

## CHAPTER ONE

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# The Scope of the Study

### Objectives

This study examines questions of the historical origins and religious distinctiveness of a community in Kampung Cikoang, Takalar Regency on the south coast in the southern part of South Sulawesi. Cikoang has a population of about 8,000 people, ranked in an elaborate social hierarchy. It is in most respects a typical village in a region where all people speak the Turatea dialect of Makassarese.<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants of Kampung Cikoang claim to be Sunni Muslims following Shafi'i jurisprudence and sharing a common historical tradition. Their distinctive religious practices are the celebration of Maudu' or Maulid Nabi (Ar., In. the Birth of the Prophet Muhammad) and Pattumateang (Mak. the Purification of Dead Souls).

Social stratification is an important feature of this community. The people of Cikoang belong to one of two social strata. The first is that of the Arab Sayyid<sup>2</sup> who claim to be descendants of the Prophet through the al-'Aidid family of the Hadhramaut. They are often the *anrongguru* (Mak.) or religious specialists and teachers of the area. Sayyid is an Arabic term and the equivalent of *tuan*, or master, in Indonesian. The term Syarif meaning 'honourable' is also used while the feminine forms, Syarifah and Sayyidah refer to a lady of a Sayyid house.

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1 There are three chief dialects in Makassarese: Lakiung, Turatea (predominantly used in Takalar and Jeneponto regions) and Konjo (mostly found in Selayar Regency, Tamaona and Tabbinjai villages). See also Daeng Patunru 1983 and Mattulada 1982.

2 Nurdin et al. 1977/1978: 16–20; Hisyam 1985. See also Van den Berg 1886.

The title of Sayyid is normally attributed to the descendants of the Prophet from his grandson, Husein, the son of Ali and Fatimah, the Prophet's daughter, while Syarif refers to the descent of Hasan, their elder son.<sup>3</sup>

The second social stratum of Cikoang is that of the Jawi or the non-Sayyid. This word is perhaps derived from the Javanese term *jawa*, referring to the Javanese people and to Indonesians in general. As an Arabic word, *jawiiun* was used to refer to Indonesian pilgrims who went to Mecca in the 19th century and settled there, most of whom were Javanese.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the term Jawi for the non-Sayyid people in Cikoang might have been introduced by the Sayyid themselves to identify the local people as non-Arabs.

The Sayyid system of Cikoang is based unequivocally on descent. The strata are mutually exclusive and recruitment is by birth alone. Members of each stratum have specific attributes and roles which differentiate them from members of the other stratum. These differences are most obvious in the realms of religion and tradition. The social fabric of Kampung Cikoang is discussed further in Chapter Three.

Due to their prestigious descent, the Sayyid appear to have more power than the Jawi. Historically, they have been authorities over the Jawi people, particularly in religious and traditional terms (Hisyam 1985: 54) which has led the Cikoangese to be involved in a patron–client relationship structure. With their religious and traditional legitimacy, the Sayyid have positioned themselves as the patrons.

In the first part of this study, therefore, it has been necessary to examine the historical data of the coming of the Sayyids' ancestor, Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid, and his children to South Sulawesi and their first assimilation with the local people in Kampung Cikoang. Historical research into the relationship between the Arab countries of the Middle East and the Cikoangese is not the basic aim here, however.<sup>5</sup> Other scholars have done this and I merely recount the results of their research.<sup>6</sup> Nor are my own findings about the role of Islamisation in South Sulawesi intended to challenge observations made by others; rather, my aim is to give a more concrete specification of the regional orientations of

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3 Ahmad 1976: 15. For a different interpretation see Abaza 1988: 6, in which both the Sayyid and the Syarif claim to be the descendants of Husein.

4 Information derived from the research of C. Snouck Hurgronje, who visited Mecca in the 19th century as a pilgrim in order to observe the activities of the thousands of pilgrims coming from the East Indies (Noer 1973: 33; Hisyam 1985).

5 Historians argue whether it was the Hadhramis who introduced Islam into Indonesia or if Hadhrami migration is primarily an 18th-century phenomenon. It is accepted that the principal intermediaries of Islam in earlier centuries were from South India and from the Hejaz.

