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A Critical Voice on the Hajj by a Sumatran Pilgrim from the Early Twentieth Century

Abstract: *This paper examines a late 19th-century brochure entitled Perdjalanan ke-‘Tanah-Tjoetji’ (A Pilgrimage to the ‘Holy Land’) written by Dja Edar Moeda, a Dutch-educated native teacher and a pioneer journalist and vernacular press entrepreneur in Sumatra. The text offers a critical perspective on the hajj, differing from the majority of this corpus, which tends to show religious enthusiasm and saintly connotations. This paper demonstrates that the ‘deviant’ voice on the hajj in the brochure reflects the author’s concerns. As a native intellectual and religious modernist with a Western-secular education, he worries about the fate of his fellow native pilgrims, who are often victimised by rampant fraudulent practices in the organisation of the hajj due to their illiteracy, map illiteracy, innocence, naivety and tendency to be submissive in their religious practice. In this respect, the brochure indirectly criticises the Dutch East Indies colonial authority’s deficiencies in organising the pilgrimage and protecting the pilgrims as its colonial subjects.*

Keywords: Perception of the Hajj, Nusantara’s Muslims, Dja Endar Moeda, Dutch Colonialism.

Abstrak: Artikel ini membahas sebuah Brosur dari akhir abad ke-19, berjudul *Perdjalanan ke-’Tanah-Tjoetji’*, yang ditulis oleh Dja Edar Moeda, seorang guru pribumi terpelajar berlatar pendidikan sekuler Belanda dan pelopor jurnalisme dan pengusaha pers vernakular di Sumatera. Teks tersebut menggemakan distingsi kritis tentang ibadah haji, yang berbeda dengan mayoritas teks lainnya dalam korpus ini yang cenderung menunjukkan semangat keagamaan dan konotasi kesucian. Artikel ini menunjukkan bahwa suara “menyimpang” tentang ibadah haji dalam brosur tersebut merupakan manifestasi dari keprihatinan penulisnya, sebagai seorang intelektual pribumi dan seorang modernis religius yang berlatar pendidikan sekuler Barat, terhadap nasib sesama kompanyon jemaah pribuminya yang kerap menjadi korban dari maraknya praktik penipuan dalam penyelenggaraan ibadah haji akibat sebagian besar dari mereka tuna-aksara, buta peta, polos, naif, dan cenderung taklid dalam beribadah. Dalam hal ini, Brosur tersebut secara tidak langsung merupakan kritik terhadap berbagai kekurangan pemerintah kolonial Hindia Belanda dalam penyelenggaraan ibadah Haji dan dalam melindungi para jemaah sebagai rakyat jajahannya.

Kata kunci: Persepsi tentang Haji, Muslim Nusantara, Dja Endar Moeda, Kolonialisme Belanda.

ملخص: يناقش هذا المقال كتيبًا من أواخر القرن التاسع عشر بعنوان *Perdjalanan ke-’Tanah-Tjoetji’* (السفر إلى الأرض المقدسة)، كتبه دجا إيدار مودا، وهو مدرس أصلي متعلم تلقى تعليمًا علمانيًا هولنديًا وراثيًا في الصحافة ورجل أعمال في مجال الصحافة العامة في سومطرة. يقدم النص وجهة نظر نقدية حول الحج، تختلف عن غالبية هذه المجموعة، والتي تميل إلى إظهار الحماس الديني والدلالات المقدسة. يوضح هذا المقال أن الصوت «المنحرف» فيما يتعلق بعبادة الحج في هذا الكتيب هو مظهر من مظاهر مخاوف المؤلف، باعتباره مثقفًا محليًا وحدائيًا دينيًا يتمتع بخلفية تعليمية علمانية غربية، فيما يتعلق بمصير زملائه من الحجاج الأصليين الذين غالبًا ما يصبحون ضحايا لممارسات احتيالية واسعة النطاق في تنظيم رحلة الحج بسبب أغلبهم أميون لا يعرفون الكتابة ولا الخريطة، عاديون، ساذجون، ويميلون إلى التقليد في العبادة. في هذه الحالة، يمثل الكتيب انتقادًا غير مباشر لأوجه القصور المختلفة للحكومة الاستعمارية لجزر الهند الشرقية الهولندية في تنظيم رحلة الحج وفي حماية الحجاج باعتبارهم رعاياها الاستعماريين.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تصورات عن الحج، مسلمو إندونيسيا، دجا إندار مويدا، الاستعمار الهولندي.

This paper examines a late 19th-century Malay language text that criticises the practices of the Hajj and its implementation concerning the Muslims from Nusantara (the Archipelago). Once printed in brochure form, the text entitled ‘*Perdjalananan ke-“Tanah-tjoetji”*’ (A Pilgrimage to the ‘Holy Land’), was written by Dja Endar Moeda, a Muslim intellectual from Sumatra with a Dutch secular education background. The text represents the author’s pragmatic view on the Hajj, which deviates from the majority of contemporary accounts that demonstrate the 19th- and early 20th-century general tendencies among Dutch and British Indies Muslims, who perceived such one of the five Islamic principles with amazement and admiration.

As the largest gathering of human beings on the planet and the most important annual event in the world involving the transnational movement of people, which has existed for nearly fourteen hundred years (Tagliacozzo and Toorawa 2015, 1–2), the Hajj has received great scholarly attention, including its relation to Southeast Asian Muslims. This colossal ritual of the fifth Islamic pillar has long connected two regions of the Indian Ocean littoral, the Arabian Peninsula and Kepulauan Nusantara (the Archipelago), both in the seen and unseen worlds. It has influenced the demography of Mecca due to ‘the Jawâh’ community who significantly live there (Hugronje 1931, 229–312) as a result of the enthusiasm of the Archipelago’s people for going on the Hajj for centuries (Bruinessen 1995). The Hajj has also formed a complex network of Islamic scholars (*ulamas*) between the two regions (Azra 2014), facilitating what Francis R. Bradley (2016, 100) calls an ‘[Islamic] knowledge network’ between Mecca and Southeast Asia. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Hajj has almost become a special dream for every Archipelago’s Muslim, even blurring ethnic boundaries among the pilgrims from this region in Mecca, breaking down colonial divisions and becoming a symbol of anti-colonial political movement (Brusse 1898). Similarly, its cultural, economic and political significance, as well as the symbolism of its rituals for Mohammedan followers in Southeast Asia, have been given attention by scholars of this region.

As the narrative of the Brochure presents a discordant tone on the Hajj, it is interesting to explore its narrative and its surrounding historical context and authorship. We argue that a Muslim’s perception of the Hajj is significantly influenced by the type and level of his/her

education and socio-cultural background. The main research question of this article is therefore: ‘What matters related to the Hajj are overlooked in many accounts but are considered very important in the Brochure, and why?’ To address this curiosity, this paper recounts the socio-cultural and political context of the given text and its author and analyses its narrative, providing an English translation, to understand the aspects of the Hajj it highlights and criticises. It is hoped that this study will enrich our historical understanding of the Hajj in the context of the Malay Muslim world and their perceptions of this religious ritual, which vary and may have continuously changed over time.

The Brochure: ‘Gids voor Mekkahangers’

In November 1900, the leading Dutch newspaper *De Locomotief*, based in Semarang, reported that a native intellectual named Dja Endar Moeda, also known as Hadji Mohammad Saleh, had prepared a manuscript entitled ‘Gids voor Mekkahanger’ (Guide for Those Going to Mecca):

Guide for Those Going to Mecca

To help out those going to Mecca, the government has issued many regulations. These regulations are rarely given out to the involved, in a way that they could profit the most from them. The involved remain ignorant concerning these regulations.

Dja Endar Moeda, also called Hadji Mohamad Saleh, has prepared a manuscript containing information for those willing to go on the Hajj from the Dutch East Indies, written in 44 articles, as we can read in *De Padanger*.

Dja Endar Moeda has the intention of presenting the manuscript to the Director of Education, Worship and Industry, so that after it has been approved, it can go to the national printing house to be printed. The goal of this is to let government officials hand out this guide to every person obtaining the official pass to go on the Hajj.

The newspaper [*De Padanger*] is expecting that this will greatly benefit those going on the Hajj, and it is hoped that the labor of Dja Endar Moeda is appreciated by the Government.¹

Reading the quote, it is clear that Dja Endar Moeda wrote the Brochure to assist the Muslims from the Archipelago and sought the

Dutch East Indies colonial government's attention regarding this matter. The author complained that 'the government has issued many regulations' but 'these regulations are rarely given out to the involved, in a way that they could profit the most from them,' and 'the involved remain ignorant concerning these regulations.' As *De Locomotief* reported, Dja Endar Moeda sent a proposal to the Dutch Colonial Government to print the Brochure to be distributed to prospective pilgrims throughout the Indies.

