِيقَ وَكَأْسٍ مِّن مَّعِينٍ" ("everlasting youths will go round among them with glasses, flagons, and cups of a pure drink"; Surat al-Waqiʿa 17–18; Abdel Haleem 536). Although al-Rahuni evokes the comforts of the afterlife, his description of the hospital focuses on material matters, emphasizing its cleanliness and the Spanish attention to providing halal food for the Muslim patients. Franco's Spain, remembered today as a bastion of intransigent Catholicism, is depicted here as a suitable place for the earthly and spiritual needs of Muslims.

Al-Rahuni's Spanish hosts took him directly from the hospital to Seville's two most famous Andalusi monuments. First, they went to the Cathedral of Seville, whose bell tower, La Giralda, was originally the minaret of a mosque built by the Moroccan Almohad dynasty in the twelfth century. La Giralda was often deployed in Francoist culture as a sign of Hispano-Moroccan unity, and it continues to serve today as a symbol of cultural exchange between Spain and Morocco.[19] The building was consecrated as a church in 1248, after the Christian conquest of Seville, but al-Rahuni emphasizes its Muslim identity:

> ثم ذهبنا للمسجد المنصوري اليعقوبي الموحدي صاحب المأذنة التي هي احدا المآذن الثلاثة في العالم: الكتبية في مراكش وحسان في الرباط والمنصورية في أشبيلية.
> (*Al-Rihla* 30)
>
> Then, we went to the Mosque of Yaʿqub al-Mansur the Almohad, which features a minaret that is one of three minarets in the world: the Kutubiyya in Marrakech, the Hassan [Minaret] in Rabat, and the Mansuriyya in Seville.

Al-Rahuni identifies La Giralda with the Almohad ruler Yaʿqub al-Mansur (r. 1184–99) and asserts its kinship with two other Almohad-era mosques in Rabat and Marrakech. For al-Rahuni, La Giralda is not only a mosque but also, specifically, a Moroccan mosque—and one that signals Morocco's cultural proximity to al-Andalus.

Al-Rahuni's hosts led him from La Giralda to another building steeped in Andalusi lore: the nearby Alcázar, once the home of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbad, the eleventh-century poet-king of Seville. Al-Muʿtamid's life and poetry have inspired many modern representations of al-Andalus in Spanish and Arabic, from literature to soap operas.[20] By the time al-Rahuni visited the Alcázar of Seville in 1937, little remained of al-Muʿtamid's original palace. The building underwent numerous transformations and restorations from the twelfth to the twentieth century—including, most famously, the construction of a Mudéjar-style palace by the Castilian rulers Alfonso XI and Pedro I in the fourteenth century. In Spanish architectural history, Mudéjar refers to the use of Islamicate motifs and forms in Christian settings. The Mudéjar style was popular among the Christian rulers who conquered large swaths of al-Andalus from 1085 to 1492. The new Christian rulers commissioned buildings that were Islamic in style and Christian in use, and the Alcázar of Seville is one of the most famous examples (Ruggles). Therefore, the building that al-Rahuni visited was a palimpsest and a house of mirrors, where origins and imitations bounced off each other in confusing combinations: it was a fourteenth-century Christian palace built in a style that was meant to evoke the Islamic structures that it supplanted and appropriated.

Whether or not al-Rahuni was familiar with the various stages in the Alcázar's historical evolution, his narration elides any reference to the building's life after the eleventh century:

> ثم طفنا قصر المعتمد بن عباد جميعه أعلاه واسفله وتذكرنا تلك الايام ،! وتلك الايام نداولها بين الناس!
> (*Al-Rihla* 31)

> Then, we made the rounds of the palace of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbad, all of it from top to bottom, and we recalled those days. *Those days we deal out among people in turn!* (my italics)

For al-Rahuni, the visit to the Alcázar elicits nostalgia for al-Andalus ("we recalled those days!"), which then inspires a Qurʾanic quotation: "Those days we deal out among people in turn" (Surat Al ʿImran 140). M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, in his translation of this Qurʾanic verse, alters the syntax of the Arabic to make it more readable in English: "We deal out such days among people in turn" (68). In my translation, I have opted to preserve the original syntax in order to highlight al-Rahuni's use of anaphora. The repetition of "those days" establishes a parallel between "those days" spent in al-Andalus and "those days" cited at the beginning of the Qurʾanic verse. The Qurʾanic passage in question alludes to the Battle of Uhud (c. 625), in which the Prophet Muhammad and his followers suffered a setback at the hands of the Meccans (Abdel Haleem 68; Robinson). The defeat at the Battle of Uhud is often considered a test of the early Muslims' faith, and its evocation in this context suggests a parallel between the Muslims' defeat at Uhud and the loss of Muslim Seville. Al-Rahuni's allusion to the Battle of Uhud implies that the vanquished Muslims of al-Andalus will remain steadfast in their faith and will rise from the ashes of defeat, just as the Prophet Muhammad and his followers did after Uhud.

Al-Rahuni's visit to Seville thus mobilizes various layers of Spanish, Moroccan, and Islamic history, which reverberate and slip off each other. The wounded Moroccan soldiers in Franco's hospitals are reminders of the intertwined destinies of Spain and Morocco, destinies that are symbolized by the architectural hybridity of La Giralda and the Alcázar. Al-Rahuni's nostalgia for "those days" in al-Andalus evokes, in turn, the Qurʾanic representation of the struggle of the early Muslims at the Battle of Uhud. These intertextual plays obscure the lines between past and present, mosques and churches, Morocco and Spain, and Seville and Uhud. They also help to cast the wounded Moroccan soldiers as defenders of a variety of intersecting and mutually reinforcing causes: Francoism, al-Andalus, and the struggle of Muslims against nonbelievers.

