

CHAPTER THREE

Origin, Class Status and Socio-cultural Integration in Cikoang

*I-bara'na cincing bulaeng,
Sayyika antu singkammai paramatanna,
Karaenga sedeng singkammai bulaenna.
Paramataya ammempoi irateanna bulaenga, tiai sibale'na.
Paramataya segang bulaenga singkamma ga'gaana,
tapi paramatayya antu kajjalangngangi.¹*

Take the example of a ring, wherein
The Sayyid is likened to the diamond,
The Karaeng to the circle of gold about,
The diamond sits atop the ring, never the other way 'round.
Both diamond and gold are equally precious,
Yet the diamond ever more costly than the gold.

In the preceding chapter we considered the stories of the coming of Sayyid Jalaluddin al'Aidid to Cikoang in the context of the advent of Islam in South Sulawesi, and of the Sayyid's socio-religious integration with the local people of Makassar. This chapter discusses the impact Sayyid Jalaluddin and his descendants made on the social structure of Cikoang. Of essential concern is the extent to which the Sayyid and Makassar social institutions have developed hand in hand throughout history. Thus I shall consider the Sayyid community as

1 The Indonesian version is as follows:

Ibarat sebuah cincin permata, Sayyid itulah intan permatanya, sedangkan Karaeng sebagai emasnya. Intan selalu diatas emas dan bukan sebaliknya. Keduanya sama-sama bernilai, tapi intan selalu lebih bernilai atau berharga ketimbang emas (from taped interview with a Sayyid Karaeng).

culturally Makassarese, in most respects like other Makassar societies, without ignoring the notion of distinctive Sayyid characteristics such as titles, marriage systems and religious festivities.

The saying quoted above is often mentioned by the Sayyid to distinguish their present social position from that of the Karaeng, the Makassarese nobility. According to my Sayyid informants, the Sayyid are traditionally associated with spiritual matters – they are religious specialists and heads of ritual practice, whereas the Karaeng are historically related to secular matters as chiefs and heads of *adat* communities. Any union of the two is said to be a set of reconciliations between the religious and secular realms.

These two ascribed statuses are significant for the Cikoangese in relation to contemporary social stratification in Cikoang. The Sayyid status is said to have come into being once Sayyid Jalaluddin, together with his family, established domicile in the region, whereas the Karaeng are believed to have been present long before the coming of Sayyid Jalaluddin. Thus it is useful to identify the very beginning, or what Lewis (1996: 166) termed 'origins', of the Cikoangese people underpinning the social hierarchy as it is today. In so doing, we should not ignore notions of ancestry, place and alliance in defining individuals and social groups in Cikoang.

However, as Fox and Sather declare (1996: 5), access to origin or pedigree involves various ways of ascertainment: dreaming, contact with spirits, the recitation of formulaic wisdom, the witness of the elders or the presentation of sacred objects as proof of connections to the past; each of these means enables the presentation of information of the past.² As regards origins in Cikoang, the easiest access to these is the witness of the elders or what the Cikoangese call *caritana turioloa*, the 'stories of the elders'.

In this chapter I will first provide a general understanding of the social hierarchy in Cikoang. I will then discuss the Sayyid marriage system, called *kafa'ah*, which becomes the primary basis of their kinship system.

2 Notions of origin may vary from one society to another but are generally cited in terms of 'common metaphors based on recognizable cognate expressions'. For Fox and Sather (1996) this is a distinctive Austronesian characteristic.

Origins: Notions of ancestry and social rank

Before the arrival of Sayyid Jalaluddin and his family, the system of social subdivisions in Cikoang was similar to those of other Makassar societies. There were three major ranks: Karaeng, the nobles or chiefs; Tumaradeka, free people or commoners; and Ata, or slaves (Hisyam 1985: 126).

According to Makassar traditions, individuals regarded as Karaeng were principally limited to the children of Sombaya ri Gowa, rulers of the kingdom of Gowa called Anakaraeng. They were distinguished by their 'white blood' inherited through the Tumanurung (*tu* meaning 'person' and *manurung* 'to descend') thus 'those who descended (from the sky)', which both the Makassarese and the Bugis claim as their founders, were the first rulers of South Sulawesi.

A traditional myth found in the *lontara*' manuscripts similarly states that the Tumanurung married the leading representative of the Makassarese people, one Karaeng Bajo. This union created the first sophisticated polity in South Sulawesi, the kingdom of Gowa. The descendants of this couple were said to be the Anakaraeng, who held the right to rule the kingdom and inherited the 'white blood' of the Tumanurung, in distinction from the 'red blood' of the commoners (cf. Bulbeck 1992: 40). According to Bulbeck (1992: 41) 'the aristocrats were ranked by the degree to which their white blood, as traced through both parents, remained undiluted by the red blood of commoners; access to titles depended on nobility of birth. That is, status was ascribed.'³ (See further Appendix IV.)

The Cikoangese nobles, however, were derived from what Bulbeck (1996) termed 'lesser rajas or petty royalty' compared to 'greater rajas' (e.g. the Gowa rulers) belonging to 'historical successions', that is, rulers of the Laikang kingdom (Kamaruddin et al., 1985: 169; Andaya 1984: 128, 137; cf. Bulbeck 1996). Yet the aristocrats of this kingdom and other lesser kings are also considered to be Karaeng and similar to the Anakaraeng.

According to the *caritana turioloa*, it was Sayyid Sirajuddin, a grandson of Sayyid Jalaluddin, who first married a female aristocrat named Ranjabila Daeng Tiknok, a Laikang noblewoman (see Table 3). This is said to be the beginning of reconciliation between the Sayyid and Karaeng in Cikoang. As pioneers of Islamisation in Cikoang, the descendants of Sayyid Jalaluddin were readily welcomed by the local people, including the nobles. Their religious legitimacy

3 In the 15th and 16th centuries only 'pure' descendants reserved the right to rule a kingdom (Friedericy 1933; Mukhlis 1975; Acciaioli 1989; Bulbeck 1992: 41). Nonetheless, among the Makassarese a patrilineal bias obviously existed apart from the essentially bilateral manner of ascribing status (Röttger-Rössler 1989: 42–43; Mukhlis 1975: 37–38; cf. Bulbeck 1992: 281).

allowed them to claim themselves as having higher moral worthiness, which in turn led to opportunities for them to marry high-born local women. The issue of such unions for generations have formed the population of Sayyid Karaeng within the social hierarchy of Cikoang.

As a result, in modern Cikoang, as Hisyam (1985) has observed, almost all aristocrats have Sayyid blood. Due to the frequent practice of intermarriage between the Sayyid and both local noble women and those of a lower stratum, their descendants are eligible to bring together Sayyid and Karaeng descent. At present these comprise a large proportion of the Sayyid population, as Sayyid Karaeng and Sayyid Daeng. According to Achmad (1995), and my own experience in the field, a number of aristocrats are also found among the Jawi who have no Sayyid blood – but this number is relatively small. As well, among members of the Sayyid, there are those who practise a strictly endogamous marriage system of unions between a Sayyid and a Syarifah, which produces descendants called Sayyid Tuan (see further below).

Regarding the origins of the kinship system in Cikoang as a whole, there is a mythical tale recounting the first contact of Sayyid Jalaluddin with I-Danda and I-Bunrang, two famous warriors of the kingdom of Laikang. According to the *caritana turioloa*, the current patterns of the Cikoangese kinship relationship are also based on this myth. H. Maluddin Daeng Sikki narrated it to me as follows:

1. *I-Danda dan I-Bunranglah yang memanggil Sayyid Jalaluddin untuk menyebarkan Islam di Cikoang. Kedua orang itulah yang pertama-tama menjadi murid-murid Sayyid Jalaluddin.*

It was I- Danda and I-Bunrang who invited Sayyid Jalaluddin to spread Islam in Cikoang. It was also these two men who became the first students of Sayyid Jalaluddin.

