



The Ever-Changing Rules of Hajj in South Sulawesi 1947-1950

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Abstract

This article aims to explain the administrative rules for the implementation of the pilgrimage from 1947 to 1950 during the period of the State of East Indonesia, which was constantly changing. The study uses historical methods including heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The data used consists of archives and books. The results of the study found that the factors influencing the regulations issued by the government of the State of East Indonesia were different each year. This was primarily due to the social aspect, which was marked by the number of registrants exceeding the given quota, leading the government to pay attention to applicants on the waiting list. Additionally, there were political aspects, such as the incorporation of new areas controlled by the Dutch, which required allocating quotas to these regions.

Keywords: Hajj Administration, State of East Indonesia, South Sulawesi.

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan menjelaskan aturan administrasi pelaksanaan ibadah haji tahun 1947-1950 periode Negara Indonesia Timur yang selalu berubah. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode sejarah yang terdiri dari heuristik, kritik sumber, interpretasi dan historiografi. Adapun data yang digunakan berupa arsip dan buku. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa faktor yang mengakibatkan aturan yang dikeluarkan pemerintah Negara Indonesia Timur selalu berbeda setiap tahun disebabkan oleh aspek sosial yang ditandai dengan banyaknya pendaftar yang melebihi jumlah kuota yang diberikan sehingga pemerintah Negara Indonesia Timur harus memperhatikan pendaftar yang masuk dalam daftar tunggu, berbeda halnya dengan aspek politik berupa masuknya daerah baru yang dikuasai oleh Belanda sehingga kuota harus pula diberikan kepada wilayah tersebut.

Kata Kunci: Administrasi Haji, Negara Indonesia Timur, Sulawesi Selatan.

ملخص

بحثت هذه الدراسة عن قواعد الحج المتغيرة باستمرار في سولاويسي الجنوبية خلال الثورة الوطنية الإندونيسية أو حرب استقلال إندونيسيا لعام 1947-1950 باستخدام المنهج التاريخي. وأما المصادر التاريخية هي الوثائق التاريخية والكتب التاريخية المناسبة بعصره. ونتائج هذه الدراسة هي أن تغيير نظام الحج من قبل حكومة إندونيسيا الشرقية بسبب الاهتمام الكبير من خلال السكان الإندونيسيين لأداء الحج حتى تجاوزت حصة المشاركين التي حددتها الحكومة. قامت الحكومة بتغيير نظام الحج كل عام

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لتلائم مصالح الحجاج. كان هذا الحديث مهم للحكومة لأخذ انتباه السكان في خضم ثورة الاستقلال في سولاوسي الجنوبية. وبهذا، لا يقتصر أداء الحج إلا من فرضية المسلمين بل أيضا جزء من السياسة الاستعمارية للمسلمين في سولاوسي الجنوبية. الكلمات المفتاحية: نظام الحج، جمهورية إندونيسيا الشرقية، سولاوسي الجنوبية.

Introduction

The implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage by Indonesian Muslims has been ongoing for centuries; however, to date, there is no recorded information about when and who the first pilgrims were to perform this ritual. Indonesian Islamic historian Azyumardi Azra mentions that the presence of the Ottoman Navy in the Indian Ocean after 1498 resulted in safer voyages for the Hajj pilgrims. In 1503, Lewis Barthema, disguised as a Muslim, embarked on a pilgrimage to Mecca. During his journey, he witnessed the presence of pilgrims from Greater India (the Indian Subcontinent) and Lesser East India (Nusantara). This historical account provides early information about the Nusantara pilgrims in Mecca.¹

While the Muslim community in the western part of the Nusantara region had been performing the Hajj pilgrimage since the 15th century, the people of South Sulawesi only began doing so in the 17th century. This delay can be attributed to the fact that Islam was newly embraced by the local kingdoms in the early part of that century, and the local rulers initially practiced moderate attitudes towards new religions, particularly Islam and Christianity, as noted by Abd Rahman Hamid. However, shortly after the adoption of Islam, it became a stimulus for the spectacular progress of Makassar in the 17th century. The Makassar chronicles mention that on September 22, 1644, Sheikh Yusuf departed from Makassar to perform the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca. This event marks a significant milestone in the history of Islamic practice in the region.²

Before the period of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC: 17th to 18th century), Muslims who wanted to perform the Hajj pilgrimage had to secure permission from the local king. However, during the VOC era, prospective pilgrims had to seek an audience with the VOC authorities in their respective territories. Despite some concerns about the Muslim community, the VOC did not strictly enforce various regulations regarding the Hajj until the organization was dissolved in 1799. The requirement of obtaining permission from the VOC was primarily driven by fear of Muslims (a political aspect). On the other hand, seeking permission from the ruling kingdom in the pre-VOC era signified respect and deference to the ruler (an ethical aspect). It was also considered as receiving the king's blessing or approval to embark on the sacred pilgrimage.³