After visiting Seville, al-Rahuni headed for Córdoba, the former capital of the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus (929–1031). For modern Muslim visitors to Spain's Islamic heritage sites, the main attraction has long been the Mosque of Córdoba, which symbolizes the cultural splendor of al-Andalus (Paradela). Although the Mosque of Córdoba was transformed into a cathedral in the thirteenth century, al-Rahuni stresses the building's Muslim identity, as he did for La Giralda and the Alcázar in Seville:

> ثم دخلنا مسجد قرطبة العظيم ومعنا الخزال ومعية الاعيان ، وصليت انا ورفيقي الظهر والعصر في محرابها وهم ينظرون الينا نظر اعجاب واحترام للطقوس الدينية الاسلامية و يستغربون كثرة ركوعنا وسجودنا ، ثم خرجنا اليهم وطفنا المسجد كله ودخلنا الكنيسة التي هناك وشاهدنا من كنوزها الثمينة ما يعد بالملايين ، وهناك تذاكرت معهم في امكان التخلي عن قسم من المسجد لاقامة الطقوس الاسلامية فوجدت منهم قبولا حسنا لذلك.
> (*Al-Rihla* 32)

> Then, we entered the Great Mosque of Córdoba, and with us were the *General* [*al-khanirāl*] and the entourage of notables. My companion and I prayed the midday and afternoon prayers in its prayer niche [*miḥrāb*], and they looked on at us with wonder and respect for the Islamic religious rituals, and they found odd the frequency of our bending and prostrations. Then,

> we joined them, and we made the rounds of the whole mosque, and we entered the church that is in it and saw its precious treasures, which number in the millions. There, I had a talk with them about the possibility of reserving a section of the mosque for performing Islamic rituals. I found them to be favorably inclined to that [proposal].

Al-Rahuni and his Spanish hosts "made the rounds of" the Mosque of Córdoba, as if it were the Kaaba in Mecca. The scene of Muslims and Christians respectfully sharing the same sacred space reenacts the mythic tolerance that is often associated with al-Andalus in modern scholarship. *Convivencia* (literally, "living together") is the Spanish term used to describe the supposedly harmonious coexistence of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in al-Andalus. The idea of Andalusi *convivencia* is conventionally attributed to the exiled Republican intellectual Américo Castro (1885–1975), whose celebration of "the three cultures" (Christian, Muslim, and Jewish) of medieval Iberia has often been interpreted as a reaction to Franco's oppressive and monocultural National Catholicism. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the myth of Andalusi *convivencia* was common to both Francoist and Republican narratives about Spain's relations with the Muslim world.[21] Indeed, in al-Rahuni's passage about Córdoba, it is the Francoists who appear as the standard-bearers of the mythic tolerance of al-Andalus. Al-Rahuni's description of praying in the Mosque of Córdoba is particularly striking when one considers that Muslim visitors to the building today are strictly prohibited from praying and that the Catholic Church, which administers the site, has recently come under fire for its efforts to downplay the Muslim contribution to Córdoba's history (Calderwood, "Reconquista"). Once again, al-Rahuni's text upends our received notions about Francoism and also illustrates how discourses of intercultural harmony (such as *convivencia*) can serve oppressive ideologies.

Mecca at Sea: Al-Rahuni and the Internationalization of Francoism

After touring hospitals and Andalusi monuments in Spain, al-Rahuni returned to Morocco, where he prepared for the pilgrimage to Mecca. In a text called *Journey to Mecca*, one would expect the hajj narrative to overshadow an account of Spain. Instead, al-Rahuni's account of Francoist Spain shapes his representation of the hajj and also his encounters with fellow Muslims on the route to Mecca. Indeed, the text culminates not with his sojourn in Islam's holiest sites but rather with his return to Seville, where Franco hosted an elaborate celebration for the Moroccan pilgrims upon their return from the hajj in April 1937. *Journey to Mecca* thus reconfigures the geography of the hajj and the parameters of the hajj narrative, inserting Spain into both. Before analyzing Franco's reception for the Moroccan pilgrims in Seville, I would like to signal two themes that connect al-Rahuni's narrative of the pilgrimage to Mecca with the two accounts of Spain that bookend it. The first is his manipulation of hajj-related terms in order to blur the lines between Mecca and Franco's Spain. The second is his depiction of Franco as a defender of Islam against the forces of atheism. The text thus demonstrates how the Franco-sponsored hajj helped burnish the Spanish dictator's image in the Muslim world and internationalize the Spanish Civil War.

When al-Rahuni returned from Spain to Morocco, a Spanish naval steamship was anchored in the port of Ceuta, waiting to transport the Moroccan pilgrims to Mecca. The ship's original name was *Dómine* ("O Lord"), but when the ship was assigned the mission of transporting the Muslim pilgrims, it was renamed *al-Maghrib al-Aqsa*, the Arabic name for Morocco.[22] After the ship arrived in Ceuta's port, throngs of Moroccans converged on the city to visit it. Al-Rahuni compares the human spectacle in Ceuta to the pilgrims' circumambulation of the Kaaba:

قدم المركب المذكور سبتة . . . فصار كالكعبة يقصده الناس رجالا ونساء واطفالا من كل فج عميق فيطوفون به. (38)

The aforementioned ship arrived in Ceuta, . . . and it became like the Kaaba, to which people—men, women, and children—headed *from every deep mountain pass* to circle around it. (my italics)

In the Arabic, al-Rahuni's diction bolsters the comparison between the ship and the Kaaba. The phrase "from every deep mountain pass" (*min kull fajj ʿamīq*) is used in the Qur'an to describe the massive arrival of pilgrims to the Kaaba.[23] Al-Rahuni adopts this Qur'anic locution to describe the multitude of Moroccans who come from all over ("from every deep mountain pass") to see the Spanish ship in Ceuta's port. Moreover, the verb that he uses to describe the Moroccans who "circle around" (*yuṭawwifūn*) the ship is the same verb that is used to describe the pilgrims' circumambulation of the Kaaba in Mecca. Thus, he plays with the language of circumambulation to blur the cultural location of the hajj, pushing the site of pilgrimage toward Franco's Spain.

