

# THE JOURNEY OF HAJJ DURING THE COLONIAL ERA IN MODERN INDONESIAN LITERATURE

## Social and Cultural Studies

**Ahmad Bahtiar** | Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta – Indonesia and  
UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta – Indonesia

**Herman J. Waluyo** | Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta – Indonesia

**Sarwiji Suwandi** | Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta – Indonesia

**Budhi Setiawan** | Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta – Indonesia

Corresponding author: [ahmadbahtiar@uinjkt.ac.id](mailto:ahmadbahtiar@uinjkt.ac.id)

**Abstract:** The Hajj pilgrimage is a fundamental component of Islam and represents both societal harmony and profound spiritual value. This study delves into the rich tapestry of social and cultural dimensions surrounding the Hajj journey during the colonial era. The study examines four contemporary Indonesian novels that were published prior to the country's independence: *Tjerita Nyai Dasima* (G. Francis, 1896), *Hikayat Siti Mariah* (Haji Mukti 1910-1912), *Di Bawah Lindungan Kabah* (Hamka, 1938), and *Percobaan Setia* (Suman Hs, 1931). These novels highlight the various motivations people have for making the sacred pilgrimage, such as the desire for forgiveness or the removal of sins, the desire to rise in social status, and the desire to identify as hajj pilgrims. The research also highlights the social and cultural facets of the hajj pilgrimage, beginning with the planning, implementation, and returning from the hajj experiences. Through examining the subtle social and cultural nuances present in these stories, this study aims to enhance our comprehension of the Hajj journey as a phenomenon that fundamentally alters society.

**Keywords:** Hajj, colonial era, literary works, content analysis, Indonesian novel.

## Introduction

For Indonesian Muslims, worship centered in Mecca has long had an important role. The journey of the hajj, for Indonesian Muslims, is not only a spiritual journey. Some people views having their

environment validate them as capable, religiously obedient, and socially acceptable as a symbol of social status,<sup>1</sup> and even business opportunity.<sup>2</sup> This goal was not only carried out by ordinary people. During the 17th century, Javanese kings began to seek political legitimacy in Mecca. The high public appreciation for the hajj gives the impression that Indonesians attach importance to this worship compared to other nations. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the number of Indonesian pilgrims was about 10-20 percent of all foreigners' hajj and became 40 percent in the 1920s.<sup>3</sup>

The hajj journey of Indonesians is carried out from the beginning of Islam until they come to Indonesia. Even though it was controlled by the Dutch Colonial Government, the intention of the Indonesians to uphold the fifth pillar of Islam never wavered. Its intensity in those days increased every year. For this reason, since 1872 the Dutch Consulate office has been opened in Jeddah.<sup>4, 5</sup> Restrictions on pilgrims were made through the policy of Resolution in 1825 which was refined by the Hajj Ordinance of 1859 due to fear of religious fanaticism<sup>6</sup> and to suppress the arrival of subversive clerics. However, these restrictions were lifted to ease the unrest of the lower-class Muslims.<sup>7</sup> The hajj management shows the complexity of the Hajj problem not only in the past but also in the present until it becomes a national strategic problem.<sup>8</sup>

The story of the Hajj journey, especially the colonial era, became a source of inspiration for writings and studies. Majid wrote *Performing hajj Masa Colonial* (2008), which discussed the implementation of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Moh. Rosyid, "Dinamika Haji Indonesia Sejak Era Kolonialisme dan Problematika Calon Haji Ilegal," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 17, 2 (2017): pp. 241–259.

<sup>2</sup> Dede Nurohman, "Selling Religious Rituals in Indonesia: Commodification of Umrah Pilgrimage by Travel Agents," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 16, 2 (2022).

<sup>3</sup> Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning. Pesantren dan Tarekat* (Bandung: Mizan, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> M. Dien Majid, *Berbaji Masa Kolonial* (Jakarta: CV Jakarta, 2008).

<sup>5</sup> Robert Pringle, *Islam di Tengah Kebhinekaan. Memahami Islam dan Politik di Indonesia*. (Jakarta: Prenada, 2018).

<sup>6</sup> van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning. Pesantren dan Tarekat*, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> Pringle, *Islam di Tengah Kebhinekaan. Memahami Islam dan Politik di Indonesia*, p. 34.

<sup>8</sup> Dadi Darmadi, "Hak Angket Haji: Pilgrimage and Culturel Politic of Hajj Organization in Comtempory Indonesia.," *Studia Islamika* 20, 3 (2013): pp. 443–466.