6 See Nurdin et al. 1977/1978; Hamonic 1985: 178; Pelras 1985: 113; Van den Berg 1886; Gervais 1971; Abaza 1988; Noorduyt 1956a: 247–266; Mattulada 1976; Algadri 1984, 1994; Hamid 1994. See also Bujra 1971 and Chelhod 1984 for many other local sources.

Islam in South Sulawesi, and particularly in Cikoang. This objective also allows for a more detailed description of unpublished religious phenomena among the Sayyid traditions of Makassar through my ethnographic analysis.

Since the descendants of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid reside not only in Cikoang, but also in other parts of Indonesia, this study is focused on three regions – Cikoang, Ujung Pandang and Jakarta – and is the result of four months of fieldwork in those areas in 1996–1997.

The study is divided into two parts. In Chapter Two I shall recount the coming of Islam to South Sulawesi in general and the coming of Sayyid Jalaluddin to Cikoang in particular through an exploration of Bugis-Makassar manuscripts (Mak. *lontara*) in conjunction with traditional stories handed down by the elders (Mak. *caritana turioloa*).

In Chapter Three I explore the framework of the historical origins of the Sayyid, especially after the coming of Sayyid Jalaluddin. I analyse the implications of the origins of the Sayyid in terms of socio-religious patterns and the development of Kampung Cikoang, especially in terms of hierarchy and alliance, origin, status level and socio-cultural integration, as well as of their marriage practices.

The second part of the study discusses the religious understanding of the Cikoangese as a whole – Sayyid and Jawi – in comparison to that of other Muslims in Indonesia. In Chapter Four my main concern is to explore a framework which will elucidate the differences in the Islamic practices between the Cikoangese (Mak. *tu Cikoang*; In. *orang Cikoang*) and the non-Cikoangese, or outsiders (Mak. *tu pantara*; In. *orang luar*). This leads in Chapter Five into a discussion of the extent to which the two groups of Muslims propose different methods of the 'proper' conduct of religious rituals, the Maudu' and Pattumateang in particular.

I shall give an account of the Maudu' and Pattumateang rites from a Cikoangese perspective and examine elements of those practices which outsiders, notably members of the Muslim reformist organisation Muhammadiyah, do not agree with. These outsiders are mostly non-Cikoangese, but there may be some Cikoangese among them. Finally, in Chapter Six, a tentative conclusion is put forward about the historical origins and religious identity of the Sayyid. This chapter also presents a number of critical aspects of the study that call for further research in the future.

## Review of the literature

The existence of the Sayyid in Cikoang with their distinctive practices of Maudu' and Pattumateang have been an integral part of the Makassarese historical context for centuries. Their long-standing presence has attracted discussions by both Indonesian and non-Indonesian scholars alike. Nevertheless, such studies have been based on inadequate data regarding the historical origins and religious distinctiveness of the Sayyid. For instance, Nurdin and his colleagues carried out research in 1977/1978. They provided a sophisticated report on the Maudu' in Cikoang, through which a general understanding of the Cikoangese as a whole became available to other researchers. However, their account simply provides a description of the ceremonies according to the view of local practitioners without any comparison to similar practices conducted by Muslims elsewhere. Such a comparison, to me, is necessary in order to show how distinct the Cikoangese rite is.

Similarly, the sociologist Muhammad Hisyam (1985) observed the social networks between the Sayyid and Jawi people. One of his findings was that the Sayyid and Jawi exercise patron–client relations which form a set of reciprocal practices. Hisyam also discussed the reciprocal relationship between *anrongguru*, or teachers, and *ana'guru*, or students, within the religious domain. The *anrongguru* are in charge of giving religious teaching while the *ana'guru* are obligated to give goods and other necessities to the *anrongguru* in return (see further Chapter Four). Unfortunately, Hisyam's account lacks an elaboration of the content of religious teachings taught by the *anrongguru* and this study attempts to meet that deficiency.

We also find well-documented information about the fundamentals of conducting Maudu' in Cikoang in the account given by Gilbert Hamonic (1985). Hamonic found that some of the Cikoangese beliefs and practices have their roots in the doctrines of Shi'ism. He also stressed the point that the Maudu' is a distinctive ceremony among the Cikoangese passed on by their elders (see Chapters Four and Five). Finally, despite a broad discussion of the Islamisation of South Sulawesi, Christian Pelras (1985) only devoted a few lines to the coming of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-Aidid as the initiator of that Islamisation and as the founder of the Sayyid community of Cikoang.

