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The focus of this journal is to provide readers on understanding of Indonesia and International affairs related to religious literature and heritage and its present developments through publication of articles, research reports, and books reviews.

Heritage of Nusantara specializes in religious studies in the field of literature either contemporarily or classically and heritage located in Southeast Asia. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

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SAYYID: “THE STRANGER KING”, RELIGION AND TRADITION THE CASE OF CIKOANG¹

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Abstract

This article describes the sayyid community in Cikoang, South Sulawesi that for about three centuries enjoyed a high status in the society. Given their religious status the sayyid not only eclipse the commoners in term of religion but also in other realm that was in the political arena. The sayyids are said to have dominated the rulers of Cikoang-Laikang “kingdom” since the mix marriage of sayyids and the noble women of the “kingdom” until the modern era. The description is developed under a theoretical framework named the stranger kingship.

Keywords: *Stranger King, Sayyid Jalaluddin al-Aidid, Cikoang-Laikang, Bahru al-Nur, maudu’.*

Abstrak

Artikel ini mendeskripsikan komunitas sayyid di Desa Cikoang, Sulawesi Selatan yang selama lebih kurang tiga abad menikmati status elitis di tengah masyarakatnya. Dengan mengatasnamakan keturunan nabi dan ajaran agama, status mereka jauh melebihi orang biasa, tidak saja dalam domain agama melainkan juga dalam bidang politik. Raja-raja Cikoang-Laikang selalu dipegang oleh keturunan Sayyid sejak perkawinannya dengan ratu Kerajaan Laikang di abad 17, hingga sekarang. Dalam mendeskripsikan fenomena ini dipakai konsep teori historical-anthropology: “stranger king”.

Kata Kunci: *Stranger King, Sayyid Jalaluddin Al-Aidid, Cikoang-Laikang, Bahru al-Nur, maudu’.*

Introduction

The concept of stranger king has been used among the historians and anthropologists since 1980s. This concept argues that many indigenous societies accepted foreign origins as their leader, ruler or king. Initially it's used for understanding the global colonialism, but the phenomenon were actually common in pre colonial time. It was Marshall Sahlins who initially developed the concept of a stranger kingship when he described Fijian history using historical resources but with an anthropological insight (Caldwell and Henley, 2018: 164). Correspondingly the phenomenon of the stranger kingship was not only in the Pacific region but commonly found throughout the world, including in the archipelago (Nusantara).

There are many examples telling outsiders installed as ruler inside Nusantara. James J. Fox (2018: 203-215) for instance, narrated ten examples came from Austronesian cultures which all indicated that foreigners became rulers inside society. Sahlins (2018: 187) also mentioned that foreign objects functioning as regal and palladia have played critical roles in the constitution of Southeast Asia sovereignties. The royal regalia were the real rulers of certain coastal Sulawesi kingdoms. According to him, all power is foreign in origin, and that the affinal relationship is the archetype/prototype of the stranger king politics (Sahlins, 2008: 196).

The question is what causes outsiders can be considered to have power, and then used as a leader or ruler. The answer to this question could come from factors within (insider), can also be due to external factors. From the inside factors point of view, there are cultural assumption that outsiders considered to have a good knowledge of virtue and spiritual power. It could also be due to competition among the conflicting, so that outsiders who crave can govern, to resolve conflicts that are detrimental to society. Outsiders who come to a certain community that considers to have a power, either because of their knowledge, religious messages, as well as physical figures can cause a certain authority. Max Weber (1963) distinguish authority into three types, namely traditional authority, charismatic authority and legal-rational authority. Traditional authority linked with mythology, ritual based on cosmology, and

the local political hierarchy. Charismatic authority should be reserved for situation where local rulers associated with cosmopolitan religious doctrines and practices that claim to be universal and eternal valid, but that must be interpreted and implemented in an infinite number of concrete time and place. Legal-rational authority is associated which Gibson call it ‘documentary knowledge’, a form of knowledge in which depersonalized office holders generate abstract, explicit information for the use of impersonal corporate or state bureaucracy they serve (Gibson, 2008: 310).