Indonesian pilgrimage, especially on shipping, and the management of shipping during the Dutch colonial era. Based on data sources from national archives, this book also describes the management of the hajj by the colonial government as well as the struggles of the Indonesian people in the hajj journey. Unfortunately, this book does not provide another dimension of the Indonesian pilgrimage, only describing a spiritual function of the hajj and not any other functions.

In the more complete writings collected by Chamber-Loir, Henri,<sup>9</sup> he discussed the stories of the Indonesian hajj journey from 1482-1964. The work not only depicts the Hajj in that era but also the story of the hajj journey of many people with various professions, including diplomats, clerics, writers, journalists, scholars, and film directors.

In a broader context, Tagliacozzo<sup>10</sup> wrote the story of Muslim hajj in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia, in the last five centuries including the colonial era. With historical and anthropological analysis, the eminent Southeast Asian historian examines the political and economic role of the hajj, the "farthest and longest" journey of worship. The term Tagliacozzo indicates that the hajj journey is a journey away from Mecca, the center of Islam, and takes a long time.

The journey of the past Hajj is also written in the form of *danding*, a Sundanese poem entitled *Kinanti Mungghah Haji* by Haji Hasan Mustafa, a cleric who was once Hoefd Penghulu (upper religious officer) of the colonial era. This poem shows that performing hajj in the colonial era was not as easy as it is now. Besides the tough voyage, pilgrims also have to face difficult situations while in the Holy Land. However, for Mustafa, the essence of hajj does not lie in the practice of physical rituals (hajj of the physical realm), but in the feeling that will lead to real happiness. Performing hajj without that feeling is meaningless<sup>11</sup>. His poetry is more than just literature; it is a medium of expression for

---

<sup>9</sup> Henri Chamber-Loir, *Naik Haji di Masa Silam. Kisah-kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji 1482-1964*. (Jakarta: KPG, EFEO, Forum Jakarta-Paris, Perpunas, dan Kementerian Agama, 2019).

<sup>10</sup> Eric Tagliacozzo, *Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>11</sup> Jajang Jahroni, "Menemukan Haji Hasan Mustafa (1852-1930)," *Studia Islamika* 25, 2, (2018): pp. 405–422.

his Sufism, covering mystical feelings, which are the grand narrative of Islamic Sufism in Sundanese culture and identity.<sup>12</sup>

The writing of the colonial Hajj journey was also raised in several early Indonesian novels. These novels include *Tjerita Nyai Dasima* (By G. Francis, 1896),<sup>13</sup> *Hikayat Siti Mariah*, (Haji Mukti, 1910-1912)<sup>14</sup>, *Percobaan Setia* (Suman Hasibuan, 1931),<sup>15</sup> and *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah* (Hamka, 1938)<sup>16</sup>. This literary work before independence, in addition to providing an overview of the colonial era in Indonesia, also presents an expression of the diversity of the community, including the journey of the hajj.

In the context of hajj, the novel is thought-provoking to study because it was written during the colonial era, so the information conveyed can be more relevant to the studied problem. Besides, a novel is a type of literature that, more or less, gives an idea of the problems in society. Novels can be used as a medium to see the events in society, including the journey of the pilgrims. More than poetry, novels are often inseparable from the turmoil or state of society involving the author and sometimes the readers. The novel is more or less a reflection of the author's experience in social life.<sup>17</sup>

A literary work does not only deal with social, economic, and political issues but also infiltrates the surface of everyone's life and shows how man internalizes society with his feelings.<sup>18</sup> Thus, literary studies not only complement other studies but can also see social problems in an individual that are more personal in nature.<sup>19</sup> Time, place, social, and cultural settings appear in novels, plays, collections of

---

<sup>12</sup> Jajang A Rohmana, "Sundanese Sufi Literature and Local Islamic Identity: A Contribution of Haji Hasan Mustapa's Dangling," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 50, 2 (2012): pp. 303–327.

<sup>13</sup> G Francis, *Tjerita Nyai Dasima* (Betawi: Kho Tjeng Bie & Co, 1896).

<sup>14</sup> Haji Mukti, *Hikayat Siti Mariah* (Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara, 2003).

<sup>15</sup> Suman Hs, *Percobaan Setia* (Jakarta: Nusantara, 1931).

<sup>16</sup> Hamka, *Di Bawah Lindungan Kabah* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1938).

<sup>17</sup> Purwantini and Bramantio, "The Adventure of the Radical Islamic Group Members of the Free Aceh Movement in Seumpama Matahari Novel: Study of Genetic-Structuralism," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 12, 1 (2018): pp. 85–102.

<sup>18</sup> Kar-Yen NA, "Speaking Across the Lines: 1965, the Family, and Reconciliation in Indonesia," *Kritika Kultura* 37 (2021): pp. 6–16.