## The area of Cikoang

Kampung Cikoang is situated in the southern part of Takalar Regency. The village is in the shape of a rectangle, with Jeneponto Regency to the east, Lakatong village to the northwest and Laikang village to the south (see maps on

page 18 of this volume). Within Cikoang there are four *lingkungan*, or hamlets: Lingkungan Cikoang, Pattopakkang, Bontoparang and Panjangkalang. For the purpose of this study, I consider the main *lingkungan* of Cikoang and the other three as one social unit and the name Cikoang will be used to refer to this unit as a whole.

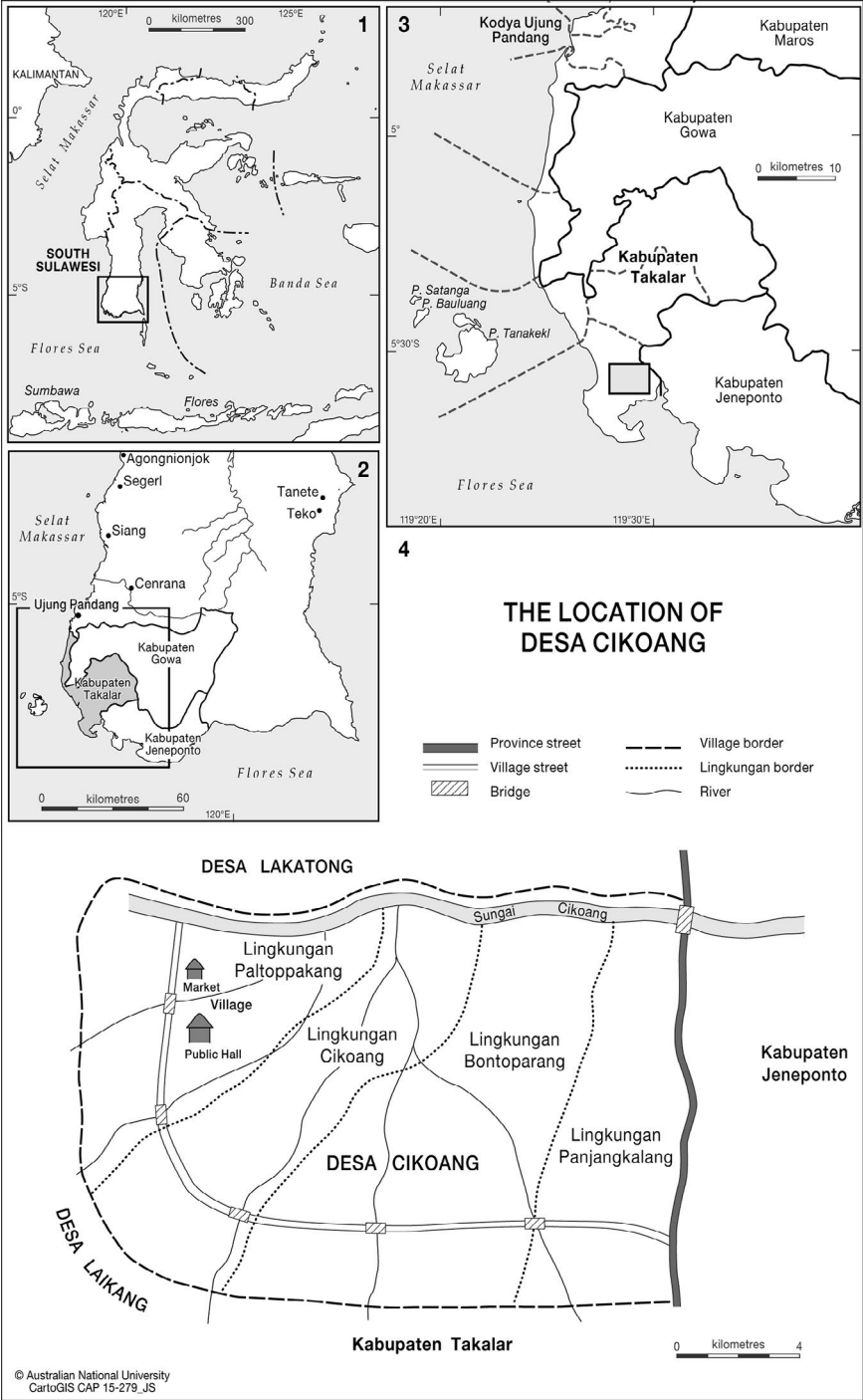
Table 1: Population of Cikoang by *lingkungan* and sex (1994)

