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Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage  
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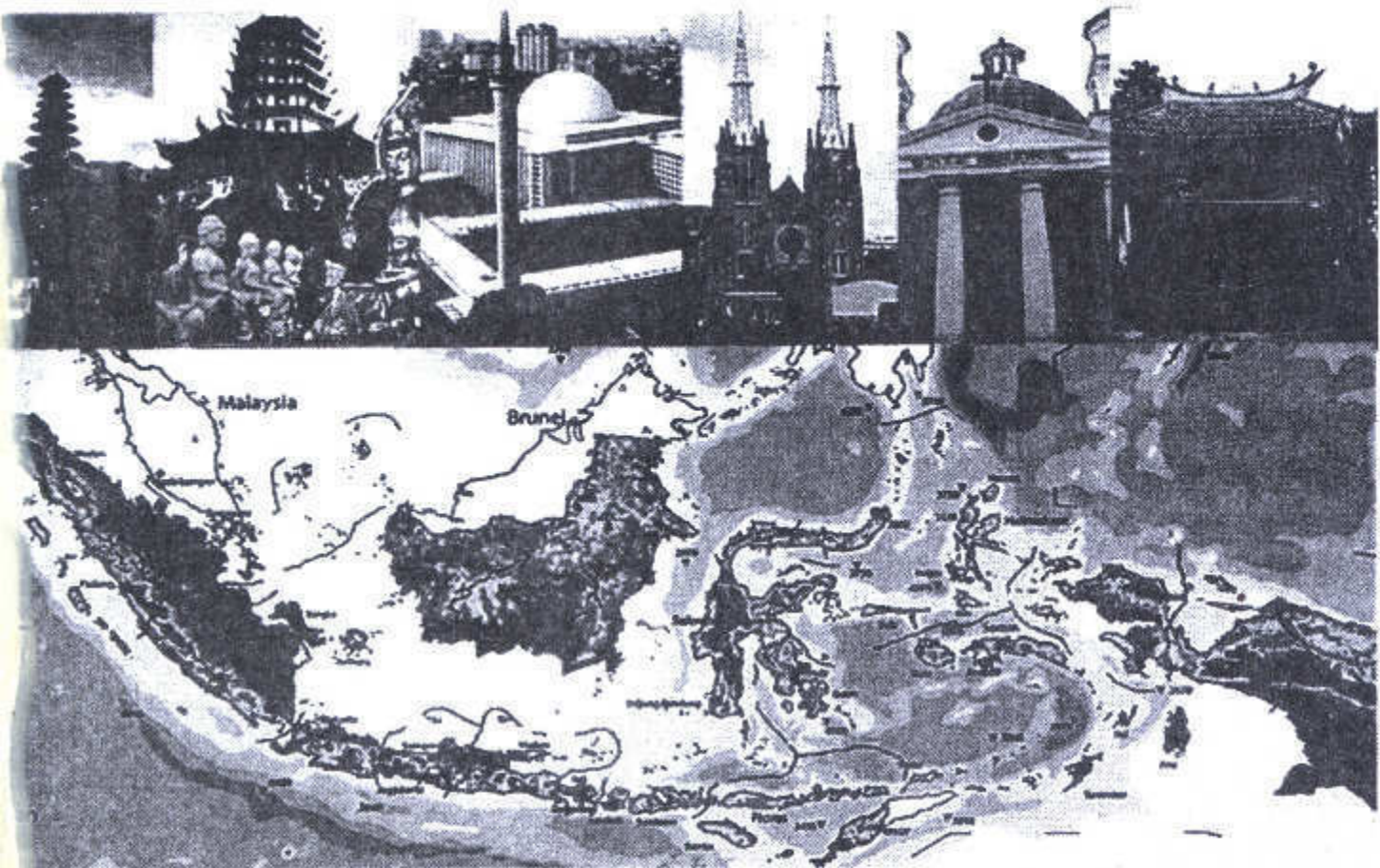


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## EDITORIAL NOTES

This edition is concerned with the problems of Muslim movements and social history in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. The purpose of this edition is not totally different from the previous edition that is to promote the cultural heritage of Islam in Indonesia in particular and the world-wide in general. Apart from that, it is certainly to develop ideas relating to the development of Islamic thoughts and movements, social history as cultural heritage in order to be widely known, read and reviewed by the academic community at large.

Studies on this edition include a few posts on “The *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah* in Southeast Asia: The Literature of Malay-Indonesian ‘Ulama’ and Reforms”, “The Meccan Fatwas and the Globalized Discourse of Exclusion: The Case of Anti-Ahmadiyah Movements in Indonesia”, “Women, Leadership, and Mosque’s Cultures: Indonesian Heritage in New York City”, “Adat, Islam, and Dakwah Movement in Bayan, North Lombok”, “مباحث الإيمان”, “على نظرة أهل السنة والجماعة”, “Hajj Transportation of Netherlands East Indies, 1910-1940”, and “تطور المسلمين في بورما بعد استقلاله”.

The first article is written by Azyumardi Azra on *Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah* in Southeast Asia. This study focusses on the literature used by Malay-Indonesian Ulama and reforms performing their idea to their society. Azra highlights that the Malay-Indonesian ulama were mostly responsible for earliest reforms of Islamic teaching and Muslim life in the archipelago.

Further study is written by Dadi Darmadi focussing on the historical and global contextualization of intolerance towards religious minority group, such as Ahmadiyah, and it analyzes the recent increased animosity towards them in Indonesia. Dadi Darmadi argues that to understand the current persecution of Ahmadiyah one must begin with an examination of the early

transnational efforts to marginalize Ahmadiyah and their effects on Muslim communities. The Meccan fatwas in focus – and their reproduction – provide an example of the ways in which such globalized discourses of exclusion regarding a particular religious group were strategically framed and mobilized in i.e. Lahore, Mecca and few other places, and how these historical and theological factors at play could provide more insight into the rising political intolerance and the criminalization of religious views in Indonesia.

The third article is written by Fakhriati which talks of the use of certain papers in the writing of Islamic manuscripts in Aceh. The article argues that there are two types of Acehnese manuscripts' papers: traditional and imported papers with unique and spesific images of watermark. The dominant watermark appeared in the imported papers were crescents which symbolized the typical characteristics of the Islamic sign. Studying on such papers indicates the relationship between the country of producers and the country of of the the paper user.

The next article is written by Erni Budiwanti which discusses about local customs, religion and the reaction of Tuan Guru as teachers and leaders for traditional Islamic school (*Pesantren*). Tuan Guru had took significant role as a cultural broker. They acted not only for teaching religious matters, but transformed local customs to acceterate global need for maintaing ecological balance. The mission has put them into two dilemma. On the one side, they attempt to alter local customs which had many sacral values, and on the other sides, they solve community problem on education and treat enviromental balance.

Further article is written by Sofyan Hadi which studies on manuscript of *Khabar Nazam Usiyat* collected by family of Syekh Muhammad Said Bonjol, Minangkabau, West Sumatra. He concludes that this manuscript contained a model of Al-Gazali's *Tasawuf Akhlaqi*. This manuscript emerged as a response and critics to theological concept occurred at that time in Minangkabau.

Further article is written by Erlita Tantri which highlights on mechanism of Hajj Transportation and its significance in Netherlands East Indies, from 1910 to 1940. From her research, she concludes that during the above period, the role the Dutch colonial to hajj took an important part which they regarded as economical and political issue which effected to colonial sustainability.

The next article is written by Ali Fahrudin which is about the history of arising Rohingya Muslims in Burma and their *jihad* for seeking their authority. In his works, Ali argues that Rohingya Muslim had no status in their country which then posited them in low level of the Burma community. They in fact should have the right as other community.