However, our extensive bibliographical research has so far not uncovered the initial draft of the Brochure that, according to *De Locomotief's* aforementioned report, was submitted to the government. Additionally, no evidence has been found to confirm whether the Brochure was ultimately printed and distributed by the government. The contentious nature of its text, particularly the articles that openly criticise the fraudulent practices of the syndicates in collaboration with the Hajj shaikhs, which are detrimental to the pilgrims, and the negative portrayal of the natives of Hejaz, may have been considered sensitive. This is especially pertinent given the involvement of several clerics of Arab descent, such as Habib Uthman ibn Yahya (1822–1914), a friend of Snouck Hurgronje and one of the ulama of the Ba'alawi clan. Uthman was a Yemenite Arab migrant from Hadramaut who served as a government advisor in Batavia, Netherlands East Indies (Kaptein 2014). The controversy of Habib Uthman ibn Yahya's role as an advisor to the Netherlands East Indies government stemmed from his position as an '*ulamā*, a *mufti* and an informant aiding Snouck's research on Muslim socio-political movements in Nusantara.'² In this context, figures like him might have necessitated the government to exercise caution in publishing a controversial and provocative brochure like '*Perdjalananan ke-“Tanah-tjoetji”*', as it could incite socio-political unrest. However, approximately three years later, the Brochure was published in a periodical headquartered in the Netherlands, which was widely read by readers in the Netherlands East Indies, indicating that the initial target of the first publication had not been met.

Publication of the Brochure

The periodical that published the Brochure was the bilingual *Bintang Hindia*. Headquartered in Amsterdam and with representatives in the Dutch East Indies³, this bilingual journal (in Dutch and the Malay)

was favoured by many readers in the colony. It provided beautiful illustrations (*soerat tjerita dengan gambaran*) of political figures, natural landscapes, new technologies and war battles related to the Netherlands East Indies and foreign countries. First published in 1902, it ceased operations around five years later due to financial and management problems. The journal was founded by H.C.C. Clockener Brousson, a former military staff member of the Dutch East Indies army who was concerned with the improvement of the Natives. The editorial team was managed by two intelligent Native students in the Netherlands: Abdoel Rivai and J.E. Tehupeiori (Poeze 1989).

Bintang Hindia was the only truly ‘intellectual’ publication at that time (Adam 1995, 106). The Native student of Minangkabau descent, Abdoel Rivai, often used his columns in the journal to express his spirit of nationalism and his strong desire to advance his fellow natives (Fachruruzi 2017; Poeze 1989). His essays covered various topics related to European sciences, education, politics and inventions, including some quite unusual subjects for the period, such as emancipation for native women (Poeze 1989, 87), aimed at educating his fellow native readers in the homeland. This sometimes led to misunderstandings between him and Brousson regarding the orientation that *Bintang Hindia* should adopt: Rivai wanted its contents to be political in nature and the language closer to literary Malay, while Brousson did not want Rivai to dabble too much in political issues and preferred to use only Low Malay for its contents (Adam 1995, 106).

The Brochure was published in five sequels in the 1903 editions *Bintang Hindia* under the title ‘*Perdjalanan ke-“Tanah-tjoetji”*’, as follows:

Part 1	<i>Bintang Hindia</i> , No. 19, Tahoen jang pertama [1 st year], 19 September 1903: 202–204 (Fig. 1)
Part 2	<i>Bintang Hindia</i> , No. 20, Tahoen jang pertama [1 st year], 3 October 1903: 215–216
Part 3	<i>Bintang Hindia</i> , No. 21, Tahoen jang pertama [1 st year], 17 October 1903: 227
Part 4	<i>Bintang Hindia</i> , No. 22, Tahoen jang pertama [1 st year], 31 October 1903: 237–238
Part 5	<i>Bintang Hindia</i> , No. 23, Tahoen jang pertama [1 st year], 14 November 1903: 253

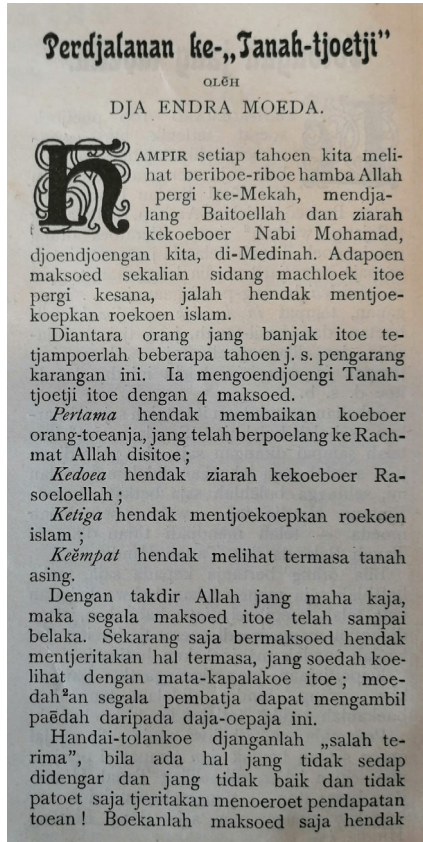


Figure 1: The image of Part One of the Brochure ‘Perjalanan ke-“Tanah-tjoetji”’. His middle name is written incorrectly: ‘Endra’ instead of ‘Endar’.
(*Bintang Hindia*, No. 19, Tahoen jang pertama, 19 September 1903, p. 202).

The Brochure contains 44 articles (*pasal*), preceded by introductory paragraphs in which the author recounts his experience during his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1892, which inspired him to write it. The Brochure was intended to guide pilgrims and alert them to potential dangers, whether due to natural factors or human actions. The author states: ‘The purpose of my efforts is so that you will know this only, if you go to Mecca in the future; I hope you can get rid of all the tricks and troubles that could bring accidents to you’ (see translation of the Brochure below). It can be assumed that *Bintang Hindia* republished the Brochure because its spirit aligned with its mission to advance the natives’ minds, particularly regarding aspects related to the Hajj. The

periodical chose to publish it in Malay instead of Dutch due to its large readership among the natives of the Dutch East Indies.⁴

The Author: Dja Endar Moeda

The author, Dja Endar Moeda, alias Hadji Mohammad Saleh (Fig. 2), was known as an early prominent native journalist in Sumatra. He was a leading businessman in the vernacular press in Sumatra in the late 19th and early of the 20th centuries. According to Ahmat B. Adam:

Dja Endar Moeda alias Haji Mochamad Saleh was a Batak⁵, born in Padang Sidempuan in 1861. He had probably attended a Dutch school which enabled him to study at the Teachers' Training School in Padang Sidempuan. He graduated in 1884 and was posted to Air Bangis as an assistant teacher. He was later promoted to become the headteacher at Batahan in the district of Natal. It was while holding this position that he became corresponding-editor for the monthly pedagogical journal *Soeloeh Pengadjar* which was founded in Probolinggo in 1887. From Batahan he was transferred to Singkil in Sumatra's West Coast. He left for the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1892. On his return from the Hajj in 1893, Dja Endar Moeda decided to reside in Kota Padang. By this time, he had retired from government service and had begun his private school. At about the same time he took a job as the editor of *Pertja Barat* which was founded in 1894 by Lie Bian Goan.⁶

Dja's involvement in the publication of *Pertja Barat* in 1893 marked the beginning of his career in the vernacular press business for more than two decades. From the late 1890s to the 1910s, he attempted several newspapers and periodicals in the Batak and Malay languages in Padang, Sibolga, Medan and Koetaradja (now Banda Aceh), such as *Pertja Barat*, *Minangkabau*, *Pemberita Atjeh*, *Pewarta Deli*, *Tapian na Oeli* and *Insulinde*. It is not our intention to describe Dja's press business.⁷ What is important to note is that he was a prominent Sumatran Muslim intellectual in the early 20th century who enthusiastically adopted Dutch-promoted secular education and openly expressed his concern about this issue for his fellow natives. He once wrote propagandistic articles calling upon the indigenous people to strive for Western education⁸ He realised the importance of writing as a means to educate and improve literacy among his fellow natives. For this purpose, he wrote several books, including reading books for children, most of which were published by his publisher named 'Insulinde'.⁹



Figure 2: Dja Endar Moeda, also known as Hadji Mohammad Saleh, 1861–1926
(*Bintang Hindia*, Vol. 1, No. 25, December 1903, p. 273).

