



**Syarifah Sungai Raya Aceh Timur:
Marriage and the Struggle to Find Identity**

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Abstract: Every society has its own characteristics and identity that distinguish them from the others. Their diverse backgrounds form different views. This study explores the struggle to find Syarifah's identity in Sungai Raya Aceh Timur, related to their marriage. This study is an empirical legal research that examines the application of law in the reality of society. The data collection technique used is by conducting in-depth interviews, observations and literature studies related to the discussion of marriage. This study concludes that most Syarifah Sungai Raya believe in the doctrine of Sayyid-Sharifah endogamy marriage. However, some cannot deny the fact that exogamous marriages also occur. The doctrine of endogamous marriage raises a new awareness of their identity as *zurriyyat* of the Prophet PBUH. Because of this, exogamous marriage is a last resort when the goal of endogamous marriage cannot be met.

Keywords: Exogamy, endogamy, Syarifah, Sungai Raya, identity

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Abstrak: Setiap masyarakat memiliki ciri dan identitas tersendiri yang membedakannya dengan yang lain. Latar belakang mereka yang berbeda membentuk pandangan yang berbeda. Penelitian ini akan menelusuri pergumulan pencarian identitas Syarifah di Sungai Raya Aceh Timur terkait dengan perkawinan mereka. Kajian tersebut merupakan penelitian hukum empiris yaitu menelaah aplikasi hukum dalam kenyataan masyarakat. Teknik pengumpulan data yang dilakukan adalah dengan melakukan wawancara mendalam, observasi dan studi literature yang terkait dengan pembahasan perkawinan. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa sebagian besar Syarifah Sungai Raya mempercayai doktrin perkawinan endogami Sayyid-Syarifah. Namun, sebagian tidak dapat menolak fakta bahwa perkawinan eksogami juga terjadi. Doktrin perkawinan endogami tersebut memunculkan kesadaran baru mengenai identitas mereka sebagai zurriyyat Nabi SAW. Karenanya, perkawinan eksogami menjadi pilihan terakhir ketika perkawinan endogami tidak tercapai.

Kata Kunci: Eksogami, endogami, syarifah, sungai Raya, Identitas

Introduction

The societal values consider marriage as both a social event and a legal consequence. Marriage is therefore not only a means of strengthening socio-cultural relationships, but also has religious and legal implications for the husband, wife, and their extended families. Religious and cultural values cannot be separated; they are intertwined, and as a result, they intersect to generate the distinctive laws and regulations followed by a community. In the context of marriage there are legal issues with social and customary issues, for example, dowry (*mahar*), *kafa'ah* (*sekufu*) as well as wedding parties (*walimah*).¹

One of the legal and social realities in marriage is *kafa'ah* or between a man and a woman. *Kafa'ah* or *sekufu* is an important factor in realizing the goal of marriage, namely forming a *sakinah, mawaddah wa rahmah* household. Related to this in Indonesia, marriage between the sharifah group, namely women who are descendants of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH and men who are not *sayyid* groups, is something that is debated. This can be seen in several areas in Indonesia that have Sayyid communities, for example Bondowoso and Sidoarjo (East Java), Yogyakarta, Cikoang (South Sulawesi).² Likewise in Aceh, specifically in Sungai Raya East Aceh.

¹ Ridwan Nuridin, "The Gayonese Culture of Marriage System: The Islamic Law Perspective," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 5, no. 1 (2021), p. 108–26, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v5i1.9257>. Atun Wardatun, "AMPA CO'I NDAI: Local Understanding of Kafa'ah in Marriage Among Eastern Indonesian Muslim," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 54, No. 2 (2016). Doi: 10.14421/ajis.2016.542.311-336.

² M. Khusna Amal And Nawirah Ali Hajjaj, "Pernikahan Nasbiyah Sayyid Dan Syarifah (Studi Living Hadis Di Kampung Arab, Kademangan Bonowoso)," *Al-Manar: Jurnal Kajian Al-Quran dan Hadis* 7, No. 1 (2021). Mustika Sari Wulandari, et.al., "Cucu Nabi Muhammad Menikah Dengan Orang Makassar: Studi Pernikahan Perempuan Islam Sayyid Di Cikoang

This study examines the effort of the Syarifah Sungai Raya Aceh Timur to recognize themselves as *zurriyyat* (descendants) of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH through marriage. This study gathered field data, observations, and interviews from multiple Sayed and Syarifahs from 2021. In addition, this study also explores library sources related to the history of the development of the Sungai Raya in Aceh Timur and the search for their identity. The first part of this paper describes Sungai Raya from its historical standpoint and Sungai Raya as an entity. The following part describes the effort of the Syarifah in Sungai Raya Aceh Timur to discover their identity through marriage. The last section discusses the aspects of Islamic law and provides conclusions.

