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The Hadrami Diaspora and the Network Expansion of Majelis Shalawat in Contemporary Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper aims to discuss the development of institutionalization of Sayyid Genealogy, Hadrami's diaspora, and its expanding network process in Indonesia contemporary Sufism. During last three decades, the Hadrami has been embarking on occupying the Islamic public by establishing majelis shalawat and organizing "shalawat bersama". This research was conducted towards Ahbabul Musthofa's Majelis Shalawat in Solo, Central Java. Shalawat Bersama which is introduced through the recitation of prophetic hagiography and rihlah as the way to express love and, following Bourdieu's view-as a rite to institutionalize the exclusivity of sayyid genealogy. The establishment of this Sufism religious-esthetic ethos is enabled by the economical-political historical situation of their indigenization in Indonesia. This ethnographic research showed that within the emergence of capitalism and democratic state context, Shalawat Bersama and Majelis Shalawat that thrive in the regions are not only using the media industry (audio-visual), but also to assume using modern marketing logic. This logic of majelis development is concepted as a "religious franchise" which means a religious movement which is based on a marketing logic through the branches established in the regions in order to promote and create direct certain religious practices supported by certain standards, especially the reference of sufistic piety and its particular performativity.

Keywords: pray together; majelis sholawat; hadrami diaspora; sufism; rites of institution; religious franchise

Introduction

On Thursday in the early evening of May 2013, I attended "*Shalawat Bersama*" performing Habib Syech bin Abdul Qadir Assegaf. The event held in Tegalrejo, Yogyakarta commemorated *Hawl* of KH. M. Soleh. Pangeran Dipenogoro Square used as the venue was unable to accommodate the overflowing attendants participating, the host must close nearby alleys and streets. The small vendors were lining up along the streets side with their table and

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carpet-selling posters, prayer caps, prayer book, calendars, bags, and other paraphernalias. Some street vendors were playing desert-nuanced shalawat song with DVD player plugged to small television. The songs played by the street vendors was actually different from the one performed on the stage of the event. Meanwhile, the scent of non-alcoholic perfume was sproud on the air-mixed with the scent of roasted corn and other foods, whether the scent was from the participant or the perfume seller itself. Some vendors were also selling 1m² plastic sheet to the participants who were running out of seats for them to sit on. Among the crowds, there were few book sellers selling books of *Simtud-Duror, ad-Dibai,* and also Habib Syech's shalawat album.

The lights were installed in every corner of the street and carpets were spread from the entrance to the stage. At the same time, speakers and other sound systems alike were installed everywhere. As the "noise" of the participants echoed from the stage, several projectors showed the live feed of the situation occurred on the stage and nearby-with the face of the percussion player, Habib Syech himself, local officials, Ulamas, and public figures displayed on the screens.

The participants were not standing like most people would do in a concert, all of them were sitting down on the floor. Along with the music of *rebana* from the second stage facing the main one, the participants were reciting shalawat right after the chairman of the committee delivered the opening speech. When one of the committees ignited the incense in front of the main stage, they enunciated shalawat, following the certain relatively static tone while placing their hands on the air. There were also some who were very still, waving flag, video-recording the event with their phone, and even closing their eyes for about two hours.

The event ended with *mahalul qiyam.* As the participants stood together, the scent of the on-alcohol perfume filled the air again. The music of *rebana* stopped for a while, then the audience sang "*Allahumma salli wa sallim 'ala Muhammad*" together, closing their eyes, and placing both hands on the air. Then, continued by singing "*Marhaban, marhaban, ya nurol 'aini…*" (Welcome, welcome, the light of my heart). Prior to end of the final prayer, Habib Syech led to sing the national anthem "Indonesia Raya" along with the audience. After that, he prayed for the health to the sick, for those who passed away, for wealth, for the students to pass their exam, for the youth to earn a decent job, for the single to get married soon.

Several audiences were getting closer to the stage trying to reach Habib's hand and the water placed nearby, video-recording the situation with their phone, or simply looking around and the walked away. The study about *shalawat* (devotional prayer) and other Islamic practices that intersected in Indonesia have been conducted in various studies, analytical scope, and perspective. There are a lot of conceptualization and term use in theme in which we may get confused, such "*seni musik Islam*" (the art of Islamic music), "*musik yang bernafaskan Islam*"

(Islam-themed music), "*musik rohani*" (religious music), "*musik bernuansa Islam*" (Islam-nuanced music), "*musik islami*" (Islamic music) (Rasmussen, 2010); "*seni berislam*" (art of practicing Islam) (Arafat, 2013); "*seni terbangan*" (the art of *terbangan*) (Munawaroh, 2007); "*seni shalawatan*" (the art of *shalawatan*) (Susilantini, 2006); Islamic tradition (Abdullah, 1986); (Abdullah and Siddique, 1989) ; Afrida, 2011); "*tradisi membaca sya'ir Islam*" (the tradition of reading Islamic's lyric) (Kamaluddin, 2013); prophetic literature tradition (Wargadinata, 2008); the acculturation of Javanese Islam (Sumbulah, 2012); (Ahyani, 2012); oral tradition/*pesantren*'s literary tradition (Muzakka, 2003), the tradition of living hadits (Ilham, 2011); "kesenian rakyat melalui rebana" (folk art through *rebana*) (Sinaga, 2001), popular music (Barendregt & Zanten, 2002), popular culture (Fairuz, 2013), urban Sufism (Howell, 2007); (Woodward, et. al., 2012), prophetic cosmopolitanism (Hoesterey, 2009) new spiritual movement (Muttaqin, 2009), (Muttaqin, 2012) Islamic pop music/ hybridization between pop culture and Islam (Nef-Saluz, 2007), Islamic sound (Foley, 2012), popular Islamic piety (Zamhari and Howell, 2012), muslim music (Barendregt, 2006); mahabbah (Safi'i, 2013); *recitation* (Alatas, 2014).

According to recent studies above, all of them agreed that shalawatan developed in Indonesia is based on the interpretation of Al-Qur'an and Hadits, or as what Woodward said as "the interpretation product of Islamic texts" (1986:62, (Ilham, 2011); Musiyanah 2012; (Safi'i, 2013), that the audience was motivated to keep on coming to *shalawatan* in order to earn "*mahabbah*", "barokah", and "*syafaat*". These three values and the interpretation of the *hadits* are what gives life to the commemoration of *maulid* or *shalawatan* which have been conducted for ages.

Historically, *shalawat* originated from the tradition of *Maulid* which was introduced in 909-117M during Fatimiyah Dynasty (Afrida, 2011) as the art of tarekat (*sufi order*) of 'Alawiyya which grew in the Middle East, especially Tarim, Hadramaut, Yaman in the 13th century (Woodward, et. al., 2012, p. 106); (Alatas, 2010). This tarekat was followed by many *habaib* (habibs), one of them was Habib Ali al-Habsyi who wrote the book of *Taj al-A'ras* and *maulid simtudduror*, which often became the reference during the *shalawat bersama*. Habib Ali bin Abdurrahman al Habsyi (1870-1968) rounded up a mass to the commemoration of maulid or *hawl* with genealogy of *sayyid* (Alatas, 2011; Alatas, 2014; Mauladawilah, 2008; Woodward, et, al., 2012).

The presence of Habaib in Indonesia, especially in the cities from 1980's by using religious capital such as their embodiment of blessing. They embody the religious capitals such charisma and the ability to perform that could be their modality in effectively occupying the organic solidarity. This method can easily be part of the heart of the elite and grassroot moslems in Southeast Asia. This capital is based on, "the reverence that traditional Indonesian (and other) Muslims have for sayyid, as the embodiment of the blessing (*barokah*) of the

Prophet and that Tariqa Alawiyya, that is particular tarekat of Sufi Order that focused on external (*lahir*) and internal (*batin*) modes of prophetic piety and deep, abiding love for the Prophet and his family (2012, p. 106).

