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The Hajj in Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam in XIX – XX AD: A Comparison Study

ABSTRACT: Hajj is a Muslim worship service that has a broad social dimension. This annual ritual moves Muslims, who are able physically and mentally from all over the world, to come to Mecca, Saudi Arabia. This migration is a unique episode, which is examined in its historical aspect. There are changes in modes of transportation, management, motivation, and many other things, which are interesting humanitarian problems for further research. Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam are two countries that have a long history of Hajj. This article – using the qualitative approach and historical method – explained how the pilgrimage journey in the two countries took place. The comparison method is put forward to see how the two countries view the hajj. Some things that are focused on are transportation, hajj management, and motivation of pilgrims to get to Mecca. It is known, apart from the obligation of Hajj in Islam, there are a number of other factors which underlie the desire to perform Hajj, among them are to increase Islamic knowledge while increasing prestige in the community. The data presentation model put forward refers to the chronological order, by presenting findings that are supported by authoritative references. Raising the history of the Hajj to the public, as well as promoting the themes of social history. However, history is not only based on political description alone, but also expanded with social description. Human life and the problems that surround it, not continuously to fight for power, but also to live life in a broader dimension to be studied, one of which is how they can get to a distant place in order to carry out religious missions. Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam have experience about this to be able to ignite historical studies with similar themes in the future.

KEY WORDS: History of Hajj; Management of Hajj; Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam.

INTRODUCTION

Hajj is a ritual awaited by Muslims around the world. This ritual is only performed in a specified area, namely in Mecca. Therefore, the journey to Mecca is a challenge, in particular for pilgrims, who come from Southeast Asia. In the past, the choice to go to

Mecca was only available by sailboat. For this reason, ships were the most reliable means of transportation to get to the Holy Lands in Mecca and also Medina (Tagliacozzo, 2005 and 2013; Low, 2007; and Mohamad, 2013).

Sailboats circulating in the waters of the archipelago were ships that had high

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technology in their time. Since the 15th century, *Nusantara* (Indonesian/Malay archipelago) has become an important destination for world trade. The sailors and merchants, who want to go to these islands, then must be prepared with equipment that was able to hit the big waves that often trap in the middle of the journey. In addition, they already have a set of navigation knowledge, such as that of Arab sailors, in the form of the ability to see the circulation of stars and the accuracy of guessing the weather and the movement of sea water (Friedhelm, 2006; Bennett *et al.*, 2017:22-23; and Sulistiyono, Masruroh & Rochwulaningsih, 2018).

Sailing boats were also an option used by pilgrims from Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam. These two neighboring countries apparently have unique stories, and deserve to be compared. Of course, this comparison is not intended to review the weaknesses or strengths of each country, but rather a reminder to the next generation that the story of hajj can be enjoyed in different ways, in addition to aspects of faith and everything related to Islamic ritual (*cf* Pane *et al.*, 2013; Vienne, 2015; and Zulfa, 2015).

The uniqueness is increasingly felt, when discussing the social realities of the two countries in the period of European colonial occupation. It is undeniable, since the 15th century, Europeans have a high motivation to come to the *Nusantara*. They came as traders, who then made a lot of profit from the sale of various Eastern world products from the two countries. This did not necessarily make Europeans, especially British and Dutch, satisfied. On the contrary, they increasingly have more passion, wanting to establish colonies in these two countries (Reid, 2015; Booth, 2016:30-40; and Kershaw, 2018:82-102).

The desires of European powers reached their perfect form by the 19th century. Britain succeeded in making a strong influence among the people of Brunei. The British administrators became the working partners of the Sultans of Brunei, primarily in determining domestic and foreign policy. Things that should not be touched by the British concern only on Islam and customs (Ramli, 1988:246; Hussainmiya, 2006; and

Reid, 2015). On the other hand, the Dutch have also sown the seeds of supremacy over the Kings of Indonesian archipelago. Immediately, cities that were former centers of local leadership, such as Batavia (Jakarta now) in Western Java, Makassar in South Sulawesi, Medan in North Sumatera, Surabaya in East Java, and others were in their hands (Ricklefs, 2005:135-284; Woodward, 2010; and Reid, 2015).