2. *Sebelum Sayyid Jalaluddin bersedia menjadi guru mereka, beliau ingin menguji sampai sejauh mana kesetiaan kedua orang tersebut kepada beliau.*

Before Sayyid Jalaluddin would accept them to become his students, he wished to test the extent of their loyalty towards him.

3. *Cara beliau adalah dengan meminta istri-istri kedua orang tersebut untuk tinggal di rumah Sayyid Jalaluddin barang semalam.*

How Sayyid Jalaluddin did this was to ask the wives of the two men to spend the night in his house.

4. *Mendengar permintaan tersebut, I-Bunrang, orang pertama yang dimintai oleh Sayyid Jalaluddin, langsung marah. Dan sambil mengeluarkan parang dari sarungnya dia berkata, 'saya lebih baik mati daripada meyerahkan istri saya kepada tuan'.*

Upon hearing this request, I-Bunrang, who was the first person asked, became angry, drew his sword and said, 'Better I die than give my wife to you'.

5. *Mendengar itu, Sayyid Jalaluddin mengurungkan niatnya. Beliau lalu menanyai I-Danda. Dengan berat hati I-Danda berkata, 'kalau memang hal itu betul-betul tuan inginkan, saya tidak berkeberatan atas permintaan tersebut'.*

Upon hearing this, Sayyid Jalaluddin cancelled his intent. He then repeated his request to I-Danda. Reluctantly, I-Danda said, 'If this is truly your request, sir I cannot demur'.

6. *Lalu pulanglah I-Danda menemui istrinya dan memberitahukan segalanya. Karena ingin juga menunjukkan kesetiaan kepada suaminya, istri I-Danda pun menyetujuinya dan berdandanlah dia secantik-cantiknya kemudian berangkat ke rumah Sayyid Jalaluddin, untuk tinggal bersamanya selama satu malam.*

I-Danda went home straightaway and informed his wife. Wanting to show her loyalty to her husband, she agreed. She attired herself at her most beautiful and went to stay in Sayyid Jalaluddin's house all night long.

7. *Keesekon harinya, Sayyid Jalaluddin mengizinkan istri I-Danda untuk kembali menemui suaminya dan menceritakan seluruh kejadian yang terjadi malam itu.*

The next day, Sayyid Jalaluddin bade I-Danda's wife to return home and to tell her husband all that had taken place that night.

8. *I-Danda yang sedih dan sudah tidak sabar menanti istrinya kembali, kaget bercampur gembira setelah mendengar cerita istrinya bahwa selama semalam itu dia cuma diajarkan cara berwudhu' dan bersembayang oleh Sayyid Jalaluddin.*

I-Danda, sadly and impatiently awaiting his wife's return, was surprised and overjoyed when he heard her tell that Sayyid Jalaluddin had simply taught her how to perform the prescribed ablutions and prayers.

9. *Kemudian I-Danda bertanya, apakah wudhu' dan sembayang itu? Istrinya menjawab, 'itulah Dienul Islam (Agama Islam)'.*

I-Danda then asked to know what making ritual ablutions and Islamic ritual prayers were. His wife answered, 'They are *Dienul Islam*, (the religion of Islam)'.

10. *Setelah mendengar cerita tersebut, bersegeralah I-Bunrang dan I-Danda menemui Sayyid Jalaluddin. Sesampai disana, berpesanlah Sayyid Jalaluddin kepada kedua orang tersebut:*

'saya menganggap kamu I-Bunrang sebagai sampopinruang (sepupu dua kali) saya, karena kamu adalah seorang pemberani. Anak cucumu boleh menikah dengan anak cucu saya. Sedangkan kamu I-Danda saya anggap sebagai saudara kandung. Anak cucumu haram hukumnya kawin dengan anak cucuku sampai akhir zaman.'

After hearing this account, I-Danda and I-Bunrang went to see Sayyid Jalaluddin. He then addressed the two men as follows:

You I-Bunrang, I regard you as my second cousin because of your bravery. Descendants of yours and mine are allowed to intermarry. And I regard you, I-Danda as my own brother (because of your loyalty). Henceforth for all time, descendants of yours and mine are forbidden to intermarry.

Thus the descendants of I-Danda and Sayyid Jalaluddin are traditionally forbidden to marry one another, whereas the descendants of I-Bunrang can marry any of Sayyid Jalaluddin's and I-Danda's line. In reality, however, many cases of intermarriage between the descendants of Sayyid Jalaluddin and I-Danda are found. The Sayyid community is less worried about the violation of this mythical prohibition since its authenticity varies from one Sayyid to another. One Sayyid told me, 'there is no such tracing of descent through an oath, since a child can only inherit the status of Sayyid so long as his or her father is a Sayyid'.

However, as Hisyam (1985) and I myself observed, a number of people claim descent from the lines of both I-Danda and I-Bunrang and consider themselves to have familial ties with Sayyid Jalaluddin. For example, the Cikoangese living in Jalan Irian in the north of Ujung Pandang city conceive of themselves as the descendants of I-Bunrang, while retaining the right to be involved in the Maudu' or Maulid festival in Cikoang, as do other descendants of Sayyid Jalaluddin.

In their social interaction, descendants derived either from Sayyid Jalaluddin or the I-Bunrang or I-Danda lines maintain simultaneously the existence of the myth as it has been represented by their elders, reflecting a close original association between them and Kampong Cikoang. Nowadays the affiliation of all three groups represents the original inhabitants of Kampong Cikoang and are known collectively as the Cikoangese. In everyday life, however, the descendants of both I-Danda and I-Bunrang are called *keturunan I-Danda dan I-Bunrang* (the offspring of I-Danda and I-Bunrang) and are not able to use the title of Sayyid. This mode of reference distinguishes them genealogically from those of Sayyid Jalaluddin's line.

In relation to the social hierarchy of Cikoang there exist two main clusters: the Sayyid and the Jawi, each with its subdivisions. The Sayyid consist of three categories, namely:

- 1) Sayyid Karaeng, literally children of a Sayyid father and a Karaeng mother. This rank is socially seen as a perfect stratum, because it reconciles Sayyid (in terms of religious legitimacy) on the one hand and Karaeng (in terms of secular legitimacy) on the other. The Sayyid Karaeng form the majority of Cikoangese nobles, rulers and *anrongguru*, the religious teachers or specialists.

In principle, the Sayyid Karaeng are those who can trace their origins on both their Sayyid father's and noble mother's sides. This stratum, according to my informants, is said to have come into existence from the marriage between Sayyid Sirajuddin, the grandson of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid, and Ranjabilla Daeng Tiknok, the daughter of a Laikang nobleman, which took place in 1729. The descendants of this union are considered to have both Sayyid and the Makassar aristocratic blood. Thus, again, status is ascribed. With such genealogical links, they are categorised and called both Sayyid and Karaeng.

Syarifah Karaeng, however, may not marry Anak Karaeng, since these are of a lower stratum, whereas the Sayyid Karaeng can marry either Syarifah or women of Anak Karaeng status. The aristocratic lines are not limited to the Laikang nobility as the cradle of the Cikoang aristocracy; they may hail from any other nobility in South Sulawesi, such as, for example, from the Bugis.