The Hadrami lately continue their movement by emphasizing the Sufi contribution to be able to peacefully spread Islam. The emphasis of Sufism and peaceful preaching method have affected the principal of 'Alawiyyin wherever they are, from generation to generation until today (2012, pp. 120-121). Moller (2005, p. 52) also said that the behavior and method of Islamization in Java was conducted "peacefully" and still runs through generations until now. Some experts in Islamic study mentioned that there is a strong relation between the early Islamization process in Indonesia (*Hindia-Belanda*), with the contemporary Islam which is portrayed as the tolerant, moderate, pluralist, and peaceful Islam. Woodward et.al. also mentioned that Habib Syech's presentation is part of the 'peaceful' preacher or in Islam is called as *amr al-ma'ruf* (forbidding what is right) which is established with three basic value of traditional muslim piety such *shalawat*, *barokah* (benediction), and *doa* (supplication) (2012, p. 123).

Shalawat, including the recital of book of barzanji or other books, in several researchs is considered as artworks when it requires musical instruments. Other groups consider it as the pop culture (Sinaga, 2001); (Barendregt, 2006); (Munawaroh, 2007); (Nef-Saluz, 2007); (Rasmussen, 2010); (Foley, 2012); (Fairuz, 2013). Munawaroh in particular, considers that reciting *barzanji* as vocal tradition in Islam becomes an artwork when it requires musical instrument such as tambourine and keyboard.

> Since it requires tamborin instruments (*alat terbang*), then *barzanji* is included as the art of *terbangan* or *salawatan*. The elements of *terbangan* is prominently known as the *Barzanji* music instrument and it also has been recognized for long since the arrival of Islam in Indonesia. Furthermore, it became the distinguished character of Islamic musical art.

Barendregt & Zanten (2002) show that the religious music like the Islamic music has been fusing with the popular music. The religious song then becomes the label of all religious music with prophetic and godhood-themed song, including the song in Arabic. Religious music has rapidly grown in Indonesia after the reformation. It is occurred as the effort of community-based identity negotiation which play its role locally, nationally, and globally (Nugraheni, 1999). The growth of religious music in Indonesia, according to Barendregt and Zanten's study, is marked with the emergence of *qasidah* song with Arabic poem and *Nasyid* band. Moreover, recital or *qari'* are also packed in cassette or CD. This musical emergence is not only occurred in Indonesia. Charles Hirschkind (2006) shows that the emergence of this popular media marks the emergence of contestatory religion practice. This contestation

is occurred when the recording technology entered Egypt in 1970's. Various moslem community, preacher, or *qori'* record their sermon, *hadits*, recital, and things alike into a cassette. The presence of sermon cassette, other than as the income for the sellers, also has changed the religious practice of the Egyptian according to the local political and democratic context.

Therefore, "religious" practice and/or "artwork" has been going through the "commodification" process almost in every economic and social-cultural aspect as the impact of the technology and capitalism. The commodified process means, "… *deemed to turn religion (tradition) into marketable goods, bringing them into various scales and modes of market transaction*" (Kittiarsa, 2008, p. 3). This practice is also occurred in Indonesia through the religious practice of consumerism (Hidayah, 2004); the emergence of "*muslim spiritual trainers*"(Rudnycky, 2009a), "pop preacher" (Howell, 2007) (Howell, 2012) (Watson, 2005), "spiritual tourist" (Hoesterey, 2009, p. 43) or what Rudnyckyj called as the emergence of "Market Islam"(Rudnycky, 2009b), see also (Hoesterey, 2009, p. 2021). The emergence of "Market Islam", as Rudnyckyj said, is an initiate to negotiate the ideas of capitalism and democratic state. Market Islam implicitly or explicitly refer to the model of Islamic practices that mobilize "to facilitate the transition from an authoritarian regime of state-forested development to organizing labour and commercial activity according to market principles" (Rudnyckyj, 2009, p. 185).

Fairuz (2013) in his study about the development of Ahbabul Musthafa mentioned this religious commodification practice through the massification of albums, and other products which are profitable and strengthen the identity of his *jamaah* so called as "Syechermania" (2013, p. 69). Therefore, music, cassette, and other products are produced and consumed by the recording industry. They have been copied and distributed to the society transcending the place and time (Howell, 2007) (see also Howell, 2007; (Hoesterey, 2012).

Assumption and Research Question

According to the amount of recent discourse discussed above, *shalawat* as a "religious" activity and/or "artwork", which has been reproduced in particular social practices. Many efforts have been attempted in order for the "past image" live in our memory and days as the reference and way to respond the latest condition. *Sholawatan* as a "tradition", is likely flexible so it can keep up with the ages (Laksono, 198, p. 10). Unfortunately, in the process of flexibility it needs the agencies or factors. I am on the same page with Fauzanafi (2005, pp. 21-22), that a tradition is actually a product of contemporary culture. Since it as a contemporary product, any tradition forms relate with the actuality dimension whereas this actualization means a "desire" to seek for the reference from the past and its memories. *Shalawat* is still

becoming actual, in my assumption, these factors involved a certain economical-political context on referring certain historical memories and personal experiences.

In attempt of making actualaccording to Bourdieu it requires a rite called rites of institution. "The rites of institution" is a rite that function (to be functioned) in order to institutionalize, coronate, or legitimate an arbitrary boundary between a position with another, by embedding an understanding that those limits are natural and legal 1991 in (Fauzanafi, 2005, pp. 19-20). So, based on this assumption, the questions might be asked, how is the process of actualizing the tradition of *shalawat* in the context of the emergence of recent capitalism or as what Rudnyckyj called as "*Market Islam*"? How Hadrami expands themselves in the process? What kind of historical situation that enables this process?

Jamaah Ahbabul Musthofa: An Introduction

This research is based on the study about *Majelis Shalawat Ahbabul Musthofa* (AM) from Solo. The term of "Majelis Shalawat and Majelis Dzikir" as explained by (Zamhari and Howell, 2012, p. 50) are an Islamic community who practice recitation to get themselves closer to God and also to pray upon the Prophet Muhammad. In the beginning, AM *Jamaah* is a *majelis* which conduct the recital of *Rabitul Hadad, Burdah,* and *Maulid Simtuddurar* This *majelis* is led by Habib Syekh bin Abdul Qadir Assegaf, son of Al-Habib Abdul Qadir bin Abdurrahman Assegaf (a religious figure and *imam* in *Masjid Jami' Assegaf*, Solo). He earned education from Habib Muhammad Anis bin Alwiy Al-Habsyi and by his uncle Habib Ahmad bin Abdurrahman Assegaf from Hadramaut, Yaman.

In Kliwon Market, there are two great mosques located separately around 200m away *Masjid Jami' Assegaf* and Riyadh Agung Mosque. Two big familie Assegaf and Al-Habsyi family introduce the *Tarekat Alawiyah* developed by Muhammad bin Ali Ba'alawi (-653 H), whereas *shalawatan* and *dzikir bersama* are the routine rites conducted in those mosque (Alatas, 2014). This activity has been carrying out in *zawiyah*, a distinguished room located in the side of the mosque with open door, which allows anyone join the recitation. As mentioned by (Zamhari and Howell, 2012, p. 53), the existence of *majelis shalawat* and *dzikir* is structurally very open in which people can easily come and go without any registration or formal initiation to be recognized as a member.

