

PERFORMING AND FESTIVALISING ISLAMIC DEVOTION THROUGH MUSIC: THE EVOLUTION OF *HADRAH* IN INDONESIA

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at the
Faculty of Islamic Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of**

Master of Arts (M.A.)



by:

Mohammad Tibyan Isyqi

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the persistence and rising popularity of *hadrah*, a form of Islamic devotional music performed with percussion instruments to accompany *ṣalawāt*, *mawlid*, and other religious rituals in Indonesia. It argues that *hadrah* has remained relevant and has expanded since the 1990s due to its Islamic legitimacy, historical significance among Indonesian Muslims, and its reinvention through documentation, festivalisation, and public performances. These processes have unfolded alongside broader Islamic revival movements, political transformations, and the growth of media technologies. While sharing similarities with Islamic musical traditions elsewhere, *hadrah* in Indonesia reflects a unique local character that blends tradition, aesthetics, and piety within competitive and state-supported platforms such as festivals and national competitions. Through a combination of literature analysis, interviews, and social media research, this study shows how *hadrah* exemplifies the festivalisation of religion, as theorised by Anne K. Rasmussen, and reveals how Islamic devotional practices are continuously negotiated in the public sphere. This thesis contributes to broader debates on Islamic art, popular religion, and the relationship between performance, piety, and identity in Muslim societies, offering new insights into how local traditions adapt within global currents of Islamisation and cultural expression.

Keywords: *hadrah*, *Islamic music*, *Islamisation*.

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to be a part of this academic community, and I sincerely hope that I have been a meaningful and pleasant part of this institution as well.

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GLOSSARY

<i>Al-Banjari</i>	: A sub-genre of <i>hadrah</i> , played through interlocking different rhythmical patterns
<i>Festival al-Banjari</i>	: A competition of <i>hadrah al-banjari</i> .
<i>Hadrah</i>	: Islamic music consisting of percussion instruments accompanying Islamic songs
<i>Majelis</i>	: Islamic congregation
<i>Qaṣīda</i>	: Ode, Islamic songs.
<i>Sholawat, ṣalawāt</i>	: Blessings to the Prophet
<i>Terbang and rebana</i>	: A percussion instrument, a sort of frame drum

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

Hadrah in Indonesia is an Islamic music performance accompanying *ṣalawāt*, *mawlid*, or other devotional rituals.¹ The performance features singers and frame drum rhythmical instruments called *rebana* or *terbang* (henceforth *terbang*).² Verses of praise to the Prophet are accompanied by various musical instruments played in different patterns, producing complex and beautiful sounds. Anne K. Rasmussen describes this musical model as a characteristic of percussion playing in Indonesia.³ The practice is observed on both a small scale, such as regular gatherings in homes and mosques, and on a large scale, such as stadiums. Like any culture, the rite is performed differently, adapting and evolving in response to changing dynamics.

Hadrah's performance exists in scholarly works regarding religious congregations (henceforth *majelis*) growing in contemporary Indonesia. But those scholarly works are meant to explain *hadrah* as a tool, not as the main object of their research.⁴ From the musical

¹ *Hadrah* is also defined as *sholawat*, *qasidah*, *rebana*, etc. See, for instance, David D. Harnish and Anne K. Rasmussen, eds., *Divine Inspiration: Music and Islam in Indonesia* (Oxford University Press, 2011); Agha, Albert Nasser, "Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia" (University of California, 2019); Bart Barendregt and Wim van Zanten, "Popular Music in Indonesia since 1998, in Particular Fusion, Indie and Islamic Music on Video Compact Discs and the Internet," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 34 (2002): 67–113, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3649190>. For the term Islamic songs, it lies among other terms such as *qaṣīda*, *inshād dīnī*, *madīḥ al-nabī*. See, Michael Frishkopf, "Inshad Dini and Aghani Diniyya in Twentieth Century Egypt: A Review of Styles, Genres, and Available Recordings," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 34, no. 2 (2000): 167–83, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026318400040396>; Lois Lamyā'al Fārūqī, "The Mawlid," *The World of Music* 28, no. 3 (1986): 79–89, JSTOR; Johnny Farraj and Sami Abu Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music: Arabic Maqam Performance and Theory in the 20th Century Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 2019); "The Interplay of Genres," in *Heroic Poets, Poetic Heroes*, by Dwight F. Reynolds (Cornell University Press, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501723223-009>.

² Agha, Albert Nasser, "Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia," 9–12. To explain the set of performances, Agha uses 'sholawat'.

³ Anne K. Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur'an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia* (University of California Press, 2010), 42.

⁴ Syamsul Rijal, *Defending Traditional Islam in Indonesia: The Resurgence of Hadhrami Preachers*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003358558>; Arif Zamhari, "SOCIO-STRUCTURAL INNOVATIONS IN INDONESIA'S URBAN SUFISM: The Case Study of the Majelis Dzikir and Shalawat Nurul Mustafa," *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM* 7, no. 1 (2013): 119, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2013.7.1.119-144>; Arif Zamhari and Imam Mustofa, "THE POPULAR DA'WAH MOVEMENT IN URBAN COMMUNITIES: THE ROLE OF HADRAMI SCHOLARS' DA'WAH IN RESPONSE TO RELIGIOUS RADICALISM IN INDONESIA," *Akademika : Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 25, no. 1 (2020): 1, <https://doi.org/10.32332/akademika.v25i1.2385>; Mambaul Ngadimah, "The Spirituality of Mafia

perspective, *hadrah* has been a periphery below ‘modernised’ Islamic music, such as *gambus* and *qasidah modern*, which have been in line with modernity and popularisation by using the indigenous language (Bahasa Indonesia), tonal Western musical instruments, and mass production.⁵ Thus, although *hadrah* exists in many aspects of Muslim society in Indonesia, except for Agha⁶, it gets less attention in scholarly works. In his study, Agha includes a *hadrah* pattern in a rhythmical notation form.⁷ With the notation, he elaborates on *hadrah* as a performance characterised by a sub-genre named *al-banjari*, the most vital rhythmical pattern in *hadrah* performances. Despite many existing models of *hadrah* in Indonesia, such as *Zikir Maulud* in Sambas, West Kalimantan,⁸ *hadra* in Lampung, Sumatra,⁹ and *terebang gede* in Banten¹⁰, the sub-genre *al-banjari* is more popular.

The *al-banjari* sub-genre refers to the Banjarese who have long practised *hadrah* with this model under the name *sinoman hadrah*.¹¹ This hereditary tradition spread to East Java through Guru Bangil (d. 1989), who in turn spread to the Banjar diaspora in Bangil and Tulungagung.¹² In Bangil, the *hadrah* is popularised by a group named al-Asyiqien, while in Tulungagung, the group is al-Muhibbin. Both groups are said to have existed since

Shalawat; A Crisis Solution of Modern Society,” *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 175 (July 2018): 012181, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/175/1/012181>; Alexander R. Arifianto, “Rising Islamism and the Struggle for Islamic Authority in Post-Reformasi Indonesia,” *TRaNS: Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 8, no. 1 (2020): 37–50, <https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2019.10>.

⁵ Barendregt and van Zanten, “Popular Music in Indonesia since 1998, in Particular Fusion, Indie and Islamic Music on Video Compact Discs and the Internet”; Arps Bernard, “To Propagate Morals through Popular Music: The Indonesian Qasidah Moderen,” *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, Classical traditions and modern meanings, vol. 1 (1996): 389–409; Harnish and Rasmussen, *Divine Inspiration*; Anne K. Rasmussen, “The Arab Musical Aesthetic in Indonesian Islam,” *The World of Music* 47, no. 1 (2005): 65–89; Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur’an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*; Franki S. Notosudirdjo, “Kyai Kanjeng: Islam and the Search for National Music in Indonesia,” *The World of Music*, Traditional Music and Composition, vol. 45, no. 2 (2003): 39–52.

⁶ Agha, Albert Nasser, “Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia.”

⁷ Agha, Albert Nasser, “Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia,” 77.

⁸ Wendy Mee, “The Ebb and Flow of Popular Islamic Music Forms: Zikir Maulud Amongst Sambas Malays,” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 40, no. 2 (2012): 203–33, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853112X640143>.

⁹ Agus Iswanto, “UNDERSTANDING HADRAH ART AS THE LIVING AL-QUR’AN: THE ORIGIN, PERFORMANCE AND WORLDVIEW,” *EL HAKAKAH (TERAKREDITASI)* 21, no. 2 (2019): 217, <https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v21i2.7296>.

¹⁰ Suhaya Suhaya et al., “Percussion Pattern of Terebang Gede in Panggung Jati Studio, Panggung Jati Village, Serang,” *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education* 20, no. 2 (2020): 223–30, <https://doi.org/10.15294/harmonia.v20i2.18067>.

¹¹ Muhammad Rusydi et al., *Shalawat Al-Banjari: Sejarah, Keunikan Dan Sebarannya*, ed. Fiska Ilyasir (Malang, 2022), <https://idr.uin-antasari.ac.id/23000/>. See also, *Borneo, Zuid-Selebes, Ambon enz.* (Nijhoff, 1933), 101, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB24:079004000:00123>.

¹² Rusydi et al., *Shalawat Al-Banjari*; Refki Rusyadi, “DIASPORA, EKSISTENSI, DAN DINAMIKA DAGANG WARGA KETURUNAN BANJAR DI TULUNGAGUNG” (Dissertation, Universitas Islam Negeri Sayyid Ali Rahmatullah Tulungagung, 2022).

the 1980s, and both groups popularised *hadrah* in the *al-banjari* sub-genre during their earlier existence until the 1990s.¹³ Although it is said that al-Asyiqien (as a group and its album) is older than al-Muhibbin, the latter produced more albums, and they are well-circulated compared to the former.

In the early 1990s, al-Muhibbin's debut album was released. The period was an important mark for deepening Islamisation in Indonesia and the emergence of audiocassette recordings. The deepening of Islamisation was driven by support from both the political elite and grassroots movements. Politically, the New Order during this time became more Islamic, having previously been hostile to Islam. This was evidenced by Soeharto's pilgrimage to Hajj, the founding of the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (*Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia*, ICMI), and the state-sponsored Islamic festival, the *Festival Istiqlal*.¹⁴ However, this Islamisation was also accompanied by long-standing grassroots efforts. With the context of the 1960s abolishment of PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, Communist Party of Indonesia), which had continuous conflicts with Indonesian Muslims, the declining arts affiliated to them (and *abangan*) after the abolishment can be one of the evidence. For example, in the 1970s, in Solo, there was a notable increase in the number of Hajj pilgrims. Additionally, in Kediri, village cleansing rituals such as *slametan* with offerings (*sesajen*), traditionally associated with *abangan*, were replaced by *tahlilan* and *yasinan*. In the 1980s, arts closely linked to *abangan*, including *tayuban*, *reyog*, and *ludruk*, also declined, along with rejection from Islamisers.¹⁵ Another indication is the production of music albums featuring Islamic values, such as *qasidah moderen* from Nasida Ria since the 1970s.¹⁶

¹³ Rusydi et al., *Shalawat Al-Banjari*, 77–84.

¹⁴ Nancy J. Smith-Hefner, “Javanese Women and the Veil in Post-Soeharto Indonesia,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66, no. 2 (2007): 389–420; Robert W. Hefner, “Public Islam and the Problem of Democratization,” *Sociology of Religion* 62, no. 4 (2001): 491–514, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3712438>; Robert Hefner, “Chapter 3. Islamization and Democratization in Indonesia,” in *Islam in an Era of Nation-States*, ed. Robert W. Hefner and Patricia Horvath (University of Hawaii Press, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824863029-006>; R. William Liddle, “The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 3 (1996): 613–34, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2646448>.

¹⁵ Robert W. Hefner, “Islamizing Java? Religion and Politics in Rural East Java,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 3 (1987): 533–54, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2056898>; Robert W. Hefner, “The Politics of Popular Art: Tayuban Dance and Culture Change in East Java,” *Indonesia*, no. 48 (1987), <https://doi.org/10.2307/3351211>; M.C. Ricklefs, *Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java: A Political, Social, Cultural and Religious History, c. 1930 to Present* (NUS Press, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1qv3fh>.

¹⁶ Bernard, “To Propagate Morals through Popular Music: The Indonesian Qasidah Moderen.”

In regards of production of audiocassette albums, there were many mass-produced regional popular music genres.¹⁷ The Indonesian musical landscape is dominated by regional popular music genres that have been mass-produced. These genres blend general popular forms with regional characteristics, as evident in the albums produced. Among the popular genres are *breakpong* (a fusion of break dance and *jaipongan*) and *qasidah moderen* (notably represented by the popular group Nasida Ria). *Qasidah moderen* is also a reflection of the New Order Islamic turn of the 1990s, coinciding with the Islamic turn in the late New Order period. During this time, *nasyid* (an a cappella Islamic music genre) gained popularity. Other genres, such as dangdut and pop, also incorporated Islamic moral teachings, as exemplified by Rhoma Irama, Rano Karno, Novia Kolapaking, and Emha Ainun Nadjib.¹⁸

On the other hand, Al-Muhibbin's album shows a more esoteric form of music genre. The album is all in Arabic, entitled *Asyrakalan*, which is derived from a verse, *Ashraqa al-Badr*.¹⁹ The album consists of five songs: *ṣalli yā Rabb, yā Rasūlallāh, ṣalawātullāh, ṭala'a al-Badr*, and *yā Muḥaymin* (*Sholli ya Rob, Ya Rasul Allah, Sholawatullah, Thola'al Badru*, and *Ya Muḥaimin*). Those verses can now be found inside the *Mawlid al-Dība'ī*, regardless of their origins.²⁰ Considering musical patterns, *Thola'al Badru's* song was performed in the *al-banjari* style, as the present-day *hadrah*. In the other five songs, the pattern of modern *hadrah* exists only partly, but not in a small portion.

¹⁷ Barendregt and van Zanten, "Popular Music in Indonesia since 1998, in Particular Fusion, Indie and Islamic Music on Video Compact Discs and the Internet"; Bart A. Barendregt and Philip Yampolsky, eds., *Sonic Modernities in the Malay World: A History of Popular Music, Social Distinction and Novel Lifestyles (1930s-2000s)*, Verhandelingen van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde, volume 290 (Brill, 2014); Bernard, "To Propagate Morals through Popular Music: The Indonesian Qasidah Moderen."

¹⁸ Barendregt and van Zanten, "Popular Music in Indonesia since 1998, in Particular Fusion, Indie and Islamic Music on Video Compact Discs and the Internet"; Bernard, "To Propagate Morals through Popular Music: The Indonesian Qasidah Moderen"; Notosudirdjo, "Kyai Kanjeng: Islam and the Search for National Music in Indonesia." For the political discussions regarding the Islamic turn of the New Order, see, for instances, Hefner, "Public Islam and the Problem of Democratization"; Liddle, "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia." The Islamic turn is evident by, for instance, the establishment of ICMI (*Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia*, Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals). But it is shown by the establishment of *Festival Istiqlal*, the state-supported Islamic festivals. See, Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur'an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*.

¹⁹ *Asyrakalan* is also called *asrakalan*, *sarakalan*, and other terms. *Asyrakalan* is usually done by standing up, as to honor the Prophet. See, for instance, Nico Kaptein, "The Berdiri Mawlid Issue among Indonesian Muslims in the Period from circa 1875 to 1930," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 149, no. 1 (1993): 124–53, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003139>.

²⁰ Kaptein, "The Berdiri Mawlid Issue among Indonesian Muslims in the Period from circa 1875 to 1930"; Ismail Fajrie Alatas, "Pilgrimage and Network Formation in Two Contemporary Bā'alawī Ḥawl in Central Java," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25, no. 3 (2014): 321.

Over the past two decades, *hadrah* has been both widely produced and subject to debate. In the albums of mass-produced *hadrah*, the patterns of the songs differ from those published in the 1990s. In the early 2000s, instead of being structured as mawlid recitations based on mawlid texts, the albums consisted of Islamic songs derived from traditional Islamic poetry. For example, the albums released by IQMA, a students' activity unit at UIN (Universitas Islam Negeri, State Islamic University) Surabaya, show influence from Near Eastern songs and poetry. From the 2010s onward, *hadrah* albums included similar content but with more sophisticated production, such as those released in video format with vocalists singing different musical notes, creating harmony. These changes also coincide with the contestation of *hadrah*, which is better known as the *festival of hadrah* or the *festival al-banjari*.

Lately, the *festival al-banjari* has become interesting for government officials²¹, mass media²², universities²³, and national-level political figures such as Muhaimin Iskandar²⁴ and Moeldoko²⁵. Both organised the *festival al-banjari* in East Java in 2022 and 2023.²⁶ At Muhaimin Iskandar's festival, there was a mandatory jingle to be chanted, which

²¹ "Festival Qasidah Dan Hadrah Untuk Melestarikan Budaya Islam. - Situs Web Resmi Pemerintah Kota Administrasi Jakarta Selatan," accessed November 22, 2024, <https://selatan.jakarta.go.id/berita-selatan/detail/festival-qasidah-dan-hadrah-untuk-melestarikan-budaya-islam>; "Festival Al Banjari Tingkat Remaja Kabupaten Mojokerto Tahun 2019," accessed November 22, 2024, <https://mojokertokab.go.id/detail-berita/festival-al-banjari-tingkat-remaja-kabupaten-mojokerto-tahun-2019>; "3.000 Santri Jember Bakal Ikuti Apel Dan Kirab Hari Santri Nasional 2019 - Surya.Co.Id," accessed November 22, 2024, <https://surabaya.tribunnews.com/2019/10/03/3000-santri-jember-bakal-ikuti-apel-dan-kirab-hari-santri-nasional-2019>; Okezone, "Pekan Sholawat Nusantara Situbondo Tujuh hari Tujuh Malam : Okezone News," <https://news.okezone.com/>, October 7, 2022, <https://news.okezone.com/read/2022/10/07/340/2682531/pekan-sholawat-nusantara-situbondo-tujuh-hari-tujuh-malam>; "Jatim Gelar Festival Ramadhan Vaganza 1444 H di Masjid Raya Islamic Center," Dinas Komunikasi dan Informatika Provinsi Jawa Timur, accessed November 23, 2024, <https://kominfo.jatimprov.go.id/berita/jatim-gelar-festival-ramadhan-vaganza-1444-h-di-masjid-raya-islamic-center>.