Dja Endar Moeda was apparently a moderate and rational Muslim, a general characteristic of Native Islamic followers trained in the Western education system. Citing the testimony of its *hoofdredacteur* (Editor in Chief), G. Clockener Brousson, *Bintang Hindia* wrote that Dja Endar Moeda was a smart Native intellectual who had a warm personal relationship with the Netherlands and colonial Dutch authorities.¹⁰ He also maintained a good relationship with the Dutch intellectuals and reportedly once made contact with the Colonial Government's advisor, C. Snouck Hurgronje.¹¹ Nevertheless, he remained critical of the colonial authorities.¹² As an influential Indigenous person in Sumatra during his time, he had many friends among both the native high class and Dutch elites. He was an important public figure in Padang at that time, as evidenced by the many ordinary people and distinguished guests who attended the wedding party of one of his daughters in Padang in 1903.¹³ Likewise, there was a big feast held for him when he visited his home, the famous village of Padang Sidempuan, in March 1900.¹⁴ Brousson said that Dja could speak Dutch fluently, so during the trip to Mecca, as mentioned in the Brochure, he was appointed by the ship's captain as the translator for communication between the ship's authority and the native passengers.

Ahmad Adam (1992 and 1995) does not provide information on when Dja Endar Moeda passed away. However, based on fragmentary

information from vernacular press, it appears he died, possibly in Kutaraja, Aceh, no later than 1930.¹⁵

The Translation of the Brochure

Influenced by Minangkabau language, the text of the Brochure was originally written in Van Ophuijsen spelling system (Fig. 1), because *Bintang Hindia* uses this spelling system.¹⁶ Since the Brochure shows distinctiveness, it is interesting to provide its English translation, which enable international readers to perceive its author's critical voices on the Hajj, when the majority of the natives in the early 20th century stared it with admiration and wonder. We make some notes with the intention that this text, which was published 121 years ago, can be properly understood by the current readers.

A PILGRIMAGE TO THE 'HOLY LAND'

By

Dja Endar¹⁷ Moeda

Almost every year we see thousands of the servants of Allah going to Mecca, visiting the House of Allah (Kaaba), and visiting the grave of the Prophet Muhammad, our Lord, in Medina. The purpose of all those people who go there is to fulfill the [five] pillars of Islam.

Among those many people who went on pilgrimage several year ago was the author of this essay. He visited the Holy Land with four purposes.

First, he wanted to repair the graves of his parents, who had passed away to Allah's mercy there;

Second, he wished to visit the grave of the Prophet [Muhammad];

Third, he wanted to fulfill the [five] pillars of Islam;

Fourth, he wanted to see the sight of the foreign lands.

With the providence of the Almighty Allah, all these intentions have been achieved. Now I want to tell you about the sight [of foreign lands] that I have seen with my own eyes; hopefully all readers can take advantage of this effort.

My friends, don't "get me wrong" if there is something which, according to your mind, may be unpleasant to hear, not good and inappropriate for me to tell! It is not my intention to deprecate Mecca and Medina. The purpose of my efforts is just to inform you if you go on a pilgrimage to Mecca someday; I hope you can get rid of all the tricks and troubles that could bring accidents to you.

From this Land of the [Dutch East] Indies, there are two ways to go to Mecca: *the first*, by British ship from Penang, and *the second*, by Dutch ship from Padang.

I have traveled by a Dutch ship.

On board this ship there were ± 1000 natives who were going to Mecca. Most of them were Javanese.

On this voyage, I was appointed by the ship's captain to be an interpreter.

This is why I tried, day and night, to look after all these people. There was no lack of "thank you" to me when we separated in Jeddah.

On board this ship we received cooked foods; the curry changes every day: one day with fish and one day with eggs.

Nobody among them said that there was not enough food or drink, like the passengers on the British ship.

On this [British] ship, the passengers cook their own food and someone is obliged to bring rice and firewood as well as curry and so on. It is said that when cooking rice, fights often break out because many people want to get ahead each other, taking over the stoves. The captain of the ship does not disturb them.

Therefore, it is better—according to my opinion—that all my friends who want to go to Mecca travel by Dutch ship instead.

Usually, the ship drops anchor in Colombo and Aden to take on coal and drinking water. Here, it's best for us to gather our personal belongings so that they don't get stolen by the porters who board the ship.

On Kamaran Island¹⁸ the ship stopped for five days; and the passenger must disembark ashore. All clothes, mattresses, and mats should be soaked in the sterilizer water¹⁹ on this island. At this moment, many people who wanted to go ashore made a big fuss, because they often lose their money. For this reason, it would be good if people entrust their money to the captain of the ship and ask for a letter of declaration from him.

From Kamaran Island the ship heads for Jeddah port.

At this port, the Arabs immediately came from the shore, bringing syrup water.

If you want to drink this drink, it's better to first settle about the price. If not, then the seller will demand the [expensive] payment of one ringgit per glass.

Once ashore, the representative of the *congregation sheikh* (*sjech djoema'ah*) arrives to welcome our arrival. Actually, such *congregation sheikh* is not a religious sheikh, but a *preceptor*²⁰. It is he who looks after us and decides about the camels and everything that is practical for us.

The city of Jeddah is not really big, but many Caucasians are living there who have opened restaurants and cafés.

It is also in this city where all the European Consuls live. According to the treaty between Turkey with European kings, Europeans are not allowed to live in Mecca and Medina.

After I finished paying the fee for my pass to the Dutch Consul, then I departed on a camel to Mecca. Within thirty hours, we arrived in this city. This city is located on a mountain slope. In the mountain valley stands the Masjid al-Haram, which is very beautiful and large.

Anyone who views this mosque, will surely acknowledge the greatness of the Prophet Muhammad was and must acknowledge the power of the Apostle in the initial years.

When I arrived in Mecca, this city was already full of servants of Allah who came from all corners of the world, so it was difficult for us to walk on the main roads.

Here hundreds of fraudsters are found, who only intend to intention just to deceive the pilgrims. If the *congregation sheikhs* are not careful enough to look after their congregations, then many people will be fooled and deceived.

As far as traveling by camel is concerned, it is very difficult, because we cannot sit comfortably. We always have to be careful about protecting ourselves and our belongings, because many Bedouins are robbing and extorting.

We must be careful on this journey from Mecca to Medina because it is full of robbers and bandits.

In order that my friends who go to Mecca will not get into danger, please read the instruction that I wrote below:

ARTICLE 1. If we want to go to Mecca, it is best to change the money for purchases into British gold money (Pound sterling). This money can be obtained at all banking offices. The exchange rate is f 12.50 à f 12.60. The benefits are very large: *firstly*, this money is light, *secondly*, its exchange rate for ringgit burung²¹ in Mecca is higher. At least one [British] gold coin can be exchanged for 10 ringgit burung.

If it is exchanged for Dutch gold money, then the exchange rate of *f* 10 in Mecca is only 8 rigit burung.

ARTICLE 2. In the past five years, the price of *f*500 for a round trip to Mecca was sufficient, but now such an amount is inadequate. At least people should have *f*750. It's better if we have *f*1000.

The reason for this is because the value of rigit burung has declined. Now there are not many people going on the Hajj anymore, so that the price of the ship ticket, camel rental cost, food and other things [prices] have become more expensive.

ARTICLE 3. For those who wants to go to Mecca it is better not to tell their plan to the enemy, namely the head of the congregation (*kepala-djoemaäh*).

The head of congregation is a very evil, worse than leeches; it's not his intention to just drink people's blood, but if he is skilful, he will also suck out their bones and brain.

The head of congregation can be said to be is far removed from the Prophet [Muhammad] traits, worse than the robber and the extorter. His speech is sweet like sugar. And he [said that he] is always ready to "help" you, while saying, "If you want to go to Mecca, I like to help you [just] *because of Allah, the blessing of Mecca and Medina*. Don't worry anymore, Sir, because the Hajj ship agent is my friend. We've known each other for a long time; I also invested a little capital in the ship company. Let's get a ship ticket together."

Why is this leech talking like that? Because he gets a bonus from the owner of the ship: he gets *f*5 bonus from each customer he bears.

If we go and ask for the ship's tickets ourselves, then the *f*5 remains with us, no need to pay extra.

If we pay the agent ourselves, we only spend money *f*90, but if the head of the congregation takes us, of course we must pay *f*95 or more, because some congregation heads are not satisfied with just *f*5; some of them asked *f*10 to *f*20.