Jamaah of *shalawat AM* which was formed in 1998 prior to 2007, organized a *simtudduror* routinely in *Masjid Jami' Assegaf*, Riyadh Mosque, and *Pondok Pesantren As-Sirodj* in Pajang, and also various mosques in other cities. The moment of the fall of Soeharto marked the important development of Hadrami in Indonesia, especially due the participation of the urban middle-class society during the past years. It could mark as an significant time about the emergence of *majelis shalawat* in Indonesia related to the current economical-political

situation of Indonesia. They earned more space to express and to organize a religious activity or another social practice since they no longer bound to any strict regulation (Muttaqin, 2012). Ever since the reformation, many religious music started to emerge in public, particularly, the 'loving the prophet' song-*shalawat* (Barendregt & Zanten, 2002). Love became the central theme in islamic *thariqah* activity (*tarekat*) expressed in many ways such as Darwis dance, poems, and songs.

Historical Context of the Indigenization of Hadrami in Indonesia

The expanding *majelis shalawat* in Indonesia is not only initiated by Habib Syech. In Jakarta, there is *Jama'ah Shalawat Majelis Rasullullah* intiated by the late Habib Munzir al Musawa. Meanwhile, there is *Jamaah Shalawat Nurul Musthofa* intiated by Habib Hasan bin Ja'far Assegaf and *Jamaah Kanzuj Shlawat* initiated by Habib Luthfi bin Ali. On the other hand, theres is a light different *tasawuf* movement base in another city called *Padepokan Thaha* initiated by KH Rachmat Hidayat (see (Howell, 2007), (Howell. 2005).

The presence of Habib Syech and other habaib throughout the nation recently is considered as a new religious movement called as urban Sufism (Darmadi 2001; (Howell, 2007), Neo-Sufism (Howell, 2012), or "Hadrami diaspora" (Woodward, et, al., 2012). Hadrami is a concept to explain the existence of Hadramaut people community that spread geographically which is connected and defined based on the kinship rather than territorial or state category (Woodward, et, al. 2012) see also (Alatas, 2011) (Alatas, 2005). The most significant difference in Hadrami diaspora between *sayyid* is that *sayyid* is respected by Muslim in all over the world since *sayyid* is believed to has a embodied prophetic blessing within themselves and their family. Muslim honors them as the moslem honor their famous ancestor. In Southeast Asia, a *sayyid* men is known as Habib (lover) and the women is known as Syarifah (the honorable). In Indonesia, especially Java, this term is often used as an "pengagungan" (exaltation) to the descendants of Prophet Muhammad and Siti Fatimah and Ali bin Abi Thalib.

The figure of 'habib' becomes important in various Islamic rites in contemporary Indonesia. John R Bowen (1989) stated, the position of 'Habib' becomes the basic of authority and authenticity, by drawing a genealogic line from Prophet Muhammad, and directly transmitting the spiritual movement from the Sufi founder (Bowen, 1989, pp. 602-603) or *barokah* and the esoteric knowledge (Woodward, et, al., 2012, p. 116). According to Woodward et.al., *sayyid* genealogy, the embodied prophetic blessing, the esoteric knowledge is a religious capital in establishing a religious movement.

The emergence of religious capital can look back the historical context of their arrival in Indonesia. According to Boxberger (2002), in the 17th into 19th century, there was a huge

wave of migration and diaspora from the South Africa into Indonesia. Estimated over than 1.2 million Hadrami has spread in Indonesia and small groups in Malaysia and Singapore (Woodward, et, al., 2012, p. 114). This event was triggered when the Canal of Suez was opened in 1869 due the economic growth in South East Asia through the colonial expansion (Ho, 1997, p. 139 in Alatas, 2005, p. 150). In the meantime, the Hadrami was excommunicated. The Dutch create a negative image about Islam because the Dutch was afraid that the Pan-Islamic movement in the Middle East would spread to the East Indies (van Den Berg, 1989). Although being oppressed by the Dutch, the Hadramaut still enabled to connect with the locals through the trading and becoming pilgrimage guide. This situation continued until right before the independence, when the Hadrammi in Indonesia was rejected as the part of imagined Indonesia (Mobini-Kesheh, 1999; Alatas, 2005, p. 152).

The initial initiation of Hadrami diaspora within the social interaction in Indonesia was going through a winding road. Around the 1920's-1930', Indonesia was having a "nationalism" and "citizenship" problem about the status of the Orients as well as the Chinese and Hadrami. Moreover, the "Indonesian" identity was being defined and strictly emphasized within the diverse and complex context of indigenous entity. Soekarno was faced with the critical social situation at that time with the demand to mobilize the nationalism which emerging the sentiment against the Chinese and Arabic. The Arabic sentiment known as the "Hadramautism", was marked by the over-idolizing behavior towards the religious figures. Soekarno's attitude towards the Orients was explained by (Mobini-Kesheh, 1999, p. 138) in (Woodward, et. al., 2012, p. 118) that the anti-Hadrami sentiment kept on growing until Soharto became the president. In that time, the Hadrami and Chinese relation to the inhabitants were strictly "limited". Therefore, they were establishing centered compounds which later become the *Kauman* district, Arabic district, and Chinatown. Moreover, the Hadrami was facing the obstruction in creating a relationship, say for example the endogamy marriage between the *sayyid* held in Mosque was not attended by many people.

The "limitation" I argued here is more than just a restriction of the social access, exclusion, or state domination. The Hadrami and Orients were actually "neglected" by the country to imply the act of prioritizing the inhabitants. At this rate, the Hadrami has been "excluded". The case in which the Hadrami committed endogamy, not only showing that they couldn't acculturate or amalgamate, but they no longer "accessed" the inhabitant females to have a closer relation with the Indonesian. This sentiment was indirectly created by the country to limit the access.

The sentiment of Hadramautism even enabled the Hadrami preacher to explore the *sayyid* genealogy capital in the indigenization or process of diaspora with the Muslim inhabitants. This endogamy marriage makes the Hadrami, especially those with the title "habib" who was considered as the descendants of the prophet, would maintain their prophetic

"bloodline". By some groups, this is called as the "*sayyid* genealogy". It should be noted that the Hadrami developed the *sayyid* education which was genealogically structured, as learning to relatives or teacher in Hadramaut just like how Habib Syech learned directly from his uncle in Hadramaut. Historically, this relation was created during Hadrami migration to Indonesia since the colonial Dutch and re-opened during Soeharto's reign. The access to the education to their Homeland was created by the migrated and migrating Hadrami. Usually, a *sayyid* was sent to Hadramaut to learn with a Syeikh or married with the local *Sayyid* (Woodward, et. al., 2012, p. 115). This scientific genealogical root also becomes their religious capital in the process of diaspora with the muslim Indonesian. Unfortunately, some researchers refered the *sayyid* genealogy as merely genetic concern (see (Fairuz, 2013) (Ilham, 2011); Musiyanah, 2012; (Safi'i, 2013). It is obviously true that *sayyid* genealogy is genetic, but this concept is situated and formed from certain socio-historical context. The historical explanation above shows how the "exclusive" behavior of the *sayyid* and their genealogy has been constructed historically since their arrival in Indonesia during the beginning of the independence.

The sentiment also became the privilege for the Hadrami entrepreneurs who sell perfume, books, and muslim clothing, into paraphernalia imported from the Middle East. As we can find in Arabic district in Kliwon Market, Solo, those products are simultaneously creating their "holy" image due the association with the "holy land (Arab)". Therefore, the excluded *sayyid* genealogy opens the exchange access through the entrepreneurship.