<sup>19</sup> Kuntowijoyo, "Sejarah dan Sastra," *Humaniora* 16, 1 (2004), pp. 17–26.

short stories, and poems as the source of information, questions, and images that may not have crossed our minds. With literary works, readers can explore other worlds and other physical and psychiatric regions that have not been added.

Therefore, this study examined four novels to understand the hajj journey from social and cultural aspects, including the reasons for performing the hajj consisting of the preparation, implementation, and post-hajj in the series of hajj during the colonial era. The information from the four objects was collected and then compared to describe the problem in this study. The titles of four novels will be abbreviated as *Tjerita Nyai Dasima* (TND), *Hikayat Siti Mariah* (HSM), *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah* (DBLK), and *Percobaan Setia* (PS).

### Reasons for Performing Hajj

The Hajj is a once-in-a-lifetime obligation of Muslims. Hajj is the fifth pillar of Islam, and the pillar of Islam is used as the basic foundation of religion by all Muslims in the world. Every Muslim who is mentally, physically and financially capable is obliged to perform the hajj.<sup>20</sup> The interest in hajj travel is not only shared by Indonesian Muslims, who are the majority, but also in countries that are not from the core of the world's Islamic society, whose Muslims are a minority, such as Poland. The works produced by his literature serve as examples of this.<sup>21</sup> Based on the literature, there are many reasons for people to go on pilgrimage, not only for religious consideration.<sup>22</sup> The following stories describe the evidence of their consideration for performing hajj.

In TND, Nyai Dasima is willing to marry Samiun and leave her master, Mr. W, since she was promised to perform the Hajj. Samiun had long wanted Nyai Dasima. He, by all means, tried to invite Nyai to go back to his village, Pejambon. Nyai, who is kind and beautiful, also has the wealth that her Master gave her. As a mistress (*Nyai*), Dasima

<sup>20</sup> M. Zulfa, "Multidimensional Phenomena of Hajj: Study of Javanese Pilgrims," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 5, 1 (2015): pp. 135–162.

<sup>21</sup> Ahmed Mohamed Yahya Ghaleb, "The Religious Obligation of the Pilgrimage from Indonesia to Mecca," *Ostour: A Bi-annual Peer-Reviewed Journal for Historical Studies* 4 (2016): pp. 79–90.

<sup>22</sup> Christopher Mark Joll and Srawut Aree, "The Image of Makkah and the Hajj in South Thailand: An Ethnographic and Theological Exploration," *Studia Islamika* 27, 2 (2020): pp. 205–237.

had been violating the marriage law of Islam. Besides, she also had a child from his relationship with Mr. Edward; thus, she was advised to convert. Therefore, Samiun used religion to ensure Nyai Dasima, including promising to do hajj. Samiun intimidated Nyai Dasima by saying those who are far from religion will go to hell, and by performing hajj, Nyai Dasima will be forgiven by God.

Performing Hajj as a sin removal was also suggested by haji Salihun in advising Samiun after he killed Nyai Dasima. Haji Salihun believed that killing people is a great sin, but the deed can be forgiven as long as he repents in *Masjidil Haram* and gives charity to the poor. The desire to be forgiven for sins by performing the hajj is also the motivation of Indonesian Muslims today.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, Indonesian Muslims did in the past, as stated by RAA Wiranakusumah, the Regent of Bandung, who performed the hajj in 1924, who stated that "many people believed performing the hajj to the holy land would make them free from the sins they had committed in the past."<sup>24</sup> Muslim communities in other nations also hold the belief that after performing the hajj, they will receive God's forgiveness and return to being newborn babies.<sup>25</sup>

The belief is initiated in a hadith narrated by Bukhari Muslims, explaining that those who are performing hajj will no longer sin, like a newborn baby.<sup>26</sup> However, the abolition of sin is only for the hajj *mabrur*, the hajj received and worshipped by Allah Almighty. Once done well and correctly, with halal, holy, and clean provisions, not littered by sinful deeds, arrogance, thirst for human validation, intimate relations, foul language, and arguments during the hajj, performed with sincere intentions only for Allah Almighty, and full of charity and virtues, one will be rewarded with heaven.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the hajj that will be forgiven of sin is only the hajj performed with the right purpose and

---

<sup>23</sup> Zulfa, "Multidimensional Phenomena of Hajj: Study of Javanese Pilgrims."

<sup>24</sup> Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Sang Pemula* (Jakarta: Hastamirta, 1985).

<sup>25</sup> Joll and Aree, "The Image of Makkah and the Hajj in South Thailand: An Ethnographic and Theological Exploration." *Studia Islamika* 27, 2 (2020): pp. 205–237.