Before the Dutch government established a designated Hajj port, Hajj voyages from South Sulawesi were conducted using trading sailboats. These voyages required multiple stops at various ports, not only for cargo purposes but also to adjust to wind directions, resulting in significantly long travel times for the pilgrims. However, with the implementation of the government policy, the Muslim community in South Sulawesi benefited greatly when Makassar was designated as a Hajj port, along with five other ports in the Dutch East Indies. This new arrangement streamlined the Hajj voyages and provided more efficient and direct routes for the pilgrims, making their journey to Mecca faster and more manageable.⁴ From then on, prospective Hajj pilgrims from South Sulawesi no longer had to sail to the Hajj ports in Java. The implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage was temporarily halted during the Japanese occupation

¹ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan ulama : Timur Tengah & kepulauan Nusantara abad XVII & XVIII : akar pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, 2013, 37-38.

² Kamaruddin et al, *Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa Dan Tallok* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1986), 106.

³ Robert Irwin, Zainuddin Sardar, and Vanetia Porter, *Haji, Perjalanan Ibadah Dari Masa Ke Masa: Budaya Perjalanan Haji* (Jakarta: Aku Bisa, 2018), 31.

⁴ Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie 1922 No. 698

(1942-1945) but resumed during the revolution or the East Indonesian State period (1946-1950). From then on, prospective Hajj pilgrims from South Sulawesi no longer had to sail to the Hajj ports in Java. The implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage was temporarily halted during the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) but resumed during the revolution or the East Indonesian State period (1946-1950). During this latter period, the implementation rules for the Hajj pilgrimage constantly changed. Why did the administrative rules for Hajj always undergo changes? This study examines the implementation of Hajj in South Sulawesi, excluding the Buton Division.

A study on the historiography of Hajj has been conducted by M. Shaleh Putuhena.⁵ He discusses the issues of Hajj during the Dutch East Indies period, focusing on the relationship between Hajj and economic, political, and religious education aspects. Another work, written by Dien Madjid⁶, focuses on the Hajj regulations (in 1825, 1859, and 1922) as well as private companies (Herklots and Firma Al Segaff & CO) involved in organizing Hajj pilgrimages. The Hajj regulations are also discussed by Karel A. Steenbrink. Henry Chambert Loir's work comprises a collection of travel accounts of individuals who have performed the Hajj pilgrimage.

This article is different from the works mentioned above. While those works cover a period until 1942, this writing discusses the administrative regulations for the implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage during the NIT era (1946-1950), which coincided with the Indonesian revolution. These regulations demonstrate that the Hajj pilgrimage could be carried out while the Republic of Indonesia was struggling for survival against the Dutch. Why did the administrative regulations for the implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage in the NIT region constantly change every year?

Method

This research used historical methodology consisting of heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The data used in this writing primarily consists of archival materials from the Library and Archives Service of South Sulawesi Province, such as the Tana Toraja Archive No. 1416, which included letters of request from a resident of Tana Toraja seeking the opportunity to perform the Hajj pilgrimage in 1949 with their family. There was also information from the Prime Minister's Cabinet of the NIT regarding travel arrangements for the Hajj pilgrimage in 1950, as well as circular letters from the Minister of Religion of the RIS (Republic of Indonesia State) regarding the Hajj pilgrimage in 1950. Other archival materials used include Selayar Archive No. 746, which provides information on the implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage in 1949, Wajo Archive No. 124, which relates to the allocation of quotas for all regions in Indonesia, and Bone Archive No. 768, which contained a letter documenting the failure to perform the Hajj pilgrimage despite selling one's assets. Additionally, references were made to the *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie* (Official Gazette of the Dutch East Indies) from 1912 No. 198 and 1922 No. 698.

In addition, this article used newspapers from the collection of the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta, namely *Pandji Rakjat* (1948), which provided information about the Hajj pilgrims who departed in 1948 from Tanjung Priok. It also referred to the newspaper *Indonesia Timoer* (1949), which contained information from a letter sent from Jakarta by Husain Thaha, the chairman of the temporary working committee for Hajj affairs on the ship *Tawali*. The letter was quoted and published in the newspaper. The book "*Provinsi Sulawesi*" published by the Ministry of Information⁷ serves as an important source for examining the number of Hajj pilgrims from Sulawesi. Lastly, the travel notes of KH Abdulmajid (who performed the Hajj pilgrimage in 1948) from the work of Henry Chambert-Loir were also used as a source.⁸

⁵ Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji Indonesia*.

⁶ Madjid, *Berhaji Di Masa Kolonial*.

⁷ Kempen, *Republik Indonesia Propinsi Sulawesi* (Jakarta: Kementerian Penerangan, 1952).

⁸ Henri Chambert-Loir, *Naik Haji Di Masa Silam: Kisah-Kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji, 1482-1964* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2019).