# HAJJ TRANSPORTATION OF NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES, 1910-1940

By Erlita Tantri

## Abstract

This article is about Hajj transportation of Netherland Indies in during the years of 1910-1940. The focus of this article is the mechanism of the Hajj transportation and its significance since eighteenth century. It is based on that historical phenomenon, that this paper will examine the hajj transportation in the past related to regulation and problems and why it was important to control hajj ship transportation by using archives and authorities' report as main sources and other secondary sources. Historically, since eighteenth century, even until today, going to hajj or pilgrimage was very interesting and attractive for native Muslim in Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia), especially for gaining religious requirement, social pride and Islamic ideas. The phenomenon can be seen from the increase and the stable number of the pilgrims from Indonesia which had attracted much interest from many parts of stake holders such as from Hijaz (Arabian government). In relation to that, it is worth noting that ship was an important transport to convey pilgrim from and to Indonesia and thus, business of hajj transportation become a field of contention between state authority and private ship businesses. It is based on that historical phenomenon, that this paper will examine the hajj transportation in the past related to regulation and problems and why it was important to control hajj ship transportation by using archives and authorities' report as main sources and other secondary sources. Hajj transportation was a profitable business (even until today) that increased competition among British, Malay, Arabic, and Dutch shipping companies. Completion and regulation from ships and authority did not give better services for native pilgrims besides poor condition, discomfort and suffering of pilgrimage. However, hajj transportation had to be controlled, especially to restrain problems of *moekimans* and movement ideas from Hijaz.

**Keywords:** Hajj Transportation, Dutch, Pilgrims, and Ships



## Introduction

Some historical notes mention that Islam came to Indonesia since around the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Dissemination of Islam and its pillars was estimated growing fast. Some documents have shows that in the early sixteenth century, the *Nusantar* pilgrims had already been found in Mekkah. Louis Barthema states that the *Nusantar* pilgrims that he met in 1503 were traders who went from *Nusantara* for trading. They anchored in Jeddah and visited Mekkah. (Putuhena, 2007:106). Shaleh Putuhena describes that in the seventeenth century, Indonesian natives began to visit Jeddah for studying, especially in Mekkah and Madinah. During the temporary study and trade, they made chance to go for pilgrimage to Mekkah. (Putuhena, 2007:107). It was possible that they were merchants who went to Mekkah for trading or studying and coming by their own boats or by indirect ship to Jeddah.

It is pride, religious means and knowledge encouraged Indonesia communities to go to hajj, even though some of them did not come back immediately to Indonesia after having done the pilgrimage and studying. They stayed and lived for many years and when they came back, some of them became religious teachers or preceptors. However, going to Mekkah for pilgrimage was also to quarry political legitimacy in Mekkah. For example, in 1630, Kings of Banten and Mataram contended to obtain avowal for their position. They went to Mekkah and sought for a “Sultan” appellation from Mekkah authority by hoping that this would give a supernatural power for their sovereignties.<sup>1</sup>

For many years, the interest and the number of Indonesian pilgrims to Mekkah progressively increased even until nowadays. However, Indonesian Pilgrims has been facing many problems since the past time, such as problem of transportation, hajj passport, hajj expenses, hajj service, safety, accommodation. This article would focus on the problem of hajj shipping service. It is because, shipping

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<sup>1</sup> Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, *Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia Masa Kolonial: Agen Herklots dan Firma Alsegoff & Co*, Jakarta, 2001, p. ix.

service in hajj activity was an essential and profitable business. The increase of pilgrimage interest and number had attracted the competition among shipment businesses, such as British's ships, Singaporean ships, and other private ships. Afterwards, the Dutch shipment agencies were also involved in the hajj transportation business. After the establishment of Dutch office in Jeddah, the Dutch began to seriously manage manage the profit and prospective transportation, especially after many years, the ship business was hold by some British and Malay ships agencies. It is by seeing this condition, it will be interesting to know further, how the role of Dutch Jeddah office in regulating the pilgrim ship transportation in period of 1910-1940 is. Why it was important to control the ship transportation and what the problem was, relating to ship transportation and its regulation?

There are many studies about hajj, such as study from M. Shaleh Putuhena and Michael B. Miller. However, study about hajj transportation is rare. Therefore, it would be significant to map the ship business and its role in Netherlands East Indies pilgrimage, particularly in the early of twentieth century. Furthermore, it is important to discribe the improvement of regulation and raising problems relating to the Hajj ship transportation for better service. The archives are particularly related to transportation and pilgrimage travel such as documents about the ships for pilgrim transportation from and to Netherlands East Indies, 1922 Pilgrims ordinance, transportation from and to Mekkah, and part of documents of annual report of Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning to pilgrimage to Mekkah. The limitation of time from 1910 to 1940 is decided to know the pilgrim ship transportation in general, in the early twentieth century – beginning before the World War I, until the period before the occupation of Japanese and the Indonesian Independence.

This paper will consist of some parts. Part one describes the pilgrimage travel and historical background. Part two describes the earlier pilgrimage relating to the role of ship as a main transportation and its related problems. Part three describes the role of Jeddah office in the hajj ship transportation. It mentions concerning regulation,

problem, and the response of Dutch consulate, and the last part is conclusion.

## **Pilgrimage Travel and Historical Background**

In the eighteenth century, pilgrimage was attractive for indigenous Muslim. Pilgrimage did not only affect their religious requirement, but also their social pride. Pilgrimage to Jeddah in the old time is limited by vacility and long duration of trip because it was reach by using sail-boat. Furthermore, natives' number and interest for pilgrimage frequently increased and this condition was caught by sailboat business particularly and the Dutch government afterwards. Through shipment broker, the ship agencies forced the natives to take pilgrimage by using their ships. Sometimes, brokers persuaded poor natives, even though the natives' economic condition was impossible to fill requirement of hajj in terms of money for themselves and their family member left. Nevertheless, business of pilgrimage extremely was supported because of one its important functions to gain economic benefit for country, even until nowadays.

Regarding to economic aspect, Vredembregt looks that profits from pilgrimage activities were completely realized by Hijaz's government since 1926. (Vredembregt, 1997:30). Hijaz authority understood that the Netherlands East Indies was the important pilgrim sender. Therefore, Hijaz seriously attempted to build and increase good relations to Dutch colonial government. Hijaz actively sent their propagandist to Netherlands East Indies for attracting as many pilgrims as possible from this Dutch colony. Finally, this condition created the equal interest among Dutch colonial, also shipping companies (important media in sending pilgrims), and Arabian government. (Vredembregt, 1997:31).

Concerning pilgrim conveyance, particularly in the initial period of the pilgrimage, ship was an important transport to convey pilgrims from and to Indonesia. Alteration of ships – chiefly from sailboat to steamship, was followed by enhancement of Indonesian pilgrim number. As the Indonesian pilgrimage has been conducted and performed for years, thus it has been formally regulated and

institutionalized. It is important to manage and control its activity, which consistent with for the increase of pilgrims' number. In the earlier twentieth century, number of Indonesian pilgrims could reach a large number. For example, in 1911, Indonesia pilgrims could attain 28.7 percent from total number of pilgrims in Jeddah and extremely increased in 1927, when Indonesian pilgrims could reach out nearly half of world pilgrims, 43.7 percent. (Vredembregt, 1997:58). After that, number of Indonesian pilgrims was tendency quite stable, even though economic crisis and war ever struck.