<sup>26</sup> M. Sabiq Al Hadi, "Rekonstruksi Pemahaman yang Keliru Tentang Kewajiban dan Keutamaan Haji dan Umroh," *Al-Iqtishod: Jurnal Ekonomi dan Bisnis Islam* 1, 1 (2019): pp. 65–84.

<sup>27</sup> Japeri, "Pengaruh Predikat Haji Mabrur Terhadap Motivasi Manasik Calon Jamaan Haji," *Maqdis: Jurnal Kajian Ekonomi Islam* 2, 1 (2017): pp. 111–118.

way, not because it is to erase a great sin as Samiun did. Many verses of the Quran and hadith prohibit killing and state that the deed is haram.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile, Syamsudin, or Syam in PS, performed the Hajj at his future in-laws' request. He had to have the title of hajj because he was going to marry Haji Salwiah, who had made the hajj. In the Melayu community, marriage should be commensurate with the same social status. Women who have performed hajj must also marry an equal man to avoid being gossiped about. Although Syamsudin was well-received as a candidate for being his future son in law, he had not been distinguished and deserving of marrying a woman with the son of a wealthy merchant in the city.

Another character who made the hajj trip was Hamid in the DLK. Hamid was a poor orphan. Being the adopted son of Haji Jafar, businessman did not elevate his social status. He was still incapable to marry Zainab, the woman he loves, even though Zainab loves him back. The Minangkabau community, especially Zainab's relatives, forbids the marriage of different social status.

The story of Hamid's hajj journey is the true story of the author, Hamka, while performing hajj for the first time. He went on the hajj at the age of nineteen because he was disappointed and offended to feel underestimated by his entire environment, let alone his father. Even though he had very little money, he managed to purchase a roundtrip ticket in Medan with the help of his grandmother and some relatives.<sup>29</sup>

For some Indonesians, performing hajj is one of the ways to climb social status. After returning home and bringing the predicate and identity of the Hajj, it will be easy to get access to social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital.<sup>30</sup> Public appreciation of hajj identity is inseparable from the sociocultural problems of Indonesian society, which tends to be feudal and thinks symbolically about issues related to religion and one's function in society. It is undeniable that the Hajj

<sup>28</sup> Imaning Yusuf, "Pembunuhan dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam," *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah dan Masyarakat* 13, 2 (2013): pp. 1–12.

<sup>29</sup> James R Rush, *Adicerita Hamka: Visi Islam Sang Penulis Besar untuk Indonesia Modern* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2017).

<sup>30</sup> Moh Soehadha, "Struggle For Identity and Social Image of Haji: Study on Life History of Social Construction of Haji in Sasak Community, Lombok, NTB," *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 18, 1 (2017): pp. 1–12.

is a prestige pilgrimage amid economic inequality in Indonesian society and is exclusive to people who have equal economic abilities.<sup>31</sup>

A little different story with Mas Joyopranoto, the owner of a sugar factory in Sukaraja, Banyumas, in the novel of HSM. After retiring, he received a lot of money in the form of a pension. He went on to perform hajj with Waginah, his wife, and Sarinem, his maid. He intended to perform the hajj because he believed that his life is not perfect as a Muslim before visiting the sanctuary of the Prophet Muhammad.

A visit to the Prophet's sanctuary in Medina is part of performing a hajj that Melayu pilgrims are eager to carry out. Their strong desire can be understood because of the Prophet's words, "Whoever sees me during life or after death is my friend, and on the Day of Vengeance will have the intercession of the Apostle."<sup>32</sup>

As a Javanese, Joyopranoto not only visited sacred tombs in the *Luar Batang* (Betawi) area but also other sacred places. In Javanese cosmology, cosmic centers-the intersection of the mortal world and the supernatural realm-play a central role. Certain ancestral graves, mountains, caves, forests, and haunted places forgeries are not only pilgrimaged as worship but are also visited in search of science ('ngelmu') aka political power and legitimacy. After the Javanese converted to Islam, it was Mecca that certainly became the cosmic center of all Muslims<sup>33</sup> and became the new center on earth of religiosity.<sup>34</sup>

### The Journey of Hajj

Performing hajj previously was a long and dangerous journey. Before the fireship, the trips were on sailing boats. It is not uncommon for the pirates or even the boat's crew to shipwreck and rob the ship. On their way to Mecca, Bedouins frequently robbed them even in

---

<sup>31</sup> Imron Rosyidi and Encep Dulwahab, "Transformasi Konsep Diri Jamaah Haji (Studi Fenomenologi Pada Kelompok Bimbingan Ibadah Haji Lembaga Haji Muhammadiyah Jawa Barat)," *Inferensi: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 13, 2 (2020): pp. 279–304.

