



A HISTORY OF CHRISTCHURCH MUSLIMS

INTEGRATION AND HARMONY

Abdullah Drury



ROUTLEDGE



A History of Christchurch Muslims

This book examines a significant part of New Zealand history through a critical analysis of the Muslim community in Christchurch, a neglected but important aspect of wider New Zealand social and religious history.

Islam is one of the fastest growing religions in New Zealand and one of the least understood by the wider public. However, the historic reality demonstrates that the first Muslim settlers arrived within 15 years of the proclamation of the colony in 1841, and many have been living quietly in this country and contributing to society ever since. Drury elucidates how New Zealand Muslims have proved it possible to integrate into a European society in the South Pacific whilst retaining an idiosyncratic sense of Islamic communal identity.

This book is a useful reference for scholars and educators curious to learn more about Muslims in New Zealand and about the Christchurch Mosque communities before the 2019 shootings.

Abdullah Drury is a PhD candidate with Victoria University of Wellington and a University of Waikato MPhil graduate, researching the history of the New Zealand Muslim community. He also holds a BA in History and a Master of Arts with First Class Honours in History from the University of Waikato.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

A History of Christchurch Muslims

Integration and Harmony

Abdullah Drury

First published 2025
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2025 Abdullah Drury

The right of Abdullah Drury to be identified as author of this work has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Drury, Abdullah, author.

Title: A history of Christchurch Muslims : integration and harmony /
Abdullah Drury.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2024. | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Contents: Empire's Reach : Muslim Migrants to the Mainland in the Nineteenth Century – Integration and Interaction on the Margins: Muslims in the South Island in the Early Twentieth Century – A Shared Space : Muslim Communities and Identities in the South Island – Continuity and Change, Diversity and Tensions – Consolidation: Commerce and Expression of Community – Muslim Group Solidarity in the South Island. |

Identifiers: LCCN 2024008136 (print) | LCCN 2024008137 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781032771823 (hbk) | ISBN 9781032771847 (pbk) |

ISBN 9781003481683 (ebk)

Subjects: LCSH: Muslims–New Zealand–Christchurch–History. |

Muslims–New Zealand–Christchurch–Ethnic identity. |

Islam–New Zealand–Christchurch--History. | Group identity–New

Zealand–Christchurch–History. | Christchurch (N.Z.)–Ethnic relations–

History. | Christchurch (N.Z.)–History.

Classification: LCC DU430.C5 D78 2024 (print) | LCC DU430.C5 (ebook) |

DDC 305.6/970993–dc23/eng/20240220

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024008136>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024008137>

ISBN: 9781032771823 (hbk)

ISBN: 9781032771847 (pbk)

ISBN: 9781003481683 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481683

Typeset in Galliard

by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

I dedicate this to my beloved mother, Rosalind Ruth
Bishop, without whom it would have been impossible for
me to complete my university studies and research.

Puris omnia pura.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>Glossary of Islamic Terms</i>	<i>xv</i>
1 Empire's Reach: Muslim Migrants to the Mainland in the Nineteenth Century	1
2 Integration and Interaction on the Margins: Muslims in the South Island in the Early Twentieth Century	26
3 A Shared Space: Muslim Communities and Identities in the South Island	54
4 Continuity and Change, Diversity and Tensions	79
5 Consolidation: Commerce and Expression of Community	101
6 Muslim Group Solidarity in the South Island	117
<i>Epilogue – Luck of the Moorish</i>	<i>131</i>
<i>Bibliography</i>	<i>141</i>
<i>Appendix A</i>	<i>146</i>
<i>Appendix B</i>	<i>147</i>
<i>Index</i>	<i>149</i>

Acknowledgements

I am supremely grateful for the support I received from many individuals and institutions in preparing this book. A book such as this, of epic (if modest) nature, necessitates a million acknowledgements.

Above all, I would like to thank my mother, to whom this tome is dedicated, for initiating my perennial interest in the past. This book would not have been possible without her and I am permanently grateful.