²² "Adu Salawat Di Alun-Alun Madiun - Jawa Pos," accessed November 22, 2024, <https://www.jawapos.com/hijrah-ramadan/01226774/adu-salawat-di-alunalun-madiun>.

²³ *humas-unesa*, "Festival Banjari Turut Meriahkan Serangkaian Kegiatan Dies Natalis Unesa Ke-55," Universitas Negeri Surabaya, November 1, 2019, <http://www.unesa.ac.id/festival-banjari-turut-meriahkan-serangkaian-kegiatan-dies-natalis-unesa-ke-55>; *humas-unesa*, "Festival Banjari Turut Meriahkan Serangkaian Kegiatan Dies Natalis Unesa Ke-55"; *gol*, "Fesban ITS, Selangkah Menuju Nasional," *ITS News*, November 19, 2017, <https://www.its.ac.id/news/2017/11/19/fesban-selangkah-menuju-nasional/>.

²⁴ He is the chairman of PKB (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*, National Awakening Party) and a candidate for vice president of Indonesia for the national election in 2024.

²⁵ Moeldoko is the Chief of Staff of the Presidency (Kepala Staf Kepresidenan, KSP) for Joko Widodo (the 7th President of Indonesia, 2014—2024).

²⁶ "Festival Al Banjari Piala Masjid Moeldoko, Diikuti 34 Grup Dari Berbagai Kota Dengan Hadiah Rp 40 Juta - Radar Banyuwangi," accessed January 17, 2024, <https://radarbanyuwangi.jawapos.com/berita-daerah/751713505/festival-al-banjari-piala-masjid-moeldoko-diikuti-34-grup-dari-berbagai-kota-dengan-hadiah-rp-40-juta>; "Moeldoko Hadiri Festival Banjari Piala Masjid Se-Jatim Di Ponpes Al-Fatimah," accessed January 17, 2024,

consisted of “Gus Muhaimin Presiden 2024” (Gus Muhaimin [will become] President [in] 2024). The mandatory jingle was also found in the early 2010s in the Festival Ramadan Jawa Pos.²⁷ In that festival, the mandatory jingle was to chant “*Luwak White Coffee*,” the festival’s main sponsor.²⁸ Those festivals by relatively big figures also show that *hadrah* gets a lot of exposure, at least in East Java. The exposure is also shown on social media, as the *hadrah* content (both from recorded festivals and dedicated videos and audio) gets many views and subscriptions on YouTube and Instagram. Following Anne K. Rasmussen’s argument, the festivalisation of religion shows a continuous Islamisation in Indonesia, which is also widely discussed under the post-Islamisation and pop-Islamisation in scholarly works.²⁹

This study will discuss *hadrah*’s practices and evolution since the 1990s, following Al-Muhibbin’s first music album to the present Indonesian period. Those two main discussions are related to the *hadrah* performance as one of the devotional practices in the context of the mawlid celebration and the preservation that has been made in contemporary Indonesia through festivalisation and social media.³⁰ Furthermore, this study contributes to the ritual forms of mawlid, which is said to be interplayed with local

<https://www.jtvbojonegoro.com/2023/08/moeldoko-hadiri-festival-banjari-piala.html>; *Hadiri Festival Al Banjari Di Malang, Moeldoko : Anak Muda Harus Punya Sikap Bersaing – Kantor Staf Presiden*, n.d., accessed January 17, 2024, <https://www.ksp.go.id/hadiri-festival-al-banjari-di-malang-moeldoko-anak-muda-harus-punya-sikap-bersaing.html>; Faiq Azmi, “Cara Cak Imin Apresiasi Pencinta Selawat Al Banjari,” *detikjatim*, accessed January 18, 2024, <https://www.detik.com/jatim/berita/d-6400668/cara-cak-imin-apresiasi-pencinta-selawat-al-banjari>; Liputan6.com, “30 Grup Al Banjari se Jatim Tampil di Final Gus Muhaimin Festival 3 Desember,” *liputan6.com*, November 20, 2022, <https://www.liputan6.com/surabaya/read/5130699/30-grup-al-banjari-se-jatim-tampil-di-final-gus-muhaimin-festival-3-desember>; Latu Ratri Mubyarsah, “Muhaimin Iskandar Gelar Festival Banjari untuk Pencinta Salawat - Jawa Pos,” *Muhaimin Iskandar Gelar Festival Banjari untuk Pencinta Salawat - Jawa Pos*, November 12, 2022, <https://www.jawapos.com/berita-sekitar-anda/01418726/muhaimin-iskandar-gelar-festival-banjari-untuk-pencinta-salawat>; PT VIVA MEDIA BARU- VIVA, “Gus Muhaimin Lestarikan Tradisi Lewat Festival Al Banjari,” December 3, 2022, <https://jatim.viva.co.id/kabar/1350-gus-muhaimin-lestarikan-tradisi-lewat-festival-al-banjari>.

²⁷ Jawa Pos is one of the mainstream media in Indonesia.

²⁸ Luwak White Coffee is one of big coffee brands in Indonesia.

²⁹ Muhammad Ansor, “Post-Islamism and the Remaking of Islamic Public Sphere in Post-Reform Indonesia,” *Studia Islamika* 23, no. 3 (2016): 471–515, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v23i3.2412>; Noorhaidi Hasan, “The Making of Public Islam: Piety, Agency, and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere,” *Contemporary Islam* 3, no. 3 (2009): 229–50, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-009-0096-9>; Syamsul Rijal, “Performing Arab Saints and Marketing the Prophet: Habaib and Islamic Markets in Contemporary Indonesia,” *Archipel* 99 (2020): 189–213, <https://doi.org/10.4000/archipel.1719>; “Indonesia at the Crossroads : Imbroglios of Religion, State, and Society in an Asian Muslim Nation / Robert W. Hefner --,” n.d.

³⁰ In Rasmussen’s work (2010, p. 6) in the context of competitions in Qur’anic recitations, it is implied that religion (Islam) has been ‘festivalised’ through competitions in Qur’anic recitations and related arts. In another context, Agha (2019) defines festivalisation as bringing traditions into (big) rites e.g., majelis.

resonances³¹ as shown in the *hadrah*, which is distinct from the Near-Eastern *iqā'āt* (rhythmical musical patterns).³² In the context of the intersection between Islam and modernity, *hadrah*, in this thesis, shows resistance by not using tonal instruments, which has been the object of disagreement among Islamic scholars, while at the same time, embracing modernity with certain degrees of change and variations, such as the commercialisation and mass production.³³

The selection of *al-banjari* as the focus of this study is significant because it represents the most prominent and popular sub-genre of *hadrah* in Indonesia, particularly due to its unique rhythmical patterns and its strong association with the Banjarese diaspora's heritage. Although the tradition is associated with the Banjarese diaspora's heritage, East Java is chosen because it has become a central hub for the development, preservation, and festivalisation of *al-banjari*, especially through influential groups like Al-Muhibbin and Al-Asyiqien that published material evidence, e.g., audiocassette albums and general *festival al-banjari* phenomena in the locus. The 1990s period serves as a crucial historical juncture, marking the transition of *al-banjari* from local gatherings to mass-produced albums, setting the foundation for its contemporary forms, public competitions, and media circulation today. The period also marks a significant shift in the political stance of *Orde Baru* (New Order) from one that was generally hostile to Islam, especially in politics, to one that became more Islamic. By focusing on these specific parameters, this research highlights how *hadrah* in the form of *al-banjari* has persisted, adapted, and responded to broader socio-religious changes in Indonesia.

1.2 Research Questions and Aims

This thesis will address a historical study based on one main question: “How and why have the *hadrah* practices, a traditional Islamic music, persisted in Indonesia from the 1990s to the present?” The question will be answered by this thesis, which aims to 1) investigate the historicity of the *hadrah* tradition among Indonesian Muslims by examining textual

³¹ Andrea Stanton, “Mawlid,” in *Routledge Handbook of Islamic Ritual and Practice*, 1st ed., by Oliver Leaman (Routledge, 2022), 254–56, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003044659-22>.

³² Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*.

³³ Walter Denny, “Music and Musicians in Islamic Art,” *Asian Music* 17, no. 1 (1985): 37, <https://doi.org/10.2307/833740>; Lois Ibsen al-Fārūqī, “Music, Musicians and Muslim Law,” *Asian Music* 17, no. 1 (1985): 3, <https://doi.org/10.2307/833739>; Omar Farahat, “Norms and Values in Islamic Legal Reasoning: The Case of Listening to Music (Samā’),” *Religions* 14, no. 6 (2023): 780, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14060780>; Jonas Otterbeck and Johannes Frandsen Skjelbo, “‘Music Version’ versus ‘Vocals-Only’: Islamic Pop Music, Aesthetics, and Ethics,” *Popular Music and Society* 43, no. 1 (2020): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2019.1581335>; Amnon Shiloah, “Music and Religion in Islam,” *Acta Musicologica* 69, no. 2 (1997): 143, <https://doi.org/10.2307/932653>.

accounts that describe the tradition in earlier periods, 2) investigate the documented development of *hadrah* practices from the 1990s through the 2000s, using audiocassettes and recorded album as primary sources, and by analysing *hadrah* performances in public spaces through the discourse on *hadrah* by Muslim preachers, especially in the *majelises*, and 3) analyse the role of festivalisation in shaping contemporary *hadrah* performances, through the study of the *festival al-banjari* in East Java as evidence of the continuing Islamisation of public cultural and religious spaces.

1.3 Significance of the Research

This research has significance for Islamic studies through the arts and religious culture of Indonesian Muslims, and also for ethnomusicology. This thesis examines how *hadrah*, as an Islamic art that has long been part of Indonesian Muslims, can survive, with its position as a religious rite that also remains an art. The existence is also related to the evolution that occurs, the pursuit of Muslims over a certain period. This research contributes to Muslim art in the world, as well as containing how Muslims endeavour to maintain the Islamic-ness of art, and make Islam artistic.

1.4 Literature Review

Hadrah lies within the discussions of devotional celebrations, as does the discussion of traditions and Islamic music. It is conducted to accompany Islamic chants and poems derived from popular mawlid texts, such as *Qaṣīda al-Burda* (the Mantle Ode), *Mawlid al-Dība* ʿ, *Mawlid al-Barzanjī*, etc., and also from Muslim poets.³⁴ *Hadrah* gets more attention through the popularity of Majelis Rasulullah, Habib Syech, and Mafia Sholawat in

³⁴ For performative aspects, see, Harnish and Rasmussen, *Divine Inspiration*; Agha, Albert Nasser, “Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia”; Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur’an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*. For mawlid texts and Muslim poets, see, Antonio Cuciniello, “The Genre of the Mawlid Narrative in the Mid-12th h./18th Century as Exemplified by al-Barzanjī,” *Revue Des Mondes Musulmans et de La Méditerranée*, ahead of print, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.4000/11z1k>; Kaptein, “The Berdiri Mawlid Issue among Indonesian Muslims in the Period from circa 1875 to 1930”; Neneng Yanti Khozanatu Lahpan, “Islamic Musical Forms and Local Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia,” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 175, no. 2/3 (2019): 284–308; Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, “From Text to Talisman: Al-Būsīrī’s Qasīdat al-Burdah (Mantle Ode) and the Supplicatory Ode,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37, no. 2 (2006): 145–89, <https://doi.org/10.1163/157006406778660331>; Ines Weinrich, “The Creation of Muḥammad’s Qualities through Contemporary Chant in Syria and Lebanon,” in *The Presence of the Prophet in Early Modern and Contemporary Islam*, ed. Nelly Amri et al. (BRILL, 2023), https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004522626_005; Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic written tradition. Volume 2*, Handbook of Oriental studies Section 1, The Near and Middle East, v. 117 (Brill, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004326323>.

contemporary periods.³⁵ Although, understandably, those works lack historical discussions that show the evolution of the *core* of the musical performance since the authors see *hadrah* as a supportive aspect of the *da'wa*. Other traditional Islamic music discussions are done by Bukhari³⁶ in the context of preserving Arab tradition in East Kalimantan, Suhaya³⁷ to write *terbang gede* in Banten into Western notation, and Iswanto³⁸, who discusses *hadrah* tradition below the concept of living hadith. This study will fill the gap left by those scholars to give comprehensive *hadrah* discussions, as one of the important Islamic traditions in Indonesia.

Taking *hadrah* into musical discussions works by Qureshi,³⁹ Gribetz,⁴⁰ and Al-Faruqi⁴¹ provide helpful in the definition of music, which is often loosely translated into *mūsīqa* in Arabic. Following Al-Faruqi,⁴² in practice, music (*mūsīqa*) pertains exclusively to specific secular musical genres. She categorised the hierarchy of *handasa al-ṣawt* (sound-art expressions)⁴³, consisting of the non-*mūsīqa* and legitimate, such as Qur'anic recitation, religious chants (*takbir*, *adhān*, *taḥmīd*, etc.), and music for weddings, lullabies, and women's songs. In a shorter way, the Islamic music genre is divided into two categories: liturgical and non-liturgical.⁴⁴ Qureshi categorises *taghbīr* (cantillation) as against *ghinā'* (song), including a supplementary definition of *talbīn* (the cantillation of the Qur'an in Arabic) and other forms of non-liturgical music or *nashā'id* (hymns featuring vernacular texts). Other non-liturgical texts are the Shī'a *majlis*, the Sufi *qawwālī*, and the Sunni *mīlād*. Among those three festivals, the Sunni *mīlād* is considered the least sophisticated from a musical perspective.⁴⁵ However, the complexity of Islamic music discussions fundamentally lies in the use of tonal musical instruments, as the criticism

³⁵ Rijal, "Performing Arab Saints and Marketing the Prophet"; Zamhari and Mustofa, "THE POPULAR DA'WAH MOVEMENT IN URBAN COMMUNITIES"; Agha, Albert Nasser, "Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia"; Ngadimah, "The Spirituality of *Mafia Shalawat*: A Crisis Solution of Modern Society."

³⁶ Akh Bukhari, "PRESERVING ARAB TRADITION: The Cultural Expression of Habsyian in East Kalimantan," *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM* 11, no. 1 (2017): 247, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2017.11.1.247-266>.

³⁷ Suhaya et al., "Percussion Pattern of Terbang Gede in Panggung Jati Studio, Panggung Jati Village, Serang."

³⁸ Iswanto, "UNDERSTANDING HADRAH ART AS THE LIVING AL-QUR'AN."

³⁹ Regula Qureshi, "Indo-Muslim Religious Music, an Overview," *Asian Music* 3, no. 2 (1972): 15–22, <https://doi.org/10.2307/833955>.

⁴⁰ Arthur Gribetz, "The Sama' Controversy: Sufi vs. Legalist," *Studia Islamica*, no. 74 (1991): 43, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1595896>.

⁴¹ Fārūqī, "Music, Musicians and Muslim Law."

⁴² Fārūqī, "Music, Musicians and Muslim Law," 6.

⁴³ Fārūqī, "Music, Musicians and Muslim Law," 7.

⁴⁴ Qureshi (1971) and Al-Faruqi (1985) provide the same categorisation in the context of liturgical and non-liturgical.

⁴⁵ Qureshi, "Indo-Muslim Religious Music, an Overview," 15-21.

toward the use of music has been scrutinised by many Muslims.⁴⁶ In the context of the musical performance of *s* in this thesis, it can be seen as having a more conservative way of music since no tonal musical instruments are being used. Still, the rhythmical pattern is more complex than those in the Near East. In the Near East, rhythmical modes (*iqā'āt*) are played individually, while *hadrah* needs at least two performers to beat interlocking patterns.⁴⁷

As this thesis will deal with Indonesian Islamic music, it is important to look at the broader discussions regarding the issue. Generally, Islamic music in Indonesia is often discussed in popular music. Simply put, popularisation is understood using Western musical music, the use of the indigenous language (Bahasa Indonesia), and mass production. Thus, Islamic music in Indonesia is often represented by the *qasida modern* genre by Nasida Ria⁴⁸, Emha Ainun Nadjib⁴⁹, and *lagu Islami* (Islamic song) such as Nisa Sabyan.⁵⁰ Differing from the aforementioned popular Islamic music discussions, I tend to see *hadrah* (through mass production) as regional popular music, as Barendregt and van Zanten state.⁵¹ *Hadrah* fits in the category because it is meant for a specific scope of audience, in this context, Sunni Muslim. Because of the specific audience, regional popular music does not necessarily need to use national or popular language and often uses residual local tradition. For that context, earlier *hadrah* albums consisting of mawlid recitation in Arabic also did not include tonal musical instruments, with terbang as a residual local tradition.

The evolution of *hadrah*, as discussed in this thesis, is closely related to the dynamics of Islamisation, or the increasing visibility of Islam in public life. This phenomenon emerged in the 1970s and has become increasingly evident in contemporary times.⁵² Islam is increasingly visible, manifesting in various aspects of society, from significant institutions to everyday practices.⁵³ This thesis explores the continuity and

⁴⁶ Otterbeck and Skjelbo, “‘Music Version’ versus ‘Vocals-Only.’”