Al-Rahuni's comparison of the pilgrims' ship to the Kaaba, the holiest site in Islam, bestows on the ship a sacred status. This rhetorical move sets up his description of a Republican attack on the port of Ceuta. On 20 January 1937, when the caliph Mulay al-Hasan was scheduled to visit the pilgrims' ship, two Republican airplanes bombed Ceuta. The caliph and the ship were spared in the attack, but al-Rahuni interprets the bombing of the Kaaba-like ship as an assault on Islam itself. According to al-Rahuni, the bombing not only galvanized Moroccan support for Franco's cause but also turned the entire Muslim world against the Republicans. He writes:

وهكذا قامت ضد هذه الحركة جميع الجرائد . . . لانها حركة لا ترمي الى خصوص المنطقة بل ترمي الى عموم الاسلام في جميع اقطار الارض وكذلك حصل فانه لما وقع هذا الواقع طارت به الاخبار الى العالم الاسلامي كله وخصوصا مصر والجزائر والشام والعراق وقامت قيامة المسلمين يدعون الى الله عز وجل بان يهلك الشيوعيين عن آخرهم ويبكون ويتضرعون وصلوا على اخوانهم الذين ماتوا من اجل هذه الطائرة صلاة الغائب. (39)

This is how all the newspapers rose against this movement . . . because it is a movement that is aimed not only at the [Spanish Protectorate] zone in particular but also at Islam in general, in all places on Earth. It also happened that when this event occurred, the news flew to the entire Muslim world, and especially Egypt, Algeria, Syria, and Iraq. Muslims became furious, and they asked God Almighty to destroy every last communist. They cried, beseeched God, and prayed the prayer of the absent [*ṣalāt al-ghāʾib*] for their brothers who had died because of this plane.

Al-Rahuni both Islamizes and internationalizes the Spanish Civil War. Echoing Francoist discourse, he casts the Republicans as communists who are bent on destroying Islam. He also evokes a transnational community of Muslims, who stand in solidarity with Moroccans and perform the "prayer of the absent," the prayer that is said for a dead person whose body cannot be produced. Just as Moroccans had converged on the port of Ceuta to visit the Spanish ship, the Muslim prayers converge on Ceuta in a communal lament. In al-Rahuni's account, the ship plays the role of the Kaaba, around which the Muslim world revolves.

The ship transported the pilgrims along the North African coast, with stops in Melilla, Tripoli, Banghazi, and Port Said, before passing through the Suez Canal en route to the Saudi Arabian port of Jidda. Along the way, the Moroccan pilgrims spread praise for Franco and his cause. According to al-Rahuni, the ship was known, in the ports of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, as "مركب فرنكو" ("Franco's ship") and everyone who saw it

شهد . . . بانه لم يحمل الحجاج نظيره في الحسن والجمال والنظافة. (38)

attested . . . that there had never been such a handsome, beautiful, and clean boat transporting hajj pilgrims.

In Tripoli, the Libyans praised Franco for "حسن سياسته الداخلية والخارجية" ("the excellence of his domestic and foreign policies") and said:

> هذا اول ما راينا وسمعنا من المراكب التي تنقل الحجاج على هيئة اسلامية صرفة مع ما اشتمل عليه من المرافق الاسلامية من المساجد العمومية للصلاة واقامة الدروس الدينية والاحزاب والاذكار وغير ذلك ، ثم سألونا عن حالتنا السياسية والاقتصادية فقلنا هي متجسمة في هذا المركب بقواعد اسلامنا قائمة بحرية تامة كما ترونها في هذا المركب. (59)
>
> This is the first time we have seen and heard of ships that transport hajj pilgrims in pure Islamic form, with all the requisite Islamic facilities, such as public mosques for prayer and for undertaking religious study, Sufi litanies [*aḥzāb*], invocations of God's name [*idhkār*], and the like. Then, they asked us about our political and economic situation, and we said that it is embodied in this ship, where the rules of our Islam are performed with complete freedom, as you can see.

As the passage indicates, Franco's government outfitted the ship with a mosque in which the Moroccan pilgrims gathered to pray and study during their sea journey. In the exchange with the Libyans, al-Rahuni represents the ship as the embodiment of Morocco under Francoism, where Moroccans perform their religion with "complete freedom." For al-Rahuni and his Libyan interlocutors, the pilgrims' ship is not merely a mode of transport from Morocco to Saudi Arabia; rather, it is also a testament to the health of Moroccan Islam under Spanish colonialism.

As the leader of the Moroccan delegation of pilgrims, al-Rahuni incorporated Franco into the official discourse of the delegation when it met with Muslim leaders in Libya, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. The most important of these meetings was the audience with King ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. Saʿud, the founder of the modern kingdom of Saudi Arabia, who hosted the Moroccan pilgrims in Mecca on 18 February 1937. Like the Libyans, ʿAbd al-ʿAziz wanted to hear about Moroccan life under Spanish colonialism. Al-Rahuni informed the Saudi monarch that Franco

> بينه وبين سمو مولانا الخليفة وداد خاص وله محبة تامة في المسلمين عموما وفي جلالتكم خصوصا. (112)
>
> has with our lord the Caliph a special friendship, and he has a complete love for Muslims, in general, and for your Majesty, in particular.

