

**Depicting the *Hajjah*: Female Pilgrims from the  
Dutch East Indies in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> – Early 20<sup>th</sup>  
Century**



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## Introduction

Do you wake up and turn on the television, or check your smartphone, to find yet another news item about yet another terror attack, and surprisingly do not feel that shock? Dead people seem to be just numbers today. Terror attacks strike so many parts of the world so often, that one feels one's trust in humanity die a little every single day. Who might even have imagined this constant anxiety of another possible terror attack that could happen in the neighborhood, say 30-40 years ago? Unless you are a devoted geopolitical expert analyst or maybe a global conspiracy theory-junkie, the chance is rather small.

Yet, 30-40 years ago the world was not felt to be that safe either; there was still the cold war and its lingering horror. While one used to worry about communist coups or nuclear weapons, in the 2000s people became a lot more concerned about the extremists and the so-called jihadists. Do people always have to live in a consistent fear throughout the history of humankind? A consistent fear, along with suspicions, were not alien to the Dutch colonial government in the Indies around a hundred years ago as well, during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thousands of people from the Dutch East Indies filled the harbors at that time, waiting to board the ships that would take them on the long journey to the Hedjaz for the hajj, in the midst of growing Pan-Islamist ideas. What were widely known as insurgent Islamic ideas of the period were believed to come from the connection established by the people who went on the pilgrimage to Mecca. The angst and suspicion of the Dutch government were not unpredictable.

'Paranoia' might be the best word to describe the way the Dutch felt about the hajj during the period. Therefore, they felt the urge to find out everything from those they suspected. It was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the Dutch government began to regulate and manage the conduct of the hajj. They kept an eye not only on the implementation of the hajj and the rituals, but also on the people who went on the pilgrimage, who were given the title of 'haji'.<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the popular beliefs about the pilgrims, they were not always dying, old people. In fact, many of

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<sup>1</sup> Haji is the title given to a person who had accomplished the hajj, hajjah or hajja are also used for female person. This title is considered to be honorable. In the Dutch East Indies, it could signify a certain status and influence in the society. See Jacob Vredenberg, "Ibadah Haji Beberapa Ciri dan Fungsinya di Indonesia" in Kaptein, Nico and Dick Douwes, *Indonesia dan Haji* (Jakarta: INIS 1997) 7. Jamaludin. *Sejarah Sosial Islam di Lombok 1740-1935: Studi Kasus Terhadap Tuan Guru*. (Jakarta: Kemenag RI, 2011) 88, 134-135.

them were very young when they went to Mecca, about 20 years old or so. Some of them were even children, who were taken by their parents on hajj. It was also common to bring one's wife and children for the hajj, because many of the pilgrims stayed longer in the Hedjaz after the hajj season was over, to study Islam or for other reasons.<sup>2</sup> Many people stayed for a year or two, while some of them chose to settle for much longer periods, starting a new life and family.<sup>3</sup> Hajj was indeed a temporary migration in the colonial times, which is quite different from the hajj situation today. Most likely people today will directly board the flight back home when the hajj season is over. When looking at the sources, one might find that among the pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, who were also known as the '*Haji Jawa*'<sup>4</sup>, many of them were actually women. The annual hajj report of 1908 shows the percentage of female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies to be around 22% out of the total pilgrims, which is quite attention-grabbing.<sup>5</sup> One might think that all of them were wives who just went to the Hedjaz to accompany their husbands, but in fact they also participated in the hajj. Almost all of the women from the Dutch East Indies who were registered in the Dutch consulate in Jeddah held a 'hajj passport', instead of a 'wife passport'.<sup>6</sup>

Female experience in the hajj is depicted in the memoir of Lady Evelyn Cobbold, the first white female pilgrim from England to go on a pilgrimage, in 1924.<sup>7</sup> Cobbold's memoir is one of the earliest women's writings about the hajj and Hedjaz in a non-Arabic language. There was also another published journal written by an Indian royalty in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, in 1870, the Princess Nawab Sikandar Begum of Bhopal.<sup>8</sup> Besides these two, the women's writing about the hajj in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century is non-existent, and especially from the Dutch East Indies. One can find some memoirs written by male pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, such as R.A. Wiranatakusuma's memoir,<sup>9</sup> but they very seldom mentioned the female pilgrims.

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<sup>2</sup> The hajj season is started in the last month of the Islamic Calendar, Dzulhijjah. It lasts for 5 days full of rituals, starting from 8<sup>th</sup> until the 12<sup>th</sup> of Dzulhijjah. Bianchi, Robert R. *Guests of God: Pilgrimage and Politics in the Islamic World*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) 8-11.

<sup>3</sup> Madjid, M. Dien. *Berhaji di Masa Kolonial*. (Jakarta: CV Sejahtera, 2008) 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> *Haji Jawa* is a term given to the pilgrims in the Hedjaz who came from the Indonesian-Malay archipelago.

<sup>5</sup> Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulaat (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Djeddah (Turkije / Saoedi-Arabië), nummer toegang 2.05.53, inventarisnummer 133. *Bedevertverslag* 1908.

<sup>6</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 133. *Bedevertverslag* 1918.

<sup>7</sup> Cobbold, Lady Evelyn. *Pilgrimage to Mecca* (London: John Murray, 1934).

<sup>8</sup> Lambert-Hurley, S. (Eds.) *Princess' Pilgrimage: Nawab Sikandar Begum "A Pilgrimage to Mecca"*. (New Delhi: Woman Unlimited, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Wiranatakusuma, RAA. "Seorang Bupati Naik Haji", in Loir, Hery-Chambet, *Naik Haji di Masa Silam: 1900-1950*, (Jakarta: KPG, 2016).

Not only did they not leave any written pieces, the female pilgrims are also almost entirely absent from the existing historiography. The historiography of hajj up until now is quite extensive; even if we focus only on the pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, we still can find a lot of books and articles related to the topic. Azyumardi Azra, Eric Tagliacozzo, Martin van Bruinessen and M. Dien Madjid are some of the historians who have published books about the hajj. However, the story of women in hajj has not yet been elaborated in many of the books on the subject, as if the participation and existence of the female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies in the colonial period were nothing but a myth.

### **Invisible in Prints**

The absence of women in the historiography of hajj is extremely interesting. If one really digs into the bundle of statistics made by the Dutch consulate in Jeddah about the hajj, or specifically their annual report, the existence of a significant number of them will be revealed. In 1898, there were 753 female pilgrims out of 8966 *Haji Jawa* pilgrims. It kept growing to 1319 out of 7100 in 1900, when the number of hajj participants from the Dutch East Indies was rising in general, and later on became the country with the most pilgrims, outnumbering the pilgrims from South Asia, which was dominant in the earlier period.<sup>10</sup> Also to be noted, these numbers were a conservative estimation, since many of them did not even report their arrival to the consulate. There might be more pilgrims, men and women, who came to the Hedjaz for the hajj or even stayed for a longer period.

By looking at these numbers, one may be convinced that the female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies had already taken part in hajj from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, or even started earlier. In his writing about Mecca in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Snouck Hurgronje also mentioned the participation of women from the Dutch East Indies in the hajj. Although his writing focuses more on the local inhabitants of Mecca, he also dedicated a chapter to the '*Haji Jawa*', where he includes a picture of women pilgrims from Banten.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 133. *Bedevaartverslag* 1911-1912.

<sup>11</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, C. *Mecca in the Later Part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*. (Leiden: Brill, 2007) 288.



A Female Pilgrim from Banten, prior to 1887<sup>12</sup>

K.H. Bisri Syansuri, a former leader of one of the biggest Islamic organization in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), was married to H. Nur Chadijah, a *hajjah* (female haji) in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> Chadijah came with her brother and mother to perform the hajj and then stayed longer in Mecca. She met Syansuri in Mecca and got married before decided to return to the Dutch East Indies in 1915. Together with her husband she established a new *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) in 1917, Pesantren Denanyar, and opened a class for female students, which was managed by her. At that time, it was not very common to have female students in a *pesantren*.<sup>14</sup> It started to be more popular in the later years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

If the women pilgrims and *hajjah*, like Chadijah, indeed existed during that period, then why do their stories seem to be invisible in the existing historiography?

Many historians have problems in dealing with women's history because of 'the less available sources'. There are just not 'enough' stories to be told, simply because most of the writings left were written by men, and women did not write a lot, or because people in the past did not write

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<sup>12</sup> A Collection of KITLV, downloaded from media-kitlv.nl on 16 April 2016.

<sup>13</sup> Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is an Islamic organization that was founded on 1926 in Surabaya by a number of ulamas, including K.H Hasyim Asyari and K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah. Chadijah is the sister of Hasbullah. The first leader of NU was Asyari, who was also the grandfather of Abdurrahman Wahid, the forth president of Indonesia and also a former leader of NU.

<sup>14</sup> Burhanudin, Jajat. *Ulama Perempuan Indonesia*. (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2002) 101-104.

about women. For example, it was considered taboo by the Muslims to write about women since it may indicate a sinful attraction to the opposite sex.<sup>15</sup> The narration about the hajj written in the period was very much related to the Islamic movement that worried the Dutch government, which believed that the people who had been on a pilgrimage would come back to spread dangerous ideas related to pan-Islamism in the Dutch East Indies. The Hedjaz and the hajj were portrayed as a hub that connected the people in the Dutch East Indies to the Islamic modernist and anti-colonial movement.<sup>16</sup> The notable figures of pan-Islamism and modernist movement that were given attention were all men, such as Syekh Muhammad Jamil Jambek, H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, and K.H. Ahmad Dahlan.

If the figures under the limelight were all male hajis, then how did the Dutch colonial government see the female pilgrims and *hajjah* who also existed in the period?

Betty Joseph writes that contrary to the common beliefs, women are everywhere in the sources, even in the colonial archives, although in a fragmented way which often left an impartial or incomplete narrative.<sup>17</sup> In order to write the history of women, one therefore needs to assemble together all the scattered pieces of women pilgrims' story found in the archives, and also non-official documents, to see what is often invisible. This thesis tries to apply a gender perspective to the history of hajj, with a focus on women. Gender is itself a sociocultural construct that is defined as the sets of roles, behaviors, and expectations that society associates with being female or male individuals.<sup>18</sup> Because of this construction, women and men both faced different conditions in life, including migration or religious travel like the hajj. Instead of taking gender as another name for 'women', Palmary sees gender as a subject position, *a gendered positioning*, that may result in distinct consequences in experience.<sup>19</sup> The very absence of women's story in the existing historiography shows that female pilgrims had a different kind of tale and faced different kinds of obstacles and challenges when compared to the male pilgrims who performed the hajj in colonial times.

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<sup>15</sup> Sayeed, Asma. "Women and the Hajj" in Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Hajj*, (New York: Cambridge Univ Press, 2016) 73-75.

<sup>16</sup> Madjid, *Berhaji di masa Kolonial*. (Jakarta: Sejahtera, 2008). Azra, Azyumardi. *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad ke XVII dan XVIII* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2004). Laffan, Michael. *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011) and more.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph, Betty. *Reading the East India Company 1720-1840: Colonial Currencies on Gender*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004): 3.

<sup>18</sup> Jamarani, Maryam. *Identity, Language and Culture in Diaspora: A Study of Iranian Female Migrants in Australia*. (Clayton: Monash University Publishing, 2012) 149.

<sup>19</sup> Palmary, I. *Gender and Migration : Feminist Interventions*. (London: Zed Books Ltd., 2010) 2-4.

This thesis addresses, as its main research focus, the issue of how the Dutch colonial government perceived the female pilgrims and *hajjah* from the Dutch East Indies. The question of how the female pilgrims were treated in comparison to their male counterparts and how the Dutch colonial government portrayed the participation of female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies in hajj in the sources, will be answered. It intertwines with other sub-questions regarding the emergence of the female pilgrims in the sources, such as: what kind of themes appeared in the depiction of female pilgrims in the archives, where and when the female pilgrims were mentioned or not mentioned and why, and how it eventually relates to the production of knowledge about it.

### **Female Pilgrims as a Historical Subject**

Hajj is an obligatory journey for every Muslim, man and woman, requiring him or her to visit the *Baitullah* at least once in his or her life provided they have the means to do so.<sup>20</sup> While the hajj is quite well-documented in history, including the history of the hajj from the Dutch East Indies, I learn that the stories of the female pilgrims were not a part of the mainstream history. While this thesis tries to fill in the historiographical lacuna in a critical manner, it does not necessarily attempt to replace the ‘mainstream and powerful male subject’ from the history of hajj in the colonial times with a similar kind from the women perspective. Not only because I do not believe it is possible, but also because it is not sufficient to encounter the fragmentary trail of female pilgrims’ tale. Joseph suggests that one should not point out the appearances of women in history, for example as wives, daughters, mothers, rape victims or property owners, without asking why. Why were women depicted in such a way? Why was their role and participation excluded from the mainstream accounts? By figuring out the answers to such questions, one unfolds the way women are put together as objects and subjects in various themes which resulting in the articulation of history, and therefore replotting a new story.<sup>21</sup> Ann Laura Stoler in her well-known book called this attempt to switch our perception from the structure to the subaltern and reading upper-class sources upside down as ‘reading along and against the grain’, in order to read against the languages of rule and statist perceptions.<sup>22</sup> For the case of female pilgrims, through pointing out the appearances and asking why they occur in the sources, one not only tries to break down the authoritative voice of the male domination

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<sup>20</sup> Scott, Noel and Jafar Jafari (eds.). *Tourism in the Muslim World*. (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd., 2010) 4.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph, *Reading the East India Company*, 4, 15.

<sup>22</sup> Stoler, Laura Ann. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009) 47.



as historical subject as well as narration maker, but also reveal how the strategy in the distribution of colonial power occurs. It will show how every certain topics in the archives were concentrated and polarized according to the Dutch colonial government's measures, for the sake of maintaining the colonial order.

Some people consider combining gender and Islam as an oxymoron. It is because of the tendency of gender debates created by a feminist movement, which are perceived as totally driven by secular feminism without any respect to religion and local culture (which also sometimes seen as opposed to gender equality). However, Indonesian *Muslimah* (Muslim woman) are believed to be different from *muslimah* from other countries, the Middle Eastern countries for instance. Indonesian women, and some other Southeast Asian women, are believed to enjoy more privileges and equality. In the past, they were even considered to enjoy a better position compared to European women in society.<sup>23</sup> Pieterella van Doorn-Harder, in her book about female Islamic leadership, says that Indonesia has possessed the institutions for women to be involved deeply in Islam, become religious specialists, and even participate equally in interpretation or reinterpretation of Islamic texts. Women have helped in shaping Islam for decades in Indonesia.<sup>24</sup>

This privileges given to Muslim women in Indonesia is one of the factors that enabled them to take part in the pilgrimage since an early period, and even in the colonial times. The female demographic on each hajj season today draws as high as 55,5% out of the total pilgrims from Indonesia, and around 20-30% during the Dutch East Indies period.<sup>25</sup> Despite being a part of Islamic society, these women were at the same time also a part of colonial society in the Dutch East Indies. Women were a part of the 'imagined' *Hindia* and subjected to the colonial policies. Therefore, this relationship between Muslim women and the colonial state cannot be explained without analyzing the ways in which they were perceived in the colony by the authoritative voice.<sup>26</sup>

This thesis attempts to put gender and colonial perspective together to study the female pilgrims and *hajjah* from the Dutch East Indies. A lot of works about gender and colonial perspectives

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<sup>23</sup> Siapno, Jacqueline Aquino. *The Politics of Gender, Islam and Nation state: a Historical Analysis of Power Cooptation and Resistance*. (Berkeley: UMI publication, 1997) 35-40.