2) Sayyid Tuan. These are the pure Sayyid, the children of marriages between the Sayyid and the Syarifah and are often called Anak Tiknok ('ripe' or 'proper', thus 'proper children'). This line first began when Sayyid Sahabuddin, the second son of Sayyid Jalaluddin, married Syarifah Zaenab Assegaf, the daughter of Sayyid Syafiuddin Assegaf, in 1079 AH/1670 CE. Marriageable Syarifah are not limited to the al-'Aidid clan; they can be from any other Hadhrami Sayyid group, as here, the Assegaf.

Sayyid Tuan children take the family name of their father and not of their mother; for example, if as above the father is a Sayyid of the al-'Aidid clan and a mother is of the Assegaf clan, the children will be Sayyid or Syarifah of the al-'Aidid clan. Individuals of this group are involved in a close, or patrilineal parallel cousin marriage system, which is said to be the best arrangement. In reality, the Sayyid in Cikoang tend to find their children's future partners among their brothers' children. Thus men of the Sayyid Tuan stratum marry a woman of equal descent status to them, or marry a woman of lower descent, whereas Syarifah Tuan may marry men derived from either the same status (Sayyid Tuan) or above them (Sayyid Karaeng) only.

3) Sayyid Daeng are children born of a Sayyid father and a mother from the Tumaradeka, the 'free people', or an even lower order. It is said that individuals of this stratum are descendants of Sayyid Umar al-'Aidid, the eldest son of Sayyid Jalaluddin, who married I Dandang Daeng Rimang, the daughter of an *adat* community head in Cikoang, in 1062 AH. Preferably, individuals of this stratum marry someone of equal descent to themselves. Similar to women of the Sayyid Tuan, however, the women have the right to marry only above themselves, that is, into the Sayyid Karaeng and the Sayyid Tuan.

To summarise: the Sayyid derived from any group within the Sayyid social hierarchy principally marry women of the same (or lower) descent to themselves (Syarifah or non-Syarifah), whereas the Syarifah marry men of the same or higher descent to themselves; they are strictly limited to men of Sayyid descent (see Diagram 1).

Diagram 1: The transmission of Sayyid Descent

(I)

Male	Female	Male/Female Children
Sayyid	Karaeng	= Sayyid/Syarifah Karaeng
	Syarifah	= Sayyid/Syarifah Tuan
	Tumaradeka	= Sayyid/Syarifah Daeng

NB: The Sayyid and the Syarifah can be derived from any Sayyid clan, as listed in below, but the children will take the descent status and the family name of their father.

(II)

Male	Female	Male/Female Children
Sayyid Karaeng	Syarifah	= Sayyid/Syarifah Karaeng
	Female Karaeng	
	Syarifah Tuan	
	Syarifah Daeng	
	Female Daeng	
Sayyid Tuan	Other Females	= Sayyid/Syarifah Tuan
	Syarifah Tuan	
	Syarifah Daeng	
	Female Daeng	
Sayyid Daeng	Other Females	= Sayyid/Syarifah Daeng
	Syarifah Daeng	
	Female Daeng	

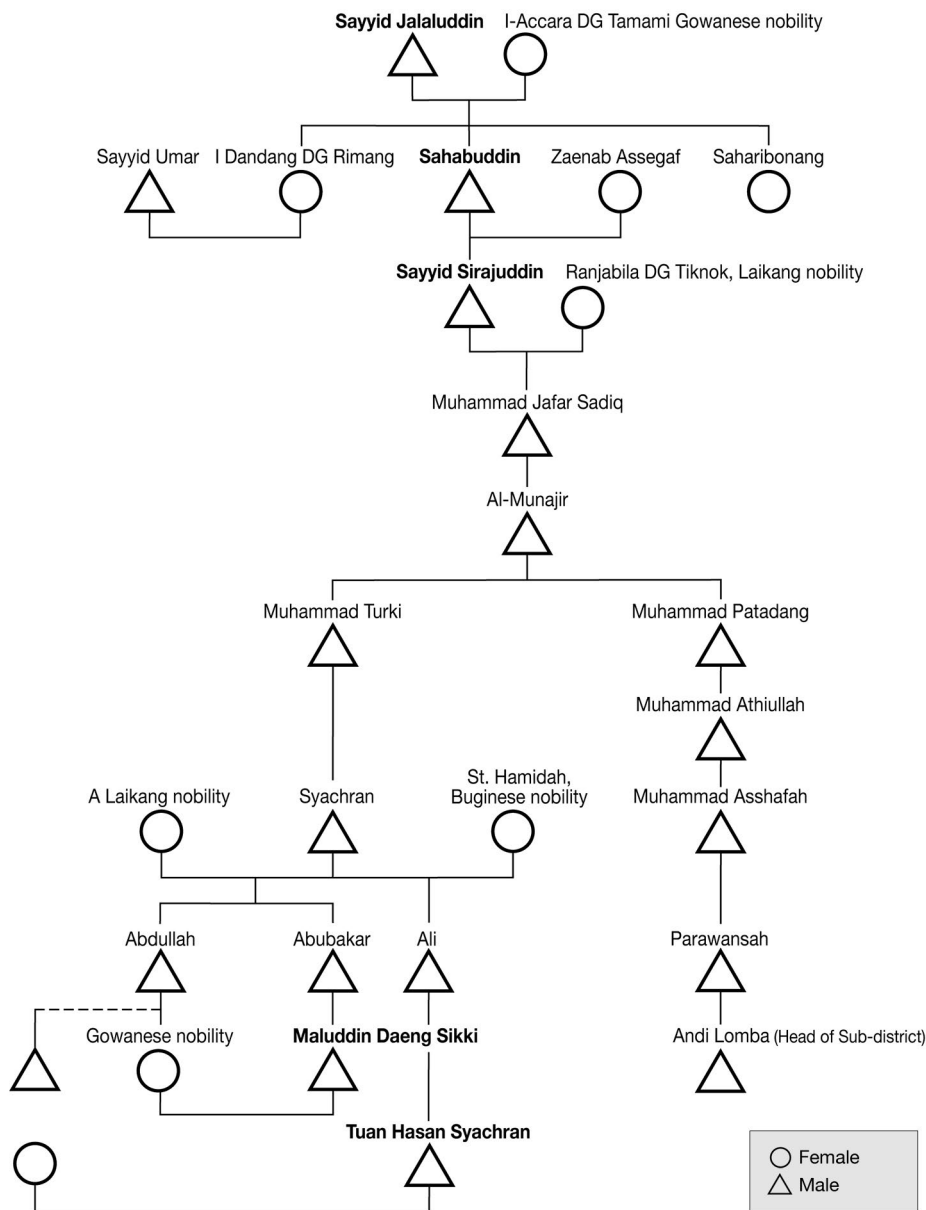
NB: The Sayyid marry one of equal (or below) descent to themselves, whereas the Syarifah marry one of equal (or above) descent to themselves.

