

## THE STRENGTHENING OF HADRAMI NETWORK IN KAILI LAND CENTRAL SULAWESI

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**Abstract:** *This paper deals with the strengthening of the network of Hadrami Arab community in Palu, Central Sulawesi. This paper used qualitative method of inquiry, in which the data were collected through interviews, observation and related documents. This paper concludes that first, Hadrami Arabs in Palu, Central Sulawesi, existed since the 18th century, especially on the Western Coast of Central Sulawesi. They precisely settled in the small town of Donggala harbor, which became an important trading city in this region. In the era of colonialism, they moved to a region near Palu in large numbers, and also after Indonesia's independence; second, the Hadrami Arab community in Palu have developed rapidly and they become strengthened through the network they have established which includes three social-religious traditions such as Haul Guru Tua (the annual commemoration of the death of Sayyid Idrus bin Salim Al-Jufri), gambus music Jepeng dance, and lebaran iwadh (iwadh festival).*

**الملخص:** تتناول هذه الورقة تعزيز شبكة المجتمع العربي الحضرمي في بالو ، سولاويسي الوسطى. استخدمت هذه الورقة طريقة التحقيق النوعية ، حيث تم جمع البيانات من خلال المقابلات والملاحظات والوثائق ذات الصلة بهذه القضية. وتتلخص هذه الورقة إلى النقاط الآتية: أولاً، أن العرب الحضرميين كانوا موجودون في بالو ، سولاويسي الوسطى ، منذ القرن الثامن عشر ، وخاصة على الساحل الغربي لسولاويسي الوسطى. واستقروا بدقة في البلدة الصغيرة ما يسمى ميناء Donggala، والتي أصبحت مدينة تجارية مهمة في هذه المنطقة. و في عصر الاستعمار، انتقلوا إلى منطقة بالقرب من بالو بأعداد كبيرة ، وكذلك بعد استقلال إندونيسيا. ثانيًا ، كانت الجالية العربية الحضرمية تتطور في بالو

بسرعة وأصبحت معززة من خلال الشبكة التي أنشأوها والتي تشمل ثلاثة تقاليد اجتماعية دينية مثل الاحتفال السنوي بوفاة السيد عيدروس بن سالم الجفري، موسيقى جامبوس و رقصة جينغ ولباران إيواد.

**Abstrak:** *Tulisan ini membahas penguatan jaringan komunitas Arab Hadrami di Palu, Sulawesi Tengah. Artikel ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif, yaitu data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara, observasi, dan dokumen-dokumen yang terkait. Artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa, pertama, komunitas Arab Hadrami di Palu Sulawesi Tengah, telah ada semenjak abad ke-18, khususnya di Pantai Barat Sulawesi Tengah. Mereka tepatnya telah menetap di kota kecil pelabuhan Donggala, yang pernah menjadi kota perdagangan penting di wilayah ini. Pada masa kolonialisme, mereka pindah ke sebuah wilayah dekat Palu dalam jumlah yang sangat besar, dan juga pada masa setelah kemerdekaan. Kedua, komunitas Arab Hadrami di Palu telah berkembang begitu cepat, dan mengalami penguatan melalui jaringan yang mereka bangun, yang mencakup tiga tradisi sosial keagamaan seperti Haul Guru Tua (peringatan tahunan atas wafatnya Sayyid Idrus bin Salim Al-Jufri), musik gambus, tarian Jepeng, dan lebaran iwadh.*

**Keywords:** *Hadrami, Kaili, haul, gambus music, Jepeng dance*

## INTRODUCTION

Ethnic constructions in Indonesia can be divided into two categories: first, ethnic identity whose roots are derived from Indonesian territory, later known as indigenous, such as Javanese, Sundanese, Bugis, Baduy, Dayak, Asmat, and others. Second, the construction of ethnic identities whose roots of identity originate from outside Indonesia due to migration and diaspora, such as the Arabs. The Arab community in this region is one of the ethnic groups that grew out of this process of migration and diaspora. The so-called “Arabs” have long, complex and diverse meanings, identities, and histories, especially in shaping the perception of the word “Arab” itself in this region. Different from the widespread perception of the people, actually the “Arab” ethnic group cannot be called from a single ethnicity, but from various regions in the Middle East.