According to Gibson (2008: 310), all the three types of authority existed in the past in South Sulawesi. The latest mentioned type of authority, of course, existed after the Dutch colonization started. This article describes a form of the stranger kingship who rely on charismatic authority in the south end of South Sulawesi. Event was marked by the arrival of a sayyid named Sayyid Jalaluddin Al-Aidid in the area, developed teachings of Islam known as Sufism Baḥr al-Nūr. He married to the local woman and had three sons. The second descent of Sayyid Jalaluddin married to the daughter of the local ruler. The son of this pair later became ruler of the local state. Since that time (17th century) until the end of 20th century rulers of this country were always the sayyid descendants. The locus of these events are Cikoang, district of Takalar, South Sulawesi.

The Sayyid

The word *sayyid* literally means master. It originally a title attributed to the Arab people notably the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad from the side of his grandson, Husein, the son of Ali and Fatimah. Ali is the son of Abu Talib, uncle of Muhammad and married to his daughter, Fatimah. It was well known that the son of Prophet Muhammad was died in the time of his infancy. According to the Islamic tradition, the descendants of Prophet Muhammad belong to the *ahlu al-bait* group or member of household of Muhammad. It means that the *sayyid* are Arab or originally come from Arabia. Other titles similar to *sayyid* are *syarif* (plural *asyraf*)

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meaning honorable, and *habīb* (plural *habā'ib*) meaning lovely person.

The relation of Arab and Indonesia took place a long time ago, since the time of Islamization in the twelfth or thirteenth century. The historians even believe that the relation between the two nations occurred earlier than the Islamization of Indonesia. The sea trade between Arab and China made it possible for the Arabs to come to the Indonesian archipelago. It was due to the efforts of the Muslim traders, Arab, Persian, Indian and Chinese, that Islam rooted in Indonesia. Arab traders had long been in Indonesia, but according to L.W.C. Van den Berg (1989: 67-68), their number was relatively small until approximately the late 18th century. In 1812 the number of Arabs in Java and Madura was only 621. Later this figure increased steadily with the coming of new immigrants from Hadramaut, or Yamen on the modern world. It was due to the improvement of transportation equipments, including the open of The Suez Canal and the development of economic activities, the large number of Hadramis migrated to Indonesia. In 1885, the number of Arab in Indonesia was 20,000, 10,888 were in Java and Madura, and the rest were in the other islands. (Berg 1989: 107-109). The sayyid in Indonesia is believed to have emigrated together with the other Hadramis from Hadramaut in this period.

The social stratification of the Hadramis in Indonesia was on a par with those in their origin, the Hadramaut. There are four major hierarchical strata were recognized: the *sayyid*, the *masyāyikh* (singular *syekh*), the *qabā'il* (traders), and the *masākin* or *ḍu'afa* (the poor). Sayyid is the top rank in this social stratification system.

The Arab migrants in Indonesia tended to settle along the coastal area, in the big cities, like Batavia, Cirebon, Pekalongan, Semarang, Surabaya, Palembang, and Pontianak. Most of the Arabs were traders, workers and fishermen, and the small part of them were religious teachers or saints. The majority of them were the subsistent traders, and the little part were wealthy persons, owner of the ships and buildings that were very profitable.

The sayyid group in Hadramaut, according to the traditional accounts were descendant of the Sayyid Ahmad bin Isa, which was

known as *al-Muḥājir*. The latest term indicates that he was an immigrant, that was from Baghdad. Seven generations after Ahmad bin Isa, the genealogy of the sayyid group had two branches, with two sons of Muhammad labeled *Ṣāhib al-Rabat*. (Sila, 2001: 7-80). After that the sayyid group was divided into several clans. Van den Berg (1989) listed the sayyid clans of Hadramis in the late 19th century were 82 names. Al-‘Aidid, the name which will be discussed in this paper is one of the clan in the Berg’s list.