<sup>32</sup> Chamber-Loir, *Naik Haji di Masa Silam. Kisab-kisab Orang Indoneia Naik Haji 1482-1964*.

<sup>33</sup> van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning. Pesantren dan Tarekat*, p. 42.

<sup>34</sup> Claude Chamber-Loir, Henri & Claude Guilot, *Ziarah dan Wali di Dunia Islam* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2010).



Arab countries. Another danger is the pandemic affecting the pilgrims during travel to and in Arab lands. The use of fireboats shortens the distance to Mecca, reducing travel costs, but it does not lead to facility improvements. Around the 1930s, almost 10% of Indonesian pilgrims died in the Holy Land every year. However, this condition did not discourage Indonesian Muslims from performing the hajj,<sup>35</sup> including the Indonesian people described in the novel, which is the object of this research.

The condition of the Hajj trip had been written by Syamsudin in the PS. He was leaving from Pulau Pinang (Singapore). The ship "Tiong Hoa" he rode from Malacca to Pulau Pinang was fully crowded with the pilgrims and passengers who were going to Pulau Pinang, but then Syamsudin chose to disembark at Pulau Pinang because he had to prepare everything for his hajj trip.

Apart from a few places in the country, many Indonesians go for hajj from Singapore to avoid passport checks from the colonial government and to experience decent services. Ships from Singapore allowed passengers to cook on board and provided other freedoms that Dutch ships did not give.<sup>36</sup>

While on Pulau Pinang, Syamsudin met the sheikh of the congregation, who would arrange the hajj trip, including choosing the ship he would be on. Prospective pilgrims generally do not know the way to go until they can reach and during their stay in the holy land. Besides, there are also sheiks waiting in Jeddah. They understood Melayu and helped to do a variety of jobs, including finding lodgers and hiring camels. They also give guidance on religious tasks such as Umrah, tawaf, prayers in mosques, and others.<sup>37</sup>

After getting the sheikh, Syamsudin bought a round-trip ticket and supplies for the trip, such as food, medicine, and others. After shopping, someone pickpocketed him, and he lost the rest of the money for the trip. Those kinds of stories happen a lot. Finally, they borrow money from their syeik, work as laborers or find other jobs to be able to continue their journey.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, pp. 48-50.

<sup>36</sup> Majid, *Berhaji Masa Kolonial*, p. 157.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

Syamsudin received unpleasant treatment from the ship's officers, who were largely European. As a result of losing money, he had to sell food on the ship. But the food was thrown away by the ship's doctor, who was supported by the ship's captain. When he returned home, he was considered an entertainer for pretending to be mute to get a water portion. However, he instead became the entertainment of the crew because of his cuteness, so he could enjoy the facilities of the ship.

Joyopranoto and his family made the pilgrimage journey in December 1878. From Prembun, Kebumen to Betawi, then sailing to the holy land. He boarded the ship "Prince of Wales". This ship is destined for Mersailes, France, but stops in Jeddah to accompany the pilgrims. Previously, the ship docked in Aden, Sudan, to be disinfected and unloaded with charcoal.<sup>39</sup>

While in Jeddah, Joyopranoto met Sondari, who was already a hajj consul. Sondari, who changed his name to Haji Mukti, is a Turkish royal servant. At that time, Jeddah was a Turkish fiefdom. The establishment of the consul was a form of Turkish concern for its colonies in the Hejaz.<sup>40</sup> Despite working within Turkish territory, the consul was the representative of the government who sent it. The Dutch colonial government opened a consulate in 1872 to monitor pilgrims in the holy land, provide services to Indonesians, and make periodic and annual reports about pilgrims from Indonesia. The report contains information on the number of pilgrims, transport ships, and various pilgrim issues.<sup>41</sup>

In the DLK novel, Hamid has a different route from the others. He traveled much longer from Padang, his hometown, to Medan. Shortly after arriving in Medan, he continued to Singapore and wandered to Bangkok. Then, he proceeded to the land of Hindustan. From Karachi to Basrah, Iraq, and get to the Holy Land through the Sahara Desert. The journey from Iraq to the Holy Land is a land route that many pilgrims take, including those from Assir and Yemen. The departing starting points, originating from various desert regions, formed small caravans on their way and joined together towards Mecca.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>40</sup> Toer, *Sang Pemula*, p. 237.