The “Arab” migrants in the Archipelago are actually made up of various ethnic groups, coming from different countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Yemen. The largest and most scattered in all parts of Indonesia are those originating from the Hadramaut Peninsula. This region is now included in the territory of the Republic of Yemen, located south of the Arabian Peninsula and separated from other Arabian territories by a vast desert, known as *Rub ‘ al-Khali*.

This group is often referred to as *wong Arab* and *cah Arab* who attend Arabic schools. In some cities such as in Batavia (Jakarta), their diaspora forms an Arab village community and/or dominates the community known as Pekojan. In Batavia (Jakarta), Pekojan was formed by the arrival of Koja people from India who formed the majority of non-indigenous Muslims before the 19th century. After the Hadrami migration increased and they further became the dominant group, the name Pekojan was still used. It is from this Hadramaut region, in the academic literature that they are called “Hadrami”.

Hadrami’s identity in Indonesia has a long history. The establishment of their identity was preceded by the arrival of these immigrants to Southeast Asia which substantially began around the mid-18th century. The people of Hadrami were attracted to the fairy tale that led them to explore the various islands until the islands of Southeast Asia. This can be seen in the fact that Hadrami migrants of first generation at the time first landed in Aceh, then Palembang (South Sumatra) or Pontianak in Kalimantan. In 1820, the Hadrami colony began to emerge in major trade centers along the north coast of Java. Based on the Western records, the settlement of Hadrami migrants in the northern part of the Indonesian archipelago has been found to exist since 1870. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the opening of steamer routes between the Arabian Peninsula and Indonesia, the number of Hadrami Arab migrants increased significantly.

Since their arrival during the Dutch colonial period, this identity began to be established. The relationship between the citizens of Hadrami and the Indonesian nation is broadly complex and growing. Hadrami people on one hand were accepted by the Indonesian people as brothers of Islam, but on the other

hand, they were regarded as foreigners. The identification of the Hadrami people about themselves then develops in Indonesia.

Sociologically, the Hadrami community is divided into two groups: *sayyid* and *non-sayyid*. *Sayyid* is the highest class in Hadramaut which includes a group of social and religious elites who claim to be the direct descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. On the basis of their nobility, the *sayyids* are honored in Hadramaut as Muslim teachers and mediators in inter-tribal disputes. *Non-sayyid* is a group that generally consists of various groups of economic and social strata in their place of origin. For a dozen years, the process of establishing their identity was also influenced by their perspective on the issue of *sayyid* and *non-sayyid*.<sup>1</sup> The difference of viewpoint lies in whether or not this social class distinction is still relevant in this area.

The arrival of the Hadrami people in Indonesia, especially the teachers and Muslim scholars (*'ulama'*), plays a great role in spreading Islam and at the same time strengthening Islamic law and its institutions. The same thing applies to the region of Central Sulawesi, especially Palu. The presence of the Hadrami people in Palu was seen before Sayyid Idrus bin Salim Aljufri came to Wani, then to Palu, Central Sulawesi, around 1930. After Sayyid Idrus Aljufri came to Palu, his effort was to build an Islamic school (*madrasah*) named Alkhairaat. Apparently, Sayyid Idrus with his Alkhairaat succeeded in moving the people around him to improve themselves in the field of education. This can be seen, among others, from the progress and success that has been achieved.

The success of Alkhairaat Islamic School is due to, among others, the personality of Sayyid Idrus Aljufri himself. Besides being known as a charismatic leader, he is also known as a hard-working man. In addition, as a founder of Alkhairaat, he had fostered this school for almost forty years. More than that, he managed to mobilize the surrounding community to sacrifice for the betterment of this school. From this school, the spread of Islam and the reinforcement of Shafī'i

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<sup>1</sup> See in detail A S Bujra, "Political Conflict and Stratification in Hadramaut — I," *Middle Eastern Studies* 3, no. 4 (July 1, 1967): 355–375, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206708700083>.

Islamic law developed and spread, even to the eastern Indonesia, such as Ternate, Ambon, Papua, Kalimantan, and other areas.

From the above background, the questions arise concerning the issues of the time in which the Hadrami Arabs came to Palu and the way the Hadrami Arabs in Palu had established an Arab community in this region?