Sayyid in Cikoang

Cikoang is a name of a *desa* (village). The existence of *sayyid* in Cikoang relates to the coming of Jalaluddin, a sayyid to the region. He was a descendant of al-‘Aidid clan in Hadramaut. His full name is Sayyid Jalaluddin bin Muhammad Wahid al-‘Aidid. According to Pelras (1985), sayyid Jalaluddin’s grandfather originally come from Iraq, then stayed for a while in Hadramaut. From there he went to Aceh. According Pelras, Sayyid Jalaluddin was born in Aceh, but the sayyid oral tradition of Cikoang preferred to say that he came straightly from Hadramaut. Sayyid Jalaluddin was recognized as the founding father of the *sayyid* community in Desa (village) Cikoang, Kecamatan (district) Mangarabombang, Kabupaten (regency) Takalar, in the southern part of South Sulawesi. According to the local tradition, Cikoang was founded by Karaeng Cikondong from Binamu, a district in the *Kabupaten* Jeneponto in early 16th century. (Hisyam, 1983: 17). The position of Cikoang which is situated in the coast and the estuary made it strategic and open to other part and islands in the archipelago. Like the other Makassarese, the Cikoangese were well known as great seafarers. The Cikoangese came into contact with other ethnic groups in the archipelago thorough the sea trade. They had the contacts with Acehnese and Malay people who were already Muslim. Through these contacts with many Muslim communities in the western island, the Cikoangese recognized Islam and interested to this religion. In Aceh they met among others, a saint named Sayyid Jalaluddin bin Muhammad Wahid Al-‘Aidid was known as a sayyid who came from Hadramaut. The Cikoangese hoped that Sayyid Jalaluddin to come their village, and teach them a new religion. Sayyid Jalaluddin then, followed their wishes to come to Cikoang.

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According to local tradition, the arrival of Sayyid Jalaluddin was about on early 17th century. (Hisyam, 1983: 18).

The coming of Islam into Cikoang, therefore, was associated with the Sayyid figure, Jalaluddin bin Muhammad Wahid Al-‘Aidid. Due to his effort the Cikoangese are Muslims, and mostly follow the religious taught of Sayyid Jalaluddin. Before Jalaluddin established Islam in Cikoang, according to the local myth, he stayed for awhile in Kutai, Kalimantan. In this place Sayyid Jalaluddin met a Makassarese aristocrate who lived there, named Abdul Kadir Daeng Malliongi`. Sayyid Jalaluddin then married to the daughter of Abdul Kadir, Yaccara` Daeng Tamami. Then, Sayyid Jalaluddin left for Cikoang. He came to Gowa, an ancient kingdom of Makassar, but, since the king of Gowa did not welcome him, he then immediately left for Cikoang. (Hisyam, 1983:19).

The genealogy of Sayyid Jalaluddin as was recorded by the Association of Sayyid Al-‘Aidid Family (*Kerukunan Keluarga Sayyid Al-‘Aidid*) is as follow: 1) Muhammad Saw.; 2) Fatimah (wife of Ali); 3) Husein; 4) Zain al-‘Abidin; 5) Muhammad Baqir; 6) Ja’far al- Sadiq; 7) Ali al-‘Uraidi; 8) Muhammad al-Naqib; 9) ‘Isa; 10) Ahmad al-Muhajir; 11) ‘Abd al-Allah; 12) Al-Alwi; 13) Muhammad Qasim; 14) ‘Ali; 15) Muhammad Sahib; 16) ‘Alwi; 17) Faqih ‘Abd al-Rahman; 18) Faqih; 19) Ahmad; 20) ‘Abd Allah; 21) Muhammad; 22) ‘Ali; 23) Faqih Sahib; 24) ‘Abd Allah ‘Umar; 25) ‘Ali; 26) Muhammad; 27) Abu Bakr; 28) Muhammad Wahid al-‘Aidid; 29) Jalaluddin al-‘Aidid.

The profile of Sayyid Jalaluddin as related by the stories of the elder (*caritana turioloa*) was as follow:

In the vicinity of I Bunrang residence, the people paid attention to the presence of a person who resembled an Arab with elegant and unpretentious behavior. As a consequence, everyone who met him was impressed and became interested especially in his character which always expressed philosophical (*hikmah*) words and recited the name of Allah. (Sila, 2001: 12).

This tale and his Islamic mission conveys the messages that his figure made good impressions in the minds of Cikoangese from the time of his arrival. People always refer to him whenever they talk about leader and religious activities in Cikoang. The status of Say-

id Jalaluddin, therefore, was very significant among the Cikoang community. As the consequence of this, the status of his descendants, the *sayyid*, are considerably important too, because their present is always attributed to the excellence of the Prophet Muhammad as the father of the Muslim community. The way the *sayyid* perpetuate their traditional status is firmly based on the Islamic teaching, historically brought by Sayyid Jalaluddin al-‘Aidid, the descendant of the Prophet as the founder of *sayyid* community in Cikoang. (Hisyam, 1983: 22-23).