Pilgrimage in the earlier period was considerably hard and faced by many difficulties and obstacles along their trips. Pilgrimage mostly could be done by depending on the season and the ships. At the time using sail-ships, they sometimes did not directly go to Jeddah. Consequently, they had to change many ships to reach Jeddah or Yaman. For example, they took sail-ship to Aceh, and from Aceh, the ships directed to India. From India, they took ship, which wanted to go to Hedramaut, Yaman or Jeddah.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, this intricate journey did not lessen the interest of Indonesian Muslims for pilgrimage.

Since nineteenth century, mainly after the opening of Suez Canal in 1869, Indonesian pilgrim straight improved and number of ships from Java and Singapore in passing Suez route regularly rose – even though a lot of pilgrims who returned were smaller than who went out. Many pilgrims preferred to stay in Jeddah than came back by motives such as continuing their religious activities, trading, studying, and staying with their relatives in Jeddah. Pilgrims, who were staying in Jeddah, were known as *moekimien*. However, why did the number of pilgrims increase? The improvement of rural economic (for example because of good harvest from native plantation) was one of the reasons. Besides the increase of propaganda intensity from hajj brokers was who came to rural areas and forced natives to do pilgrimage. The broker was one of parts that acquired profit from increasing number of pilgrims.

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<sup>2</sup> Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, *Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia Masa Kolonial: Agen Herklots dan Firma Alsegoff & Co*, p. x.

In the period of 1910-1940, there were some global and local significant events – in social, economic, and political issues– took place, such as World War I, the fall of Turk Sultanate, economic crisis, ethical policy – nationalist flourish, etc that more or less gave influence to pilgrimage activities. Nevertheless, number of Indonesia pilgrims was slightly stable. In the period 1910/1911, Indonesian pilgrims got its peak for about 15.4% - 28.7% from the total number of pilgrims in Mekkah, even though it fiercely decreased in period 1914-1918 by only around 0.8% – when World War I burst. Then it increased dramatically in period 1920 for 47.4% and became stable until 1930/1931 (42.5%). In period 1931-1937, number Indonesian pilgrim was average 11.6% (world crisis period), and in 1940, before the coming of Japan, was about 20.8%. (Putuhana, 2007:413-414).

What did the pilgrims do besides pilgrimage? That was that the Dutch government was anxious about. The establishment of Dutch Consulate office in 1872 became one of part to control and manage Netherlands Indies pilgrim in Jeddah-Mekkah. The Dutch government concluded that it was necessary to involve in Hajj implementation, especially to directly handle the sea transportation from and to Netherlands East Indies as the starting point of pilgrimage round-trip. (Putuhana, 2007:xii).

According to James Scott, state tended to get involved and make social engineering by simplification and standardization of complex facts. State gradually handled on its subjects and environment. Here, James Scott examines the attempt of government to engineer their social, agriculture, even organization of transportation, and why these attempts are destined to fail. Scott bitterly criticizes why the attempts are unsuccessful and the result is disaster and human suffering. Besides, state was also possible to make discriminating intervention of every kind. (Scott, 1998:2-3).

Dutch authority along with its Consul attempted to complete the management of pilgrimage in every aspect. Some policies on pilgrimage were set up and particularly, one of policies was straight directed to ship transportation service that will be explained more in this paper. Transportation term indirectly covers the agencies with their policies (that usually are decided together with central authority) in

some aspects such as the fare or ticket cost, the route, the employee, and the transportation facility. Then, the role of government (which has authority and power) to control and make decision relating to transportation services as a whole. The last part, in transportation service, is the role of passengers as the consumers of transportation service.

How was the hajj ship in the past? Actually, for regulation for example, was put on ticket, route, and embarkation. Generally, pilgrimage had role as well as the commercial component, which money was gained from passengers as the using of the transportation facilities. In the past, ship as main transportation generally seemed as a field of contention between official business under the state authority and private ship firms. In the pilgrim business, it often worked exactly in the same way, with a success in mass transportation of hajjis and depending on the circuits put together by shipping companies. (Miller, 2006: 196).

### **Pilgrimage and Ship Transportation**

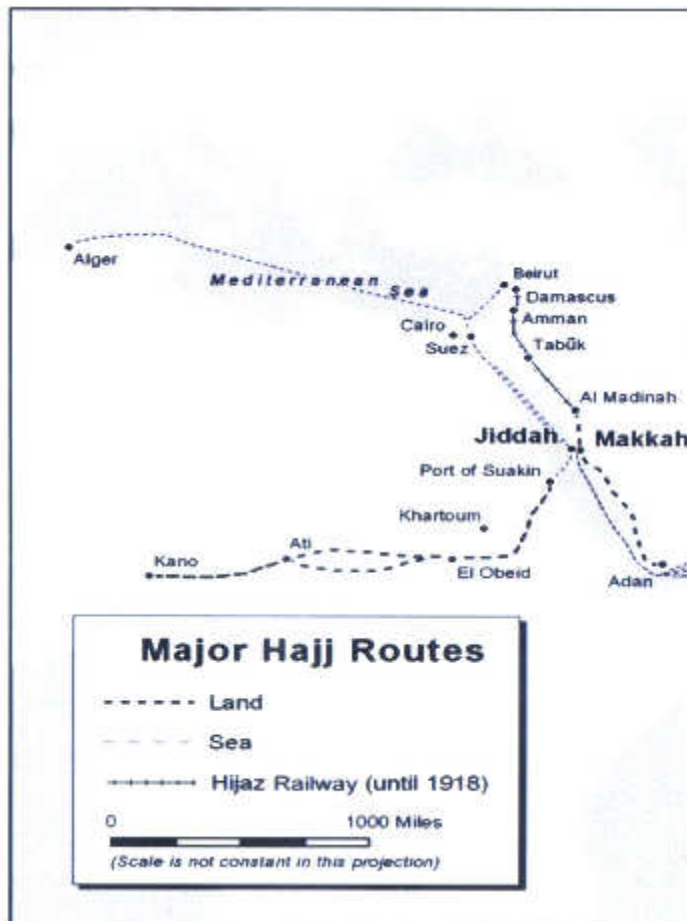
According to Michael B. Miller, hajj can be identified as a migration in modern times, whether long or short-term has kind of a business and also as a movement of people. Steamship companies, railways company agents, brokers and labour recruiters created hajj become a migration and a big business. In its operation, it provides the organization which performs into the great transoceanic flows of humanity. (Miller, 2006: 190). Historians of hajj had recognized the central important of ship or steamship in creating the better line of communication, in the development of mass pilgrimage to Mekkah during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The other factor, according Miller<sup>3</sup>, “changing imperial policies, rising commodity prices, questions of Islamic identity, the prestige and self-justification

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<sup>3</sup> In Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 354–6; Vredembregt, ‘Haddj’, 100–3, 113–22; Mary Byrne McDonnell, ‘The Conduct of Hajj from Malaysia and its Socio-Economic Impact on Malay Society: A Descriptive and Analytical Study, 1860–1981’ (Columbia Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1986), 75–7.

attached to pilgrimage, and the advance of orthodox forms of Islam — were equally influential in promoting an event that was of immense significance to the cultural identity of its participants and to the unifying processes of modern Islam.”

Picture 1. Major Route of Pilgrimage



Source all pictures: Michael B. Miller, Pilgrims’ Progress: The Business of Hajj, Past & Present Society 2006 191(1):189-228, *Oxford Journal*, 2006.