The history of the Sungai Raya is distinctive since few historians, including those from Aceh, have exposed it. This region is intriguing to examine in terms of its name, as it does not use the word from the Acehnese language, although being geographically located in the Aceh region. This region is called *Kreung Rayeuk*, which means (great river) *sungai besar* or *sungai raya*. According to M. Gade Ismail,³ Sungai Raya was one of the states constructed after the 1850s by individuals of Arab heritage. They also constructed the Peudawa Rayeuk state. Although these two states, Simpang Ulim and Tanjung Seumantok, did not receive direct services from the Sultan of Aceh, the construction of these states was endorsed by their founders as responsible for the central policy of the sultanate.⁴

In 1854, when Sultan Alaidin Mansur Syah (d. 1870 CE) launched boats to reassert his dominance over the sultanates in East Sumatra, Mangkubumi assembled the majority of the troops. The Lhokseumawe region, in this task, received assistance from Sayid Yusuf and Sayid Aqil, two Arab descendants lived in Lhokseumawe. As a reward for their service, *Mangkubumi* Lhokseumawe appointed Sayid Yusuf to the pepper-growing region of Peudawa Rayek. The region was situated between two earlier-developed states, Idi Rayeuk and Peureulak. Sayid Yusuf gained adherents from Lhokseumawe, Aceh Besar, and Pidie to become *Ulee Balang* of Peudawa Rayeuk. Sayid Aqil acquired the Sungai Raya area in Langsa. He succeeded in becoming the *Ulee Balang* of Sungai Raya as a result of gaining a large number of Malay followers in Langkat.⁵ Many new

Takalar," *Tamaddun* 7, No. 2 (2019). Rohmat Hidayatulloh, Tradisi Pernikahan dengan Kesetaraan Keturunan dalam Keluarga Para Mas di Surabaya dan Sidoarjo," *Al-Hukama: The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Family Law* 7, No. 1 (2017). Nurul Fattah, "Hukum Pernikahan Syarifah dengan Laki-laki Nonsayid: Perspektif Jam'iyyah Rabithat Alawiyah Yogyakarta," *al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 6, No. 2 (2013).

³ M. Gade Ismail, "Penguasa Lokal Di Daerah Batas Aceh Timur, 1840-1873," *Jurnal MON MATA, Universitas Syiah Kuala Banda Aceh* 9, (1992), p. 2–15.

⁴ M. Gade Ismail, *Penguasa Lokal Di Daerah Batas Aceh Timur*, p. 2–15

⁵ Residents of Sungai Raya say Sayid Aqil is the founder of Sungai Raya. From historical relics such as a tomb in Sungai Raya, it was found that the inscription on the tomb of Said Ja'far,

statehoods built for pepper cultivation initially emerged in Aceh Timur. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were only four states in this region. Then, by the time the fight against the Dutch in Aceh broke out in 1873, 17 states ruled by their respective *Ulee Balang* had arisen in Aceh Timur. This state's growth resulted from the region's successful cultivation of pepper.

The increasing demand for pepper in the early 19th century, which was followed by the increasing price of pepper in the international market, resulted in societal changes in Aceh. On the west and east coasts of Aceh, people seeking higher incomes relocated to new regions to cultivate pepper. This rare chance could benefit the commercial and political interests of the pepper farming industry's top executives.

The conditions that allowed them to become *Uleebalang* were the wealth earned from pepper production and the territory built on a complex of pepper plantations. The economic potential afforded by the border regions can also be expanded in the political sphere, such as through the formation of multiple new states under the Aceh Sultanate's political structure.⁶ Typically, newly opened lands were watersheds. Initially, pepper plants were concentrated around estuaries. In addition to being useful for water disposal, it was also useful for moving goods, which were typically transported along rivers. On the basis of this fact, the states founded by pepper farming were typically river centered.

This study is an empirical legal research that examines the application of law in the reality of society.⁷ The data collection technique used is by conducting in-depth interviews, observations and literature studies related to the discussion of marriages that are *kafa'ah nasab*. Interviews were conducted with informants such as syarifah, religious leaders, and community leaders.