⁴⁷ For *iqā'āt* rhythmical notations, see, Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*.

⁴⁸ Bernard, “To Propagate Morals through Popular Music: The Indonesian Qasidah Modern.”

⁴⁹ Notosudirdjo, “Kyai Kanjeng: Islam and the Search for National Music in Indonesia.”

⁵⁰ Syamsul Rijal, “Consuming and Disputing Aisha Song: The Quest for Pleasure & Islamic Romance in Contemporary Indonesia,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 12, no. 1 (2022): 1–29, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v12i1.1-29>.

⁵¹ Barendregt and van Zanten, “Popular Music in Indonesia since 1998, in Particular Fusion, Indie and Islamic Music on Video Compact Discs and the Internet.”

⁵² Hasan, “The Making of Public Islam”; Ricklefs, *Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java*; Ansor, “Post-Islamism and the Remaking of Islamic Public Sphere in Post-Reform Indonesia.”

⁵³ Karin Van Nieuwkerk, “Popularizing Islam or Islamizing Popular Music: New Developments in Egypt’s Wedding Scene,” *Contemporary Islam* 6, no. 3 (2012): 235–54, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-012-0217-8>; Andrew N. Weintraub, ed., *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia*, Media, Culture and Social Change in Asia 24 (Routledge,

development of *hadrah*, examining its traditions, productions, and festivalisation.⁵⁴ These aspects are intertwined with the broader dynamics of Islamisation in Indonesia, as the end of the New Order witnessed a shift towards a more Islamic society, the integration of modern technology (such as recordings and social media), and the emergence of festivalisation as a form of celebration or contestation.

Hadrah's evolution may also fit the approach by Seneviratne⁵⁵, who sees if modernity can be embraced without leaving cultural roots. His work is on the *nasyid* genre in Malaysia, in which he argues that nasyid musicians embrace modernity through cultural expressions by producing albums in a sophisticated modern format without leaving the understanding of music, language, image, and dress as their cultural roots. In the context of *hadrah*, the resistance to modernity by using only four *terbangs*, one bass, and only chanting *Islamic* Arabic songs, but then mass-produced and even commercialised through festivals, can be seen as a negotiation between Islam and modernity.

1.5 Main Argument

This study argues that *hadrah* has persisted and gained popularity in Indonesia since the 1990s because it combines historical legitimacy, Islamic acceptability, and active promotion through festivals and media, in line with broader Islamic revival and technological change. *Hadrah* has a deep-rooted history among Indonesian Muslims, with numerous practices documented as Islamic devotions. Its popularity has been further amplified through cassette recordings and festivalisation. The *hadrah* that is widely celebrated in Indonesian assemblies today is a result of attractive aesthetics, Islamic values, and the efforts of Indonesian Muslims. *Hadrah*, in its simplest form and accepted in Islamic values, represents traditional Islamic culture that has not undergone many changes and accommodations to things that are said to be 'popular', and yet, *hadrah* is still popular. The more pious Indonesian Muslims, alongside ongoing Islamisation, have resulted in the traditional, historically rooted, and simple form of *hadrah* persisting until the present day in Indonesia. Furthermore, contemporary *hadrah* festivals force participants to be more acknowledged of Islamic values while also maintaining *hadrah*'s entertainment and acceptability to Muslims. Concurrent with the more Islamic society in contemporary Indonesia in the 21st century, *hadrah* has been festivalised, on the stage of Islamic *majelises*

2011); Kalinga Seneviratne, *Countering MTV Influence in Indonesia and Malaysia*, with Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012).

⁵⁴ Anne K. Rasmussen, "The Qur'ân in Indonesian Daily Life: The Public Project of Musical Oratory," *Ethnomusicology* 45, no. 1 (2001): 30–57, <https://doi.org/10.2307/852633>.

⁵⁵ Seneviratne, *Countering MTV Influence in Indonesia and Malaysia*.

and also competition stages. The festivalisation of *hadrah* represents pursuits by Indonesian Muslims to set the ideals of Islamic music, through the pursuits on festival stages and social media.

1.6 Conceptual Framework

Generally, this thesis's findings align with Rasmussen's concept of religious festivalisation to show the ongoing Islamisation. The festival aims to bring Islamic rites to bigger stages, whether they are solely festivals or contests. The non-contest festivals mean the appearance of Islam in public, while the contest festivals show the agreement between the organiser and participant to participate, consisting of rules and expectations, and educational aspects.⁵⁶ But before *hadrah* is widely accepted to be contested, I find that *hadrah* is historically rooted among Indonesian Muslims. The findings align with Frishkopf's term of localised Islam with its connection to more prominent and common Islamic rituals worldwide. *Hadrah* is local while also being typical.⁵⁷ For the *hadrah* recording albums and the popularisation by Ḥaḍramī preachers, *hadrah* aligns with the idea of Barendregt and van Zanten on regional popular music.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the popularisation has also been made through pursuing more Islamic art, as Van Nieuwkerk suggests.⁵⁹ For Chapter 4, I find that *hadrah*, rooted historically among Indonesian Muslims and its dynamics within the Islamisation phenomena, started to be contested, and the number shown on social media is significant, despite its simplicity.

1.7 Methods

To achieve the objectives of this thesis, I employ various sources, including documents, audio cassettes, online resources, and interviews. Documents will be sourced from both offline and online archives, such as delpher.nl, kompasdata, and others. Additionally, I will include physical documents like technical guides (particularly relevant to *festival al-banjari*), cassettes, pamphlets, and photos. Online sources will be instrumental in the discussions of this thesis, as they span a wide range of periods. These online platforms include YouTube, Facebook, TikTok, Soundcloud, blogs, and more. For the interviews, I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with four judges of the *festival al-banjari*,

⁵⁶ Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur'an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*.

⁵⁷ Michael Aaron Frishkopf and Federico Spinetti, eds., *Music, Sound, and Architecture in Islam*, First edition (University of Texas Press, 2018), 112–13.

⁵⁸ Barendregt and van Zanten, "Popular Music in Indonesia since 1998, in Particular Fusion, Indie and Islamic Music on Video Compact Discs and the Internet."

⁵⁹ Van Nieuwkerk, "Popularizing Islam or Islamizing Popular Music."

who also developed the scoring forms used in most events. These qualitative sources will be examined to illustrate the evolution of *hadrah* in Indonesia, particularly in East Java. The focus will be on established and enduring *hadrah* groups involved in album productions. In the context of festivals, the approach will involve the judges and several major festivals.

1.8 Thesis Outline

After the introductory chapter, this thesis will deal with the setting of *hadrah* within music and Islamic music discussions, especially in Indonesia. Within the discussions of the settings, historical evidence of earlier *hadrah* and Islamic music will also be discussed. Historical accounts help in the *traditional* discussions, as well as the historicity of *hadrah* or generally percussive music.⁶⁰ From broader discussions, musical performances such as traditional Near Eastern music are important because of the wide discussions that can be utilised.⁶¹

Chapter 2 explores *hadrah* within the broader context of Islam and Islamic music in Indonesia. *Hadrah*, a musical performance, is simultaneously localised and globally connected. It's a product of localised Islam, embedded in local rituals while resonating with worldwide Islamic devotional practices. Percussive instruments are a defining feature of Indonesian Islamic music, appearing in various regional forms and performances. *Hadrah* often refers to Islamic songs with percussion, but it may also derive from *ḥaḍra*, a Sufi ritual with performative and spiritual objectives. *Hadrah* frequently involves *ṣalawāt*, making it broadly recognised and accepted across the Islamic world. The chapter examines *hadrah* within three interconnected frameworks: its Islamic context in Indonesia, its place within the broader discourse on Islamic music, and its historical development during the East Indies period. These frameworks highlight *hadrah*'s originality, locality, and global

⁶⁰ The terms *hadrah*, *terbang*, *terebang*, *rabana*, *rebana*, which referred to *hadrah* (not in Italic) are found in the Dutch sources. But for initial sources, the work by Kunst, J., *Over Toonschalen En Instrumenten van West-Java* shows a brief categorisation of *hadrah* performances, while Ash'arī, Muḥammad Hāshim, *Al-Tanbīhāt al-Wājibāt Li-Man Yaṣna' al-Mawlid Bi'l-Munkarāt* shows a slight significant popular rite among Muslims in East Java in the first half of the 20th century.

⁶¹ For instance, the metre of *qaṣīda/nashīd* and *muwashshah*, the rhythmical patterns (*iqā'āt*) can be one of references and comparison to *hadrah*. See, Hayat Amamou, "The Nature of Early Islamic Sources and the Debate Over Their Historical Significance," *AlMuntaqa* 1, no. 2 (2018): 68–79, <https://doi.org/10.31430/almuntaqa.1.2.0068>; Antonio Cuciniello, "The Genre of the Mawlid Narrative in the Mid-12th h./18th Century as Exemplified by al-Barzanjī"; Mona Mikhail, "Iltizam: Commitment and Arabic Poetry," *World Literature Today* 53, no. 4 (1979): 595, <https://doi.org/10.2307/40133014>; Rasmussen, "The Arab Musical Aesthetic in Indonesian Islam," 2005; Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*; Simon Jargy, "The Folk Music of Syria and Lebanon," *The World of Music* 20, no. 1 (1978): 79–93.

resonance. The first section outlines the historical and cultural context of Islam in Indonesia, particularly among Javanese Muslims, who have historically demonstrated openness to non-Islamic influences. The second section engages with the broader debate on music in Islam, noting that music continues to be listened to and performed despite varying opinions. Percussion instruments like the *duff*, known locally as *terbang* or *rebana*, have been widely accepted across Muslim communities since early Islamic history. The final section defines *hadrah* in its contemporary Indonesian usage, referring to Islamic songs with percussion. In this form, percussion instruments—commonly labelled *rebana*, *terbang*, or *hadrah*—are central, highlighting the genre’s roots in musical and religious traditions. Indonesian *hadrah* is thus a compelling example of Islamic musical expression shaped by local culture, religious discourse, and global Islamic aesthetics.

In Chapter 2, while some evidence supports the historicity of *hadrah* in Indonesia, detailed accounts of its exact performance remain limited. Chapter 3 presents an early known *hadrah* music recording as a benchmark for tracing its continuity and transformation in Indonesia. During the 1990s, affordable audio recording technologies enabled more Indonesian musicians to produce and distribute *hadrah* music albums, often integrating local traditions, particularly the syncretic genre exemplified by Nasida Ria’s *qasidah moderen*. An example is an album produced in the early 1990s by Al-Muhibbin, a Banjarese diaspora group based in Tulungagung, East Java. Widely recognised in East Java’s *hadrah* scene, Al-Muhibbin Tulungagung, along with figures like Guru Sekumpul and Al-Asyiqien Bangil, shapes contemporary *hadrah* practices. Their *al-banjari* musical style features prominently in their performances and has become foundational in popular majelis settings. Al-Muhibbin continues to perform a routine involving reciting their early album repertoire, formalising *hadrah* as a musical practice during this era. The tradition of recorded *hadrah*, particularly within *al-banjari*, persists. Later albums, especially from the early 2000s, show a stronger influence from Near Eastern musical aesthetics. The chapter contextualises the development of *hadrah* within the late New Order’s Islamic turn and the post-Reformasi era. The New Order’s shift toward Islam, after initial hostility, increased the presence of Islamic practices, including *hadrah*, in public life, making it common at events like *mawlid* celebrations and competitive festivals. After *Reformasi*, public Islam gained traction, and *hadrah* became the dominant musical form in majelis, which became more widespread and varied. *Hadrah* remained the most preferred and enduring practice, despite the addition of songs and instruments.

Chapter 4 explores the role of *hadrah* in Indonesia’s Islamisation process, marked by the increasing presence of Islamic symbols and religious visibility. As an Islamic

tradition since at least the 19th century, *hadrah* has transformed through music albums, instrument adaptations, and diverse performance styles. Despite these changes, it retains its aesthetic appeal and reflects core Islamic values. Malaysia's *nasyid*, a popular genre of Islamic music often performed without instruments, has similarly evolved. The chapter focuses on *hadrah* performances on festival stages in East Java, illustrating the interplay between Islamisation, commercialisation, and digital media accessibility. Festivalisation is analysed as a negotiation between regulations and creative expressions. Two major *al-banjari* festivals—IQMA UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya and events organised by political figures and state institutions—are compared with earlier festivals to trace performance convention shifts. The complex regulatory frameworks governing these events aim to preserve tradition, elevate performance standards, and promote artistic excellence. Finally, the chapter examines how *hadrah al-banjari* engages audiences through social media platforms, drawing upon traditional roots while adapting to festivalisation and hybrid modes of presentation.

CHAPTER 2

SETTING THE STAGE: HADRAH IN ISLAMIC MUSICAL TRADITION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores Indonesian *hadrah* within the context of Islam and Islamic music. I argue that *hadrah*, as a form of musical performance, is unique while still linked to—using Frishkopf’s term—Islam’s global centre.⁶² *Hadrah* arises from localised Islam, with its local context and Islamic sacred rituals connected to more widespread Islamic practices worldwide. Therefore, *hadrah* is both local and global, originally typical. Following Rasmussen’s argument, percussive musical instruments are characteristic of Islamic music in Indonesia. They are found in several regions with different performances.⁶³ However, *hadrah* may also refer to *ḥaḍra*, a Sufi ritual that shares similar performances and aims. More broadly, as *hadrah* consists of *ṣalawāt* (blessings to the Prophet), the ritual is never foreign. To illustrate this, the chapter discusses *hadrah* within its Islamic context in Indonesia, Islamic music, and its historical roots in Indonesia (the East Indies). Discussions on Islamic music reveal the connection between *hadrah* and other types of Islamic music, while its history highlights its localisation, originality, as well as its global nature and typicality.

The first section provides a brief overview of Islam in Indonesia, including its history and characteristics. This section shows that Indonesian Muslims, particularly Javanese Muslims, have been—or still are—more receptive to non-Islamic influences. While the dynamics suggest a trend of increased Islamic adherence among Indonesian Muslims, their cultural expressions may remain largely unchanged. The second section addresses the role of music in Islam more broadly. It continues to be listened to and performed today. Since earlier periods, musical development has occurred within a complex context. Nonetheless, Muslims hold certain perspectives regarding the acceptance or rejection of music. Among these, the *duff*, or *terbang* and *rebana* in Bahasa Indonesia, are among the most universally accepted musical instruments. The third section focuses on *hadrah*, specifically the contemporary Indonesian term for Islamic songs accompanied by percussion instruments. Percussion instruments are widely used throughout Indonesia and are generally called *rebana*, *terbang*, or even *hadrah*. Accordingly, this chapter examines Islamic songs performed with percussion instruments in Indonesia.

⁶² Frishkopf and Spinetti, *Music, Sound, and Architecture in Islam*, 112–13.

⁶³ Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur’an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*.

2.2 Islam and Music in Indonesia

Indonesia is the most populous Muslim country in the world.⁶⁴ Southeast Asia, located at the intersection of two ancient trading zones, was heavily influenced by India due to geographical factors. These trading zones facilitated communication between Southeast Asians and foreigners, leading to two possible processes of Islamisation: through trading contact and subsequent conversion by indigenous people, or through the permanent settlement of foreign Asians who were already Muslims, intermarriage, and adoption of local lifestyles, resulting in the formation of Indonesian, Malay, or other ethnic identities.⁶⁵ Even though the arrival of Muslims may have occurred earlier, there are numerous theories about the period of the beginning of Islamisation in Southeast Asia, particularly in the Indonesian region. However, since the 13th century, evidence of Islam in Indonesia has become more substantial. This evidence began with the discovery of the first Islamic kingdom in Indonesian territory, Lamreh, located in Sumatra. The graveyard of Sultan Sulaymān b. ‘Abdullāh, who passed away in 1211, is a testament to this kingdom. Foreign reports from Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta further enhance the significance of this evidence. In 1292 AD, Marco Polo observed that Perlak was a Muslim town during his visit to Sumatra. In contrast, Ibn Battuta, who passed through Samudra in 1345-1346 AD, found that the ruler was a Muslim.⁶⁶ However, the lack of evidence makes it difficult to understand the political history and the process of Islamisation in Indonesia during the 14th and 15th centuries.⁶⁷

Since the late 15th century, powerful Islamic Sultanates emerged, including Demak in the late 15th century, Aceh and Mataram in the 16th century, and Gowa in the 17th century. Demak, the most prominent Islamic state on Java’s north coast, defeated Majapahit in the early 16th century and conquered Pajajaran, the last significant Hindu-Buddhist state in Java, in 1579. However, the Demak Sultanate declined and fell in the 17th

⁶⁴ “Muslim Population by Country 2025,” accessed April 22, 2025, <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/muslim-population-by-country>.

⁶⁵ M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200*, 3. ed (Palgrave, 2001), 3. See also, Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi pesantren: studi pandangan hidup kyai dan visinya mengenai masa depan Indonesia*, Cet. 8 rev (LP3ES, 2011); Ricklefs, *Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java*; Michael Francis Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past*, Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics (Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁶⁶ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200*. Zamakhsyari Dhofier argues argues different. He states that Islam, even Islamic education started in the 10th century. See, Dhofier, *Tradisi pesantren*, 28-32.