<sup>24</sup> Van Doorn Harder, Pieterella . *Women Shaping Islam: Indonesian Women Reading the Qur'an*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006) 2-4.

<sup>25</sup> Kartono, Ahmad. *Ibadah Haji Perempuan Menurut para Ulama Fikih*. (Jakarta: Siraja, 2013) 1.

<sup>26</sup> Locher-Scholten, Elsbeth. *Women and The Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands East Indies 1900-1942*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000) 15.

has been produced, such as Cora Vreede-de Stuers' dissertation on Indonesian women, Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, Ann Laura Stoler and Jean Gelman Taylor's works.<sup>27</sup> Many works on women in 20<sup>th</sup> century colonial Indonesia now include colonial discourse analyses and representations of gender as well as empirical studies of different aspects of women's lives, such as education and missionary activities, feminism, emancipation of special ethnic group of women, and so on. On the other hand, the debates around gender and Islam in Indonesia in particular can be considered as relatively novel. Van Doorn-Harder is one of the writers who has specifically written about women and Islam in Indonesia, discussing a female Islamic authority by examining two women's Islamic organizations from Muhammadiyah and NU.<sup>28</sup>

About the hajj, the field is quite well-covered. There have been a lot of books and research about the hajj in general. Some of them are; Suraiya Faruqi's book about the hajj from the medieval times under the Ottoman Empire; Robert E. Bianchi's book about the relation of politics and the hajj in some Islamic countries; F.E Peters' book on the history of the hajj in general since the medieval period up to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; and the most recent one by Eric Tagliacozzo, "The Hajj", which explained specific themes related to the hajj, such as its evolutions, infrastructures, and mode of transportations.<sup>29</sup> Shifting to the more specific region, "The Longest Journey" by Tagliacozzo provides a brief overview of the practices of hajj from time to time in the region of Southeast Asia. Works that deal specifically with the Dutch East Indies are also found, and some of them are; the dissertation by Madjid about the hajj in the colonial times which discusses a lot about the related transportation and shipping network; and a compilation of essays edited by Nico Kaptein and Dick Douwes "Indonesia dan Haji".<sup>30</sup>

Nonetheless, none of the existing works give special attention to the women pilgrims who participated in the hajj during the period. There is only an article in Tagliacozzo's "The Hajj" about the history of female pilgrims in general since the 8<sup>th</sup> century up until now and it does not focus on the women pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies or any other specific place.

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<sup>27</sup> Vreede-de Stuers, Cora. *The Indonesian Woman : Struggles and Achievements*. (s-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1960). Taylor, Jean Gelman. *The Social World of Batavia : Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*. (Madison: U of Wisconsin, 2009). Locher-Scholten, *Women and The Colonial State*.

<sup>28</sup> Van Doorn Harder, *Women Shaping Islam*, 3-5.

<sup>29</sup> Faruqi, Suraiya. *Pilgrims and Sultan: The Hajj Under the Ottoman Empire*. (London: Tauris Ltd. 1994). Bianchi, Robert R. *Guests of God: Pilgrimage and Politics in the Islamic World*. (New York: Oxford University Press , 2004). F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and The Holy Places*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994). Tagliacozzo, Eric. *The Hajj* (New York: Oxford Publishing Press, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> Tagliacozzo, Eric. *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) Kobo edition. Madjid, Dien. *Berhaji di Masa Kolonial*. (Jakarta: Sejahtera, 2008). Kaptein, Nico and Dick Douwes. *Indonesia dan Haji*. (Jakarta: INIS, 1997).

Pilgrimage and Hajj is almost never seen as a gendered space by the previous works; therefore, this thesis tries to demonstrate this by understanding women as a gendered positioning of the pilgrims,<sup>31</sup> and fill the gap in the historiography.

It is widely known that the traces of women in history are not as easy to find as their male counterparts, in comparison. One is often left with the method which is also used to look for dinosaurs: excavating. This thesis looks into a variety of possible sources for information, such as published works, memoirs, and newspapers, but primarily, the archives of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah in the National Archives of the Netherlands. The archives of the consulate mainly consisted of correspondences between the consul and the Dutch East Indies government, and the government in Den Haag. There are also annual reports of hajj, and collected texts and reports regarding the life of the pilgrims in Mecca. This precious source of information has been used by several historians, especially to write the history of hajj, such as by Tagliacozzo, Azra, Bruinessen, and Jacob Vredenberg. However, no one has been using it in particular for research about women. It turned out that there are several letters written by women found in these archives, and are very important as part of this thesis.

In analyzing the sources, this thesis firstly paid a lot of attention to the emergence of female pilgrims in the archives. According to Joseph, the sites of emergence in the colonial archives are important since the appearances of women are the key to read not only the factual historical information in them, but also the systemized logic, or strategy behind them.<sup>32</sup> In which part of the archives do female pilgrims appear? When do they appear and how? What kind of themes seem to be familiar to female pilgrims and what are not? These questions regarding the emergence are answered through a close reading of the archives.

While pointing out the site of female pilgrims' emergence in the archives, this thesis also tries to demonstrate the layer behind it by 'interfering' with the zone of understanding.<sup>33</sup> By looking at the themes that excluded the female pilgrims from the colonial archives' narration, this thesis proposes the question of why, and tries to interfere with the understanding from the archives by reading other sources to contextualize and see the interaction between both narration. Besides the consulate archives, other sources that are used are the collection of Snouck Hurgronje that is available in the Leiden University Library, some memoirs, and also newspapers. The memoirs are mainly written by men, though some women's memoirs are used

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<sup>31</sup> Palmary, *Gender and Migration*, 14.

<sup>32</sup> Joseph, *Reading the East India Company*, 29

<sup>33</sup> Joseph, *Reading the East India Company*, 14

in this thesis as well. For the newspapers, some of them were actually written and managed by women. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were some women's newspapers such as *Suara Aisyiyah* and *Sunting Melajoe*, featuring issues concerning women and sometimes profiles or stories about powerful women of the time. These sources also can be used to excavate information about their experience and how it differed from the male pilgrims, such as when they returned to the homeland as a *hajjah*, or even whether they played any significant role in transmitting ideas, or involved in a greater Islamic movement. The analysis of interference is built on the interaction from both kind of sources, which represent two different backgrounds, by asking the same questions and see how they collide or intermingle.

‘The female pilgrims and *hajjah*’ implies the female pilgrims and *hajjah* from the Dutch East Indies, who mainly came from Sumatera and Java, and also from Sulawesi, Borneo, and the Lesser Sunda Islands, to a lesser extent.

## **Chapter of Thesis**

The explanation in this thesis is divided into three chapters.

A glimpse of tales from the Dutch East Indies’ female pilgrims is revealed in “Female Pilgrims from The Dutch East Indies”, the first chapter. Empirical facts like their numbers, participation rates in hajj per year and their hajj pass are featured. Briefly, this chapter tells the female pilgrims’ experience on the journey from sailing the ocean, arriving at Jeddah and staying longer; this is extracted from the memoirs, newspapers and also the archives. The differences in experience from the male pilgrims are also discussed in this part of the thesis. It also discusses the *fiqh* of the hajj for Muslim women.

In “The Emergence of Female Pilgrims in Archives”, a detailed analysis of the emergence of female pilgrims in the Dutch consulate’s archives is presented. It discusses the moments where female pilgrims were a part of certain accounts and documents, and how they were depicted in a particular way. This part highlights several prominent themes regarding the appearance of female pilgrims in the archives, including some example of interesting cases.

The last part is the concluding chapter of the thesis, “Interfering with the Zone: Female Pilgrims through the Dutch’s Eyes”. It materializes what is known from the previous chapter, underlines inclusions and exclusions of female pilgrims in the narrative of the archives and explores the possible logic and strategy behind it. This chapter ‘interferes’ with the zone of understanding one obtains from reading the archives by taking another realm of narratives from the other

sources to contextualize, and see how the two interact. This last part of the thesis also discusses the articulation of female pilgrims' history and how the colonial logic continues to the present day's historiography.

## **Chapter 1**

### **Female Pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies**

Did female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, who have almost always been overlooked in history up until now, have a different experience compared to their male counterparts? How did gender positioning influence one's experience in hajj during colonial times? This chapter is trying to answer these questions by providing a glimpse into their stories of sailing the Indian Ocean, arriving at Jeddah and staying longer in Mecca. An overview of the history of female pilgrims is also discussed to give a closer look at the subject. The information about female pilgrims has been excavated from the archives of the consulate in Jeddah, existing publications, memoirs, and newspapers.

### **Women and the Hajj According to *Fiqh***

Before going into the discussion of the female pilgrims' experience, this chapter starts with a brief explanation about the law of hajj for women. What was the hajj for women which made many female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies wanted to travel far on a ship to the other side of the world in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and even today?

*Fiqh*, or Islamic jurisprudence, can be explained in a very simple way as the interpretation of sharia. Islam as a religion has set the regulations for details of many matters in the world, including sex. Islam describes itself as *rahmatan lil alamin*, or 'mercy to all people in the world'.<sup>34</sup> According to Islamic teachings, the hajj is also for women. As a part of *rukun islam*, or the five pillars of Islamic religion, it is mandatory for everyone who can afford the hajj to perform it, as stated in the Koran. This denotes not only economic ability, but also one's physical and mental competence to travel to Mecca and perform a pilgrimage. Yet, there are still some differences between male and female ritual practice according to the *fiqh*. One of the most prominent distinction is the requirement for *mahram*. *Mahram* is a category that refers to all such people whom a woman is forbidden to marry at any time in her life, such as her brother or uncle. Today, if a woman wants to go to Mecca for a pilgrimage, she has to be accompanied by her husband or *mahram*. In the *hadiths* (a compilation of the sayings or actions of Prophet Muhammad), women are prevented from traveling anywhere far by herself, without the company of a *mahram* as well as approval of her husband if she is married. This requirement, of course, affects the female pilgrims' mobility during the pilgrimage, and also movement in

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<sup>34</sup> Kartono, *Ibadah Haji Perempuan*, v-vi.

general. Before a female pilgrim can get a pass and go on a pilgrimage, she has to show proof that she is going with her *mahram*.

Nonetheless, there is actually a debate between the jurists and *ulama* (religious authorities) who think *mahram* is necessary and they who do not. For example, Abu Hanifah and Ahmad oblige this requirement, while Imam Malik and al-Syafi'i on the other hand allowed women to go on a pilgrimage without a *mahram*, as long as she was not alone and was accompanied by good pious people and friends that could be trusted. Over time, the prevailing opinion among the four major Sunni schools came to be that the hajj is only obligatory a woman has a male guardian (a *mahram* or a husband) or a company of a group of women (or a mixed group) with whom she can travel. Without this guarantee of security, the hajj is not obliged.<sup>35</sup> In the times of Ottoman Hedjaz, the supervision of *mahram* seemed to be less strict in nature, because women could go without a companion, and even had the possibility of obtaining the service of a male guardian in Mecca instead. However, this changed in the 1920s, due to the rise of Saudi government which required a *mahram* as a condition for every woman to go on a pilgrimage.<sup>36</sup>

Hajj has an extremely high value for Muslims. Some *ulama* even regards hajj to be as holy as a form of jihad that can be fulfilled by women.<sup>37</sup> The difference between one *ulama* to another on the matter of hajj for women mostly revolve around the practical things such as the *istitha'ah*, the soft or strong voice during *talbiyah* and whether a woman can touch the Black Stone (*al-Hajar al-Aswad*).<sup>38</sup> There are also specific laws applied to certain times and condition for women in performing the hajj, for example, a woman in *iddat wafat* (the waiting period after being widowed due to husband's death), is allowed to do *ziyara* to the grave of Prophet Muhammad only if her husband gave her a permission before he passed away.<sup>39</sup> There are other differences between female and male pilgrims during the rituals in pilgrimage, such as exemption from some requirements in rituals like *sa'i* and *thawaf*<sup>40</sup> for women. Female

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<sup>35</sup> Kartono, *Ibadah Haji Perempuan*, 81-83. Sayeed, "Women and the Hajj", 67-68.

<sup>36</sup> "Women and the Hajj", 68-69.

<sup>37</sup> Kartono, *Ibadah Haji Perempuan*, 12

<sup>38</sup> *Istithaah* derives from *taa*, meaning submissive and obedient. *Istithaah* refers to the ability of a person to perform something conditioned in the sharia according to his or her own ability. *Talbiyah* is the prayer invoked repeatedly during the hajj as a conviction of doing the hajj only for Allah. Kartono, *Ibadah Haji Perempuan*, 72-73, 99-100.

<sup>39</sup> Kaptein, Nico. *The Muhimmat al-Nafa'is: A Bilingual Meccan Fatwa Collection for Indonesian Muslims from the End of the Nineteenth century*. (Jakarta: INIS, 1997) 193.

<sup>40</sup> *Sa'i* is a ritual of running back and forth between the hills of al-Safa and al-Marwa. *Thawaf* is the act of circling the Kaba.

pilgrims are also denied to access the holy sites that are too crowded with men to avoid unlawful contact with the opposite sex.<sup>41</sup>

### **Historical Overview of Female Pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies**

In the diversity of opinions on hajj for women by other *ulamas*, the one which says that hajj can be taken as a form of jihad for women considering the obstacles they have to face for performing it, signifies the importance of a sense of ‘domesticity’ for women according to the Islamic community. This aspect makes the hajj special and also interesting for women. Hajj requires women to travel, which means an out-of-the-usual-space experience, out of their domestic space at home. Especially in the past, hajj for the *Haji Jawa* was not only a simple travel experience, it could be a seasonal or sometimes even permanent migration.

Women from the Dutch East Indies had been participating in the hajj since an early, unknown and undocumented period. Tagliacozzo has tried to discover the earliest pilgrims from Southeast Asia in his book, however there was not much evidence of anything related to Hajj from the archipelago or Southeast Asia in general before the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>42</sup> The earliest information about *Haji Jawa* was found in a Yemeni biography of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; the mention of a man who came by himself to the Hedjaz. More information appears from the 17<sup>th</sup> century period when some pilgrims who had gone to Mecca are shown in some fragments of VOC archives. Although it is hard to trace the early history of hajj from the Dutch East Indies, not to mention specifically women pilgrims, Tagliacozzo concluded that the Dutch East Indies had a strong connection to the Hedjaz, even compared to other places in Southeast Asia. This strong connection is supported, or even demonstrated, by the contact with the Yemenis who had been visiting regularly, or migrating to the archipelago since the early modern period, making a continuous connection and a route that never slept. The number of pilgrims rose together with the growth of connectivity between the Hedjaz and the archipelago. Tagliacozzo marked the 19<sup>th</sup> century as an important time for the *Haji Jawa*, when it was also the ‘colonial hajj’. The connection to the Hedjaz from the archipelago was stronger because of the help of the new technology, the steam ship, like the fictional Patna from Singapore, which appeared in John Crawford’s novel.