Sungai Raya: Arab-Malay Colony

As mentioned by M. Gade Ismail, Sayid Aqil gained many followers from the Malays of Langkat. Because of this, he succeeded in becoming the *Uleebalang* or *Raja Kecil* (Small King/Lord) of Sungai Raya. The state of Sungai Raya, which people of Arab descent built after the 1850s, has an Arab-Malay identity. This is proven by the findings of writings in the old tombs found in the area, such as "Tengku Sayid" and "Tengku Syarifah". The marriage between people of Arab descent and Malays in the early days of the opening of the Sungai Raya state, which is the thesis of this study, shows that the early inhabitants of the Sungai Raya were the product of assimilation between Arab and Malay descent. The Malayness through the title *Tengku*, which is placed at the

son of Said Aqil, said that Said Aqil was the King of Sungai Raya. M. Gade Ismail notes, Said Aqil had worked for Sultan Alaidin Mansyur Syah. Ishmael.

⁶ M. Gade Ismail, *Penguasa Lokal Di Daerah Batas Aceh Timur*, p. 2–15

⁷ Zainuddin Ali, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2014. Munir Fuady, *Teori-Teori dalam Sosiologi Hukum*, Jakarta: Kencana, 2015.

beginning of the name, is more visible than the Sayid-ness in the Sayid-Tengku marriage. The Malay nobility title is placed before the titles Sayid or Syarifah. In the custom of attributing Malay noble titles, both boys and girls are given the title Tengku. The male Tengku will pass on the title of nobility to their sons and daughters. It does not apply to Tengku women. If she marries someone other than Tengku, his sons and daughters will not inherit his mother's nobility. If a female Tengku marries a Malay man who does not hold the title Tengku, their offspring will be given the title Wan.⁸

Uniquely, an Arab descendant marries Tengku Melayu, if they have a son, then the child is given the title Tengku Sayid. If a woman is born, her title is Tengku Syarifah. If a Malay man with the title Tengku marries a Syarifah, the title Tengku is passed on to their children, but the term Syarifah is not automatically used. This, according to Ahmad Syukri, was a common practice in the Malay society of the Siak Sultanate. In Labuhan Kede Sungai Raya, where *orang-orang Sayed* (the Sayed community), as the residents of Sungai Raya refer to this group, are descended from the Sayid family, they do not speak with a typical Acehnese accent. They speak Indonesian with more fluency and a less noticeable Acehnese accent. In Tengku Lukkam Sinar's notes.⁹ It was stated that Said Aqil, the founder of Sungai Raya, married King Siti Indra Deli, a noble daughter of the Deli Sultanate. This marriage did not last long and it ended in divorce. After the divorce, Said Aqil wed Tengku Budu, the younger sister of one of the Kings of Deli, King Zainal Abidin. The statement of Said Aqil married a Malay was confirmed by Muhammad Syamsu¹⁰ who stated that Said Aqil was the son of Said Husin who in 1824 AD married the daughter of the Sultan of Deli. Syamsu also added that Sayid Aqil had lived in Deli but he was from Palembang.

⁸ Interview with Ahmad Syukri, an observer of Langkat Malay Culture in Medan Monday, March 1, 2021.

⁹ Lukkam Tengku Sinar, *Sandi Sejarah Serdang*, Jakarta: Depdikbud, 1986, p. 34.

¹⁰ Muhammad Syamsu, *Ulama Pembina Islam Di Indonesia Dan Sekitarnya* (Medan: Lentera, 1996), p. 42. The researcher obtained the two books above (Syamsu and Sinar), from Sayid Razali at his shop in Sungai Raya in 2017. Sayid Razali is an alumni of STAIN (now IAIN) Zawiyah Cotkala Langsa. He believes that Sayid Aqil, the founder of Sungai Raya, is Said Aqil, who is described in the books by Tengku Lukkam Sinar and Muhammad Syamsu. From the Langkat Malay community assimilated with Arab descent in Sungai Raya, it can be seen that Sayid Aqil was indeed close to the Malay tribe from Laangkat as explained by M. Gade Ismail. What distinguishes their statements is the area where Said Aqil lived before opening the country of Sungai Raya, which M. Gade Ismail called Lhokseumawe. What is clear is that the Malays assisted Sayid Aqil in opening the state of Sungai Raya regardless of whether Sayid Aqil came from Lhokseumawe or other areas, in Aceh or outside Aceh.

Regarding the Hadhrami community,¹¹ Sayyid Muhammad bin Ali¹² asserted that the Hadhrami migration to Sungai Raya Aceh Timur occurred through marriage. At least nearly 15% of Hadhrami households were in Sungai Raya Aceh Timur. Other tribes include Jamalullail, Alaydarus, Alattas, Assegaf, Almahdali, Almuhdar, and Alhabsyi. Most of them have the last name Shahab.