⁶⁷ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200*, 18. But it is important to note that before those centuries, Muslims were evidenced to exist in Indonesia. For instances, the gravestones near the court of Hindu-Buddhist Majapahit were dated to around 13th century. See, Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200*, 5–6.

century. In contrast, Mataram, the most powerful and longest-lasting modern Javanese dynasty, reached its peak during Sultan Agung's reign (1614-1645 AD), who conquered East Java and the north coast of Java. Similarly, the Aceh Sultanate's peak occurred in the 17th century under the rule of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1603-1636), who dominated the western archipelago.⁶⁸ In the 17th century, the Dutch, through the VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Dutch East Indies Company), came and started to seize many areas of (now) Indonesia, starting with Ambon, establishing a base in Jayakarta (later Batavia), and a series of confrontations with the indigenous. After VOC's bankruptcy in 1799 AD, the Dutch *directly* colonised Indonesia since 1800 AD.⁶⁹

In the early stages of Islamisation, Sufism played a pivotal role in shaping the course of Islam in Indonesia. Numerous, if not most, 'ulamā' who contributed to the establishment of Muslim communities and institutions in Southeast Asia had Sufi affiliations. For instance, Hamzah Fansuri (d. 1599 AD), whose works exemplify an ecstatic passion for union with God, was a prominent figure in Sufism. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Singkel, a teacher of the Shattāriyya order, was a scholar who wrote extensively on *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and *fiqh*, as well as on the spiritual practice of *dhikr* and the concept of Unity of Being. Another example is shown by the investiture of Sultan Iskandar Muda by his *Shaykh al-Islām*, Shams al-Dīn.⁷⁰ There were slight differences in Java. In Java, particularly Mataram, the influence of mysticism was significant. Following Ricklefs' term, within the expansive realm of Sufism, there existed 'Mystic Synthesis', which encompassed being Javanese and Muslim, observing the five pillars of Islam, and accepting the local Javanese spiritual forces, including Ratu Kidul (the Goddess of the Southern Ocean), Sunan Lawu (the Spirit of Mount Lawu, a wind god), and numerous lesser spiritual beings.⁷¹ The idea of mystic synthesis seems to extend to cultural matters. There are cultural forms from the pre-Islamic past, such as the shadow theatre, and archaeological monuments that represent the pre-Islamic past, such as Borobudur, that still exist. Another approach regarding culture is assimilating many elements of Javanese culture with Islam. For instance, the Javanese *gamelan* ensemble named *gamelan sekati* was played in the mosque.⁷²

⁶⁸ Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*; Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200*; Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud and H. J. De Graaf, *Islamic States in Java 1500–1700: Eight Dutch Books and Articles by Dr H.J. de Graaf* (Springer Netherlands, 1976), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-7187-6>.

⁶⁹ R. B. Cribb and Audrey Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, 2nd ed, Historical Dictionaries of Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East, no. 51 (Scarecrow Press, 2004).

⁷⁰ Anthony H. Johns, "Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26, no. 1 (1995): 169–83.

⁷¹ Ricklefs, *Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java*, 7.

⁷² Ricklefs, *Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java*; Józef M. Pacholczyk, "Music and Islam in Indonesia," *The World of Music* 28, no. 3 (1986): 3–12.

After the Independence of Indonesia in 1945, Islamic groups had many confrontations with secularists, particularly the communists. After a series of conflicts, the latter group was demolished after G30S (*Gerakan 30 September*, 30 September Movement), which was quickly followed by the regime change from Sukarno to Soeharto.⁷³ Suharto's regime, the New Order, came the power with hostility to Islam through his opposition to anything that might expand Muslim influence in Indonesian politics and society.⁷⁴ However, the New Order period was later the witness to the re-emergence of Islamic awakening, modernisation, and commercialisation. The latter two aspects were due to global technological development. To name a few effects on Indonesian Muslims, starting in the 1980s, Islamic songs and music developed along with the growth of the national music industry. Thus, forms of *syncretic* music were born, combining existing genres with Islamic basics. The genres are such *dangdut*, *indang*, *solawat*, etc., with popular names such as Rhoma Irama and Kyai Kanjeng.⁷⁵ Rhoma Irama, a dangdut singer, blends his musical albums with songs that incorporate a missionary (*da'wa*) element, thus presenting Islam with a fresh and appealing image. On the other hand, Kyai Kanjeng, led by Emha Ainun Nadjib, infuses their Javanese traditions with Islamic elements, incorporating gamelan and Western instruments like the violin and guitar.⁷⁶ The Islamic music continues, and even increases in the post-New Order. There are pop genre music bands such as Ungu, Opick, Wali, and rock genres by Gigi and Slank, and older rooted Islamic genres such as gambus through Sabyan Gambus.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, although there are several types of Indonesian Islamic music, the more traditional form of the type still exists, if not also increasing. The evidence is the emergence of *majelises* that utilise Islamic music in the form of *hadrah* to accompany the *ṣalawāt* recitation. The *majelis* is significant. For instance, Majelis Rasulullah has held an event attracting 50—100,000 participants, and the event was attended by the (then) President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Other similar significant *majelises* are, namely,

⁷³ John Roosa, *Dalih Pembunuhan Massal: Gerakan 30 September Dan Kudeta Suharto* (Institut Sejarah Sosial Indonesia dan Hasta Mitra, 2008).

⁷⁴ Hefner, "Chapter 3. Islamization and Democratization in Indonesia," 75. That may be caused by Islamicists movements such as DI/TII (Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia, Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army). See, Chiara Formichi, "Pan-Islam and Religious Nationalism: The Case of Kartosuwiryo and Negara Islam Indonesia," *Indonesia*, Trans-Regional Indonesia over One Thousands Years, no. 90 (2010): 22.

⁷⁵ Barendregt and van Zanten, "Popular Music in Indonesia since 1998, in Particular Fusion, Indie and Islamic Music on Video Compact Discs and the Internet." Notosudirdjo, "Kyai Kanjeng: Islam and the Search for National Music in Indonesia."

⁷⁶ Notosudirdjo, "Kyai Kanjeng: Islam and the Search for National Music in Indonesia."

⁷⁷ Rijal, "Consuming and Disputing Aisha Song: The Quest for Pleasure & Islamic Romance in Contemporary Indonesia". See also, Weintraub, *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia*; Rasmussen, "The Arab Musical Aesthetic in Indonesian Islam," 2005.

Nurul Musthofa (based in Jakarta), Ahbabul Musthofa (based in Solo), and Az-Zahir (based in Pekalongan).⁷⁸ All of the aforementioned hadith include the ṣalawāt recitation, and thus, the *hadrah* during the *majelis*.

Hadrah, a performance of singing Islamic songs, is commonly known as *sholawat* in Indonesia. These songs are accompanied by *terbang*, a frame drum measuring approximately 30 centimetres, played by striking it with the hand. While there have been many *hadrah* practices incorporating additional musical instruments in recent times, *terbang* remains the most essential aspect of this traditional performance. Historically, *terbang* has long filled the Indonesian soundscape, in the context of Islamic rituals or general musical performances. The following section discusses the historical background of *hadrah* in the Indonesian context through its essential instrument, namely the *terbang*, *rebana*, or *duff*.

2.3 Earlier Indonesian Hadrah

“Doch een tambourijn, wie kent die niet?”

The question posed by Pleyte, Jr. to L. Serrurier was rhetorical. The reason for this was the lapsus calami in the guidebook written by Pleyte Jr. He believed that he couldn't consider the *tambourijn* as a wind instrument. He also mentioned that if he had used the Javanese *terbang* or the Malay *rabana*, there might not have been any reason to suspect him of ignorance. Then, he rhetorically asked a question, “Who doesn't know the *tambourijn*?”⁷⁹ The article was issued in 1888, and it may tell little about the musical performance of *terbang*, but it indicates the popularity of *terbang* during the 19th century in the East Indies (later Indonesia).

Moving backwards to circa the 15th century, there is a story about the reign of Raden Patah (the first sultan of the Demak Sultanate). During those periods, it is said that Sunan Kudus (one of the popular saints of Java), alongside 300 ulama, stayed in Majapahit. They in day and night recite the Quran, praying *hāja*, *terbañan*, *dalilan*, and *dhikr*.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Rijal, *Defending Traditional Islam in Indonesia*. See also, Zamhari and Mustofa, “THE POPULAR DA'WAH MOVEMENT IN URBAN COMMUNITIES”; Agha, Albert Nasser, “Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia.” For the note, Az-Zahir is not mentioned in those works, but its number in social media is huge. Its official account has 1,4 million of subscribers on YouTube and 900,000 followers on Instagram.

⁷⁹ C. M. Pleyte Jr, “Antwoord aan mr. L. Serrurier,” *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 's-Gravenhage* (Amsterdam), Mei 1888, 120th ed.

⁸⁰ G. W. J. Drewes, “The Struggle between Javanism and Islam as Illustrated by the Serat Dermagandul,” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 122, no. 3 (1966): 346, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90002925>. More on Islamic States in Jawa, see *Babad Tanah Jawi, The Chronicle of Java: The*

Drewes notes that *terbanian* is a religious meeting, where the mawlid is recited under the accompaniment of *terbang*.⁸¹ But Serat Darmagandul, as a historical source, is questionable regarding its accuracy and authenticity. Raden Patah and Sunan Kudus died in the 16th century, but the oldest manuscript of Serat Darmagandul dates to the 19th century (1878/1879).⁸²

There are many historical accounts from the 19th century regarding *hadrah* (the instrument, the ritual, or both). Through a journey report published in 1832, *rabana goenoeng*, alongside other musical instruments (such as gamelan), were played to enliven the market and attract tourists. However, the account only informs that those instruments accompany *mountain songs* (*bergtal zongen*).⁸³ P. P. Eysinga published another report in 1834, consisting of *rebana* as one of the musical instruments for the Ambonese people.⁸⁴

The two above-mentioned reports do not specify that rebana was played in religious rituals. But it means that *rabana* and the *duff* can function as percussion instruments, and are not necessarily connected to religious traditions. However, a journal published in 1852 provides a detailed account of a religious ritual accompanied by *rabana*. The source mentioned that on Thursday nights, several religious leaders and children would play *rabana* to accompany the recitation of ‘*salawak*’ (which should probably be ‘*salawat*’). Additionally, the account noted that the religious leaders received money and food as compensation for their participation in the activity.⁸⁵

Information about the *rabana* can also be found in the book *Oendang-oendang Mendirikan Chatieb* (1861). The preacher and the Friday prayer leader are escorted to the mosque by a procession of *rabanas*.⁸⁶ Another account about *rabana* and religious activities can be found in *Magdalena* (published in 1871). The description mentions young people gathering in a prayer room to sing sacred songs, accompanied by a *terbung* or *rabana*. The title of the book, *Inlandsche Vrouwen te Batavia*, suggests that the context of

Revised Prose Version of C.F. Winter Sr (Amsterdam University Press, 2022); Pigeaud and De Graaf, *Islamic States in Java 1500–1700*.

⁸¹ Drewes, “The Struggle between Javanism and Islam as Illustrated by the Serat Dermagandul,” 346.

⁸² Drewes, “The Struggle between Javanism and Islam as Illustrated by the Serat Dermagandul,” 327.

⁸³ P. P. Roorda Eysinga, *Verschillende reizen en lotgevallen* (Johannes van der Hey en zoon, 1832), 4:96.

⁸⁴ P. P. Roorda van Eysinga, *Indie, Ter Bevordering Der Kennis van Nederlands Oostersche Bezettingen*, vol. 2 (Boekdrukkerij van de Gebroeders NYS, 1843).

⁸⁵ *Tijdschrift Voor Neerland's Indië Jrg 14, 1852 (2e Deel), No 10*, Lands-Drukkerij, (schatting), 276–77, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ds:2804005:mpeg21:0020>.

⁸⁶ *KITAB OENDANG-OENDANG MENDIRIEKAN IMAM CHATIEB* (Lande-Drukkerij, 1861), 8.

the place being described is Batavia. Although *Magdalena* was published in 1871, the small report, titled *Inlandsche Vrouwen te Batavia*, was completed in July 1870.⁸⁷



Figure 2.1. A photograph of *terbang* and *gamelan* players.
(KITLV)⁸⁸

In the late 19th century, a work entitled *Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is fī Bayān as'ila al-ḥādīth* consists of a question regarding the permissibility of whether the *duff* is permissible or not. Nico Kaptein argues that the work was meant for Southeast Asians because the work was written in Arabic letters in Malay translation. Thus, the use of frame drums to accompany the reading of the mawlid has also been widely practised at the end of the 19th century.⁸⁹ In the early 20th century, using frame drums to accompany Islamic songs was evidenced by an Islamic music competition held during mawlid celebrations. The competition was held in Tasikmalaja⁹⁰, and 60 local groups of participants followed it. Each group performed one religious song, accompanied by the ‘superior musical instrument for the Mawlid celebration,’ namely, *terbang*.⁹¹ However, other evidence shows that *terbang* was (still) not exclusively used to accompany Islamic songs, because it was also played as another musical instrument.

⁸⁷ J. A. Schuurman Johns, and L. R. Beynen Beynen, eds., *Magdalena* (W. H. Kirberger, 1871), 76.

⁸⁸ “Rebana En Gamelanspelers Op Java | Digital Collections,” accessed April 22, 2025, https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/788228?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=af44a890df5873cc9074&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=0&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=0.

⁸⁹ Kaptein, “The Berdiri Mawlid Issue among Indonesian Muslims in the Period from circa 1875 to 1930.”

⁹⁰ Now Tasikmalaya, West Java.

⁹¹ “Algemeen Handelsblad Voor Nederlandsch-Indië,” *Algemeen Handelsblad Voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Semarang), June 30, 1934, Dag Edition, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:000456118:mpeg21:a00098>.

In the first half of the 20th century, there were a lot of ‘*terbang-orkest*’ in Dutch newspaper advertising columns.⁹² Other performances advertised in the newspapers include *ketoprak*, *gamelan*, *keroncong orchestra*, and others. According to *Over toonschalen en instrumenten van West-Java*, ‘*terbang-orkest*’ is a musical performance in which there are 3 *Terbang*, 1 *trumpet*, 1 *drum*, 1 *kulanter*, and 1 *gong*.⁹³ Moreover, from *Over toonschalen en instrumenten van West-Java*, there is an explanation of the contents of the *terbangan* performance. Several types of *terbang* (*terbangan*) are explained. For Islamic-related musical performances, there are *Terbang Selamat* and *Terbang Moemoeloedan*. *Terbang Selamat* consists of four *Terbang* and one drum. *Terbang Selamat* is used for religious songs.⁹⁴

Terbang Moemoeloedan has the same function as *Terbang Selamat*, which accompanies religious songs. The difference lies in the number of *terbang* musical instruments it contains. If *Terbang Selamat* consists of four *terbangs* and one drum, *Terbang Moemoeloedan* consists of five *terbang* and one fairly large *badjidor*. The five *terbang* also have their own names, namely *indeng*, *todjotjarang*, *tempa*, *kempyang*, and *anak*. Compared to *Terbang Selamat*, *Terbang Moemoeloedan* seems to be a more complex unit.⁹⁵ However, in terms of musical composition, these two are the closest forms of *hadrah* compared to the present-day *hadrah*.



Figure 2.2. *Terbang Selamat*, an assembly that consists of four *terbangs* and one drum.
(Source: *Over toonschalen en instrumenten van West-Java*, 1923)⁹⁶

⁹² See, for instances, “De Locomotief,” November 10, 1938; “De Locomotief,” May 13, 1939; “De Locomotief,” May 15, 1939; “Algemeen Handelsblad Voor Nederlandsch-Indië,” November 10, 1938; “Algemeen Handelsblad Voor Nederlandsch-Indië,” November 11, 1938”

⁹³ Kunst, J., *Over Toonschalen En Instrumenten van West-Java*, 30.

⁹⁴ Kunst, J., *Over Toonschalen En Instrumenten van West-Java*, 30–31.

⁹⁵ Kunst, J., *Over Toonschalen En Instrumenten van West-Java*, 30–31.

⁹⁶ Kunst, J., *Over Toonschalen En Instrumenten van West-Java*, 28.



Figure 2.3. *Terbang* from Berdjandji Village, District of Soekaboemi.
(Source: *Over toonschalen en instrumenten van West-Java*, 1923)⁹⁷

Moving to East Java, Shaykh Hāshim Ash‘arī, the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama⁹⁸, wrote his testimony about the *terbang* performance in *mawlid* celebrations. That testimony is recorded in his book, entitled *al-Tanbīhāt al-wājibāt li-man yaṣna‘ al-mawlid bi’l-munkarāt*, written in 1355 AH (1936 AD). The introduction of the book contains many reasons for writing the book. One of the reasons is that he saw a group of *santris*, men and women, celebrate *mawlid* while also gathering themselves (men and women), dancing, and hitting each other. One of the rituals was playing *terbang*. The book consists of warnings for Muslims not to commit such forbidden things, and playing *terbang* is not among the forbidden things.⁹⁹

In a similar period, KH. Saifuddin Zuhri, the Minister of Religious Affairs (1962—1967), wrote his story of learning *terbang* together with his friends in a *pesantren*. He started with introducing *genjringan*, which also means *trebangan* or *terbangan*. He wrote, “A group of players of about 5 or 6 people beat the *genjring* or rebana with a diameter of about 30 cm. The frame is made of wood painted in striking colours. The base is made of finely shaved and dried sheepskin, jerked by strong rattan slices tracing the entire circle so that it becomes loud when hit. On both edges are given ears made of thin metal to make a jingling sound, adding the harmony of the rebana sound. Behind the team of *genjring* players, sit several rows of singers who sing poems accompanying the sound of the rebana. The poems are all in Arabic and are generally taken from certain parts of the *Mawlid al-Barzanji* book.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Kunst, J., *Over Toonschalen En Instrumenten van West-Java*, 29.