The attempt to trace the history of female pilgrims is what Sayeed does in her article. However, she includes only stories of people who came mostly from the areas bordering the Hedjaz.

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<sup>41</sup> Kartono, *Ibadah Haji Perempuan*, 99-113.

<sup>42</sup> Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey*, 10-12.



Stories from female pilgrims abroad in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century can be found in the memoirs of two women who went on a pilgrimage and publish their stories, The Nawab Iskandar Begum of Bhopal and Lady Evelyn Cobbold.<sup>43</sup> Sayeed did not manage to find any information about the early female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, yet she indicates that women from Indonesia are more actively participating in hajj (in post-colonial period especially) because of the greater socio-economic authority held by women in Indonesia.<sup>44</sup>

On the other hand, Francis Bradley also tried to locate Muslim women from another Islamic region in Southeast Asia: Pattani. His paper, even though not specifically about female pilgrims, shows the movement of Islamic women from Pattani. It turns out that there were a lot of changes in gender dynamics after the Siam War in 1789, as a result of which many people from Pattani were forced to live as refugees in the neighboring sultanates like Trengganu and Kelantan, and to a lesser extent, in Mecca. Many families migrated from Pattani to Mecca, including mothers and children, and they probably lived like the other migrants or pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies; they lived in a community-based environment, known as *Rumah Pattani*; some also attended lectures in the al-Masjid al-Haram, which was also open to women. Bradley assumed that there was a high possibility for women to engage in a study of their own in Mecca.<sup>45</sup> This was related to the increasing rate of literacy, which became higher for Pattani women in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and also the escalating number of *mubalighat*, the female teachers, who usually also teach how to recite the Koran.<sup>46</sup>

Besides some mentions of female pilgrims in Snouck Hurgronje's book,<sup>47</sup> there is no other information about females from the Dutch East Indies. The earliest research about hajj for women in Indonesia was published in the 2000s.<sup>48</sup> The earliest sources that consistently show information about women are probably the reports that are made by the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, the hajj annual report (*bedevaartverslag*). Each of the reports started with a quantitative overview of the pilgrims from each season, and generally included a differentiation based on gender. Indeed, the female pilgrims appeared only as statistical numbers, but these reports are

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<sup>43</sup> Cobbold, Lady Evelyn. *Pilgrimage to Mecca*. (London: Arabian Publishing, 2009) (The first publication was in 1934). Willoughby-Osborne (eds.). *A Pilgrimage to Mecca by The Nawab Sikandar Begum of Bhopal*, G.C.S.I. (London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1870).

<sup>44</sup> Sayeed, *Women and The Hajj*, 83.

<sup>45</sup> Bradley, Francis. "Women and Gender Dynamics during and after the Five Patani-Siam Wars, 1785-1838". A paper presented in KITLV Workshop, "Violence, Displacement and Muslim Movements in Southeast Asia", 15 June 2016.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Mecca in the Latter*, 230.

<sup>48</sup> In 2006, an anthropological research about female pilgrims from Makassar is published. Muhammadiyah, Hilmi. *Perempuan Bugis Naik Haji: Sebuah Tinjauan Antropologis*. (Depok: eLsas, 2008).

still remarkable considering that they were the earliest continuous and official documents that mentioned them. The mandatory pass required for travel to Mecca made it more possible for the government to seriously monitor the activities of the pilgrims in Hedjaz and also made it a bit easier to do a statistical and annual census. Before that, one had to count the pilgrims manually when they had just arrived in Jeddah, not to mention how difficult it was to differentiate between the *Haji Jawa* based on their nationalities. As *Haji Jawa* consisted of the Malay and the Indonesian, it was hard to identify them one by one, especially in a similar looking clothing. By obligating the pilgrims to obtain a pass and report themselves to the consulate, they could conduct a better census annually.

Table 1. Total Registered Female Pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies

Year	Total Registered Female Pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies	Percentage of Registered Total Pilgrims (male, female, and children), counted from the data
1898	753	8,4%
1900	1319	18,4%
1901-1902	1158	19%
1902-1903	876	15,4%
1908-1909	2000	22%
1909-1910	2373	23%
1910-1911	3150	23%
1911-1912	5383	22,4%
1912-1913	4003	21,8%
1913-1914	5972	22,7%

1916-1917	5	7%
1917-1918	5	10,4%
1918-1919	278	24,7%
1920-1921	6737	13,4%
1926-1927	14200	27,1%
1927-1928	12196	28,4%
1928-1929	8302	28,4%
1929-1930	8842	27,6%
1930-1931	4481	28,6%
1931-1932	1153	30%
1933-1934	709	19,9%
1932-1933	582	28,8%
1934-1935	976	30,9%
1935-1936	1018	29,1%
1936-1937	1355	29,2%
1937-1938	2632	29,3%
1938-1939	2755	32%

The table above is counted and composed from the data found in the hajj annual reports. Some data is unavailable, probably because of the war in the Hedjaz, and some statistics are not

differentiated by male and female pilgrims. However, it becomes more standardized in the 1930s.<sup>49</sup> As it is shown in the table, the number of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies was always fluctuating. One can see that there was a significant increase of female pilgrims' participation from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The number of pilgrims, including the female pilgrims, reached its peak in the second half of the 1920s, with the hajj season 1926-1927 being the highest. The fluctuation depended on many factors, such as economic, health (any kind of disease outbreak would certainly have affected the pilgrims), or even political. For example, the number of pilgrims, in general, decreased significantly in the 1930s due to the bad economic condition during the Great Depression. According to the reports, many pilgrims ran out of money in Mecca and had to go through a hard time. Some people could not afford proper meals or ticket to go back home.<sup>50</sup> The absence of information about the total numbers of pilgrims in the late 1910s was caused by the turmoil and unstable political condition during the war in the Hedjaz. Many people decided not to go on a pilgrimage.<sup>51</sup> However, the percentage of women participating throughout the whole hajj season from the 19<sup>th</sup> up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century can be considered as quite constant, which is usually around 20 to 30 percent out of the total pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies per year. The number of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies was also the largest one among all the countries in the 1920s, even the British Indian pilgrims. It rose up to 45% in proportion after the 1920s, before the crisis in the 1930s.<sup>52</sup>

Besides numbers of participation per year, there is no more information about female pilgrims in the report. Questions like who they are, what kind of female pilgrims went on a pilgrimage, and how they paid the cost to travel, seem to need another source of information. For instance, no one really knows which region in the Dutch East Indies the female pilgrims mostly came from. Nevertheless, it is possible to make an assumption from the report which shows the places in the archipelago which did have the most pilgrims in general, such as West Java, Palembang and West Sumatera.<sup>53</sup> These three provinces are the places of origin for most of the pilgrims, and perhaps there are no reasons to think that this will be different for women. Yet, other aspects of their profile such as age and family background are still left unanswered.

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<sup>49</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 133, 134, 135. *Bedevaartverslag* 1898-1939.

<sup>50</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 134. *Bedevaartverslag* 1926-1927.

<sup>51</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 134. *Bedevaartverslag* 1918-1919.

<sup>52</sup> Madjid, *Berhaji*, 89. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, 133. *Bedevaartverslag* 1928.

<sup>53</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 199. *Rapport over het Onderwijs in Mekka*, 29 April 1929. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 134. *Bedevaartverslag* 1934-1935.

Moving away from the official reports to the other documents, more information about female pilgrims can be excavated. According to letters in the consulate, their profile seems to be distributed over a wide range. Some letters mention female pilgrims who were wives of the Dutch East Indies officers, while the other letters mention shop owners, farmers, and even butchers.<sup>54</sup> Farmers are almost doubtlessly made up most of the total female pilgrims, because even until the 1970s they still scored the highest percentage among the other professional backgrounds.<sup>55</sup> This information is gathered from the correspondence between the Dutch officers, *processverbaal*, or to a lesser extent, letters that were written by female pilgrims themselves. It is still difficult to say that most female pilgrims were literate based on these letters because there are no clear records of their profiles in the Dutch consulate archives. The letters of those who could write and are found in the consulate are an example of the female pilgrims coming from a higher class in the society who could afford education, since only 1,5 percent of total women in Java and Madura in the 1920s could read and write. The literacy rate, however, increased significantly among the women in Java cities between the 1920s and 1930s, growing from 9 to 13 percent out of total women population.<sup>56</sup> Most likely, there were many other female pilgrims who could not write and left no traces in the archives.

The varied nature of the female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies' background is also shown from their possession in Mecca. Some of the females who moved to Mecca even had houses, where they could host other pilgrims who are staying for the hajj season or longer. Some letters in the consulate showed that there were actually women who possessed houses, showing the possibility of a diversified demographic of the female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies.<sup>57</sup>

### **Women's Experience in the Hajj: Crossing the Indian Ocean**

The earliest publications written by women from Indonesia about their experience during pilgrimage can be found only after the 1970s. A.M. Reksoprodjo published her travelogue from the hajj season of 1975 and provided the readers with her experience and tips for women to

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<sup>54</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 148, *Letter from Haji Moekti to the Consul*. 30 November 1933. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 80. *Letter from Haji Fatimah to the Consul*. 10 November 1935. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 199. *Rapport over het Onderwijs in Mekka*, 29 April 1929.

<sup>55</sup> Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey*, chapter 11, 60.

<sup>56</sup> Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 19.

<sup>57</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 147. *Soerat Koeasa*, 7 December 1930. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 193. *Verslag van de gebeurtenissen der geweldpleging van Hadji Tamil bin Safar dan Djawi, een der pilgrim van den moetawwif Isa Istamboel*.

survive the pilgrimage.<sup>58</sup> Later in the 1980s and 1990s, articles about public figures and female celebrities' experience in the hajj became popular in the women's magazines.<sup>59</sup> However, in the colonial period, there was not one memoir or travelogue written by women, while there are some travelogues written by men, such as the one by R.A. Wiranatakusuma in 1924. Therefore one needs other kinds of sources to figure out how the female pilgrims participated in the hajj in this period.

From the existing works about the hajj, it is known that the pilgrims were obliged to obtain a hajj pass first before they could board the ship and set out for Mecca. The female participants were not exempted from this requirement. Their hajj pass was their identification during the whole trip. Besides the hajj pass, they were required to buy a return ticket, and to engage a *haji syekh* as well. The regulation obliging the pilgrims to obtain a return and not just a one-way ticket was issued in 1882 by the government. The pilgrims could coordinate this with their *haji syekh*.<sup>60</sup> *Haji syekh* is a term used by the pilgrims to refer to a *mutawwif*, or literally 'a guide for *thawaf*', which sometimes also referred in Dutch as '*pelgrimswerver*' in the archives. *Mutawwif* is entitled to help the pilgrims in performing hajj. Today one can still find *mutawwifs* who go to Mecca with the Indonesian pilgrims, and most of them are also Indonesian. During the colonial period, many of them were Yemeni or people of Indo-Arab descent who came to the Dutch East Indies to work by offering hajj services. During that period, the *mutawwifs* had to get permission from the consulate before they could operate. The Dutch made a special bureau for *mutawwif*, which ensured that they were continuously monitored. In the consulate archives, there are lists of names of the *mutawwifs* who were accepted by the Dutch and this was constantly updated.<sup>61</sup> Their names are usually followed by a name of a region in the Dutch East Indies, indicating their work place.

In the archives, it is written that the pilgrims who had stayed longer usually interacted with the newcomers when the hajj season arrived. The interaction included selling things, and sometimes taking the chance to earn money from the new pilgrims. Being a *mutawwif* or guide for the hajj might also be a possible occupation for pilgrims who remained, and this still occurs

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<sup>58</sup> Reksoprodjo, A.M. *Pengalaman Seorang Wanita dalam Menunaikan Ibadah Haji*. (Jakarta: Ali Topan, 1977).

<sup>59</sup> For example, see *Amanah*, "Pengalaman Rohani Monica Oemardi", May-June 1999. This kind of article was popular in the 1980s and 1990s.

<sup>60</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 45. *Nota Betreffende het vervoer van bedevaartgangers van Nederlandsch Indie naar Djeddah met de stoomschepen van de stoomvaart maatschappij 'Nederland'*, 1885.

<sup>61</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 147. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 143. *Lijst van de Voornamste Moethawwifs der Djawa Pelgrims*. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 147. *Lijst van Pelgrimssjeichs*.

today. Some letters indicated there were some pilgrims who had a non-official *mutawwif*, a practice that was strongly opposed by the consulate.<sup>62</sup>

Interestingly, in the 1940's list of *mutawwifs*, one can find a number of female *mutawwifs*. This trend was recently found in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, because the names were also found in the list of 1929, but not in the earlier period.<sup>63</sup> This new development might be related to the growing number of the female pilgrims in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many complaints among the pilgrims regarding their male *mutawwifs* might also become the trigger for the appearance of female *mutawwifs*. On the ship, the female pilgrims experienced a different obstacle compared to male. While much mistreatment of and mischief against the pilgrims, such as robbery and forgery, in general was reported to the consulate, the consulate also received many specific complaints about the inappropriate treatment from the male *mutawwifs* received by the women.<sup>64</sup> Some Dutch correspondences show that *mutawwifs* were regarded as 'have no morals'.<sup>65</sup> Some were even convicted of rape on the ship.<sup>66</sup>

One might wonder, how was it possible to be raped on the ship? Were they not supposed to be separated based on gender, because they were going for a pilgrimage? It turns out that this was not the case, as it seen in many letters and articles in newspapers. As we can see from the pictures below, the female pilgrims were pretty much just sat together with the others on the ship and were not divided or separated based on sex. This picture captured a moment on the ship when H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto and his wife went on a pilgrimage.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> The Indonesian students studying in Mecca usually like to offer a service for guiding the umrah. <http://manasik.info/2014/05/07/peran-aktif-sang-muthawif/> accessed on 10-07-2016. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, 6. *Letter from Yusuf Khatam to the Consul*, 24 August 1890.

<sup>63</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 143. *Lijst van de Voornamste Moethawwifs der Djawa Pelgrims*. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 147. *Lijst van Pelgrimssjeichs*

<sup>64</sup> Van Bovene, G.A. *Mijn Reis naar Mekka: Naar het dagboek den Regent van Bandoeng Raden Adipati Aria Wiranatakoesema*, (Bandoeng: N.V. Mij. Vorkink, 1924) 6.

<sup>65</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 147. *Letter from Stoomvaart Maatschappij 'Nederland', 'Oceaan' and 'Rotterdamsche Lloyd' to Adviseur voor Indlandsche Zaken*, 9 October 1929.

<sup>66</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 143. *Lijst van Pelgrimssjeichs een wie geen visum voor Nederlands Indie en the Britse-straits zal worden geleend (gecombineerde lijst van het Britsche en het Nederlandsche gezantschap te Djeddah) 1931-1932. Lijst van Pelgrimssjeich en aan Hen Ondergeschikt Personeel, aan wie geen visum voor Nederlandsch Indie zal worden geleend, 1939-1940.*

<sup>67</sup> Collectie Snouck Hurgronje. Or. 12.288 B. 006, 007.