Increasingly, European administrators have penetrated the inner spaces of Indonesians and Bruneians. Slowly, but surely, they introduced European culture and traditions, including technological advances in the form of road opening, railroad construction, and port modernization (Ricklefs, 2005; Reid, 2015; and Mrázek, 2018:20-50). Sailboats, that were originally the mainstay of the Indonesian/Malay archipelago to travel long distances, have been replaced by European steamers. This change increasingly found relevance, when in 1869, the Suez Canal in Egypt was opened. This sea lane is a blessing for shipping entrepreneurs (Clydesdale, 2002; Hussein, 2017:527-542; and Ryad ed., 2017).

The desire for hajj from the indigenous people was taken seriously by European businessmen. They kissed this opportunity as an alternative step to get seasonal benefits. Hajj is an annual worship service, so the profit from this transportation cannot be underestimated. Moreover, the desire to make hajj among the people of Southeast Asia is quite high (Madjid, 2008:79; Ryad ed., 2017; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

Since then, the pilgrimage began to be regarded as a commodity for shipping entrepreneurs; and European governments as land that should be managed and facilitated. This also underlies the historical thinking of Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam that the pilgrimage must indeed be managed by state institutions (*cf* Ryad ed., 2017; El-Kaidi, 2018; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

METHODS

Hajj history is included in the social history. The Authors see that space is land that can be explored holistically. Hajj ritual does not only involve human affairs with

God, but also involves other humans or other human groups. The implications of the pilgrimage are not only felt privately, but have a significant impact on people's lives. It is undeniable, hajj is a social phenomenon that can be explored in a sociological perspective (cf Clingingsmith, Khwaja & Kremer, 2008; Arjana, 2019; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

The Authors also viewed the hajj as a ritual that initiates a change in a society. Changes in the terms of sociology widely spoken, and the cause of the emergence of a change. Changes that initiate change come from diverse places, including from outside the community of a society. Hajj experience are interpreted as an amazing experience. A person who is considered to have more experience and knowledge of religion compared to people who have not performed hajj. From here, the position of the pilgrimage began to be respected and characterized in the midst of the community (cf Alexseev & Zhemukhov, 2015; Hindy & Khan, 2018; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

For the sake of hajj, various public administration updates were carried out. The British and Dutch East-Hindia governments were moved to present a means of mass transportation capable of delivering pilgrims to Jeddah in Middle East. Not only that, the administration and management system of the study were considered necessary, considering the pilgrims were citizens who must went through the data collection phase, when he/she left his/her country. In the Dutch East-Hindia (Indonesia now), hajj data collection was considered important, because this was one way of photographing footage of someone's life, whether he/she adhered to the Pan-Islamism ideology that endangered the interests of the government or not (al-Ken, 1995; Low, 2007; and Ryad ed., 2017).

From the illustration above, it shows that the pilgrimage helped create revamping and renewal in the lines of people's lives. This kind of image will be discussed more in the next section.

The historical research method used refers to four research processes, namely: the collection of sources (*heuristics*), sources' criticism, interpretation, and writing of

articles, which are also the final stage of this research (Wineburg, 1991; Ogburn, 2007; Sjamsuddin, 2007; Madjid & Wahyudi, 2014:219-230; and Misbah, 2018).

The collection of resources was carried out in two countries: Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam. In Indonesia, a number of primary sources were obtained when visiting the ANRI (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia* or National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta. In this place, stored a number of archives inherited from the Dutch East-Hindia government. Several types of archives used are of type: Letters from Certain Departments; *Memorie van Overgave* (Letter of Handover Position); *Verslag* (Official Letter); and so forth.

In Brunei Darussalam, primary sources are widely available in the PERSEBAR (*Persatuan Sejarah Brunei* or Brunei Historians Association); the DBP (*Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* or Language and Literature Council) of Brunei; the Library of the UBD (University of Brunei Darussalam); and so on.