⁹⁸ The biggest Islamic organization in Indonesia

⁹⁹ Ash‘arī, Muḥammad Hāshim, *Al-Tanbīhāt al-Wājibāt Li-Man Yaṣna‘ al-Mawlid Bi’l-Munkarāt*.

¹⁰⁰ Saifuddin Zuhri, *Guruku Orang-Orang Dari Pesantren*, Cet. 1 (Pustaka Sastra LKiS Yogyakarta, 2001), 73. Even it was published in 2001, the story is about KH. Saifuddin Zuhri in his early periods

Not long after the 1945 Independence, *hadrah* came as a tool for cultural warfare between Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the Communist Party of Indonesia (*Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI*). The conflict between Islamic organisations and PKI was not new, even at that time. The animosity was rooted in the 1920s, and it was getting worse until bloodshed and violence happened in the 1960s. During the 1950s, Islamisation in Java was challenged and opposed by Communists. One of the pursuits was to set up groups to perform *angklung* by Communist-affiliated organisations, while NU supported Islamic-style arts such as *rebana* and *hadrah*. That ‘contest’ happened in Banyuwangi, East Java.¹⁰¹ Besides the affiliation with NU or Islamic organisations, *hadrah* was also an important event in *pesantren*s. Clifford Geertz notes in his *Religion of Java* that *terbang* is usually performed as an amusement during special occasions such as graduation in a *pesantren*.¹⁰²

However, these accounts highlight the significance of *hadrah* in Indonesia, particularly in Java, but none of them provide an exact performance of *hadrah*. This could be due to the complexity of the performance or the fact that the meaning of *hadrah*, as Islamic songs (and often simplified as *sholawat*, blessing to the Prophet), accompanied by *terbang* percussions, varies across different regions. According to Rasmussen, percussion is widely spread in Indonesia, with its own characteristics and varieties.¹⁰³ The instances are such *qasidah rebana* and *hajir marawis*, or the less acknowledged forms, such as ISHARI¹⁰⁴, *tabuhan cakak* and *tabuhan turunan*¹⁰⁵, or *terbang gede*¹⁰⁶. But in terms of the

of learning in *pesantren*. As he was born in 1919, it is logical to say that the event occurred around the time of Shaykh Hāshim Ash‘arī wrote *al-Tanbīhāt*.

¹⁰¹ Ricklefs, *Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java*, 103. In that regard, it’s crucial to acknowledge that the conflict was profound and it was logical to engage in any stage of competition. A significant factor was the Madiun Affair in 1948, when the PKI announced a new ‘National Front’ government and executed numerous PNI and Masyumi figures, including several prominent *kiais*.

¹⁰² Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, Nachdr., Anthropology/Comparative Religions (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996), 178.

¹⁰³ Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur’an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*, 48.

¹⁰⁴ Bunga Widiya Larashati et al., “Hadrah Ishari Art: Ethnomusicological Study At Sirojul Huda Islamic Boarding School In Purwosari Pasuruan Regency,” *Jurnal Seni Musik* 10, no. 2 (2021): 101–8, <https://doi.org/10.15294/jsm.v10i2.52333>. The practice of ISHARI relies on collective with certain movement patterns called *rodat*, which are followed by the audience, or that the audiences are considered as the performers. Furthermore, the *terbang* used in ISHARI performance has a thinner shape compared to the *terbangs* discussed above. With the different shape, the sound is also different.

¹⁰⁵ Iswanto, “UNDERSTANDING HADRAH ART AS THE LIVING AL-QUR’AN.” *Tabuhan cakak* and *turunan* also consist of dance, while the practice is different because of the pattern of the performance.

¹⁰⁶ Suhaya et al., “Percussion Pattern of *Terebang Gede* in Panggung Jati Studio, Panggung Jati Village, Serang.” *Terebang gede* comprises five distinct percussion instruments: *terbang gede*, with a diameter of 38–40cm; *sela*, with a diameter of 18–20cm; *penganak*, with a diameter of 15–17cm; *kempul*, with a diameter of 18-20cm; and *koneng*, with a diameter of 12–18cm.

practice and performance, those *hadrah* forms are not *the hadrah* performed in Indonesian popular *majelises*.

2.4 Islamic Music and Hadrah

Music and Islam have been one of the subjects debated for decades. As there is no authority in Islam to authorise an official rule of religious-related debates, there are a lot of views regarding music in Islam. The Quran, the primary source of Islam, does not consist of a direct reference to music in its permissibility or prohibition. However, many hadiths report direct references to music negatively.¹⁰⁷ Al-Bukhārī, the most authoritative narrator of hadith, narrated a hadith consisting of a warning that there will be a time when musical instruments (*al-ma'āzif*) (alongside other bad things such as adultery) that society considered permissible.¹⁰⁸ Despite these accounts, the debate continues as both groups of Muslims, those who consider music permissible and those who do not, present their own arguments. Those who allow music often cite historical events showing its presence during the Prophet's time, challenge the authenticity of the aforementioned hadith and others, argue pragmatically about music's beneficial effects, or analyse its legality.

But what is Islamic music? According to Lois Ibsen al-Faruqī, the word music is equal to the Arabic word *mūsīqā*. It means music in general, as universally understood by Western ethnomusicologists, Muslims, and even Muslim jurists. Therefore, it needs to be specified in a more detailed manner because there are many Arabic expressions existing under the inclusive word 'music'. Another reason is that in most practices, *mūsīqā* is understood to be applied to secular music genres. *Mūsīqā* can consist of various musical instruments such as strings, winds, and percussion. But for religious genres, music is better understood as *handasa al-ṣawt* (sound-art expression). The tonal musical instruments may or may not be performed. *Handasa al-ṣawt* means that tonal expressions (may) come from the human voice and then are accompanied by musical (percussion) instruments. In the highest hierarchy of *handasa al-ṣawt*, there are legitimate forms of the Islamic genre, such as the Quran recitation, *adhān*, *talbiya*, etc. and the less legitimised forms, such as *bashraf*, *dā'ira*, *samā'ī*, etc. Those are all musical, but the legitimate forms are not regarded by Muslims as music.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ See, Muhammad Al-Atawneh, "Leisure and Entertainment (Malāhī) in Contemporary Islamic Legal Thought: Music and the Audio-Visual Media," *Islamic Law and Society* 19, no. 4 (2012): 397–415, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851912X639932>; Fārūqī, "Music, Musicians and Muslim Law"; Shiloah, "Music and Religion in Islam."

¹⁰⁸ Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, 1st ed. (Dār Ibn Kathīr, 2002), 1421.

¹⁰⁹ Fārūqī, "Music, Musicians and Muslim Law."

Despite ongoing debates on the permissibility of music, musical involvement can be found in various religious rites among different groups of Muslims. Mawlid, as a celebratory event by Sunni Muslims, are often understood as a musical performance. The event features a group of performers who act as soloists, chanting the free-rhythmed style part of the hagiography of the Prophet. Additionally, various musical instruments are used during the vocal lines of the mawlid being chanted.¹¹⁰ Similarly, in India and Pakistan, Shi'a *majlis* express grief over the Karbala tragedy through rhythmic chants and poetry. Other examples include *qawwālī*, *dhikr*, *samā'*, and *ḥaḍra*, which are associated with Sufism. Qawwālī is an event of hymns on poetry accompanied by percussion. It is traditionally intended to emphasise mystical love through praising God, the Prophet, imams, or saints.¹¹¹ Similarly, Samā', which means "listening" or "audition," encompasses the act of listening to music, singing, chanting, and measured recitation. These practices are aimed at evoking religious emotions and ecstasy (*wajd*).¹¹²

Sufism, or generally ascetic groups of Muslims, are known to be more open to music, even though several Sufi theologians cautiously accepted music or even rejected it completely. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111 AD), a prominent Islamic theologian, endeavoured to reconcile orthodoxy and Sufism through *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. One of the key aspects of this endeavour was the samā' debates. During the 12th century, the Hanbalites came into power, coinciding with the flourishing of literature. The debate on whether samā' was permissible or not became increasingly prominent through works of literature by big figures such as *Talbīs Iblīs* by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200 AD), *Majmū' al-rasā'il al-kubrā* by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328 AD), *'Awārif al-ma'ārif* by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 1636 AD), and others.¹¹³ After considerable periods of debate by legalists and Sufis regarding samā', the disapproval by legalists seems to have little effect.¹¹⁴ During the Ottoman period, as music flourished, Sufi orders were characterised by using the *ney* (a rim-blown vertical reed flute).¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, music is not universally accepted by Sufi orders. For instance,

¹¹⁰ Fārūqī, "The Mawlid."; Qureshi, "Indo-Muslim Religious Music, an Overview."

¹¹¹ Qureshi, "Indo-Muslim Religious Music, an Overview."

¹¹² Gribetz, "The Sama' Controversy."

¹¹³ Gribetz, "The Sama' Controversy."

¹¹⁴ Gribetz, "The Sama' Controversy," 60.

¹¹⁵ Banu Senay, "Artists, Antagonisms and the *Ney* in the Popularization of 'Sufi Music' in Turkey," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 18, no. 1 (2015): 52–69, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549414557805>. In addition, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505 AD) warned about the reed flute being used in mawlid celebrations. He mentioned that the reed flute was used to be played during samā' Nicolaas J. G. Kaptein, *Muḥammad's Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and Development in the Muslim West until the 10th/16th Century* (Brill, 1993), 58.

Suhrawardiyya and Naqshabandiyya orders prohibit the use of music but allow mystical poetry, which is performed only with frame drums.¹¹⁶

The frame drum is arguably the most universally accepted *musical* instrument among Muslims, because it is not a string or wind musical instrument, as hadith textually forbids those instruments. On the contrary, the *duff* (frame drum) occurred during the Prophet's time on special occasions such as wedding ceremonies and feast days. Those hadiths are interpreted as total permissibility of playing frame drums, or the permissibility of playing frame drums with certain rules to fulfil.¹¹⁷ As one of the musical instruments, the frame drum is one of the oldest musical instruments in the world, and also the most basic Arabic instrument. The use of the frame drum can be combined with other percussion instruments such as *tabla* (a handheld drum shaped like a goblet), *riqq* (a handheld tambourine), *sajat* (a set of brass finger cymbals), etc., on many musical occasions.¹¹⁸ But in Islamic specific occasions, among those Suhrawardiyya and Naqshabandiyya rites, the frame drum is said to be one of the key components of Sufi musical practice.¹¹⁹

In contemporary Indonesia, the duff is well-known for accompanying Islamic songs. Specifically, the musical performance of Islamic songs accompanied by the duff is called *hadrah*, which can be found in many popular and big *majelis* in contemporary Indonesia, such as Majelis Nurul Musthofa, Ahbabul Musthofa, etc.¹²⁰ The term *hadrah* is derived from the Arabic term *ḥaḍra* (presence). In the Sufis' term, *ḥaḍra* is also found as a temporally fixed and synchronised collective sonic practice involving chanting and singing that aims to invoke and express the presence of saints.¹²¹ Except for *expressing the presence of saints*, both *hadrahs* consist of and aim the same. Despite those similarities, the accompaniment of percussive accompaniment for Islamic songs (*salawāt* and *qaṣīda*) is common in Sulawesi, Java, Kalimantan, and Sumatra. It is also common to find learning

¹¹⁶ Gribetz, "The Sama' Controversy," 62.

¹¹⁷ 'Abīr bint 'Alī al-Mudayfir, "Aḥkām Ḍarb Al-Duff," *Majalla Al-Jam'iyya al-Su'ūdiyya* 15 (2013): 229–97. See also Jonas Otterbeck, *The Awakening of Islamic Pop Music* (Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 182.

¹¹⁸ Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*, 53–62.

¹¹⁹ Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur'an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*, 10. See also, for instance, Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*, 128. *Muwashshah* is said to be one of the more controversial Islamic music by al-Faruqi, "Music, Musicians and Muslim Law," but Farraj and Shumays state that the *muwashshah* singers who learn music from Sufi circles later maintain their *muwashshah* performance only accompanied by frame drums.

¹²⁰ For more, see Rijal, *Defending Traditional Islam in Indonesia*; Zamhari and Mustofa, "THE POPULAR DA'WAH MOVEMENT IN URBAN COMMUNITIES"; Agha, Albert Nasser, "Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia."

¹²¹ Frishkopf and Spinetti, *Music, Sound, and Architecture in Islam*, 112.

activities of Islamic songs in the form of interlocking percussive instruments, in urban and rural areas in Indonesia.¹²²



Figure 2.4. *Hadrah* notation.

(Source: Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia, p. 77)¹²³

In his work, Agha provides a line of notation of the practice of the present *hadrah*, centred in the *al-banjari* pattern of performance. It shows that it is unlike any Arabic rhythmic modes, because the beat is more and tighter. The second locality is that *hadrah* has two patterns and thus has to be played by at least two persons.¹²⁴ The interlocking patterns show the communality of *hadrah al-banjari*, compared to the more individualistic performance in the Near Eastern cyclical rhythmic patterns (*iqāʿ*). *Iqāʿ* can be performed individually without missing a beat, using percussion instruments such as the *duff* and *tabla*. Even though it may be accomplished through different interlocking patterns, the interlocking patterns originate from various percussion instruments.¹²⁵

The tighter beat that *hadrah* has can be discerned by comparing its *iqāʿ* patterns with those of *hadrah*. Since *hadrah* is in the 4/4 time signature, I will show the *iqāʿ* patterns in that time signature.



Figure 2.5. *Iqāʿ* Maqsum.

(Source: Inside Arabic Music, pp. 107—108)¹²⁶



Figure 2.6. *Iqāʿ* Baladi (Masmudi Saghir).

(Source: Inside Arabic Music, p. 108)¹²⁷

¹²² Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qurʿan, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*, 182–83. See also Agha, Albert Nasser, “Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia.”

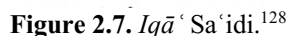
¹²³ Agha, Albert Nasser, “Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia,” 77. Nevertheless, the notation drawn by Agha only covers a small portion of the *al-banjari* patterns, which consist of further rhythmical patterns that are understood in the present day as numbers 2 to 5 (See, Chapter 4).

¹²⁴ Agha, Albert Nasser, “Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia.”

¹²⁵ Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*, 88–103.

¹²⁶ Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*, 107–8.

¹²⁷ Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*, 108.



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There are two similarities between the *hadrah* pattern and the aforementioned *iqā'* patterns. The first similarity is from *iqā'* Sa'idi, which has the same *dum* and *tak* sounds in the eighth note as the *hadrah* pattern. The second similarity is from *iqā'* Hacha', which also has the eighth note as the *hadrah* pattern, but in a different mode, as illustrated in Albert Agha's notation.¹³⁶ While the notation is not incorrect, it is incomplete. The rhythm doesn't end there, as there are sequential patterns to be continued during the performance, which I discuss in the next chapter. Additionally, in the next chapter, there is a discussion referring to an older *hadrah* music album that consists of the same kind of performance pattern.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that *hadrah* embodies traditional Islamic music in Indonesia. It shares similarities with the interlock model, particularly in the widespread distribution of percussion music throughout the country. The use of the *terbang* serves as a symbol of caution, reflecting the Islamic tradition's less favourable stance towards musical instruments other than the *terbang*. Historically, the *terbang*'s use in accompanying Islamic rituals further underscores the connection, continuity, and profound depth of the *hadrah* tradition, which leads to the locality and originality of the *hadrah* performance, while also being connected to the more established and centred Islamic rituals such as *ḥaḍra* and *mawlid* recitation and celebration.

¹³⁶ Agha, Albert Nasser, "Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia," 77.

CHAPTER 3

ESTABLISHED HADRAH AND ISLAMIC TURN: A VIEW ON HADRAH RECORDING ALBUMS AND PUBLIC PERFORMANCES

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, while there are pieces of evidence suggesting the historicity of *hadrah* in Indonesia, there is limited information about its exact performance. In this chapter, I present one of the oldest *hadrah* music recordings as a benchmark for understanding the continuity and changes in *hadrah* practices in Indonesia. In the 1990s, there were mass-produced *hadrah* recorded albums. The period is concurrent after the advent of affordable audio recording technology, more Indonesian musicians have been able to produce music albums. These albums often incorporate residual local traditions, particularly the syncretic genre exemplified by Nasida Ria's *qasidah moderen*.¹³⁷ Among those albums, there is a *hadrah* music album released in the early 1990s by a Banjarese diaspora group named Al-Muhibbin from Tulungagung, East Java. Al-Muhibbin Tulungagung is a well-known *hadrah* group in East Java, and alongside Guru Sekumpul (KH. Zaini Abdul Ghani, Martapura, d. 2005) and Al-Asyiqien Bangil, East Java (also Banjarese diaspora), are popular in practising and influencing *hadrah*, and the most essential *hadrah* patterns in popular *majelis* consist of *al-banjari* as the musical pattern.¹³⁸ Al-Muhibbin is still performing what is called *amaliyah*, a routine that involves reciting the same songs as on the album. Al-Muhibbin's album marks the more established *hadrah* performance in a musical sense, which also indicates the establishment of this kind of practice during the period.

The recorded *hadrah*, specifically in the *al-banjari* sub-genre, continues. The later albums exhibit a more pronounced influence from Near Eastern songs. I discuss a brief discussion of the early 2000s albums, confirmed through a series of interviews with the performers. The influence may reveal the connection between Indonesian Muslims and the Near East through the ease and accessibility of technology, but it may also align with Rasmussen's and Birgit Berg's findings on a sense of authenticity and religiosity in Arabic musical aesthetics.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Barendregt and van Zanten, "Popular Music in Indonesia since 1998, in Particular Fusion, Indie and Islamic Music on Video Compact Discs and the Internet"; Barendregt and Yampolsky, *Sonic Modernities in the Malay World*; Bernard, "To Propagate Morals through Popular Music: The Indonesian Qasidah Moderen."