Table 3: The genealogy of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid

(I)		(II)	
1.	Nabi Muhammad Saw	1.	Nabi Muhammad Saw
2.	Fatimah az-Zahra	2.	Fatimah az-Zahra
3.	Sayyid Amir al-Mu'minin Imam al-Husein	3.	Sayyid Amir al-Mu'minin Imam al-Husein
4.	Sayyid Ali Zainal Abidin	4.	Sayyid Ali Zainal Abidin
5.	Sayyid Muhammad Baqir	5.	Sayyid Muhammad Baqir
6.	Sayyid Ja'far as-Shadiq	6.	Sayyid Ja'far as-Shadiq
7.	Sayyid Ali al-Uraidi	7.	Sayyid Ali al-Uraidi
8.	Sayyid Muhammad an-Naqib	8.	Sayyid Muhammad an-Naqib
9.	Sayyid Isa Ahmad al-Muhajir	9.	Sayyid Isa Ahmad al-Muhajir
10.	Sayyid Ahmad al-Muhajir	10.	Sayyid Ahmad al-Muhajir
11.	Sayyid Abdullah (Ubaydillah)	11.	Sayyid Abdullah (Ubaydillah)
12.	Sayyid Alwi	12.	Sayyid Alwi
13.	Sayyid Muhammad	13.	Sayyid Muhammad
14.	Sayyid Alwi	14.	Sayyid Alwi
15.	Sayyid Ali Khala' Ghasam	15.	Sayyid Ali Khala' Ghasam
16.	Sayyid Muhammad Shahib Marbad	16.	Sayyid Muhammad Shahib Marbad
17.	Sayyid Alwi	17.	Sayyid Alwi
18.	Sayyid Faqih Abdurrahman	18.	Sayyid Faqih Abdurrahman
19.	Sayyid Faqih Ahmad	19.	Sayyid Faqih Ahmad
20.	Sayyid Abdullah	20.	Sayyid Abdullah
21.	Sayyid Muhammad	21.	Sayyid Muhammad
22.	Sayyid Ali al-Huthoh	22.	Sayyid Ali al-Huthoh
23.	Sayyid Abdullah al-'Aidid	23.	Sayyid Muhammad Maula al-'Aidid
24.	Sayyid Umar al-'Aidid	24.	Sayyid Ali al-'Aidid
25.	Sayyid Ali al-'Aidid	25.	Sayyid Abdullah al-'Aidid
26.	Sayyid Muhammad al-'Aidid	26.	Sayyid Abdurrahman al-'Aidid
27.	Sayyid Abu Bakar al-'Aidid		
28.	Sayyid Muhammad Wahid al-'Aidid		
29.	Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid		

Note: The Cikoangese descendants of al-'Aidid, either living in Cikoang or in Jakarta, follow the first column, whereas the second column is popular among the non-Cikoangese descendants of al-'Aidid residing in Jakarta. According to Tuan Hasan Syachran (a Cikoangese descendant of al-'Aidid in Jakarta), the difference between the two columns arises only after Sayyid Ali al-Huthoh (see number 22). Column II shows that Sayyid Muhammad Maula al-'Aidid (see number 23) has three children: Sayyid Ali al-'Aidid, Sayyid Abdullah al-'Aidid and Sayyid Abdurrahman al-'Aidid. The Cikoangese descendants of Al-'Aidid claim descent from Sayyid Abdullah al-'Aidid, whereas the Jakarta descendants of Al-'Aidid claim descent from Sayyid Abdurrahman al-'Aidid.

Diagram 2: Genealogy of H. Maluddin Daeng Sikki (a Sayyid Karaeng)



Source: Tuan Hasan Syachran al-'Aidid (a Sayyid Tuan).

The second group in the social hierarchy of Cikoang is the Jawi, or the non-Sayyid, consisting of two clusters:

1. Jawi Karaeng, the children of Karaeng, the nobility of the Laikang kingdom whose descent line remains undiluted by Sayyid blood.
2. Jawi Tumaradeka, consisting of two earlier categories, Tusamarak, or commoners, and Ata, or slaves. In present times the Tumaradeka, 'free people' have two sub-clusters:
 - a. Tubajik, or 'distinguished' people who can point to peripheral family ties with the Anakaraeng. These claim descent from the households of the Anakaraeng because their parents or forebears have married Karaeng. Their aristocratic blood is categorised as 'indistinct' or 'half aristocratic' due to such intermarriage.
 - b. Tusamarak (In. *orang kebanyakan*). These are individuals with no blood descent from the aristocracy.

In practice, the Tumaradeka and its divisions are usually identifiable by an *areng paddaengang*, or 'second name'. This is principally the highest title which a Tumaradeka, and especially a Tubajik, can attain and is granted at an early age (see Bulbeck 1992: 41). The Ata in Cikoang can be classed as Ata Sossorang, 'hereditary slaves', or children of former Ata. The majority of this group depend for their subsistence on agriculture and ship- and salt-making concerns usually owned by Sayyid Karaeng. Yet this dependency is restricted at present only within economic terms (see Appendix V). The marriage policies of these two divisions of the Jawi dictates that the men marry below themselves while the women marry above themselves.

Naming system and indications of social rank

Within their social interaction, the Anakaraeng and the Tubajik carry an *areng pakkaengang*, the title of Karaeng. This distinctively aristocratic title can be translated as 'chief', with 'Bugis equivalents included the Arung and Datu titles' (Bulbeck 1992). They also carry an *areng paddaengang*, the title of Daeng, or the second name, which is put after the *areng kale*, the personal or first name: e.g. Karaeng Hamid Daeng Tojeng (Mukhlis 1975 and Röttger-Rössler 1989: 45–46; cf. Bulbeck 1992) where Hamid is the given name and Daeng Tojeng the *areng paddaengang*. The *areng paddaengang* is applied at an early age, usually when an infant is first given a name. Only the Tusamarak possess an *areng paddaengang* after their given name, such as Burhan Daeng Bella, which is bestowed at an adult age or after marriage. As for the Ata, they merely have a personal or given name with no recognisable title.

According to Bulbeck (1996) the Makassar aristocratic titles (the Karaeng titles) were usually derived from the names of places where the aristocrats held authority, such as with one Makassar nobleman named Sultan Abdullah, whose full name was Palakkaya I Malingkaeng I Daeng Manyonri Karaeng Matoaya Karaeng Kanjilo Karaeng Segeri Sultan Abdullah Awalul Islam Tumenanga ri Agama Tumenanga ri Bonto Biraeng. He was the Karaeng, or chief, of three regions: Matoaya, Kanjilo and Segeri.

In regard to the Sayyid community, the Sayyid Karaeng are those who bear the titles of Karaeng and Daeng, similar to the Anak-karaeng and Tubajik titles, such as Karaeng Abdullah Daeng Lino al-'Aidid. They have their Sayyid clan appended as well, such as Karaeng Abdullah Daeng Lino al-'Aidid. The Sayyid Tuan are identified by this title at the beginning of their name and also use the Daeng title, such as in Tuan Ridwan Daeng Radja al-'Aidid.⁴ While the Sayyid Daeng are parallel to the Tusamarak, they alone obtain the Daeng title, for example Sirajuddin Daeng Sila al-'Aidid. It thus appears that names of all status levels of the Sayyid employ the Daeng and al-'Aidid appellations.

Daeng Patunru (1983: 139) maintains that these divisions of social rank, including the naming system, dominate the culture, economy and religion of the Makassarese. Hamid (1994: 30), however, argues that the determination of social strata based on blood is no longer considered the only criterion, rather that Makassar social stratifications are currently based on four criteria: a) social rank and early blood descent; b) authority and its function in society; c) academic degrees and knowledge; and d) office and economic capacity or wealth. My findings agree. At the present time, even if a person cannot claim bloodline with the Anak-karaeng or the Tubajik, that person can also be called Karaeng. Such categories as wealth, strategic positions in the bureaucracy, the academic title of PhD, or even the title of Haji as a pilgrim returned from Mecca, can guarantee that a person is called Karaeng. Thus today aristocratic titles are unanimously considered to be honorary and can therefore be attached to a person of any social stratum, depending on the person's capacities in society. In spite of this, individuals of the Anak-karaeng and the Tubajik class are still regarded as more honourable, because they are in fact also among the rich, generally possessing tens of hectares of land inherited from their parents. They are the more 'honourable' with their genuine descent and wealth.