A close second, I would like to acknowledge my patient MPhil supervisors, Professor Douglas Pratt and Dr Rosalind McClean. Professor Pratt, formerly at Waikato University, instigated this research and deserves enormous credit. Much of the text here is predicated on my 2016 thesis *Once Were Mahometans* and I would never have finished the project if it were not for their ebullient persistence. Together, the consistent guidance of my supervisors helped broaden my aims, methodologies and theoretical boundaries, and pointed me in the right direction at crucial stages of my studies and loquacious writing. I sincerely appreciate their generous intellectual engagement, their valuable feedback and recommendations for the successful completion of my thesis (although any remaining shortcomings are mine alone).

A small multitude of other folk, both academic and non-academic, have made important contributions to the text in a variety of ways. I have been blessed with invaluable counsel from some of the smartest thinkers I have encountered. These include, but are not limited to: Dr William Shepard, Dr Erich Kolig, Dr Jacqueline Leckie, Dr Mustafa Farouk, Dr M. Alayan, Dr Todd Nachowitz, Sheikh Mohamed Amir, Richard Greenaway, Dr Simon Grey, Dr Mortaza Shams, Dr Hanif Quazi, Mohamed Hanif Ali, Hazim Arafeh, Anafa Yusuf Keskin, Lyla al-Alawi, Sadiq Nicholson, Anthony Jamaal Green, the late and very much respected Mazhar Shukri Krasniqi, Ibrahim Abdulhalim, Suliman Kara, the late Hajji Abd Ala Ditta, Taoufik Elidrissi, Roy French, Steve Ali Johnston, Fawzan Hafiz, Miralem Musovich, Miftar Tairi, Ian Blissett, David Spurdle, Gabrielle de Bruijn, Leanne Ireland and Fiona Mowatt, plus a veritable horde of unnamed librarians and archivists from a myriad of institutions across the land. Chelsea Low and Clarissa Lim of Routledge, and Saraswathi Prasanthi of Deanta, deserve special praise for their competence, professionalism, patience, efficient editorial guidance, steadfast

encouragement, determination, intellectual focus and helpful suggestions. My world has been a better place for the presence of all these charming and colourful characters.

Special thanks are extended to the following organisations, associations and institutions that helped facilitate this project: the Muslim Association of Canterbury, the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand, and the Waikato Muslim Association. Discreet thanks are also owed to numerous unnamed informants among the wider Muslim community who took the time to answer my various communications and fecund questions over the past few years, including both insightful comments, rigorous criticisms and a few waved fists, but who desired both accuracy and anonymity.

Finally I would like to acknowledge my wife and children, and our wider family. Love to my long-suffering wife Hazra Bi, and our progeny Amina, Ismail and Yusuf. As the years tick by a man comes to appreciate greatly the patience and tolerance of those closest to him. Uncle Brian gets a special word for his extended interest and support for this project, for his engagement and animated efforts to steer me right. A brave man indeed.

A hearty and loud *shukran jazilan*, thank you.

Preface

Ex oriente lux.

15 March 2019 will forever be remembered as the time when a unique community was attacked and mutilated.

The Christchurch Muslim community is a colourful minority with a special cultural history unlike any other in the world. For over a century, Canterbury was a province where British colonialism and great religions converged, overlapped, and combined: the spiritual empires and faiths of Rome, Judaism, Islam and the Protestant denominations. (Religion itself is a notoriously indeterminate concept: some definitional criteria will encompass practically everything but never entirely all aspects.) Here, I will demonstrate that individual Muslims could remain *Mutadayyin* (firm Believers) without a *jama* (congregation) or a mullah. Presently, this complex and rich heritage has become obscured by a singular episode of violence, shrouded in a curious fog of ignorance and misinformation. In this first-ever comprehensive history of the Muslims of the South Island, I have provided an account of a community from its beginnings to its current state with the aim of dispelling the various myths of racial, religious and social history that have so clouded contemporary comprehension of an interesting page in New Zealand history. In particular, I have challenged and debunked the melancholic claim that Muslims are new to this land and illustrate the point that Muslim immigration has always been intimately tied to British settlement, European settler society and capitalism. I like to think that I lay to rest once and for all the misleading notions that have dominated media coverage and spurious political propaganda. The lasting significance of this book is not only that it places the South Island Muslim community into its true historical perspective but that it celebrates this rich history.