Miller bitterly notes that none of ship business operated without the intrusion of western businessmen and there was the effect of European shipping practice on the annual pilgrimage to Mekkah. The transportation of Muslim pilgrims by European shipping companies seemed as an imperial trade, and conformed to larger patterns of business in imperial waters. (Miller, 2006: 192). So that, when the world war broke out, it affected the empires and empires

affected the communication lines and finally the pilgrims were suffered.

Because of difficulty of journey, the natives who decided to go to pilgrimage, at least, had to prepare for the worst condition in their trip, mainly if they could not survive on the way. Many pilgrims experienced in running out their food, losing their property, wracking their ships, etc. Consequently, they must provide a good physical condition, courage, finance, provision, and financial security for their families. Therefore, the long distance of pilgrimage and great risks and difficulties made the pilgrimage journey had a high and special meaning for Indonesian society.

Shaleh Putuhena sees that ship held important role in transporting pilgrims to and from Jeddah, when, since 1716, Netherlands ships were not allowed to carry pilgrims to Mekkah. This was stated in the *Besluit van 4 Agustus 1716*. (Putuhena, 2007:133). As the result, in the eighteenth century, the pilgrims had to take other trade-ship from one port to another port for reaching Jeddah.

Although, the Dutch came back and controlled Indonesia once more in the nineteenth century, however, the pilgrims shipping was not on the Dutch's hand. In 1825, for the first time the pilgrims used a special ship that was provided for pilgrimage. This ship was provided and held by a Malay, Syaikh Umar Bugis (Putuhena, 2007:133) and for several times, the pilgrim shipping was handled by a *Syech*. A bright benefit of pilgrim shipping, especially because of the increasing number of *Nusantara* pilgrims, really attracted British ships to involve the pilgrimage transportation business. They began to engage in the business of pilgrim shipping services and in the middle of 1858 their steamships took *Nusantara* pilgrims from Batavia. As the result, this shipping service drew high benefit from a big number of *Nusantara* pilgrims at the time, when hajj transportation was not so much. Especially for foreign ship agencies were that generally had a big capital to have a big ship and high interest in pilgrimage travel business, such as Arabic, British, Singaporean, Indian, etc. The fact that pilgrims shipping was one of fields of money, had forced Arabian community in Batavia to buy a ship from *Besier en Jonkheim*,



(Putuhena, 2007:134) which could carry 400 pilgrims per one way from Batavia to Padang and continued to Jeddah.

This promising condition tempted and pushed the Netherlands to involve. Therefore, after establishment of the Dutch Consul in Jeddah in 1872, shipping services was directly managed. In 1873, the Dutch made contract of shipping service for its three shipping agencies: Nederland, Rotterdamsche Lloyd, and Ocean. They were popularly called as "*Kongsi Tiga*". (Putuhena, 2007:133).

However, until world depression in 1920, many Indonesian pilgrims who chose Singapore and Malaya for embarkations was still significant in number, chiefly by reasons to avoid passport control and vaccination that were regulated by Dutch government. (Vredenberg, 197:34). This condition made the Dutch Jeddah office thought about the essential and effective shipping lines, routes, and embarkations organized by colonial agent to attract pilgrims' interest.

### **1. Pilgrimage Journey**

When someone decided to do pilgrimage, he or she was expected to decide on the vehicle and port that would be chosen. In the earlier twentieth century, people who would go pilgrimage could choose three alternatives of embarkation for going to Jeddah. (Putuhena, 2007:155). *The first*, they could take one of ship which operated in Indonesia. They also could choose a port in Indonesia as their embarkation. *The second*, they took a ship from Semanjung Malaya and departure from Singaporean and Penang embarkations. *The third*, they went by public ship transportation or heading ship, then, they departed to Jeddah from Bombay or Suez.

For the effectiveness and a good system with Mekkah, the Dutch authority provided three groups of arrival:<sup>4</sup>

1. Padang group, for the pilgrims who embarked from Sabang, Bengkulu, and Teluk Betung

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<sup>4</sup> National Archief, Den Haag, Ministrie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulate (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Jeddah (Turkije/Saoedi-Arabie) nummer toegang 2.05.53, inventarisnummer 149

2. Palembang group, for the pilgrims embarked in Belawan, Palembang, Jambi, Muntok, and Sabang.
3. Batavia group, for pilgrims embarked in Tanjung Priuk and other Javanese ports.

Practically, the comparison of the condition of the pilgrims who embarked from Singapore by British ships and from *Nusantara* by Dutch ships was different. (Putuhena, 2007:156). The pilgrims departed by British ship did not have to have Hajj-pas and visa by their intricate procedures. British ship could give pilgrims with only single ticket, which somehow its ticket was cheaper than that of Dutch ship. Occasionally British ship did not require to pay Hajj-pas, visa, and also for vaccinations of cholera, typhus, and smallpox. This condition also could happen when pilgrims took British ships from other British colonies such as Penang and Bombay. (Putuhena, 2007:157).

These options intensively could attract Netherlands Indies' pilgrims to displace their counts to British ships and to embark from Singapore or Malay Peninsula than by Dutch ships from Batavia. However, the option to choose British ships was also a risky decision. Taking the British ship means that they give their life to ship which out of authority's control. The ship could do anything to gain the profit, even though by forcing and cheating the Netherlands Indies' pilgrim. As a consequence, the pilgrims could not delegate the failure to the Dutch authority.

Before departing to Jeddah, pilgrims from many areas in *Nusantara* went to certain embarkation in Indonesia. In 1898, *pelgrimshaven* decided Batavia and Padang as the embarkation. Stipulation only two of these embarkations complicated the pilgrims from far areas of *Nusantara*. If the pilgrims came from Moluccas and went to Batavia, they had to pass Ternate, Manado, Makassar, and Surabaya. (Putuhena, 2007:172). Pilgrims were carried by a Dutch ship company, *Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij* (KPM), which was founded in 1888. After pilgrim ordinance 1922, the embarkation was expanded including Makassar, Surabaya, Tanjung Priuk, Padang, Palembang, and Sabang. This decision made the number of pilgrims to take embarkation from Singapore and Penang come down. However, the number of Indonesian pilgrims was frequently increasing but the

Dutch ships were not able to carry all of them. As the result, the Indonesian pilgrims who took ship through Singapore embarkation were still many.

## 2. Ship Transportation and Problems

Problem of embarkation could be occurred when it was related to availability of ship transportation. In the moment the Dutch consul established in Jeddah in 1872, the Dutch consul concerned to have a ship service to deliver Netherlands East Indies pilgrim to Jeddah. Before official Dutch ship was operated, Singapore became one of essential route and embarkation for Netherlands Indies' pilgrims. Previously, pilgrim transports in Singapore were held by Arab and English. These shipping services for example were Herklots and Asegoff & Co. agencies in the late nineteenth century, which were very active to attract Netherlands Indies' pilgrims that had potential and large number. In practice, these shipping companies had done much detriment and exploitation to Netherlands Indies' pilgrims. They entrapped pilgrims and inflated the transport cost, which finally became a debt burden for pilgrim selves. Eventually, the pilgrims, who could not afford to pay, became slaves in the plantation that was owned by the shipping agent and had to work by poor payment and condition until several years.