ARTICLE 4. Don't forget to ask for a pass. This pass was written on a stamped paper costed *f*1.50.

Application to get the pass is free of charge. If there is a clerk or head of the congregation who orders payment for this, it's best to report this deed to the head of city.

ARTICLE 5. All of your box-luggages must bear the “brand name” and the owners’ country of origin; don’t write the “brand” on paper, but with ink written on the boxes.

In the boxes there should be kept a testament which explains *how much* money and *how many* goods do we have in our luggages, and to *whom* the money and goods should be deliver if we die.

The testament letter should be written clearly.

ARTICLE 6. Many people travelled to Mecca from Penang Island or Singapore, because they wanted to board British ships. Whoever does this, is surely like the fish caught in fish trap (*lukah*).

The head of the congregation in the British colony is *even more evil* than the head of that congregation [from the Dutch East Indies] above mentioned. Some people who wanted to go to Mecca had already endured dangers, hence never reached Mecca, and people call them *Haji Pulau Pinang*.²² The only reason for this is that because they were scammed in Penang Island or Singapore: their money was gone, so they were forced to return to their native land.

Those who go aboard a British ship to Mecca must bring rice, firewood, and a some curry or fish, because one has to cook yourself. During times of cooking rice, fights often break out. The cooking place is not big enough, whereas hundreds of people wanted to cook. Sometimes it happens that a person’s rice is not yet well-cooked, but somebody else already has removed the pot. This is the cause of quarrels.

Water is very difficult to obtain on the British ships, so people have to bring their water themselves, about 5 kerosene tins per person. If we board a Dutch ship, we don’t need to bring water or rice. On this ship, we get things as much as we like. The same applies to curries. One day we receive eggs, one day fish, and one day meat. We even receives sugar, coffee, and tea.

The space we get is not narrow, so it is not easy for diseases to arise. Moreover, there is a doctor on the ship. Anyone who falls ill, can get medicines for free.

ARTICLE 7. The departure time of the ship departed can be seen in the newspaper or asked from the agent.

ARTICLE 8. It’s best if we pay for the return ticket for the ship, because if we want to return home from Mecca, it will be very difficult to get a ship ticket. Sometimes the ticket price is twice as much, because of a shortage of ships or because the head of the congregation made much profit.

As for the tickets—if we don't want to go back—we can sell them to people who want to go home, often with a profit too.

For the case of death, then we make a will that the ticket will be sent to our heirs, and the heirs will receive the refund money from the agent.

ARTICLE 9. When we get to the ship, it is best if we ask the captain of the ship to store our money. Later he gives us a letter. So, it's not difficult for us to take care of it anymore. Keep *f*25 only in our hand, the amount that is enough to be spent in Kamaran Island or in the Peninsula [Hejaz].

When we arrive in Jeddah, we can ask the ship captain to return the money. In this city, you should never hand over your money to other people, keep it at your waist.

ARTICLE 10. About six days after leaving from Padang, the pilgrim ships often stop at the ports of Colombo, Bombay, or Aden, to pick up coal or water. Here, it's better for people not to go ashore because they will easily get lost or be fooled, so they'll be forgotten and left there. Often people miss their ship due to this.

ARTICLE 11. If the ship docks [in these ports], it would be best to gather all your belongings in one place, because at the ports many [local] people board the ship. Some of them intend to sell their goods, but some others want to steal.

ARTICE 12. Around 8 days later we arrived at Kamaran Island. On this island, the ship stops for 5 days, and there we found a quarantine house²³, where all our belongings were put in sterilizer water. Here the advantages become apparent when we have asked the captain to save our money, because once the ship has docked, then several boats arrive, and terrible commotion arises. All our chests, mattresses, mats, and food stuffs are put into the storage, so that all of it gets mixed up.

Then we take a boat, and go to the island where the quarantine house located.

The place where the quarantine house stationed is about a quarter of a mile from the seafront. All the pilgrims, men and women, were sent to the quarantine house. All of our belongings and money are in the hands of the boatmen.

Before we returned from the sterilizing, all the goods, boxes, and other things are taken to another island. Here we find the shelters or barracks where we sojourn.

All of our belongings are just thrown by people onto the seashore, so they all get mixed up. Those whose clothes and mattress are sterilized may go there and select their belongings.

It is during this time that people often lose their money because many of them just keep their money in their purses.

ARTICLE 13. When you arrived at the house where the quarantine located, don't be shy to ask for cloth worn for bathing; give your trousers and shirt to the quarantine operatives, after they have taken the money and letters or watch from your pocket, then go to another room. If you're shy, you'll certainly have to stay there for a long time, and your belongings will be scattered around in another island.

ARTICLE 14. When your stuffs have been taken out of the quarantine house, then you have to wear them immediately, even though the bad smell of the sterilizer water is almost unbearable. Return immediately to the seashore, then go from there to the island where all your belongings can be recovered.

ARTICLE 15. In these barracks, people often get fevers, because the ground temperature there is too cold, in addition to the wind which is also very cool. In order not to get sick, it's really good to hire a hammock, called *salirit*, where we sleep while we stay on that island. The rent is only *f*1.

ARTICLE 16. When the Hajj ship arrives at this island, then the Bedouin people slaughter the sheep or goats. Usually, this meat is cooked in beef fat.

People who are not used to eating beef fat will suffer from an upset stomach. That's why it is not good to eat this meat. Don't even eat fruit.

ARTICLE 17. If people want to drink, they are required to ask the Bedouin foreman on duty there. This water has to be paid for.

ARTICLE 18. On this island one has to pay \$5, five ringgit burung, per person, the price for water and wood. This money should be paid to the doctor who is on guard there. If the Bedouin foreman asks money for the price of wood or water, don't give even a penny to him.

ARTICLE 19. When the ship arrives at the port of Jeddah, people come from the shore carrying red sorbet water which they recommend: "Halal! Halal!!" Don't drink this water right away, unless the price has been mutually agreed beforehand; which means, asking first how much one glass costs, so that you must not pay one ringgit for a glass later, something that will give rise to pointless quarrels.

ARTICLE 20. When we get there [Jeddah port], we are commanded to unload our belongings onto the boat, where it is well guarded by the police. People don't need to be afraid of losing anything.

If the boatman asks for *baksis* or gratuity for lifting your boxes, there is no need to pay him, because when we get ashore, our congregation sheikh will ask our money for the rental of the boat. It is the same for the cost of "stamping the pass" at customs. The total cost is around two ringgits.

ARTICLE 21. When we arrive at the first office, we buy a document, the price is half a ringgit burung. Then we go to a door where already hundreds of representatives of the congregation sheikhs wait for us, like tigers waiting for food, that's how it looks like.

Here we tell to which sheikh we want. Perhaps, on the ship there may have been a head of the congregation, who has persuaded us to join this sheikh or that sheikh, but at this door we can explain which sheikh we like.

In order that people know about the head of the congregation, he must promise that in Mecca the sheikh desired by us will receive a salary of 5 ringgit.

ARTICLE 22. The representatives of the sheikhs in Jeddah immediately sent a telegram to our sheikh in Mecca; two days later, the sheikh arrives in Jeddah to pick us up. It is him who provides the *sikadut*²⁴ that will take us to Mecca.

ARTICLE 23. On the second day in Jeddah, the sheikh representatives encourage us to visit Eve's grave; at that time the chicken money²⁵ will be useful for us, which can be given in charity to the grave keeper and the poor people there.

If we exchange 1 ringgit [burung] there, then we only get 200 or 150 chicken money. But if it is exchanged in Minangkabau highland, namely in Bukittinggi, then from f2.50 [ringgit burung] we get 1200 or 1500 chicken money. This chicken money is really needed in Mecca and Medina.

ARTICLE 24. To the congregation sheikh we pay the price for the pass, the boat fare, and other things.

Many people say that the congregation sheikh is making a profit. I confirm this assumption. If this is not so, where does he get the money to rent camels and to pay their assistants in Mecca to pick us up [in Jeddah].

It is appropriate that the sheikh should makes a profit, as long as it is not very much. Don't we in the Indies also have to pay if we take a coolie if or we live in someone's house?

The means of livelihood of the congregation sheikh is to guide the Hajj pilgrims only. If there were no congregation sheikh in Mecca or Jeddah, people would undoubtedly suffer more persecution, because we don't know Arabic, and have no acquaintances there.

ARTICLE 25. In the afternoon, we depart from Jeddah. The next morning, we arrived in Cadah.²⁶ At that day we stay in this city. Here we can get water and wood.