¹³⁸ Rusyadi, "DIASPORA, EKSISTENSI, DAN DINAMIKA DAGANG WARGA KETURUNAN BANJAR DI TULUNGAGUNG"; Rusydi et al., *Shalawat Al-Banjari*.

¹³⁹ Rasmussen, "The Arab Musical Aesthetic in Indonesian Islam," 2005; Harnish and Rasmussen, *Divine Inspiration*, 347.

This chapter continues with a discussion of *hadrah* within the Islamic turn in the late New Order and post-Reformasi political stances. The New Order shifted towards a more Islamic approach, a departure from its previous, more hostile stance towards Islam in public life. This shift made Islam more prominent in public spaces, with the *hadrah* as a distinguished representative. *Hadrah* was frequently seen at various public events, including mawlid celebrations, where it accompanied the festivities, or even in competitive settings. As public Islam gained further prominence, *hadrah* became the most significant musical practice in *majelis*, which gained popularity after the *Reformasi*. *Majelis* vary in their practices, incorporating additional songs and musical instruments that symbolise the harmonious blend of Islam and other aesthetics, but the practice of *hadrah* is preferred.

3.2 Al-Muhibbin Tulungagung and Earlier Hadrah Albums

“*Anta ma’a man ahabta*”

The album’s back cover consists of that line of hadith, narrated by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, that promises companionship with those who love the Prophet.¹⁴⁰ It’s presented as a promise made by the Prophet to those who love him. *Ṣalawāt*, one of the manifestations of love for the Prophet, is mentioned in this context. The line might also refer to the group’s name, Al-Muhibbin, which means “lovers of the Prophet.” The following paragraph delves into other promises made by the Prophet regarding the virtue of reciting *salawat*, including the fulfilment of desires, smooth provision, the elimination of sins, inner peace, and entry into heaven.

Al-Muhibbin is based in Tulungagung, East Java. It is said that the group was established in 1969 and gained popularity through their appearance in *ḥawl* events of popular figures, such as the *ḥawl* of Habib Abu Bakar bin Muhammad (Gresik, East Java) and Habib Muhammad bin Ali al-Habsyi Kwitang (Jakarta) in the 1970s and 1980s (83–88).¹⁴¹ Until the present day, although there have been many changes of personnel in the group, Al-Muhibbin has been performing in the *ḥawl* of a prominent Shādhiliyya master, KH. Mustaqim (d. 1970) in Pondok Pesulukan Thoriqot Agung (PETA), Tulungagung.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Muhammad Muhsin Khan, tran., *The Translation of the Meanings of Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī Arabic-English* (Darussalam, 1997), 7:110; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī et al., *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim: English Translation of Sahih Muslim*, 1st ed (Darussalam, 2007), 6:498.

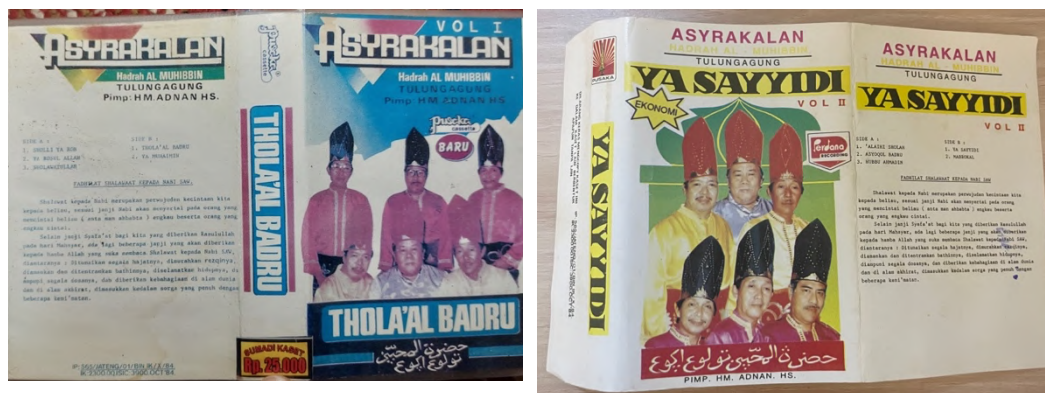
¹⁴¹ Rusydi et al., *Shalawat Al-Banjari*, 83–88.

¹⁴² *Haul PETA 2022 - Mengasah Kepekaan Nurani Dengan Kisah Sehari -Hari*, directed by Sultanagung78 community, 2022, 04:18:24, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=19qJ3sEOFm4>; *Haul Ponpes PETA 2020 (Tema : Membangun Iman Dan Cinta Kepada Allah SWT Dan Rasul-NYA)*, directed by Sultanagung78 community, 2020, 02:29:57, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hbd6ipx9KgA>. There are sayings about the connection between al-Muhibbin and PETA through KH. Mustaqim. Al-Muhibbin personnels were handed a

Regardless of the story, the group continues its routine, called *amaliyah*, to recite Mawlid al-Dība'ī in Masjid Darussalam Kampungdalem Tulungagung every Friday night, or occasionally perform in Islamic events such as *ḥawl* and mawlid celebrations.¹⁴³ The popularity and the existence of the group may influence the later groups, who call themselves “*minal muhibbin*,” or “a part of al-Muhibbin”, following Al-Muhibbin’s songs and practice to accompany mawlid recitation.¹⁴⁴



Figure 3.1. A *minal* Muhibbin mawlid book from Sendang Duwur, Lamongan, East Java.¹⁴⁵



Figures 3.2 and 3.3. *Hadrah* albums by Al-Muhibbin Tulungagung.

Even though there is no clear indication of the release year of the albums, I argue that those albums were first released earlier than 1984 and not after 1994.¹⁴⁶ The argument

green flag from KH. Mustaqim, as he suggested the blessing to continue to recite Mawlid al-Dība'ī. See, Rusydi et al., *Shalawat Al-Banjari*, 86.

¹⁴³ *Ya Sayyidi Ya Rosulullah | Rutinan Amaliyah Maulid Diba' Al Muhibbin Tulungagung*, directed by mas fatkhur, 2025, 16:07, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vWIHGX118kg>; “Al Muhibbin Pusat Tulungagung - YouTube,” accessed May 28, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/>.

¹⁴⁴ Or it is meant as ‘a part of the lovers of the Prophet’.

¹⁴⁵ The songs (*qaṣīdas*) in the book follow the Al-Muhibbin songs.

¹⁴⁶ According to Mas Aden, one of Al-Muhibbin’s members, the first album was recorded in the 1989, and the second album was recorded in 1992.

is based on the comparison between both albums to other albums, concerning the characteristics of the cover. Both albums consist of the registration number of the publisher, dated in October 1984. On another hand, after 1994, the publisher, Pusaka Cassette, became an ASIRI (*Asosiasi Industri Rekaman Indonesia*, Music Recording Alliance of Indonesia) member. The membership is indicated by the inclusion of the number of memberships in the cover, which is not included in the cover of either album. After 1994, besides the inclusion of the ASIRI number, the publisher had a new branding, which is Super Pusaka, which is indicated by a different logo.

The first album features a well-known series of verses from the Mawlid al-Dība‘ī. The title of the album, Asyrakalan (and Thola’al Badru), intends to tell the Mawlid al-Dība‘ī as the reference. Asyrakalan is derived from *ashraqa al-badru* (the full moon—the Prophet—rose upon us), a special verse that is often sung by standing up in honour of the Prophet. Furthermore, Nico Kaptein also suggests that *asrakal* became a common name for the entire *mawlid*.¹⁴⁷

Mawlid al-Dība‘ī is a popular mawlid book in Indonesia, alongside other mawlid books like Qaṣīda al-Burda (li’l-Būṣirī), Mawlid al-Barzanjī, Simṭ al-Durar, Sharaf al-Anām, and Ḍiyā’ al-Lāmi‘. Since Indonesian Muslims are predominantly Sunni and affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), a traditional Muslim organisation, mawlid celebrations are widely celebrated in Indonesia. These celebrations involve reciting mawlid books as a reference. Mawlid books are hagiographies of the Prophet Muhammad, available in verse-only, prose-only, or a combination of both formats. The prose format is often recited in a free-styled manner, while the verse format is typically accompanied by musical instruments. Qaṣīda al-Burda, Mawlid al-Barzanjī (*naẓmā*), and al-Ḍiyā’ al-Lāmi‘ are formed in verse-only. The rest of the popular mawlid books in Indonesia are formed in a combination format, consisting of both verses and prose.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Kaptein, “The Berdiri Mawlid Issue among Indonesian Muslims in the Period from circa 1875 to 1930,” 126. See also, Muhaimin, “The Ritual Practice,” 128.

¹⁴⁸ Claudia Seise, “Women Remembering the Prophet’s Birthday: Maulid Celebrations and Religious Emotions Among the Alawiyyin Community in Palembang, Indonesia,” *Advances in Southeast Asian Studies* 11, no. 2 (2018): 2, <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-0005>; Alatas, “Pilgrimage and Network Formation in Two Contemporary Bā‘alawī Ḥawl in Central Java”; Mee, “The Ebb and Flow of Popular Islamic Music Forms”; Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat*, 1st ed. (Gading Publishing, 2012); Kaptein, “The Berdiri Mawlid Issue among Indonesian Muslims in the Period from circa 1875 to 1930”; Muhaimin, “The Ritual Practice.” For further discussion regarding the mawlid books, see, Marion Holmes Katz, *The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad: Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam*, Culture and Civilization in the Middle East (Routledge, 2007), 6–62; Ines Weinrich, “From the Arab Lands to the Malabar Coast: The Arabic Mawlid as a Literary Genre and a Traveling Text,” *Entangled Religions* 11, no. 5 (2022): 5, <https://doi.org/10.46586/er.11.2020.9467>.

In Islamic music, singing verses (or poetry) is commonly referred to as *qaṣīda*, *muwashshah*, or *nashīd*. *Qaṣīda*, the oldest form of Arabic poetry, can span over a hundred lines, each divided into two equal parts. It maintains a consistent rhyme throughout the poem and adheres to a uniform meter (*al-buḥūr*). *Qaṣīda al-Burda* by al-Būṣīrī is arguably the most renowned example. *Muwashshah*, on the other hand, employs multiple rhymes, non-traditional meters, and a variable structure. While *qaṣīda* and *muwashshah* share certain characteristics, *nashīd* is a general term that encompasses devotional songs.¹⁴⁹ For instance, in the *hadrah* album by Al-Muhibbin, each song refers to a verse, which consists of many lines.

The first Al-Muhibbin album comprises two verses that are widely known as part of Mawlid al-Dība‘ī, Yā Rasūlallāh and Ṭala‘a al-Badr. The second verse is practically sung after the *ashraqa al-badr* verse, another popular verse of Mawlid al-Dība‘ī. The album adds two additional songs, Sholawatullah (*Ṣalawātullāh taghshā*) and Ya Muhaimin (Yā Muhaymin), which are not popular as part of the Mawlid al-Dība‘ī. Regardless of the origins, Mawlid al-Dība‘ī is popularly believed to consist of *Yā Rabb Ṣalli ‘alā Muḥammad* (O God, bless Muhammad), *Yā Rasūlallāh* (O the Messenger of Allāh), *Ṣalātullāh mā lāḥat kawākib* (may Allah’s blessing be upon you as long as the stars appear), and *yā Nabī Salām ‘alayk* (O Prophet, peace be upon you) or *Ṭala‘a al-Badru* (the full moon has risen upon us), and *yā Badra timm* (O, full moon). As those songs are sung in Arabic, it distinguishes the album from other popularised Islamic music, such as Nasida Ria, which uses Bahasa Indonesia and combines many musical instruments into a performance.¹⁵⁰ Al-Muhibbin’s album consists only of terbang as percussion instruments to accompany songs in Arabic.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Weintraub, *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia*, 85; Oliver Leaman, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Islamic Ritual and Practice* (Routledge/Taylor and Francis Group, 2022), 162; Lois Ibsen al Faruqi, “Muwashshah: A Vocal Form in Islamic Culture,” *Ethnomusicology* 19, no. 1 (1975): 4, <https://doi.org/10.2307/849744>; Bart A. Barendregt et al., *Popular Music in Southeast Asia: Banal Beats, Muted Histories* (Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 57; “Hijrah and the Rise of Nasyid Kontemporari in Malaysia | 16 | Made In,” 139, accessed May 14, 2025, <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780367855529-16/hijrah-rise-nasyid-kontemporari-malaysia-raja-iskandar-bin-raja-halid>; Frishkopf, “Inshad Dini and Aghani Diniyya in Twentieth Century Egypt,” 169; Katz, *The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad*, 188; Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*. In the Indonesian and Malaysian contexts, *nashīd* or *nasyid* is known for religious songs with only human voices, sometimes with a *capella*. See, Margaret Sarkissian, “‘Religion Never Had It so Good’: Contemporary Nasyid and the Growth of Islamic Popular Music in Malaysia,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 37 (2005): 124–52; Dominik M. Müller, “POST-ISLAMISM OR POP-ISLAMISM? Ethnographic Observations of Muslim Youth Politics in Malaysia,” *Paideuma: Mitteilungen Zur Kulturkunde* 59 (2013): 261–84.

¹⁵⁰ Barendregt and van Zanten, “Popular Music in Indonesia since 1998, in Particular Fusion, Indie and Islamic Music on Video Compact Discs and the Internet”; Bernard, “To Propagate Morals through Popular Music: The Indonesian Qasidah Moderen.”

¹⁵¹ In another album that I couldn’t find, there is an Al-Muhibbin album consists of Bahasa Indonesia, a translation from a prose in Mawlid al-Dība‘ī, “Syahdan, “*Syahdan, menjelang detik-detik kelahiran Rasulullah Saw. Arsy berguncang karena riang gembira. Kursi semakin hibar dan*

The first album does not consist of what the second album does, which is a prose in Mawlid al-Dība‘ī, usually recited before the *maḥall al-qiyām, fa-htazza al-‘arsh ʿarabā wa istibshārā* ..., which used to be recited before standing up during reciting *yā Nabī salām ‘alayk, ʿala al-badr*, or *ashraqa al-badr*. There are similarities with other Maulid books, particularly regarding the story of the birth of the Prophet. The *berdiri* mawlid and the recitation of the aforementioned verses are performed while standing. In Simṭ al-Durar, those sets of rituals are performed after the *wa ḥīna qaruba* ... prose (and when the time came for this beloved to be born...). In Sharaf al-Anām, those are performed after the prose *fa-lammā āna awān mawliḍihi al-karīm* (when the time came for his noble birth), and in Mawlid al-Barzanjī, those are performed after the *wa lammā tamma min ḥamlīh* ... (when two months of pregnancy were completed ...). For Mawlid al-Barzanjī, the practice may vary in the position. Furthermore, the prose seems to be unclear regarding the birth of the Prophet, but it ends with *wa akhadhahā al-makhāḍ fa waladathu* ... (she went into labour and gave birth to him ...).

After the introductory prose of the Prophet’s birth, the vocalists start to recite the verses,

‘*Ṣallā Allāh ‘alā Muḥammad, ṣallā Allāh ‘alayh wa sallam*
Ṣallā Allāh ‘alā Muḥammad, yā Rabbi ṣalli wa sallim.’

May God bless Muhammad, may God bless him and grant him peace.

May God bless Muhammad, O Lord, and grant him peace.

The instruments start during the verse *yā Nabī salām ‘alayk*, with the same pattern as the present-day *hadrah* is acknowledged.

terang. Langit penuh dengan cahaya. Para malaikat gemuruh mengucapkan takbir, tamjid, dan istighfar. Ibu Rasulullah selalu melihat tanda-tanda kemegahan dan kelebihan anak yang dikandung, sampai sempurna masa kandungannya. Tatkala semakin terasa melahirkan yang dialami oleh ibu Rasulullah, maka dengan izin Tuhan Pencipta Makhluk, lahirlah Rasulullah Saw., dalam keadaan sujud, menyatakan Syukur, dan memuji Allah seperti bulan 14 dalam kesempurnaannya.” “In the meantime, approaching the moments of the birth of the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). The throne shook with joy. The chair became wider and brighter. The sky was full of light. The angels roared, reciting *takbīr, tamjīd, and istighfār*. The mother of the Messenger of Allah always saw signs of the splendour and superiority of the child she was carrying, until the time of her pregnancy was complete. When the birth that the mother of the Messenger of Allah experienced became more and more felt, then with the permission of God, the Creator of Creation, the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) was born, in a state of prostration, expressing gratitude, and praising Allah like the 14th month in its perfection.” The album is uploaded by the Al-Muhibbin official YouTube channel, but the release time is uncertain. See, “Al Muhibbin Pusat Tulungagung - YouTube.”

3.3 Further Musical Considerations and Later Hadrah Albums

Flipping the first album cassette to side A, Al-Muhibbin's first album begins with a series of introductions. The introduction begins with *ṣalli yā Rabb 'alā Zayn al-Jamāl* (O God, bless the most beautiful beauty), followed by *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet Muhammad, who is described as *shafī' al-khalq fī yawm al-qiyāma* (the intercessor of creation on the Day of Resurrection). The verse is repeatedly chanted while the lead vocalist recites the Quran 33:65.¹⁵² After the recitation, the backing vocalists chant *Allāh Allāh*, while the lead vocalist recites a *tawassul*, or praying through a mediation, in which the mediator is the Prophet Muhammad.¹⁵³ *Ilāhī tawassalnā bi-jāhi Muḥammad bi-ghurraṭihī al-bayḍā' bi-nūr ḥabībīhi, tushāfī 'uhū fīnā yā Ilāhī bi-jam'inā* (O God, we beseech You by the prestige of Muhammad, by his white forehead, by the light of His Beloved).