Based on Netherlands Indies pilgrim notification towards the Herklots and its action to the pilgrims, the Dutch Jeddah office tried to remind the Herklots. The Dutch Jeddah office struggled to return back the Herklots' representative in Jeddah and litigated it. Nevertheless, the Dutch Jeddah office could not do further, because it faced the Jeddah's regulation that tended to give permission and protect the Herklots. Dutch Jeddah office also warned the Asegoff firm for its treatment to pilgrims who worked in its plantation. The ministry foreign affairs asked the Dutch consul in Singapore to overcome and dissolve of problem between Netherlands East Indies' pilgrims and Asegoff firm. Based on *Haji vervuur* Herklots<sup>5</sup>, the misdeed of Hertklots to pilgrims

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<sup>5</sup> Arsip Nasional Republik, *Indonesia Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia Masa Kolonial: Agen Herklots dan Firma Asegoff & Co*, p. 95.

finally was reported by the Dutch Consul in Jeddah to Turk authority. Hertklots was sent to Batavia for being judged. However, he got free and presumed not guilty after investigation. To Alsegoff, the Dutch Consul could not do further because the contract agreement between the Netherlands East Indies and Alsegoff was legal in Singapore and legalized by judicial member.

Mostly transportation business was not separated with the role of agent and broker. In the hajj transportation in the past, broker of ship lines mostly was acted by *syech*. Most Indonesian pilgrims bought their ticket from a *syech*, not directly from the shipping agency. In performing as a broker in selling ticket, the *syech* was depended on the number of his costumers, mainly the pilgrims. They would get bonus from the shipping agencies based on the tickets was sold. As the result, the brokers had highly competition among others and they tended to sell the ticket with high prices. This situation was happened in some areas of *Nusantara*, especially in Java. Finally, *Nusantara* pilgrims were more interested to take embarkation from Singapore. The pilgrims presumed that by taking pilgrimage from Singapore, the ticket prices and the fee of *Syech* service were cheaper.

Furthermore, pilgrimage stimulated the competition among ship transportations. In fact, competition could harm businesses with small capital or less strategic. Competition also could injure and intimidate consumers. For years the pilgrimage ships were held by British, Singaporean Malay and Arabic. These ship services actively performed in scraping Netherlands Indies pilgrims, which furthermore definitely threatened the position of Dutch Ships agencies. These performace pushed the Dutch Jeddah office to engage in Dutch shipping line performance and finally sharpened shipping service competition in Netherlands Indies.

However, how was the condition of pilgrims who took foreign ships? Pilgrims' grievances and complaints were many. Sometimes, ships only thought about as much as passengers who could aboard into their ships, without thinking the safety and the convenience of passengers. Besides, lips services of broker or *syech* were awfully harmed pilgrims, which frequently manipulated the condition on board. Many of pilgrims experienced in losing much of their money and

belonging because deceit of ship agencies and *syechs* or brokers. They are harmed since departure, on the boat, and going back.

The existence of *syech* also practically sharpened the competition among ship companies. The agencies booked the ships and they usually did not directly contact to pilgrims. *Syech* was responsible as mediator between ship agencies and pilgrims. The *syechs* usually bitterly persuaded and forced pilgrims to take their owner's ships which sometimes the condition of ship was contradiction with their promotions. Basically, *syech* was pressured by ship companies to attract pilgrims as much as possible, because the companies had to fill the ship which already been ordered.

In Snouck Hurgronje's advices stated that the Consul ought to give more attention to problem that was related to behavior of ship agencies towards the interest of pilgrims. However, the problem was not because of arbitrary of agencies, but because of formulation of traveling requirements which was ordered by the ship companies to the agencies. So then, the consul had to ask the intervention of central government to overcome that fraud. (Gobèe, Vol. VIII, 1993:1404). Here, Hurgronje was sure that the central government could wisely do to fill this request.

### **3. Ship Transportation and Political Condition**

In the late nineteenth century and earlier twentieth century, political crisis in the Netherlands East Indies was decreased. The role of intellectual and religious movement in political and social movement in the nineteenth century generally was successful driven by *ulama* (Muslim leader) groups. After coming back from Mekkah, Hajjs generally had social legitimation as holy people. Their idea are considered as a general verity. This group looked easier to drive local people to act which sometimes without any consideration.

There was idea of freedom that spread out in the form of Pan Islam in the Muslim countries. In the 1917, the Usmani Turk Sultanate succeeded to take Egypt and defeated Abbasiyah Caliph.

Furthermore, Usmani became the caliph and protector of Mekkah Madinah. Pan Islamism is solidarity for all Muslim in the world. It was a kind of religious politics that was initially developed by Muslim leaders of the Usmani period in the late nineteenth century to unite the Muslim under its caliph. This idea was a reaction to European colonization in many Muslim countries, which then it created nationalism and consciousness to the important of Muslim solidarity.<sup>6</sup> One Arabic pamphlet issuing from Istanbul called upon all colonized countries, including Netherlands Indies, to oppose infidel imperialists. The Netherlands was neutral, but the idea of Pan Islamism had affected the awareness of Dutch government after all.

As a result, the Dutch colonial government response to the idea of Pan Islamism was reciprocal to European reaction. Snouck Hurgronje mentions that Islam in Indonesia and especially Pan Islamic movement had absorbed and become energize by the very national sentiment. (Kahin, 2003:45). Pan Islam was recognized being potential force to resist the regime and the Dutch colonial government looked this part as a dangerous movement which would be led by Islamic modernist movement who came back from Middle East (Hijaz). As the result, the Dutch colonial decided to restrict a flow of pilgrims by limiting hajj transport in some of the Dutch ports or embarkations. Besides, Hajj-Pas (hajj passport) and return ticket was other regulations to control Indonesian pilgrims.

However, the limitation of hajj transport affected the profit of shipping business. In 13 June 1923, Snouck Hurgronje criticized the regulation to limit and prohibit pilgrimage to Mekkah. (Gobée 1993:1408). Hurgronje argues that even though the Pan Islamism idea spread out among pilgrims in Jeddah, nevertheless the Dutch did not be anxious. It was because mostly Indonesian pilgrims were innocent and uneducated, instead of Indonesian *moekimans*, who were more potential in absorbing this idea. There was no indications that this issue affected the natives and Martin van Bruinessen mentions that there were no acts of Muslim resistance against the colonial government

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<sup>6</sup> Arsip Nasional Republik, *Indonesia Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia Masa Kolonial: Agen Herklots dan Firma Alsegoff & Co*, p. xii.

took place during the war years. (Bruinessen, 1995:115-140). Therefore, hajj service for native people had to be encouraged again.

### **The Role of Jeddah Office in the Hajj Ship Transportation**

The increasing of pilgrim numbers and the awareness of nationalism among Indonesian pilgrims, at least, created discomposure of colonial government, even though Snouk Hurgronje notes that this was not the most serious part. However, the increase of Pan Islamism idea and the influential position of hajj in native society stimulated Jeddah office to release some regulations to restrict the number and the role of pilgrims. Furthermore pilgrimage limitation activities, indirectly, was a form of Dutch monopoly in hajj service. (Vredenberg, 1997:7). Even though the Dutch colonial had to made limitation for pilgrimage, nevertheless it meant that pilgrimage was not banned but had to be compounded.

Limitation had triggered the competition among ship firms to attract available pilgrims. Promotion and propaganda of ship services increased. The more intense ship service promotion particularly was offered by steamships and huge ships. The Dutch consul was aware to this problem as well as related to broker or *Syech* who as the mediator and customer seeker. The broker system was essential to the smooth running of the shipping agencies and in particular for the *Kongsi Tiga* of Dutch ships. Broker in turn was considered as the Rolls Royce of the pilgrim shipping business. One list from 1929 identified ten such brokers, some working for all three *Kongsi Tiga* companies, others concentrating their harvest on one firm in particular. (Miller, 2006: 216).