Al-Rahuni then described the Spanish Civil War in terms that mirrored Francoist discourse. He told the Saudi king that Franco

> قائم على ساق الجد في مقاتلة الشيوعيين الادينيين هو واعوانه. (113)
>
> and his supporters are turning their zeal toward combatting the religionless communists.

The king

> اثنى عليه خيرا و تمنى له الانتصار على الشيوعيين قائلا ان الشيوعية اقبح خصلة ظهرت في عوالم هذا العصر. (113)
>
> praised him greatly and hoped for his triumph over the communists, saying that communism is the ugliest trait of our time.

Al-Rahuni's exchange with the king demonstrates how the Moroccan pilgrims were a powerful conduit for translating and transmitting the Francoist vision of the Spanish Civil War to a far-flung Muslim and Arabic-speaking audience.

Staging al-Andalus in Seville

On 2 April 1937, Franco hosted a lavish reception in Seville to greet the Moroccan pilgrims upon their return from Mecca. The event served as both the culmination of the Moroccans' pilgrimage and the conclusion of al-Rahuni's travelogue. The event's elaborate staging highlighted Franco's strategic celebration of the cultural memory of al-Andalus and also his efforts to represent the civil war as a conflict between Christian-Muslim monothe-

ism and atheist communism. *Journey to Mecca* offers a detailed description of Franco's meeting with the pilgrims. The event in Seville was also covered by Spanish newspapers throughout the rebel-controlled territories in Spain and Morocco, and the most extensive coverage appeared in Seville's main newspaper, *ABC*.[24] In what follows, my analysis moves between al-Rahuni's narrative and the *ABC* newspaper coverage in order to give a stereophonic, multilingual account of the complex cultural encounter that unfolded in the streets of Seville in April 1937. I illuminate how Franco used Morocco's Hispano-Arab culture as a tool of colonial propaganda and also how al-Rahuni appropriated Francoist discourse by translating it into an Islamic idiom.

Al-Rahuni represents the Moroccans' arrival in Seville as a dizzying spectacle of sight and sound. He writes:

> وصل المركب الى مناء اشبيلية . . . فخرجت اشبيلية للسلام علينا عن بكرة ابيها رجلا ونساء وصبيانا وجميع العساكر التي بها بموسيقاتها وطوابرها وخنزالاتها وضباطها. (219)
>
> The ship arrived at the port of Seville. . . . And Seville came out to greet us, all without exception—men, women, children, and all the soldiers that were there—, with its music, its battalions, its *generales*, and its officers.

The text personifies the city of Seville, turning the crowd into a single human wave converging on the ship. The use of a Hispanism (*khanirālāt*, which I have translated as *generales*) evokes the polyphony of the scene, where Spanish and Arabic mingled with music. The *ABC* coverage also underlines the excitement and commotion of the Moroccans' arrival: "El momento de atracar el barco fue en realidad emocionante. Los moros, en la borda, saludaban con las manos en alto y vitoreaban con entusiasmo a España y al general Franco, mientras la música dejaba oír los sones del himno nacional" ("The moment when the boat docked was truly exciting. The Moors on the upper deck were saluting with their hands held high, and they were cheering Spain and General Franco with enthusiasm, while the tune of the national anthem played"; "Los musulmanes peregrinos" 13). The Spanish newspaper paints a scene that weaves together fascist patriotism and intercultural exchange. According to this account, the Moroccans ("the Moors") greeted the Spanish crowd with their hands raised in the fascist salute. The Spanish national anthem returned the salute.

Music played an important role in the careful staging of Franco's reception for the Moroccan pilgrims. The Spanish national anthem accompanied the Moroccans' arrival at the port of Seville, but it was Moroccan Andalusi music that would soon take center stage. The Moroccans disembarked from the boat, led by the caliph's band and the grand vizier (the caliph's prime minister) and followed by the hajj pilgrims and hundreds of their relatives. They then paraded through the central streets of Seville, while the caliph's band played a movement from *Nubat al-ʿushshaq*, one of the eleven suites that make up the repertoire of Moroccan Andalusi music (al-Rahuni, *al-Rihla* 220).[25] *Nubat al-ʿushshaq* is popularly attributed to a Christian European living in al-Andalus and thus stands as a musical testament to the cultural collaboration between Christians and Muslims in medieval Iberia (García Barriuso 178; al-Haʾik 150).

North African Andalusi music is often cast as a direct descendant of medieval al-Andalus, but it was, in fact, the object of a significant revival under Spanish and French colonial rule.[26] Starting in the 1930s, the Spanish colonial authorities created a number of institutions to promote the study and performance of the Moroccan Andalusi repertoire. The same year that the General Franco Institute published *Journey to Mecca*, it also published the most important Spanish colonial work on Andalusi music, Patrocinio García Barriuso's *La música hispano-musulmana*


SEVILLA 4 DE ABRIL DE 1937. NUMERO SUELTO 15 CENTIMOS

ABC

DIARIO ILUSTRADO. AÑO TRIGESIMO TERCERO. NUMERO 10.559

FUNDADO EL 1.º DE JUNIO DE 1903 POR D. TORCUATO LUCA DE TENA

"Que en ningún hogar español deje de haber lumbre y que ningún obrero carezca de pan."
El Jefe del Estado, Generalísimo FRANCO.

El ministro de Justicia del Gran Visir, acompañado de otros moros notables durante su visita a los jardines del Alcázar. (Foto Serrano.)