In the PERSEBAR, the Authors obtained a number of primary sources in the form of the Annual Report of the British government in Brunei. The oldest report stored here is *The Annual Report of 1912*. In the DBP of Brunei, the Authors encountered past newspapers, such as the *Pelita Brunei* (Brunei Lamps), which in the 1970-1980 edition gave a great deal of coverage of the pilgrimage departing at the end of the use of steamers and beginning aircraft use. The Authors also visited a number of places, such as the Brunei Islamic *Da'wah* (Propagation) Center for literal sources.

Geospatial sources were obtained when visiting the *Tambatan Kastam Diraja* (Waterfront of Royal Customs), located opposite Kampong Ayer in Brunei Darussalam. This location was a place of departure for pilgrims to Labuan Island in Sabah, Malaysia, during the use of steamships.

Haji Awang Asbol bin Haji Mail (2019), a research fellow in Brunei Darussalam, and other scholars, said that they still remembered that they took their grandfather on a pilgrimage to Labuan using the Sultan's Boat from *Tambatan Kastam Diraja's* Brunei

River, which was the main route leading to inland, witnessing the departure of Brunei's pilgrims. Nowadays, *Tambatan Kastam Diraja* has changed to a water tourism location in Kampong Ayer, Brunei Darussalam (Kane, 2016; Yit & Dhont, 2016; and Mail, 2019).

The sources that have been collected are, then, verified and grouped into primary and secondary sources. This grouping aims to facilitate the sorting of information, before entering the next phase of internal and external criticism (Kuntowijoyo, 1999; Sjamsuddin, 2007; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2014).

Dutch and British colonial archives sources, in general, have escaped internal criticism. The information contained therein is almost nothing that violates the general knowledge of the history of the two countries. The editorial differences between one source and another are still reasonable. The Dutch language archives stored at the ANRI in Jakarta are still in the form of old sheets; and in some parts, they have been torn, perforated, or weathered. But, at least, the findings of the other archives are still worth reading (Lohanda, 1998; Sjamsuddin, 2007; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2014).

Meanwhile, the British archive at the PERSEBAR in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam has been reproduced in media typed through typewriters. In other words, this is a text derived from the original. Some of the newspapers stored in the DBP of Brunei are still in their original condition, some are copied. Some sources, which are reproductive results, do not qualify for external criticism, but the information contained therein is still taken as material for analysis (Mail, 2015; Mail & Suwirta, 2018; and Bakar & Mail, 2019).

Interpretation of the findings that have been collected is the next step. In this phase, the information is grouped in the discussion that has been set. The chronological flow is constructed, so that the information collected is bound by the backbone in the form of time information (Madjid & Wahyudi, 2014; Subrahmanyam, 2015:126-137; and Misbah, 2018).

If we do not find the accuracy of the year number, then, the century information can be

presented from a past event. Interpretation is also interpreted as the Authors' assessment of a number of information that has been found, including the scientific debate surrounding it between one opinion with another opinion, or between sources cited by the Authors' own evaluation (Sjamsuddin, 2007; Madjid & Wahyudi, 2014; and Mohajan, 2018).

Lastly, after the information and analysis are put in order and categorized as discussion material, the final step is historiography, which is in the form of writing this article (Howell & Prevenier, 2001; Sjamsuddin, 2007; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2014).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Southeast Asia is a group of islands surrounded by a large ocean. Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean become two water giants that embrace this group of islands. To get to one place, *Nusantara* (Indonesian/Malay Archipelago)'s people, including Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam in the future, have unique and endemic skills to be able to conquer the challenges of nature in the form of large waves in the ocean. The device used to pass that wave is a strong and sturdy sailing ship. The tropical country is a paradise for various large plants, whose wood can be used as raw material for shipbuilding. For both in Indonesia and Brunei, it has abundant wood reserves to form a reliable means of transporting sea water (Friedhelm, 2006; Reid, 2015; and Evers, 2016).