Dutch ship company, such as Rotterdam Lloyd Royal Dutch – ocean Steamship Company, seemed to worry about the competition and the loyalty of *syech*. Companies needed the broker corps who can rely on to face competition.<sup>7</sup> In early period of 1940s, state-run pilgrim

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<sup>7</sup> National Archief, Den Haag, Ministrie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulate (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Jeddah

agencies absorbed *Kongsi Tiga* brokers into leadership positions. (Miller, 2006:224). Normally, the company sometimes did not believe to the loyalty of *syech*. It was caused by the availability of many ship companies and competed each other. Different agencies earned and gave different amount of money to the broker or *syech* and it was possible for brokers to pick out company which paid more. Therefore, one aim of the regulations for return ticket that released by Jeddah office was to assist the royal ship company. In other word, return ticket made the ship company could not always expect to the loyalty of brokers.<sup>8</sup>

## 1. Ship Transportation Regulation

Field of transportation became one of the most profitable sources in pilgrimage service in Indonesia. In the early twentieth century, competition between Dutch ships and other foreign ships was extremely high. For attracting *Nusantara* pilgrims, Dutch colonial adjusted ship regulation in some parts that this paper merely explains three regulations related to ship services.

### a. The “*Kongsi Tiga*” (*Trio Maaschappijen*)

The *Kongsi Tiga* was part of Dutch Jeddah office regulation to gather all Netherlands East Indies’ pilgrims under the Dutch shipping companies. After revocation of As Saggaf’s ticket contract from Singapore, the shipping services were moved to Dutch companies. The Dutch shipping companies (which gave shipping services for pilgrimage) called *Kongsi Tiga* that was consisted of *Maatschappij Nederland*, *Rotterdamsche Lloyd*, and *Ocean*. These shipping agencies could scoop a high profit. Especially, 1922 pilgrim ordinance emphasized pilgrim to buy *retour* ticket and agencies highly promoted the obligation of pilgrim to have it. However, in cooperation between

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(Turkije/Saoedi-Arabie) nummer toegang 2.05.53, inventarisnummer 149, Letter of the International Agencies, *pelgrimsverslag*.

<sup>8</sup> National Archief, Den Haag, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulate (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Jeddah (Turkije/Saoedi-Arabie) nummer toegang 2.05.53, inventarisnummer 144, No. 7469, Bedevaart naar Mekka, Copy, from the International Agency to Consul.



*Kongsi Tiga* and KPM (*Koninklijk Packet Maatschappij*) to connect inter islands connection created easiness for pilgrims. Therefore, pilgrims could have advanced ticket in every port and embarkation in Indonesian archipelago for going to Jeddah. (Vredenberg, 1997:37).

In the early twentieth century, number of pilgrim who were interested in pilgrimage through the sea increased. Especially, after sail-ship was replaced by steamship. However, in the period when the sailboat was used widely, the interest of Indonesian society for pilgrimage was higher than other countries. From total number of pilgrims going through sea, about ten percent was Indonesian pilgrims. In Snouck Hurgronje report, in late of twenty nine years, number of pilgrims took by the ships at least about 36,000 pilgrims (1899) and maximum was 108,000 pilgrims (1907). (Hurgronje, 1994:168). It means that every year there were about 70,000 pilgrims went to Mekkah.

Miller describes that in the Southeast Asian trade, from Malaya, the Straits Settlements and the Dutch East Indies, was in the hands of a British–Dutch consortium, comprising Holts and the three premier shipping companies that sailed between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies, Amsterdam's *Stoomvaart Maatschappij 'Nederland'* (SMN), and the *Rotterdamsche Lloyd* (RL). The last two companies were collectively known as the Dutch Mails. The three ships had been engaged in pilgrim carriage since the late nineteenth century. At the end of the 1920s, they coordinated their operations under the name "*Kongsi Tiga*". The *Kongsi Tiga* companies were considered the elite of the trade. They organize the aim of ships to carry pilgrims and cargo during the season, and then to operate as freighters for the remainder of the year.

All three companies had a booming pilgrim business. In the 1913-1914 seasons, Holts transported 13,695 pilgrims from Singapore and Penang. In 1920, company carried a total of 20,590 pilgrims from the Straits and Java. Then, it rose to a peak of 30,175 in 1926-1927, and extremely falling in the depression years of 1930s, that only conveyed 10,543 in 1937. Amsterdam's *Stoomvaart Maatschappij* figures indicated 10,231 pilgrims in 1920-1921, and 13,023 in 1926-1927. The *Rotterdamsche Lloyd* delivered 10,000 pilgrims in 1927 and

32,521 pilgrims in 1929. In 1932-1933 showed 2,269 pilgrims, and rose again to over 10,000 by the end of the decade.

The Consul was aware that the *Kongsi Tiga* certainly had done a monopoly for the pilgrim transportations. They had more than one hundred ships and could take pilgrims around 30.000 pilgrims. The *Kongsi Tiga* could prepare twenty four ships in twenty days. True to the ships, they too quickly in succession Europe in taking take charge.<sup>9</sup>

### ***b. Pilgrim-Ordinance***

Corresponding to situation and condition social, economic, politics, it was possible for pilgrim ordinance to have revision and improvement. In the earlier twentieth century, pilgrim Ordinance 1922 was released and one of regulation was to regulate the obligation of pilgrims to buy return tickets. Snouck Hurgronje ever criticized this ordinance. He states that the ordinance was only released to meet inclination of shipping companies and hand over the pilgrims to companies' hand. The ordinance, indirectly, deliberated the companies from competition.<sup>10</sup> In other word, government provided Dutch shipping company to have monopoly right.

The pilgrim ordinance 1922 strengthened strictly the obligation of pilgrims to have return ticket. This regulation also regulated that the pilgrims had to get ticket from a hajj agency (*pelgrimsagent*). (Putuhena, 2007:175). The agents were responsible to sell a ticket and control a pilgrim who bought a ticket for only a single way. Moreover, the agency had obligation to guarantee that pilgrims had seats. It was based on the tickets that already sold, both when the pilgrims departed and when arrived. In period of pilgrimage month, these agents were placed in Jeddah for doing their duties. Anyhow,

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<sup>9</sup> National Archief, Den Haag, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulate (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Jeddah (Turkije/Saoedi-Arabie) nummer toegang 2.05.53, inventarisnummer 149, Letter no. 605/H, Jeddah, 25 Mei 1931, about request H. Abdoelmadjid (Copy Bb 7469), letter from Vice Consul.

<sup>10</sup> Jacob Vredembregt, "Ibadah Haji: Beberapa Ciri dan Fungsinya di Indonesia", p. 38, in Letter from Snouck Hurgronje, on 5 June 1932, to Minister of Colonies, about Hurgronje's response on pilgrim ordinance 1922.

many ship companies did not do their obligations to fill the pilgrim rights.

In later on, the 1922 pilgrim ordinance was revised by ordinance of 12 May 1927 that empathized to pilgrim's interest such as the authority banned the ships to sell the place on the ship to another pilgrim that already booked by previous pilgrim. The ship had to indicate the name and the gender of pilgrim before they were aboard. This shows more circumspection on the pilgrims as well. However, the attitude of ships agencies was sometimes broke the aims of Dutch consul to protect the pilgrims, even though authority's warning and threat often was thrown to agencies.

### *c. Return Ticket*

Ticket fee is one of the important parts in transportation business. 1922 ordinance extremely empathized to have return tickets in Dutch embarkation, which afterward was followed by other ships in Malay embarkation, such as British ship. What was the effect of return ticket? Indirectly, this regulation was very advantageous for ship companies, but it could extremely press the pilgrims and give a chance for shipping companies to do trespass and oppression to the pilgrims. (Vredenbergt, 1997:12). Return ticket also pushed the pilgrims to have specific time to go and back home. Therefore, it avoided pilgrims to have longer time to stay in Jeddah or had to stay longer which they had chance to study more about Islamic ideas.