FIG. 1a

Front page of the Spanish newspaper *ABC* on 4 Apr. 1937. The image shows al-Rahuni (center, holding a cane) with other Moroccan hajj pilgrims in the Alcázar of Seville. Reprinted by permission of *ABC*.

en Marruecos ("Hispano-Muslim Music in Morocco"; 1941). The figure of the echo resounds throughout García Barriuso's book, as when he describes Moroccan Andalusi music as "el auténtico eco sonoro de aquellos brillantes conciertos que hicieron estremecer . . . los verdes y floridos jardines de los alcázares jalifianos del Andalus" ("the authentic sonorous echo of those brilliant concerts that made tremble . . . the verdant and blossoming gardens of the caliphal palaces of al-Andalus"; 183). According to García Barriuso's account, Andalusi music entered a long period of decline after the emigration of Andalusi Muslims to Morocco. García Barriuso claims that Spain's colonial intervention rescued Andalusi music from decadence, and he credits European colonialism with "el renacimiento de la música hispano-marroquí" ("the renaissance of Hispano-Moroccan music") in Morocco (253). Therefore, when the Moroccans performed *Nubat al-ʿushshaq* in the streets of Seville in April 1937, they were performing a tradition that evoked several centuries of Spanish-Moroccan relations, from medieval Andalusi court culture to modern Spanish colonialism, which claimed to revive the echoes of al-Andalus.

In addition to music, architecture helped frame the Moroccans' visit to Seville as a symbolic return to al-Andalus. Franco staged the reception for the Moroccans in the Mudéjar-style Alcázar of Seville (figs. 1a and 1b). The *ABC* coverage acknowledged the theatricality of the architectural setting by calling the Alcázar a "marco inigualable para el cuadro que se preparaba" ("incomparable frame for the tableau that was being prepared"; "Los musulmanes peregrinos" 13). Franco met the Moroccan pilgrims in the Alcázar's Hall of Ambassadors, decorated by Pedro I in 1366 in the style of an Islamic *qubba* (or domed square), with carved plaster, horseshoe arches, and tile work that echo the contemporaneous Hall of Ambassadors in the Alhambra (Ruggles 91–92).

In a gesture of strategic or unconscious anachronism, al-Rahuni associates the Alcázar with the eleventh-century figure al-Muʿtamid, despite the fourteenth-century vintage of the spaces the Moroccan pilgrims visited. Al-Rahuni writes:

> وصلنا بعد سير 4 الف مطر قصر المعتمد بن عباد الذي لازال أية تتلى ما يقرب من الف سنة حيث وجدنا فخامة الرئيس بطل اسبانيا ومنقذها من براثن الشيوعية فخامة الخنزال فرنسيسكو فرانكو. (*Al-Rihla* 220)
>
> We arrived, after a distance of four thousand meters, to the palace of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbad, which is still a sign [*āya*] that is read after almost one thousand years, where we found His Excellency the President, the hero of Spain and her savior from communism's talons, His Excellency General Francisco Franco.

Al-Rahuni textualizes the Alcázar by calling it an "*āya*," a polysemous term whose meanings include "sign," "wonder," and "miracle." *Āya* is also the technical term for a verse from the Qurʾan (Rippin). By calling the Alcázar

Fig. 1b
The same image as in figure 1a, as reproduced in *Journey to Mecca*. The caption reads: "The hajj pilgrims in the palace of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbad in Seville. March [sic] 1937."

an *āya*, he associates the monument with the miracle of Qur'anic language, considered inimitable in classic Islamic thought. He also makes the building legible: the Alcázar is a "sign" that allows a Moroccan visitor to read and understand al-Andalus "after almost one thousand years." Yet the tension in this passage resides in the fact that al-Rahuni's reading is also a strategic misreading: by collapsing temporal and cultural distances, al-Rahuni conflates an eleventh-century Muslim building with a fourteenth-century Christian one, and Francoist Spain with Muslim al-Andalus.

In the Alcázar, Franco delivered to the Moroccan pilgrims a speech that was reproduced in the *ABC* coverage of the event ("Los musulmanes peregrinos" 14). The speech emphasized two themes: first, that Franco's Spain marks the renaissance of al-Andalus and, second, that al-Andalus rivals Mecca as the center of the Muslim world. The speech uses parallel structures to establish connections between Spain and the Muslim world across time. The first such parallel was between the pilgrimage to Mecca and the trip to Seville. Franco told the Moroccan pilgrims:

> Volvéis orgullosos de vuestro Oriente, porque venís de cumplir el deber de todo buen musulmán. *Allí*, en contacto con los otros hermanos islámicos, habéis podido ver la grandeza de vuestro pueblo, *y aquí* en Sevilla, en el solar hispano, podréis ver también en estas piedras y en estos ladrillos, la obra de vuestros antepasados. (14; my italics)
>
> You return proudly from your Orient because you have just fulfilled the duty of every good Muslim. *There*, in contact with your Islamic brothers, you were able to see the grandeur of your people, *and here* in Seville, on Hispanic soil, you will also be able to see, in these stones and in these bricks, the work of your ancestors.

The syntactic parallelism between the adverbs "there" and "here" suggests a logical contiguity between the trip to Mecca and the trip to Seville. Franco thus depicts the Moroccans' contact with fellow Muslims in Mecca as the prelude to their reunion with their Muslim ancestors in Seville.