During his stay in Cikoang, Sayyid Jalaluddin developed a life style which encourage believers to abandon, without completely alienating, worldly thing or as it is prevalently called in Sufi tradition ‘*uzlah*’ (praying in isolation). This teaching is based on the *syari’ah* and *tarekat* (sufi order doctrine), namely *Tarekat Baḥr al-Nūr* (literary means sea light) which concentrated to the *hakikat* (the essence of obedience to God) and *ma’rifat* (gnosis) doctrines. In addition to these doctrines, the teaching of Sayyid Jalaluddin primarily emphasized an the commemoration of *Maulid Nabi* or locally was speaking called *maudu’* and the methods of conducting the *maudu’* commemoration. According to the *tarekat Baḥr al-Nūr* teaching, the *nūr* (light) refers to the *nur* Muhammad, an essence of pre existence of creation. According to *Baḥr al-Nūr* teaching, the first thing created by Allah was the *nur* Muhammad. Thus, the *nur* Muhammad was the origin of the universe. The *Maudu’* rituals, therefore, can be understood not only to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, but to celebrate the creation of humankind and universe as a whole. Among the sayyid of Cikoang, *Tarekat Baḥr al-Nūr* is the product of their *māẓhab* (Islamic school of interpretation of *syari’ah*) namely *māẓhab ahl al-bait* (Hisyam, 1983: 26).

When Sayyid Jalaluddin finished teaching the *Tarekat Baḥr al-Nūr* it means finished his religious duty in Cikoang. Then he traveled to Sumbawa via Selayar and Buton to continue his *dakwah* in the new places. The tomb of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-‘Aidid therefore is not located in Cikoang, and only the tomb of his second son, Sayyid Sahabuddin al-‘Aidid can be found in the cemetery called *Jera’ Paletteka*. This cemetery, has traditionally been accessible

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only to the member of sayyid family. People of Cikoang regarded this cemetery as a sacred site and is popular with visitors asking for fortunes. Sayyid Jalaluddin died in Sumbawa, and was buried there. (Sila, 2001: 14).

Sayyid Sahabuddin al-‘Aidid, the son of Sayyid Jalaluddin continued the teaching of Sayyid Jalaluddin in Cikoang, and married there, while Umar, his first son leaved for Selayar. In the present day, the descendants of Sayyid Sahabuddin spread out in Cikoang, Makassar, Selayar, Buton, Luwu, Mandar, South Kalimantan, and Luar Batang (Jakarta).

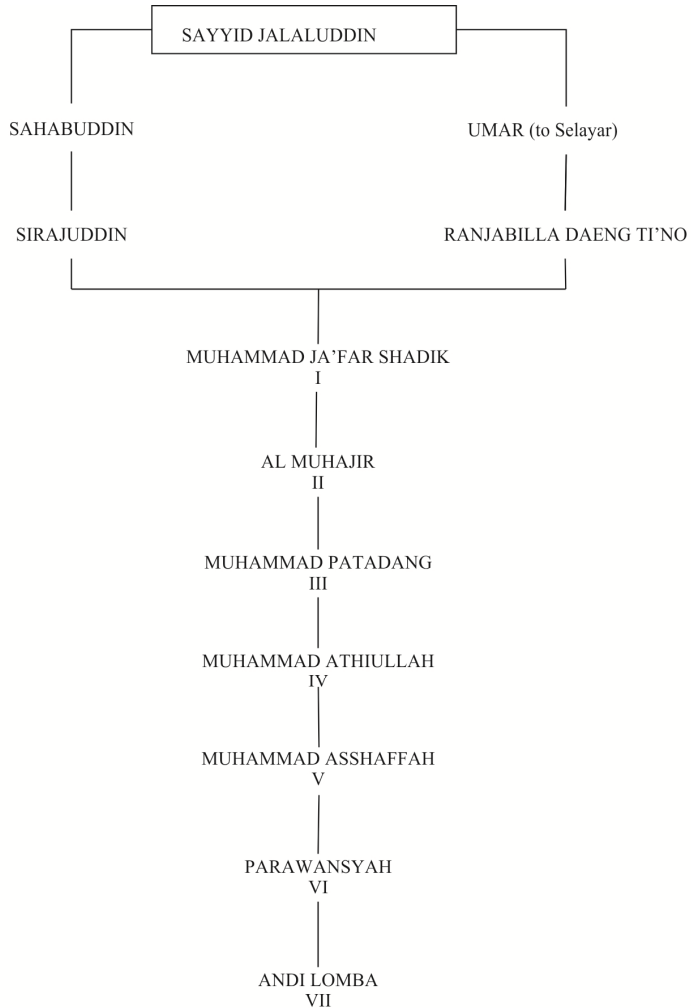
Sayyid Sirajuddin al-‘Aidid, the son of Sayyid Sahabuddin, was said as the first *sayyid* married to a female aristocrat named Ranjabila Daeng Tikno’ a Laikang noble. Laikang is a neighbor village in the southern part of Cikoang. This was the beginning of reconciliation between *sayyid* and *karaeng* in Cikoang. *Karaeng* is a title of the Makassarese noblemen. *Sayyid* is a title associated with spiritual matters, religious specialist and head of practices, whereas *karaeng* is related to secular matters, chiefs of the *adat* community. The union of the two is a set of reconciliation between religious and secular realms. The descendants of this union for generations, formed the population of *Sayyid Karaeng* in the social hierarchy of Cikoang-Laikang, a combination of religiously legitimated and socially recognized noble. The religious legitimacy allowed the *sayyid* to claim themselves as having higher moral worthiness, which in turn opened opportunity for them to marry the local noble woman.