The central question I have posed in this book is whether the history of Muslims here can be included within the rubric of New Zealand history. The largest obstacle to any comprehension of the terror attack may be the assumption that Muslims are ‘new’ to this country. Perhaps paradoxically, the most significant reason for studying Muslim communal history is that it enables the reader to perceive that this history is indeed an integral part of New Zealand’s

past. The Muslims of Christchurch cannot be easily dismissed as an anomalous remnant of the British Empire (India or New Zealand), or as some kind of abstract, idealised or symbolic bridge between East and West in a political or ideological sense; the narrative here is replete with personal, familial and group endeavours to grapple with and rationalise reconfigured social ties and changing circumstances expressed in Islamic idiom for their own particular proclivities. Naturally it follows that the March episode of terrorism could not have happened if the Muslim minority had not been the peculiar entity that it is, that made it the subject of miscomprehension and vilification.

This book traces a history of consequences: ongoing immigration and religious conversion that reconfigured the complex social frontiers between Christians and Muslims; the gradual transformation of culture, education and economy; basic shifts in the cultural dynamics of the South Island; and a positive exchange of perspectives between Christians and Muslims. This is a history entirely devoid, until March 2019, of any serious rogues.

For much of this history, we are at the limited mercy of the sources, and few have been accurately identified or indexed in any academic sense. Consequently, I have supplemented the available literature with ample reference to contemporary newspapers that breathe life into the history as far as possible, without embroiling the reader in various historiographical trends or debates. In recent years, new material has come to light, and much more may appear in the future. In the meantime, researchers have barely scratched the surface.

The primary focus here is the minor but multifaceted role that Muslims played in the South Island of New Zealand during a shift from the pre-European era to the modern nation-state. These were periods and places in a state of constant, sometimes rapid, flux. In spite of the inherent assumptions and conjectures in the reconstruction of this history, the conclusions present thought-provoking impressions that are by no means implausible. Very little first-hand information concerning Muslim immigrants survived unscathed by the changes wrought by the colonial era. Those precious artefacts and evidence that have survived are well worth remembering, particularly when they are understood as corroborative evidence for an age of relative cosmopolitanism, interfaith harmony and mutual tolerance. The best remaining examples of this can be seen in the structure of the Muslim Association of Canterbury itself (predicated on New Zealand laws) and the architecture of the Deans Avenue mosque, the Masjid An-Nur (governed by a combination of Islamic building principles and New Zealand building codes). These were hybrid products of a curious cooperation and goodwill.

My approach, therefore, has not been to retell the ambivalent and intricate dynamics of New Zealand politics or economic development, but rather to give adequate background information in order to contextualise the pertinent data under examination. As such, attention has been drawn to the selection of relevant and seminal works in which readers will find extensive bibliographical references. Wherever possible, I have pointed to simple translations and transliterations in plain English. For the purposes of this tome, historic Christchurch

primarily – although not exclusively – corresponds to the modern city within New Zealand: this space, characterised by several geographic continuities and similarities, roughly parallels the historic polity under discussion.

Sustaining and maintaining Muslim cultural norms and religious practices was always possible in an isolated environment such as the South Island provided there was a sufficiently strong will to do so – which there clearly was. Where assimilation into the wider population was attested, it was in the broad direction of European settler society (rather than, say, overtly Christian identifications).

The geographical and chronological reach of this text extends across and beyond the South Island between the 1850s and 2010s, with particular emphasis on the biographies of significant settlers and key points in the communal history. (As a unit of analysis, I like biography. One of the most effective ways to communicate complicated ideas is to particularise the conundrum into a simple story, simile or axiom that everyone can comprehend, and biographies help flesh out the specific experiences of Muslims rather than providing the reader with an endless series of vague generalisations. Biography is powerful precisely because it illustrates generalisations through the lens of the life of one individual; it provides the reader an opportunity to comprehend how the broad brushstrokes of history shape the journey of the private citizen.) Diverse as this history is, it remains largely unexplored and is not as studied as Muslim history in other parts of the South Pacific like Australia and Fiji for instance. It is not as familiar as the Auckland Muslim population but it is sufficiently compact to make a coherent regional study.