Return ticket had been applied since 1874. In previous time, the pilgrims could go to Jeddah by using contract system with shipping agency in which it could bring them to Jeddah even if by having single tickets (*rechtstreeksche passage*) from Singapore. In 1874, the pilgrims forced to have return tickets (*retourbiljetten*) and it applied by Javanese ship (a Dutch shipping company that was built in 1873). This regulation burdened the pilgrims; besides blocked pilgrims to stay longer, they could not choose other ships they wanted either.

This regulation could not avoid the pilgrims to prefer single ticket and took embarkation to Jeddah from Singapore, even they took

the risk.<sup>11</sup> Actually, the regulation of return tickets was not really successful. In 1895, the pilgrims went by having return ticket were only 6.05 percent. In 1896, it was 12.20 percent and in 1897, it was 10.62 percent.<sup>12</sup> The obligation to have return ticket (*retourbiljetten*) was ever stated in the Dutch colonial regulation for pilgrimage that was released in 12 August 1902 by the Dutch colonial government. This regulation was in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie* number 318, along with other main decisions, such as the obligation to have Hajj-pas, taking a procedure to get Hajj-pas, obtaining visa, sanction for breaking the regulation, and paying the Hajj-pas cost. (Putuhena, 2007:156).

Snouk Hurgronje saw a regulation to have a return ticket for pilgrims was an absurd decision. The ticket indirectly forced pilgrims by a new prices who already been burdened by travel cost and other pilgrimage fees. For the ship companies, they accepted this regulation by a big hand. The regulation absolutely touched their interest. This regulation essentially was important only for ship companies (such as Nederland and Rotterdamsche Lloyd – *Kongsi Tiga*). By return ticket they could get money in advance. They would know how many pilgrims that would be taken going and back. Then, they would estimate how many ships were needed.

However, return ticket made the pilgrims had to wait certain ships that sometimes very late for months. They had to stay in Mekkah after pilgrimage by limited extra money. They also did not have chance to choose another ship companies to return soon. Finally, pilgrims were trapped in competition among ships agencies which they were not only forced to buy return tickets but also single tickets that the prices were not far different each other.

However, the application of return ticket policy was assumed that it was for avoiding the 'poor pilgrims' loaded the central government while someday they did not have money to go back to Netherlands Indies. Even though the fact was that it was very rarely

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<sup>11</sup> For example, they worked as a hard worker in the plantation of Alsegoff ship agency in Singapore in order to can go home (Putuhena, 2007: 140).

<sup>12</sup> *Kolonial Verslag van 1898*, p. 87-88, in (Putuhena, 2007:141).

about the case when the 'poor pilgrims' came to Consul's office because they need money to buy the ticket. Mostly the pilgrims tended to come to their relatives or people who they knew that were staying in Jeddah or the pilgrims were indebted to *syech*. Exactly part who really wanted for implementation of return ticket was the shipping companies. They argued that return ticket was a good regulation to save the central government interest (profit and pilgrimage control) and also the pilgrims. Nevertheless, the fact was that return ticket was only for the ship company's interest while pilgrim did not have any advantage and the government was burdened by hatred and dissatisfaction. (Gobee, 1993: 1532).

## 2. Pilgrims' Problems and Dutch Response

Related to pilgrims, Hurgronje noted in his report that there were no problems, difficulties, and distresses as much as that were experienced by Netherlands East Indies pilgrims. The pilgrims frequently underwent fraud and blackmail from their brokers. Sometimes, it was also caused by Netherlands East Indies pilgrims' attitude that they were credulous and awkward. (Gobee, 1993: 1397).

Problem of return ticket somehow added the pilgrims' burden and it could cause the decrease of pilgrim interest for pilgrimage or taking Dutch ships. In pilgrims discourse, occasionally, pilgrims thought that the Dutch consulate did not have much attention to their residents in Mekkah. They believed that they were under the Dutch consulate but the perception sometimes, it more referred that they would get punishment while misdoing than they would get protection while getting unfair treatment. For example, pilgrims often reported mislead of *syech* attitude and the ship delaying, which Dutch Consul looked not strictly serious on them. Based on the Dutch Consul reports, however, the Dutch Consul had done some awareness for ship delaying and ships *syech*'s misdoing. They interrogated ship which coming late and mismanagement, and thought about problem of *syech* and his action, such as corruption in selling tickets, fraud, etc.

The other achievement would be done by Dutch consulate was concerning a saving money experiment. The Dutch Consul tried out to

introduce pilgrims to how saving their money before leaving Dutch Consul in Batavia. The money would be returned by the consulate officer in Jeddah after they arrived. Protection to their property also was done by giving premium when they bought tickets. Even though critic occurred that the effort of giving premium was as the same as giving assistance to the ship company's interests. (Gobee, 1993: 1399).

Anyhow, return ticket was not popular for the pilgrims. Particularly for them who was intended to stay longer for study or other religious activities as well as it limited wish of pilgrims who would like to go back sooner. Finally, the return ticket also could not prevent the pilgrim for owing money and sometimes, it was misused by the ship companies to raise the cost twice more. Return ticket was considered wise option for the Dutch to maintenance the Dutch control to number of pilgrims from and to Netherlands Indies as well as to Islamic ideas (for religious movement).

Regulation to increase pilgrimage services also gave effect to ship companies. For example, the regulation to increase the hygiene on the boat to prevent spreading of plague caused the increase of fare. The problem could be caused by ship companies themselves, such as they frequently tended to be dishonest in their businesses. Furthermore, desire of Dutch consulate and central government in Batavia to encourage pilgrimage through using shipping services was indicated as a mistake. Referring to Snouck Hurgronje advices, it was a mistake if the government and Dutch consulate forcing many ship companies which carrying the pilgrims to take a part in promoting and forcing the society to do pilgrimage. (Gobee, 1993: 1404). Even though a high fare and return ticket policy had oppressed people who wanted to pilgrimage, but, pilgrims could not resist, yet the ship companies continued gaining high profit from transportation service.

Competition among ship companies gave badly effect on the pilgrims. Most ships did not fill their requirements instead gaining as much as passengers, even though the fare increased. This condition was worsened by the high tax from Hijaz government on shipping lines which was charged on pilgrims fare. Ship agencies, often did not react to unpleasant condition of health maintenance on their boats. Hygiene and sanitation were poor. Safety and nutrition were awful. Pilgrims

stayed in discomfort situation. Sometimes, they got fraud before departing and on the boat. However, return ticket was a kind of undercover monopoly, when the service, health and sanitation on the boat were not guaranteed. Starving and suffering on the boat were frequently happened. This condition attracted the attention of Dutch Jeddah office by sending some letters to ship agencies, particularly regarding their poor services and coming late in picking up the pilgrims.

The poor condition on pilgrims when they went to Jeddah made some prominent Muslims (such as Agus Salim) began to rethink to manage pilgrimage. They forced the colonial government to improve their management and reform their regulation. For example, in the last congress of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) at Semarang, they asked through the Adviser on Indigenous Affairs (*de Adviser voor Inlandsche Zaken*) for taking better regulation for pilgrims.<sup>13</sup> The Dutch authority was pretty aware to this condition and promised to give more attention in the regulation to improved conditions of pilgrims. It was as line with Snouck hurgronje advices to respond and give assistance to the effort of Islamic activist from *Muhammadiyah* in Yogyakarta by its aim through cooperation in which tried to ask improvement of pilgrims' condition from Netherlands Indies government and Dutch Consul in Jeddah. (Gobee, 1993: 1466).