Sayyid genealogy has been explored since the 1950's by Habib Ali-Al Habsyi (1870-1968) as the author of *Simtudduror*. It continued and the carried out after the late 'Alawi Al Habsyi in 1955. This decade marked the important event when the Hadrami began to assimilate with the Indonesian in the social-economical context of the newly independent Indonesia. At this moment, the projection of travel log writing (*rihlah*) began to be recited. Alatas argue that the *rihlah* "served as corroboration to the challenge of the Indonesia nationalism on the spiritual level" (2014:154). From the recital of *rihlah* and *haul* as many of the important rites for Islam in South East Asia (also see (Mauladawilah, 2008) (Alatas, 2011) the Hadrami network with the muslim Indonesian were closely engaging.

Historically, Habib Ali-Habsyi together with Habib Ali bin Husein Alatas (1889-1976) established a realtion with the elite figure of NU by emphasizing the important role of *Tarekat Alawiya* within the Islamization in Indonesia. Their effort to establish this relationship was shown by *Taj Al-A'ras* book published in 1953 (Woodward, et. al., 2012). Habib Ali bin Husein Alatas continued the tradition of Hadrami genealogy in the early 20th century by emphasizing the relationship between the genealogy of Malay and Javanese Kings with the member of *Tarekat Alawiyya*. Many Hadrami and Indonesia Javanese scholars have enhanced the story of holy man (hagiography) among the debate on the Islamization of nusantara before there is an agreement about its geographic territory, figures, and process (Moller, 2005).

This historical context emphasizes Sufism as one of the important aspects in the Islamization of nusantara. Some Javanese think themselves as an Arabian, but only few of them who know about the diaspora of Java-Hadrami. Moller saw this phenomenon as the (re)production of Islamization mythology in Java (2005, p. 52). Woodward et.al. saw the genealogy tradition and symbolic enhanced through the "new" historic claim that works to establish relationship and network between the Hadrami and the descendants of Javanese holy man. Through the grave visit and recitation, the Hadrami re-conceptualize the "homeland" and building a new identity integrated with Indonesian citizenship (Alatas, 2005). While they were trying to establish an intimate relationshio with the Indonesian muslim, Sufism tradition was countered by the anti-Sufism known as the syariah-centric reformation. Some people called it as the moderate Islam hat rooted its idea from Ibnu Taimiyah and Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab. This movement reached South East Asia in the beginning of the 20th century and influenced by the idea of Muhammad Abduh and his student, Rashid Rida (Woodward, et. al., 2012, pp. 107-108) (Bruinessen, 2002), (Bruinessen (ed.), 2014) rejections are mostly about the authenticity of religious practice in Islam, especially those related with "bid'ah" (see also (Bowen, 1989, p. 601). They questioned the basic elements of Sufi piety: *shalawat, ziarah,* and *tahlil.*

In Indonesia, there was a debate on how to commemorate *maulid* after it was introduced by Habib al-Habsyi in the early 1970's. The debates were also related with the authenticity issue. (Supani, 2007, pp. 15-16) showed that the "moderate" reject it since *maulid* or *shalawat* is considered as a despicable act (*bid'ah*). They accuse that by maintaining the tradition, the people in *pesantren* have justified a despicable act in Islam. The reason is because the appraisal contained in those three books of *Shalawat Bersama* has violated the limit of appraisal dictated by *syari'ah.* The appraisal which portrays the prophet as the one who give *syafa'ah* (help in the judgement day) and salvation is considered as shirk. Morover, such appraisal places Prophet Muhammad as the one who give salvation while there is still God who absolutely above all.

In Solo specifically, there has been a debate among the *majelis shalawat* and *Majelis Tafsir Al-Qur'an* (Forum of Al'Qur'an interpretation) since 1972 (Zuhri, 2010, pp. 229-230) and *Jama'ah Gumuk* established by H. Mudzakir in 1976, *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (MMI), *Jama'ah Islamiyah* (JI), as well as paramilitary organization such as *Front Pemuda Islam Surakarta* (FPIS), *Lasykar Jundullah, Laskar Umat Islam* Surakarta, *Tim Hisbah, Laskar Hizbullah Sunan Bonang, Hawariyyun, Brigade Hizbullah, Barisan Bismillah*, and *Al- Ishlah* (Wildan, 2014). The debate and rejection by the moderate and reformers enable the more intimate relation between the Hadrami and NU. Both sides are related since they share the same *madzhab* (idea) of *Fiqih*: Imam Syafi'i's *Madzhab* (Woodward, et. al., 2012; Zuhri, 2010). By sharing the same *madzhab*, the respond from both side on the rejection from the anti-Sufism is by interpreting the *bid'ah* into two, they are *bid'ah hasanah* and *bid'ah dhalalah.*

The intimate relation was keep growing until the 1990's especially with Indonesia muslim intellectual such as Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), Nurcholis Majid (Cak Nur), Alwi Syihab and saudaranya, Quraish Syihab-the most influential Al-Qur'an interpreter in Southeast Asia. The relation, according to Woodward, has moved further by emphasizing the model of Gusdurian Sufi piety: practicing the religion plurally, democratically, and appreciating the local.

There are two important intersections of Hadrami diaspora process, they are the commitment to spread the endeavor peacefully known as *amar ma'ruf* and honoring the holy individual. Moreover, I saw a practice of indigenization and diaspora process of Javanese Hadrami by Habib Syech within the songs other than those from Simtud-duror, Ad-Diba'i, Al-Barzanji as the previous songs from Habib Luthfi bin Ali or KH Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur). This practice started in 2006-2007 when many songs from Habib Syech use Javanese lyrics.

This is the song (*syi'ir*) often sang on the stage. The song is entitled "Syi'iran NU (I Love NU)". The song substantially describes the "value" of being a NU compared to the other Islamic groups. By following Lono Simatupang's interpretation towards Eriksen's view, an identity is relational which is involving exclusion and inclusion action based on the concept of mutuality and difference (1993 in Simatupang, 2006, p. 78). Therefore, this song indicates the difference and similarity while at the same time becomes the act distinction and equalizer. This song is firmly limited to mobilize those who "supposedly" join the *Shalawat Bersama* as the people who "claim" themselves as NU.

The event of *shalawat bersama* that requires the recital of that song, according to Bourdieu, is a rite of institution. A rite of institution is a rite to symbolize, coronate, or legitimate an arbitrary boundary between a position with another, by embedding an understanding that the boundary is something natural and legit (1991 in Fauzanafi, 2005, pp. 19-20). In the context of Hadrami indigenization in Indonesia, the institutionalization of the arbitrary boundary is created by managing the religious and social capital of Hadrami. Which means that it has no strict boundary with NU. Unfortunately, the blending boundary of Hadrami and NU even confirms and emphasize their boundary with "other Islamic group". Besides, we can see that the commemoration of *Maulid* and the event of *Shalawat Bersama* with Simtudduror recital are not only organized to celebrate the birth of Prophet Muhammad, but also establish the institutionalization of *sayyid* genealogy. An institutionalization that plays an important role for expanding *majelis* AM and *shalawat bersama* in other regions. Therefore, the following section explain the institutionalization process.