4 There are two different perceptions about the origins of this title of Tuan, as was argued by my informants; for example, Tuan Hasan, living in Jakarta explained that 'the term Tuan was merely an honorary title indicating someone who was a respected figure in his society'. He cited the title being given to Dutch officials in the colonial period, who mostly occupied positions in the bureaucracy. He speculated that the term Tuan could have been introduced by the Dutch. Another Sayyid Tuan told me that it was derived from Aceh, since this was the region where Sayyid Jalaluddin first stayed in the archipelago after his arrival from the Hadhramaut. The Sayyid living in Aceh use the Acehnese title Tengku, from which Tuan might have been derived.

Similarly, all levels within the Makassar social hierarchy are now entitled to obtain the Daeng title, which is then regarded as a parameter of being a Makassarese. Some Bugis also use this title, such as is done in Bone. Yet unlike the Anakaraeng and the Tubajik, the Daeng title will only be given when a Makassarese reaches adulthood or marries.⁵

The same situation obtains in Cikoang, where in their social interaction all status levels of the Sayyid social hierarchy are called Karaeng, with no personal name attached. During my fieldwork I often heard people calling the Sayyid Karaeng, without mentioning their name: '*Iyye Karaeng*' – meaning 'Yes, Karaeng', a respectful reply when asked something by the Sayyid. So the divisions of the Sayyid are difficult to identify in daily life, except, as I noticed, when their names are fully written out or cited for personal inquiry or to appear on letters of invitation to weddings.

On the occasion of the preparations for one Sayyid's wedding party, which I attended, all the names of the guests were written on the side of the letters of invitation. The names of individuals of all social ranks in the Sayyid social hierarchy were clearly and fully written out. When I first carried out my census of the Sayyid population in Jakarta, all names of the Sayyid given to me similarly indicated their social rank. This gave me valuable information on the Sayyid social hierarchy, confirmed by Achmad in Table 4 (1995).⁶

Table 4: Sayyid population by class and *lingkungan* in Cikoang

Lingkungan (Hamlet)	Sayyid Karaeng	Sayyid Tuan	Sayyid Daeng	Number
1. Cikoang	473	851	976	2,300
2. Pattopakkang	327	382	571	1,280
3. Bonto Parang	251	320	358	929
4. Panjangkalang	276	291	326	893
Total	1,327	1,844	2,231	5,402^a

^a The total 5,402 is an estimate of the number of all Sayyid in Cikoang.

Source: As compiled from *Catatan Administrasi Imam Kampong Cikoang* (Adapted from Achmad 1995).

NB: Kampong Cikoang has a total population of 8,300 (see Table 1). The figures above indicate that approximately 5,402 or 64.3 per cent of the Cikoangese population are Sayyid. This means that the Jawi comprise only about 2,898 or 35.7 per cent of the total population of Kampong Cikoang. One per cent of 35.7 per cent are Jawi Karaeng, the rest are commoners.

5 In reality many young Makassarese, including myself, are reluctant to be called by their Daeng title. They use their *areng paddaengang* (second name) and omit the 'Daeng'; for example, my full name is Muhammad Adlin Daeng Sila (the title was given to me as an infant) but I prefer to answer to Muhammad Adlin Sila.

6 It should be kept in mind that Cikoang is not the only place where the Sayyid of the al-Aidid clan reside. Jakarta, specifically in Kelurahan Penjaringan in North Jakarta, is another site where I spent two uninterrupted months of my fieldwork (see Chapter Four for the figures of the Sayyid population there).

There is another important indication on which we can rely in order to identify the social order of the Makassarrese, including the Sayyid. This is a most visible one, the so-called *sambulayang*, or *timpalaja* in Bugis, of house construction, meaning literally the number of layers in the roof gable; see the illustrations on the following pages.

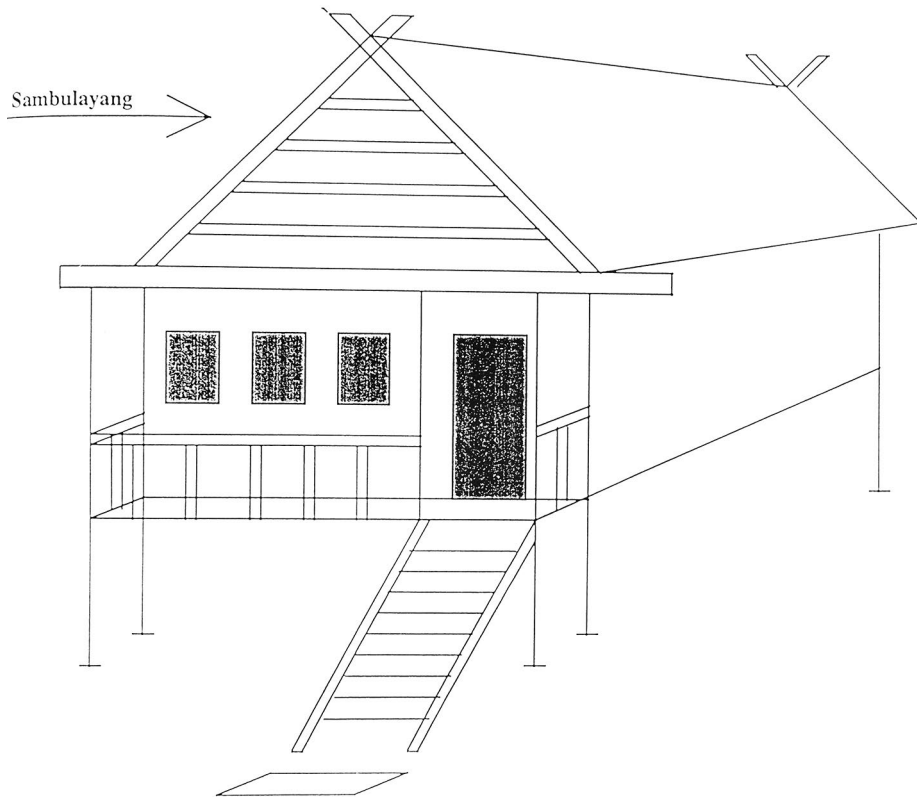


Figure 2: The *sambulayang* indicates the social status of the house owner. The number of layers in the roof gable of this house indicates it belongs to a former Gowa ruler



Figure 3: Balla Lompoa, the house of a former Gowa ruler (Karaeng)



Figure 4: The house of the children of Karaeng (Anakkaraeng)



Figure 5: The house of distinguished people (Tubajik)



Figure 6: The house of commoners (Tusamarak)



Figure 7: The house of former slaves (Ata)



Figure 8: The playing of drums (*gandrang*)

Normally, the numbers of *sambulayang* are based on the social rank of the householders.⁷ According to Robinson (1996: 1) the basic form of the Makassar house is a 'wooden frame in which a post supports both floor and the roof, which is then finished in a variety of materials.' In modern Makassar, however, as Robinson also found, the construction of houses tends to indicate the degree of prosperity of the householders. The construction is finished as budget permits. Nevertheless, it is the number of *sambulayang* that remains the notable reflection of the social rank of the householders.

The houses of the highest social rank of Makassar's social hierarchy, former Karaeng, the rulers of the kingdom of Gowa, possess the largest number of *sambulayang*: five. The houses of the Anakaraeng (the nobles) normally have four *sambulayang*, the Tubajik possess three *sambulayang* and the Tusamarak two *sambulayang*, while the houses of the Ata do not have any. This indication, to a certain extent, is not a core distinction of class but it is apparent in terms of the social ranks of Makassar.

As for the Sayyid community, the houses of the Sayyid Karaeng possess the largest number of *sambulayang*; that is, three, similar to those of the Tubajik, and three perhaps because their aristocracy is of lesser rank than the Anakaraeng (see Bulbeck 1992). The Sayyid Tuan, the Sayyid Daeng and the Jawi Tumaradeka use the same number of *sambulayang*, whereas the house of the Ata in Cikoang are exactly as in other Makassar regions, using no *sambulayang*.