Syarifah Sungai Raya in Finding the Identity

It has been explained that the Sayyid-Syarifah Sungai Raya community is a hybrid colony due to marriage with Tengku Melayu. The religious and cultural knowledge of the Syarifahs is implied by the lack of scholars from Sayid's village in Sungai Raya, despite its location in the East Aceh Region, which is recognized for its abundance of scholars qualified in the field of *fiqh*, notably Syafi'i *fiqh*.¹³ In comparison to other regions in Aceh Timur, the Sungai Raya community is distinctive, if not isolated, in terms of Islamic intellectual development. The idea that Syarifah must marry Sayyid is disregarded because it was taught by their religiously uneducated parents. The call to marry Sayid is a doctrine deemed unimportant.¹⁴ Some Syarifahs of Sungai Raya do not know their history; they are the offspring of Arab and Malay marriages.¹⁵

According to the former head of the Sungai Raya Police, although their practice of worship appeared somewhat exclusive due to the construction of a mosque for their community, despite the presence of a mosque for the local population in the exact location, it appeared that they were no longer closed to other ethnic groups outside their community based on their marriage practices.¹⁶ He added that the most recent issue in Sungai Raya was the emergence of social

¹¹ According to Jajat Burhanuddin, in the 19th century, the influence of the Arab community intensified as their number increased. They built villages on trade routes in the archipelago. Aceh became the first Arab settlement, there they moved to Palembang and Pontianak, then to Batavia and so on. In the late 19th century, as the number of pilgrims increased, there were considerable Arab immigrants in the important hajj port cities of the archipelago.. Jajat Burhanudin, *Ulama Dan Kekuasaan: Pergumulan Elite Muslim Dalam Sejarah Indonesia*, Jakarta: Mizan Publika, 2012, p. 101-104.

¹² Interview with Sayyid Muhammad bin Ali who referred to as the 5th generation of Sayyid Aqil Shahab the First King/Lord of Sungai Raya, April 4, 2021.

¹³ Usually, the Acehnese ask questions of Islamic law to the *teungku dayah* (ulema who have traditional Islamic educational institutions) who always refer their opinions to the Syafi'i *fiqh* literature. Khairuddin Hasballah et al., "Patah Titi and Substitute Heirs: A Study of Legal Pluralism on the Inheritance System in Aceh Community," *AHKAM : Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 21, no. 2 (December 30, 2021): 299–324, <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/ahkam/article/view/22792>.

¹⁴ Interview with Syarifah Fauziati, a midwife who opens a clinic at her home in Sungai Raya, March 8, 2021.

¹⁵ Interview with Syarifah Hafizah, Syarifah Salwa, Syarifah Surayya, Syarifah Maisarah in Labuhan Kede Sungai Raya Aceh Timur, March, 8-12, 2021.

¹⁶ Interview with the former Chief of the Sungai Raya Police, Mr. Raja Bangsawan, March 18, 2021.

unrest, particularly in the Hadhrami community, since the emergence of several recitations recommending that exogamous marriages must be *fasakh* for reasons of not being in line with the lineage by citing an opinion from Sayyid 'Abd al-Mustarsyidin's book *Bughyat al-Mustarsyidin* of Rahman al-'Alawi al-Hadhrami, and opinions in the Shafi'i school.¹⁷

This preliminary study found that the *kafa'ah* between *Sharifah* and *sayyid/sharif* was originally narrated through the work of Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Husain ibn 'Umar Ba'alawi al-Hadhrami, in the book of *Bughyat al-Mustarshidin fi Talkhish Fatawa ba'dh al-Aaimmah min al-'Ulama' al-Mujtahidin* written around 1835 AD. Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman did not allow such marriage.¹⁸

The next generation who firmly preached the marriage of syarifah and sayyid/sharif was Sayyid Uthman (1822-1914 AD)¹⁹ who was a student of Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Husayn ibn 'Umar Ba'alawi al-Hadhrami. The sermon was intensified after noticing the weakening of the community's appreciation, especially in Batavia, toward the principle of *kafa'ah* in the marriage of their children and did not uphold the glory of the Prophet Muhammad and his family.²⁰

Kaptein mentioned that Sayyid Uthman wrote several books entitled; *Al-Silsilah al-Nabawiyah* (1884), *Risalah Ada di Dalamnya Hadith Keluarga* (1886), *Mir'at al-Haqq wa Inshaf Huquq al-Sada wa al-Asyraf* (19 September 1913), *Qawl al-Haqq bi al-Bashira* (22 September 1913), *I'lan al-Ikhwan bi-Wujub al-Tabligh wa al-Tadzkir bi al-Lisan* (October 1913, about three or four months before he passed away), and *Nasihah Bapa' yang Sayang pada Anak-anaknya* (unknown-when the writing was completed). In these works, he argued, among other things, the significance of purifying the lineage of the Prophet

¹⁷ Abu Zakariyya Muhyi al-Din ibn Syaraf al-Nawawi, *Raudhat Al-Thalibin Wa 'Umdat Al-Muftin, Jilid VIII*, Beirut: Al-Maktab al-Islamiy, 1991, p. 84.