The price is paid when we will leave, f0.25 per person.

ARTICLE 26. If we have entered the sukduf, don't get off the camel again, because people often get into danger of Bedouin robbery.

ARTICLE 27. Don't keep money at your waist, in a mattress or pillow, but put it in a chest, because in a chest it is rarely lost, because the camels that carry the chests are tied to one another of the convoy of camels.

ARTICLE 28. In the evening we arrived at Mecca.

What about our food?

Our congregation sheikh has prepared food for us. The food is called dinner. Usually, we pay 2 ringgit burung for the dinner.

ARTICLE 29. At the same night, we are escorted by the tawaf guide and the sheikh. Usually, we pay half a rupiah for each.

ARTICLE 30. The exchange rate of ringgit nona²⁷ is more or less only 2 ringgit burung; one ringgit burung is 30 or 32 gurus [goersj]; one gurus is 2 halala; and one halala is 4 or 5 duani.²⁸

ARTICLE 31. We must know where our sheikh's house is, so that we don't go astray. Never ever ask any Arabs or Bedouins. If we ask them, then an Arab will say that we have gone astray, and they will take us walking here and there; In the afternoon he will take us to the sheikh's house and demand one ringgit fee to us.

If we realize that we are lost, look for a down path. Surely, we will arrive at the Masjid al-Haram, because this mosque is located in a valley.

ARTICLE 32. The Arabs know that we are the new comers. Many of them have no job other than seeking profit from us, through the ways that are not halal, through deceit and fraud.

Many of the Arabs who arrive like to say: "I am Imam Safi'i or your sheikh, the descendant of the Prophet" and so on. So, he will

order you to bathe in Zamzam water, guaranteeing that you will be free from all sins. Others require you to donate waqf. You can donate waqf to Grand Mosque pulpit or Kaaba with payment one or two ringgits. Others claim to be Friends of God, who delight in being responsible for dealing with your sins as long as you pay them five or ten ringgits.

That is the Dajjal cursed by Allah. Don't listen to that deception.

ARTICLE 33. At prayer time the Arabs come bringing Zamzam water which they claim to be sabil or halal. Do not drink it immediately, because once you drink it, you will be asked for money.

ARTICLE 34. If you go to buy clothes at the market, it's best to ask the congregation sheikh for help, so that you are not deceived. If you decide on the price of an item, don't speak softly, but with a loud voice and it must be decided clearly first how much it will cost in ringgit burung or ringgit nona.

Buyers are often confused if it is not mentioned clearly which ringgit is used to pay.

ARTICLE 35. There are various kinds of fruit that people sell at road intersections. Don't eat this fruit, because it often causes an upset stomach.

ARTICLE 36. Water for bathing or cooking should be paid monthly. The price for one guriba²⁹ every day, is only half a ringgit burung.

ARTICLE 37. When leaving for Medina, never get off sukduf, if it is not at the rest stop. Some people wish to pray and they often get into trouble because they don't remember their sukduf. Anyone left will of course be harassed by the Bedouins.

ARTICLE 38. In Medina people don't need to worry, because the residents of that city don't like deceiving people. This is the place of sincere people, inside or outside the mosque.

ARTICLE 39. Money spent in Medina: entry tax is one ringgit and the pay for the Tawaf guide is one ringgit.

ARTICLE 40. On the way to Medina, there is one thing that should be remembered: every moment the Bedouin servants will ask for the bread or food that we have brought with us. Sometimes fights arise with them. In order that something like this doesn't happen, it is essential to discuss this matter properly with the congregation sheikh before leaving, so that he will discuss the matter with the sheikh of the camel.

It's far better to give half a ringgit bonus to the Bedouin servant, so that he doesn't trouble us on the way.

ARTICLE 41. When performing the Hajj in Arafah plain, people should not leave their group because they often go astray due to this, so they are lost and taken by the Bedouins as their slaves.

ARTICLE 42. If possible, be careful, because there are very many people. Cholera outbreaks often break out there. Don't eat fruit.

ARTICLE 43. It's really best if people bring medicines for upset stomach (cholera drink), fever medicines, and white oil³⁰ from Tanah Jawi (home country).

ARTICLE 44. When we leave to come back home, we must pay the congregation sheikh 7 ringgits and the Sharif 5 ringgits.

Padang, 1903

Finished.

Aberrant Tone about the Hajj

Reading the narrative of the brochure above, one can perceive its aberrant tone about the Hajj. Outwardly, Dja's intention is neither to extol the virtues of the Hajj nor its spiritual significance, as set forth in most texts within this extensive corpus. Rather, he aimed to provide practical information that he hoped would be useful for his fellow natives who intended to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. After explaining his purpose for visiting the Holy City, he immediately and frankly discussed matters surrounding the Hajj based on his observations of foreign lands (*termasa*) during his journey from Padang to Mecca in 1892. Due to such a deviant tone, which may have rarely been expressed by Muslims from the Archipelago previously, he first apologised:

My friends, don't "get me wrong" if there is something which, according to your mind, unpleasant to hear, not good and inappropriate for me to tell! It is not my intention to deprecate Mecca and Medina. The purpose of my efforts is just to make you aware of that if you go on a pilgrimage to Mecca someday; I hope you can get rid of all the tricks and troubles that could bring accidents to you.³¹

Clearly, Dja Endar Moeda wrote the brochure to remind prospective pilgrims from the Archipelago, his fellow natives, to pay attention to several things—he described them in 44 articles (*pasal*)—so that they are safe in carrying out this sacred mission of fulfilling the fifth pillar of Islam. Such practical instructions intended to safeguard the safety of pilgrims from the Archipelago, most of whom were still unlettered and uneducated men embarking on a long journey for the first time,

had never been written before; most accounts by previous pilgrims highlighted the devotional aspects of the Hajj. However, Dja actually emphasised otherwise. From the beginning, he warned pilgrims about the means of sea transport (the ship) that would take them to Jeddah. Dja compared the different services provided to passengers on ships operated by the shipping companies under the Dutch East Indies and the British Indies flags. He considered the former better than the latter in terms of food provision, health services and the treatment of passengers. Therefore, in his opinion, it is better for those ‘who want to go to Mecca to travel by Dutch ship instead’. We surmise that the author’s status as a Dutch East Indies colonial subject, to some extent, influenced his opinion; he praised the Dutch ships more than the British ships, although he was quite critical of the Dutch East Indies government. However, there were also many complaints against Dutch ship services, which were monopolised by the Kongsji Tiga (*Trio Line*) shipping company (Alexanderson 2014, 1029–1035).

Nevertheless, regarding the perilous incidents at the British Indies’ ports of Singapore and Penang, this is a verifiable fact, as reported by many contemporary media sources.³² Penang and Singapore remained popular among prospective pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, especially Sumatra. The Dutch ships had stringent regulations, prompting many pilgrims to opt for British ships in Singapore and Penang, which offered more freedom on board. C. Snouck Hurgronje, in a report to the Colonial Government in Batavia, noted that contrary to Dja’s information, pilgrims preferred travelling on Singapore ships (meaning British ships) because they could cook for themselves on those ships. In contrast, on Dutch ships, they had to endure poorly cooked rice. It was also mentioned that on Singapore (British) ships, the rules were more relaxed, and they showed friendliness towards the Hajj pilgrims.³³ Evidently, with the commercialisation of pilgrimage in the late 19th century, shipping companies fiercely competed for passengers. At times, this competition proved disadvantageous to the customers.

Author’s Main Points of Concern

A thorough reading of the brochure, including the introductory paragraphs and the 44 listed articles, suggests that Dja’s concerns can be categorised into the following points at least:

Bureucracy, Travel Cost, Route, and Means of Transport

The brochure describes the travel route from home to Mecca, something that was not clear to the pilgrims from the Archipelago, who were mostly illiterate and naive (Fig. 3). As mentioned above, in the initial paragraphs of the brochure, the author provides the readers with an overview of the journey by the attention of the Dutch and British ships and suggests they travel by the former due to its better service to the passengers. He also advises those who want to go to Mecca not to engage with the head of the congregation (*kepala-djoemaäh*) when buying the ship ticket, as the ticket price would be more expensive due to the *kepala-djoemaäh* seeking a bonus (Article 3). He also reminds the pilgrims to check the departure time of the ship in the newspaper or ask for information from the agent (Article 7). He explains the sailing route of the pilgrims' ship: he mentions several ports where the ship stops to pick up coal and water before arriving at Jeddah port, such as Colombo, Bombay or Aden (Article 10). He reminds the pilgrims to remember to ask for a pass (Article 4) and to report themselves with this pass to the Dutch Consul after they arrive in Jeddah before continuing their trip to Mecca. The pass—the initial model of a passport—was obligatory for pilgrims as an approach to documenting them under the colonial administration as well as to surveilling them (Zara 2010).