Violations of this architectural hierarchy can cause offence to other social ranks – usually to a higher stratum. If a house of the Jawi Tumaradeka or the Sayyid Daeng, for example, should boast three *sambulayang* (a prerogative of the Sayyid Karaeng and Jawi Karaeng), the head of the *adat* community (e.g. a Sayyid Karaeng) will be the person in charge of settling a possible feud by asking the violator to show proof of his or her Karaeng origin. As I experienced, the violator is not free from punishment, at least the taunts from others, unless he or she can demonstrate genealogical evidence establishing his or her links

7 Other indicators are: 1) the playing of the *gandrang* drum at wedding feasts, said to be 'the prerogative of the Makassar nobility' (Chabot 1996: 112) up to the present time (see Figure 8). All classes within the Sayyid community, as I noted, also play this instrument in wedding celebrations; 2) payment of the *sunrang*, or bride-price, the amount of this given depending on the social stratum of the woman's kin group (Röttger-Rössler 1996: 38).

In principle, the *sunrang* for the women of the Anakaraeng is the highest and that of the Ata women the lowest. The Ata women working on the land bring a lower payment than those working inside their Karaeng's house as domestic servants (Sila 1994). Thus the amount of the *sunrang* is established according to rank and status. The figure is always an even number (Chabot 1996: 138). However, a full discussion of the arrangements of the *sunrang* lies beyond the scope of this study.

with the Karaeng. However, such traditional regulations are at present only commonplace in rural areas like Cikoang and are rarely found in the big cities such as Ujung Pandang and Jakarta.⁸

Within the sphere of social interaction, their roles and attributes distinguish the division of the Sayyid from the Jawi, particularly in customary and religious terms. The Sayyid Karaeng are those in charge of maintaining customary law, or *adat*, and often hold the position of *adat* community head. They are also eligible to handle religious practices, such as in the case of H. Maluddin Daeng Sikki al-'Aidid, a Sayyid Karaeng,⁹ who usually gives the opening speech and prayer in the Maudu' ceremony which is conducted annually. The Sayyid Tuan and Sayyid Daeng, usually responsible for religious matters, are *anrongguru* or religious teachers. They are normally prepared to be the heads of practices such as the celebration of the Maudu' and the Pattumateang, the ritual purification of the dead, both of which will be further discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

However, it may also happen that the Jawi (particularly the Jawi Karaeng) are also eligible to occupy traditional and religious positions, so long as they obtain an authorisation delegated by a Sayyid as the primary source of authority to become his successors. We see this particularly in religious terms when an *anrongguru* delegates his authority to a Jawi *ana'guru*, his student, whom he intends to become his successor (see Chapter Four).¹⁰

In summary, the social structure of the Sayyid families in Cikoang is comprised of agnatic lineages because the children inherently take the descent status of their father and not of their mother. This typical tradition has resulted in an exclusive community based on patrilineage (Hisyam 1985). Each patrilineal community is headed by an *opua*, a Sayyid Karaeng, the person in charge of maintaining harmony among the families of the Sayyid.

8 In the titular system, the title Sayyid merely indicates descent from the Prophet Muhammad, while al-'Aidid is a family name. As is seen in Table 2, several Sayyid clans are identified by the place they came from. The al-'Aidids originally derived from 'Aidid, a valley situated in the Hadhramaut.

The complicated naming system used by the Sayyid is not uncommon in Cikoang. To give one example: I could call the chairperson of the al-'Aidid Organisation of Makassar and my key informant, Sayyid H. Maluddin al-'Aidid Daeng Sikki, either Karaeng Sikki or simply Daeng Sikki. Sayyid is the marker of his status, H. Maluddin is his given name, al-'Aidid is his lineage name, Sikki is his *areng paddaengang*, Karaeng and Daeng are his Makassarese aristocratic titles.

9 H. Maluddin Daeng Sikki is one of my key informants, whom I regard as my *anrongguru*. Because of his position in the al-'Aidid Organisation, it was from him that I obtained most of my data on the teachings of Sayyid Jalaluddin.

10 This idea of delegation of authority is equally found in Lewis' (1996: 161) ethnography of the Regency of Sikka in East Central Flores.

In 1979, according to a Cikoang source, a more sophisticated association was founded with the title of Kerukunan Keluarga Al-'Aidid (Al-'Aidid Family Harmony). In the next several years, another association was also founded, called IPKA (Ikatan Pemuda Keluarga Al-'Aidid; Al-'Aidid Family Youth Association) which had previously been called IPPA (Ikatan Pemuda Pemudi Al-'Aidid; the Al-'Aidid Youth Association). One of the reasons for the foundation of these associations was, according to my Sayyid informant, to encourage members of families to know each other more closely so that the endogamous marriage system could be properly maintained. Under this system, the number of the Syarifah, regrettably remaining unmarried, will continue to increase unless the Sayyid community provides the means to reduce the number of marriages occurring between Sayyid and non-Syarifah.

The IPKA also sponsors the education of the younger generation of the families in the principles of Sayyid teachings, so that they can maintain their genuineness and be prepared to encounter criticism, especially coming from outsiders, notably the Islamic organisation Muhammadiyah (see Chapter Four). In reality, having more freedom in choosing their partners, the Sayyid men regularly marry non-Syarifah women. This is obvious if we look again at Table 5, where Sayyid Daeng comprise the largest proportion of the population. Far more Sayyid are marrying non-Syarifah than those marrying Syarifah, with the consequence that descendants of the Sayyid and Jawi are now believed to share a mutual culture (Nurdin et al. 1977/1978).

The traces of this process are obvious in modern Cikoang. The Sayyid have adopted many of the Jawi-Makassar social institutions in such matters as notions of social stratification and naming systems, as discussed earlier. In return, the Sayyid traditions of Maudu' and Pattumateang have become the prime religious activities of the Cikoangese as a whole (see Part Two of this study). The Sayyid, with their ascribed status and religious legitimacy, have historically held authority over the Jawi, so that in practice, they participate in a patron-client relationship (Hisyam 1983) (see Chapter Five).

***Siri'* and *kafa'ah*: Notions of superimposition**

According to Makassar-Bugis traditions, apart from the ascription of descent status, the position of people in any social hierarchy is also dependent upon a state called *siri'*. For example, individuals of the Karaeng could fall into slavery if they failed to restore a violated *siri'*, and conversely, individuals of the Tumaradeka could rise to a higher rank if they managed to enhance their *siri'*, or at least maintain their *siri'* stably. *Siri'* is also an inner state with two

etymological meanings: the first is shame (In. *malu*) and the second is self-respect, self-worth or self-esteem (In. *martabat* or *harga diri*). Leonard Andaya wrote (1979: 366–367; cf. Marzuki 1995: 115–116):

The two contradictory meanings of *siri'* must always be kept in balance one with another. By maintaining this equilibrium, a person remains whole, a full individual. If shame should dominate and overwhelm the whole person, then self-respect must bring back into equilibrium. If self-respect should turn to arrogance, then shame or humility should be reasserted to restore the balance. Without the balance of these two aspects of *siri'*, one is considered to be lacking or unwhole.

This inner state is a standard measure for crediting the value of a person within the Makassar notion of personhood. Once one's *siri'* is offended the person will feel embarrassed (Mak. *ripakasiri'*) until he can restore it. Otherwise, he might be considered as a lesser person (Mak. *tenasiri'na*). To be a whole person (Mak. *tautojeng*) means to keep the *siri'* in stability (Mak. *paentengi siri'nu*).