In addition, the *Nusantara*'s people also knows shipping and navigation technology from people, who come from abroad. The Arabs, for example, were accomplished sea explorers, who had succeeded in reaching the ports of *Nusantara* in the interests of trade and the spread of Islam. They have a distinctive form of ship, which is also capable of crashing waves and surviving storms. From them, it seems that there is also a transfer of nautical knowledge, at least they will also provide a ride for *Nusantara*'s people, who want to travel far to Arab lands (Fealy & Hooker, 2006; Evers, 2016; and Kuipers *et al.*, 2017:25-49).

The Chinese are a nation that has expertise in shipping. Their ships are called

junk or *jonque*, a wooden sailing boat with a distinctive sail shape. Many of their *junks* leaned on the ports of the *Nusantara* also for trade purposes. In Portuguese records, it was told that the Javanese already had the form of *junk* ships that imitated the shape of Chinese *junk* (Purcell, 1947:115-125; Evers, 2016; and Blot, 2017).

The shape of Javanese *junks* was very large, because it was intended for large scale commercial commodity transportation. The similarity of *junk* models in Java and China was possible considering that many shipbuilders in the *Nusantara* were Chinese. In Lasem (East Java) and Tangerang (Banten), for example, since the 16th century, there have been many shipbuilders from China (Unjiya, 2014:60-61; Blot, 2017; and Permadi, 2019:32-60).

The need for ships also seems to be related to the life patterns of Indonesians and Bruneians, who cannot be far from water. Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in *Nusantara* can not be separated from the existence of the coast or river. The Sunda kingdom in West Java, for example, was very dependent on the existence of the Cisadane river as a trade route, as well as the Majapahit kingdom in East Java, which also dependent on the Brantas river path (Michrob, 1987; Muljana, 2005; Munoz, 2006; Zahorka, 2007; and Nugroho, 2011).

Entering the period of the Islamic kingdoms, the choice of rivers and coasts as the central locus of the city was also still visible. Cirebon in West Java, for example, was a kingdom established not far from the north coast. The legacy of the Sunyaragi Palace, which can still be seen today, as if to preach that in the past Cirebon was very dependent on rocks as palace building material; and this can also be interpreted as a close relationship with the ocean (Azra, 2006; Lombard, 2008:11-50; and Paramarini *et al.*, 2019:51-70).

Similar conditions are found in Brunei Darussalam. The early settlement of the Brunei people could not be separated from the river. Kampong Ayer, which is still escalating, is a form of old settlement of Bruneian. In the past, the Brunei palace was also established not far from water. There

was even a palace established on the water. Daily needs of many residents helped by the existence of a boat. Generally, residents in the Brunei river estuary are Brunei Malays (Nicholl ed., 2007; Bakar, 2013; and Hassan & Yong, 2019).

In the interior, there are a number of other tribal clans, including residents of Brunei. There is a group of people called *orang dusun* (hamlets or indigenous people). *Orang dusun* live in one big house, where there are more than ten families. Tribal leaders are usually characterized by more spacious rooms. The people of the village depend their lives by planting rice and so on. In addition to *orang dusun*, there are also *Dyak* (in Indonesia called *Dayak*), who live in the jungle area. They are portrayed in a well-built person and when they walk they are very alert and at first glance show a fierce face. In the eyes of Europeans, including the British, the *Dyak* were known to behead their opponents (Gudgeon, 1913:22-26; Setyawan, 2010; and Walker, 2010).

Both Indonesians and Bruneians, when they desire to make the pilgrimage, will use a sailboat. The sailing ship used was of course already prepared for a long journey and certainly made of strong wood. Pilgrimage to a sailing ship was a difficulty. Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir al-Munsi (1796-1854), a modern Malay writer, described his experience on the Hajj with a sailboat in 1854. He was the last group of pilgrims before the sailing ship was replaced with a steamship. On a voyage approaching Tanjung Gamri (Sri Lanka), his ship was hit by a storm (Ahmad, 1981; Porter & Saif eds., 2013; and Flecker, 2015).

Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir al-Munsi, according to Kassim Ahmad (1981), also tells the situation at that time, as follows:

Allah, Allah, Allah! Tidaklah dapat hendak dikhabarkan bagaimana kesusahannya dan bagaimana besar gelombangnya, melainkan Allah yang amat mengetahuinya. Rasanya hendak masuk ke dalam perut ibu kembali; gelombang dari kiri lepas ke kanan, dan yang dari kanan lepas ke kiri. Maka segala barang-barang dan peti-peti dan tikar bantal berpelantingan. Maka sampailah kami ke dalam kurung air bersemburan, habislah kami basah kuyup.

Maka masing-masing dengan halnya, tiadalah lain dalam fikiran kami melainkan mati. Maka hilang-hilanglah kapal sebesar itu dihempaskan gelombang. Maka rasanya gelombang itu terlebih tinggi dari pada pucuk tiang kapal. Maka sembahyang sampai duduk berpegang. Maka jikalau dalam kurung itu tiadalah boleh dikhabarkan bunyi muntah dan kencing, melainkan segala kelasi selalu memegang bomba. Maka air pun selalu masuk juga ke dalam kapal. [...].

Maka pada ketika itu hendaklah kami menangis pun tiadalah berair mata, melainkan masing-masing keringlah bibir. Maka berbahagialah berteriak akan nama Allah dan Rasul kerana Kepulauan Gamri itu, kata mualimnya, sudah termashur ditakuti orang: "Kamu sekalian pintalah doa kepada Allah, karena tiap-tiap tahun di sinilah beberapa kapal yang hilang, tiadalah mendapat namanya lagi, tiada hidup bagi seorang, ah, ah, ah!" (in Ahmad, 1981:24).

Translation:

Oh my God, my God, my God! It cannot be said how difficult it is and how big the waves are, but God knows better. It felt like I was going to go back inside my mother's stomach; waves from left hit to right, and the one from right hit to left. So all the things, crates and cushion mats scattered. We arrived at an atmosphere where water poured over us until we were wet. At that time, we thought maybe this was what faced death. Our ship was lost by the waves. Look, the incoming wave is higher than the mast. Prayer is done by holding. Vomiting and urinating also scattered. Water in and out of the ship. [...]

Our eyes cry, our lips dry. Gamri Islands are already known to have unfriendly water, according to shipwreck: "There is no way to obtain salvation other than praying in the name of God and His Prophet. A lot of ships sank here, every year. The ship is no longer named and does not see life anymore, ah, ah, ah!"

From the illustration above, we get a picture of how the pilgrimage is considered as a hard journey. In Indonesia and in Brunei Darussalam, there is a belief that going to hajj is like a journey to death. This is based on the frequent news of grief that comes, when the pilgrimage season arrives. Many of the pilgrims, who died in the Holy Land for various reasons. For this reason, those who survived to the country will be greeted with fanfare. Prayer and happiness will accompany the early days of the pilgrims coming to their hometown (Porter & Saif eds., 2013; Tagliacozzo, 2013; Dijk & Kaptein eds., 2016; Tagliacozzo & Toorawa eds., 2016; and Madjid

& Wahyudi, 2020).

In two countries, Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam, there is a belief that the experience of hajj, besides being considered a religious obligation, is also a sign of an increase in one's social status. There will be differences for people, who have and have not performed the hajj. Pilgrims will have the title of *Haji* for men and *Hajjah* for women in front of their names. They are considered as figures, who at least have deeper religious knowledge than ordinary citizens. The white cap that they wear either during worship in a mosque or a *langgar* (little mosque), or in daily activities, is a sign that they have been to Mecca. In community meetings or meetings, their opinions will be heard and carried out (Clingingsmith, Khwaja & Kremer, 2008; Chitwood, 2019; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