Result and Discussion

1. Regulations for Hajj in 1947

December 1946 marked an unforgettable period in Indonesian history, particularly for the people of South Sulawesi. During that time, the Depot Speciale Troepen, led by Captain Raymond Westerling, unleashed violence in South Sulawesi. Concurrently, a conference was held in Denpasar, resulting in the formation of the East Indonesian State (Negara Indonesia Timur or NIT). The NIT government became effective in 1947, and it provided opportunities for Muslims to perform the Hajj pilgrimage.

The implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage after Indonesia's independence did indeed commence in 1946. According to a news article in the *Pandji Rakjat* newspaper (August 17, 1948), approximately 100 individuals had already departed for the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca in 1946 using Dutch-owned ships, and the pilgrims came from the areas under Dutch control in Indonesia. At that time, the Republic of Indonesia government had not yet provided Hajj ships for the pilgrimage.

The departure of Hajj pilgrims from South Sulawesi in 1947 is indeed noteworthy, as mentioned above, in the context of the Special Forces led by Westerling wreaking havoc in South Sulawesi. They carried out massacres against the people residing in the four afdeling (administrative divisions), namely Afdeling Makassar, Bantaeng, Pare-Pare, and Mandar, based on the declaration of a state of emergency issued by the Netherlands during the war.

Although massacres occurred in the four afdeling (Makassar, Bantaeng, Pare-Pare, and Mandar) in South Sulawesi, when the NIT was formed, the government still allocated Hajj quotas for these four afdeling. This fact provides an important lesson that the Hajj pilgrimage became a propaganda tool for the Dutch to gain sympathy from the Muslim community in East Indonesia. It appears that the Dutch were less concerned about the negative impact of organizing the Hajj pilgrimage, even though they were in conflict with the government of the Republic of Indonesia.

Based on the report from *Pandji Rakjat* (August 17, 1948), the number of Hajj pilgrims from East Indonesia in 1947 was reported to be 4,020 individuals. These pilgrims were facilitated by the Dutch government, which resulted in negative perceptions being attributed to them by nationalist-republican groups. For example, Zein Hassan, the chairman of the Indonesian Independence Association in the Middle East, referred to them as "Haji NICA"⁹. However, it's important to note that this negative designation was specific to the year 1947.

The largest number of Hajj pilgrims departed in 1947 came from South Sulawesi, totaling 1,482 individuals. This includes 489 pilgrims from Afdeling Makassar, 101 pilgrims from Afdeling Bantaeng, 409 pilgrims from Afdeling Bone, 407 pilgrims from Afdeling Pare-Pare, 81 pilgrims from Afdeling Mandar, and 4 pilgrims from Afdeling Luwu. Literature published by the Ministry of Information not only provides the overall number of pilgrims from South Sulawesi but also categorizes them by gender and age. Out of the total 1,482 individuals, there were 1,041 male pilgrims and 441 female pilgrims. Looking at the age categories, there were 1,195 adult pilgrims and 287 children.¹⁰

Although 1,482 Hajj pilgrims were successfully sent from South Sulawesi, which was one of the regions with the highest number of pilgrims, there were still applicants who were rejected. This rejection occurred due to two main reasons: the allocated quota did not match the number of applicants, and some applicants were rejected due to health reasons. The failure of Muslims to perform the Hajj pilgrimage led Z. Abidin, the Wd. Kalief of Tana Toraja, to send a letter dated May 6, 1948, to the Chairman of the High Council of Tana Toraja in Malake. The opening paragraph of the letter contained criticism of the 1947 Hajj regulations, which were deemed disorganized.¹¹ This criticism focused on the allocation of quotas given by the government to each afdeling, where Luwu only received four quotas, which were designated for Muslims from Palopo, neglecting the fact that Tana Toraja also falls under Afdeling Luwu.

⁹ M Zein Hassan, *Diplomasi Revolusi Indonesia Di Luar Negeri* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1980), 171.

¹⁰ Kempen, *Republik Indonesia Propinsi Sulawesi*, 615.

¹¹ Arsip Tana Toraja No. 1416.

The success of sending Hajj pilgrims from South Sulawesi was closely related to the mass killings carried out by the Westerling forces, which eliminated any guerrilla activities by the fighters and contributed to the overall stability. Alongside this success, in July 1947, KH Hasyim Asy'ari prohibited Muslims from performing the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca due to the unsafe conditions in the country. He believed that the Dutch were using the Hajj pilgrimage as a means to deceive Indonesian Muslims. Therefore, the implementation of the fifth pillar of Islam was temporarily prohibited.¹² If Fogg only mentioned the prohibition without specifying the legal basis for the Hajj pilgrimage during that period, based on the fatwa issued by KH Hasyim Asy'ari, Mursyidi and Sumuran Harahap state that KH Hasyim Asy'ari declared it haram (forbidden) to perform the Hajj pilgrimage, as follows:

Haram bagi umat Islam Indonesia meninggalkan tanah air dalam keadaan musuh menyerang untuk menjajah dan merusak agama. Karena itu tidak wajib pergi haji dimana berlaku fardhu 'ain bagi umat Islam dalam keadaan melakukan perang melawan penjajah bangsa dan agama.¹³

It is forbidden for Indonesian Muslims to leave the homeland when the enemy is attacking with the intention to colonize and undermine the religion. Therefore, it is not obligatory to perform the Hajj pilgrimage when there is a duty of self-defense against foreign invaders who are hostile to both the nation and the religion.