### **METHOD OF RESEARCH**

This paper used qualitative method of inquiry, in which the data were collected through interviews, observation and related documents. Interview was done to some prominent Hadrami Arab figures living in Palu. From them, the information of the coming of Hadrami to Palu was gained, while observation is carried out to find out the information about their live and social practice in this area. In addition, the documents that deal with this issue were used in order to elaborate this issue.

### **PREVIOUS STUDY ON HADRAMI ARABS**

The study of Hadrami Arabs in Indonesia has been carried out by various researchers from different backgrounds and studies.<sup>2</sup> Berg's study was an early research of Hadrami Arabs in the archipelago. In this book, Berg explains that in Java, Arab migrants formed colonies. Six large Arab colonies existed in Batavia, Cirebon, Tegal, Pekalongan, Semarang, and Surabaya. They quickly assimilated with the local population. Their presence was alarming to the dominance of the Dutch colonialists. Berg proves that the Arabs did not oppose the dominance of Dutch colonial rule. He also reveals a misconception that the Arab influence on native noble people in the archipelago was due to their cultural attributes bound by religious similarities. Because, if this is true, Berg questioned how to explain the history of Java which states that in the fifteenth century the Arabs established a number of small kingdoms along the north coast of the island and ultimately succeeded in undermining the power of Hindu Majapahit. The Dutch colonial government actually benefited from the influence of the Arabs on the native nobles. The Arabs were very loyal to the Dutch colonial government. In every

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<sup>2</sup> L. W. C. van den Berg, *Orang Arab Di Nusantara* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2010).

dispute between the natives and the colonial government, Arabs almost always defended the Dutch colonial government. Loyalty of Arabs to the Dutch then was reciprocated with the title of the highest nobility.<sup>3</sup>

If we see from time context, the research and study on Hadrami Arabs can be divided into two time frames, before independence and after independence. In the first framework, for example, is the research conducted by Mobine-Kesheh,<sup>4</sup> through the study of the document about twelve newspapers and magazines published by Hadrami Arabs in Indonesia in 1914-1942. This reading of the documents is intended to gain a deeper understanding of the key words and concepts written by Hadrami leaders and how their meaning developed over the period of study.

This research focused on the process of the awakening of the Hadrami community in the Dutch East Indies especially in 1900-1942. According to Mobini-Kesheh, the awakening has the following characteristics such as adoption of modernity, educational and organizational methods, and western-based education aimed at achieving progress in a broader sense. This awakening manifested itself in three forms of social institutions: voluntary associations, modern schools, and newspapers. The most prominent organization is Al-Irsyad who strongly rejects the social stratification among Hadrami descendants in Indonesia (Dutch East Indies). The advantage of the study is to give us a fairly complete picture of the history of the Hadrami people in Indonesia especially in the early days of the struggle for independence.

In the second framework, the period after independence, research on Hadrami Arabs was carried out by Slama.<sup>5</sup> Research with field research method was conducted in Java and Bali in 2003-2005. In his research, Slama attempted to explain how the relationship between Hadrami communities took place and how they saw or treated Hadramaut land as the place of origin of their ancestors. Slama

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 160.

<sup>4</sup> Nathalie Mobine-Kesheh, *The Hadrami Awakening: Community and Identity in the Netherlands East Indies 1900-1942*, 1st ed. (New York: Southeast Asia Program Publication & Cornell University, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> Martin Slama, "Indonesian Hadhramis and the Hadhramaut: An Old Diaspora and Its New Connections," *Antropologi Indonesia* 29, no. 2 (2014): 107–113.

focused his research on comparing the conditions occurring during the main phase of the formation of Hadrami diaspora in Indonesia with post-colonial Indonesian conditions, especially at the end of the Cold War. Slama also found the split of Hadrami community in two major groups: Alawiyyin claiming to be the direct descendant of Prophet Muhammad, so they have the highest position in the community, and Irsyadi, the elite group of Hadrami people who founded the organization of al-Irsyad for the Hadrami youth.

Slama's findings show that the two groups have different ways of looking at the construction of their identity and the "shadow" of Hadramaut as the homeland of their ancestors. The Alawiyyin still regard Hadramaut as an ancestral land that is sometimes still missed, on the contrary the Irsyadi have erased their memory of Hadramaut and regarded it as a part of the past. The longing for Hadramaut led many Alawiyyin parents to send their children to study in Hadramaut. Instead, Irsyadi's parents are reluctant to send their children because they consider that Hadramaut's condition is more backward than Indonesia.