The Development of *Jamaah Shalawat Ahbabul Musthofa*

Establishing *Majelis Shalawat*: A story from Kudus, Central Java

In this part, I begin the discussion by looking to the story of how *shalawat bersama* started as a routine in many regions. The story refers to Safi'I (2013) who explained the detail of how *majelis shalawat* of AM was created and the effort to make the event as a routine in Kudus. In his research, it is mentioned that,

> At the beginning, Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Kaf not intended to establish a jam'iyyah. His initiative was started when he visited the Secretariat of *Jam'iyyah Ahbabul Musthofa* Solo during ramadhan of 2001. Hhe was offered by Habib Syech to begin a *pengajian* (religious teaching) and *maulid* by applying *maulid Simt ad-durar* in Kudus. Unfortunately, Ahmad al-Kaf turned down the offer. After he returned to Kudus, he reconsidered Habib Syech's offering because there were few people in Kudus who already joint the *pengajian* and *Maulid Simt ad-durar* organized by Habib Syeikh in Demak (2013:52-53)

From solo, Habib Muhammad Al-Kaf (habib Muh) discussed Habib Syech's offer to Kyai Karto (Kyai Desa bacin), Kyai Karto was then welcomed the idea positively. *Maulid Simt ad-durar* with Habib Syeikh in Kudus for the first time on 19 October 2011 located in Masjid Jami's Nurul Iman Desa Bacin, Bae, Kudus in commemorating *Isro' Mi'raj*. In the event, Habib Syech accompanied by *terbang* team from local young community along with hundreds of *jamaah*.

For a year, *Maulid Simt ad-durar* with Habib Syech in Kudus, was organized for the second time on 30 October 2012 in Nuryoto's house. This time, the people of kudus showed more excitement to *maulid simt ad-durar* by Habib Syech. After the event, Habib Syech asked Habib Muh to establish a *Jam'iyyah* to accommodate the people who participate in the event. During its establishment, Habib Muh was supported by habib, Ulama', and *kyai* of Kudus; Habib Alwi bin Abdullah Ba'agil, KH. Ma'ruf Asnawi, KH. Sya'roni Ahmadi, KH. Ma'ruf Irsyad, KH. Ahmad Asnawi, along with the local officials such as the Major, Chief of Police, etc.

They formed the concept of the event. *Jam'iyyah* consist of 40 members with Habib Syech as the head of the educator council; Habib Muhammad al-Kaf as the head of Advisor council along with KH Amhad Basyir, KH Muhammad Sya'roni, Habib Alwi bin Abdulah Ba'agil; Chief of Police in Kudus as the Protective Council; KH Ahmad Musthofa as the president of *Jam'iyyah* and H. Zainal Arifin Nuh as the vice-president. Then, according to this majelis committee, *shalawat bersama* became a routine agenda in Kudus.

This story explains how the effort of the Hadrami in the diaspora process by establishing *Majelis Shalawat* with the involvement of local religious figures as the part of the committee.

The initiative in establishing a *majelis* in the Kudus was taken by the habaib themselves, Habib Syech from Solo with Habib Muhammad al-Kaf and Habib Alwi bin Abdullah Ba'agil. Then, they began to ask the muslim in Kudus to join the recital of *Maulid Simtutdurar*. These efforts are the part of indigenization process through the organizational and institutional method in the regions by involving the Hadrami with the local officials, and religious figures.

Establishing a Group of *Shalawat Ahbabul Muthofa*: A Story from Boyolali, Central Java

In an afternoon on September 2012, I met a Sutris who is a local vocalist of *Ahbabul Muthofa* Tunggul Sari, Cepogo, Boyolali. This *rebana* group was established in 2011. The member are the young boys from two different villages: Ringin Village and Tunggu Sari Village. Before it was renamed in *Ahbabul Muthofa* group, they were named "Bani Adam Syaiful Anwar" according to their origin: TPA (Al-Qur'an Education Center) Bani Adam Syaiful Anwar.

In 2008, this group was going to be renamed into Jamuro (*Jamaah Muji Rosul*). They began to expand in Solo, led by Gus Karim, a *kyai* in Al-Muayyad. Unfortunately, that name wasn't last for long. Several months later, Jamuro was renamed into Jamaro (*Jamaah Mahabbah Rasul*). This *jamaah* was led by Mukhlis Gudaf from Ceper, Klaten. Both *jamaah* shared the same vision that they recite *shalawat* to Rasulullah. Unfortunatley, Sutris doesn't exactly remember the whole story, but he and his friends agreed to rename it with Jamaro. In the late 2008, Habib Syech emerged with the *jamaah* of Ahbabul Mustofa who launched several *shalawat* album.

The instigator of this group recognized Habib Syech for the first time during the *Haul* commemoration of Habib Ali bin Muhammad Al Habsyi. The event was commemorated every 20th of *Rabiul Akhir* with massive audience who attend the *pengajian*. Between 2007 and 2008, the time for *shalawatan* session was allocated even longer. The *rebana* player played the song from the prophet historic book: Al Barzanji, Ad-Diba'i, and Burdah. From these books, Habib Syech's albums gained their inspiration before it was launched. Many moslems attended the event to join the *pengajian* since it usually featured famous *kyai* from distinguished *pondok pesantren*. Many young boys from Cepogo, Boyolali, joined BANSER who was in charge for the security of the event. There, they recognized the *rebana* group of Ahbabul Musthofa. According to Sutris's statement, the music DVD circulated in the market was able to inspire many new songs performed in various event in the villages or other places. From the experience, they were interested to be part of AM.

After that, AM Tunggul Sari attempted to rearrange its formation. In the beginning, the group consisted of two or three singers, six *terbang* player, three *marawis* player or

keprok, a *tam* player, and a *simbar* player. The singers line usually concisted of a male and two females. But, ever since they assumed the AM model, the composition must be changed. Those two female singers was then replaced by males. On the other hand, the *tam* and *simbar* players had to switch their instruments into *terbang, bass, tung, marawis,* and *dumbuk.* More accurately, there were a *jimbe* player, a *bass* player, a *bass tung* player, 6-8 *terbang* player, and three *marawis* player.

AM Tunggul Sari practiced their music every Saturday and Sunday night. Moreover, every once a week the practice with a professional *terbang* player in Magelang. Usually, there are some students outside the group who join the routine practice. In each session, they collect some money which later be used to buy new instruments, uniform, and other needs. The practice session is divided into two parts, one for the children and the other one for those to synchronize the old with new songs. While the form and methods of *shalawat* by Habib Syech must be maintained as original as it is. Which means that the *rebana* group or community in the regions must understand the basic model of Habib Syech's song.

After they master Habib Syech' song, they renamed themselves as Ahbabul Muthofa. This change must be under Habib Syech's permission or "inaugurated" according to what my source said. But, the inauguration itself is not an easy task. The group must be able to master all the song written by Habib Syech or as what the local tongue say "*thuthukane podho*" (synchronized beat). Actually, there many styles in beating the instruments, such as Magelang style, Banjaran Solo style, Kudus style, and Demak style. According to Sutris, these variations doesn't affect much towards Habib Syech's song. "The key lies on the spirit and determination", Sutris said.

The group was once invited to *maulid* commemoration with Habib Muhammad Syafi'i. Sutris said that the group was inaugurated during the opening of a new minimarket close to Cepogo market. In that event, they were performing with Habib Syech himself. Sutris added that after the speech, Habib Muh instructed the group to use the name Ahbabul Mustofa instead of Jamaro. An instruction made after Habib Muh contacted by Habib Syech to inform that Ahbabul Musthofa is the part of bigger *Majelis* of Islam endeavor.

Co-Networking Formation: Expanding Network like a Franchise Management

The emerging AM *rebana* group in many regions as previous explanation shows an interesting relation. Woodward, et, al. (2012, p. 113) stated that the contemporary endeavor in Indonesia has been combined with "modern marketing strategy". Like Habib Syech, Habib Rizieq, and the others who have combined traditional medium with the new, such as television and radio, audio/video recording, and social media to spread the endeavor. The combination

of modern marketing strategy and Ahbabul Musthofa's institutionalization practice is more than just an adoption or media industry.