In line with the aforementioned fatwa, a prohibition on performing the Hajj pilgrimage also came from Egypt. The returning pilgrims to South Sulawesi brought with them a propaganda article titled "Haram Naik Hadji Djika Menjebabkan Fitnah dan Perpetjahan Dikalangan Kaum Muslimin" (It is Forbidden to Perform the Hajj Pilgrimage if it Causes Discord and Division among Muslims). This article originated from a question posed by the chairman of the Indonesian Independence Association to the Fatwa Council of Al Azhar, Egypt, Abdul Madjid Selim. Here are some of his responses:

Djika penduduk sesuatu negeri Islam atau sesuatu daerah di dunia Islam sedang mengerdjakan kepentingan agama atau kebangsaan dan djika diketahui, bahwa keluarja seseorang atau segerombolan dari mereka untuk hadji akan mendjadikan fitnah atau akan mendatangkan kelemahan dan pertikaian, jang akan menjebabkan kerusakan dan perpetjahan terhadap persatuan, serta akan mendatangkan kekatjauan diantara penduduk jang mereka tinggalkan, maka: Tidak sjak lagi bahwa haramlah hukumnja orang jang keluar untuk naik hadji itu.¹⁴

If the inhabitants of a certain Islamic country or a certain region in the Islamic world are engaged in religious or national interests, and if it is known that the departure of an individual or a group from among them for Hajj will lead to fitnah (discord) or cause weakness and conflict, which may result in damage and prolongation of disunity, and will lead to suspicion among the inhabitants they leave behind, then it is no longer permissible for those individuals to embark on the Hajj pilgrimage

Despite facing criticism from pro-republic nationalist groups, the various fatwas did not halt the departure of Hajj pilgrims from areas under Dutch control, particularly in South Sulawesi, which was part of the NIT (East Indonesian State). As mentioned earlier, the negative designation of "Haji NICA" no longer applied to the pilgrims participating in the Hajj pilgrimage, and the fatwa prohibiting the Hajj did not apply in 1948 due to the recognition of the legitimacy of the NIT. The essence of this recognition was as follows: (1) The NIT had established a state with the necessary state apparatus to pursue its aspirations towards the Sovereign and

¹² Kevin W. Fogg, *Revolusi Islam Pada Masa Revolusi Indonesia* (Jakarta: Naura, 2020), 112.

¹³ Mursyidi and Sumuran Harahap, *Lintasan Sejarah Perjalanan Jemaah Haji Indonesia* (Jakarta: Mars 26, 1984), 28.

¹⁴ Arsip Sulawesi (Rahasia) No. 734.

Democratic State of the United States of Indonesia (NIS), (2) the people and governments of both the RI and NIT were actively working towards building a prosperous and secure homeland, (3) cooperation between the government and people of the Republic of Indonesia and the government and people of the NIT to achieve the aspirations of the Indonesian people, (4) the Republic government recognized the NIT as a state within the NIS.¹⁵

2. Regulations for Hajj in 1948

The departure of Hajj pilgrims in 1948 serves as evidence that there were no significant impacts from the previous fatwa prohibiting the Hajj pilgrimage. The NIT government allocated a quota of 3,000 spots¹⁶, with 1,500 spots allocated for the Residency of South Sulawesi, which remained the highest number compared to other residencies within the NIT region. The Hajj quota for Bali and Lombok was 525 spots, while for Timor, Sumbawa, Sumba, and Flores it was 475 spots. Sangir, Talaud, Minahasa, North and Central Sulawesi had a quota of 200 spots, North Maluku had 150 spots, and South Maluku had 50 spots.¹⁷ Despite South Sulawesi having the highest number of allocated spots, there were still rejections for prospective Hajj pilgrims due to the quotas being filled or the applicants not meeting the necessary qualifications to be selected as pilgrims for that year.

The number of applicants in the previous year was not proportional to the allocated quota, which led the government to provide an opportunity for the Hajj pilgrimage in 1948 by issuing priority rules for those who failed to perform the Hajj in 1947. This included individuals who had either not made their payment yet but were rejected due to full quotas, or those who had registered their names. Priority was given to kings and Islamic officials who intended to perform the Hajj pilgrimage.¹⁸ Granting priority to these last two groups clearly applied a discriminatory policy towards ordinary people who did not hold positions. However, this decision was not without basis, as it seemed to be a policy of inclusion to prevent them from voicing opposition to the newly-formed state.