Franco's speech traces a *translatio studii* in which Andalusi culture passes from Muslims to Christians in medieval Iberia and then, in the modern era, from Spanish Christians back to the Moroccan descendants of al-Andalus. The Spanish dictator boldly asserts that "España y el Islam han sido siempre los pueblos que mejor se comprendieron" ("Spain and Islam have always been the peoples who have understood each other best"; 14), and he argues that the transhistorical understanding between Spain and Islam is grounded in their shared Andalusi heritage. For Franco, al-Andalus embodies the Muslim world's lost grandeur: "Cuando por estos lugares y estos campos, vuestros antepasados pasaron, el pueblo musulmán tuvo una cultura, una ciencia, una grandeza" ("When your ancestors passed through these places and these fields, the Muslim people had a culture, a science, a grandeur"; 14). Although Franco evokes al-Andalus in the preterit, he also suggests that it is poised for rebirth. Córdoba is the hinge in this narrative of cultural rebirth; it is the place where medieval Christians learned from Muslims and where modern-day Moroccans will come to learn

from Spaniards. Franco tells the Moroccan pilgrims, "En Córdoba habrá una cátedra que estudie lo arábigo, donde os entregaremos nuestros libros, nuestra antigua ciencia, para que vuestros hijos puedan estudiar" ("In Córdoba, there will be a chair of Arabic studies, where we will hand over to you our books and our ancient science so that your children can study"; 14). Franco signals Córdoba as the future capital of Hispano-Arab culture, whose legacy is being revived by Spanish colonialism in Morocco.

Franco's performance aimed to reorient the Orient, inserting Spain in the place of Mecca. To this end, Franco juxtaposes Spain with Mecca: "*Lo mismo que hoy* vais a la Meca, oriente de la fe, y os purificáis y lleváis allí la afirmación de vuestros sentimientos y de vuestra fe, *así también* volveréis *mañana* los musulmanes del mundo a recorrer nuestros lugares, que yo deseo que vuelvan a florecer y que en ellos os ilustréis y os perfeccionéis, como buenos musulmanes" ("*Just as today* you go to Mecca, the Orient of your faith, and you purify yourselves and carry there the affirmation of your feelings and your faith, *so too tomorrow*, you, the Muslims of the world, will return to tour our places, which I hope will bloom anew and that in them you will enlighten and perfect yourselves as good Muslims"; 14; my italics). The parallel structure "Just as today . . . so too tomorrow" configures the pilgrimage to Mecca as a round-trip whose final destination is Spain: Muslims affirm their faith in Mecca but must "return" to Spain to find enlightenment and perfection.

Franco's attempt to conflate Mecca and al-Andalus was not lost on his Moroccan audience. In the appendix to *Journey to Mecca*, al-Rahuni furnishes a partial Arabic translation of Franco's speech. The translation does not match exactly the text reproduced in the Spanish newspaper *ABC*. In the translation, Franco tells the Moroccan pilgrims that he wants every Muslim to know

اني صديق المسلمين من صميم قلبي واني سأهيء لهم جامع قرطبة ونواحيها حتى يكون لهم ككعبة يقصدونها من كل فج للعبادة والعلوم. (228)

> that I am the Muslims' friend from the bottom of my heart, and I will prepare for them the Mosque of Córdoba and its environs so that it can be for them like a Kaaba to which they head *from every mountain pass* for worship and learning. (my italics)

Al-Rahuni's translation puts a Qur'anic expression related to the hajj in Franco's mouth. The Moroccan writer had previously used the same Qur'anic expression to describe the crowds of Moroccans who came "from every deep mountain pass" to circle around the pilgrims' ship in Ceuta. He thus lends a Qur'anic gloss to Franco's vision of a new hajj, in which Muslims from all around the world will travel to Spain to circumambulate the Andalusi monuments, which rival the Kaaba as sources of worship and learning. Al-Rahuni's text, therefore, registers two overlapping acts of cultural appropriation. Franco makes Moroccans Spanish and Islam Francoist. Al-Rahuni, in turn, makes Franco speak in Qur'anic idioms and locates Islam's holiest site in Córdoba.

Al-Rahuni between Master Narratives

Moroccan literature has not fared well in the standard histories of modern Arabic literature. *Journey to Mecca* exemplifies Morocco's vexed place in the dominant narrative of Arabic literary modernity. In this conclusion, I would like to explore the conceptual assumptions that underpin the study of modern Arabic literature and to make the case for why al-Rahuni's travelogue matters—not just for the study of Spanish-Moroccan relations but also for a deeper understanding of the intellectual and literary life of the modern Arab world.

When we attempt to define modern Arabic literature, we immediately stumble into three problematic terms: *modern*, *Arabic*, and *literature*. Each sets off a related series of

questions: What is modernity, and are all modernities the same? What does it mean to write in Arabic, a diglossic language with a standard register (*al-fuṣḥā*, today often called Modern Standard Arabic) and several regional dialects? What is literature, and is it a universal category?

If one were to peruse the standard English-language reference works on Arabic literature, one could easily conclude that the history of modern Arabic literature is the history of how Arabs, mostly in Egypt and the Levant, learned to write novels. That is, the history of modern Arabic literature has consolidated around a privileged geography, running from Cairo to Beirut, and a privileged literary genre, the novel. This is not the place to trace the full genealogy of this literary-historical narrative, but I will outline its broad strokes. Starting with Albert Hourani, scholars have dated the beginning of the modern Arab world to the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt in 1798. This event awakened Arabs from a centuries-long decline, often called the "period of decadence," and it gave rise to an effervescent cultural movement known as the Nahḍa ([النهضة], literally, "the rising," but often translated as "the Awakening" or "the Renaissance").[27] One of the driving forces of the nineteenth-century Arab "renaissance" was a translation movement that brought European works, both technical and literary, into Arabic (Cachia; al-Shayyal). Through these translations, educated Arabs in Cairo and Beirut became familiar with European literary genres and began to emulate them, first by writing plays and eventually by writing novels and then free-verse poetry. Arabic literature thus becomes modern Arabic literature when it begins to resemble the literature produced in Europe.