In addition, there is another study conducted Jacobsen,<sup>6</sup> using fieldwork methods in Surabaya, Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa, conducted in 1999-2001. The context of time in which the research had been carried out was after the 1998 reforms, which at that time Indonesia has become a more open country to the development of democratic values, such as equality of citizenship rights. In his research, Jacobsen compared the pattern of life of the Hadrami community in Surabaya, Bali, Lombok, and Sumbawa. A more in-depth study is conducted in Bali with consideration that the majority of religions that flourish in Bali are non-Muslims. Jacobsen wanted to observe how communities in Bali adapted in an environment that has a substantial difference in religious beliefs. Based on his research, Jacobsen found the fact that the question of stratification is no longer a big problem. The statistics compiled by Jacobsen show that between 1999 and 2000 the marriage between Hadrami people in one stratification class was still the greatest choice.

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<sup>6</sup> Frode F. Jacobsen, *Hadrami Arabs in Present-Day Indonesia* (London and Newyork: Routledge, 2009).

However, there is still lack of literature and information on the coming and practice of Hadrami Arab people in Palu and its surrounding areas. Therefore, this paper deals with this issue that comprises the arrival of Hadrami Arabs to this area and the socio-religious practice that strengthen the network of Hadrami Arabs there.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 1. The Emergence of Hadrami Arabs in Tanah Kaili

Before describing the emergence of Hadrami Arabs in Indonesia, it is necessary to explain historically the emergence of Islam in Palu as a main land of Kaili. As it is already known, Palu or Tanah Kaili<sup>7</sup> is regarded as a multicultural area. In addition to the Kaili ethnic groups<sup>8</sup> as the natives there, there are also immigrants who occupy this region. Bugis tribes including Bugis Makasar and Bugis Mandar constitute 60% of the total population of migrants, and they had entered this area before Islam entered the territory of Central Sulawesi, and this continues to this day. In addition, there are also migrants from Gorontalo, which are the largest group with livelihoods as farmers, traders, and employees. Then, followed by immigrants from Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok, who are generally transmigrants and live in transmigration sites.

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<sup>7</sup> Kaili means “ke-ilir” (to river mouth). The other version name “Kaili” is a tree named “Kaili tree” that grows in a land called “Kalinjo” because of its height, in the myth of Sawerigading journey, it is a stopping place to the land of Kaili or the valley of Palu I his journey to to the Land of China. In another legend, it is mentioned that the origin of the name of the Kaili tribe is that because they are the descendants of the heaven human beings (Tomanuru) who transformed into a “Tea” leaf that drifted to the seashore, which in the local language is called “noili” (drifts following the flow of water). Daughter of Noili was discovered by a warrior called “Tomalanggai” (Tadulako) in the Sigi area, around Nokilalakimountain, created from a “Bolawatubulawa” tree (Yellow Bamboo) in the midst of clouds, wind blowing and lightning. The marriage of these two figures is said to breed their offspring into the Kaili tribe.

<sup>8</sup> The Kaili and its dialects in Central Sulawesi vary: (1) KailiTorai or Rai which is the Tawaeli language, on the West and East Coast of Donggala District; (2) Ledo, in the valley of Palu and its surroundings, along the coast of Makassar Strait to Buol and Tomini bay; (3) Loli (Unde), on the West Coast of Palu bay; (4) Ganti (Ndepu), west of Donggala; (5) Sigi (Ija), whose supporters are in the Vuno river, southeast of the Palu valley; (6) Pakuli (ado), in the villages of Pakuli, Sibalaya, and Sidondo in District of SigiBiomaru; (7) Lindu, around Lake Lindu, Kulawi District (8) Kulawi (Moma), in Kulawi and its surrounding areas; (9) Uma, in the villages of Gimpu, Palolo, Kantewu, Banasu and Tobaku in District of Kulawi; (10) Parigi, in the city of Parigi and its surroundings; (11) Sausu (Ta’a) in the villages of Dologo and Sausu; (12) Tawaelia, in the Tawaelia area, north of Napu. (Local Culture Publishing and Documenting Project, *Cerita Rakyat Sulawesi Tengah* [Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1980], 22–23).