Although the NIT government issued priority rules, those who fell under these special regulations still had to meet the criteria set by the NIT government in screening the applicants for Hajj pilgrims:

- 1) Prohibited from performing the pilgrimage:
 - a. Men who are concerned that their wives may take wrongful actions if left without a mahram (male guardian) to accompany them.
 - b. Women who are not accompanied by their husbands or individuals believed to be capable of inflicting harm or suffering upon them.
- 2) Not obligated to perform the pilgrimage:
 - a. Individuals who have already performed the Hajj pilgrimage.
 - b. Children (especially young children who are not able to be separated from their mothers).
 - c. Elderly individuals who are unable to take care of themselves.
- 3) Due to other reasons such as:
 - a. Pregnant women who may give birth during the journey.
 - b. Individuals who are sick (following the advice of a doctor).
 - c. Due to certain other reasons (based on the wisdom and considerations of the government).¹⁹

If we examine the criteria mentioned above, there are at least two aspects that need to be criticized. Firstly, the part regarding individuals who have already performed the Hajj pilgrimage and secondly, the inclusion of young children who cannot be separated from their parents. The priority given to religious officials contradicts the criteria set for selecting Hajj pilgrims. One literature published by the Ministry of Information provides information on the

¹⁵ Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung, *Dari Negara Indonesia Timur Ke Republik Indonesia Serikat* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1985), 362–63.

¹⁶ Arsip Tana Toraja No. 222

¹⁷ Arsip Tana Toraja No. 222.

¹⁸ Arsip Tana Toraja No. 222.

¹⁹ Arsip Tana Toraja No. 222

number of Hajj pilgrims and a list of names of the officials included in it. In the departure of 1948, the names of two qadhis (Islamic judges) and one prosecutor were mentioned: H. Ma'mum (Qadhi of Mamuju), H. Abdurrahim (Qadhi of Maros), and H. Zainuddin (Prosecutor of Pare-Pare).²⁰ Despite having already performed the Hajj pilgrimage, they were still included in the pilgrimage for that year.

The participation of the two qadhis and the prosecutor may be attributed to two factors. Firstly, their privileged positions as qadhis and a prosecutor might have allowed them to bypass the criteria of not being obligated to perform the Hajj pilgrimage. Secondly, it appears that the local government and the residency had a lax application of the criteria in selecting and determining the eligible Hajj pilgrims. Regardless of the reasons, granting privileges to the king and religious officials clearly disadvantaged other applicants.

The situation regarding allowing parents to bring their children poses its own challenges. Apart from the different weather conditions in the Arabian land compared to their hometowns, the children also have to experience the limited space during the journey. Not only the number of pilgrims, but also the personal belongings contribute to the cramped conditions on the ship. This can be seen in the report by Husain Thaha (Chairman of the temporary working committee for Hajj affairs on the Tawali ship, departing from the Port of Makassar on August 17, 1948) who wrote from Jakarta on August 22, 1948.

Dengan ini maka djoemlah tjalon2 Hadji dikapal "Tawali" meningkat mendjadi 1337 orang semoeanja.... Meskipoen dikapal terdapat peratoeran bahwa boeat tiap2 orang dengan barang2nja hanja disediakan tempat jang loeasnja 200 x 75 cm, tetapi roepanja peratoeran ini tak diketahoei oleh para penoempang jang naik di Ampenan, sebab kelihatan mereka banjak jang membawa peti2 (sehara) jang besar2, sehingga dengan seketika djoega roeangan dikapal mendjadi sempit karenanja.²¹

With this, the number of Hajj tickets on the ship "Tawali" increased to 1337 people at once. Although there is a regulation on the ship that each person with their belongings is only provided with a space of 200 x 75 cm, this regulation was not known to the passengers who boarded in Ampenan. Many of them were seen carrying large boxes, causing the space on the ship to suddenly become cramped.

On the other hand, KH Abdussamad performed the Hajj pilgrimage in that year using the Prometheus ship, which carried over 1,000 pilgrims. In his notes, he advised all parents who had not yet performed the Hajj pilgrimage but planned to do so in the following year, not to include their children under the age of 14. He emphasized that Hajj is not obligatory for children, and if they perform it, it holds no significance. It is a pity because they are still young and would have to endure hardships that do not correspond to the rewards. Once they reach the age of maturity (akil baligh), it becomes obligatory for them to perform the Hajj pilgrimage.²²

In contrast, the number of Hajj pilgrims in 1948 increased compared to the previous year, yet there were still rejections of prospective pilgrims. The allocated quota of 1,500 spots was insufficient to accommodate the high number of applicants. A total of 1,664 pilgrims were dispatched from South Sulawesi, representing various regions within the province. The breakdown of pilgrims by region is as follows: 384 pilgrims from Makassar, 411 pilgrims from Pare-Pare, and Bone had the highest number of pilgrims with a total of 609. Mandar ranked fourth with 188 pilgrims, followed by Bantaeng with 56 pilgrims, and Luwu with 16 pilgrims.²³

The new regulations not only included the priority given to applicants who had failed to perform Hajj in the previous year but also changes in the payment of Hajj expenses. In the guidance for Hajj affairs issued by the Minister of Social Affairs, Mr. S. S Pelenkahu, dated May 8, 1948, and in a radio speech by M. Sjafei, the Deputy Minister of Social Affairs, dated June 3, 1948

²⁰ Kempen, *Republik Indonesia Propinsi Sulawesi*, 625.