External causes of embarrassment vary in the present day, but previously they referred only to women's misbehaviour. In older times, but still commonplace now mainly in rural areas, it was taboo for a woman, particularly if she was officially engaged, to be seen sitting or walking with another man (intentionally or unintentionally) without the full knowledge of her family. Chabot (1996: 182) best illustrates this phenomenon:

A young girl only leaves the house in the company of older women. Little excursions are holidays for her. She dresses carefully for these occasions, she makes herself up, blackens her eyebrows and the hairline on her forehead, and powders her face. The older women guard and protect her. In their presence, a young girl is safe. If she is alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is considered a breach of the established forms of social intercourse. If a neighbour woman were to see and talk about it, so that the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel *siri'* and act accordingly.

The family of the girl, especially her kinsmen, would feel shamed by such a deed. In such a situation, they are called *tumassiri'*, literally the 'offended' party. In another case, if a girl were to decide to marry a man without the permission of her family, her *annyala* (In. *kawin lari*) or elopement dissolves any engagement already arranged by her family. The girl then brings dishonour upon the family, causes their humiliation and undermines the *siri'* of the family as a whole (Marzuki 1995: 35; Chabot 1996: 236–255).

There are three kinds of *annyala*: *silariang*, where both the girl and the man agree to elope; *nilariang*, where the girl is abducted by the man and finds an *imam* in charge of Islamic marriages to marry them (usually due to the refusal

of the girl's family to the man's prior marriage proposal); and *erangkale*, where the girl forces the man to marry, partly due to sexual advances which sometimes lead to pregnancy, by reporting the man's deed to the *imam* so that he is obliged to marry her. *Annyala*, in any of its three types, does not seek the approval of the families involved. It is considered to be the last resort after other normal processes have proved unsuccessful. Similarly, it is used when both parties already understand that approval of their marriage is impossible, most often due to differences in the social rank. I met one Syarifah who decided to choose *annyala*, because her chosen fiancé was a non-Sayyid.

On the other hand, in the past the consequences of breaking an agreed betrothal to take on another partner was traditionally death for both the girl and the young man because such was considered to be the remedy to cure offended *siri'*. One of the methods of alternative reconciliation is called *abbajik* (Mak; Ind. *perdamaian*) or 'making peace'. If the young man's parents asked for *abbajik* from the girl's family and their apology was accepted, with the payment of compensation by the man or his family, then *appasala*, or the death penalty would not come into effect.

The *abbajik* involves a representative of both the girl and man being sent to the family of the girl to offer the peace proposal. The process may continue through a number of further meetings, and successful negotiation depends partly on the credibility and integrity of the representatives. Such categories as the descent, wealth and social rank of the representatives can guarantee that resolution is achieved. Once peace is restored, an official approval of the forthcoming marriage is then made known openly to all the girl's relatives, including the family of her former fiancé, in the hope that it can restore the violated *siri'* of her family. On the other hand, if the proposal fails the young man and the girl must go into exile until their proposal can be accepted over time.

For the Sayyid, however, there is no such word as forgiveness in their dictionary. Once a woman of the Sayyid house behaves in such a way she will be isolated from her kin group. Yet, unlike the ordinary Makassarese, the Sayyid do not show their anger by exercising the death penalty upon the transgressors of their *siri'* since, according to one Sayyid, there is no cure for that kind of violation. The most the woman will receive is the loss of familial ties with her relatives for an unspecified period of time.

In the eyes of the Makassarese, the Bugis and the Sayyid, the position of women is the predominant factor that influences the *siri'* of the family. Chabot's analysis (1996) is that men are the defender of *siri'* while women are the 'vessels' or 'bearers' of *siri'*. According to Makassar and Bugis traditions (especially among the Karaeng) it is preferred for women to marry men according to their family's arrangements, when they will be selected from the same stratum or a higher

stratum, or those who are distinguished by their wealth (Mak. *tukalumannyang*), intelligence (Mak. *tucara'de*), bravery in war (Mak. *tubarani*) or trustworthiness (Mak. *tubajik*). Thus the preferred tendency of the Makassar women to marry 'up' is the typical pattern of marriage in the region.

In normal situations for the Sayyid, however, the Syarifah must marry a man of equal descent to themselves. The Syarifah must marry a man of Sayyid origin, regardless of his social capacity such as wealth, intelligence, moral qualities and so forth. For example, the Syarifah Karaeng are allowed to marry Sayyid Daeng, or beneath themselves, so long as the man is a Sayyid.

Among the Makassarese, a bride-price, locally called *sunrang*, a gift of the groom to the bride (usually a specified amount of money), is one of the most meaningful elements of marriage tradition, because the amount of the *sunrang* signifies dignity of social rank. A different perspective is to be found in the Sayyid community, where the *sunrang* is not so important, indeed not necessary so long as there is a Sayyid man available to marry their Syarifah. One Sayyid Karaeng told me:

Usually, a man cannot afford to meet the amount of *sunrang* required by the Makassarese girl's family. This sometimes leads to the failure of a marriage proposal. We the Sayyid are not like that, because marriage between our children is more important. We even assist a man of Sayyid descent financially if he is poor, to enable him to proceed with the desired marriage.

Among the Buginese and Makassarese the *siri'* of the young women and their family will be enhanced by marriage to a distinguished man, because such a union will put their offspring in a higher place in the social hierarchy than ever before. If the reverse is the case, the women will decrease their family's *siri'* and cause offence. The most common way for families to preserve the stability of *siri'* is by exercising endogamous marriage. This is done through bilateral lines, where the prospective husband and wife are derived from bilineal descent on both the father's and mother's sides, commonly known as cross-cousin marriage. Thus the *siri'* of the Makassarese and Bugis family is significantly dependent upon the standing of the daughter's future partner.¹¹

In modern times, the question of *siri'* involves more varied situations; for instance, I found cases in other parts of Makassar where a village head would feel humiliated if asked to step down from office. 'It is a matter of *siri'*' said one, 'therefore I insist on maintaining this office.' Another example is that a father will feel humiliated or embarrassed if his children fail to perform well in school. Thus, *siri'* is to some extent currently to do with the social status of a person or a family in society. The better the material living standards, the higher the *siri'*

11 This information was given in an interview with Bapak Abu Hamid in Ujung Pandang.

of a family will also be, and vice versa. The death penalty imposed on errant young people in their choice of marriage partner, previously considered to be a remedy for *siri'* violation, is no longer generally apparent among the Bugis and Makassarese.

As for the Sayyid, they will feel humiliated (Mak. *tumassiri'*) or become 'shamed persons' if they cannot afford to celebrate their traditional rites such as the Maudu' festival, while violation against their distinctive marriage tradition of *kafa'ah* is still considered to be the most severe attack on their *siri'*. For the Sayyid there is nothing more worthy of protection in this world than *kafa'ah*.

Bloodline, then, is the chief principle of Sayyid family identity. In order to preserve their pure line with its ties with the Prophet, the Sayyid strive to exercise *kafa'ah* strictly in their policy of marriage. *Kafa'ah* has a root meaning in Arabic of 'equal' or 'proper' (and hence 'equality of marriage partner') and thus refers to marriage between the Sayyid and the Syarifah. Prospective husbands and wives who can both show blood ties with the household of Muhammad are always considered to be the best arranged partners.

Within more general Cikoangese social interaction this kind of marriage points to a distinction held between the Sayyid and the non-Sayyid, the Jawi Makassarese. With the identification of their origins, the Sayyid regard themselves as of superior worth. Bloodline becomes a metaphor for the quality and value of their family. This idea of bloodline is also the primary metaphor for honour. Absence of a genealogical link with the Prophet implies a lower moral worth. These principles, then, define the Sayyids' identity and the quality of their relations with other people (cf. Abu-Lughod 1986).