<i>Lingkungan</i> (hamlet)	Male	Female	Number
1. Cikoang	1,096	1,404	2,500
2. Pattopakkang	961	1,070	2,031
3. Bontoparang	932	994	1,926
4. Panjangkalang	887	956	1,843
Total	3,876	4,424	8,300
Per cent	46.7	53.3	100.0

Source: *Cikoang Dalam Angka* 1994 (as cited from Achmad 1995).

Table 1 gives a breakdown of the population of each *lingkungan*, in which Lingkungan Cikoang is shown to be the most populous. Kampung Cikoang, which covers 20 square kilometres, is located in the *kecamatan*, or district, of Mangarabombang, Takalar Regency. The people depend for their subsistence on salt making and agriculture (90 per cent) and fishing (10 per cent). The main product is salt, approximating 3,000 to 4,000 tonnes per year.<sup>7</sup> Houses are built close to each other near the river and in a very Makassar style of construction, *balla rate* (In. *rumah panggung*) or stilted houses. Table 1 also indicates that females outnumber males in all of Cikoang – at the time of my collecting of data I had not discovered the social or cultural reasons to account for this.

<sup>7</sup> See Hisyam 1985: 14. The business of salt-making is centred in northern Lingkungan Cikoang and Pattopakkang. Activity runs in the dry season, lasting for four to five months. When the rainy seasons begins, the Cikoangese resume farming. Achmad 1995 provides a more recent detailed description of the subsistence of the Cikoangese.



Maps: The location of Desa Cikoang

Map 1: South Sulawesi; Map 2: Takalar Regency; Map 3: Takalar Regency; Map 4: Desa Cikoang

Source: ANU CartoGIS.

According to the records of Cikoang, a nobleman called Karaeng Cikondong from Binamu (in Jeneponto Regency) first founded Cikoang in around 1514 (Hamonic 1985). With 44 loyal followers, he opened up new land by clearing forest and giving the settlement its name.<sup>8</sup> At the time, this settlement was counted in the village of Laikang to the south. Basing his assertions on a local source, Hisyam (1985) notes that in the last years of the 16th century, Laikang had grown to become a small autonomous kingdom. Its first ruler was a Bugis prince named Makkasaung ri Langi', who was the son of Arumpone Petta Punggawa, king of the kingdom of Bone. He was appointed the ruler of Laikang. Makkasaung ri Langi' then married the daughter of one of the Laikang nobility. From this union, Makkaraus Daeng Ngilau was born, who then replaced his father as the ruler of Laikang. This tiny kingdom persisted until the early 20th century.<sup>9</sup>

Like other people of Makassar in the past, the Cikoangese were known as great seafarers. From their strategic position of Cikoang located on the south coast of South Sulawesi, they came into contact through sea trade with other ethnic communities of Indonesia such as the Acehnese and Malays, who were already in the main Muslims. According to local historians, Islam most likely put down its roots in Cikoang due to the commercial relationship between the Cikoangese and the Muslim world (Hisyam 1985).

The coming of Islam to Cikoang in the first years of the 17th century is traditionally associated with an Acehnese *ulama*, an Islamic scholar, genealogically descended from the Hadhramaut by name of Jalaluddin, a Sayyid of the al-Aidid clan (Hisyam 1985). It is due to his efforts that today all the people of Cikoang are Muslims and most respect the traditions of the Sayyid in their socio-religious life. Before establishing Islam in Cikoang, Jalaluddin and his family made a sojourn to the South Sulawesi kingdom of Gowa where he had been invited by Datok ri Bandang, one of the early fathers of Islamisation in South Sulawesi, to help spread religion in the region (see Nurdin et al. 1977/1978). Thus Jalaluddin also played a part in the establishment of Islam in South Sulawesi in general, following the rulers of the kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo' (1603–1605) (Mattulada 1976: 19).

<sup>8</sup> He purchased the land by paying the ruler of the kingdom of Gowa 40 water buffaloes, see Hamonic 1985.