The marriage of Sayyid Sahabuddin al-‘Aidid to Karaeng Ranjabila Daeng Tikno’ begets a line of rulers of Cikoang – Laikang. Sayyid Muhammad Ja’far Shadik, the son of Sayyid Sahabuddin, was the first descendant of the marriage union between *Sayyid* and *Karaeng*. He then was appointed a *raja* in the Cikoang-Laikang. According to the Makassarese tradition, *raja* like those in Cikoang-Laikang were the *raja kecil* or juts rulers, whose recognized the greater *raja* like Sultan Alauddin of Gowa as their king.

In the modern time, almost all aristocrats in Cikoang-Laikang have sayyid blood. Due to the frequent practices of intermarriage

between *sayyid* males and local *karaeng* females, and lower stratum, their descendant are eligible to bring together *sayyid* and *karaeng* descent. At present they comprise a large proportion of the sayyid population.

Since the time of Sayyid Muhammad Ja'far Shadik al-'Aidid, the rulers of Cikoang-Laikang were *Sayyid Karaeng*. According to the family tree which is composed by Association of Sayyid Al-'Aidid Family, the *sayyid* which were the rulers of Cikoang-Laikang 'kingdom' is presented bellow.



Maudu': The Way to Maintain the Honor of Sayyid

The term *maudu'* is the local dialect of *maulid* an Arabic word meaning birth. *Maudu'* celebration is the most distinctive religious rituals of the people of Cikoang. *Maudu'* literally refers to the commemoration of the birthday of Prophet Muhammad. It is an Islamic holiday which is held on the twelfth day of Rabi' al-Awwal or the third month of the Hijra calendar. It is a yearly festival celebration in many Muslim communities in the world. *Maudu'* is usually celebrated by performing ritual meals and reciting special prayers recounting the life of Prophet Muhammad, known as the *Barzanji*.

Maudu' is very significant for the Cikoangese. It is a ritual feasting, and said to have been first conducted on the 8th Rabi' al-Awwal 1041 H (1620 AD), primarily pioneered by Sayyid Jalaluddin in conjunction with I Bunrang and was performed in I Bunrang's house. (Sila, 2001:16; Nurdin, 1978: 39). In that time, Sayyid Jalaluddin ask for I Bunrang's assistance to provide tens of *gantang* (one *gantang* is about a liter) of rice, forty chickens and 120 chicken or duck eggs for forty guests. Thus on this first occasion there were forty *kanre maudu'*, that was *maudu'* food put in a bamboo basket altogether. In the following year on the 12th of Rabi' al-Awwal, the number of participants increased greatly. Every participant representing his household was therefore asked to prepare *kanre maudu'*, the preparation being known as *maudu cakdi* or the smaller *maulid* under the guidance of each religious specialist called *anrong guru*. Each *kanre maudu'* consist of four *gantang* rice, one chicken, one coconut and at least one egg for each family member of household. Thus, if a household consist of 5 members, the *kanre maudu'* would be 20 *gantang* of rice, 5 chickens, 5 coconuts, 5 eggs or more. The *maudu'* rituals are led by *anrong guru*, the religious specialist which are usually the *sayyid*.