The introductory prayer continues, the prayer is chanted by the vocalists altogether, "*wa tudkḥilanā fī al-ḥashr taḥta yamīnihi*" (gather us together and include us in the Day of Resurrection under his right hand). The verse is repeated twice before all the backing vocalists stop, and the lead vocalist chants, "*alā yā muḥibb al-Muṣṭafā him ṣabāba*" (o lover of the Chosen One, they are in a state of passion). The vocalists and the terbang performers continue performing the chant, "*wa ḍammikh lisān al-madh minka bi-ṭībīhi*" (saturate the tongue of praise with your goodness). After the part is done, the lead vocalist chants, with the accompaniment of terbang instruments, "*wa lā tatba'an bi'l-mulḥidīn fa inna mā 'alāmatu ḥubb Allāh ḥubbu ḥabībīhi*" (do not associate with the atheists. The sign of loving God is loving His Beloved). The part ends with the vocalists chanting *yā Nabī yā Amīn* (O Prophet, O Trustworthy One).

The second album also starts with an introduction without the accompaniment of terbang. After the blessing, the vocalists altogether chant *'alayhi ṣalātullāh salām* (may God's prayers and peace be upon him), *'aṭāka Rabbī jazīl wa kull fī lika jamīl* (may God give you a lot and all your actions are beautiful). The lead vocalist chants, *bi-jāhi Ṭāhā al-rasūl, jud Rabbanā bi'l-qabūl, wa ḥab lanā kulla sūl, Rabbī istajīb lī āmīn* (By the honour of the Messenger Ṭāhā, grant us acceptance and grant us all our supplications. My Lord,

¹⁵² "God and His angels bless the Prophet—so, you who believe, bless him too and give him greetings of peace." M. A. Abdel Haleem and M. A. Abdel Haleem, eds., *The Qur'an*, First publ., with corrections, as an Oxford World's Classics paperback, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford Univ. Press, 2005), 270.

¹⁵³ *Tawassul* is important and one of characteristics of Sunni traditional Muslims, while it is condemned by Salafists. See, Rijal, *Defending Traditional Islam in Indonesia*; Julian Millie, "Supplicating, Naming, Offering: 'Tawassul' in West Java," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 39, no. 1 (2008): 107–22; Yon Machmudi, "The Sufi Influences: In Pursuit of an Islamised Indonesia," in *Islamising Indonesia, The Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)* (ANU Press, 2008), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24hddh.14>.

answer me. Amen.), followed by the backing vocalists chanting *āmīn* together. While the lead vocalist prays *wa 'l-āl ni 'ma al-kirām, wa 'l-ṣaḥbi wa 'l-tābi 'īn* (be upon the family, the noble ones, the companions and the followers), the backing vocalists chant in the background, *'alayka al-ṣalā, 'alayka al-salām*.

Apart from the introductory part, every song on both albums is sung in a variety of ways and accompanied by *terbang*. In essence, a complete verse is sung in different ways. For each song, there are numerous modes of melody, tempo, and even time signature. This variation accommodates the varying lengths of the verses, preventing the song from becoming repetitive. For instance, “Ya Rasulallah” has 21 lines, “Sholawatullah” has 22 lines, “Asyroqol Badru” has 22 lines, “Thola'al Badru” has 16 lines, and “Ya Muhaimin” has 18 lines. Nevertheless, despite the modes of variation, all songs consist of the *al-banjari* rhythmic pattern.

Rhythmical mode serves as the heartbeat of the song, characterised by its cyclical patterns that harmonise with the musical composition.¹⁵⁴ In the *hadrah* context, there are five different rhythmical patterns to be played, as they show the progress of the song. The name of each pattern may vary, but it is also known as the *number 1*, the *number 2*, the *number 3*, the *number 4*, and the *number 5*.¹⁵⁵ The *number 1* pattern functions as an accompaniment to the vocalist's part or the refrain of the song. The pattern is played repetitively, and the length depends on the vocalist's part. The rest of the patterns gradually played during the backing vocalists' part, as the concept of the song is repetitive, as explained above. The time signature used is 4/4, which may make this performance more acceptable because it is the common time signature and also one of the basic ones.

The interlocking pattern consists of four *terbang* players. The names of each player may vary, but in this context, I use *inti lanang*, *inti wedok*, *golong lanang*, and *golong wedok*, which are popularly known in East Java.

¹⁵⁴ Rhythmical mode is widely performed in the world. See, Indian music *tāla*, or *iqā'* in Arabic music, or *colotomy* in Southeast Asian music V.N. Muthukumar, “Beyond Tālaprastāra in Indian Music: Prosody as a Generating Function of Rhythmic Complexity in Aruṇakirinaṭar's Tiruppukal,” *Asian Music* 41, no. 1 (2010): 60–88; Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*; Judith Becker, “Percussive Patterns in the Music of Mainland Southeast Asia,” *Ethnomusicology* 12, no. 2 (1968): 173–91, <https://doi.org/10.2307/849928>.

¹⁵⁵ There are also performers who categorise the pattern into five. The rhythmical pattern is the same, but they divide it differently.



Figure 3.4. *Hadrah al-Banjari* notation number 1.¹⁵⁶



Figure 3.5. *Hadrah al-Banjari* notation number 2.¹⁵⁷



Figure 3.6. *Hadrah al-Banjari* notation number 3.



Figure 3.7. *Hadrah al-Banjari* notation number 4.

¹⁵⁶ For later notations, I am grateful to Mas Bahrinnada and Dimas al-Jawad, who help me in giving comments.

¹⁵⁷ The number 2 is similar to the *iqā' Hacha'*. See, Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*, 110.

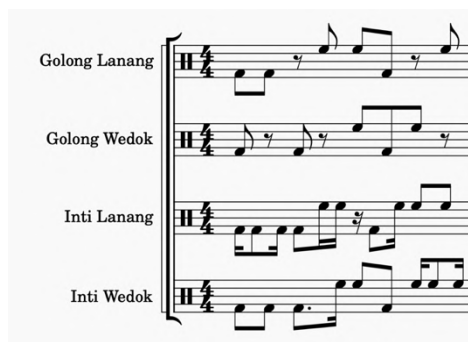


Figure 3.8. *Hadrah al-Banjari* notation number 5.

Regarding the song, every pattern is normal to be played repetitively. Every pattern can practically be played wherever the performer wants, shifting from one pattern to another, but generally, the number shows the order of the play. The rhythmical pattern appears in all the songs in the Al-Muhibbin albums. From the first album, *Ya Rosulallah*, *Sholawatullah*, and *Thola'al Badru* are fully sung with the accompaniment of the al-banjari rhythmic pattern. From the second album, "*Asyroqol Badru*" (very similar to the "*Thola'al Badru*" song in the first album) and "*Mabrokal*" are fully sung in the al-banjari rhythmic pattern. The *Hubbu Ahmadin* song consists of a series of *ḥubbu Aḥmadin* (*qalbī sakan*) (loving the Prophet Aḥmad calms my heart), *qul yā 'Aẓīm* (say, O, Great One), *yā Ṭayba yā dawā al- 'ayāna* (o, Ṭayba, cure for the sick), and *inna fī 'l-jannati nahra min laban* (there is a river of milk in Paradise). The *ḥubbu Aḥmadin* part is not accompanied by terbang, while the other three are.

Other *hadrah* groups, such as Al-Asyiqien Bangil (East Java), released a *hadrah* album in the 1980s. I could not find the album, but the *hadrah* performers in Bangil believe that the circulated videos on YouTube and the internet regarding the album are valid. The songs are similar to Al-Muhibbin's, or even simpler. Unlike Al-Muhibbin's album, which consists of additional songs that are not popular in the *Mawlid al-Dība'ī* book, Al-Asyiqien's album consists of *yā Rabbi ṣalli*, *yā Rasūlallāh*, *ṣalātullāh mā lāḥat kawākib*, and *ashraqa al-badru*, with additional songs such as *Allāhumma ṣalli wa sallim* and *al-salām 'alayk*. Musically, the album is simpler compared to Al-Muhibbin's because it uses only *al-banjari* rhythmical patterns without any variety of time signatures in the songs, except for the *yā Rasūlallāh* song, which is sung in an odd time signature for the first four lines.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ *Album Qoshidah Hadrah Al Banjari Bangil | Hadrah Al 'Asyiqien Kauman, Bangil*, directed by Hadrah Al 'Asyiqien Bangil, 2024, 53:51, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U1-N8zcAqkc>. For further discussions of Al-Asyiqien, Bangil, see Rusydi et al., *Shalawat Al-Banjari*, 77–83.

Another popular example is a *majelis* by KH. Zaini Abdul Ghani (d. 2005), also known as Guru Sekumpul, Martapura, East Kalimantan. The *majelis* he held attracted thousands of followers.¹⁵⁹ The popular videos by him feature his *salawāt* recitation, accompanied by songs popularised by him. The videos' origin is the official account of Ar-Raudhah, Guru Sekumpul's place, where the *majelis* is held. The *majelis* consists of the recitation of *Simṭ al-Durar* with songs (approximately 5 in every *majelis*), accompanied by only *terbangs* as musical instruments. The pattern is the same as the aforementioned al-banjari patterns. In terms of language, the songs are only in Arabic.¹⁶⁰

In subsequent periods, regional popular groups such as Syauqul Habib and Muhasabatul Qolbi released their *hadrah* albums in VCD format. However, I'll showcase the earlier albums by IQMA (Ikatan Qari'-Qari'ah Mahasiswa) Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, which were released in the early 2000s.¹⁶¹ During that era, the album primarily featured songs with Near Eastern influences. Among the five other songs,¹⁶² there are five songs with Near Eastern influences: 1) *fī hawā khairil 'ibād* (in love

¹⁵⁹ The annual commemoration (*haul*) of him is very popular. The then President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, attended the event in 2018. See, Kemenag, "Presiden Hadiri Haul Guru Sekumpul di Kalsel," <https://kemenag.go.id>, accessed June 8, 2025, <https://kemenag.go.id/nasional/presiden-hadiri-haul-guru-sekumpul-di-kalsel-1fl1u1>. About the popularity of the event, see also, "Puluhan Ribu Jamaah Ikuti Haul Guru Sekumpul," NU Online, accessed June 8, 2025, <https://www.nu.or.id/daerah/puluhan-ribu-jamaah-ikuti-haul-guru-sekumpul-29hle>; ANTARA News Agency, "Haul Ke-20 Guru Sekumpul Sukses Dihadiri 4,1 Juta Jamaah," ANTARA News Kalimantan Selatan, accessed June 8, 2025, <https://kalsel.antaranews.com/berita/446866/haul-ke-20-guru-sekumpul-sukses-dihadiri-41-juta-jamaah>.

¹⁶⁰ See, "AR-AUDHAH OFFICIAL - YouTube," accessed January 30, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/c/ARRAUDHAHOFFICIAL>; MAULID ALHABSYI *Dibacakan Oleh ABAH GURU SEKUMPUL 1995*, directed by Ar_Raudhah TV_Official, 2019, 01:29:48, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1BvGBjrycaI>. One of the most popular video uploaded by the account has been viewed 3,3 millions times. The video is 1 hour and 29 minutes, consisting of the recitation of Mawlid Simṭ al-Durar by KH Zaini Abdul Ghani. The most popular video of him is the chant of a song entitled Khobbiri (*khabbirī*, tell me, o zephyr) with 6,9 millions of view. See, *KHOBBIRI - GURU SEKUMPUL (LIRIK)*, directed by Abdul Syakur, 2018, 08:33, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ppnPq2Miacw>.

¹⁶¹ According to two of IQMA's personnels at the album, Ust. Farid As'ad and Ust. Rizal Musabbah, the album was recorded and published around 2003—2005. There is a YouTube video consisting of the album, which is confirmed as *the* album, but the video indicates the album was published in 2005. See, *Al-Banjari IQMA 2005*, directed by Kin Sounder, 2019, 1:20:33, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VsQ85Rn27rg>.

¹⁶² The other songs are *Mawlānā yā Mujība dua'ānā, ṭāba lī khal' 'izārī, yā Imām al-rusli, asmā' al-ḥusnā*, and *fitya al-ḥaqq*. From these songs, at least *ṭāba lī khal' 'izārī* belongs to the Near Eastern munshid. The song is found in the videos of many munshid performances. For instance, *طاب لي خلع عذاري & طابت الحضرة & ان جبرتم كسر قلبي / اداء منصور زعتر / في الجامع الأموي بدمشق*, directed by العدسة الذهبية للتصوير Golden Lens Photography, 2025, 09:08, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VXi29BE8MeU>; *طاب لي - طالما اشكو غرامي - ان جبرتم كسر قلبي / معتصم العسلي*, directed by Mutasem Alasali - 09:37, 2025, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ts5fXgpWOw; *طاب لي خلع عذاري - قال لي المحبوب - طابت الحضرة | الإخوة أبوشعر*, directed by Abu Shaar Bro - 09:03, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n7RG4u6lL5k>.

with the best servant)¹⁶³, 2) *halumma unshud* (come, sing!)¹⁶⁴, 3) *jamālu Nūr al-Muṣṭafā* (the beauty of the chosen light)¹⁶⁵, 4) *ṣil yā Nabī* (come, o, the Prophet)¹⁶⁶, and 5) *ana al-faqīr* (I am a person who needs).¹⁶⁷

According to 2 IQMA's members at that time, Ust. Rizal and Ust. Farid, the Syrian songs came to them through their *kiais*,¹⁶⁸ which originated from their studies in Syria and Mecca, where they learned and received those songs on audiocassettes. The most influential *munshid*, according to them, is 'Imād Rāmī. In the next period, Near Eastern *munshids* will be visiting Indonesia, including 'Imād Rāmī, Ḥassān 'Arbash, Muṣṭafā 'Āṭif, and Yāsīn al-Mar'ashālī.¹⁶⁹ However, the influence continues and becomes more apparent in the later produced albums.

In 2010, Syauqul Habib from Surabaya published an album entitled *Bidzikri*, consisting of 8 songs. Several songs, such as *bi-dhikrika*, *yā 'āshiqīn*, and *yā du'āta Allāh*,

¹⁶³ The song is popularly sung by the Near Eastern *munshids*. The song is composed by a popular composer, Ṣabrī Mudallal in the *maqām* bayāt kurd. See, Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Ḥalbī and Muḥammad 'Id Daqqāq, *Anāshīd al-Ṣafā fī Madīḥ al-Muṣṭafā wa Mawlid al-'Alamī*, 5th ed. (Maktaba al-Ghazzālī, 1993), 107.

¹⁶⁴ *Halumma unshud yā ḥādīnā bi-man nahwāhu ghannīnā* (come, sing, o our singers, for the one who we love). The song is also composed by Ṣabrī Mudallal, in the *maqām* bayāt. See, al-Ḥalbī and Daqqāq, *Anāshīd al-Ṣafā fī Madīḥ al-Muṣṭafā wa Mawlid al-'Alamī*, 108.

¹⁶⁵ The song is composed by 'Abd al-'Āl al-Jirsha, in the *maqām* zanjirān. See, al-Ḥalbī and Daqqāq, *Anāshīd al-Ṣafā fī Madīḥ al-Muṣṭafā wa Mawlid al-'Alamī*, 199.

¹⁶⁶ Cocomposed by Ṣabrī Mudallal, in the *maqām* sīkā. See al-Ḥalbī and Daqqāq, *Anāshīd al-Ṣafā fī Madīḥ al-Muṣṭafā wa Mawlid al-'Alamī*, 167.

¹⁶⁷ *Ana al-faqīr ilayk yā Rabb*, I am a person who needs you, Lord. The song is popular and can be found to be sung by many *munshids*, among them is 'Imād Rāmī (the album consisting the song was published in 1999). In the videos' description of 'Abd al-Nāṣir Ḥallāq and al-Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn al-Tirmidhī, the song's melody belongs to al-Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn al-Tirmidhī, and the verse belongs to Salīm 'Abd al-Qādir. See, *Ana Alfaqeer Elaika Ya Rab*, directed by Imad Rami - Topik, 2021, 06:39, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sj9ta18AQRo>; المنشد والملحن عبد الناصر حلاق, 2020, *أنا الفقير إليك يا رب*, directed by Abdunasser Hallak, 05:01, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xmRSxoioTig>; محمد امين الترمذي, *أنا الفقير إليك يا رب*, directed by ©, Dalel Almadeheen, 2017, 06:15 *دليل المادحين الإنشادي*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dRseLIG8vBE>

¹⁶⁸ Islamic teachers. The term is often defined as in the *pesantren*, Islamic boarding school, context. For further discussion about *kiai*, see, Clifford Geertz, "The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2, no. 2 (1960): 228–49; Dhofier, *Tradisi pesantren*.