Ahbabul Musthofa as a *majelis shalawat* Zamhari, and Howell (2012) as the new Sufism religious movement Woodward, et, al (2012) has established its bases and members in many regions with certain standards as how AM Tunggul Sari was established. In Cepogo District, there are 15 *rebana* groups with the same name. They are (1) Ahbabul Musthofa Tunggul Sari Kulon I, (2) Tunggul Sari Kulon II, (3) Tunggul Sari Etan, (4) Ngepos Etan, (5) Baksari I, (6) Baksari II, (7) Gunung Wijil, (8) Kembang Kuning, (9) Tumang, (10) Bulu Kidul (11) Suroteleng, (12) Clolo, (13) Klunthung, (14) Cabean, (15) Paras. This indigenization practice continues to expand by bulding relation with other group or establishing new *rebana* group or *majelis*.

I argued that this relation is "similar" with the franchise model in contemporary marketing business. The franchise concept, as explained by Janice Aurini and Scott Davies, is a way to connect small business with centered network, but it is different with the corporate chain of network. Moreover, this structure connects the local grip with the center. The head of the corporation will give control and discretion, or operation matters to the local owner. Including recruitment, financial responsibility, and profits. This small investor obtain profit from the patented and acknowledged product, sells, leadership training, and assistance for product test. Franchise has two major roles in the industrial business practice. First is its standardized product offer. The owner has the motive to control and arrange their product since their reputation is embedded within the local outlets. Meanwhile, they acknowledge the daily operation of the local owner, and they instructed the local owner to follow the standard procedure.

Local owner will provide service and the product given by the franchiser. The local owner would sometimes be inspected in order to anticipate any risk after the local owner agreed the franchise terms. As the result, franchise becomes more standardized compared to the local independent business. Second is the franchise tendency to expand their offer wherever an involvement of certain business is possible. Which means, the center represent the integrated franchise strategy, claims the consumer security to expand the business period and new market taste.

As explained by Aurini and Davies, franchise shows several similarities in *shalawat* comodification. These similarities lay in several things. First, the similar name of "Ahbabul Musthofa" used by *rebana* groups throughout the regions with their center (Solo) for various opening ceremony. Second, the similarity in songs, uniforms (attributes) and performance style as instructed by the center of Ahbabul Musthofa. Which means, a formal event can become a franchise network when it adopts and plays the recorded songs. Moreover, the

management and recruitment system are handled by the local branch. While the center only provides the management guide. Third, when those groups have expanded their network, the "marketing" of the song becomes for effective. It can be seen by the within the change of the wedding and *pengajian* in the villages.

However, the use of franchise management logic is a bit different. I use the term as metaphor and model to explain the form of relation between Habaib and *grup rebana* throughout the regions. The *franchiser* does not obtain financial profits. In this case, the center attempts to confirm the recital of *shalawat* as a value of piety and another theological aspect that must be maintained. *Sayyid* genealogy instituted by the event of *shalawat bersama* is getting more confirmed and emphasized through the network of *majelis shalawat* throughout the regions. On the other side, the habib will provide protection for those *rebana* groups as a mutual relationship between the Hadrami and the *jamaah* of Ahbabul Mustofa. However, this relationship is more than economical. The franchise concept I use in this research is merely a model to explain the relation between Habib Syech with the *rebana* groups in the regions. The important point of this franchise like institutionalization shows how the capitalism logic is used in the expanding the majelis. As shown through this similarity, I propose a concept called as "religious franchise". A concept which the religious movement is based on a marketing logic by establishing branches throughout the regions in order to create and direct a standardized religious practice. The "standardized" concept, I meant in this research is a process towards a certain reformed practice through a series of continuous support based on a certain standard within a certain context. So, we obtain an important point on how the religious practice and/or artwork are negotiated and redefined within the capitalism context in utilizing the "modern marketing logic" effectively through the branches expanded in the regions.

"Franchising" and the Intensity of Performances

The establishment of *rebana* group in local level as portrayed in Tunggul Sari case shows a management change and difference. This group is supported independently. It is recruiting new member to sustain their existence by expanding the group into two, AM Tunggul Sari I and AM Tunggul Sari II. This independent management is based on the management model provided by the center is similar to the concept of franchise management. The songs are prepared by the center, then they will be adjusted and mastered by the local groups. Therefore, they care prepared to assist Habib Syech's performance whenever the time comes in their place.

The involvement of the local *rebana* group is not supported by the 'charismatic' 'voice' of Habib Syech. Habib Syech's charisma is neither as what (Horikoshi, 1987, p. 213) imagine as people's view toward Habib Syech or a quality within himself. It is a charisma built from the religious capitals established from their long history during the indigenization process in Indonesia instituted through various event of *shalawat bersama* and local *rebana* groups.

The relation among the local *rebana* groups makes the relation between the *jamaah* and habib becomes closer. The numerous accompanists enable Habib to perform in many regions without bringing his own. For example, when Habis Syech was going to perform in Yogyakarta, he was simply assisted by the *jamaah* of AM in Plosokuning, Sleman or *Pondok Pesantren* Krapyak. However, it depends on Habib Syech decision whether to bring along his own accompanist or not. As explained by Sutris, the anniversary of TPA Bani Adam in Cepogo once featured Habib Syech assisted with the local accompanist while the singers were provided by Habib Syech himself.

This organizing method enable Habib Syech to perform in the regions more intensively. His performance can be seen in the routine agenda. He also organizes routine *pengajian* with Ahbabul Musthofa in certain evenings: (1) Ba'da Isya's on Wednesday in Habib Syech's house, (2) Saturday night of Pahing in *Pondok* Al-Sakinah Sragen, (3) Sunday night of Legi at 08.30 A.M in As-Seggaf Mosque Solo, (4) Tuesday night of Pahing in Kudus Great Mosque; (5) Saturday night of Kliwon Purwodadi Great Mosque, (6) Friday night of Legi in Agung Baitul Makmur Mosque, Jepara, (7) Saturday night of Legi in Surakarta Great Mosque, and (8) Thursday night of Pahing in *Pondok Pesantren* Minhaj al-Tamyiz Timoho, Yogyakarta.

Beside that, Habib Syech is often invited to celebrate the regency anniversary, haul, routine *pengajian* in a *pondok pesantren* or *majelis shalawat* abroad (Singapore, Malaysia, and other Southeast Asia countries). Including the invitation by the politicans, regional officials, or businessman. In Ahbabul Musthofa's group, the information regarding Habis Syech's performance can also be accessed in Habib Syech's group or in any group orgnanized by Syakhermania throughout the regions. Moreover, a Facebook Group by Ahbabul Musthofa also provided the *Shalawat Bersaam* schedule on August and September.

Ahbabul Musthofa
31 Agustus pukul 20:23

jadwal sementara Habib Syech
bin Abdul Qadir assegaf bulan
september 2014
-Selasa tanggal 2 September 2014
sholawat bareng habib syech
diMusholla Tengah Sawah
BrajanWonokromo Pleret Bantul.
-Rabu tanggal 3 September 2014
majelis rutinan di Gedung
BustanulAsyiqin,Semanggi
Kidul,Pasar Kliwon,Solo.
-Minggu tanggal 7 september 2014
Di Soutern Sport Centre Wanchai MTR
Exit A3 HONGKONG
-Selasa tanggal 9 September 2014
sholawat bareng habib syech
diLap.Ngawonggo Ceper Klaten.
-Rabu tanggal 10 September 2014
majelis rutinan di Gedung
BustanulAsyiqin,Semanggi
Kidul,Pasar Kliwon,Solo.
-Kamis tanggal 11 september
sholawat bareng habib syech di
pelataran Masjid Mujahidin Jungke
Karanganyar Kabupaten ·
Karanganyar.
-Sabtu tanggal 13 September 2014
sholawat bareng habib syech di PP
Addahlanniyyah Kp.Cipendung Ds
Jatisari Kutawaringin Soreang
Bandung.
-Minggu tanggal 28 September 2014
sholawat bareng habib syech di
Lapangan.Merdeka,Karang
Anom,Klaten.
Keterangan jadwal bersifat sementara
jika ada perubahan insya Allah akan
di sampaikan