In a groundbreaking, recent book on Arab modernities, Tarek El-Ariss has called for scholars to challenge the teleological narrative of progress that runs from the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt to the publication of Muhammad Husayn Haykal's *Zaynab* (زينب; 1913), often considered the first Arabic novel (8–9). El-Ariss joins a growing chorus of scholars who are debating what Arab (literary) modernity is and when it begins.[28] Yet, despite these welcome interventions, I would argue that three major assumptions of the master narrative of modern Arabic literature remain operative: the centrality of Egypt, the primacy of the novel as the paradigmatic form of Arabic literary modernity, and the privileging of the secular as the ideological mode of modernity.[29] Indeed, many revisionist accounts of modern Arabic literature have unwittingly illustrated, rather than undermined, the vitality of these core assumptions.

Nowhere are the interlocking forces of Egypt, the novel, and the secular more strongly felt than in the scholarship on Moroccan literature written in Arabic. Many scholars treat Morocco as a marginal and derivative player in the story of modern Arabic literature because of the relative belatedness of the first Moroccan novel, often dated to the 1950s.[30] Recent attempts to reassess Morocco's place in the development of modern Arabic literature have focused on linking Moroccan texts to cultural processes that were happening elsewhere—in particular, the emergence of the Arabic novel in Egypt. For that reason, scholars have sought to push back the clock on the Moroccan novel by casting earlier Moroccan texts, such as al-Tuhami al-Wazzani's Sufi autobiography *al-Zawiya* (الزاوية; 1942), as protonovels.[31] While I laud the renewed scholarly interest in Moroccan literature in Arabic, I worry that the incessant search for early predecessors to the Moroccan novel only serves the ambivalent goal of tying Moroccan literature to a teleological narrative whose ultimate conclusion is the Arabic-language adoption of Western literary genres.

I believe that *Journey to Mecca* furnishes us with a valuable opportunity to reassess what we study when we study modern Arabic

literature. Al-Rahuni's travelogue exemplifies modern Arabic texts that challenge the current scholarly emphasis on Western literary genres and secular or rationalist epistemologies. With my reading of al-Rahuni's text, I hope to gesture toward a larger project that would entail an epistemic and methodological shift in the study of Moroccan literature—and perhaps even in the study of the literatures of the Muslim world. First and foremost, I argue that we need to take seriously modern texts that are written from within an Islamic epistemic framework (however broadly we might construe that category) and texts that are produced by writers with a traditional religious education, such as *Journey to Mecca*. I share Talal Asad's belief that "a straightforward narrative of progress from the religious to the secular is no longer acceptable" (1), but I do not share his optimism that scholars agree on this point—at least not in the field of Arabic studies. While there has been a recent resurgence in critical attention to the representation of Islam in modern Arabic literature, this new scholarship has concerned itself almost exclusively with the representation of Islam in novels and short fiction (Elmarsafy; al-Musawi). Thus, instead of allowing religion to inform our understanding of the literary, we use a preconceived idea of literary form to domesticate and mediate our reading of the religious. The new scholarship on the representation of Islam in modern Arabic literature has also tended to privilege discourses that undermine institutional religious practice.[32] This emphasis is problematic in the context of modern Moroccan literature, where many of the most important figures—such as al-Rahuni and al-Wazzani—received their educations in religious institutions, such as the Qarawiyyin Mosque-University in Fez. For an understanding of this literary tradition's poetics, a familiarity with the Qur'an is at least as important as a familiarity with the evolution of the Arabic novel. Bringing the Qur'an and other Islamic sources into literary studies is not just a matter of diversifying our hermeneutic toolbox, it is also an invitation to broaden our conception of the literary, making it less provincial.

Indeed, I insert my interest in *Journey to Mecca* in the postcolonial imperative to "provincialize Europe."[33] Al-Rahuni's text not only holds the potential to revise our understanding of modern Arabic literature; it also unsettles European colonialism by making it "speak" in different languages and from different subject positions. The Moroccan writer did, indeed, spread Francoist propaganda, but he also translated European colonialism into a non-European language and into a different epistemic framework. To put this point in the boldest possible terms, we could say that *Journey to Mecca* pushes us to read the midcentury Moroccan intellectual elite as fascist and also to read Spanish fascism as Islamic. Whatever we make of these ideological paradoxes, al-Rahuni's journey charts new maps for reading the old binaries of tradition and modernity, Islam and the West.

Notes

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1. For this episode, see al-Rahuni, *al-Rihla* 5. For an overview of al-Rahuni's life and work, see Ibn al-Hajj al-Sulami 16–30.

2. For Arabic titles, I have followed the transliteration system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Ibn al-Hajj al-Sulami recently completed a critical edition of al-Rahuni's *ʿUmdat al-rawin*. In the introduction, he situates al-Rahuni's work in the Moroccan historiographical tradition (7–15, 31–50).

3. All English translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

4. For *nacionalcatolicismo* and the collaboration between the church and Francoism, see Botti; Casanova.

5. For the history and significance of the hajj, see Peters; Porter and Saif. For efforts to control the hajj under European colonialism, see Brower; Low; Tagliacozzo.

6. For al-Andalus in the Spanish colonial imaginary, see Martin-Márquez; González Alcantud, *El mito* 77–103; Calderwood, "'In Andalucía.'"

7. Other Spanish colonial institutions that contributed to the revival of Morocco's Andalusi arts are the Hispano-Moroccan Music Conservatory and the School of Indigenous Arts. See Valderrama Martínez 367–428; Bellido Gant; García Barriuso 253–63; Calderwood, *Colonial al-Andalus*.

Following current academic practice, I use the adjective *Andalusi* to refer to al-Andalus (medieval Muslim Iberia) and to cultural phenomena that claim descent from al-Andalus (such as North African Andalusi music). In contrast, I use the adjective *Andalusian* to refer to Andalucía (the modern region in southern Spain). In this essay, I try to maintain a strict distinction between what is Andalusi and what is Andalusian. The only exception is when I cite a source that uses the adjective *Andalusian* to refer to medieval al-Andalus.