Tjokroaminoto and his wife on the ship



A group of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies. A female pilgrim on the left, wearing a headscarf

The pilgrims were only started to be distributed based on sex when they stopped for a medical check-up in a quarantine island just 2 days' sailing away from the port of Jeddah, Camaran Island. In Camaran, they had female doctors for female pilgrims and male doctors for male pilgrims.<sup>68</sup> Camaran is a tiny little Island which was kept as a stopping point to examine and

<sup>68</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 134 *Bedevaartverslag* 1905-1906.



isolate the coming pilgrims who might have caught a disease before and after the hajj. According to Snouck Hurgronje, the quarantine took three days, but a letter in the archives indicated five days instead.<sup>69</sup> The facilities were jointly operated by the Dutch and the British. An island with a similar function is found in the Dutch East Indies territory, which is known as Onrust Island. The archives of the consulate Jeddah kept valuable reports about any kind of sickness and death from the hospital in Camaran.

The days at the quarantine was not the best part of the trip, since many people complained regarding the facilities and treatment they received. An article in *Bendera Islam* shows how the pilgrims were treated like ‘a worthless kind of people’ and the facilities in the hospital were really improper. There were not enough blankets, filthy pillows, and nasty bathing facility. Yet, the fascinating part of this article is a description of women’s condition in Camaran, who were often harassed:<sup>70</sup>

“When the female hajjis arrived in the quarantine, they were asked to go to a room, a room with a door that leads to the sea. There, all the women were asked to shower, with a shower robe, which is an already torn sarong. Frequently the males were looking at them, in fact, the officers and other people who were there looked at them as if they were a kind of spectacle. Even the doctors at that time, who came from Manado and Ambon, regardless of their education, could not resist the temptation and hold their eyes off of the women bodies. Not to mention the *veldpolitie*s and other officers at Camaran who could not stop looking at their naked bodies. That is what the women went through, there in a naked situation, watched by a lot of men until they reached the room where they could dress.”

This article is taken from a newspaper, describing the humiliating situation in Camaran with a title ‘*Aniaya Karantina*’, or ‘The Quarantine’s Ill-treatment’. Although such stories never appeared in the official reports of Camaran or the consulate archives in general, the Dutch officers admitted that the condition in Camaran was not always the best and needed a lot of improvement as it often ran over-capacity, especially in *hajj akbar* season.

### **Arriving at Jeddah**

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<sup>69</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 45. *Nota Betreffende het vervoer van bedevaartgangers van Nederlandsch Indie naar Djeddah met de stoomschepen van de stoomvaart maatschappij ‘Nederland’, 1885.*

<sup>70</sup> *Bendera Islam*, 12 August 1926. Translation is made by author.

Once the female pilgrims stepped onto the port of Jeddah, they were asked not only who their *mutawwif* was, they were also required to report themselves to the consulate. However, in regard to this obligation, there was a difference between male and female pilgrims.

Reporting to the consulate in their own presence was mandatory for every male pilgrim, but not for the females. Along with children, female pilgrims could be represented by the *mahram*. The hajj pass of female pilgrims also had to be kept by the *mahram* during the entire trip, not by the female pilgrims themselves. When they later went back to the Dutch East Indies and needed to obtain their pass at the consulate, only the male pilgrims were supposed to attend. The *mahram* was considered sufficient to represent the female pilgrims in obtaining the pass, together with the other groups who could be delegated by the *mahram*, such as children and sick men who could not go by themselves to the consulate.<sup>71</sup>

After finishing the paper work, the pilgrims could go on and continue their journey to Mecca. Some of them stayed for a couple of days in Jeddah. From Jeddah to Mecca, the pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies usually took a caravan, which was a mode of transportation relying on camels. According to the notes by Snouck Hurgronje, both men and women took caravans.<sup>72</sup> The experience with a caravan was also described by the Begum and Cobbold in their memoir.<sup>73</sup> Caravans were used not only to get the pilgrims to Mecca from Jeddah, but also from Mecca to Medina, which was still inhabited by gangs of Bedouin. In the 1930's moving from town to town with cars was getting more popular and was being suggested by the consulate for safety reasons.<sup>74</sup>

Once they arrived in Mecca, the pilgrims usually stayed at a *syekh*'s house. The female pilgrims stayed together with their *mahram* in the same *syekh*'s house. However, according to the letters in the archives, there were also women who owned a house in Mecca and provided stay for the pilgrims. In terms of activity, the female pilgrims followed all the rituals of hajj, though some might be different from the male. It can be caused by safety reasons, sometimes if the road was not safe, women were hindered from traveling further.<sup>75</sup> Late night-activity at al-Masjid al-Haram was also opened for women, and they could participate in the night prayer. A report in

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<sup>71</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 136. *Instructie van behandeling der pilgrims*.

<sup>72</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter*, 245.

<sup>73</sup> Willoughby-Osborne (eds.). *A Pilgrimage to Mecca*, 149-150, 157.

<sup>74</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 135. *Bedevaartverslag 1937-1938*.

<sup>75</sup> Willoughby-Osborne (eds.). *A Pilgrimage to Mecca*, 153-155.

1938 shows a female pilgrim going together with her husband at night to al-Masjid al-Haram.<sup>76</sup> However, the local women did not go that often to the mosque, the majority of women who came to the mosque were from the foreign colonies.<sup>77</sup>

### Staying Longer in the Holy Land

Extending one's stay in Mecca was not an unusual practice during the hajj in the colonial period. In the 1920s there were around 2000 people from the Dutch East Indies who stayed in Mecca.<sup>78</sup> Some people stayed until the coming hajj season, a year or two, or even permanently. They are known as *muqimin*, while the Dutch called them as 'moekimers'. In the 1920s, the *Haji Jawa* made up 1/7 of Mecca's inhabitants, and a total of 3870 people in 1938.<sup>79</sup> The pilgrims and moekimers in Mecca usually stayed in the houses in the Indonesian community villages, such as *Kampong Syamiah* and *Kampong Sun l'lail*.<sup>80</sup> Everyone was obliged to pay 10 Saudi real for a residence permit in Mecca.<sup>81</sup>

Was there any difference in the kind of life lived by the female pilgrims who decided to stay longer, compared to the male pilgrims? Not much is actually known. The female pilgrims usually stayed with their family, as they needed a *mahram* to travel in Arabia. As shown in the archives, a complete family could stay together in Mecca, even with extended family members. Some of them were young and stayed with their father and mother, and it was not unusual for them to get married in Mecca. They met other *moekimers* and got married, and even got pregnant and gave birth to children there. Marriage was easy to carry out, as they did not need to go to the court, they could just get married in the Islamic way (*nikah cara agama*), with the presence of a *wali*<sup>82</sup> and witness. In one report from the 1930s, it is also written that many *ulama* in Mecca married to young girls who came as pilgrims with families.<sup>83</sup> However, there were also rare cases, such as when a woman gave birth at the start of the pilgrimage having just

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<sup>76</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 193. *Drama te Mekka*, 5 January 1938.

<sup>77</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter*, 54.

<sup>78</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 147. *Registratie van Moekimers*, 24 July 1930.

<sup>79</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 147. *Registratie van Moekimers*, 24 July 1930.

<sup>80</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 200. *Aanbieding nota van het vice consul met beschouwing, over het onderwijs onder de Indonesiers te Mekka en Nederlandsch Indie*, written by the vice consul. 27 April 1929.

<sup>81</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 22. *Letter from the Vice consul to the Minister of Foreign Affairs*, 4 November 1939.

<sup>82</sup> *Wali* is the legal guardian of a woman.

<sup>83</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 199. *Rapport betreffende het Onderwijs in Mekka*, 29 April 1929.

arrived (thus restraining her from the rest of the pilgrimage) or got married in Mecca without giving any notice to the family at home, known as *kawin lari*.<sup>84</sup>

The possibility of the female pilgrims to be married to the local residents is unexplored, because not a lot is reported in the archives regarding the life of the female pilgrims who decided to become a *moekimer*. On the other hand, many male *moekimers* were reported marrying local women in Mecca, and even got taken advantage of by the wives. After the pilgrim had run out of money, his wife would divorce him.<sup>85</sup> This kind of cases were also described by Begum of Bhopal in her memoir. She wrote that a young woman in Mecca could contract up to 12 marriages which lasted a year or two each. When they get bored of their husband, or if the husband was getting old and poor, they could report to the *Sherif* and propose a divorce.<sup>86</sup>

According to the sources, the *moekimers* stayed in Mecca with plenty of motives. Some people wanted to work or sell things in the market, such as clothing or books. Lady Cobbold mentioned a *Jawa* cook who works at the place she visited in Mecca. In the *bedevaartverslag* 1914, a list of names included as an attachment which contains information about some people who live in Mecca and their occupation. Most of the names listed are male, however there are some female names also listed, such as Nyi Haji Habibah, Nafisah and Marijan, and all of them worked as tailor. The difference between male and female *moekimers* who worked as tailor is their workspace. Most men worked in a shop although there were some who worked at home, but all women worked at home.<sup>87</sup>

Besides that, many of the pilgrims stayed longer after the season was over for studying, and many others especially came for study purposes.<sup>88</sup> Although the reputation of Mecca in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was starting to be overshadowed by the rising Cairo, and the Dutch government constantly reported that the education in Mecca was ‘bad quality’, still many people came to Mecca for learning.<sup>89</sup> In order to study, they could come to a *Jawi* ulama who taught their pupils in private houses; schools which were opened by the Arab clerics; schools which were managed

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<sup>84</sup> Pemandangan, 1 November 1933. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 148. *Letter from Oetoesan Kerajaan Belanda to Haji Moekti*, 1 December 1933.

<sup>85</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter*, 272.

<sup>86</sup> Willoughby-Osborne (eds.). *A Pilgrimage to Mecca*, 82.

<sup>87</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 133. *Bedevaartverslag 1913-1914, Bijlage C*.

<sup>88</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 199. *Rapport over het Onderwijs in Mekka*, 29 April 1929.

<sup>89</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 199. *Rapport over het Onderwijs in Mekka*, 29 April 1929.

by the people from the Dutch East Indies (such as *Madjlis Assyura* or *Saulatiyah al Hindiyah*); or even came to the night lectures at al-Masjid al-Haram.<sup>90</sup>

Did women also attend schools? Some female Islamic teachers from the medieval times are known to teach people (men and women, though separately) in their houses.<sup>91</sup> In the past, the Hedjaz also had a history of learned female Islamic figures, such as Karima al-Marwaziyya, who was known for her reputation of piety, religious learning, and reliable transmission, which made her the destination for learning for the pilgrims in Mecca in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>92</sup> In the colonial period, a report says that the lecture in al-Masjid al-Haram was open to the public, including women.<sup>93</sup> However, none of the reports in the consulate's archives definitively mentioned any woman from the Dutch East Indies who certainly attended the lectures in al-Masjid al-Haram or anywhere else in Mecca. The report mentioned only some names who were all male students. However, in the *bedevaartverslag* of 1914, there is an attached small list of Islamic teachers who stayed in Mecca. Among 96 teachers, there are three female teachers named Nyi Haji Arnah, Marijam and Asyari. This fascinating finding, nevertheless, does not come with any further explanation besides a side note that they taught private lessons at home.<sup>94</sup> What did they teach? How many students attended the lessons? In contrast to schools like *Madjlis Assyura* and the students which were described in the reports, there is no mention about any women teaching or studying in the hajj report as well as in the report about education.

From this chapter, one could conclude that there were several differences of experience between male and female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, such as the treatment in Camaran and the consulate's treatment upon arriving in Jeddah, where regulations were applied based on gender. Some female *moekimers* were known to work as tailor. Besides that, not much are actually known about the female pilgrims in comparison to their male counterparts. The activities where the female *moekimers* involved other than marrying other male *moekimers* or *ulama* are still quite vague. However, the three female teachers mentioned in an attachment of a report might signify a possibility that there were some female *moekimers* who studied in Mecca, which has been unknown until now.

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<sup>90</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 134. *Letter from Vice Consul to the Minister of Foreign Affairs*, 27 April 1897.

<sup>91</sup> Sayeed, *Women and The Hajj*, 77.

<sup>92</sup> Sayeed, *Women and the Hajj*, 77. Sayeed, *Women and The Transmission of Religious Knowledge in islam*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 2, 3, 64-65.

<sup>93</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 133. *Bedevaartverslag* 1897.

<sup>94</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 133. *Bedevaartverslag 1913-1914, Bijlage D*.

## **Chapter 2**

## The Emergence of Female Pilgrims in Archives

In the previous chapter, this thesis has tried to peek at the story of women's involvement in the pilgrimage during the colonial times from what is known in the published works, newspapers, memoirs, and also in the archives. The consulate's archive is indeed a precious source of information for people who want to do a research about the hajj, but also many other themes like Islamic movements or politics. No wonder this archive has been explored by quite a number of researchers for their works. But how about researching on the theme of women with this kind of archive? Is this notorious archive valuable for the study of women and gender? This chapter will show how the female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies were depicted in the archives of the consulate, by examining their appearances and absences and highlighting the themes related.

The pilgrims had always been the reason behind the decision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Colonies to erect a post for the Dutch consulate in 1872. Its territory was restricted to the port of Jeddah, because entering the Holy Land is exclusively permitted to Muslims. In 1894, their field of operations was expanded to the region of Hedjaz and Yemen, and later on to Nedj and the surrounding areas when it was changed to a *gezantschap* in 1932.<sup>95</sup> The main task of the consulate was to protect the pilgrims "with all means to keep a necessary monitoring over their political actions and movements, ensuring compliance with all the rules on the transport of passengers on the ships from the Dutch East Indies, and collecting 2 rupiah fee per visa".<sup>96</sup>

They felt the urge to know what happened and what could possibly happen when people from the colony went on a long journey from their home, to a faraway land, which was full of people from all over the world and thus might, they feared, also bring back insurgent ideas. The incorporation of Indonesians into the work at Jeddah was also very much related to the task of understanding the pilgrims. The language ability and cultural knowledge were extremely important for people who worked at the Consulate. Raden Abu Bakar, who appeared frequently

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<sup>95</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, Inventory list of the Consulate's archive, accessed from gahetna 10-07-2016.

<sup>96</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, Inventory of the Consulate's archive, accessed from gahetna 10-07-2016.

in the archives, was the interpreter and writer who were appointed by J.A. de Vicq to work at the Consulate and provide important information about the who's who and what's what regarding the pilgrims.<sup>97</sup> He worked as the informant and teacher of Malay for Snouck Hurgronje, who met him during his visit to Jeddah in 1884.<sup>98</sup>

Tagliacozzo even called the business of the Consulate in Jeddah the work of 'colonial espionage', which was also done by the other western colonial powers in the Red Sea region, the British and the French.<sup>99</sup> The consulate in Jeddah was not a single acting-alien. It was a part of the complete structure of the Dutch colonial supervision and rule in the midst of the growing power of the modern state, which entailed the other realm to control: the transoceanic connection. The consulate went one step ahead by trying to put the surveillance of the colonial powers in a global dimension. According to Charles Jeurgens, the faster connections of information in the 19<sup>th</sup> century gave the Dutch government, even from a distant place, a sense of greater control and handle on the colony. The hajj was seen as a threatening information network by the consulate in Jeddah that seemed so complex to outsiders and need to be watched closely and infiltrated.<sup>100</sup>

Bearing this bigger framework in mind makes reading the archives from this consulate even more interesting, especially when one focuses only on a single object (or subject) which is often invisible, in this instance, women. Going from one page to another of the inventory of the archives of the Consulate in Jeddah not only brings to light the experience of women in the pilgrimage, but also how the Dutch colonial perceived these women in a different dimension, a global sphere and network.