¹⁸ Al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Husain ibn 'Umar Ba-'Alawiy, *Bughyat Al-Mustarsyidin Fi Talkhish Fatawa Ba'dh Al-Aaimmah Min Al-'Ulama' Al-Mujtahidin* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1994), 343.

¹⁹ He was born in a sayyid family. His father was a scholar from Hadhramawt, and his mother was the daughter of a scholar from Egypt. He was born in Pekojan. Now it is one of the sub-districts in Tambora District, West Jakarta. An important position in his career was as Honorary Advisor for Arab Affairs in Batavia in 1891. Edwin P. Wieringa, "Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age in the Netherlands East Indies. A Biography of Sayyid 'Uthman (1822–1914) By Nico J. G. Kaptein," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/etx033>; Nico J.G. Kaptein, *Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age in the Netherlands East Indies, Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age in the Netherlands East Indies*, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004278707>; Nico J.G. Kaptein, *Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age in the Netherlands East Indies*, Leiden: Brill, 2014. Jajat Burhanudin, "Islam Dan Kolonialisme: Sayyid Usman Dan Islam Di Indonesia Masa Penjajahan," *Studia Islamika*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v1i1.1391>.

²⁰ Kaptein, *Islam. Colon. Mod. Age Netherlands East Indies*, 2014, 123.

Muhammad and that marriages outside of *kufu'* (sharifah and non-sharif) were forbidden.²¹

Attention to the above case was getting increasingly serious, especially at the beginning of the 20th century when the privileges of the *sayyid* family began to receive criticism from egalitarian ideas developed at that time.²²

This study aims to demonstrate that religious thought in the Hadhrami community is fractured between traditionalists and reformists. In this community, the traditionalist is representative of the elderly. They have the support of the *ulayti*, the first generation of Hadramaut immigrants (*Walayti*). And reformists refer to themselves as young *muwallad*.²³

The author assumes that Sayyid Abd al-Rahman al-Ba'lawi and Sayyid Usman want to maintain the cultural resilience of the Nomad Hadramaut community amid increasing waves of migration of this community to various regions in the archipelago.²⁴ As a result, both Sayyid Ba'lawi and Sayyid Usman -to use a term from Yanwar Pribadi²⁵ - have become key drivers at the local and global levels who play crucial role in defining ethnic hegemony, establishing authority, and fostering cultural resilience as an elite class of Hadramaut society. The public agitation that occurred in the Sayyid-Syarifah Sungai Raya community was because a number of exogamous couples²⁶ who had been married for years were compelled to divorce their marriages because their husbands were non-

²¹ Kaptein, *Islam. Colon. Mod. Age Netherlands East Indies*, 2014.

²² Kaptein, *Islam. Colon. Mod. Age Netherlands East Indies*, 2014. 97.

²³ Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, "Al-Manar and the Hadhrami Elite in the Malay-Indonesian World: Challenge and Response," in *The Hadhrami Diaspora in Southeast Asia Identity Maintenance or Assimilation?*, ed. Ahmed Ibrahim Aboushouk (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2019), 159–90, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047408864_014.

²⁴ Syed Farid Alatas, "Hadramaut and the Hadhrami Diaspora: Problems in Theoretical History," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2650602>; Mark Woodward et al., "Ordering What Is Right, Forbidding What Is Wrong: Two Faces of Hadhrami Dakwah in Contemporary Indonesia," in *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 2012. Ahmad Athoillah, "Pembentukan Identitas Sosial Komunitas Hadhrami Di Batavia Abad XVIII-XX," *Lembaran Sejarah*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.22146/lembaran-sejarah.45437>. R. Michael Feener, "Hybridity and the 'Hadhrami Diaspora' in the Indian Ocean Muslim Networks," *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568531043584881>.

²⁵ Yanwar Pribadi, "Identity Contested: Cultural Resilience in the Midst of Islamization of Politics," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 56, no. 2 (2018), p. 255–80, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2018.562.255-280>.

²⁶ The word exogamy comes from the English language, *exogamy*. Exogamy is *the custom of marrying only outside one's own clan, tribe, etc.* Victoria Neufeld, *Webster's New WorldTM College Dictionary* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988), 447.

Sayyid²⁷ and had to re-establish endogamous marriages.²⁸ An important figure in Sungai Raya, Idrus²⁹ said it is important for Sayyid-Syarifah to return to endogamous marriages because exogamy marriages between non-Sayyid-Syarifahs in the doctrine of their ancestors in Sungai Raya are considered a deviation from the general doctrine of endogamy of the Hadramaut colony and therefore Syarifah who married non-Sayyids is considered as coming out of the *kelambu* of Siti Fatimah (daughter of the Prophet Muhammad) an illustration of the criticism of this deviation.