<sup>41</sup> Majid, *Berbaji Masa Kolonial*, p. 120.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

As a poor person, Hamid could not afford the ticket. The cost of hajj trips varies, but it is generally known that the standard ticket of f.110 is supplemented by the services of the company, and sheikh is f.127.5. The general provisions requested by the Dutch Government are that each prospective pilgrim must deposit f.5000. The money will be returned to the pilgrim. Some shipping companies require passengers to buy round-trip tickets so they can adjust the number of ships to match the number of passengers.<sup>43</sup>

### **During Hajj**

Since the 17th and 18th centuries, there have been three classes of people who went to the holy land. First, the pilgrims perform the hajj and decided to stay in Mecca. Another class is for the scholars who are actively involved in the cosmopolitan intellectual discourse. The last class is the clerics and disciples of the nomads who settled in Mecca and Medina on the long journey of studying.<sup>44</sup>

In the PS novel, the writer explained that after a month of sailing, the ships carrying the pilgrims reached Jeddah after previously stopping at Colombo. The journey continued to Mecca on a Sahara ship with a group of camels walking together. Syamsudin was amazed to see a camel for the first time. In the DLK novel, it is also told how long the camels were paraded by the Bedouin shepherd while singing after the hajj season.

Arriving in Mecca, Syamsudin got a decent lodge. Meanwhile, Hamid lived at the sheikh house, which provided rides for pilgrims at home. He got a small room for two people. The sheikh house had a *sutuh*, a flat roof that was typical of houses in Arab countries. On top of the roof, Hamid and his roommates occasionally talked while looking at *gela'ah*, the old fortifications above the top of Jabal Hindi.

During that time, people from *Nusantara* or Southeast Asia in Mecca were called Jawi people or Javanese. Around the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, they were the largest nation residing in Mecca. At least since 1860, *Bahasa Melayu* has been the second language after Arabic.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, there was a

---

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>44</sup> Azumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII* (Jakarta: Prenadamedia, 2013).

<sup>45</sup> van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, p. 41.

Javanese community that Arab people called *Ashabb al Jawiyyin* (our brother of the Jawi people) in Haramyn.<sup>46</sup>

Waiting for the arrival of the month of Zulhijah, the month of hajj, Syamsudin looked for a teacher to learn more about Islam. He would be ashamed if he returned to Malaka with no knowledge of the holy land. Mecca for Indonesians is a cosmic center not only a place that must be visited for worship but also to seek knowledge. Mecca was a land for all Muslims and the place of revelation to the Prophet. Thus, with various other scientific centers at that time, Southeast Asians, especially Indonesians, chose to look for it in the holy land.<sup>47</sup>

Two days after arriving in Mecca, Syamsudin looked for a teacher and immediately found one. During that time, there were many available places for studying, including madrasahs, Haram mosques, and Nabawi mosques in the form of *Halaqah*. The teachers are not only from Arab lands but from various places in the world. Since the 17th century, the origin of the clerical lands in Haramayn has become increasingly diverse, having scholars and disciples from peripheral regions such as Nusantara, Africa, and even China.<sup>48</sup>

Initially, Syamsudin wanted to learn Arabic, which is of great use in Islam. However, it is undone, considering that learning a language takes a long time. Finally, Syamsudin reviewed the others in a short time. While deepening his study, he recited and never wasted his time for nothing.

Meanwhile, Hamid, who had stayed for a long time and settled in Mecca, learned Sufism, especially Imam al-Gazali Sufism. Al-Gazali's view attaches great importance to the life of *zuhud* to make a person alienate himself from the life of the world (*uzlah*). Sufism al-Gazali seemed to cultivate life, was afraid to take life, and set himself aside, so that sometimes he did not care about what was on his left and right.<sup>49</sup>

Learning while in Mecca is not written in HSM. However, before leaving for the hajj, Joyopranoto deliberately brought Ibrahim from

---

<sup>46</sup> Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, p. xxvi.

<sup>47</sup> Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning. Pesantren dan Tarekat*, p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, p. 88.

<sup>49</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-bilik Pesantren* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 2010).

Banyumas to teach religion twice a week. Joyopranoto prays every night and never abandons reciting the Quran.

During the Hajj, Syamsudin did not experience any difficulties. All the pillars of the hajj are easy for him to do. Since he was in Malacca, he studied until the time of the pilgrimage. Meanwhile, Hamid, on the eighth day of Zulhijah, began to ache in his body, even though the sheikh asked to prepare to go to Arafah for the next day. As wukuf is a compulsory ritual that every pilgrim has to do, Hamid departs with other pilgrims, taking camel vehicles, horses and donkeys. During his trip to Mina for throwing *jumrah*, Hamid was unconscious as the weather in Arafah is very hot. He felt exhausted and lost his appetite. Other Pilgrims stopped at Muzdalifah and took the stones for *jumrah*.