The flotsam and jetsam of historical misinformation and propaganda that have appeared in English language media over the past 40 years have been washed in by tides of political mythology from abroad. For quite some time now, critics of Islam have conflated Muslims in this country with various political events and characters overseas. Others have presented a discursive myth of permanent harmony, peace and bland smiles between the conflicting social groups and parties. It can be challenging for commentators with no knowledge of the theology or history of the religion to negotiate the asymmetrical pattern of competing claims, justifications, ideological conventions and mythologies that emanate from both within and without.

Folk are always susceptible to looking for an easy way out.

It is important to comprehend these causal pathways, however. It is critical to understand how a society can transform in this manner, and most significantly, it is imperative to understand the role of the individuals within that society. In writing this book, I have wanted not only to challenge misunderstandings about Islam and the local Muslim community, but also to offer a reading that confirms that Muslims have made a valid contribution to the social and economic development of this country. I am often disheartened to read and hear ignorant observations about this faith and the faithful in mainstream media. To identify Islam inseparably with oppressive political characters, events, ideas and regimes abroad is to ignore the reality of the history of

fealty of local Muslims (and to ignore the complexity of the religion itself). The presence of so many Muslims in colonial and postcolonial New Zealand suggests that they did not intrinsically reject absolutely or irreversibly Christian or European political hegemony or democracy – quite the reverse. Every faith is open to multiple interpretations and readings: the Christianity of the Spanish Inquisition or the Jonestown massacre bears little resemblance to the faith we observe in New Zealand today. Confusing Islam with radical groups overseas ignores the critical point that the religion has never authorised a formal clergy to monopolise and interpret theological meaning: there is no Pope or Apostolic succession in the Muslim world, no universally acknowledged group hierarchy. A closer inspection of New Zealand Muslim history demonstrates that such communal animosities that existed in the past were not absolute or part of some irreducible force. Nor were such tensions the inevitable result of the mixing together of different class, ethnic, linguistic or religious groups; animosities were not permanently fixed into the psyches of the population at either individual or group level. The main basis for tension was not racial or theological but, if anything, economic and material.

So we must repudiate all calls that amount to fostering a victim mentality – such an approach is a form of abandoning personal responsibility.

Embedded within my personal ethical framework and religious convictions is the unwavering belief in the equality of all human beings. This belief holds significance due to the prevalence of disparities in various facets of reality and existence. These disparities encompass diverse realms such as artistic aptitude, the perception of beauty, cognitive prowess, endurance, physical might, access to material abundance, wealth, authority, opportunities, potential, and even matters as seemingly trivial as having a discerning taste in hats.

Although, strictly speaking, the practice of Islam concerns only Muslims, their practices are of interest to the wider public. Religion is without doubt a critical factor in any account of the Muslim community. Writing for both Muslim readers and non-Muslim ones in a common vocabulary has proved challenging, not because I could not locate the correct translation or terminology, but because so many individuals are invested in popular distortions inside the English language media. To write simultaneously for both audiences and in the same language is to walk a linguistic tightrope. Mislabelling aspects and issues runs the risk of denying autonomy, agency, creativity and specificity. To ultra-conservative and pious Muslims, simple English language terms like *sermon* or even *God* seem too close to the hermeneutical epistemology of Christians or at least non-Muslims, for instance. Conversely, to write about a *mullah* giving *khutbah* from the *minbar* of the *masjid* about the significance of *iman* and *taqwa* in the *din* will leave non-Muslim readers baffled and bewildered. Consequently, for overall simplicity, I have thus written this text with non-Muslims in mind. I have chosen to retain such terms where appropriate and provide summary translations and explanations.