### **When, Where and How They Emerged**

The stories of women are always everywhere, but they are more fragmented than those of the opposite sex due to many factors. Hence, Joseph states emergence as an essential concept in writing the history of women. Not only because excavating the voice of women in the sources

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<sup>97</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, Inventory of the Consulate's archive, accessed from gahetna 10-07-2016.

<sup>98</sup> Laffan, Michael. *Raden Aboe Bakar; An introductory note concerning Snouck Hurgronje's informant in Jeddah (1884-1912)* In: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155 (1999), no: 4, Leiden, 517-542.

<sup>99</sup> Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey*, chapter 8, 1-2.

<sup>100</sup> Charles Jeurgens, "Networks of Information: The Dutch East Indies" in Antunes, Catia and Jos Gommans (eds.), *Exploring the Dutch Empire: Agents, Networks and Institutions 1600-2000*. (London: Bloomsbury, 2015) 121-123.



is crucial in order to gain knowledge about them in the past, but also because their appearance in the archives is also important to add another layer of information.<sup>101</sup> Their emergence in the archives does not contain a mere description of their tales, but also that which is underlying it: *how is the depiction of women in the archives carried out?* Why are they being depicted in a particular way, and mentioned in some archives and not in the others? What can we say about their appearance? By excavating the pieces that illuminate women in the archives, one can analyse both their appearance and absence, to be able to get the fuller imagery of their story in the end.

In order to write this thesis, I dug in the archives of the consulate in Jeddah in order to expose the female pilgrims' emergence. To begin with, the explanation found in the inventory of the consulate's archives shows that there are two general categories of the archives: *gewoon* and *geheim* (regular and secret archives respectively). Both contain mainly correspondences of the Dutch officers, from and to the consulate. The archives itself initially had two separate agendas (a record of incoming and outgoing letters, written chronologically) for incoming and outgoing letters prior to 1890, but then adjusted to just a single agenda for both kinds of letters. Though mostly built on letters, the consulate's archive also contains bundles of various kinds of reports and registers.

The consulate used to keep 126 boxes of archives in total or 14 meters of documents before 1960, however, this archive went through an appraisal and selection process in the later period. The process left only half of the initial documents, leaving behind 7,5 meters of them. The selection was done by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by disposing of 59 boxes of documents.<sup>102</sup>

Some archives about women were also destroyed, as it can be seen from the *klappers*. A *klappers* is the index of the agenda, and works like a usual index. It contains keywords from the actual documents and reference to the agenda. For example, if there is a letter about pepper trade in the archives, a word 'pepper' might appear in the *klappers*, with a reference number to check in the agenda, which gives the exact date of the letter. The *klappers* was the place at which I started the process of excavation, where some female names are mentioned, such as Halimah, Hasijah, and Bok Marijan.<sup>103</sup> The way they were mentioned in the *klappers* with their

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<sup>101</sup> Joseph, *Reading the India The East India Company*, 4-5.

<sup>102</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, Inventory of the Consulate's archive, accessed from gahetna 10-07-2016.

<sup>103</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 31 *klappers* 1891. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 32 *klappers* 1892.

own names instead of their spouse's names or in relation with the husband, is fascinating. However, some of the letters and other pieces cannot be found in the archives when searched for. They were probably one of the things to be destroyed in the Ministers of Foreign Affairs' list. The *klappers* in the archive of the consulate itself are not extensive in terms of availability. The *klappers* are available only for the years 1885 to 1891. The other *klappers* are unknown. They were probably abolished after the system of agenda was changed in 1890, or they were eliminated by the ministry in 1960.

What about the female pilgrims' appearance in other documents? Where do they appear the most, and where they do not? And most importantly, how do they appear in these vast amounts of documents? It turns out that female pilgrims appear in many places, mostly in letters, and in reports, though to a much lesser extent. For instance, in medical reports, women's names appear. They were written only with the first name, because many people from the Dutch East Indies did not have a family name. They also did not use their husband's name once married. They appeared in the list of names of ill or dead people, together with the symptoms and causes. Sometimes they also appeared in a profile kind of document, showing a record of their illness.<sup>104</sup>

The consulate kept a medical report from Camaran in their possession, as well as the reports from the clinic in Hedjaz. A clinic for the Dutch East Indies pilgrims was opened by the consulate in Jeddah. It was free of charge for pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies and the local residents.<sup>105</sup> This was a response to the high amount of sickness found among the pilgrims, especially when endemic illness spread among the pilgrims like pest and cholera. Yet, it is also known that Snouck Hurgronje supported this idea of the clinic in order to be able to keep a close eye on the pilgrims.<sup>106</sup>

Another type of report that makes mention of women are the reports concerning slavery. Female pilgrims were actually one of the most mentioned themes in these reports. The archives relating to slavery can be found scattered in the archives of the consulate in general, but they dedicated a special inventory for materials related to slavery.<sup>107</sup> In 1927, the consulate

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<sup>104</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 158. *Tweewekelijksch rapport en medisch hadjverslag*, March 1934.

<sup>105</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 37. *Lijst van overleden pelgrims op het schip*, 1930.

<sup>106</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, *Inventory of the Consulate's archive, accessed from gahetna* 10-07-2016. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53. inv.nr. 134. *Bedeavaartverslag 1929-1930*.

<sup>107</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 175.

rearranged their bundles in the archives which were not categorized chronologically in the Agenda, into eight subdivisions. The documents about slavery received a special inventory and placed under the subdivisions of *Politieke Aangelehenheden*.<sup>108</sup> It contains not only reports, but also correspondences and their attachments, such as news articles and related letters or notes. Besides in slavery reports, female pilgrims also made an appearance in the *processverbaal* reports. This kind of short report was usually attached to the letters which were sent to Batavia or Den Haag. One of the most fascinating parts of this report are the transcriptions of interrogation. When a work of mischief took place in the Hedjaz and the suspect was arrested, the consulate would carry on an interrogation, not only of the suspect but also of the witnesses. The female pilgrims were sometimes also interrogated as witnesses, providing much information. However, in some cases when the female pilgrims appear as the victims, they are only mentioned in the report: sometimes with their name on it, sometimes nameless.<sup>109</sup>

The only report that was also the most relevant, significant one, but does not mention female pilgrims at all, is actually the hajj annual report (*bedevaartverslag*) itself. Although one can say that this is a very general report, so that it is understandable that specific women's cases are missing from it because of its universal nature, the fact shows on the report cannot really justify it. In contrast, some male counterparts are mentioned by name (some prominent figures and their activities), or nameless in a form of communal group (for example: 'male students from Banten attended the meeting in Mecca'). Women only appeared as a statistical figure; as a number of female pilgrims who participated in that year's hajj season. On a rare occasion, women are mentioned in the attachment of the report, which contains information of notable people who went on hajj that year, usually people who were working in the government or belong to the royal families.<sup>110</sup> Sometimes they are mentioned only as a wife of the figures, thus nameless.

The female pilgrims appear more frequently in letters, and their appearances therein are more varied compared to other types of documents in the consulate archives: again, sometimes they are mentioned by name, sometimes nameless. In some letters, they are mentioned at a glance, such as when the Dutch officers wrote letters discussing their husbands. In this kind of letter,

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<sup>108</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, *Inventory list of the Consulate's archive, accessed from gahetna* 08-08-2016.

<sup>109</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 193. *Drama te Mekka*, 5 January 1938. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 133. *Bedevaartverslag 1907-1908/*

<sup>110</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, *Bedevaartverslaag 1935-1936*.

they are be written as ‘the wife of’. On the other hand, there are other letters which focus on the women itself. This is usually the case when there were requests from the pilgrims to the consulate regarding financial matters, such as requesting for aid when they ran out of money or tickets to go home when they lost their tickets on the journey due to a variety of reasons like theft, expiry or fraud by a cheating *mutawwif*. Sometimes they also appeared when the consulate received letters from their families at home who were sending money to them, or simply asking about their existence. In that period, people could send and receive money through the consulate. In this kind of letter, the female pilgrims were mentioned by their names.<sup>111</sup>

In rarer cases, we can find some letters which were written by the female pilgrims themselves. Most of these letters are a requests, asking help for money or tickets. Occasionally, they also requested information, for example when the next ship bound for the Dutch East Indies would come, so that they could go home.<sup>112</sup> Sometimes there are other kinds of requests, such as asking for help when they got into trouble such as violence, slavery or victimization due to certain events.<sup>113</sup> One of the examples is a letter written by a woman named Rapiyah, which was sent to the consulate in 1930. This woman was complaining and asking for help because her husband had just been arrested by the local authorities. The husband was accused of forgery and dangerous activities in the Hedjaz. She claimed that her husband was innocent and did not have anything to do with any kind of dangerous activities.<sup>114</sup>

“This Sunday, 27 July, a Malay Islamic teacher named Djanan Tayyib came, along with two policemen of Hedjaz (Mecca). They entered my room in *Syekh* Saleh Dardoen’s residence to arrest my husband, Idris Datoek Poetih, a first class *demang*, and his son, Samsuedin. Both are now in Hamidiah prison, and until today are still not bailed. I do not even know what the accusation is, they have not informed me until now. No one is allowed to see them, not even my *syekh!*”

This letter shows not only some clues about the husband’s activity, but also the fact that there was a female pilgrim who was not illiterate, who came with her husband, and stayed at the house of a specific person. That is a lot of information at a glance from a letter. At the same

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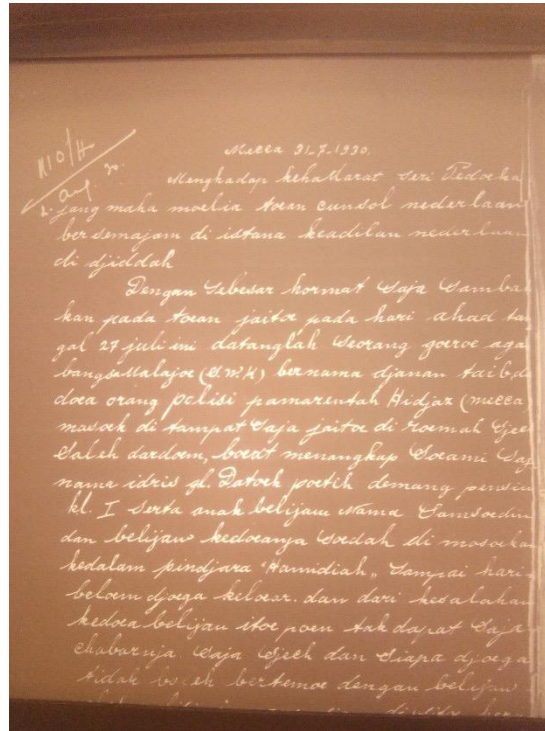
<sup>111</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, inv. nr. 2.05.53, 5. *Letter from the Consul to Regent Preanger, Bandung*, 30 August 1889.

<sup>112</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 6. *Letter from the Consul to Haji Fatimah*, 7 July 1932.

<sup>113</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 6. *Letter from Aminah to the Consul*, 19 July 1890.

<sup>114</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 199, *Letter from Rapiyah to the Consul*, 31 July 1930.  
Translation is made by author.

time, this letter also implicitly gives us another message: how a woman could become completely immobile during a pilgrimage in Mecca. A disaster for her husband meant a disaster for her too, due to a complete restraint for her to participate in the pilgrimage or simply even leave the house without the presence of the husband, who acted as her guardian.



A letter to the consulate, written by a female pilgrim<sup>115</sup>

However, this kind of letter is pretty rare to be found in the consulate's archives. I have found not more than four letters written by women themselves. I believe that certainly more than four letters were sent by the female pilgrims from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, this thesis also has some limitations, including to find all the letters in the whole consulate archives. There is also a possibility that the consulate did not put all women's letters in the archives, or maybe they were destroyed during the ruination in 1960. All of the letters sent by female pilgrims and kept in the archives are request letters, which asked for help from the consulate regarding one's husband or financial problem (usually requesting a free ticket home or a loan). Besides that, one should keep in mind that during that time only minority of women from the Dutch East Indies were able to read and write. Rapiyah's letter shows how

<sup>115</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 199, *Letter from Rapiyah to the Consul, 31 July 1930.*

<sup>116</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 199, *Letter from Rapiyah to the Consul, 31 July 1930.* NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 6. *Letter from Aminah to the Consul, 19 Juli 1890.* NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 6. *Letter from Siti Andara binti al-Maksum to the Consul, 22 Juli 1890.* NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 74. *Letter from Siti Salmah to the Consul, 19 Juli 1890.*

social class background also affects the emergence of women in the archives. Many other female pilgrims who could not write did not leave any traces in the sources.

These interesting chunks of female pilgrims' stories found in the archives of Consulate in Jeddah present how this archive can be used to explore the theme of gender, or women. Though this extensive compilation of documents seems very diverse and heterogeneous in nature, I tried to group together some general themes relating to female pilgrims which emerged the most in the archives and can be explored further: as a wife or companion, victim of violence, slavery, and other miscellaneous themes, which are the special cases that do not fit the other categories.

### **Female Pilgrims as Wife and Companion**

As this thesis has discussed in the earlier chapters, the female pilgrims often present a historiographical lacuna. They are arguably quite neglected in comparison to their male counterparts who can be found in many existing publications. In the existing publications female pilgrims sometimes appear in the narration, but usually only as the accompanying wife. In the consulate of Jeddah's archives, the theme of the pilgrim as the wife and companion also appears significantly. Their appearance can be as plain as a single mention or a little bit more substantial.

On many occasions the female pilgrims are not mentioned by their name in the archives, but by their function as a wife, for example 'Raden Wiranatakusuma and his wife'. In the official reports like the medical one from Camaran, the female pilgrims, however, were mentioned by name. This fact certainly cannot be detached from the purpose of the Camaran medical report itself, which was used to keep a record of illness for further examination. In the rest of other archives, many times the female pilgrims were not written by their name but by their husband's name, not to mention revealing their story on performing the hajj. They were usually shown as wives or companions who came along with their husbands to perform a pilgrimage in reports as well as letters.<sup>117</sup> This might be similar to the consulate's regulation upon arriving at Jeddah, which only obliged male pilgrims to report and hold the pass.