The migrants are in general already integrated with the local indigenous people, even married to the natives.

Viewed from the religions adopted by the people of Palu, Islam is the dominant religion held by the people in Tanah Kaili. According to the statistics released in 2015, the Muslim population reached 84.06%.<sup>9</sup> This means that Muslims are the majority compared to other the people of other religions. The arrival of Islam to Central Sulawesi has taken place for a long time, around the early seventeenth century AD. According to folklore, the first Islamic propagator in Tanah Kaili was Abdul Raqie. It is reported that Abdul Raqie is a Minangkabau descendant who came to Palu Valley with his fifty followers including his wife Intje Djille and his two daughters Intje Dongko and Intje Saharibanong.<sup>10</sup>

Abdul Raqie earned the title “Datuk Karamah” or “Datokarama”. The word “datuk” means “the old man”<sup>11</sup> while the word “karamah” or “keramat” means “holy man” or “pious man”.<sup>12</sup> The honor given by the community are due to the sacredness of Abdul Raqie. A myth thrives in society that the arrival of Abdul Raqie to the Palu Valley is by sailboat. This sailboat rushed in the midst of ferocious waves and fast-blowing wind. Unable to survive in the middle of the sea, the sailboat boarded by Abdul Raqie finally stranded on the edge of Talise beach. The place where the boat was stranded is called Karampe, while the the sail of the boat was thrown far to the area that is now called Masomba.

The arrival of Datokarama in the valley of Palu was well welcomed by the people of Palu. Even his arrival was greeted by two nobles of Palu Valley at that time ieParasila or PueNjidi and I Moili or Pue Bongo. Parasila or PueNjidi is a king of Kabonena. PueNjidi and Pue Bongo then embraced Islam followed by the people in the valley of Palu. The symbol of Islam brought by

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<sup>9</sup> Badan Pusat Statistik, “Persentase Penduduk Menurut Agama Di Kota Palu,” accessed March 20, 2020, <https://palukota.bps.go.id/statictable/2016/10/05/464/persentase-penduduk-menurut-agama-di-kota-palu-2011-2015.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Global Dan Lokal Islam Nusantara* (Bandung: Mizan, 2002), 168.

<sup>11</sup> Tim Penyusun, *Kamus Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa, 2008), 323.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 549.

Datokarama, according to some literature, used the same pattern used in the Sultanate of Aceh. This is seen from the fact that Datokarama was a messenger of Sultan Iskandar Muda from the Sultanate of Aceh to islamize the people of Sulawesi Island together with Datuk RiTiro and Datuk RiBandang. The Islamization process undertaken by Datokarama was centered on a mosque founded on the support of the people around the mosque. The mosque is named Jami mosque and is located in KampungBaru now. In oral history, Datokarama entered the Valley of Palu in the seventeenth century or around the year 1645-1709 AD.<sup>13</sup>

The arrival of Datokarama and his followers might be seen as the beginning of the ideological period in the development of Islam in Central Sulawesi until now. And his influence can still be seen in the life of society in Central Sulawesi Islamic, such as the model of studying the letters of *ugi*, *Barasanji*, and mainly, the existence of “Minangkabau” culture which is acculturated with the culture of Central Sulawesi. As a Muslim scholar, Datokarama had a great personality, a moderate man who understands what people feel. He showed his sympathy and empathy to those around him. And in this way, he incorporated the sense and consciousness of religiosity into everyone. In a gentle way, with a persuasive approach and a psychological touch, he entered into the community around him and get involved with them in community’s daily life while gradually instilling Islamic values to them. He was regarded as a well-mannered sociable Muslim scholar, and never came from his mouth assaults and humiliation, let alone vilification and blasphemy. From his mouth comes a prayer for the common good.<sup>14</sup>

After that, the development of Islamic preaching (*da‘wah*) was done by the Bugis and Makasar traders, until then Sayid Idrus bin Salim Al-Jufri came to Palu from Hadramaut. The role played by this latter figure was so significant

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<sup>13</sup> See Nurdin & Harsul Madini, “Sejarah Dakwah Dato Karama: Menelusuri Ulama Sumatera Barat Penyebar Islam Di Lembah Palu,” *Al-Mishbah* 14, no. 2 (2018): 205–239.