After the Islamic community education at Sungai Raya, some Syarifah discovered that they are descended from noble and honorable ancestors and that they are required to live in pairs with the Sayyids, who shared the same lineage and are also honorable.³⁰ Others, on the other hand, were unconcerned about the discussion's topic because they believe they had lived in Aceh and Indonesia for a very long time as a community. Consequently, amid the chaos, many families of exogamous couples have never again questioned their invalid marriage.³¹ They feel comfortable with the conditions of their marriage, even though their husbands are not from Sayyid. In this case, it can be seen that there is a struggle between those who maintain their identity as the Sayyid-Syarifah community and those who have assimilated into the local non-Sayyid Acehese community no longer question the social stratification that is naturally inherited. Culture, behavior, and religious doctrines are exchanged between this new land and the homeland of the migrants from Hadramut.³²

²⁷ Interviews with the former Chief of the Sungai Raya Police, also with a number of Syarifah among Syarifah Fauziati who said that one of her sisters decided to divorce after a sermon conveyed by a Habib from Batam who visited a mosque where the majority of the congregation was Sayyid-Syarifah. The material for the discussion was the prohibition of non-Sayyid Syarifah's marriage by quoting the text of *Bughyat al-Mustarsyidin*.

²⁸ The word exogamy comes from the English language, *endogamy*. Endogamy is *the custom of marrying only within one's own group, as a clan, tribe, etc.* Neufeld, *Webster's New WorldTM College Dictionary*, 448.

²⁹ The interview was conducted at his home in Labuhan Kede Sungai Raya East Aceh, March 24, 2021.

³⁰ Syarifah Fauziati—despite being married exogamously—with the widespread of social media today, recommends Syarifah Sungai Raya to marry endogamously even though Syarifahs do not find Sayyid from Sungai Raya as her husband. This was done in order to maintain an identity as a *zurriyyat* of the Prophet. Personally, she often experienced ostracism from the family of the Sayyid-Syarifah community outside Sungai Raya because of his exogamous marriage.

³¹ Interview with Syarifah Salwa in Labuhan Kede Sungai Raya who is married to a non-Sayyid from Bireun. She married Sayyid as her first husband, she divorced because according to her, identity as Sayyid could not guarantee a harmonious family life.

³² Mohammed Mustafa Ahmed Bin Sumait, Hussein Ali Hasan Al-Aidaros, and Mohammed Ali Saeed Bladram, "The Impact of Indonesian Culture on Hadhrami Community (Language- Cuisine - Dress - Architecture)," *International Journal of Scientific and Technology Research* 9, no. 4 (2020), p. 1786–91.

In reality, immigrants from all nations tend to keep their identity in the new country as a means of preserving culture and tradition.³³ Additionally, they hold the position of Sayyid. A historically respected lineage that is difficult to compare to the people of Indonesia.³⁴ This is reinforced by the modern trend in Acehese society of a growing emphasis on preserving one's individuality.³⁵ Therefore, the above characteristics, if connected to the Syarifahs' propensity for exogamy, indicate a pattern that is diametrically opposed to that of their predecessors in Sungai Raya. Young Syarifah have a predisposition to seek an identification as *zurriyyat* of the Prophet; consequently, endogamy is the best option for preserving this identity.

Syarifah's Marriage in Islamic Law

In a number of Islamic literature, especially in the *fiqh* literature of the Hanafi, Shafi'i, and Hanbali schools, marriage between Arabs is highly emphasized. *Fiqh* experts such as al-Sarakhsi, al-Nawawi, and Ibn Qudamah said that the Arabs are more significant than people of other nations because the Prophet Muhammad PBUH was an Arab and the Quran is in Arabic. The Arabs are also a nation that cares about kinship preservation. Therefore, to preserved the lineage, the primary choice is to marry among Arabs. It is a disgrace, for example, if an Arab marries an '*Ajam*' (non-Arab) person. Therefore, the '*Ajam*' people are considered not at the same *kufu'* (compatibility/parity) as the Arabs.³⁶

The followers of the Shafi'i emphasized the importance of the Quraysh, Banu Hashim, and Banu Muthalib tribes. They say that among their fellow Arabs, the Quraysh is the most important tribe. In the Quraysh tribe, Banu Hashim and Banu Muthalib are claimed to be the most special. Therefore, Arabs who are not from the Quraysh tribe are not as compatible as the Quraysh tribe, and Arabs who are not Banu Hasyim and Banu Muthalib, such as Banu 'Abd al-Syams and Banu Naufal, are not as compatible as Banu Hasyim and Banu Muthalib. Al-Dimyathi said that the Banu 'Abd al-Syams and Banu Naufal are incompatible with the Bani Hasyim and Banu Muthalib even though they come from the same lineage as the Banu Hasyim and Banu Muthalib, which are from the 'Abd Manaf lineage. This incompatibility was caused by the attitude of the Banu 'Abd al-Syams and Banu Naufal, who hurt the Prophet Muhammad.³⁷ Shafi'i *fiqh* experts such as al-

³³ Sumait, Al-Aidaros, and Bladram.