Nevertheless, their appearance is not always uniformly that simple. On some occasions, they were not only mentioned by their own name, but also quite significantly involved in an event. The female pilgrims indeed did not always emerge as a static mention in an archive, for example when they were asked for their testimony as witnesses of a crime on the ship. In this

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<sup>117</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 135. *Bedevaartverslag 1935-1936*.

kind of matter, women could still have a voice to take part in giving testimony. From what is seen in the archives, the wives or female pilgrims in general appear to be quite a frequent motive behind a fight between male pilgrims on the ship. In 1930, there was a male pilgrim from Makassar named Saleng who assaulted two other male pilgrims on board the *Merauke* ship. The man claimed that it was because they tried to lure his wife. In the *procesverbaal*, the wife, named Hane, was also asked in an interrogation whether it was true or false.<sup>118</sup>

In this report, the information written is not only the transcript of the conversation or the information about the crime scene. They also included their views and judgments on the woman, who they described as ‘a bit weird because she kept on laughing despite what had happened’. This kind of depiction is not often found in *verbaal*, which is interesting to see how certain scenes can have a different meaning when women give their opinion.<sup>119</sup> This case can be seen in contrary to another case which happened in the same year, when a man wounded 10 people on board with a woman among them. In the *verbaal*, only the convict and two other male victims who were interrogated. The woman victim was not asked to testify, though simply noted in the *verbaal* with her own name.<sup>120</sup>

### **Female Pilgrims as Victims of Violence**

The crimes that happened on the ships have been highlighted in the existing publications, together with other kinds of mistreatments and atrocities happened during the hajj in the colonial period. Bruinessen, Azra, Tagliacozzo, Kaptein and other scholars have incorporated this fact into their narratives of hajj’s history. The hajj in that period was indeed far from perfect. Many deficiencies in security and means for the pilgrimage were found in many areas related. It is a widely known fact that Hedjaz in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was not the safest place on earth. The changing political power and uprisings in the country often put people on their guard, along with the areas which were out of the authority’s reach and were still full with wandering Bedouin. People were aware of the possibility of being rob and kidnapped by the Bedouin, even being turned into a slave in Ottoman Arabia.<sup>121</sup>

Knowing all these challenges, the consulate had always tried to improve the quality of hajj services in order to secure the pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies. They also always compared

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<sup>118</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 147. *Verklaring “Van Padang Naar Djeddah”*, 19 Januari 1930.

<sup>119</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 147. *Processverbaal*, 19 Januari 1930.

<sup>120</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 148. *Processverbaal*, 8 October 1937.

<sup>121</sup> Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey*, chapter 7, 35.

the quality of the service and management with the other European powers like the British and the French.<sup>122</sup> For example, the consulate paid considerable amounts for security to make sure that the Bedouin did not attack the pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies.<sup>123</sup> Not only did they try to protect the pilgrims in the Holy Land, they also made an effort to protect them before arrival by making sure everyone had paid for return tickets and had their own *mutawwif*.<sup>124</sup> They tried to monitor the *mutawwif* and made sure that they did their job correctly. The *mutawwif* who did not comply with the rules could be blacklisted and forbidden to work in the hajj business anymore.<sup>125</sup>

With the prevalence of so much crime and violence, the female pilgrims were certainly not an exemption. The consulate seems to have paid a lot of attention to the matters of safety especially for the female pilgrims. One can recognize from the archives how the female pilgrims appeared as the victims of violence, making them seen as vulnerable by the consulate. On the ship, something treacherous like the cases mentioned in the last subchapter could always take place; be it fight, ill-treatment, or even murder.

But for female pilgrims, the risk was always greater than for males, as sexual harassment was always a possibility on their journey to and in the Holy Land, in addition to other kinds of crimes. A case of rape on the ship in 1930 is an excellent example how the female pilgrims became the victim of violence during the pilgrimage. A *mutawwif* named Muhammad Magelang was accused of raping a female pilgrim.<sup>126</sup> Responding to this violence, the consulate decided to punish and ban the *mutawwif* from their official list. While this seems like an immediate action on the part of the consulate, it is also known from the other documents that Mohammad Magelang had actually carried out the same kind of violence on female pilgrims onboard in the last three years.<sup>127</sup> What took the consulate so long to finally make a decision and ban the rapist *mutawwif*? Did they not consider rape as a cruel offense that need direct countermeasures?

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<sup>122</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 133. *Bedevaart 1921*.

<sup>123</sup> Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey*, chapter 8, 18.

<sup>124</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 45. *Nota Betreffende het vervoer van bedevaartgangers van Nederlandsch Indie naar Djeddah met de stoomschepen van de stoomvaart maatschappij 'Nederland'*, 1885.

<sup>125</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 143. *Zwartelijst 1928/1929*.

<sup>126</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 143. *Lijst van Pelgrimssjeichs een wie geen visum voor Nederlands Indie en the Britse-straits zal worden geleend (gecombineerde lijst van het Britsche en het Nederlandsche gezantschap te Djeddah) 1931-1932*.

<sup>127</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 143. *Zwartelijst 1928/1929*, NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 143. *Letter from Adviseur van Indlandsche Zaken to the consul, 30 December 1930*.



While the question might still be left unanswered and need further research, it is visible from the archives that the consulate had decided to make a regulation to separate the female pilgrims from the *mutawwif* in order to avoid such crimes and fights on the ship. This regulation was implied in the returning passage, where there was a list of sequences for the passenger to board the ship.<sup>128</sup> To some extent, this arrangement displays how the consulate was still concerned about the violence for women and fairly more protective compared to the male pilgrims.

Besides rape and sexual harassment, the female pilgrims also experienced other kinds of mischiefs just like the male pilgrims, such as being tricked by the *mutawwifs* for the ticket price or even sold into slavery by them, as well as robbery, murder, and so on.<sup>129</sup> In another kind of case, they could also be a victim of violence when they ran out of money and were abandoned by their husbands. In 1933, there was a female pilgrim who turned *moekimer* but could not go back home because she ran out of money to buy a ticket. Her husband had already arrived in the Dutch East Indies before her and did not send his wife any money. Other information such as what activity the woman was involved in in Mecca while her husband was not there or where she lived are unknown. The husband finally sent a request letter to the consulate to lend her wife money or a free ticket to go home, because he could not fund her and she was in a horrible condition.<sup>130</sup>

### **Female Pilgrims in Slavery**

Although slavery is also a kind of violence, this section deserves its own category not only because of its frequent occurrence, but also its significant value. The matter of slavery had been in the bucket of the consulate for quite a long time. Until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman Empire still allowed slavery, making it grow wildly even in the Holy Land. The situation did not change completely even after power in the Hedjaz shifted. Even though under the King Ibn Saud the state did not handle any slave trade anymore, it was still seen as appropriate because

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<sup>128</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 134. *Bedevaartverslag* 1929. The first who could board the returning ship was the *hoofdsyeikh* because this was a request from the Emir. The second party was the people who work for the Dutch East Indies government, considering they did not have that much time for their leave. The third was the Malay and Jawa pilgrims, including the females, and the last batch was intended for the *mutawwif* and other Arabs who wanted to go to the Dutch East Indies.

<sup>129</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 143. *Lijst van Pelgrimssjeichs een wie geen visum voor Nederlands Indie en the Britse-straits zal worden geleend (gecombineerde lijst van het Britsche en het Nederlandsche gezantschap te Djeddah) 1931-1932.*

<sup>130</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 60. *An extract from letter from the consulate in Jeddah to the governor general in Batavia, 20 December 1888.*

slavery is not forbidden in the Koran. The problem of slavery had earned the special attention of the consulate, even until now one can see that an exclusive section is dedicated to this matter in the archive of the consulate, which was installed from the period prior to 1927.

Slavery stands as one of the themes mentioned in this thesis not only because it was such a prominent problem from the late 19<sup>th</sup> until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Hedjaz, but also because it was very much related to women. In the archives, it is shown how female pilgrims could be tricked into slavery by their own crooked *mutawwif*.<sup>131</sup> There was a nameless woman, who came to Mecca for pilgrimage but was caught as a slave for 10 years. She managed to escape her place at work and report to the consulate. The consulate directly coordinated with the authorities in Singapore and also Batavia to send her back home.<sup>132</sup> Besides that, there was also two girls who were taken as slaves and sold for f 60, but finally managed to be rescued by the consulate.<sup>133</sup> The names of female pilgrims (or sometimes their nameless figures) who were turned into slaves keep on appearing in the consulate archives, not exclusively in the section about slavery only. Slavery was indeed a major problem concerning the hajj during the colonial period.

The consul decided to take the matter of slavery seriously. The view of the consulate regarding this matter also cannot be separated from how they perceived the female pilgrims, as shown by some interesting cases in the archives. In August 1933, the vice consul was sent to the slave market in Mecca to check directly and on the spot how the situation of the market was, whether the rumor of female pilgrims becoming slaves was true. The report concluded that the rumor was false, because he did not find any slaves from the Dutch East Indies, and according to the slave dealers he almost never saw any slaves from the *Haji Jawa* group anymore.<sup>134</sup> However, other sources in the consulate archives clearly show that there were some women who were captured as slaves, together with the information from Begum of Bhopal's memoir.<sup>135</sup>

The special section in the consulate archives keeps an interesting report regarding slavery, which might show how the Dutch colonial government perceived this problem, and also the

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<sup>131</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 60. *Letter from the Netherlands embassy in Constantinople, 20 February 1900.*

<sup>132</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 5. *Letter from the Consul to the Consulate in Singapore, 11 September 1889.*

<sup>133</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 175. *Letter from Van Der Plas to Syaykh Fuad, 13 August 1924.*

<sup>134</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 175 NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 175. *Rapport Slavernij in den Hidjaz, 5 August 1933.*

<sup>135</sup> Willoughby-Osborne (eds.). *A Pilgrimage to Mecca*, 149-151.

female pilgrims in general. Two years before the vice consul's investigation, a letter from Den Haag came to the consulate in Jeddah. It was also a report from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, asking about the problem of slavery in the Hedjaz because according to his knowledge, the condition was shameful. Many female pilgrims were taken as slaves, while some of them fell to the 'less honorable reasons'. The minister said the information was taken from an investigative article in a newspaper.<sup>136</sup>

“It is known that in the preceding year more or less pilgrims stayed behind (in Mecca). Some people stayed here for study purposes. But there are also people, especially women and girls who raised a serious suspicion, who were led by less honorable reasons to stay”.

The sentence used in the report which is believed to be based on an article in *Het Leven* appeared to be quite tendentious in nature. Is it not interesting to see a word considered to be holy, like 'pilgrims', stood together with 'less honorable reasons' in one sentence? Gender bias played a part in this kind of depiction, which tended to portray the females, in a demeaning way, and furthermore, in a sexual notion.

Nevertheless, the consulate was quite upset with the letter from the minister and wondered how he could believe in such an article. Instead of earnestly trying to find an answer to the mysterious cases of presumed slavery, the consulate tried to defend themselves by showing that they had done several investigations for which did not result in any finds, in terms of possibility of female pilgrims taken into slavery. The consul sent a replying letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on 10 December 1931, stating that 'This is a baseless accusation because it is taken only from a single report'.<sup>137</sup> The consulate in Jeddah claimed that they had done everything possible to find any information about slavery in order to prevent it from happening. The reports and the correspondences ended with no clear repercussions or further explanations on the missing people in the Hedjaz or slavery. A further research is probably needed to know how serious the effort of the consulate to investigate and overcome the problem of slavery was.

### **Female Pilgrims in Special Cases**

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<sup>136</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 175. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 175. *Letter from Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Consul in Jeddah*, 13 November 1931. Translation is made by author.

<sup>137</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 175. *Letter from the vice consul to Minister of Foreign Affairs*, 10 December 1931.

Once in a blue moon, the female pilgrims in the consulate's archives appeared too quirky, or too unfitting, to be classified with the other three categories. For example, who might have any idea that in such time there was a young female pilgrim who did *kawin lari* in Mecca?

This story was found in the letters from November 1933. Hajah Siti Rahmah was a female pilgrim who came during the hajj season of the year 1930, together with her family, father and mother. She and her uncle, and maybe other relatives who were not mentioned in the archives, stayed longer and became *moekimers* in Mecca. However, it seems that the contact between her and the parents was lost since the parents went back to the Dutch East Indies. The parents, a couple of *hajis* who were also farmers from West Java, sent a letter to the consulate, asking for information and help to fund her back home after two years being a *moekimer*. They believed that Rahmah was in a horrific condition, where she had become very thin because she could not eat unless people gave her some food and was constantly crying all day because of stress and could not go home. They asked the consulate to send her home.<sup>138</sup>

What about the uncle? Did not they supposed to live together, or did he at least supposed to have acted as a guardian for his niece? The consulate's reply to the letters which were sent by the parents who were desperately begging for a reply, was even more confusing. It took two letters from the parents until the consulate finally replied, after a month's interval.<sup>139</sup>

“Nyi Haji Siti Rahmah explained that she is in a happy marriage, and she admits to receive f 150 from you, but it has been used for groceries. Although their condition in Mecca is not an easy circumstance, they still want to stay for a couple of years. Therefore, we cannot tell them to go home just as you wish.”

It was unclear who reported the news to the consulate, whether the consulate directly checked on her or sent a letter, and how they managed to contact her while the parents could not. One might ask how she could possibly have gotten married without the presence of her father. Indeed, according to the letter, her uncle, Haji Tjarwi, got Rahmah married to the husband. However, when the father is still alive, a girl is normally supposed to tell her father about her marriage if he is unable to act as the *wali* due to being in another land. And what about the uncle's communication with Rahmah? Did the uncle go away and start to lose communication after the marriage? Then what did Rahmah do in Mecca for two years? Did she marry her

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<sup>138</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 148. *Letter from Haji Moekti to the Consulate*, 3 November 1933.

<sup>139</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 148. *Letter from Oetoesan Kerajaan Belanda to Haji Moekti*, 1 December 1933.

husband so that she could stay longer in Mecca? That is a possibility albeit unconvincing. Along with a scarce appearance of female pilgrims in the reports by the consulate, these questions are left unanswered and opens a wide room for speculation and imagination.

Probably, what can be derived from this tale of a 24 year old girl who went to Mecca for pilgrimage, married a man without the consent of her parents and stayed longer as a *moekimer*, is a wide range of possibilities for female pilgrims' stories and experiences in Mecca, which is left unexplored, and impossible to be found in the official reports of the consulate. This unthinkable case might show how the story of female pilgrims during the colonial period are possibly more varied from what is already known, or one assumed as known by reading only the reports and the main narration produced by the colonial government.

The reaction from the consulate is also worthy of being examined further, as it is shown how short and straightforward the reply was, especially if one puts it beside the lengthy letters sent by her parents. It almost seems that the consulate did not care much about this woman, or the female pilgrims who stayed longer in Mecca without any consent from the family. Was it not just risky to have a group of female *moekimers* like Rahmah who had unclear positions and motives to be in Mecca? It seems like the consulate could not care that much about the female pilgrims' life as *moekimers* in Mecca. Not only because of this letter, but also the absence of any kind of documents relating to their life as *moekimers*. The letter from the consulate in Jeddah was replied to by the parents who still insisted that the consulate sends Rahmah and her husband home. However, there are no more replies found from the consulate's archive. There is a possibility that they did not reply to the letter, or the letter was there but could not be found in the archives.

Another interesting case that sometimes emerges is the possibility of female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies to own properties and provide stay for other pilgrims.<sup>140</sup> Not only could women own a house under their own name, they also could inherit wealth in the form of house ownership. How was this possible?

In some correspondences of the consulate, there were actually some *moekimer* women who provided lodging facilities for the pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, just like the *syekhs*. One of the examples is Kabisa, a woman of 50 years old who accomodated two pilgrims from the

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<sup>140</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 147, 40. *Letter from the Consul to Gouvernour general in Batavia*, 20 December 1880.

Dutch East Indies, named Abdul Aziz and Arsyad in her house in 1930. It was her own house, but how she obtained it is left unexplained.<sup>141</sup> According to the law in the Hedjaz, owning property was possible for a foreigner and also females, though some terms and conditions might apply. They could either buy it or get it from their husband. Female *moekimers* also could bequeath their house to other people that were eligible to inherit it.