<sup>14</sup> See Saifulhaq Inaku, “Konsep Pendidikan Islam Dalam Syair-Syair Sayyid Idrus Bin Salim Al-Jufri,” *Al-Jauhari* 2, no. 1 (2017): 72; See also Nurhayati, “Pemikiran Pendidikan Sayyid Idrus Bin Salim Aljufri Dalam Pembentukan Akhlak Islami,” *Rausyan Fikr* 14, no. 1 (2018): 183–208.

that the Islam spreading in Palu and its surroundings is colored by the thought of Sayid Idrus, a Hadrami cleric dominated by Ash‘arī in his faith and Shāfi‘ī in his Islamic jurisprudence.

There is no clear and definite data that describes the arrival of Hadrami Arabs to the land of Kaili. However, the information obtained from some source may provide some illustration that the arrival of Hadrami Arabs in Central Sulawesi was in the mid-18th century,<sup>15</sup> especially on the West Coast of Central Sulawesi. They precisely settled in the small town of Donggala harbor, which became an important trading city. In the era of colonialism, they moved to a region near Palu in large numbers, and also after Indonesia’s independence.

It is also estimated that Hadrami Arabs who came to Central Sulawesi in the 18th century in small numbers. Those who first entered the valley of Palu, precisely at Wani, about 30 km north of Palu, were a Hadrami *sayyid* who came from South Sulawesi, named Sayid Aqil al-Mahdali.<sup>16</sup> Geographically, Wani is a coastal area which at the time was a center and a famous port for transporting goods and spices. It was chosen by the Arabs to support their arrival activity. Wani’s territory is divided into two parts, Wani I which is a place for the natives of Kaili, and Wani II which is a place for immigrants who most of them are Arabs, even now referred to as Kampung Arab or *Malambora*.<sup>17</sup>

In a new place, the Al-Mahdali family directly mingled with the locals without any problems at all. This is because they had previously been assimilated to Wajo, South Sulawesi, so that they were familiar with Wani’s environment that was not much different from where they had once settled. The indigenous people called Sayid Agil Al-Mahdali as *Puang Natuambulu*, which means “hairy man”. This call was given by the local people because

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<sup>15</sup> See Jacobsen, *Hadrami Arabs in Present-Day Indonesia*.

<sup>16</sup>Nurhayati Nainggolang, *Sejarah Daerah Sulawesi Tengah* (Jakarta: Depdikbud RI, 1997); Ismail S Wekke, “Arabian Society in Kaili Lands, Central Sulawesi: Arabic Education and Its Movement,” *Tawarikh: International Journal for Historical Studies* 7, no. 1 (2015): 66; Mahid Syakir, *Sejarah Sosial Sulawesi Tengah* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Pilar, 2009).

<sup>17</sup>Nainggolang, *Sejarah Daerah Sulawesi Tengah*; Syakir, *Sejarah Sosial Sulawesi Tengah*.

Sayid Aqil Al-Mahdali was a really big and tall man with a body covered with hair.

The second wave of Arab arrivals into the Palu valley was the Al-Haddad family, that is, Sayid Husen bin Ahmad Al-Haddad from South Sulawesi, who came around the end of the 19th century. He came with his wife and children. These children of Al-Haddad descent were later married to the descendants of Al-Mahdali.<sup>18</sup>

Since the 20th century, every year, a number of Arab traders who came to the valley of Palu continued to increase and exceed from before. Among these are the families of Al-Habsyi, Assegaf, Al-Atas, Al-Idrus, Al-Jufri, and Al-Amri. They are still regarded as a *sayyid* group, except the Al-Amri family, and some of them marry each other. In terms of marriage, there appears to be a “caste system” that applies to the *sayyid* and *sharīfah* groups. Some even married daughters of local kings or local nobles. And they settled in the areas of their wife to trade, sell staple goods, or barter with local agricultural products. They also learned local languages. Some of them even combined trade with Islamic preaching (*da‘wah*).