²¹ *Indonesia Timoer*, 26 Agustus 1949

²² Chambert-Loir, *Naik Haji Di Masa Silam: Kisah-Kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji, 1482-1964*, 707).

²³ Kempen, *Republik Indonesia Propinsi Sulawesi*, 616-17.

²⁴, it was stated that the payment of Hajj expenses in 1948 could only be made through two institutions, namely AVB (People's General Bank) and HPB (local government). Therefore, pilgrims who had failed to perform Hajj in the previous year and were prioritized to perform Hajj in 1948 had to retrieve their travel expenses if they had already deposited them with the Factory, Kongsu Tiga, Hajj Safety Management Board, or other institutions, and then transfer them to AVB or HPB. In South Sulawesi, AVB offices were located in three areas: Makassar, Pare-Pare, and Sengkang. ²⁵ The policy of designating only AVB and HPB as payment centers aimed to streamline the administrative process and reduce its complexity.

3. Regulations for Hajj in 1949

One significant difference between the areas controlled by the Dutch and the territory of the Republic of Indonesia was the organization of Hajj pilgrimage. While the State of East Indonesia in 1947 and 1948 was able to send Hajj pilgrims, it was different in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, where the organization of Hajj pilgrimage was not possible. The Dutch military, eager to bring an end to the newly formed republic, launched two military aggressions against the RI territory - known in Indonesian history as the Dutch Military Aggression I and II. The consequences of these aggressions allowed the Dutch to establish new governments separate from the Republic of Indonesia, such as the formation of the State of East Sumatra in December 1947, followed by the Federal District of Batavia (August 11, 1948), Central Java (March 2, 1949), and Tapanuli. ²⁶ Similar to the NIT, these Dutch-created states also had to govern their societies and provide opportunities for religious practices.

During the NIT period, the Residency of South Sulawesi sent the largest number of pilgrims compared to other regions. In 1947, a total of 1,482 pilgrims were sent, and in 1948, there was an increase with 1,664 pilgrims being dispatched. ²⁷ Despite receiving the highest quota, there were still applicants classified on the waiting list. This is the reason why regions outside of South Sulawesi also requested an increase in the quota for Hajj pilgrims. The South Sulawesi government requested a quota of 7,800 places, Manado requested 330 places, South Maluku requested 280 places, Timor and its surrounding islands requested 720 places, and Bali/Lombok requested 2,800 places. ²⁸

The disappointment was inevitable when the requested quota for South Sulawesi was drastically reduced. Despite requesting a quota of 7,800 places, the actual allocated quota was only 750 places. Other regions also experienced reductions in their quotas. Manado, for example, received only 125 places, while North Maluku, without submitting a request, was allocated 25 places. South Maluku received 100 places, Timor and its surrounding islands received 200 places, Lombok received 250 places, and Bali received 25 places. This reduction in quotas was not limited to South Sulawesi but was applied across the entire NIT region. The decrease can be attributed to the establishment of new regions by the Dutch, allowing them the opportunity to practice their religion as well. ²⁹

In the Hajj pilgrimage, although the initial quota given by the NIT government to the Residency of South Sulawesi was 750 places, the recorded departure showed a total of 925 pilgrims. These pilgrims came from six divisions, with Afdeling Bone sending the largest number of pilgrims, totaling 259 individuals. Afdeling Makassar followed closely with 254 pilgrims, while Afdeling Pare-Pare, Mandar, Bantaeng, and Luwu had 205, 128, 65, and 14 pilgrims, respectively. ³⁰

The reduction in the number of available spots for the Hajj pilgrimage led the NIT government to make a decision in 1949. This decision stated that children would no longer be

²⁴ Arsip Tana Toraja No. 222

²⁵ Arsip Tana Toraja No. 1416

²⁶ R Z Leirissa, *Kekuatan Ketiga Dalam Perjuangan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sejarah, 2006), 115–16.

²⁷ Kempen, *Republik Indonesia Propinsi Sulawesi*, 615–17.

²⁸ Arsip Wajo No. 124

²⁹ Arsip Wajo No. 124

³⁰ Kempen, *Republik Indonesia Propinsi Sulawesi*, 218.

included in the pilgrimage, and all allocated quotas would be reserved for adults. Additionally, the priority given to those who had failed to perform the Hajj in the previous year was abolished.³¹ This decision clearly disadvantaged those who had failed to perform the Hajj in the previous year and were on the waiting list. It is possible that these individuals faced another year of waiting or were unable to perform the Hajj in 1949.