The participants of the *maudu'* festival increased every year. The *maudu'* then should be held in a larger location. The later *maudu'* became known as *maudu' lompoa* or the great *maudu'*. It is said that the creator of *maudu' lompoa* were Sayyid Umar and

Sayyid Sahabuddin, children of Sayyid Jalaluddin. In the modern Cikoang, the *maudu' cakdi* remains intact as the opening festival from the twelfth to the end of Rabi' al-Awwal each year. The member of Cikoangese, particularly of the *sayyid* are given the opportunity to arrive Cikoang prior to the *maudu' lompoa* which is the culmination of the whole rituals. The *maudu' lompoa* usually held on the 29th of Rabi'al-Awwal each year. Thus, the *maudu'* festival consist of two stages, i.e. the *maudu' ca'di* which is held in the houses of *anrong guru* and the *maudu' lompoa* in the open place in the beech of Cikoang. In the *maudu' lompoa* the ritual meal, the *kanre maudu'* are prepared by each household of Al-'Aidid clan, and gathered publicly at the Cikoang beech, at the edge of estuary of the Cikoang River. The ritual of the *maudu' lompoa* is led by *Karaeng Opu*, the leader of the Sayyid al-'Aidid clan. In modern Cikoang, the festival of *maudu' lompoa* is livened up by several petty boats called *julung-julung* in which *kanre maudu'* are placed collectively. This *julung-julung* is then placed in a real boat. The number of *julung-julung* indicates the number of marriages in the *sayyid* family conducted throughout the year. This means anyone who is in the boat of *ahlu al-bait* (sayyid, member of household of prophet) his or her life will be pleasant in the hereafter. (Sila, 2001:17).

For the Cikoangese, the *maudu'* ritual is an occasion for having a ritual meal because it is considered to be the visualization of the character of the Prophet Muhammad. The Cikoangese people believe that a truly pious Muslim has a duty to pay their respect to the Prophet Muhammad's birthday festival by celebrating it as merrily as possible, while the other religious obligations, including the five daily prayers are given lower priority. (Hisyam, 1983: 35). Another interesting matter is that the *maudu'* festival is regarded as a reward equal to the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*).

As has been mentioned earlier, *maudu'* ritual has a close relation with the *Bahr al-Nur* sufi teaching, school of Sayyid Al-'Aidid sufism. According to *Bahr al-Nur teaching*, the first thing

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created by Allah was the *Nur* Muhammad. Thus, the *Nur* Muhammad was the origin of the universe. The *maudu'* festival means not only to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, but also to the creation of humankind and the universe as a whole.

Such an understanding of the *maudu'* festival has a wide impact to the socio cultural development of Cikoang. Every activity of the community throughout the year concentrated to the *maudu'* festival, especially during the month of Safar (2nd month) and Rabi' al-Awwal. Nobody in the community will consciously be against the long standing traditions, especially the *maudu'* ritual, without facing terrible obstacles. They believe the words of *anrong guru* that Prophet Muhammad said: “Anyone who does not perform the *maudu'* in the month of Rabi' al-Awwal will be cursed in the Qur'an and Bible. Consequently, if he or she walks on earth, he or she will be cursed by earth and walking like dogs and pigs”. (Sila, 2001: 18).

***Kafa`ah*: The Way to Preserve the Sayyidness**

Since the title of *sayyid* is believed as the top rank of honor, they must preserve this high social status by a set of rules. Wherever the *sayyid* settle, he insisted on maintaining their social status thorough the systems of genealogy and *kafa`ah*. In order to prove themselves as being descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, they shall preserve the membership of the family of Al-‘Aidid clan. In Cikoang, every *sayyid* has a “certificate” showing their genealogical link with the Al-‘Aidid clan up to the Prophet Muhammad. The certification then distinguishes the *sayyid* from the local people. Among the *sayyid* members, the local people usually are called *jawi* (non *sayyid*)

The *sayyid* people adopt the system of *kafa`ah* to preserve their genealogy. *Kafa`ah* literally means equal. It refers to the equality of marriage partner, marriage between their own children. Yet, unlike the women, the men can marry women of other descent if there is no suitable spouse available. This matrimonial exchange has, in

fact, added to the numbers of the *sayyid* population, because the children will inherit the family name of their *sayyid* father. The *kafa`ah* is applied for assimilation and maintenance of the *sayyid* status which is regarded as their Arabic identity. (Sila, 2005: 57).