The terrorist who undertook his murderous rampage in Canterbury, in March 2019, will undoubtedly assert that history is on his side. What he has

demonstrated through his vicious deeds is that he was prepared to violate the principles of both Christianity and Western civilisation and culture; he was prepared to ignore the history of New Zealand and violate all known norms of human decency. One of the primary reasons such individuals want to attack or undermine a successful culture is because that they do not want to have anything to contrast with themselves and their own personal failures or inadequacies.

The reader should bear in mind that this text seeks neither to condemn nor to valorise Islam or individual Muslims. Exercising both the empathy and objectivity incumbent on the historian, it aims to allow the sources to capture the reader's interest and speak for themselves, irrespective of whether the reader is indifferent or sympathetic to the doctrines of the Islamic faith. In part, an exercise in the history of ordinary lives, this book is an aggregate of stories that emerge in the English language historical literature and archives, considering the personal interactions between individuals, their aims, accomplishments, biases and impulses, as well as their beliefs and customs.

What I have tried to do in this book is to examine some of the aspects of that cultural history. This monograph devotes considerable attention to the representations and conceptualisations of local Muslims, especially during the twentieth century. My tome presents a critical – but hopefully balanced – view of the complicated history of transnational and transconfessional encounters between Muslims and non-Muslims, especially members of the Christian faith. I aim to provide representative samples of different kinds of contributions, and discuss the formative influences. I believe this can help clarify contemporary discourse in New Zealand, and indeed many Western countries, on collective cross-denominational coexistence and the integration of Muslim minorities.

Glossary of Islamic Terms

(All terms are Arabic unless otherwise indicated).

Abaya Muslim women's overgarment that covers the entire body except the hands, feet and face; often black.

'Abd Slave.

'Adl Justice.

Aga/Agha (Turkish from Persian) Honorific title for civilian or military officer. Derived from Persian ağa (master or lord). Shorthand term for gentleman. Lower ranking than a Beg/Bey (see below).

Ahadith Plural of Hadith.

'Ahd Promise or covenant.

Ahl al-Bayt Literally People of the Household [of Ali]; byword for Shia Muslims.

Ahl al-Dhimma The status of a dhimmi (see below).

Ahl al-Kitab People of the Book. (Principally Jews and Christians).

Akhirah Afterlife.

Al-Ahkam al-Furu'iyah Interpretations of Shariah particular or unique to a specific tribe, region or country.

Al-Amma The common people. The proletariat.

Al-Aqsa The farthest.

'Alim Scholar. Learned. Usually used with reference to Qur'an teachers at mosques. See: Ilm, Muallim.

Al-Usuliyah Literally 'the principles', employed to mean the basics of Islam, the fundamental points and practices.

Amah Female slave.

Aman A safe conduct or pledge of security for non-Muslims working, living or travelling in Muslims lands. (Historic).

Amin/Ameen Truth, truly. Etymologically linked to Amen (Hebrew).

Amr/Amir/Ameer Prince, commander or leader. Often used in reference to leadership roles in community. Etymologically linked to Emir and Emirate.