After *jumrah*, they returned to Mecca for the big tawaf and sa'i. Before performing the big tawaf, Hamid stopped by the lodge as his illness was getting worse. Hamid's face was pale, and his body was very weak. To perform tawaf, he asked the Bedouin people to help him do the tawaf. It is common for sick people to do the tawaf with the assistance of the Bedouin, and the pilgrims should pay for their labor. In the crowd, Hamid could walk around the Kaaba seven times on a stretcher with the help of the Bedouin people that he hired.

After finishing the tawaf, he went to the place of Multazam, where all prayers were granted, between the door of the Kaaba and Hajar Aswad (the black stone). Holding the kiswah, the veil of the covering tapestry of the Kaaba, he prayed for spaciousness in coming home to Him. After that, Hamid passed away with a clear and peaceful face. The two Bedouins immediately took him to the sheikh's house. After being taken care of, the bedouin people shouldered him to the famous Ma'la cemetery.

Shaving the hair after tawaf was the last ritual of the worship, and the pilgrims can be called "hajj". The rich people slaughter the animals for the poor. At ihram time, Syamsudin wore a long-prepared shirt and turban and wear them all day. When Syamsudin wore the clothes, Jamin hardly recognised him. After completing the hajj, Syamsudin added the title in front of his name to Haji Syamsudin.

## Post-Hajj

After completing the hajj, there are several things embedded within the title of hajj for the pilgrims. It is about cultural perception and does not relate to the pillars of Hajj. The title of hajj is embedded in the

name of the pilgrims after completing all processes of hajj. This was also described in some figures in the HSM novel. Some of the people who had performed the hajj in the novel used the title hajj and changed their names to the names of Arabs.

Within the Indonesian context, it is common for the pilgrims to use the title of "pak haji" for males and "bu haji" for females after their names. In addition, the use of black and white caps or hats indicates whether they have been going for hajj or not. This tradition is part of Islamization in Indonesia.<sup>50</sup>

Joyopranoto changed his name to Haji Abdurahman. Meanwhile, his wife, Waginah, became Haji Patimah. As for Sarinem, the maid, who was already considered a sister by the master, changed her name to Haji Aisyah, the name of the Prophet's wife. Sondari's adoptive fathers had names such as Haji Abdul Rivai and Bang Rapi. Another Arabic name narrated in the novel was Haji Ibrahim, the ruler of the prophet and the one who was first called for the hajj. Meanwhile, the figure of Haji in the HND novel is Haji Salihun, an Arabic name.

Among the Indonesian Muslim community, especially in Java, there is a tradition of changing the name given by a sheikh in Mecca. Something that is considered unusual and disrespectful if after that there are still people who call him by old names and nicknames (before the Hajj), except for people who do not know him. Therefore, hajj attributes (such as white songkok, turban, etc.) must be used<sup>51</sup> as Syamsudin or Haji Syam, Joyopranoto and Haji Abdurahman did.

Indonesians consider the title of hajj to be very meaningful. The hajj journey from Indonesia to the holy land is very challenging. Therefore, it needs to be listed in front of the pilgrims' names, even though in other countries, the title of hajj is almost nonexistent.<sup>52</sup>

## Conclusion

This is the story of the Hajj journey during the colonial era in four Indonesian novels. The Hajj journey performed by the Indonesian people during that time was not only related to religious and spiritual

---

<sup>50</sup> Zuhairi Misrawi, *Mekah. Kota Suci, Kekuasaan, dan Teladan Nabi Ibrahim* (Jakarta: PT Kompas, 2009).

<sup>51</sup> M. Zainuddin, "Haji dan Status Sosial: Studi Tentang Simbol Agama di Kalangan Masyarakat Muslim," *El-Harakah* 15, 2 (2013): pp. 169–184.

<sup>52</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Perjalanan Religius Umrah dan Haji* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997).

issues but also to social and cultural aspects. As a distinctive cultural product, literary works not only show the ways of society but also look at the social and cultural problems of each of its characters related to the series of Hajj during the colonial era. Each character in the story has a different pilgrimage. []