³⁴ Snouck Hurgronje, *Aceh Di Mata Kolonialis Jilid I* (Jakarta: Yayasan Soko Guru, 1985), 86.

³⁵ Arskal Salim, "Adat and Islamic Law in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia: Unequal Coexistence and Asymmetric Contestation," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 5, no. 2 (2021), p. 529, <https://doi.org/10.22373/SJHK.V5I2.11082>.

³⁶ Sumait, Al-Aidaros, and Bladram, "The Impact of Indonesian Culture on Hadhrami Community (Language- Cuisine - Dress - Architecture)."

³⁷ Al-Sayyid Muhammad Syatha al- Dimyathi, *I'anat Al-Thalibin, Jilid III* (Beirut: Muassasah al-Tarikh al-'Arabiyy, 1991), 333.

Nawawi said that the lineage of Arabs beyond the Quraysh, Banu Hasyim, and Banu Muttalib tribes are only equivalent to the *'Ajam* people.³⁸ Tribes other than the Quraysh, Banu Hasyim, and Banu Muttalib continue to claim that they are the tribe closest to the Prophet Muhammad.

Al-Nawawi,³⁹ said that Arabs are too proud of their lineage. He noted that the Basrah *Mazhab* (school of thought) claimed all Arabs are compatible from Banu 'Adnan to Banu Qahtan. The Baghdad *Mazhab* also claims that all Arabs have high social strata (*yatafadhalun*). However, regarding close kinship to the Messenger of Allah, they are not all the same. Banu Mudhar and Banu 'Adnan have higher social strata than Banu Rabi'ah and Banu Qahtan.

Al-Nawawi said that social stratification is necessary for all ethnic groups. For Arabs, tribal caste occurs. One tribe's social strata are superior to those of other tribes. Outside of Arabs, caste has a similar relationship to Arabs. Persians, Turks, and Israelis, for instance, have higher social strata than other nations. Al-Nawawi stated, with simplification, that the reason for the incompatibility between Arabs and *Ajams* is that *Ajams* do not care about their ancestry and do not attempt to preserve and codify it as Arabs do.⁴⁰

At this point, it is quite intriguing that the books of *fiqh*, the classics of the Hanafi, Shafi'i, and Hanbali schools do not mention the marriage of people claimed to be the *zurriyyat* of the Prophet Muhammad from the marriage of Ali bin Abi Talib and Fatimah bint Muhammad Saw, and children and grandchildren of Hasan and Husain. It is a marriage that excludes other people apart from them, especially with syarifah (daughter of the *zurriyyat* of the Prophet SAW), because they are only on the *kufu'* with sayyid/sharif (men who also come from the *zurriyyat* of the Prophet).

The consequence of the differences in entities between Arabs and non-Arabs is that they are different, and these differences cannot be equated and united in marriage. They are not compatible to be married because their entities are already different.

Al-Qazwini stated that if the husband's lineage is different from the wife's, then the wife has the right to *khiyar* (choose). If the wife does not question her husband's origin, the guardian has the right to do *khiyar*. The determination of *khiyar* in marriage is when it is in an emergency state.⁴¹

In the Shafi'i and Hanafi *fiqh*, it is difficult to marry if the couples are not on the same parity (*kufu*) of the same lineage. However, the Maliki *fiqh* provides a different explanation. Al-Dardir in *al-Syarh al-Kabir* asserted that lineage is not

³⁸ Nawawi, *Raudhat Al-Thalibin Wa 'Umdat Al-Muftin, Jilid VIII*, 81.

³⁹ Abu Zakariyya Muhyi al-Din ibn Syaraf al-Nawawi, *Al-Majmu' Syarh Al-Muhadzab, Juz XVII*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1996, p. 341–42.

⁴⁰ Nawawi, *Raudhat Al-Thalibin...*, p. 343.