Orang2 jang telah mendjual harta bendanja ini adalah terutama mereka jang telah dua tahun didaftarkan namanja sebab mereka telah merasa yakin akan mendapat kesempatan naik Hadji pada tahun ini, sehingga pada mereka tiada lagi keragu2an untuk mendjual barang-barangnja....Dipertimbangkan pada P.Tuan kiranja golongan ini bisa diberi kesempatan terdahulu (voorang) pada kesempatan naik Hadji tahun jang akan datang.³²

The people who have sold their possessions are mainly those whose names have been registered for two years because they already feel confident that they will get the opportunity to ascend to Hadji this year, so that they no longer have any doubts about selling their goods.... It is considered by Mr. Sir that this group may be given the opportunity earlier (voorang) to have the opportunity to ascend to Hadji next year.

The rule changes in 1949 not only affected the two aspects mentioned above, but also the registration process itself. In contrast to previous years, applicants were now required to submit an application to the NIT government's religious affairs department, which would then be forwarded to the HVK cabinet for Islamic affairs in Jakarta.³³ An example of such an application letter can be seen in the letter from Mapparimang, a resident of Tana Toraja, dated May 1, 1949, addressed to the Head of the Tana Toraja Kingdom Government. The letter consists of a list of names, ages, occupations, and readiness to participate in the Hajj pilgrimage. The applicants emphasized their willingness to sell their belongings in order to be given the opportunity to perform the Hajj in that year.³⁴

The requirement for submitting applications was actually implemented in the early years of the pilgrimage, but it only applied to government employees. Those who were government employees had to submit a leave application accompanied by a reason for taking leave. This can be seen, for example, in the leave application from Muhammad Opu, who held the position of Opu Bonto Bangun from Selayar. He requested a six-month leave and during his absence, he would be replaced by H. Ahmad Raja Pincara Karaeng Bontosunggu.³⁵ According to the rules, government employees outside of Java and Madura were granted a maximum of four months³⁶ of leave, so it is clear that Muhammad Opu's application was rejected because it exceeded the prescribed leave duration, in addition to the fact that the Hajj pilgrimage typically lasts no more than two months in the Arabian Peninsula.

The application process seems to also serve as a registration stage, where after registering, the prospective Hajj pilgrims will be provided with a referral letter for a medical examination by a local doctor. The results of the medical examination serve as the basis for the government to determine whether the applicants are eligible or not to participate in the 1949 Hajj pilgrimage. After the screening process to determine the eligibility of individuals to participate in the 1949 Hajj pilgrimage, a lottery is conducted to select the names of the applicants. At this stage, all names are drawn without any special privileges, as the criteria for prioritization have been eliminated due to the limited quota. This clearly gives an advantage to new applicants and disadvantages those who applied in previous years.

³¹ Arsip Selayar No. 746

³² Arsip Bone No. 768

³³ Arsip Wajo No. 124

³⁴ Arsip Tana Toraja No. 1416

³⁵ Arsip Selayar No. 764

³⁶ Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie 1912 No. 198.

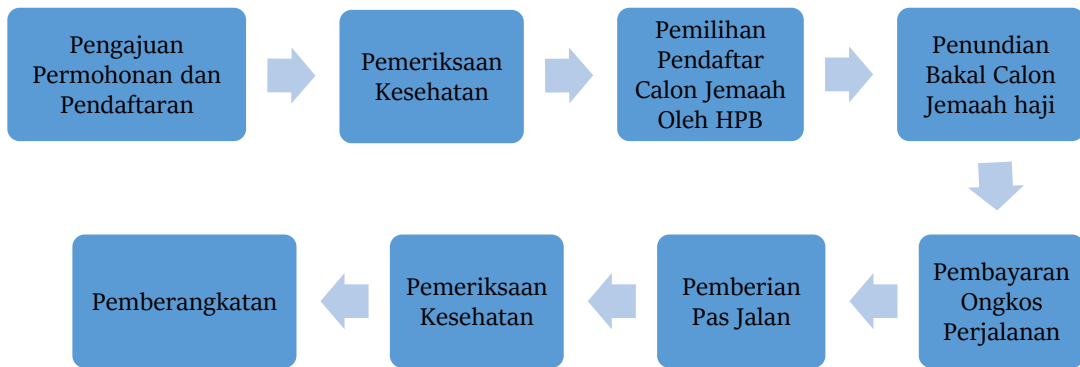


Figure 1: The Registration-to-Departure Flow of Hajj Pilgrims in 1949

The process of drawing the names of the applicants was done by including the names of individuals - if they registered with their families - so that if a person's name was drawn, it meant their family members were also included. The names that were drawn were arranged in numerical order, and the departures were organized according to this numerical order. For example, if there were only 100 spots available, the first 100 names drawn would be selected for departure. The selected applicants then proceeded to make the payment and were issued a travel pass. This was different from the previous year when the travel pass was issued before making the payment. The issuance of the travel pass in 1949 indicated that the individual was eligible to depart as they had completed the payment. After receiving the travel pass, a health examination was conducted, and the pilgrims awaited their scheduled departure.