The social relations inherent in these practices formed a power for their integration into indigenous communities after independence. At the same time, some Hadrami Arabs defended their networks with other Hadrami groups in the region and even in Hadramaut. This is achieved primarily through marriage, while strengthening their patrilineal genealogy, as they marry their daughters to an Indonesian-born Hadrami man or a newcomer from Hadramaut.<sup>19</sup> What they did is for a reason that they regarded their position as high class because they are the offspring of the Prophet. For that reason, their women who are called *sharīfah* can not marry other than a *sayyid*, because they (*non-sayyids*) are considered not as *kafā‘ah* (equal in position). Nevertheless, the *sayyids* can marry local women who are not *sharīfah*.

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<sup>18</sup>Nainggolang, *Sejarah Daerah Sulawesi Tengah*;

<sup>19</sup>Martin Slama, “Translocal Networks and Globalisation within Indonesia: Exploring the Hadrami Diaspora from the Archipelago’s North-East,” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 39 (2011): 243.

Since they are still attached to the sense of Hadrami, the Hadrami people, according to Engseng Ho in his research on the Hadrami diaspora, are referred to as “local cosmopolitans,” a term that refers to “persons who, while embedded in local relations, also maintain connections with distant places”<sup>20</sup>.

In the next development, the Hadrami Arab community residing in the Palu region develop rapidly and formed two distinct social levels of community, the significant *non-sayyid* Hadrami community, such as Al-Amri, Al-Kathiri, Bachmid, Balcher, Bajeber, and others, and the *sayyid* (*sādah*, *ḥabā'ib*) groups, such as Al-Jufri, Al-Habsyi, and others, whose role is significant in the development of Islamic education and *da'wah* in Tanah Kaili. The majority of these Hadrami Arabs, such as the family of Al-Jufri and Al-Habsyi, in their livelihood are traders, educators, and preachers.

## 2. The traditions which strengthen the network of Hadrami Arabs in Palu

Tradition comes from the [Latin](#) *traditio* via French. it was originally used in [Roman law](#) to refer to the concept of legal transfers and [inheritance](#). A tradition is a [belief](#) or behavior (folk custom) passed down within a group or society with symbolic meaning or special significance with origins in the past.<sup>21</sup>

Socially, each of Hadrami Arab communities builds and strengthens the network. The function of this network is how their existence can be strengthened and influential in society. Some of the following traditions may be considered as media that strengthens Hadrami Arabs network in land of Kaili.

### a. Annual Memoriation (*haul*) of Guru Tua

One of the traditions conducted to strengthen this network is the implementation of what is called *Haul Guru Tua*. The word *haul*, derived from Arrabichawl, in terminology means “the annual commemoration of someone's death”, while Guru Tua or Old Teacher refers to a title given by

<sup>20</sup> Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*, First Edit. (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2006), 31.

<sup>21</sup> Randal S Allison, “Tradition,” ed. Thomas A. Green, *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and Art* (ABC-CLIO, 1997), 799-801.

people of Palu to a charismatic Hadrami Muslim scholar, SayidIdrus bin Salim Al-Jufri. The word *hawl*, literally meaning “yearly”, can be translated as public interaction in the form of practical and written rituals, since in addition to physical contact between the ‘Alawiyyin (the descendants of ‘Ali) and the local authority which results in the strong authoritative hierarchy of ‘Alawiyyindiaspora, there is also contact between the text and the present congregation, because in the *haul* there is a reading of *manaqib*(the biography of Guru Tua), the book of *mawlid al-nabi*(the birth of the Prophet), and other readings whose authors are from the previous generation of ‘Alawiyyin. This then becomes a widespread textual transmission in the community.

Haul Guru Tua, which is an annual event conducted near his tomb to remember his struggle in *da'wah* and education, is held every 12th Shawwal, the day of the death of Guru Tua, SayidIdrus bin SalifAljufri. This *Haul* attracted the a lot of Muslim scholars (*‘ulama’*), kiayis, and followers of Alkhairaat(*abna’ al-khayrat*) in the region of Central Sulawesi, and even other areas outside Central Sulawesi, such as Kalimantan and North Maluku. The result is a network expansion that strengthens ‘Alawiyyinauthority among the wider society.