The identification of nobility of origin reflects the ideological system of the Sayyid. The Sayyid social structure is comprised of agnatic lineage, with descent traced through males. This explains why the preferred type of marriage is patrilateral parallel cousin marriage, 'the combination of husband and wife coming from their father's side', or marriage between two brothers' children. Many acknowledgements of the soundness of this marriage system are reported by my informants, particularly regarding matters of raising the children, taking care of the property of the husband and even more importantly, observing the Sayyid's long-standing traditions. About this, my Sayyid informant told me:

A Syarifah wife is better, because there is no need to teach her the significance of Maudu' and how to perform it, because she already knows. There is no complaint anymore when the money is running out because of financing the Maudu'. Nevertheless, if the wife is not a Syarifah, it is very difficult to make her understand the significance of Maudu'; she even can drive us mad.

According to Sayyid Maluddin, in principle, a Sayyid is only permitted to marry a woman of another (i.e. lower) stratum if he has first married a Syarifah. After this, a Sayyid can marry others; yet in the field I found hardly any statistics or percentages of the first marriage in cases of polygyny. Such marriages are allowed because the capacity of the Sayyid as *pannongkoki*, literally, 'patron and carrier' of the Sayyid blood. When the Sayyid marry women from other strata the children of this union will be honoured equally as Sayyid, the children taking the descent status of their father. This tradition is quite similar to what Bujra observes in the Hadhramaut (1971: 93):

As interpreted by the Sadah (plural of Sayyid) in Hadhramaut, *kafa'ah* is held to refer to equality of descent only, and they have supported this interpretation with religious arguments and their power in society. Thus, they argue that a man ought to marry one of equal descent status to himself, but that if no such suitable spouse exists he may marry a woman of lower descent. Such a marriage is allowed because the children will take the descent status of their father and not their mother.

Within their social interaction, women of the Anakaraeng or lower stratum, having been married by the Sayyid, can be fully accepted as part of his kin group, so long as they live together with the kin for a lengthy period. The female outsiders, with their children, can be part of the Sayyid family through marriage if they can fully familiarise and adjust themselves as members of the kin in all aspects of life.

The term 'familiarisation' is also significant in the kinship system of the Sayyid. Particularly for the non-Syarifah women married to Sayyid, living in the surrounds of the Sayyid community after marriage is most preferred, so that they can fully participate in the Sayyid traditional practices, which in turn can strengthen their relationship to one another. To quote a phrase taken from one of my informants: '*Manna bija punna bellai pammantanganna, taumaraenji antu rikatte*' ('Even if they are members of our relatives but live far away from us, they can be regarded as foreigners') (see Hisyam 1985). So we see that the Sayyid kinship system is not only patrilineal but also patrilocal.

In terms of marriage, affinal kin are also important to the Sayyid community. Inter-marriage between the Sayyid and the non-Syarifah associates agnatic and affinal ties (the descendants of the union being categorised as either Sayyid Karaeng or Sayyid Daeng). This is also what Radcliffe-Brown (1971: 129) found in Africa, that a marriage is not just a 'union of a man and a woman; it is an alliance between two families or bodies of kin'.

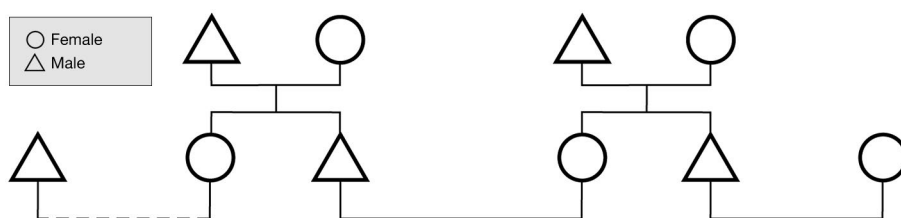
The agnatic tie is called *bija pammanakang*, or 'all male relatives' – defined as kindred in anthropological terminology as an ego-centred network of bilateral ties. That is to say, it is a culturally recognised category of bilateral relatives,

which may extend only to a certain degree of relationship from ego (e.g. until third cousins). The affinal tie is termed *bija panrenrengang*, which covers all relatives who enter the kin group through marriage. Both these categories, *bija pammanakang* and *bija panrenrengang* play an important role in the realm of the policy of marital unions, because whom one is allowed to marry is assessed in terms of *bija pammanakang*. From the viewpoint of the Sayyid traditions, all relatives inheriting Sayyid blood (by kindred or lineage) are categorised as *bija pammanakang*.

For the non-Sayyid societies of Makassar, the term *bija pammanakang* refers to those who can trace descent through both male and female, or bilineal/ambilineal links (see Chabot 1996). Keesing (1975) has proposed the term 'cognatic descent' to refer to those systems which trace descent through male and female links indiscriminately. For the nobles, who do focus on their ancestors, one can speak of cognatic descent, whereas commoners tend to be organised merely in networks based on kindred. However, current patron–client relations tend to shade these distinctions, as commoners also tend to claim a relationship of descent with nobles of previous generations, i.e. Karaeng.

On the other hand, the right of an individual to obtain a Sayyid title is allocated through his or her father's side, a principle that allows us to speak of patrilineal descent. Unlike the boys, once girls are born within a *bija pammanakang* group, they are directed to choose their partner from *bija pammanakang* only. This idea of *bija pammanakang*, I think, is the real framework of the *kafa'ah* system (see Appendix III).

Diagram 3: Patrilineal descent



NB: The dotted lines indicate that the marriage is not allowed (Syarifah with non-Sayyid).

As a corollary, it is due to the greater freedom given to the Sayyid men that many complaints have come from the Syarifah who have no possibility of choosing their own partners from another social stratum. Many Syarifah told me that they have to choose either to become a *tulolo bangko*, an old maid, when few

Sayyid are available to marry them,¹² or to ignore the long-standing tradition of *kafa'ah* system by eloping with non-Sayyid men by *anniyala*. If they choose the latter, the consequences will be severe; they still remember that it was once punishable by death.

This situation relates to the idea of modesty. According to my Sayyid informants, modesty is attributed to femininity while *siri'*, as self-respect, self-worth and self-esteem, is associated with masculinity. Yet through the path of modesty, a Syarifah can obtain or even enhance her *siri'* and that of her family by strictly following the rules of the *kafa'ah* system. She can maintain her status, the blood link with the household of the Prophet Muhammad and at the same time enhance her own personal worth. The reverse choice will raise a so-called *ammere'*, a 'violation' against *kafa'ah* (see Hisyam 1985), which in turn undermines the *siri'* of her family. In a taped interview with a Syarifah maiden I was told that if a Syarifah tries to manipulate the law, she will put herself at a terrible risk. Her family will be marked with the shame of *tumassiri'* and become 'offended' people. Her family would no longer want to recognise her as its daughter and upon her death would not even pray for her.

My informants further told me that normally the Sayyid never asked to be honoured but that local people always pay conspicuous respect to them by, for example, bowing before the Sayyid or kissing the Sayyid's right hand whenever and wherever they meet him. If, however, people do not behave in this way, it will not offend the Sayyid. In the first several weeks of my contact with the Cikoangese, I could not distinguish the Sayyid and Jawi from one another. Yet the Sayyid never asked me to change my attitude to them – until I found out for myself what were the prevailing protocols of etiquette.

12 The idea of the *tulolo bangko* is also widespread among the women of the Anakaraeng and Tubajik in the non-Sayyid Makassarese societies who prefer to marry distinguished men. They, like the unmarried Syarifah, usually live in the house of their married brothers and sisters to become caretakers of the house and the children.

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