⁴¹ Abu al-Qasim 'Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Rafi'i al-Qazwini, *Al-Syarh Al-Kabir Juz VIII*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1997, p. 145.

a determining factor for the validity of a marriage. Therefore, it cannot cancel the marriage because it does not reach *kafa'ah* (compatibility or equality) in lineage.⁴² Ibn Qudamah interpreted the opinion of Ibn Hanbal to conclude that the *kafa'ah* lineage is not a condition for a valid marriage.⁴³

Apart from the opinions from the Sunni, Muhammad Jawad al-Mughniyyah⁴⁴ said that *kafa'ah* in marriage according to the Imamiyyah is Islam. Therefore, marriage is valid between an '*Ajami* man and an Arab woman, and between a non-Hashimi man and a Hashimi woman. The Ja'fari *mazhab*, do not show any refusal, and instead give concessions to people of non-Arab and non-Banu Hasyim to marry their descendants, because according to this Imamiyah *mazhab*, *kafa'ah* in marriage is Islam. Therefore, marriage is valid between an '*Ajami* man and an Arab woman, and between a non-Hashimi man and a Hashimi woman.

Up to this point, there is no classical *fiqh* literature, both Sunni and Shi'i, specifically discussing Syarifah's marriage. It means that the theme of Syarifah's marriage only emerged later through the work of Sayyid Ba'lawi. It is certainly interesting because the discussion of Syarifah's marriage is relatively new because it is not found in classical *fiqh* books, both Sunni and Shi'i. Presumably, a more moderate opinion on this issue is the opinion of Bin Baz. He emphasized that although marriage is a religious domain, the social problems contained in it cannot be denied. Normatively, Arabs do not question the exogamous marriages, but their character refuses to marry off their daughters to those who are not from their clan. Therefore, the refusal is not a problem because it is their right.⁴⁵

Conclusion

This study concludes that the marriage in the Hadhrami community of Sungai Raya Aceh Timur is both in the form of endogamy and exogamy. Although exogamous marriage is discouraged, many continue to practice it. This indicates that exogamous marriages continue to occur despite the parents' vehement religious opposition to their children's marriages. The continuation of this exogamous marriage is influenced by its openness to the outside world. In addition, this exogamous marriage in Sungai Raya sparked a dispute when religious texts reintroduced the narrative about the significance of endogamous marriage. Exogamous families refuse to discuss the topic because they believe

⁴² Muhammad 'Arafah al- Dasuqi, *Hasyiyat Al-Dasuqi 'ala Al-Syarh Al-Kabir Jilid II*, Kairo: Dar Ihya' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 2015, p. 248.

⁴³ Muhammad Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Qudamah, *Al-Mughni Jilid IX*, Kairo: Dar al-Hadits, 2015, p. 387.

⁴⁴ Muhammad Jawad Al-Mughniyyah, *Fiqh Al-Imam Ja'far Al-Sadiq, Juz V*, Qum: Muassasah Ansariyan li al-Tiba'ah wa al-Nasyr, 1999, p. 208–9.

⁴⁵ 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Baz, *Fatawa Nur 'ala Al-Darb Jilid XXI* (Riyad: Idarah Majallat al-Buhuts al-'Ilmiyyah, 2000), 45.

they have nothing to worry about. In addition, the reappearance of the narrative about the significance of endogamous marriage in this religious text has raised new awareness, particularly among this group of Syarifah Sungai Raya scholars. A new understanding that they are not a typical ethnic group in general. They are different. The distinction is that they are descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, this new understanding made them aware not to engage in exogamy, and given the openness of the modern world, they chose endogamy consciously. If they are unable to find a match inside the Hadhrami Sungai Raya community for endogamous marriage, they may consider prospects from other communities.

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Interviews

- Interview was conducted at his home in Labuhan Kede Sungai Raya East Aceh, March 24, 2021.
- Interview with Ahmad Syukri, an observer of Langkat Malay Culture in Medan Monday, March 1, 2021.
- Interview with Sayyid Muhammad bin Ali who referred to as the 5th generation of Sayyid Aqil Shahab the First King/Lord of Sungai Raya, April 4, 2021.
- Interview with Syarifah Fauziati, a midwife who opens a clinic at her home in Sungai Raya, March 8, 2021.
- Interview with Syarifah Hafizah, in Labuhan Kede Sungai Raya Aceh Timur, March, 8-12, 2021.

Interview with Syarifah Maisarah in Labuhan Kede Sungai Raya Aceh Timur, March, 8-12, 2021.

Interview with Syarifah Salwa, in Labuhan Kede Sungai Raya Aceh Timur, March, 8-12, 2021.

Interview with Syarifah Surayya, in Labuhan Kede Sungai Raya Aceh Timur, March, 8-12, 2021.

Interview with the former Chief of the Sungai Raya Police, Mr. Raja Bangsawan, March 18, 2021.