In 1928, Hajah Minah and her husband, Haji Moehammad Awal, who was an *adatdistricthoofd* of Datoek nan Tigo (their place of origin, nowadays a part of Jambi province), passed away just a few months after moving to Mecca. The heirs were three people, a man and two women: Haji Syamsuddin and Sariah who were brother and sister to Hajah Minah; and Genti Intan, the daughter of Sariah. According to the *verbaalprocess*, the house was bought by Haja Minah when she went for the hajj the first time and decided to be a *moekimer* for a year. Just after Haja Minah passed away, the house was inhabited by a female haji named Fatimah (her real name before the hajj was Dombing), who acted as a watchman for the house. However, the house ownership letter was in the hand of another person, Haji Nasir, who also tried to claim ownership of the house and took away the right of Haja Minah to bequeath the house to the man and two other women who were the heirs of her wealth.<sup>142</sup>

The story of Haja Minah and the other female pilgrims mentioned in this chapter shows how the archives of the consulate are also useful as the source for research regarding women. By locating their emergence in the archives, one could see that they are included and excluded in the different documents of the archives. Furthermore, some themes among the others are exclusively related to the female pilgrims. Female pilgrims emerged mainly in the letters which also shows more variety of female pilgrims' story, instead of official reports. They are emerged through specific themes that are mostly encountered in the archives: slavery, companion, rape and violence victims. The depiction of female pilgrims reveals how the consulate treated the female and male pilgrims differently and shows the gendered nature of the consulate's archives.

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<sup>141</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 193. *Verslag van de gebeurtenissen der geweldpleging van Hadji Tamil bin Safar dan Djawi, een der pilgrim van den moetawwif Isa Istamboel.*

<sup>142</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 147. *Processverbaal, 7 December 1900.*

## **Chapter 3**

### **Interfering with the Zone: Female Pilgrims through the Dutch's Eyes**



A girl, two males and a female pilgrim were preparing to sail home near the port of Jeddah (1928)<sup>143</sup>

C.H. Krugers depicted the scene above as a part of his story about ‘the great feast’, or the hajj in Mecca in his 70 minutes film.<sup>144</sup> His precious work became the earliest moving pictures capturing the pilgrimage and also how people made their way to and back from the Holy Land from the Dutch East Indies. Mecca and the pilgrims’ life might be just a surreal imagination for the Dutch colonial government before Krugers, since the Holy Land was exclusively for the Muslims. Krugers was praised by the Queen and Snouck Hurgronje for his prominent work which came with a lot of sacrifices and effort. His works undeniably had helped to shape the Dutch perspective and understanding about the pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies.<sup>145</sup>

The depiction of female pilgrims in this film resonances the question from the previous chapter of how the Dutch colonial government perceived the female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies. Why were they being included and excluded in the narrative of the archives? This chapter explores the possible logic behind the depiction of female pilgrims in the archives by ‘interfering’ with or contextualizing the emergence of female pilgrims with other kind of sources, mainly newspapers. The other sources present not only a different depiction of female pilgrims, but also entails another possibility of female pilgrims’ role that is worthy to be

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<sup>143</sup> A screenshot from Kruger’s film, *Het Grootte Mekka Feest* (1928).

<sup>144</sup> The film can be watched through this link: <http://www.npogeschiedenis.nl/nieuws/2008/mei/Indisch-filmarchief-Het-groote-Mekka-feest.html> Accessed on July 25<sup>th</sup> 2016.

<sup>145</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 44. *Letter from the Consul to the Minister of Foreign Affairs*, 22 September 1935.



examined further. This chapter also discusses how the Dutch's depiction of female pilgrims affects the production of knowledge in historiography.

### **Understanding and Interfering with the Emergence**

Excavating women's emergence in history was comparable to finding a needle in the haystack, one might say. However, as it is seen from how this thesis analysed female pilgrims' appearance in the previous chapter, they indeed existed, and even emerged in the Dutch colonial archives. How this emergence illuminates our understanding of the Dutch view of the female pilgrims is, on the other hand, something one is yet to explore.

One might want to keep in mind the framework of colonialism, which acts as the tool of racism, making racism as the nucleus of colonialism, and breeds a gendered space. Brent Hayes Edwards argues that racism, which is an essential idea in the practice of colonialism, always presupposes sexism. This is a direct result of the fact that race and gender are always inextricably interwoven.<sup>146</sup> Therefore, the way in which colonialism works, for example the Dutch colonialism, is gendered. The archives are an active, generative substances with histories, documents with itineraries of their own, and a fundamental part of the colonial system. What was written in the archives inclined to the official 'recipe', and could open to a space beyond it.<sup>147</sup> It is constructed with a certain logic that infuses a gender bias. This gender bias has been my focus in this thesis, specifically looking at the archive of the consulate in Jeddah. The gender bias of the Dutch colonial government towards the pilgrims can be seen from the mentions and absences of the female pilgrims, certain topics and themes where the female pilgrims appeared, and how they were distinguished from the male pilgrims.

The difference between the depiction of female and male pilgrims in the *bedevaartverslag* has been mentioned in the previous chapter, which signifies since the early stage of how the Dutch colonial government saw them differently. While government's suspicion of Djanan Tayyib who came back to Mecca from Cairo, or Mochtar Lutfi who returned to the Dutch East Indies appeared in the *bedevaartverslag*, the same spotlight was never given to female pilgrims.<sup>148</sup> Female pilgrims were not considered to be worthy enough to make an appearance in this main

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<sup>146</sup> Edwards, Brent Hayes. *The Practice of Diaspora : Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003): 152.

<sup>147</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival*, 2.

<sup>148</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr *Bedevaartverslag 1934-1935*. NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 199. *Het Vereenigingsleven te Mekka*, 30 December 1933.

report, and regarded as something more appropriate for the margin: in the special report about slavery, for instance, which was often an attachment to the official report sent to Den Haag.

Besides being gendered with regard to the site of appearance, the emergence of the pilgrims in the archives is also thematically gendered. Slavery is one of the themes where female pilgrims are mentioned in the consulate's archives, along with the other frequently appearing themes, such as rape and violence. Rape and other kind of violence toward female pilgrims indeed took place during the hajj and had become a part of the government's concern, yet considering that it was the only field that was always given attention by the consulate in regards of female pilgrims, makes this treatment comparatively unique, especially if one puts it parallel to the male pilgrims. The male pilgrims possessed more varieties of portrayal in the archives instead of only as the victims of all fallacies during the hajj.

“That is what happened to our pilgrims in Camaran, just imagine what happened to our female pilgrims if the males were treated that badly!” is a kind of portrayal that sometimes appeared in the newspapers from the Dutch East Indies about the hajj.<sup>149</sup> If women were affected or victimized by any kind of unfortunate events, it seems that people could conclude that the condition had become critical. This way of thinking exists even today, when women are always considered to suffer more in terrible conditions, such as migrations, disasters or wars.<sup>150</sup> Even in today's journalism, our eyes would probably pay more attention to the news when women (and children) became the casualties. Women are often considered and seen as the weak one. This tendency is not an exemption for the Dutch colonial government in narrating the female pilgrims.

The female pilgrims prominently appear in the reports or correspondences about the misfortunes during the hajj. It is evident that the problem of slavery during the colonial hajj drew the Dutch colonial government's attention more to the female than male pilgrims. As a contrast, the male pilgrims were portrayed in another way, which were always under the spotlight. They always obtained a 'prime' time and place just like a popular series airing on the television; they were included in almost all reports, including the official reports, and also other special reports, usually related to education or politics. If, someday, the archives from the consulate has an interface that enables people to search documents related to the male pilgrims, 'student' 'suspicious activities', or 'pan-Islamism' might be good candidates for the keywords,

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<sup>149</sup> *Bendera Islam*, 12 August 1926.

<sup>150</sup> Buijs, Gina. *Migrant Women: Crossing Boundaries and Changing Identities*. (Oxford: Berg Publishers Ltd.) 5-7.

while for female pilgrims the keywords will be a group of words like ‘rape’, ‘violence on the ship’ and so on.

Generally, one can conclude that the female pilgrims were perceived and treated differently compared to the male pilgrims. They were seen as companions of male pilgrims, and were also weak in nature, making them a subject that had to be ‘protected’ all the time. Female pilgrims also had never been included in certain themes that featured the male pilgrims, such as education and politics. This gendered nature in the archives built this separation and division, which also put the discourse of female pilgrims in the margin compared to male pilgrims’ depiction.

However, to be able to understand deeply, the point of understanding from analyzing the archives needs to be interfered with another point of view. Looking at what is not written about the female pilgrims, this chapter proposes the matter of why. Why female pilgrims did not appear in the ‘prime time’ texts like the hajj annual report, or in themes like education and pan-Islamism? Were they just complete outsiders to this scene or is it the depiction in the archives that excluded the female pilgrims’ more colorful and lively participation in the Hedjaz? Interfering with our zone of understanding does not come only with asking why, but also by looking at other sources and texts which mention the female pilgrims. It would make for a better analysis if one could situate the archives with this other narration to see how the dialogue was potentially built and, thus, deepen the understanding about the female pilgrims.

One of the earliest things that I did was to read the piles of the Dutch East Indies newspapers, both in Indonesian and Dutch languages, and published by both Indonesian and Dutch news agencies. Newspapers are the only sites which existed during the time of colonial hajj and mentioned the female pilgrims, besides a cameo in some male-written travelogues. This makes newspaper a justifiable source for consultation. The first impression I gained from reading the newspapers was that the depiction of the female pilgrims therein is quite different when compared to the archives. The hajj in itself seemed to have been interesting for the public readers, since some newspapers published articles about the pilgrimage in the colonial times frequently, sometimes weekly.<sup>151</sup> Articles on the hajj might look interesting because of its relevance to the people in the Dutch East Indies who were waiting for their family on a pilgrimage to return, or if they were considering going on a pilgrimage in the near future. On the other hand, the news about the hajj also attracted the Dutch who were concerned about the

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<sup>151</sup> See *Bendera islam, Neratja, De Sumatra Post, Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* and *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*.

conduct of the pilgrimage, or were simply curious about it. The news about the incoming and outgoing hajj ships, the overall conduct of the hajj, special cases of mistreatment and political condition in the Hedjaz are the topics which were frequently presented in the articles.

In the *Soerabaijasch Nieuwsblad*, a daily newspaper, there was an article about the conduct of the hajj with a mention of the female pilgrims and their uniqueness. This article underlined the high rate of female participation among the pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies. According to the article, the favorable position of women in Indonesian society led to an increased participation of women and children in the pilgrimage.<sup>152</sup> The female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies were seen as a unique phenomenon and seem to have been interesting enough to be mentioned in a newspaper article.

Does this finding signify a slightly better coverage of female pilgrims in the newspapers, compared to the colonial archives? Without intending to generalize the emergence from these two different realms, from what is found in the newspaper, there are certainly distinctions between the two. However, just like in the consulate's archives, the emergence of female pilgrims in the periodicals in terms of frequency is still much lesser than the male pilgrims, from among whom some famous figures sometimes appeared in the news about the hajj. Yet, the depiction in the newspapers was a different variety from what could be found in the archives, and a bit more diverse to some extent.

For example, instead of only featuring the unfortunate female pilgrims or the accompanying wives of high officials who went on pilgrimage, the article from *De Sumatra Post* shows that there was a female haji who had turned *moekimer* and became the keeper of a *waqf* land, as well as the leader of a foundation which handled the *waqf* from the Dutch East Indies' pilgrims in Mecca, *Waqf Mataram*, which had been established in 1803.<sup>153</sup> This gives us an insight into what the female pilgrims could possibly be doing as *moekimers* in Mecca, which is left quite unexplained in the colonial archives. Furthermore, if one relates this to the other facts, such as the rising number of female *mutawwifs* (who were usually of Arab-Indonesian descent) in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a woman managing *waqf* foundation is not completely bizarre.

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century certainly brought about a change, including for the women in the Dutch East Indies. One could not talk about the rising number of female pilgrims as a phenomenon

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<sup>152</sup> *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, 22-11-1938.

<sup>153</sup> *De Sumatra Post*, 01-10-1926. *Waqf* is an endowment of property in trust to be used for religious charity purpose.

without putting it in the context of the change in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was the time when more women could afford education, and their involvement in public spaces increased in general, such as by writing in women's column in newspapers, establishing and participating in organizations,<sup>154</sup> although mostly still under the structure of subordination of male-established institutions. Yet, this development was still a prominent, related matter.

Just like in other parts of the world, the change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century also affected the Middle East, even if one specifically talks about education and the circulation of knowledge. For example Cairo and its Al Azhar and Cairo University, which came to be regarded as the modern hub for education in the Middle East, in comparison to Mecca which was seen as more traditional. Women were started to be involved in higher education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in Egypt. New thoughts and reflections about women in Islam were growing, such as from Qasim Amin and his *The New Woman*,<sup>155</sup> influenced the women's position in society. The women in Cairo who studied in universities also received an awareness in the Dutch East Indies newspapers, as can be seen from an article in *Neratja* in 1927. The article reported that five women had just graduated from the university in Egypt while asking 'when will women in the Indies be able to do the same thing'.<sup>156</sup>

Trying to trace the trail of women who probably went to study in Mecca, or Cairo, is probably a hard task. However, an article from 1932 in *Suara Aisyiyah*, the monthly magazine of Aisyiyah featured an enchanting story of a *hajjah* who went back from Mecca after nine full years studying in Mecca, and also in Cairo. Her name was Hajjah Fatimah and she was from Kalianget, East Java, and interestingly she was also an Indo-European convert (*mualaf*). She was born Christian in an Indo-European family of civil servants, but later converted to Islam and spent some years in Batavia to learn how to read the Koran from a *sayyid*. She decided to go to Mecca, together with her child, because she thought that studying Islam in Batavia was not enough. Back in the Dutch East Indies, she became involved in a kind of *dakwah* (preaching of Islam) to call people to practice Islam religiously, and her child became a teacher. Fatimah told others about her experience in an Aisyiyah conference.<sup>157</sup> Besides Fatimah, there are some

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<sup>154</sup> Many Indonesian-language newspaper started to feature women's writing by allocating a special section in the late 1920s. 'Dunia Isteri' can be found in *Aliran Baroe*, *Neratja*, and other newspapers. Similar sections even existed in an Islamic newspaper like *Bendera Islam*.

<sup>155</sup> Amin, Qasim. *The Liberation of Women and The New Woman*. (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000).

<sup>156</sup> *Neratja*, 29 September 1927.

<sup>157</sup> *Suara Aisyiyah*, December 1932.

female hajjis' names mentioned as the subscribers for the magazine, such as Hajjah Zainah and Djamilah.<sup>158</sup> *Suara Aisyiyah* was a magazine of an organization, the mouthpiece of Aisyiyah (the woman's wing of Muhammadiyah), but their magazine was sold publicly. However, their readers were mostly the members of the organization who supported the magazine financially by subscribing.