Figure 3: Five pilgrims from Priangan, West Java. They were photographed in the courtyard of the Dutch Consulate at Jeddah in 1885 (Courtesy of KITLV Leiden).

The author provides detailed information about the quarantine house, which he refers to as '*tempat/rumah pesawat*', on Kamaran Island. He explains that the ship stops there for five days, during which the pilgrims' clothes and personal belongings should be put in sterilised water (*air busuk*). Every pilgrim is required to undergo this health treatment procedure. The author also reminds the pilgrims about the possible commotion that may occur there and advises them on what to do in such situations, especially regarding their money and personal belongings (Article 12). In a subsequent article, he wrote:

When you arrived at the house where the quarantine located [in Kamaran Island], don't be shy to ask for cloth worn for bathing; give your trousers and shirt to the quarantine operatives, after they have taken the money and letters or watch from your pocket, then go to another room. If you're shy, you'll certainly have to stay there for a long time, and your belongings will be scattered around in another island. When your stuffs have been taken out of the quarantine house, then you have to wear them immediately, even though the bad smell of the sterilizer water is almost unbearable. Return immediately to the seashore, then go from there to the island where all your belongings can be recovered. (Articles 13 and 14)

As Eric Tagliacozzo mentioned, such places closely related to the pilgrimage journey are important *topos* that recurrently appear in many Southeast Asian travel accounts on the Hajj, including Kamaran Island (Tagliacozzo 2013). However, in the brochure under discussion, we get the impression that the author was not interested in exaggerating the greatness of the *topos* associated with the Hajj procession, such as the eminence of Mecca and the gloriousness of the Kaaba, the Field of Arafah, the city of Medina, the Prophet Muhammad's and Eve's graves and so on, as impressed in the majority of other accounts in this corpus.³⁴ Rather, he considered it more important to explain the places where his fellow pilgrims could potentially be abused, cheated, robbed or mugged, such as in Colombo, Bombay or Aden ports, on Kamaran Island, and in some transit places during the Hajj procession in the land of Hejaz.

Money and Currencies

The brochure provides extensive information about money and currencies. Money was certainly a crucial concern for pilgrims, as emphasised by the author, who knew that most pilgrims carried cash and jewellery. Consequently, the author reminds the fellow pilgrims to

be vigilant with their money and personal belongings (Articles 5, 11, 12, 13 and 20). Details about currencies are vital for pilgrims, especially for those who are inexperienced and embarking on a long journey to a foreign land far from their homeland. In Article 1, the author elaborates on the exchange rate of the Netherlands East Indies *gulden* for British gold money (*pound sterling*) and *ringgit burung* in Hejaz. Additionally, in Article 30, the author explains the exchange rates of *ringgit nona* and other local currencies prevalent in Mecca: *gurus/goersj*, *halala* and *duani*. Further, in Article 2, he provides an estimation for the ideal amount of money required for someone intending to travel to Mecca.

More importantly, the author advises the pilgrims to keep their money carefully and to be thrifty in spending it in the places they visit during the Hajj. He echoes this concern in several articles. For example, he suggests that pilgrims entrust their money to the captain of the ship to prevent theft or loss during the voyage (Article 9) and remain vigilant with this important property during their journey in Hejaz (Article 27). He reminds the pilgrims to be cautious in spending their money when they visit certain places (Article 23), buy water for bathing or cooking (Article 36), purchase food and drinks (Articles 19 and 33) and pay for various services, such as the pass, tax, the boat, the congregation sheikh and so on (Articles 21, 24, 28, 29, 39 and 44).

The financial aspect of pilgrimage has long been scrutinised by several parties. Some critics disapprove of the ways certain people gather money to pay for their pilgrimage to Mecca, which is regarded as contravening Islamic principles. For example, in his *Boekoe Woelang Hadji (Book of Admonition)*,³⁵ Raden Moehamad-hoesen criticises the Muslims of Java who raise money by cheating, begging or stealing for travel costs to Mecca. Such people often leave their families at home without financial support. According to the author, those who make the pilgrimage to Mecca with money earned in such ways will not obtain a reward from God. Instead, He will consider them sinners (Suryadi 2012).

Moral Wickedness of the Hajj functionaries and Local People

The author's other prominent concern is the potential for nicking, robbing and stealing the pilgrims' money and other personal belongings. Two parties are highlighted by the author: *first*, the functionaries involved in organising the Hajj; *second*, the local people whom the

pilgrims are likely to encounter during their trip from their homeland to Mecca. In the introductory paragraphs, Dja has already reminded his prospective fellow pilgrims about hundreds of fraudsters ‘who only intend to deceive the pilgrims’.

Dja harshly criticises the immoral actions of the Hajj functionaries, especially the *kepala-djoemaäh* (the head of the congregation) and the *sjech djoema'ah* (the congregation sheikh), two prominent figures in recruiting and guiding the pilgrims to the Holy Land. He alleges that many *kepala-djoemaäh* operating in the Dutch East Indies territory are deceivers. He abrasively deprecates their despicable actions and advises those who want to go to Mecca ‘not to tell their plan’ to them. With sardonic phrases, he describes the head of the congregation as having ‘very evil’ characteristics and being ‘worse than leeches (*lintah*)’. He adds that ‘it’s not his intention to just drink people’s blood, but if he is skilful, he will also suck out their bones and brain’, and his character is considered ‘far removed from the Prophet [Muhammad’s] traits, worse than the robber and the extorter’ (Article 3). Further, he notes that the heads of the congregation operating in British Indies territory (Malay Peninsula) are even worse.

Many people travelled to Mecca from Penang Island or Singapore, because they wanted to board British ships. Whoever does this, is surely like the fish caught in fish trap (*lukah*).

The head of the congregation in the British colony is *even more evil* than the head of that congregation [from the Dutch East Indies] above mentioned. Some people who wanted go to Mecca had already endured dangers, hence never reached Mecca, and people call them *Haji Pulau Pinang*. The only reason for this is that because they were scammed in Penang Island or Singapore: their money was gone, so they were forced to return to their native. (Article 6)

The author warns individuals interested in purchasing ship tickets to Mecca to be cautious of certain *kepala-djoemaäh*, as they have connections with ticket agents who offer bonuses. The limited transportation facilities, specifically the scarcity of ships, pose a latent problem in organising the Hajj. Therefore, the author suggests: ‘It’s best if we pay for the return ticket for the ship, because if we want to return home from Mecca, it will be very difficult to get a ship ticket. Sometimes the ticket price is twice as much, because of a shortage of ships or because the head of the congregation made much profit’ (Article 8).

Furthermore, he explains that many pilgrims could not return home because their money ran out. Consequently, they became vulnerable to exploitation. For example, a shipping company operated by Firma Al-Segaff & Co., headquartered in Singapore, offered them a return journey on its ships. The owner of the firm, a wealthy individual of Arab descent named Sayyid Moehammad bin Ahmad Alsagaff (Fig. 4), who also owned palm oil plantations, arranged for these unfortunate pilgrims to return home on his ships under the condition that they work on his plantations in Kukup Island and Johor. They were paid monthly wages of 4 dollars, from which 2 dollars were deducted each month until the debt and interest were fully repaid (Putuhena 2007, 147). However, most of them could not settle their debts, leading them to work on the plantation for years (Snouck Hurgronje 1923, 282). Some were never able to break free from this cycle of exploitation (Eisenberger 1928, 35; Vredembregt 1962, 127–8). This case was attributed to veiled slavery, prompting the Dutch and British authorities to intervene (Majid 2008, 129–174). Those who were unable to clear their debts were returned to their home villages in the Netherlands East Indies at the government's expense, designated as '*haji miskin*' (poor pilgrims) (Putuhena 2007, 147).



Figure 4: The millionaire (*orang kaya besar*) Habib Moehammad bin Ahmad Alsagaff, the owner of the ship company Firma Al-Segaff & Co in Singapore (Source: Shahab 1925, 694).