When the two countries, Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam, were occupied by the colonial powers, namely Britain and Netherlands, there was a big change in the management of the pilgrimage. In Indonesia, initially, the Dutch saw the pilgrimage as a brainwashing journey that would print the pilgrims as rebel agents. There were countless social unrest in the Dutch East-Indies that occurred, due to religious experts and pilgrimage. Two important episodes in Indonesian history, such as the Java War led by Diponegoro Prince (1825-1830) and the riots in Cilegon or *Geger Cilegon* in Banten (1888) were driven by pilgrims and religious experts. Due to the emergence of such rebellions, hajj is considered as a carrier of problems to watch out for, even initially they restricted the departure of native people who wanted to Mecca (Kartodirdjo, 1984:180-200; Carey, 2015:10-20; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

In contrast, in Brunei Darussalam, the British Resident and the Sultan of Brunei agreed to form a joint government. The British were allowed to manage Brunei's natural resources, such as coal on the island of Labuan and petroleum in Seria, as well as provide advice on important royal decisions. The official of the Sultanate of Brunei only requested that Britain not interfere in the religious affairs and customs of Brunei. In addition, Britain was also willing to

provide hajj services by procuring a hajj transportation in the form of steamships. The pilgrimage in Brunei is relatively safe compared to Indonesia (Bakar, 2018; Mail ed., 2018; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

There was a change of mindset among the Dutch administrators, when Christian Snouck Hurgronje, as Head of *het Kantoor voor Inladsch en Arabisch Zaken* (Office of the Indigenous and Arab Affairs). Christian Snouck Hurgronje (1993 and 2006) mentioned that religious rituals practiced by Muslims in the Dutch East-Indies (Indonesia now) should not be hindered. They will show their anger if that happens, and this endangers the position of the Dutch East-Indies government in the colonies. This understanding was slowly understood by the employees of the Dutch East-Indies in addressing the religious customs of the natives. This also opened up their opportunities to initiate the management of the pilgrimage and the provision of hajj and hajj pass transportation for native Muslims, who wanted to go to Mecca (*cf* Wertheim, 1972:320-328; Hurgronje, 1993 and 2006; Madjid, 2008:13; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

The departure route for the pilgrimage to Brunei begins with *Tambatan Kastam Diraja* (Waterfront of Royal Customs) on the banks of the Brunei River near Kampong Ayer. From here, the pilgrims will be transported using medium-sized ships named *Bolkiah*, *Sultan*, *Lela Menchanal*, *Muara*, and *Sri Setia*. In addition, there is a hajj transport ship named *Pamancha*, and the accompaniment guard ship of these ships is called *Nakhoda Manis*. From here, usually pilgrims will depart for Labuan at 9 AM (*Ante Meridiem*). On Labuan Island, pilgrims will be transported by larger ships to Singapore or to Pulau Pinang in Malaysia (Tagliacozzo & Toorawa eds., 2016; Mail ed., 2018:93; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).¹

Whereas in Indonesia, the departure of pilgrims was centered from Batavia (Jakarta now). Other steamships will bring pilgrims from a number of ports, such as from Surabaya in East Java, Semarang in Central

Java, and so forth. Firstly, pilgrims must check their health on the Onrust island in northern Jakarta and then to Singapore, Colombo, Aden, the Red Sea, and Jeddah, the journey takes about six months (Ichwan, 2008; Madjid, 2008:46; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

While on the ship, Indonesian and Bruneian pilgrims fill their daily lives by praying reading the holy book of *Al-Qur'an*, listening to religious lectures, and so on (Zainal, 2017:21; Madjid, 2008; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020). In the colonial record, it was stated that Indonesian pilgrims often got rough treatment from boat sailors, whereas in the rules, the skipper and crew must provide good service (*cf* Baharudin, 2014; Ryad ed., 2017; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).² Pilgrims also often faced coercion, such as having to give tickets home at a fixed price. The incident on the ship was like the face of violence from human life itself, in addition to the tight situation, due to the suitcases of pilgrims who were laid covering the road (Low, 2007; Ichwan, 2008; Madjid, 2008:48-49; Barasheed *et al.*, 2014; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).³