The story of Fatimah might remind us to Chadijah, who is mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, who went to Mecca and spent some years with her husband and came back to manage a women's class in a *pesantren*.<sup>159</sup> Fatimah and Chadijah are somehow connected by being the learned women from the Hedjaz. Is it possible that there were more other female *moekimers* who returned to the Dutch East Indies and started to teach and preach? In that period, the number of Islamic schools which opened classes for female pupils was growing and also brought more female teachers. The opening of several women's schools was also happening, such as Kartini School in 1912 by the famous R.A. Kartini, and later, Diniyah Puteri School in West Sumatera by Rahmah El Yunussyiah in 1927.<sup>160</sup> This new development contributed increasing number of female students in Islamic schools like madrasahs and *pesantren*, which are usually called *santri*. On the other hand, it is also known that there were more women trained in teaching how to read the Koran by the organizations like Aisyiyah in the 1920s.<sup>161</sup>

These kinds of narratives and stories in the newspapers did not appear in the colonial archives. The female pilgrims or female haji had never been a part of the primary attention from the government, resulting in an underplayed emergence in the archives. Though not solely, gender bias is the reason behind this silence. This might be similar to what happened to the other colonial archives, such as in the case of British India. When a native female married to an Englishman, she would not be registered by her name, but the husband's name and with designations such as 'my girl', 'my present girl', or 'my house keeper', not putting them as the subject of the marriage and thereby silencing them from the records.<sup>162</sup> Female pilgrims' roles and stories were underplayed compared to the male pilgrims because of the preceding 'invisible

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<sup>158</sup> *Suara Aisyiyah*, December 1932.

<sup>159</sup> Burhanudin, *Ulama Perempuan Indonesia*, 102-104.

<sup>160</sup> Rasyad, H. Aminudin, H. Leon Salim and Hj. Hasniah Saleh. *H. Rahmah El Yunussyiah dan Zainuddin Labay el Yunusy: Dua Bersaudara Tokoh Pembaharu Sistem Pendidikan di Indonesia*. (Jakarta: Pengurus Perguruan Diniyah Puteri Padang Panjang, 1991) 42-45.

<sup>161</sup> Bano, Massoda and Hilary Kalmbach. *Women, leadership and mosques: Changes in contemporary Islamic authority*. (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Hefner, Robert W. 2009. "Introduction: The politics and cultures of Islamic education in Southeast Asia." In Robert W. Hefner (eds.), *Making modern Muslims: The politics of Islamic education in Southeast Asia*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009) 23.

<sup>162</sup> Joseph. *Reading the East*. 7, 14.

brackets' in mind, to place the female pilgrims in their specific posts: as a victim, as a weak participant in the pilgrimage, or a plain accompanying wife. This contrasts with the male pilgrims' depiction rooted from sexism that was presupposed in the colonial logic, making women appear as something less serious and important, not-a-threat for the government, and this affected their emergence in the archives.

This bias was implied in the treatment towards the pilgrims, and shown in the archives. For instance, the escalating number of young pilgrims who went to Mecca for learning purposes in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century had become the Dutch government's concern. If the numbers of the *moekimers* who came to study kept on growing, they were afraid that they would be unable to keep up the surveillance on them, control what they learned, and project what they could possibly happen. The government did not want more influential people who might had a subversive potential like Djanan Tayyib or Muhammad Jamil Jambek.<sup>163</sup> This enormous interest in male pilgrims who studied in Mecca is in contrast to how they had never thought of women like Fatimah or Chadijah, who also studied in Mecca, in the same manner. Michel Foucault has written about how power and sex are interrelated, creating a masculine world for zones that are dominantly in the hands of males, like regulations, laws, and bureaucracy.<sup>164</sup> The relation of people who studied in Mecca with the narrative of pan-Islamism, which is accepted as a rather masculine zone, makes the roles of the female pilgrims seem to be irrelevant, or even unthinkable.<sup>165</sup>

### **The Unthinkable Female Pilgrims: Historiography in Continuum**

How to define the emergence of women like Chadijah and Fatimah in the sources? Were there more female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies who resembled them, and probably played a role in the society?

Talking about their possible roles specifically, however, the related information that this thesis have excavated might not be enough yet to land on a solid conclusion for the matters of their influence without being half-skeptical. Indeed, this thesis has emphasized the fact that female pilgrims were growing in importance in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as a unique phenomenon, and there are some *hajjah* who contributed to the field of education and *dakwah*. But were their

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<sup>163</sup> NL-HaNA, Consulaat Djeddah, 2.05.53, inv.nr. 200. *Aanbieding nota van den vice consul met beschouwing over het onderwijs aan Indonesiers in Mekka en Nederlandsch Indies*, 27 April 1929.

<sup>164</sup> Suyono, S., Arwayanti, M., & Fahmi, N. *Tubuh yang rasis : Telaah kritis Michel Foucault atas dasar-dasar pembentukan diri kelas menengah Eropa*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

<sup>165</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 3.

activities and participations enough and reasonable to expect a role in the greater sphere, or even an agency?

It is all depends on what one defines as ‘agency’. The existence of female hajjis in the field of education in the 20<sup>th</sup> century cannot stand to be separated from what affects and determines agency itself: the social context. According to Saba Mahmood, agency as a power to influence is not something rigid that has been defined without relating it to a specific social context.<sup>166</sup> Female pilgrims played their roles according to the already established institutions and orders, and for the female pilgrims, it was the Dutch East Indies and its Islamic landscape. For example in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Muslim women became parts of the new addition to the spectrum of ‘the learned’. There was a new access to education for women in the Dutch East Indies, as well as the needs of the Islamic modernist to include women’s education in their agenda.<sup>167</sup> Muslim women activists emerged at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Dutch East Indies through the establishment of organizations, such as Aisyiyah in the 1917 and the woman’s wing of Sarekat Islam in 1918.<sup>168</sup> In terms of some female pilgrims’ influence like Fatimah and Chadijah, was limited to those gendered sphere provided in that period, such as the woman’s wing organization, women organization’s magazine or school for women. The fact that some matters were already dominated by a gender stereotype, such as the pan-Islamist movement or the hajj as a masculine zone made this limitation materialize. It made the female pilgrims incapable of acting in some spaces, also in the eyes of the Dutch which resulted in the female pilgrims’ lack of appearance in the archives.

The emergence of some female *moekimers* like Fatimah and Chadijah, or some names of female teachers in Mecca in the previous chapter, are too important to be ignored. Yet at the same time, one must admit that what is known is still very less to land on a solid conclusion, and most probably, not all female pilgrims had the same experiences as them. In fact, they were probably a one in a million-case considering the socio-economic condition of women in the Dutch East Indies during the period, which were still struggling with illiteracy. Fatimah and Chadijah came from a better social class background compared to the majority of other female pilgrims. However, how some female pilgrims like Fatimah and Chadijah could study in Mecca and possibly play a role in transferring and circulating their knowledge among other women when returned to the Dutch East Indies is an enchanting, unexplored topic. A further research

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<sup>166</sup> Mahmood, Saba. *Politics of Piety*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004) 14.

<sup>167</sup> Darban. Adaby, A. *Aiyiyah dan Sejarah Pergerakan Perempuan Indonesia: Sebuah Tinjauan Awal*. (Yogyakarta: Jurusan Sejarah UGM, 2010). 44-45.



is needed to be able to reach a better, inclusive conclusion about the possibility of female pilgrims' agency.

Let alone their agency, in the initial stages of the research for this thesis and before really analysing the archives and the newspapers, I could not even imagine what kind of people the female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies were due to the lack of their appearance in the historiography. From what have been analysed in the previous chapters, it turned out that female pilgrims were actually scattered in the archives and also other sources. Yet, they are still absent from the quite extensive mainstream historiography of the hajj up until today. Why has this gap on the history of female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies existed for so long?

The high participation rate of female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century has been ignored in the writing of the history of the pilgrimage, and it has contributed to the creation of a 'male-sex knowledge'. Before the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the life of women had never been analysed or taken as important to be a part of a creation of a new theory or knowledge. If women are included in the narration, it must be something 'unusual to the general habits' or 'exceptional', just like the way the Dutch government kept the records about women regarding slavery, rape or violence on the ship.<sup>169</sup>

According to Michel Trouillot, historical narratives and their premise on previous understandings is premised on the distribution of archival power.<sup>170</sup> The historiography of Indonesia that often consulted the colonial records relates to Trouillot's statement, being the reason behind this long silence. The way the Dutch colonial government perceived the female pilgrims to be less prominent in comparison to the male pilgrims has an impact that still exists until today, at least from the historiographical point of view. Rooted in the colonial logic and visible in the gendered colonial archives, their views and perspectives are immortalized and perpetuated to reproduce a knowledge about the colonial hajj that excludes the female pilgrims. Their role was underplayed compared to an extensive discussion about the pan-Islamist movement, politics, and education which all encompassed men instead of women. The continuation of reproduction of knowledge based on the reading of archives without realizing the logic behind it preserves such ideas. The same logic is used from time to time in writing

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<sup>169</sup> Wieringa, Saskia. *Penghancuran Gerakan Perempuan di Indonesia*. (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2010).

<sup>170</sup> Trouillot, Michel Ralph. *Silencing the past : Power and the production of history*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

the history of the hajj, leaving an incomplete narration of the pilgrimage and a fragmented story which keeps the women's narrative, as well as their agency, in the margins.

This repetitive process does not happen only with the history of female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, one can always find the similar examples and cases from other communities in many parts of the world. What has been demonstrated in this thesis is a resonance of other women's tales in history, that often left in the margin and fragmentary. What one could do is to attempt to discontinue this long chain of logic entailed in the colonial records when composing a history. By looking at the archives upside down, one might break this chain of knowledge reproduction that has resulted in a historiographical lacuna. Interfering with the zone of understanding by means of alternative narrations helps one to contextualize, to look at what is excluded from the authoritative sources, and in the end produce a more inclusive history.

This chapter has presented an attempt to figure out the logic behind the depiction of female pilgrims in the consulate's archives. The different kind of depiction of female pilgrims from other sources signifies how their emergence in the consulate archives suited a certain logic. The mentions and silences of them in the archives are related to the gendered nature of the archives, which rooted in the gender bias of colonial logic. The main focus of the consulate in Jeddah to maintain the colonial order by observing and infiltrating the network of knowledge of people who went to the Hedjaz, made some topics, such as pan-Islamism and students in Mecca, more prominent to appear in the archives. The assumption of insurgency and Islamic movement as an exclusively masculine zone underplayed the appearance of female pilgrims in the archives. Female pilgrims who were seen to be fragile and weak were considered irrelevant to something as masculine as subversive ideas, thus deserved to be featured in the marginal spaces, instead of the main narration. This has affected the articulation of the female pilgrims' history, which mainly based on the Dutch's colonial view through its archives. The perpetuation of this logic has produced a fragmented history of the hajj that left a gap for the female pilgrims' voice.

## Conclusion

Joseph Conrad's novel, *Lord Jim* or *Tuan Jim*, which was referred to by Tagliacozzo in *The Longest Journey* tells the story of a first mate's life that changed after he abandoned the *Patna*, a ship full of Malay and Haji Jawa pilgrims. This fiction is assumed to be based on a real story from the 1880s, of the vessel called *Jeddah*, which faced the same fate. Tagliacozzo remarked that this novel is an important source for understanding how the 19<sup>th</sup> century really brought a

change in many aspects in the world, including the Muslim pilgrimage.<sup>171</sup> Not only did the hajj evolve in terms of technology with the usage of steam ship, furthermore, the state too was involved in the conduct of the hajj more prominently than ever before.

This thesis tries to see how this unique period for the hajj, with the advance in technology in addition to the colonial state's involvement, could bring a special dynamic to the gender positioning in the pilgrimage, with a focus on women. The lack of female pilgrims' story in the existing historiography triggered my curiosity. In one of my sources, I came across an anecdote in an article from *Het Nieuws van de Dag*, when it interviewed Raden Wiranatakusuma, just after he returned from the pilgrimage. When he was asked about the reason behind his pilgrimage, he answered, 'Many people said I went to Mecca to run away from my wife'.<sup>172</sup> Does this show that the pilgrimage, and living in Mecca, were regarded as a masculine zone?

Such a view might be stereotypical, and it has been a dominant view for many individuals. However, this thesis demonstrates that this view was changed by about 90 degrees, if not 180. In a critical manner, the previous chapters attempted to show how women in reality participated actively and enormously in the pilgrimage, and even stayed longer as *moekimers*. In fact, the belief that pilgrimage in the colonial period was meant only for the males, is probably the legacy of the colonial government in managing the pilgrimage, functioning both as a manager and a spy.

The archives had been filled by documents that were partly administrative, and partly espionage-like reports. Primary attention was paid to certain things, like the person who was seen as potentially dangerous, the person who had just arrived from Cairo, or the leader of an organization who intended to return to the Dutch East Indies. These subversive-like cases mattered a lot because the consulate in Jeddah functioned as a surveillance body. The women scarcely appear in the archives, since they do not, or at least according to the creator of the archives, belong to this sphere. The female pilgrims, on the other hand, filled the reports on the failure of the pilgrimage, such as violence on the ship, rape, and slavery. To put it in a very simple way, the female pilgrims were depicted as victims and weak in nature, as well as irrelevant to be assumed as worrying and threatening to the status quo, the colonial order. As a result, they became underplayed in the main narrative and documents of the consulate's archives.

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<sup>171</sup> Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey*, Chapter 3, 35.

<sup>172</sup> *Het Nieuws van de Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indie*, 6-8-1924.

When this depiction interacts and is contextualized with the other narratives, or the historical context in general—regarding the development in the 20<sup>th</sup> century for women, such as education for women, women’s movement and women in press—it is visible that the view of the Dutch colonial government towards the female pilgrims was highly biased in terms of gender. Female pilgrims were perceived differently, placed in some specific sections in the archives as compared to their male counterparts, because it originated from the underlying logic of colonialism that did not imagine women as persons worthy of a public role. In the colonial state, these gendered spaces divided and decided what the women colonial subject would and could do. The fact that there were some women who taught and studied in Mecca, or even went to Cairo, did not attract that much attention from the Dutch colonial government. While today in Indonesia the pilgrimage seems to be appropriate and common for both men and women, the dominant view of the hajj as a masculine zone and minor the manner in which women in the colonial period could take part or play a role in it remained alive and kept re-surfacing in the archives, and was reproduced in history books.

This story of the female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies is an attempt to situate women in a global context: specifically, to examine how the women colonial subjects were perceived in a broader sphere, not in their house or village, but in a network which was seen as important in the spread of ideas. How the colonial government perceived the dynamics of their role shows that even in a global sphere, their story or ‘voice’ was also suppressed. Not surprisingly, this phenomenon is not unique in the world history of women. The lack of appearance and coverage of female pilgrims in the existing history books is not that different when compared to other women in a global context, for instance, the women of the Negritude movement. This anti-racist movement that was started by black Francophone writers and connected two different continents in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century also left their women writers very much unexplored in the history books. The role of women in Negritude is seen as ‘the mother’ of a movement, who participated by supporting the males, like providing salons for male writers to meet. We can probably find hundreds of other examples in the history of women as colonial subjects, like in British India or in colonial France.

How colonialism always intermingles with sexism is shown in the colonial government’s view of the female colonial subjects such as the women of the Negritude, or the female pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, and this story is taking form in today’s world in the form of silence in the history books. It seems like, in history, the story of one woman can portray the story of all women around the world.

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