Suka · Komentari · Bagikan · 👍 137 💬 54 👍 5

JADWAL HABIB SYEKH SEPTEMBER, OKTOBER & NOPEMBER
2014
SEPTEMBER :
MALAYSIA BERSHOLAWAT
KAMIS 25 SEPTEMBER 2014 DI MASJID KAMPUNG HULU
MELAKA MALAYSIA
MALAYSIA BERSHOLAWAT
JUMAAT 26 SEPT 2014 DI PUSAT TRANSFORMASI LUAR
BANDAR (RTC), KOTA BAHRU, KELANTAN, MALAYSIA
KLATEN BERSHOLAWAT.
MINGGU 28 SEPTEMBER 2014 DI LAP.MERDEKA,KARANG
ANOM,KLATEN.
BOYOLALI BERSHOLAWAT
SENIN 29 SEPTEMBER 2014 DI RUMAH H.IBNU SULOMO
DS.GLADAKSARI RT.01/RW.02 KEC.AMPEL BOYOLALI.
KARANGANYAR BERSHOLAWAT
30 SEPTEMBER 2014 DI LAPANGAN NGARJOSARI (BELAKANG
MAPOLSEK) BEJEN, KARANGANYAR JATENG
OKTOBER :
TANGGAL 1 OKTOBER 2014 RUTINAN DI BUSTANUL ASYIQIN
TANGGAL 02 OKTOBER 2014 STADION REJOAGUNG,
KABUPATEN
TULUNG AGUNG.
TANGGAL 03 OKTOBER 2014 KECAMATAN DURENAN,
KABUPATEN
TRENGGALEK..
TANGGAL 07 OKTOBER 2014 DS SUMBERASRI, KEC
NGLEGOK,
KABUPATEN BLITAR.
TANGGAL 10 OKTOBER 2014 KOMP.TRANSITO TRANSMIGRASI
JL. H. NAMAN NO 1 PONDOK KELAPA JAKARTA TIMUR
TANGGAL 14 OKTOBER 2014 DS KARANGREJO, KEC KANDAT,
KABUPATEN KEDIRI.
TANGGAL 18 OKTOBER 2014 MALAYSIA DI MELAKA
(INSYAALLAH)
TANGGAL 20 OKTOBER 2014 DI ALUN ALUN KOTA BLITAR
(BELUM FIX)
TANGGAL 21 OKTOBER 2014 DS GONDANG, KEC GONDANG,
KAB
NGANJUK.
TANGGAL 25 OKTOBER 2014 DI ALUN-ALUN BOJONEGORO
TANGGAL 28 OKTOBER 2014 DS KEDUNGBANTENG,
KECAMATAN
SUKOREJO, KABUPATEN PONOROGO
NOPEMBER :
06 NOVEMBER 2014 BREBES BERSHALAWAT,
07 NOVEMBER 2014 MAJALENGKA BERSHALAWAT,
08 NOVEMBER 2014 CIREBON BERSHALAWAT DI ALUN ALUN
KEJAKSAN KOTA CIREBON.

Source: https://www.facebook.com/groups/157711677769887/

In the end, the relation between Habib Syech and his *jamaah* becomes closer through *Shalawat Bersama*. Therefore, for the last decade AM's *rebana* group has been significantly expanding its network, membership, regions, and performance venue.

Organizing *Shalawat Bersama*: Where is the "standardization" established?

In this sub-chapter, I will discuss the contestation of rite in public sphere which is not constituted through debate and discourse. According to Talal Asad, public space is actually constituted by the sensibility's memory and aspiration, fear and peace, hope of the existing (trying to exist) between "speakers" and "listeners" and the tendency to act and react with different ways (2003, p. 185). So, how is the occupation of public space and the formation of Sufism ethos through *Shalawat Bersama*?

The Arrangement of *Rebana* Group

The change of formation in Ahbabul Musthofa's Tunggul Sari *rebana* group shows several important information. First is the standardized song and way to play music to determine what "should" be listened by the public. The local groups must follow the songs and play the music provided by the center of Ahbabul Musthofa. According to Sutris's statement, the vocalist of AM, Habib Syech once said to the *jamaah*, that if they want to adopt his songs, they have to adjust the music according to the form played by the *rebana* group. The same thing is also expressed by a singer from Jogja, Wahid, "*When we performed in Singapore back then, the Javanese songs we sang are purely Javanese since it was Javanese shalawatan. A Singapore then asked whether the song can be translated to Singaporean. Of course, it could not be done. If they are following AM, then there is no other way for it to be done.*" Which means, when the way and form of Habib Syech's song are adopted, then they must not be changed in any ways. The establishment of AM in Singapore and Malaysia shows that they are not only following the way and form of *shalawat* provided by Habib Syech, but also "obliged" to "become Javanese".

Second is the management change of the local group into *Majalis Shalawat* has repositioned the female away from the stage Before assuming AM Solo's way, AM Tunggul Sari usually places two or three female singers in the front according to the event. But, when they Assume AM Solo's way, the male formation turns into the backing and main vocal. When going on stage with the habib, they simply become the backing vcoal. "*Nek ngiringi habib ra oleh cewek* (the females are not allowed to be the Habib's accompanist)", said Sutris.

In this context, I agree with Barendregt what this is not simply about repositioning the females. It is related with the control of seduction. The existence of female in public space especially for their body and sound—as Barendregt stated—they have the capacity to create "seduction". The seduction is an "evocative power" to invite, accept, or consume a presentation or performance. By "repositioning" the female from Habib Syech's performance on the stage, the "seduction" is "driven away" from *Shalawat Bersama*.

Syukuran in *Pesantren*: Pak Syam is Preparing the Event

In 2013, a *Pondok Pesantren* in Minomartani invited Habib Syech for *syukuran* in the *pesantren* since a lot of the *santri* (term for the students in the *pesantren*) strated to *mondok* (live and study in the *pesantren*) in there. As any other *pesantren* which have been established for a long time, this celebration was for the first time. Pak Syamsudin, one of the organizers of the event, explained that the organizer simply needed to come to *Pondok Pesantren* Minhajut Tamyiz in Timoho, Yogyakarta in order to invite Habib Syech. Moreover, there has been Ahbabul Musthofa's *majelis* who organize a routine *selapanan* (commemorated once every

35 days). In *Pondok Pesantren* Minhajut Tamyiz, there was a coordinator who have been assigned to contact Habib Syech with the organizer of the *syukuran*.

The organizer has been planning for three months, but they started to prepare the event about one and half month before the D-day. While the first one and half month has been spent by waiting for the confirmation of Habib Syech's attendant. After the organizer receive the confirmation, they started to form the organizer which consisted of male *pengajian* group, *female* pengajian group, and the *santri*. Then, they held a meeting to start the publication, inviting the Regional Police Deparment, regional officials, the *kyai* from the *pondok pesantren* which are the part of the *pesantren* network and the *kyai*'s wife.

According to Mr. Syam's statement, they invited the Regional Chief of Police since previous Habib Syech's *Shalawat Damai* (*Shalawat* for peace) was organized by the regional Police. The Police then responded the invitation enthusiastically and requested to be invited again next time. The following passage is my conversation with Mr. Syam.

S : "Back then when the terrorism issue was heating up, the Regional Police Department and Local (Yogyakarta) Government invited Habib Syech for *Shalawat Jogja Damai* (*Shalawat* for peaceful Jogja) or whatever it was. After that, the Regional Police Department is always invited for another event…It depends on the scale of the event. If the event is organized in the district, the organizer simply invites the District Police Department. The point is that the Police Department should be invited."