8. For representations of Tetouan as an Andalusi city, see al-Sharif; Miège et al.

9. In the only published scholarship on al-Rahuni's travelogue, al-Sharif discusses al-Rahuni's impressions of Saudi Arabia (195–214).

10. These distinctions stem from what Said called the "ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and . . . 'the Occident'" (2). Said's landmark *Orientalism* has been subject to a number of critiques, many of which have problematized a monolithic distinction between East and West (Ahmad; Behdad; Martin-Márquez).

11. For innovative scholarship on these neglected genres, see Terem; Bazzaz.

12. For an introduction to the Arabic *riḥla* tradition, see Netton; Euben.

13. For hajj narratives, see Peters; Metcalf. For Arabic travel narratives about Europe, see Matar (*In the Land*; *Europe*); Euben; Paradela.

14. I am playing here with Rothberg's work on "multidirectional memory."

15. For Moroccans in the civil war, see Madariaga 325–35; Balfour 268–317. Although the Francoists referred to themselves as "Nationalists," recent scholarship has preferred the term "rebels" to emphasize their rebellion against the democratically elected Spanish Republic (Martin-Márquez 376).

16. In a 1937 interview with a French newspaper, Franco asserted, "Nuestra guerra no es una guerra civil . . . sino una Cruzada de los hombres que creen en Dios . . . que luchan contra los hombres sin fe" ("Our war is not a civil war . . . but rather a Crusade of men who believe in God . . . [and] who fight against men without faith"; 453).

17. For Beigbeder, see Madariaga 257–335.

18. The image comes from Surat al-Saffat, verses 48–49: "وَعِندَهُمْ قَٰصِرَٰتُ ٱلطَّرْفِ عِينٌ / كَأَنَّهُنَّ بَيْضٌ مَّكْنُونٌ" ("With them will be spouses—modest in gaze and beautiful of eye—like protected eggs"; Abdel Haleem 448). See Abdel Haleem's explication of the phrase "like protected eggs" (448nC).

19. Asín Palacios 20–21; Martin-Márquez 226–27; Calderwood, "Invention" 42–44.

20. For al-Muʿtamid in Spanish literature, see Calderwood, "'In Andalucía.'" For al-Muʿtamid in modern Arabic representations of al-Andalus, see Shawqi's play *The Princess of al-Andalus* (اميرة الاندلس; *Amirat al-Andalus*; 1932) and, more recently, the television series *The Party Kings* (ملوك الطوائف; *Muluk al-tawa'if*; 2005).

21. For an introduction to the scholarly debates about *convivencia*, see Akasoy; Martin-Márquez 300–07. For examples of the *convivencia* motif in Francoist writings about Morocco, see García Figueras 46; Asín Palacios 20.

22. For the ship's name change, see Archivo General de la Administración.

23. In Surat al-Hajj, God tells the prophet Abraham:

> وَأَذِّن فِى ٱلنَّاسِ بِٱلْحَجِّ يَأْتُوكَ رِجَالًا وَعَلَىٰ كُلِّ ضَامِرٍ يَأْتِينَ مِن كُلِّ فَجٍّ عَمِيقٍ. (verse 27)
>
> Proclaim the Pilgrimage to all people. They will come to you on foot and on every kind of lean camel, emerging from every deep mountain pass. (Abdel Haleem 336)

24. In Spanish archives, I have found newspaper accounts of the event in Seville that were published in Córdoba, Palencia, Zamora, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, and Ceuta. This list, while not exhaustive, gives a sense of the rebels' concerted effort to publicize the event to a broad Spanish audience.

25. For Andalusi music in Morocco, see Chaachoo; Davila; Shannon (84–118).

26. Glasser; Chaachoo 93–100; Davila 154–68; Calderwood, *Colonial al-Andalus*.

27. For versions of this narrative of the Nahḍa, see Hourani; Abu-Lughod; Badawi; Kassab 17–47. For an excellent critique of the scholarly narrative about the so-called period of decadence, see Allen, "Post-classical Period."

28. For recent attempts to reassess the chronological or epistemic boundaries of modern Arab culture, see Allen, "Post-classical Period"; El-Rouayheb; Terem; Stearns.

29. For the power of the secular in formulations of modernity, see Asad 1–17; Scott and Hirschkind.

30. For example, Badawi, in his introduction to *Modern Arabic Literature*, asserts, "[T]he states of North Africa . . . began to make their distinct literary contribution only some time after the Second World War" (23). The Maghrib has also been marginalized in the historical scholarship on the Middle East (Burke; Clancy-Smith).

31. A *zāwiya* is a lodge where members of North African Sufi orders meet. A rough, though idiomatic, translation of the title would be "The Sufi Lodge." The literal

translation is "The Corner." Fernández Parrilla cites *al-Zawiya* as one of the "precursores que sentaron las bases para el posterior desarrollo del género de la novela en Marruecos" ("precursors that laid the groundwork for the subsequent development of the genre of the novel in Morocco"; 103). Building on his work, Allen notes that *al-Zawiya* is one of the works "commonly cited as 'precedents' for the emergence of a tradition of modern Arabic fiction in Morocco" ("Rewriting Literary History" 319). Allen astutely acknowledges that the task of finding a "first Moroccan novel" is inherently problematic ("Rewriting Literary History" 313–14), yet his effort to rewrite Moroccan literary history is still tied to finding relations between early-twentieth-century Moroccan prose texts and Arabic novels (both from Morocco and from outside Morocco).

32. See, e.g., Elmarsafy's observation on Sufism in the contemporary Arabic novel: "The turn to Sufism in the literature of the post-war period . . . marks an attempt at reappropriating and redefining individuality along lines that evade the dogmas of institutional religious and political restriction" (5).

33. I am playing here on the title of Chakrabarty's work.

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