4. Regulations for Hajj in 1950

The achievement of the Round Table Conference in 1949 resulted in the formation of the United States of Indonesia, with the Republic of Indonesia being one of the countries within it. The departure of Hajj pilgrims in 1950 marked the first year for Muslims in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia to perform the Hajj pilgrimage after independence. The implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage in 1950 was allocated a quota of 10,000 places to be distributed among all regions in Indonesia. The NIT (Netherlands East Indies Territory) was allocated a quota of 1,500 places, while West Java was allocated 2,200 places, Central Java 1,900 places, East Java 2,100 places, Central Sumatra and South Sumatra 500 places each, Aceh Residency 300 places, Tapanuli 200 places, West Kalimantan 180 places, South-East Kalimantan 400 places, and East Kalimantan 150 places. The allocation for South Sulawesi was 650 places.³⁷

Despite the reduction in the allocated quota, the actual departure of Hajj pilgrims still exceeded the initial quota given. In the 1950 departure, South Sulawesi sent a total of 782 pilgrims, with the breakdown as follows: 294 pilgrims from Makassar, 48 pilgrims from Bantaeng, 156 pilgrims from Pare-Pare, 183 pilgrims from Bone, 92 pilgrims from Mandar, and 9 pilgrims from Luwu.³⁸

³⁷ Arsip Tana Toraja No. 1416

³⁸ Kempen, *Republik Indonesia Propinsi Sulawesi*, 620.

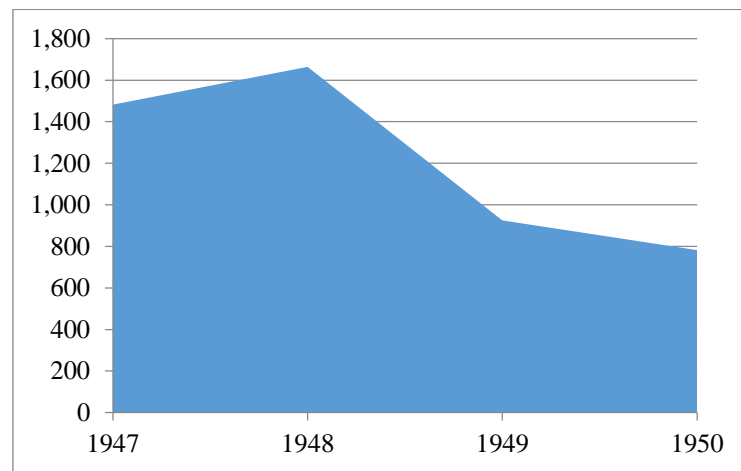


Figure 2 Graphic of pilgrims from the Residency of South Sulawesi 1947-1950

The departure regulations in 1950 underwent several changes compared to 1949. Some of the notable changes include: (1) In 1949, applicants had to submit their applications first and then undergo a medical examination, whereas in 1950, the medical examination was conducted prior to submitting the application. (2) In the screening process of prospective pilgrims, intelligence was considered, which posed a difficulty for applicants who lacked knowledge in Islamic matters, particularly regarding Hajj. (3) The issuance of travel permits (*pas jalan*) was given before making the payment. (4) For the selected lottery winners, the payment for the Hajj pilgrimage in 1950 was only accepted in Makassar. This policy could pose a challenge for prospective pilgrims residing far from Makassar, such as those from Selayar or Afdeling Buton.

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Conclusion

The implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage during the era of the State of East Indonesia was a prominent and easily recognizable activity. This was because only the regions under Dutch control were allowed to perform the pilgrimage. The government of the State of East Indonesia issued various regulations to provide opportunities for Muslims to participate in the Hajj pilgrimage. These regulations not only involved changes in the quota allocation, as observed in the case of the Residency of South Sulawesi from 1947 to 1950, but also alterations in the registration and departure processes for prospective pilgrims. These changes were influenced by the social and political conditions of the time.

The social aspect is evident from the high number of applicants exceeding the allocated quota, leading to rejections or placement of applicants on waiting lists. This necessitated the NIT government to make annual changes to its regulations. On the other hand, the political aspect came into play with the inclusion of newly controlled territories by the Dutch, which resulted in the need for them to receive their own quota for the Hajj pilgrimage. This had an impact on other regions that had been sending pilgrims earlier, leading to a reduction in the allocated quotas, as seen in the case of the State of East Indonesia. As a result, the NIT government had to review and adjust the regulations to accommodate the prevailing conditions. These two aspects are intertwined and influenced the issued regulations.

This study only focuses on South Sulawesi. Therefore, a more in-depth investigation is needed to examine the conditions in other regions of East Indonesia to fully understand the reasons behind the changes in the rules for the implementation of Hajj. Similarly, in the regions under Dutch influence, apart from East Indonesia, a comparative study should be conducted to examine the conditions of Hajj implementation across all areas under Dutch control during the revolutionary era in Indonesia.

³⁹ Arsip Tana Toraja No. 1416.

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