<sup>9</sup> In 1996, based on a decree by provincial authority No 450/XII.1965, the term *desa* was issued. After that Laikang was divided into two, Desa Cikoang and Desa Laikang (cf. Hisyam 1985: 126).

Historical accounts also tell that the early Arab presence in Indonesia was undoubtedly related to sea trade along the route to China.<sup>10</sup> Most Indonesianists, both Indonesian and non-Indonesian, also believe that ports in Gujarat on the southwest corner of Rajputana, India had long been important centres of commercial and religious relations between East and the West as well. Foreign traders – Arabs, Persians, Chinese and Indonesians – regularly frequented the Gujarati harbour town of Cambay, for example (Gibb 1957: 228–229).

It was due to the efforts of these Muslim merchants, Arabs, Indians, Persians or Chinese, that Islam took root in Indonesia (Ali 1970; Patji 1991). From India must have come the influence of the Shi'ah variant of Islam, of which traces are still found in Java and the Minangkabau area of Sumatra, whose Tabut ceremony commemorates the death of the Prophet's grandson Husein. According to historians, Muslim traders on the route to China regularly visited certain ports in Southeast Asia from the 7th or 8th century, but Islamic kingdoms as centres of power only became established from the 13th century. This assumption is the most popular and is commonly used by most Indonesianists. It is based on a report of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller who visited Aceh in 1292. He wrote:

The people of Perlec (Perlak) used all to be idolaters but owing to contact with Saracen merchants, who continually resort here in their ships, they have all been converted to the law of Muhammad. This applies only to the inhabitants of the city (Zainuddin 1968: 60; cf. Patji 1991: 27).

Adopting Marco Polo's account, it is generally accepted that the first Muslim communities in Indonesia date from the 13th century (see Drewes 1968: 443; Johns 1980: 165; Atjeh 1985).<sup>11</sup> From the 13th to the 15th centuries, there was a close trading exchange between Southern Arabia (especially Muskat and the Hadhramaut), the Hejaz, Egypt, the East African coast, China, India and Indonesia (Berg 1886: 1, 67; Arnold 1913: 363–407; Reid 1988, 1993) giving opportunities to Arab traders to set up settlements in many important ports in Indonesia.

According to Van den Berg (1886: 67–68) Arab traders had long been in Indonesia but their numbers were relatively small until the late 18th century. In 1812–1813, their total number in Java and Madura were only 621, coming under the

10 Haji Agus Salim maintains that, according to an Arab historian, the Arab vessels used to sail along the sea shores of the South Indian Ocean to the Nicobar Islands and then past the northern part of Sumatra to Kedah and through the Straits of Malacca. Their route then branched out in two directions: either northwards to China or eastwards to Palembang or Java. Usually they first went eastwards then north, past Cambodia and Cochinchina to China. Thus it was no wonder that the Arabs, Persians and Indians (Muslims from the West) knew Indonesia and its people from the earliest times when they began to bring their merchandise to the East. Agus Salim concluded that at that time no ships except those of the Muslims carried maritime commerce through the Indian Ocean (Kraemer and Nieuwenhuijze 1952: 112–113; cf. Ali 1970, *The Spread of Islam in Indonesia*, Yayasan NIDA, Yogyakarta).

11 e.g. the grave of Sultan Malik as-Saleh in Pasai, North Sumatra, dated 1297.



designation of '*orang Arab Moro*' (Arab Muslims).<sup>12</sup> Later, the figure increased steadily with an influx of new immigrants from the Hadhramaut. This was due to the improvement of sea transportation with the opening of the Suez Canal, steam shipping and the concomitant development of economic possibilities.<sup>13</sup>

The Sayyid in Indonesia are historically believed to have emigrated from the Hadhramaut (Berg 1886; Abaza 1988).<sup>14</sup> This region of Southern Arabia enjoyed an abundant history of religious and intellectual life. The Hadhramis were known as sophisticated people, hard-working traders, intellectuals and saints or holy men (Berg 1886) and were particularly predominant in spreading the Shafi'i school of Sunni law (Serjeant 1981, VIII 25; Bujra 1971; Berg 1886).<sup>15</sup> Renaud (1984: 57) argues, however, that the Zaydi doctrine<sup>16</sup> of an early Shi'ite sect (one of whose identifying characteristics is that their *imam* must be a descendant of the Prophet) was spread and developed in parts of Yemen during the 12th century. Nevertheless, Zaydism is closer to Sunni Islam than Indian Isma'ilism or the Shi'i profession of Iran. The majority of Yemenis adhere to the Shafi'i school. It was therefore probably the Hadhramis, along with other Sunni Muslim immigrants, who brought with them Shafi'ism, which has become the predominant law school of Indonesian Muslims at large.