Kafa`ah is a system by which the purity of blood can be preserved. Thus in term of genealogy, the blood is principle of a *sayyid* identity. The *sayyid* community strictly practices the system of *kafa`ah* in order that the blood ties to the Prophet Muhammad can be preserved. The marriage between *sayyid* and *syarifah* (female *sayyid*) are considered as the best marriage partners. *Syarifah* is only permitted to marry a male of *sayyid*, but *sayyid* can marry both *syarifah* and *jawi*. Thus, the marriage system in *sayyid* community strictly to distinct between *sayyid* and *jawi*. With the identification of nobility of origin, the *sayyid* regards themselves as having superior worthiness. The *sayyid* for crediting the quality and value of their family also use this recognition as a metaphor. The idea of blood is also the primary metaphor for honor. The absent of a genealogical link with the Prophet implies a lower moral worthiness. These principles define the *sayyid`*s identity and the quality of their relation to other people. (Sila, 2005: 64).

The identification of nobility of origin also reflects the ideological system of the *sayyid*. The *sayyid* social structure is comprised agnatic lineage, with descent traced thorough males. This explains why the preferred type of marriage of the *sayyid* is patrilateral parallel cousin marriage, the combination of husband and wife coming from their father`s side, marriage between two brothers` children. This can be said that the kinship system of the *sayyid* is patrilineal. If a *sayyid* married with a non *syarifah*, it is preferred that the wife lives in the surrounding settlement of the *sayyid* community, so that she can fully participate in the *sayyid* familial relations which in turn can strengthen their relationship to one another.

Conclusion

The coming of Sayyid Jalaluddin Al-‘Aidid in Cikoang set up a distinctive community based on the teaching of *Bahr al-Nūr* sufi order which believed that Nur Muhammad was the first creation of Allah and the origin of the universe. *Maudu’* tradition which has been developed in the time of Sayyid Jalaluddin represented the religious commitment of the Cikoangese. They believe that the truly pious Muslim has a duty to pay their respects upon the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday festival by celebrating it as merrily as possible, while other religious obligations, including five daily prayers are given lower priority. The religious legitimacy of the *sayyid* is based on the descent from Sayyid Jalaluddin al’Aidid whose origin is related to the Prophet Muhammad by blood. The *kafa’ah* marriage system that strictly practiced among the *sayyid* community gave a distinct position among the commoners. Thus the exclusiveness of the *sayyid* is directly derived from their interplay between religious and social constructions. Given their religious status the *sayyid* not only eclipse the commoners in term of religion but also in other realm that was in the political arena. The *sayyid* are said to have dominated the rulers of Cikoang-Laikang “kingdom” since the mix marriage of *sayyid* and the noble woman of the “kingdom” until the today.

Endnotes

ⁱ This paper is a revised version of a paper read at International Conference “Stranger King in Southeast Asia and Elsewhere”, Jakarta, KITLV, June 5-7 2006.

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e.g. Brack, E.V. (2 May 1995). Re: Computing short courses. *Lis-link* [online]. Available from: mailbase@mailbase.ac.uk [Accessed 17 Apr 1996].

Jensen, L.R. (12 Dec 1995). Recommendation of student radio/tv in English. *LASTAR* [online]. Available from: Listserv@ftp.nrg.dtu.dk [Accessed 29 Apr 1996].

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الصورة (The Terengganu Inscription) في الغلاف الأمامي مأخوذة من الصورة في المقالة *Dialectic Between Islamic Law and Adat Law in the Nusantara: A Reinterpretation of the Terengganu Inscription in the 14th Century*

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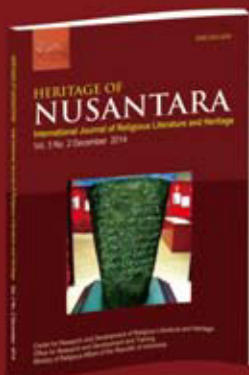
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