R : "How about the Local Government?"

S : "The government is also invited since the Police Department is the part of it. The stake holder's wives of both government and police are also invited."

R : "How about the *Kyai*?"

S : "They are related to the *Kyai* of the *pondok pesantren*. So, they are clearly invited so the publication can reach their *santri*. Those *kyai* will also be sitting next to Habib Syech during the event."

The "terrorism issue" becomes one of the considerations to organize *shalawatan*. The *shalawat bersama* is meant to offer "peacefulness" by inviting the Regional Police Deparent. The "safe" and "peaceful" contained and offered in the *shalawatan* is meant to "neutralize" the "fear" towards the terrorism issue by confirming the Police Department as the nation's security institution.

R : "Do the prepared three stages are necessary?"

S : "Yes, of course. The prepared stages consist of a one meter-height stage as the main one and the other two lower stages are for the *terbang* player. This placement is meant for the Habib in the main stage to be able to control the accompanist and *menjangkau* (reach) his *jamaah* at the same time."

As requested by Ahbabul Musthofa, the stage preparation is related to the performer. Each individual has their own contribution in *Shalawat Bersama*. The placement and the position of the stages must be prepared accordingly.

R : "How about the accompanist?"

S : "Back then we did not have our own accompanist (the AM's *rebana* group has not been established-*red*). So we summoned a group from the *Pondok Pesantren Minhajut Tamyiz*."

R : "Did they bring their own accompanist?"

S : "Yes, we picked them up. When we asked for their schedule to the contact person, the contact person urged us not to rent the sound system *sembarangan* (random) or new renting place. We are requested to rent from the usual place who often take care of the sound system for the big scale event."

R : "Who made that request?"

S : "Those who have organized the same event. They have to be *pinter* (smart) on what they are doing."

R : "What do you mean?"

S : "They have to understand how to set an *apik* (appropriate) sound system, a system which the performer can enjoy, *iso ngarahke ning njero, ning Habib Syech* (directed to inside or habib position). Just like the sound system in big concert where the speakers are not only *ngarah ning njobo, ning penontone* (directed to the audience). For example, during *adzan* the voice *ditorong* (used TOA), those who are in the mosque cannot hear anything while those in the outside do. As for *shalawatan,* the speakers are directed to both audience and Habib so that it would be convenient for both Habib and the *terbang* player."

R : "Where were the speakers placed?"

S : "For the last event we placed two facing the stage and the rest were placed in the idle of the audience and streets filled with people."

R : "How about the live cameras and the projectors? Were they requested accordingly?"

S : "We prepared them ourselves. Since, our event was not organized in a broad courtyard but within a village, we placed them so that those who barely saw the stage can see what was going on the stage within the radius of one hundred meters."

R : "How many projector were placed?"

S : "We placed four projectors so that those who were watching from the street can see Habib on the stage."

R : "Anything else prepared for the event, sir?"

S : "The females helped by preparing the food. We provide buffet for the guest. As for the audience we gave them a glass of water and a bread. The *Pondok Pesantren* also helped the organizer to provide the books needed for the event."

R : "Was there anything that the *pondok pesantren* could not prepare? Oh yes, how about *dupa* (Arabic incense) ignited during the event?"

S : "Back then, we did not have it. It was Habib Syech himself who brought the incense. His assistant carried the Arabic incense along with the book of *simtud-duror* we did not have. But now, it is easy to find this incense at the Arabic Quarters in Northern Kauman although it is quit pricey. During the *Diba'an* in Musholla, the people also sprayed the rose mixed and jasmine fragrance mixed with the perfume since the incense is pricey."

As explained by Mr. Syam, it is interesting to find that the how preparation, stage placement, make the audience to be situated and having their attention centered with the *shalawat bersama*. The preparation is determined by using certain materials selected to support the audience's sensing. The main stage is placed *menghadap* (facing) the open field while facing the second stage. This "*hadap-menghadap*" (face to face) consideration is also applied in placing the speakers and projectors. The sound system standardized for big scale music concert are also placed facing the main stage so that Habib Syech would listen his own voice in order to control the accompanist.

This change in which the recitation of *shalawat* is taken outside from the *pesantren/* mosque/house with clear physical barrier into a more open and wide space (streets/fields) prepared with certain settings, is not merely based on the number of people who attend the event. But it is based on how to invite more people to participate. This spatial shift, According to Zamhari and Howell (2012, p. 54) is an effort in taking Sufism in the street to mark the "decreasing of sufism spiritual intensity since the *jamaah* intimacy is merely based on the taste of entertainment". The *jamaah* are separated away within a distance from the Sufi teachers. Their relation is no longer based on an intensive face to face interaction. According Zamhari and Howell, this gap indicates the teachers-students relation which is solely for the sake of the evening ritual entertainment which is carried out emotionally (Zamhari and Howell, 2012, p. 68).

Mr. Syam's explanation gives a view on how the streets and fields are redefined beyond its original understanding as a mean of transportation or mobility/traffic. The streets and fields have been "re-spaced" to deal with the physical barrier. Walls are no longer limiting the audience interaction. The streets and fields have been redefined though the settings of sensing intensity: sharing the gaze, hearing, and smelling. The projectors are placed to allow the audience in the distance to see what is going on the stage (*ben luwih cetho*). The standardized sound systems are placed facing the stage in order to create a limited soundscape environment. The audience are situated to sit on carpets while having their sight, hearing, and smell directed intensively.

The effort to organize the vent and how Habib Syech arrange the audience show their consideration to channel the audience intentions into the flow of the events on a sensorial rationality. The audience are directed to the visuality, aural, olfactorial, and physical for the event to be "conducive".

Conclusion

This article discusses the relation between the recitation practice and haul summarized within the *Shalawat Bersama* with the expanding Market Islam as a respond towards the growing capitalism and democracy in Indonesia. The event that promotes the *tarekat 'Alawiyya*-based sufistic piety is enabled by the existence of *sayyid* genealogy from Hadrami formed during the history of its indigenization process, particularly since the independence of the country.

The exclusivity of *Sayyid* genealogy becomes an important reference in the forming, establishing, or merging of the *majelis taklim* and *rebana* group throughout the regions. The establishing and forming of the branches throughout the regions may support the *Shalawat Bersama* to be organized more intensively-accidentally or not-by adopting the logic of modern marketing. They are not only using the industrial product of popular culture such as the internet and recording industry, but also adopted the logic of franchise marketing as the model for the management. *Majleis* Shalawat of Ahbabul Musthofa formed by Habib Syech started to establish branches throughout the regions affiliated with The Center of AM through the "inauguration" process by Habib Syech himself assisted with another habaib. This kind of management makes the management of the *rebana* group in the regions to be similar with the Center (Solo). Moreover, the management organized independently in the local level enabled Habib Syech to consistently appear in front of the public. This was supported by the mastery of songs and recitation model according to the guide from the Center for the sustainability of the regional *rebana* group. I would suggest that the future research could explore the way how Indonesian muslim engage and appropriate to such transformation. As mentioned earlier by referring to Talal Asal, any public space constitution established through the sensibilities in which memory, aspiration, peace and hope exist within different mode of action among the people.

Therefore, I would conclude that the establishment of Market Islam by the Hadrami in mobilizing the Muslim in Indonesia is not merely utilize the modern media technology to reach wider audiences, but also adopting a certain marketing logic. Such adoption meant to expand the effort in forming a particular awareness in the method, appreciation, and fulfilment of the embodied religiosity within the recitation practice by the Muslim of contemporary Indonesia.

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