Usually, in registering of hajj, both pilgrims from Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam, will use the services of the *Sheikh*. The *Sheikh* is someone who is in charge of providing knowledge about the departure of pilgrims, helping with registration, departure, and guiding pilgrims when they reach the Holy Land. The *Sheikh* is usually a native, who has wide association. He has relations with certain shipping company that provide a hajj transportation service (Gatrad & Sheikh, 2005; Madjid, 2008:60-61; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

Around the 1970s, the use of aircraft as a means of transportation for pilgrimage had begun. In Brunei Darussalam, the introduction of the aircraft as hajj

²See also, for example, "Staatblad van Nederlandsch Indie 1922, No.698". *Unpublished Dutch Record*. Available at the ANRI (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia* or National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta, p.6.

³See also "Besluit 1 June 1891, No.6". *Unpublished Dutch Record*. Available at the ANRI (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia* or National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta; and "Besluit 14 September 1884, No.4". Available at the ANRI (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia* or National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta.

¹See also, for comparison, *Pelita Brunei*, a newspaper published in Brunei, on 27th April 1966; and *Pelita Brunei*, a newspaper published in Brunei, on 25th January 1967.

transportation was carried out gradually, because many pilgrims still chose to depart by steamship (Al-Rakeiba, 1991; Yunos, 2009:201; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020). In Indonesia, for those who want to go on a pilgrimage by plane, they have to pay higher travel costs than steamships. Maybe this is also based on the availability of aircraft that is still limited (Darmadi, 2013; Utomo, 2017; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

It is different from Brunei Darussalam, which at the first time of its introduction, pilgrims prefer steamships. In Indonesia, the number of aircraft is always inadequate, even local airlines still have to borrow planes from foreign airlines. Pilgrims on planes often experience delays in departing, because the plane arrives late (Mursyidi *et al.*, 1984:181-183; Tagliacozzo, 2013; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

There are similarities in the perspective of hajj management in Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam. Hajj is a worship that must be managed by the state. In Indonesia, hajj affairs are handed over to the Ministry of Religion through the Directorate-General of Hajj and *Umrah* (Little Hajj) Management; while in Brunei Darussalam, hajj affairs are managed by the *Hal Ehwal Ugama* (Religious Affairs) Office through the Hajj Affairs Section. Both of these state institutions are responsible for providing the best hajj services for their people. Currently, both countries have also adopted a computer-based and on-line pilgrimage management system, making it easier to register and manage data on pilgrims (*cf* Mansurnoor, 2008 and 2012; Madjid, 2010; Müller, 2017; and Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020).

CONCLUSION

Hajj is an interesting chapter in the historical books of two nations, Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam. This ritual is discussed in a sociological context, which can be broken down by symptoms, one of which is social change. The status and position of someone who is on the pilgrimage is usually considered higher than those who have not yet made the pilgrimage. Therefore, pilgrims in both countries are often appointed as

community leaders, or the right people for advice on social and religious issues.

The condition of the pilgrimage in the two countries was in different conditions during the European colonial era. The British, who domiciled in Brunei, were willing to assist the Sultan of Brunei in the management of the hajj, especially in the field of procurement of transportation equipment for pilgrims to Mecca. On the other hand, the pilgrims in Indonesia were labeled as rebel agents, so that the pilgrimage in this country was synonymous with strict supervision from the government. Although in the next period, the Dutch government had realized that the assumption was not right, but strict censorship was always imposed for Muslims who want to go to Mecca.

In the current era, Hajj in both countries, in some main respects, have something in common. Both countries agree that the management of hajj should be held by the government. This is based on the understanding that the pilgrimage affairs not only involve personal affairs, but also diplomatic matters between the two countries with KSA (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia), the destination country of the pilgrims. In addition, the Authors also see a similarity that hajj employees in both countries have begun to use various renewable technologies to support effective and efficient hajj services.⁴

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⁴**Statement:** We, undersigned below, state that our paper is not product of plagiarism, not to be submitted to the other journal(s), reviewed as well as published by other scholarly journals; and finally having received, it will also not to be withdrawn by the Authors from this journal. This statement letter was made to be used by the Editor as an appropriate.

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