#### **b. Gambus music and *Jepeng* dance**

Another tradition that also strengthens the Hadramian network in Palu is the music of gambus and *Jepeng* dance. *Gambus* is a stringed instrument like a mandolin from the Middle East. Scientists disagree with regard to the origin of the *gambus*. Berg<sup>22</sup> explained the differences of opinion about it in her dissertation. For example, Jaap Kunst said that two forms of instruments whose name came from the East African *gabbus* were found in early 20th century Java, one from Hadrami and one from the Hijaz; Christian Poche connected the *gambus* with the South African *qanbus*; Curt Sachs and Henry Farmer traced the names of *gambus* and *qanbus* to Turkish *qopuz*and

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<sup>22</sup> Birgit Anna Berg, “The Music of Arabs, the Sound of Islam: Hadrami Ethnic and Religious Presence in Indonesia” (Brown University, 2007), 59.

even said that the musical instruments show Chinese and Portuguese influences. The often-used instruments of *gambus* today are almost like the Egyptian *'ud*. After all, various forms of *gambus* can be found in the Archipelago, making it even more difficult to state the history of its origin. Nevertheless, many authors agree that the instrument is spreading in the Archipelago along with the spread of Islam.

In the region of Palu, the famous *gambus* orchestra is the Yassalam Gambus Orchestra. At the Kampung Baru Festival Fair on July 12, 2016, this Orchestra <sup>performed</sup> its brilliant performance. *Gambus* orchestra sometimes is accompanied or not by *Jepeng* dance. The word *jepeng* is derived from *zapin*, an Arabic word, *zafn*, which means “rapid foot movement follows the blow of a punch”.<sup>23</sup> *Jepeng* is a dance accompanied by the music of *gambus*, whose musical instrument consists of violin, drum, tabla and flute. *Jepeng* dance, accompanied by *gambus* music, is exhibited on various occasions, and especially for Islamic entertainment or rituals based on religious shari'a. For example, it is exhibited at weddings, formal ceremonies, ritual of baby haircut (*'aqiqah*), marriage proposal, and others. The performances of *Jepeng* dance and *gambus* music invite many people to attend, especially Hadrami Arabs in Palu. From this, good relationship will be established between Hadrami Arabs in Palu, which in turn strengthens the Arab network of Hadramaut descent.

### c. **Lebaran 'Iwad**

Another tradition established by the Hadrami Arab community in the valley of *Palu* to strengthen Hadrami network is *Lebaran 'iwad*, a unique tradition to celebrate Eid al-Fitr. The word *'iwad* comes from the root *'āda* which means “to return”. This means socially “mutual visits and greetings in every home. They visit each other and stay in touch from house to house among Hadrami Arab fellows. This tradition, according to one information, is a

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<sup>23</sup>Wikipedia, “Tari Zapin,” last modified 2016, accessed October 18, 2016, [https://id.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tari\\_Zapin](https://id.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tari_Zapin) (Accessed 18 October 2016).

heritage of Habib Idrus bin Salim Aljufri, and the aim is to purify the self and return to the media for all the congregation who participated.

This tradition is only followed by men. According to one information, the tradition of *'iwad* has taken place since decades ago, and has even existed since the Dutch era, and the relationship or mutual visit between Muslim male Hadrami Arabs was done on the second day of Eid al-Fitr. The uniqueness of this tradition is that upon arriving at every home they visit, men sing praises to the Prophet Muhammad and make prayers (*du'ā'*) for the homeowners they stop by. Then they, consisting of children to parents, blend with cheerful faces and shaking hands participating in the tradition. After that, the tradition continues with a firecracker war between Hadrami Arab descendants and they give five thousand to ten thousand rupiah to children who participated. Until now, *Iwad* tradition has been rooted and disseminated in various regions in Central Sulawesi. Not only that, this tradition continues to be maintained even been followed by non-Arab Muslims.

## CONCLUSION

From above discussion it can be concluded that, first, Hadrami Arabs in Palu, Central Sulawesi, existed since the 18th century, especially on the Western Coast of Central Sulawesi. They precisely settled in the small town of Donggala harbor, which became an important trading city. In the era of colonialism, they moved to a region near Palu in large numbers, and also after Indonesia's independence; second, the Hadrami Arab community have developed rapidly and they become strengthened through the network they have established which includes three social-religious traditions such as Haul Guru Tua (the annual commemoration of the death of Sayyid Idrus Al-Jufri), *gambus* music, *Jepeng* dance, and *lebaran iwadh* (the festival of *iwadh*).

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