Despite the fact that all Hadhramis speak the same variant of Arabic and belong to the same stream of religion, there exists social stratification among them. Four major hierarchical strata were recognised,<sup>17</sup> as follows: the Sayyid; the Mashayekh (sing. Sheikh);<sup>18</sup> the Kaba'il; the tradespeople; and the Masakin

12 See also Raffles 1817: 6, table lists 430 people for Batavia and 168 for Pekalongan; cf. Lombard 1996: 71.

13 Abaza 1988: 1–2, however, claims that 'natural conditions, such as the harsh desert climate accompanied by excessive rains and the loss of the yield, the decline of certain markets, but also the wish to escape political tyranny, the exercise of violence, feuds and rebellions, religious confessionalism, attempts at assassinations of successive *imams* seemed commonplace or simply the quest for wealth and discovery, are all reasons, which since old times have enforced migration'; see also Baldry 1984.

14 Hadhramaut comprises the fourth and fifth provinces of the People's Republic of South Yemen (roughly 112,000 sq. miles) whose capital is Sana'a. In 1979, the population was estimated at 1.9 million (Koszinowski 1983). Hadhramaut is well known for its many intellectual centres, such as the holy cities of Tarim and Saiwun. Shibam is the largest city and Wadi Hadhramaut is the most populated and agriculturally cultivated area in the region.

15 One of the four law schools of orthodox Islam founded by M. bin Idris al-Shafi'i. These schools date from the 9th century and are rites and not dissenting sects. See also Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1961: 67–68; and Makdisi 1990: chs 1 and 2.

16 Zaydism originated around the person of Zayd ibn Ali, the grandson of Ali ibn Abi Thalib, cousin of the Prophet and the fourth caliph of Islam, and is connected genealogically with the branch of Hassan and Zayn al-Abidin. Zayd struggled against the Omayyads in Damascus and was killed in 122 AH/ 740 CE. The Zaydis regard themselves as the fifth school of al-Madhab al-Kharnis as a parallel school to the Sunni four (Renaud 1984: 57–68).

17 See also Van den Berg 1886; Bujra 1971; Serjeant 1981; Chelhod 1984; and Abaza 1988. For the last three strata Van den Berg, Bujra and Chelhod each give different and more concrete explanations. Serjeant has the most expansive detail on the Sayyid of Hadhramaut.

18 According to Abaza 'the Sayyid and Sheikhs are families or clans in which special qualities, virtues of a spiritual kind and nobility (*sharaf*) are held to reside – qualities termed by modern Arab writers *al-sultat al-ruhiyah*' op. cit.: 7.

or Du'afa, the 'poor' or 'weak' lower orders. According to traditional Arabic accounts, the ancestor of the Sayyid group in the Hadhramaut was a person called Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Isa, known as al-Muhajir, who made the 'migration', as his title indicates, southward from Mecca (Berg 1886: 34–36; Ahmad 1976: 16). To distinguish themselves from other Sayyid groups, such as in Mecca and Morocco, those living in the Hadhramaut are called al-'Alwi (plural al-'Alawiyin) after the grandchildren of Ahmad bin 'Isa (Serjeant 1981).<sup>19</sup>

Seven generations after Ahmad bin 'Isa, the genealogy of the Sayyid group formed branches with two sons of Muhammad, who were labelled *Sahib ar-Robat* and further divided into several clans. A list of the Sayyid clan names is presented following Van den Berg (1886) in Table 2 below.