Dja also warns the pilgrims to be careful around the local people, like the Yemenite Arabs and the Bedouins. At this point, he is very critical and frank in his remarks, stating that the Hejaz natives have a tendency to deceive pilgrims from the Indies. He acknowledges that sharing such negative information about the Arabs could potentially upset the readers—the Muslims of Nusantara—who have long deemed the Yemenite Arab descendants as a perfect and superior race due to their claims of being the descendants of Muhammad the Prophet, although these claims are false and invalid. Over the centuries, the Hadrami Arabs in the Archipelago³⁶ ‘had enjoyed some privileges in local Muslim communities where they settled and among Muslim scholars because of their religion, their ancestral closeness to the territory of the origin of Islam, and their Arabic language skills, speaking the language of the Quran’ (Jacobsen 2009, 54).

In Article 32, Dja Endar Moeda candidly writes that many Arabs ‘have no job other than seeking profit from’ the pilgrims from the Archipelago, ‘through ways that are not halal, through deceit and fraud’. He advises his fellow natives to always be careful when purchasing goods from the Hadrami Arabs, such as souvenirs and Zamzam water (Articles 32–34), or if they require their services (Article 31). He also cautions them to always take care of themselves to avoid being harassed, cheated on or robbed by the Bedouins (Articles 31, 37 and 41). Further, he stated: ‘We always have to be careful about protecting ourselves and our belongings, because many Bedouins are robbing and extorting’, and ‘[w]e must be careful on [the] journey from Mecca to Medina because it is full of [the Bedouin] robbers and bandits’. However, Dja Endar Moeda holds a positive view of the inhabitants of the city of Medina, who, he said, ‘don’t like deceiving people’ (Article 38).

Foods and Healthiness

Dja’s other concerns revolve around the health and diet of the pilgrims. He advises them to prioritise their health by being mindful of the hygiene of the food they consume. For instance, he cautions against consuming sheep or goat meat cooked with beef fat (*minyak sapi*) by the Bedouins (Article 16) and recommends avoiding fruits sold at road intersections in Mecca, as they can cause stomach upset (Article 35). Even consuming fruits that are not properly cleaned can lead to cholera. He notes that cholera outbreaks are frequent in Mecca.

The author emphasises the health of the pilgrims because he knows that many of them have died in the land of Hejaz due to illness.³⁷ In Article 12, he describes in detail the quarantine process for the pilgrims on Kamaran Island. He also advises them to bring their own medicines: ‘It’s really best if people bring medicines for upset stomach (cholera drink) (*obat sakit perut*), fever medicines (*obat demam*), and white oil (*minyak putih*) from Tanah Jawi (home country)’ (Article 43).

Concluding Remarks

Virginia Matheson and A. C. Milner (1984) have shown that Malay accounts of pilgrimage to Mecca often reflect their cultural and social values but also discuss administrative matters, the rituals and the political implications of the Hajj. Such aspects are also reflected in Dja’s ‘*Perjalanan ke-“Tanah-tjoetji”*’. However, unlike many accounts of the Hajj, which tend to focus on its religious aspects, Dja’s writing, which uses prose rather than literary forms like *syair*, reveals the practical dimensions of this religious practice. It seems no coincidence that the language of the brochure aligns with *Bintang Hindia*’s mission, which was published: to enlighten the minds of its native readers of the Dutch East Indies. Dja’s narrative style appears to have concurred with Rivai’s mission to use *Bintang Hindia* to educate its native readers in the colony and encourage rational thinking.

Dja did not elaborate much on the procession of the Hajj itself. As a Muslim and native intellectual with a European educational background who desired to advance his fellow natives, he aimed to provide practical information for his fellow native pilgrims about what they would encounter during the pilgrimage. For him, such information seemed much more important and valuable than sharing the religious experience of the Hajj, which is more related to personal experience (Bustamam-Ahmad and Zakaria 2018).

Dja was one of the early Malay intellectuals who meticulously detailed the practical aspects related to the Hajj, with the aim of capturing the Colonial Government’s attention and raising awareness among his fellow natives. During that period, many narratives predominantly focused on the splendid and grandiose aspects of this religious ritual. Decades later, other pilgrims also addressed this issue in their writings, including Baginda Dahlan Abdoellah (1920a, b, c, d), Muhammad Jasin bin H. ‘A. Rahman (1924) and R. A. A. Wiranatakoesoema (1925).

Finally, we must acknowledge that, as 21st-century readers of the text, we have engaged in a ‘dialogue’ with its title. The writing of *Tanah-tjoetji* by Dja Endar Moeda in *quotes* seems intended to convey a particular meaning. We believe the author wants to suggest that the Holy Land (Mecca) was not as sacred and ‘clean’ as he (and millions of others from Nusantara) had imagined. As he witnessed with his own eyes, in Mecca, the most sacred religious activities that deal directly with God, many people still dared to commit sins, even during the Hajj season.

Endnotes

- A very earlier version of this paper was presented at ‘International Seminar Penang and the Hajj’, organised by Penang Heritage Trust and Think City Sdn. Bhd., along with other partners, in Penang, Malaysia, on 17–18 August 2013. The convenors were Abdur-Razzaq Lubis and Khoo Salma Nasution. We are grateful to the anonymous reviewers of *Studia Islamika* for their careful readings and critical comments, and Edwin Wieringa and Vanessa Smith for their English editing. We take responsibility for any flaws that remain.
1. The report from *De Locomotief*, dated 17 November 1900, was originally in Dutch. *De Padanger* was a Dutch newspaper published in Padang from August 1900 to September 1925 (Termorhuizen and Scholte 2001, 637, 684).
 2. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje notes Habib Uthman’s religious and socio-political roles in his work entitled *Verspreide Geschriften. Deel V. Geschriften Betrefferende Taal-en Letterkunde* (Hurgronje 1925). ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Aqil ibn Yahyā al-‘Alawī, his full name, also wrote a controversial book entitled *Manhaj al-Istiqāmah fi ad-Dīn bi al-salāmah* in Malay language to forbid the jihad of Muslims in Cilegon, Banten, against the government of the Netherlands East Indies (al-‘Alawī 1890).
 3. Its main representatives in the Dutch East Indies were situated in Batavia, Bandung and Bogor, while its correspondents were scattered across other major cities: Semarang, Surabaya, Makassar, Manado, Medan and Padang. The distributor of *Bintang Hindia* was present in more than 90 locations across the Colony. In British Indies, it was represented by H.M. Sirat in Penang, a well-known Native publisher in the Malay Peninsula in the early 20th century (See *Bintang Hindia*, No. 13. Tahoen jang pertama. 1 Juli 1903, p. 134).
 4. In 1904, there were approximately 27,000 subscribers to this journal across the Dutch East Indies (*Bintang Hindia*, Tahoen 2, No. 24, 1904, p. 274).
 5. Authors’ note: According to Abdur-Razzaq Lubis (2005, 63; 2021, 89), Dja Endar Moeda was a Mandailing, not a Batak. This is plausible given the historical facts that he was actively involved in establishing the press company *Syarikat Tapanuli* in Medan around 1910. (Tapanuli in North Sumatra is a homeland of Mandailing people). Around a decade earlier, he also published the periodical *Tapian Na Oeli* (denotes the region name of *Tapanuli*) in Padang (Adam 1995, 127). A source mentions that Dja Endar Moeda came from Padang Sidempuan or Padang Bolak, the capital of the Tapanuli Residency (*Taman Sari*, No. 182, 12 August 1904; *Sumatra-courant*, 1 March 1900). For Sumatran people, the difference between the Mandailing and Batak

is often understood to be that the former embraced Islam, while the latter mostly embraced Christianity.