## References

- Abdurahman, Emsoe. *Haji Tempo Dolo*. Bandung: MCM Publishing, 2016.
- Azra, Azumardi. *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia, 2013.
- van Bruinessen, Martin. *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*. Bandung: Mizan, 2016.
- Chamber-Loir, Henri , & Claude Guilote. *Ziarah dan Wali di Dunia Islam*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2010.
- Chamber-Loir, Henri. *Naik Haji di Masa Silam. Kisah-kisah Orang Indoneia Naik Haji 1482-1964*. Jakarta: KPG, EFEO, Forum Jakarta-Paris, Perpunas, dan Kementerian Agama, 2019.
- Darmadi, Dadi. "Hak Angket Haji: Pilgrimage and Cultureal Politic of Hajj Organization in Comtempory Indonesia." *Studia Islamika* 20, 3 (2013).
- Francis, G. *Tjerita Nyai Dasima*. Betawi: Kho Tjeng Bie & Co, 1896.
- Ghaleb, Ahmed Mohamed Yahya. "The Religious Obligation of the Pilgrimage from Indonesia to Mecca." *Ostour: A Bi-annual Peer-Reviewd Journal for Historical Studies* 4 (2016).
- Al Hadi, M. Sabiq. "Rekonstruksi Pemahaman yang Keliru Tentang Kewajiban dan Keutamaan Haji dan Umroh." *Al-Iqtishod: Jurnal Ekonomi dan Bisnis Islam* 1, 1 (2019).
- Hamka. *Di Bawah Lindungan Kabah*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1938.
- Hs, Suman. *Percobaan Setia*. Jakarta: Nusantara, 1931.
- Jahroni, Jajang. "Menemukan Haji Hasan Mustafa (1852–1930)." *Studia Islamika* 25, 2 (2018).

- Japeri. "Pengaruh Predikat Haji Maburr Terhadap Motivasi Manasik Calon Jamaah Haji." *Maqdis: Jurnal Kajian Ekonomi Islam* 2, 1 (2017).
- Joll, Christopher Mark, and Srawut Aree. "The Image of Makkah and the Hajj in South Thailand: An Ethnographic and Theological Exploration." *Studia Islamika* 27, 2 (2020).
- Kuntowijoyo. "Sejarah dan Sastra." *Humaniora* 16, 1 (2004).
- Madjid, Nurcholish. *Bilik-bilik Pesantren*. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 2010.
- . *Perjalanan Religius Umrah dan Haji*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997.
- Majid, M. Dien. *Berbahagi Masa Kolonial*. Jakarta: CV Jakarta, 2008.
- Misrawi, Zuhairi. *Mekah. Kota Suci, Kekuaaan, dan Teladan Nabi Ibrahim*. Jakarta: PT Kompas, 2009.
- Mukti, Haji. *Hikayat Siti Mariyah*. Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara, 2003.
- NA, Kar-Yen. "Speaking Across the Lines: 1965, the Family, and Reconciliation in Indonesia." *Kritika Kultura* 37 (2021).
- Pringle, Robert. *Islam di Tengah Kebhinekaan. Memahami Islam dan Politik Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Prenada, 2018.
- Nurohman, Dede, "Selling Religious Rituals in Indonesia: Commodification of Umrah Pilgrimage by Travel Agents," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 16, 2 (2022).
- Purwantini and Bramantio. "The adventure of the Radical Islamic Group Members of the Free Aceh Movement in Seumpama Matahari Novel: Study of Genetic-Structuralism." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 12, 1 (2018).
- Rohmana, Jajang A. "Sundanese Sufi Literature and Local Islamic Identity: A Contribution of Haji Hasan Mustapa's Dandang." *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 50, 2 (2012).
- Rosyid, Moh. "Dinamika Haji Indonesia Sejak Era Kolonialisme dan Problematika Calon Haji Ilegal." *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 17, 2 (2017).
- Rosyidi, Imron, and Encep Dulwahab. "Transformasi Konsep Diri Jamaah Haji (Studi Fenomenologi Pada Kelompok Bimbingan



- Ibadah Haji Lembaga Haji Muhammadiyah Jawa Barat).” *Inferensi: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 13, 2 (2020).
- Rush, James R. *Adicerita Hamka: Visi Islam Sang Penulis Besar untuk Indonesia Modern*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2017.
- Soehadha, Moh. “Struggle For Identity and Social Image of Haji: Study on Life History of Social Construction of Haji in Sasak Community, Lombok, NTB.” *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 18, 1 (2017).
- Tagliacozzo, Eric. *Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Toer, Pramoedya Ananta. *Sang Pemula*. Jakarta: Hastamirta, 1985.
- Yusuf, Imaning. “Pembunuhan dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam.” *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari’ah dan Masyarakat* 13, 2 (2013).
- Zainuddin, M. “Haji dan Status Sosial: Studi Tentang Simbol Agama di Kalangan Masyarakat Muslim.” *El-Harakah* 15, 2 (2013).
- Zulfa, M. “Multidimensional Phenomena of Haji: Study of Javanese Pilgrims.” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 5, 1 (2015).