Table 2: The names of Sayyid clans in Hadhramaut

<b>As-Saqqaf</b>	Abu-Numai	Al-Fad'aq
Al-Ba'aqil	Al-'Aidrus	Al-Khird
Al-Musyiyikh	At-Taha	Al-Khunaiman
As-Sag	Al-Batumar	Al-Ba'ali
Al-Munawwar	Ali bin Syihab ad-Din <sup>a</sup>	Al-Gaisah
Al-Had	Al-Masyhur	Al-Bar
Az-Zahir	As-Sulaibiyah	Al-Baraqah
Al-Mawla ad-Dawilah	Al-Moqaibil	Al-Bid
Al-MawlaKhailah	Ali bin Sahil <sup>b</sup>	Al-Qadri
Ali bin Yahya <sup>c</sup>	Al-Ba'abud <sup>d</sup>	Al-Baharum
Al-Hinduan	Al-Mahjub	Asy-Syatiri
Al-'Abdal-Malik	Al-Hasyim <sup>e</sup>	Al-Muhdar
Al-Sumait	An-Nadir	Al-Babaraik
Al-Tahir	Al-Husain al-Qarah	Al-Bahusain
Al-Haddad	Al-Bafaqih	Al-Hut
Al-Bafaraj	Ali bin Qitban	Al-Hamil
Al-Basurrah	Al-Huda'ili	Al-Kaf
<b>Al-'Aidid'</b>	Al-Junaid <sup>g</sup>	Al-Jufri <sup>h</sup>
Asy-Syilli	Al-Barum	Al-Bilfaqih
Al-Muniffir	Al-Hamid	As-Serf
Asy-Syanbal	Al-Bassy-Syaiban	Al-Habsyi
Al-Musawa	Al-Baiti <sup>i</sup>	Al-Jamal al-Lail
Al-Ismail	Al-Maknun <sup>j</sup>	and others.

<sup>19</sup> All of the current population of Hadhramaut, with the exception of a number of middle-class families and slaves, consider themselves to be the posterity of one Ya'rub bin Qahtan bin Hud (see Patji 1991).

Ali bin Barahim	Al-Basyumailah	
At-Tawil	Al-'Aqil bin Salim	
Al-'Attas	Asy-Syaikh Abu Bakar <sup>k</sup>	
Al-Haddar	Abu Futaim	
Al-Mutahhar	Al-Mudir	
Al-Marzak	Al-Mudaihij	

- a. Usually called with a short name, Ali bin Syihab, *ibid*.
  - b. There are three families holding the name, *ibid*.
  - c. One branch of the family, *ibid*.
  - d. There are three families holding the name, *ibid*.
  - e. There are two families holding the name, *ibid*.
  - f. The family of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid and to whom the Sayyid in Cikoang belong.
  - g. There are two families holding the name, *op. cit*.
  - h. One branch of the family is Al-Bahar, *ibid*.
  - i. There are two families holding the name, *ibid*.
  - j. There are two families holding the name, *ibid*.
  - k. The family has two branches, al-Husein and al-Hamid, *ibid*.
- Source: Following Van den Berg 1886.

Several clans on this list no longer exist in the Hadhramaut, yet this does not mean that their descendants are not still alive. For instance, the descendants of the Bassy-Syaiban family still live in Java and those of the al-Qadri in Pontianak (Van den Berg 1886: 36; Lombard 1996: 71; Patji 1991) and, as described in this thesis, the descendants of al-'Aidid, while there are as-Shaqqaf (Assaqqaf or Assegaf) families living in Mandar, South Sulawesi.

In 1885, the Hadhramis numbered approximately 20,000 throughout Indonesia: 10,888 in Java and Madura and 9,613 in other islands (Berg 1886: 107, 109). In 1905, they numbered 29,588: 19,148 in Java and Madura and 10,440 in other regions. By 1934, between 20 and 30 per cent of all Hadhramis lived in the East Indies, East Africa and the Red Sea countries (Serjeant 1981: 24–29; Abaza 1988: 15; Roff 1964: 81) accounting for a massive pattern of outmigration.<sup>20</sup>

In the Indies, the Hadhramis settled along the northern coast of Java in big cities such as Batavia (Jakarta), Pekalongan, Semarang and Surabaya, as well as in Palembang in South Sumatra. The majority of them were subsistence traders, but some were fishermen and a small number were manual labourers. Many of them became extremely rich because they owned ships, property and buildings, which were very profitable (Lombard 1996: 71). Before the 20th century, Arab society seems to have founded and largely controlled the Hajj industry of the

<sup>20</sup> Van den Berg 1886: 10, has argued that it is not possible to enquire about Arab 'colonies' as such before the 19th century; prior to that there were small numbers of settlers living in the most important ports of the East Indian Archipelago, often holding influential political roles on behalf of the local peoples.