Furthermore, the consul make effort by inquiring the ship companies relating the poor of travel services on pilgrims. Related to the native organization response, the ship companies stated that the most problem on pilgrims happened because of the overacting manner of *syechs*. The Dutch ship companies tried to find a satisfactory solution to the matter. They attempted to book reliable loyal corps and brokers. Having broker corps were perceived that would be for the ship companies to face competition too.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> National Archief, Den Haag, Ministrie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulate (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Jeddah (Turkije/Saoedi-Arabie) nummer toegang 2.05.53, inventarisnummer 149, Het Vervoer van pilgrims van en naar Mekka 1930-1931.

<sup>14</sup> National Archief, Den Haag, Ministrie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulate (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Jeddah

The Consul particularly could not identify the misdeed of *syech* because pilgrims scarcely told what already happened because of negligence of the *syech*. Another problem of *syech* for example, *syech* regularly promoted the ship as well as the transport from Jeddah to Makkah. Yet, this paper would not describe this element, although it was, sometimes, one packet in transportation services and was promoted by ship agencies and *syech* cooperation. The Dutch Consul noted a case in traveling from Jeddah to Makkah such as there were not transports available such as car and camel that made 100.000 pilgrims walking to Makkah. As the result, Consul found that many pilgrims suffered. They got sick and lacked of water for drink. Finally, Dutch Consul emphasized to achieve services, including a transport from Jeddah to Makkah, which needed cooperation among the government, *syech*, and ship agencies.<sup>15</sup>

The cost that was set on Netherlands ships sometimes was problematic. According to Snouck Hurgronje letter in 19 July 1899, the return ticket that offered by Netherlands ships and Lloyd seemed expensive. The pilgrims had to pay around f 150 and it did not include the fee of *syech* and another unforeseen cost.<sup>16</sup> This condition made Netherlands East Indies prefer to take pilgrimage from Singapore by using French, British or other ships that offered to travel to Jeddah. Another reason was the food as main necessity in a long trip. On the Singaporean ships, the pilgrims could cook their own food when it could not on the Dutch ships, and on Dutch ship, they often ate a poor food, for example the rice was in unwell cooked or wet.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, Dutch consul and were concerned to improve the Dutch ship service (ticket, nutrition, sanitation, pilgrim registration, embarkation, etc) in the period of twentieth century.

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(Turkije/Saoedi-Arabie) nummer toegang 2.05.53, inventarisnummer 144, No. 7469, Bedevaart naar Mekka, Copy, from the International Agency to Consul.

<sup>15</sup> National Archief, Den Haag, Ministrie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulate (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Jeddah (Turkije/Saoedi-Arabie) nummer toegang 2.05.53, inventarisnummer 149, letter from Jeddah Consul to sjeich Hasan Moeminah

<sup>16</sup> Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, *Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia Masa Kolonial: Agen Herklots dan Firma Alsegoff & Co*, p. 119.

<sup>17</sup> Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, *Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia Masa Kolonial: Agen Herklots dan Firma Alsegoff & Co*, p.121.



Later on, the Consul and Dutch authority revised the return ticket rule. In the revised pilgrimage guiding rule on 1 December 1931 stated that pilgrims could take a single ticket by recommendation of the Muhamadan Advisory Board or the passport officer.<sup>18</sup> The single ticket would be issued as far as the pilgrims under conditions that they were destitute and had purpose to study for at least more than two years after pilgrimage. Besides, the return ticket could be extended for two years and five years by getting recommendation from Malay Pilgrimage Officer or Consular Authority. The return ticket could have refund if the ticket was unused after the expired for less than two years and the refund in the rate of 33 1/3 percent of full value of return ticket. The refund also could give to the descendent of pilgrim who passed away on pilgrimage in the rate of 30 percent of the value of return ticket.<sup>19</sup>

Basically, the aim of Dutch Indies authority to limit the number of pilgrim because of religious bigotry and political issues had to give in to economic interest. The quality of ships could not counterpoise to number of pilgrims on the ships. Problems on the ships, tickets, services, *syech* misdeed, etc became the moral burden for the Dutch government. Notably, the services and the cost of trip that was applied by ship companies' mediation became the problem of central government later on. The central government endured responsibility because the force of return tickets and the effort to overcome ship competition.

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<sup>18</sup> National Archief, Den Haag, Ministrie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulate (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Jeddah (Turkije/Saoedi-Arabie) nummer toegang 2.05.53, inventarisnummer 144, No. 7469, Bedevaart naar Mekka.

<sup>19</sup> National Archief, Den Haag, Ministrie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulate (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Jeddah (Turkije/Saoedi-Arabie) nummer toegang 2.05.53, inventarisnummer 144, No. 7469, Bedevaart naar Mekka.

## Conclusion

The enhancement of Indonesian pilgrim, especially after alteration from sailboat to steamship and involvement of Dutch ship companies to the hajj business, prompted the pilgrimage to be managed and controlled. After the establishment of Dutch Jeddah Office, colonial government started to seriously manage profitable and gainful transportation. In the period of 1910 to 1940, the role of Dutch colonial to hajj generally was regarded to the significant issue which related to the colonial sustainability, which an adjustment of policy was sometimes considered as Dutch colonial interest. Practically, the political issues had affected the Dutch colonial to restrictive hajj journey. For example, the decision to use return ticket that the Dutch Consul contributed in decision (though the control more or less on the hand of Dutch authority) was to restrain *moekimans* and movement ideas from Islamic core. Through Dutch consul in Jeddah, Dutch authority also responded to some particular cases, for example a problem of Netherlands Indies citizens who got problem inter-countries in case of Singaporean embarkation which implicated to slavery from Netherlands Indies' pilgrims. Intervention of Dutch authority afterwards was understood for assisting Dutch property and trade, such as ship service in the shipping rivalry as well as problems that affected pilgrim, and later on to pilgrimage business in general. Anyhow, it was important not only for maintaining the number and interest of pilgrims, but also for continuing stability of economic-politics hajj and colony.

Snouck Hurgronje criticized hajj policies that the previous Dutch regulation concerning and pointed to pilgrimage would have opposite effect to what the Dutch government hoped to gain. Hurgronje noted that Dutch colonial intervention in hajj transportation control was sometimes not a good decision. Its attachment sometimes even sharpened the problem of Dutch ship monopoly and competition which gave significant impact on Netherlands Indies pilgrims. According to Scott idea, the state's grand plan are destined to fail. Its rules is formed to border society are too simple and ignoring the essential features inside society. Planning is for state aim and sometimes contradicts with people and environment that move around.

Involvement of Dutch authority on ship transportation planning, like a decision of return ticket was an example of the failure of Dutch policy, when it gave a space for ship agencies to monopolized, instead of facilitating pilgrims.

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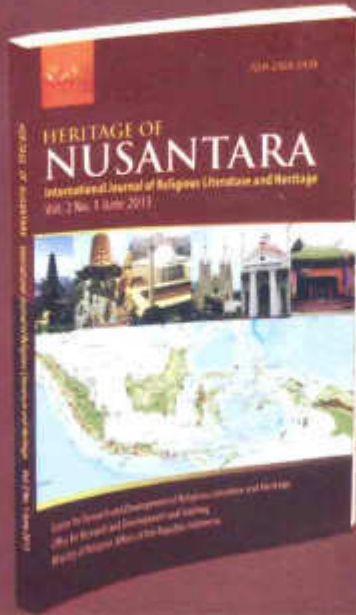


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