6. Ahmat B. Adam (n.d.) at <http://www.mandailing.org/Eng/djaendar.html> (accessed, 14 June 2013. The website is not available anymore).
7. For more about Dja's involvement in the business of vernacular press in Sumatra in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see Ahmat B. Adam in <http://www.mandailing.org/Eng/djaendar.html> (accessed 15 June 2013. The website is not available anymore); see also Adam (1975) and Adam (1995).
8. Adam at <http://www.mandailing.org/Eng/djaendar.html> (accessed, 14 June 2013; The website is not available anymore).
9. Among the books under his authorship that can be identified are: *Hikajat Tjinta Kasih Sajang* (Padang: Otto Bäumer, 1895); *Hikajat Dendam Tak' Soedah: Kalau Sudah Merewan Hati* (translated from Dutch) (Padang: Paul Bäumer & Co., 1897); *Kitab Edja dan Pembatjaan oentoek Anak Anak jang Baharoe Beladjar* (Padang: Insulinde, 1900); *Kitab Seriboe Pantoen, Ibarat dan Taliboen* (Padang: Insulinde, 1900–1901); *Kitab Boenga Mawar: Pembatjaan bagi Anak2* (Padang: Insulinde, 1902); *Hikajat Sajang Taq Sajang: Riwajat Nona Geneveuva* (translated from Dutch) (Padang: Insulinde, 1902); *Kitab Peladjaran Bahasa Wolanda ontoek Anak Anak Baharoe Moelai Beladjar* (4 vols.) (Padang: Insulinde, 1902–1903); *Kitab Edja dan Pembatjaan oentoek Anak Anak jang Baharoe Beladjar* (Padang: Insulinde, 1903); and *Riwajat Poelau Sumatra* (Padang: Insulinde, 1903).
10. *Bintang Hindia*, No. 25, Tahoen jang pertama, 12 December 1903, p. 273.
11. This assertion refers to a document entitled 'Brief van Dja Endar Moeda aan Christian Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936)' hold in Leiden University Library under shelfmark ZZU 8197 D 49.
12. He frequently criticised the colonial government policies that he considered injustice and detrimental to his fellow natives, publishing his criticism in newspapers and other media. For example, in the late 1890s, he criticized the government's policy of austerity and cuts to the education budget for indigenous schools (*Pertja Barat*, 10-11-1898). In July 1905, he was sentenced to lashes because the Colonial Government accused him of violating pres regulation (*Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 30-11-1905).
13. *Bintang Hindia* (Tahoen 1, No.15, 25 Juli 1903, p. 158) reported that the wedding party lasted several days, with the public entertained by *bangsawan* theatre performances. Due to the large number of attendees, the streets around Dja's house had been closed temporarily. See also Brousson's report about the event published in *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser courant*, 22-06-1903; *Provinciale Overijselsche en Zwolsche courant*, 22-03-1903; *Leeuwarder courant*, 22-06-1903; and *Delftsche courant*, 21-06-1903 under the column entitled 'Indische Penkrassen, XV.'
14. See *Sumatra-courant's* report (01-05-1900) on this visit.
15. When his son, M. Djanin, was appointed as the *Eerste Redacteur* of *Pewarta Deli* in June 1930, the leading newspaper published in Medan, which was founded and led by his father in 1910, he mentioned that his father had passed away. He recalled that 20 years ago when he was still a child, his father often brought him to his office, which he now occupies (*Pewarta Deli*, 02-06-1930).
16. As mentioned by its editors, 'KARANGAN basa melajoe [untuk *Bintang Hindia*] wadjib ditoelis menoeroet edjaan p. t. CH. A. VAN OPHUIJSEN' (The essays in Malay [submitted to *Bintang Hindia*] should be written in the Ch. A. van Ophuijsen spelling system) (*Bintang Hindia*, Tahoen kedoea, No. 1, 1904: 2). For more on the Van Ophuijsen spelling system, see Lars S. Vikør, *Perfecting Spelling: Spelling*

- Discussions and Reforms in Indonesia and Malaysia, 1900–1972* (Dordrecht [etc.]: Floris, 1988). An adopted-new Indonesian spelling of the brochure provided by Suryadi under the title: ‘Tiga Catatan tentang Ibadah Haji dan Tanah Hejaz dalam Berkala *Bintang Hindia*, 1903–1905: Teks 2: Perjalanan ke “Tanah Suci” in Henri Chambert-Loir (Chief Ed.), *Naik Haji di Masa Silam, Jilid II: Tahun 1900–1950* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia [etc.], 2013a, 846–497.
17. As can be seen in Figure 1, his middle name is incorrectly written ‘Endra’ by *Bintang Hindia* instead of ‘Endar’. On his short biography (in Dutch), see *Bintang Hindia*, Tahoen 1, No. 25, 12 December 1903, p. 273.
 18. Authors’ note: What Dja’s means is the 22 square-mile island in the Red Sea off the coast of Yemen named Kamarān, where the prospective pilgrims were quarantined before they arrived in Jeddah harbour. The quarantine station for the pilgrims was initially established there in 1882, and it subsequently handled as many as 44,000 pilgrims a season (Peterson 1985, 24).
 19. Authors’ note: Dja Endar Moeda wrote it: ‘*air busuk*’ (stunk water) due to the bad aroma of the antiseptic substance—Koesoema (1925, 16) mentioned it as ‘Lysol’—dissolved in the water to kill the bacteria and virus from the clothes of the pilgrims to eliminate all kinds of diseases (*ontsmet*).
 20. Authors’ note: Dja Endar Moeda used the Minangkabau term *indu[a]k samang* (litt. means: the boss in business in place of migration) for such an Arabic guide for the foreign pilgrims.
 21. Authors’ note: Dja Endar Moeda wrote it: ‘ringgit boeroeng’ (litt.: ‘bird ringgit’, because one side of the coin portrays a bird), a coin of currency that was widely used by the pilgrims in Hejaz land in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
 22. Authors’ note: This appellation—also called ‘*Haji Singapura*’—referred to the pilgrims from the Archipelago who never reached Mecca because they lost almost all their money once they entered the British Malaya territory. They were often stranded in Singapore or Penang because their money had been ‘robbed’ by the congregation heads (*kepala-djoemaäh*) who operated in both busy port cities. Those who were deceived in this way were given a stamped ‘certificate’ in which it is stated that they already legally had the title ‘Haji’ (Haji) and ordered them to immediately return to their home villages (Keizer 1871, 62; Slight 2015, 286).
 23. Authors’ note: Dja Endar Moeda called it “*rumah pesawat*” (litt.: “set house”).
 24. Authors’ note: *Sikadut* is Dja’s pronunciation for *sukduf* (see Wiranatakoesoema 1925, 70). It is a tent placed on the back of camel to carry the pilgrims, moving in a long caravan passing the desert from Jeddah to Mecca or other places in the land of Hejaz.
 25. Authors’ note: What Dja’s meant was ‘ringgit ayam’ (litt.: ‘chicken ringgit’ because one side of the coin portrays a chicken), another sort of coin of currency that was widely used by the pilgrims at that time.
 26. Authors’ note: It is very possible what Dja Endar Moeda meant was Haddah, a village which is now included Makkah Province, located in coordinates; 21° 27’ 1” N, 39° 33’ 16” E (https://geohack.toolforge.org/geohack.php?pagename=Hadda%27¶ms=21_27_01_N_39_33_16_E_region:SA_type:city; accessed 16-09-2023).
 27. Authors’ note: ‘Ringgit nona’ is another sort of coin currency that was also widely used among the pilgrims at that time.
 28. Authors’ note: All fractions mentioned are coins of legal currency that prevailed in the land of Hejaz at that time (the late 19th century).
 29. Authors’ note: *Guriba-gerabah* in Malay is an earthenware barrel used by the Arabs to deposit water. The Sundanese noble Raden Demang Panji Nagara, who went on a

- pilgrimage to Mecca in the 1850s, called it ‘*qariba*’ (Chambert-Loir 2013, Jilid I, 379, based on manuscript Ml. 158 PNRI Jakarta).
30. Authors’ note: Written “*minyak putih*”, which very possibly means “*minyak kayu putih*” (cajuput oil), an aromatherapy oil that is widely used in Indonesia and the Malay world.
 31. Part of the brochure’s text quoted here and the subsequent ones refer to the translation provided in the above section.
 32. One of the representative scholarly collective bundles that, among other things, investigate this historical fact is *Indonesia dan Haji: Empat Karangan di Bawah Redaksi Dick Douwes dan Nico Kaptein* (1997), which contains the Indonesian translation of four articles dealing with the pilgrims from the Archipelago, written by Jacob Vredenberg (1962), Marcel Witlox (1991), Kees van Dijk (1991) and Martin van Bruinessen (1995).
 33. C. Snouck Hurgronje’s report to the Director of *Onderwijs Eeredienst en Nijverheid*, Batavia, 19 July 1895, preserved in Arsip Nasional RI, Ged. Cl 2510/1986, as quoted by Majid 2008, 157.
 34. See for example *Syair Mekah dan Madinah* (Wieringa 2002; Suryadi 2013b).
 35. Its original text, which is written in Jawi and Latin scripts, is now preserved at Leiden University Library under code number Or. 5567. The conversion of its text to the New Indonesian spelling system, with an introduction to its social and historical context, is available in Suryadi (2013c).
 36. Most of the Arabs living in the Archipelago came from the Hadrami region of Yemen (Mobini-Kesheh 1999).
 37. For more about the various diseases that the Hajj pilgrims often suffer from, see Patah (1935).

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