Great Pilgrimage to Mecca from the Indian Archipelago (Berg 1886). In the period of 1900–1940, however, most pilgrims travelled by Dutch or British steamers and the colonial government controlled most of the process.

In addition, Arab traders (particularly the non-Sayyid, either Hadhramis or other Arabs) created the school network of al-Irshad in their settlements. The Jami'at al-Islam wal-Irshad al-Arabia (Arab Association of Islam and Guidance) was founded in Jakarta in 1913 (Noer 1973). The organisation's founders 'chafed at the deference demanded of them by those Arabs in Indonesia who claimed the status of Sayyid and sole religious scholars'. They formed al-Irshad to promote equality in social treatment and educational advancement within the Arab community. They found religious support for their emphasis on social equality in the writings of modernist Muslims and consequently turned increasingly to developing educational institutions (Noer 1973: 62).<sup>21</sup>

In relation to Cikoang, the advent of the Arab Sayyid is traced to the coming of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-A'idid to the region (Pelras 1985:113). Traditional records tell that it was toward the end of the 16th century that he arrived in the archipelago, stopping first in Aceh. He then left for Banjarmasin, where it is known that his preaching was strongly tinged by Shi'ite influences. From Banjar he travelled across to Cikoang, via Gowa, where he married the daughter of a Makassar nobleman (Pelras 1985: 113; cf. Hamonic 1985: 176).<sup>22</sup>

According to Pelras (1985), Sayyid Jalaluddin's grandfather originally came from Iraq and resided for a while in Hadhramaut. From there he went on to Aceh. The Sayyid family living in Cikoang believe that the Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Isa mentioned above is the forebear of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-A'idid (see Table 3 this volume). Pelras implies that Sayyid Jalaluddin was actually born in Aceh, but local Cikoang oral sources see him as coming straight from the Hadhramaut, just as they might wish to push back the time frame of events. Pelras's view is that it might be in the first years of the 17th century that Sayyid Jalaluddin came to Cikoang and founded the Sayyid community in the region (see Chapter Two).

The Hadhrami Sayyid, wherever they settle, insist on maintaining their social status through their systems of genealogy and *kafa'ah* (that there must be equality of rank between marriage partners) in marriage matches (Abaza

21 'Their religious leader was Syekh Ahmad Surkati, born in the Sudan in 1872. He had taught in Mecca, where he had become impressed with the writings of the Egyptian reformer Muhammad 'Abduh. Surkati was recruited by the Indonesian Arab community and arrived in Jakarta in 1911. From 1913 until his death in 1943 he served as the spiritual leader of al-Irshad. The organization quickly established schools throughout Java and in the 1930s the Surabaya branch created a two-year course to train religious teachers.' See Noer 1973. There is no information regarding the Makassar branch of al-Irshad.

22 His wife, I-Accara Daeng Tamami, was the daughter of Gowa nobility and one of the closest relatives of the ruler of Gowa. From this marriage Sayyid Jalaluddin had three children, two sons and one daughter: Sayyid Umar, Sayyid Sahabuddin and Sayyidah Saharibonang al-A'idid (Nurdin et al., op. cit.: 34).

1988: 15). For example, members of the al-'Aidid family, in order to prove themselves as descendants of that Sayyid clan display certificates showing their genealogical links with the al-'Aidid back to the Prophet Muhammad's family itself. All household heads retain evidential copies of the bloodline links. This certification distinguishes the Sayyid from the local people.

In order to preserve their genealogy and their identity as Arabs, the Sayyid adopt the principle of *kafa'ah*, thus arranging marriages of their children into other Sayyid families (see Chapter Three). Yet, unlike the Sayyid women, who are bound to *kafa'ah*, the men can marry women of other descent if there is no suitable Syarifah spouse in prospect. This matrimonial exchange has, in fact, added to the numbers of the Sayyid population, because the children automatically inherit the family name and Sayyid status of their father. On the other hand, it is equally said to be a 'network of assimilation' with the local people (Patji 1991). These two practices of guarding genealogy and *kafa'ah* make the Sayyid community exclusive wherever they settle and such traces are quite apparent in Cikoang, Ujung Pandang and Jakarta.

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