- Amir al-Mu'minin** Prince, commander or leader of the believers. A protocolary title of a Caliph. See: Amr, Caliph, Mu'min.
- Amthal** Figures of speech within Qur'anic Arabic. Example, parable, proverb.
- Ansar/Ansari** Helper(s). Historically the natives of the city of Medina who aided the Prophet Muhammad and his Muhajrun/emigrants from the city of Mecca. Sometimes used in contemporary parlance to demarcate local Muslims from recent immigrants.
- 'Asabiyyah** Group solidarity.
- Askar/Askari** Soldier. Derived from the Persian laškar. See: Lascar.
- Ayat** Verse. Proof. Lesson.
- Ayatullah** Verse of God, proof of God. Religious title in Shia Ulema.
- Azan** Call to prayer. Normally made from a minaret five times a day.
- Bait/Bayt** House. Derived from the West Semitic word bet, present in place names like Bethlehem (Bayt Lahm in Arabic).
- Baitullah/Baytullah** House of God. A popular epithet for a mosque or for the resources of God.
- Bajram/Bayram (Turkic) Festival, Eid. See:** Eid.
- Bay'a/Bay'ah** Fealty or oath of allegiance.
- Bazaar** (Persian) Enclosed or sheltered marketplace. Etymologically linked to the word bizarre in English and Pazar/Pazaar in Turkish.
- Besa** (Albanian) Pledge, word of honour.
- Bidah** Religious innovation or Heresy.
- Bin/Ben/Ibn** Son, son of. Present in names like Benjamin (Benyamin in Arabic).
- Bint** Daughter.
- Beg/Bey** (Turkic) Mister, honorific title. Etymologically linked to names and surnames such as Skanderbeg or Begovic. The feminine version Begum is still popular amongst Indian Muslims.
- Caliph/Caliphate** Successor (to the Prophet of God). Title given to the supreme sovereign authority over all Muslims (theoretically) following the death of Muhammad. The post became hereditary and contested for centuries, and was abolished in 1924.
- Casbah** See Kasbah.
- Chador** (Persian) Full ankle-length coat or cloak worn by females outside the home.
- Da'i** Missionary. See Dawah.
- Dar** House.
- Dar al-Harb** House of War. Classical Islamic term for the world outside the lands of Muslims.
- Dawa/Da'wah** Mission-like activity designed to re-invigorate or re-activate the faithful or attract converts to the faith.
- Dawla/al-Dawla** Secular or religious state, dynasty or polity.
- Dawlat al-Islam** Islamic polity, state.

- Dervish/Darvish** (Persian) Follower of Sufi order.
- Dhimmi** Non-Muslim citizen within Muslim society or under Islamic legal protection. The phenomena corresponded to the *servi nostre camere* (slaves of our chamber) status of religious minorities within medieval Christian Europe.
- Dua** Private prayer or supplication. Not compulsory but popular.
- Dunya** World, or temporal existence.
- Effendi** Mister, honorific title (Greek).
- Eid** Principal religious festival.
- Eid al-Adha** The Festival of the Sacrifice. The most important Muslim festivity occurs two months after the end of Ramadan. Customarily an animal will be sacrificed and meat distributed to the poor.
- Eid al-Fitr** The Festival of Fast-Breaking. The second most important Muslim festivity. Follows immediately on the end of Ramadan. A special Zakat is raised and distributed to the poor.
- Emir/Emirate** See Amr. Fakir/Faqir Muslim ascetic, mendicant or beggar, often associated with Sufi orders.
- Fatwa** Legal opinion or ruling of a Mufti or qualified jurist.
- Fard/Farz** Compulsory.
- Fard/Farz al-Ayn** Legal obligations that must be undertaken by all Muslims (such as prayer, charity, fasting, and pilgrimage). Often contrasted with fard al-kifayah.
- Fard/Farz al-Kifaya** Communal obligation in Islamic law that must be undertaken by or on behalf of the entire Muslim community such as conducting funeral prayers (the performance of which, by some Muslims, discharges others).
- Fatan** Youth.
- Faqih** Legal and religious scholar.
- Fez** Short cylindrical red-felt headdress with black tassel, worn by males.
- Fellah** Peasant. Farmer. Ploughman. Agricultural labourer.
- Fitna/Fitnah** Temptation, test, strife, sedition, internecine conflict.
- Fitrah** Disposition or Nature. Shorthand for Islamic belief that all humans are born Muslim but raised in different faiths.
- Fiqh** Jurisprudence. An expansion of the Shariah as articulated in the Qur'an. Usually supplemented by the Sunnah and implemented by the interpretations and decisions of Islamic scholars over centuries. It details the observance of rituals, morals and social legislation in Islam.
- Ghazi/Gazi** Holy warrior. One who has led or participated in Ghazw, a military expedition.
- Hadith** Traditional saying or deed attributed to the prophet Muhammad or his contemporaries.
- Hadd** Singular of Hudud. See Hudud.
- Hafiz** Guardian or Memoriser of entire Qur'an. (Feminine: Hafiza).
- Hajj** Pilgrimage. One of the five principle and strongly encouraged features or 'pillars' of Islam. This involves rites over several days in Mecca.