¹⁶⁹ 'Imād Rāmī, "I Would like to Thank Everyone in Indonesia," Facebook, accessed June 9, 2025, <https://www.facebook.com/imad.rami.official/photos/i-would-thank-everyone-in-indonesia-for-the-lovely-priceless-time-i-spent-there-/2626689890763100/>; *Munsiyid Imad Romi Bersama Al Habib Ali Al Jufri Di Indonesia*, directed by Majelis Assiirah, 2019, 13:29, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zopcd9oLLMc>; *BAHIBBAK WALIDAK, ASSALAMUALAIKA YA RASULALLAH, MAULAYA SHALLI | ARRIDWAN AL-MARASHLI ENSEMBLE*, directed by Official Menara Kudus, 2020, 17:03, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i0PKUiFTP1c>; al-Munshid Ḥassān 'Arbash, "Pernikahan Isyroi & Zida," Facebook, accessed June 9, 2025, <https://www.facebook.com/reel/953715426541961>; "" New " Live Musthofa Atef - Ya Imamar Rusli - Ponpes Nurul Qadim. - YouTube," accessed June 9, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GYcplidsbIc>.

have Near Eastern origins in terms of the melody. The first song, *bi-dhikrika*, is popularly sung by (among other *munshids*) Nūr al-Dīn Khūrshīd. The second album, published in 2012, consists of 14 songs. Among those songs, there are at least two clear songs that use the melody of the Near Eastern *munshids*, which are *Rabbī qad awrathtanī* and *an tudkhillanā Rabbī al-janna*.¹⁷⁰

Another album to be considered is Muhasabatul Qolbi's album. The group is based in Jombang, East Java. The majority of songs on the album are influenced by Syrian *munshid* songs. Those eight songs are: 1) *ana al- 'abdu* (I am the slave)¹⁷¹, 2) *al- 'abdu* (the servant),¹⁷² 3) *yā Dhā al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* (o Possessor of the most beautiful names),¹⁷³ 4) *bi'l-ḥubb ataytuka yā Rabbī* (with the love, I come to you, God),¹⁷⁴ 5) *Muḥammad Nabīnā* (Muhammad, our Prophet)¹⁷⁵, 6) *yā dunyā ajmal maghnā* (o world, the loveliest abode)¹⁷⁶, 7) *yā mughramīn* (o, who you are in love),¹⁷⁷ and *zāda shawqī* (my longing increased).¹⁷⁸

Although those albums may feature Arabic and Near-Eastern songs, there are many odd lyrics to be found. It may show a different interpretation or just a mistake being made. For instance, in the Zada Syauqi song, there is *niltu kull al- 'Arab* (I got all the Arabs) in the MQ's album. Compared to the 'Imād Rāmī's version (and grammatically makes more

¹⁷⁰ The songs of the second album are: 1) *tarahḥabnā bi-qudūm shahr al-badī'* (we welcome the arrival of the wonderful month), 2) *yā Badra timm*, 3) *al-dīn lanā* (the religion is ours), 4) *'ibād Allāh* (o, the servants of Allah), 5) *al-naḥs tabkī* (the soul cries), 6) *qaṣīda al-burda* (the Mantle Ode), 7) *layla 'alayya al-hajr ṭāl* (o, night, my separation has been long), 8) *qif wa-stami 'nī* (stop and listen to me) 9) *wa asrā bihī Rabbī* (and my Lord took him on a night journey), 10) *Rabbī qad awrathtanī* (Lord, You have given me an inheritance), 11) *an tudkhillanā Rabbī al-janna* (may God let us into heaven), 12) *lī 'ashra uṭfī bihā* (I have ten to put out), 13) *yā Rabba Makka* (o, the God of Mecca), and 14) *Rabbī khalaq Ṭāhā min nūr* (God created Ṭāhā from light).

¹⁷¹ The song is published by Mishārī Rāshid al- 'Afasī in 2006. See the date description on al- 'Afasī's official YouTube channel, *أنا العبد الذي كسب النوب / مشاري راشد العفاسي*, directed by Alafasy, 2014, 04:22, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HLvZVAoYnd8>.

¹⁷² The song is popularised by Mu'ṭaṣim bi'llāh al- 'Asalī. He published the song approximately in 2010. See, "ألبوم (شذا الياسمين) لمعتصم بالله العسلي [الأرشيف] - منتديات أحباب الكتاوية", 2011, <https://www.alkeltawia.com/vb/archive/index.php/t-7333.html>.

¹⁷³ The song is popularised and published by Mishārī Rāshid al- 'Afasī in 2008. See the date description on his video, *أسماء الله الحسنى / مشاري راشد العفاسي*, directed by Alafasy, 2014, 04:50, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x3gb-Kd9N7s>.

¹⁷⁴ The song is popularised and published by 'Imād Rāmī in 2002. See, *Belhub Ataytuka*, directed by Imad Rami - Topic, 2021, 07:35, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J-81gHIPVNA>.

¹⁷⁵ The verse belongs to 'Abd Allāh Mu'min, and the song is composed by 'Imād Rāmī. The song was published in 2010. See, *13 الجزء 13 - محمد نبينا / من اليوم محمد نبينا (الجزء 13)*, directed by Rawaj International, 05:06, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oa5JpcHkoMc>.

¹⁷⁶ The song is popularised and published in 1998 by 'Imād Rāmī. See, *Ya Dounya Ajmal Mughanna (Percussion)*, directed by Imad Rami - Topic, 2021, 04:44, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2fMvIXxHkMQ>.

¹⁷⁷ The song is popularised and published by 'Imād Rāmī in 1993. See, *Ya Mughrameen*, directed by Imad Rami - Topic, 2021, 04:56, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YU9PRnHPt0k>.

¹⁷⁸ The song is popularised and published by Abū al-Jūd in 1995. See, *أبو الجود | المنشد | أبو الجود*, directed by Aboljoud, 2020, 05:40, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=abjiLByE8ic>.

sense), the verse is *niltu kull al-ʿarabi* (I got all the goals).¹⁷⁹ Moreover, in Al-Abdu song (*al-ʿabd*, the slave), there is *yurzimu ilzāmā*, which probably should be *yulzimu ilzāmā*.¹⁸⁰ I also note several odd lyrics from Syauquul Habib’s albums, such as in Bidzikri (*bi-dhikrika Rabbī*), there is *suʿādī*, which should probably be *suhādī*.¹⁸¹ In Rabbi Qad (*Rabbi qad awrathtanī*), there are such *fa-ḥtaẓan* and *kull asbāb al-ghawāya* which should probably be *fa-ḥfaẓan* and *kull aṣnāf al-ghawāya*.

However, even though the song composition seems to change with the ease of technology, the musical instrument remains the same. From Al-Muhibbin albums to the former *hadrah* albums, the musical instruments consist only of the *terbang* (and for the former, with an additional bass). In the *majelis* stages in present-day Indonesia, additional musical instruments are played during the *majelis*es. Those instruments accompany the *al-banjari* rhythmic pattern, such as *darbuka*, *bass drum*, etc. The following subchapter discusses the practices of *hadrah* in the larger *majelis*, with popular figures concerning *hadrah* as an entertainment that incorporates an extent of Islamic appropriation.

3.4 Hadrah Public Performances: Ḥaḍramī preachers popularising and negotiating the ideal *hadrah*

“The bass drum turns the mawlid into disco.”¹⁸²

The line was said by one critical local scholar of Pekalongan, concerning *majelis* with an additional bass drum among the musical instruments. The bass drum is very common nowadays in *hadrah* performances in *majelis*, such as Az-Zahir (Pekalongan, Central Java), Riyadlul Jannah (Malang, East Java), Syubbanul Muslimin (Probolinggo, East Java), Ahbabul Musthofa (Solo, Central Java), etc. Other additional musical instruments also happen, such as the piano in Mafia Sholawat (Ponorogo). But in practice, the piano is not used fully in the *majelis*. KH. Ali Sodikin, the leader of the *majelis*, states that it is different to recite *ṣalawāt* and *solawatan*. The first term refers to the verse Ashraqa al-Badr, that said to have different values compared to other verses. “For the *Ashraqa*

¹⁷⁹ The verse continues with *bi-ittibāʾi li-l-Nabī* (by following the Prophet). Thus, ‘I got all the goals by following the Prophet.’

¹⁸⁰ The verse is started with ‘*wa Allāh la-laʾ muru man āman biʾl-ʿamali wa yulzimu ilzāmā*’ (Allah surely commands those who believe to act, and He absolutely obligates it).

¹⁸¹ A complete verse is *wa-yaṭību fī waqt al-ruqādi suhādī* (and in the time of sleep, my sleeplessness becomes pleasant).

¹⁸² Ismail Fajrie Alatas, *What Is Religious Authority? Cultivating Islamic Communities in Indonesia*, Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics (Princeton University Press, 2021), 168.

Badru, I do not allow the piano to play. I do not even allow the bass drum to play,” he states.¹⁸³

Generally, the popular *majelises* in contemporary Indonesia are mostly related to Ḥaḍramī preachers and utilise the *hadrah* in their *majelises*. To name a few, Habib Munzir Al-Musawa (Majelis Rasulullah, Jakarta), Habib Hasan bin Jafar Assegaf (Nurul Musthofa, Jakarta), Habib Syech Assegaf (Ahbabul Musthofa, Solo), Habib Ali Zainal Abidin (Az-Zahir, Pekalongan), and Habib Jamal Baagil (Ar-Ridwan, Malang). The popularisation of *hadrah* through bigger stages in public spaces can’t be separated from their popularity. Their *da’wa* activism started to grow in 1990, followed by the establishment of their authority.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, they also significant role in introducing newer *mawlid* books such as Simṭ al-Durar (Chains of Pearls, by the late Habib ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī) and al-Ḍiyā’ al-Lāmi’ (The Shimmering Light, by Habib ‘Umar b. Ḥafīẓ).¹⁸⁵

However, it is interesting to look at the songs in Al-Muhibbin’s albums that do not consist of merely praises to the Prophet, but also of love for the descendants of the Prophet. For instance, it is apparent in the yā Rasūlallāh song,

wa ilā al-sibṭayn nantasibu nasaba mā fihi min dakhani

and to the Two Grandsons (Ḥasan and Ḥusayn) we trace our lineage; one has no taint within it

kam imām ba’dahū khalfū min-hu sādāt bi-dhā ‘urifū

how many *Imams* came after him, succeeding him as masters, and became known for this

Rabbi fa-nfa’nā bi-barkatihim wa-hdinā al-ḥusnā bi-ḥurmatihim

o, Lord, bless us with their blessing, and guide us to the best path. The best through their

sacred honour

wa amitnā fī ṭarīqatihim wa mu’āfāt min al-fitani

and cause us to die upon their way, safe and protected from trials and tribulations.

Although the verses are well-known as a part of *Mawlid al-Dība’ī*, I find the verses in ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alwī al-Ḥaddād, a prominent Muslim scholar from Ḥaḍramawt.¹⁸⁶ Other verses even express prominently love for the *sayyids*. For instance, in the song entitled Yā Sayyidī,

yā Sayyidī yā Rasūlallāh yā Man lahū al-jāh ‘inda Allāh

O, my Master, O, Messenger of Allah, you who have noble status with Allah!

¹⁸³ “gusyudi9955 di TikTok”. See, for instance, Kaptein, “The Berdiri Mawlid Issue among Indonesian Muslims in the Period from circa 1875 to 1930” for the discussions about the significance of *ashraqa’l-badru*.

¹⁸⁴ Syamsul Rijal, “Revitalizing Hadhrami Authority: New Networks, Figures and Institutions among Ḥabā’ib in Indonesia,” *Studia Islamika* 27, no. 2 (2020): 2, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v27i2.9382>.

¹⁸⁵ Rijal, *Defending Traditional Islam in Indonesia*, 75–76.

¹⁸⁶ Al-Ḥaddād ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Alawī b. Muḥammad, *Dīwān Al-Imām al-Ḥaddād (al-Durr al-Manẓūm Li-Dhawī al-‘uqūl Wa al-Fuhūm)* (n.d.), 680–83.

inna al-musī'īna qad jā'ū li'l-dhanbi yastaghfirūn Allāh

the wrongdoers have come to their sins, seeking Allah's forgiveness

...

nādi al-Muhājir Ṣafīyy Allāh, dhāka Ibn 'Īsā Abā al-Ṣādāt

Call upon al-Muhājir, Allah's chosen one, the son of 'Īsā, the father of *sādāt*

thumma al-Muqaddam Waliyy Allāh Ghawth al-warā Qudwa al-qādāt

and upon al-Muqaddam, the saint of Allah, the saviour of mankind, the exemplar of leaders

yā ahl al-ḥasab wa al-nasab al-asnā wa'l-ḥilm wa'l-'ilm wa'l-taqwā

O people of the noblest lineage and descent, the epitome of forbearance, prudence,
knowledge, and piety

bi-Jaddikum wa bikum tanjāb suḥb al-baliyyat wa'l-ḍurr

by your Grandfather and by you, the clouds of afflictions and harm are dispelled.

As I explained before, the relationship between al-Muhibbin and *habaib* (*sayyids*) has been close. It allowed al-Muhibbin to perform during *ḥawl* and other more pious Islamic rites.

Back to the negotiating the ideal *hadrah*, a video of Habib Ali Zainal Abidin Assegaf (henceforth Habib Bidin) goes viral on TikTok. That was a video of him mimicking several dances in a *majelis* that went viral on the internet. He later states, “*Since now, I do not care (of those acts), unless it comes from the followers of Az-Zahir (his majelis). Those acts could happen anywhere, but not under my nose. I do not want to be told as a better man, a righteous man than anyone.*” It was not the first time Habib Bidin commented on something that went viral. A few months ago, he criticised the arranged song from the original *Bushrā Lanā*. The arrangement went in the refrain part of ‘*Yā nafsū ṭībī bi'l-liqā'*’ that was sung ‘*Yā nafsū ṭi, ṭi, ṭi.*’ ‘Az-Zahir members are not allowed to sing in such a way!’¹⁸⁷

Habib Bidin is one of the most popular *majelis* leaders in Indonesia. He is the son-in-law of Habib Luthfi b. Yahya, the most prominent Sufi master in Indonesia, as Alatas states.¹⁸⁸ Habib Bidin started to establish his *majelis* in 2016, and nowadays, his *majelis* has become one of the biggest *majelises* in Indonesia, with thousands of followers in every congregation. Its YouTube account is now subscribed to by 1.2 million subscribers, and its Instagram account is followed by nearly 900 thousand followers.¹⁸⁹ The *majelis* event always consists of mawlid recitation with *hadrah* music accompanying it.

¹⁸⁷ “gusyudi9955 di TikTok,” TikTok, accessed January 30, 2024, https://www.tiktok.com/@gusyudi9955/video/7265341036485020933?_r=1&_t=8jNbs8EkJ9O&social_sharing=1.

¹⁸⁸ Alatas, *What Is Religious Authority?*, 1.

¹⁸⁹ “Majelis Azzahir (@majelisazzahir) • Foto dan video Instagram,” accessed June 8, 2025, <https://www.instagram.com/majelisazzahir/>.

Hadrah music within the *majelis* is relatively popular in Indonesia, for other big *majelis*es that consist of it, such as Majelis Rasulullah and Ahbabul Musthofa's Habib Syech.¹⁹⁰

Other modifications within the *hadrah* performance in the *majelis* are also related to the song arrangements and, to some extent, composing songs. The newly composed songs are in the form of Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia, related to the Prophet's biography, or have Islamic values. Those songs are such as *Kisah Sang Rasul* (the Prophet's Story), *Alamate Anak Sholeh* (Signs of Pious), and *Wali Songo* (Nine Saints). The *Kisah Sang Rasul* song was composed by Habib Syech, and it appears in one of his music albums. Considering the number from YouTube only, those songs are very popular and are used in many *majelis*, regardless of their origins.

The *Kisah Sang Rasul* song narrates the life of the Prophet, from his parents' names and descendants to his childhood and his prophethood at the age of 40. The official video of it has been viewed 4 million times.¹⁹¹ Considering the views on YouTube of the song, the *Alamate Anak Sholeh* (the signs of a pious child) song is rather exciting. The most viewed video is by Ning Umi Laila, which has been viewed 43 million times.¹⁹² The lyric is about the signs of piety, which are to follow the *sharia*, be dutiful to parents, love children, and practice knowledge (*ilmu*). The song appears to be sung by Habib Syech in his *majelis*.¹⁹³ Other big *majelis* such as Az-Zahir also use Javanese and Indonesian songs in their *majelis*es, such as *Joko Tingkir Wali Jowo* (Jaka Tingkir, the Saint of Java), *Gula Jawa* (Javanese Sugar), *Sluku-Sluku Bathok*, etc.

From the outside, one can see the response from the followers or audiences regarding the particular *majelis* or, specifically, the songs. Some videos go viral and are then criticised by Muslim scholars and *majelis* leaders. On other occasions, there was also direct criticism toward the *hadrah* performance, as Habib Novel Alaydrus' criticism above. For the indirect criticism, the attempts are such from Habib Bidin, whom I mentioned above. On the other hand, there are also attempts to normalise the overly entertaining rites, such as the Majelis Mafia Sholawat. Majelis Mafia Sholawat, in another hand, aims to be

¹⁹⁰ Rijal, *Defending Traditional Islam in Indonesia*; Zamhari and Mustofa, "THE POPULAR DA'WAH MOVEMENT IN URBAN COMMUNITIES." See also, Agha, Albert Nasser, "Sholawat and the Sounds of Islam Nusantara: Music and Religious Authority in Contemporary Indonesia."

¹⁹¹ *Kisah Sang Rasul - Habib Syech Bin Abdul Qadir Assegaf (Lyric Video)*, directed by Habib Syech Bin Abdul Qadir Assegaf, 2022, 09:49, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mHfJxCqdWL4>.

¹⁹² *ALAMATE ANAK SHOLEH - NING UMI LAILA | Ngabuburit Sholawatan 2023*, directed by Mas Owdy, 2023, 06:53, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SuUAwoPEeMI>.

¹⁹³ *VIRAL! Alamate Anak Sholeh - Habib Syech Bin Abdul Qodir Assegaf | Haul Ke-513 Kanjeng Sunan Drajat*, directed by Progresif TV, 2023, 4:29, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1aIIGSmI1Lk>.

the media of *da'wa* for ordinary people. The *majelis* is more like a music concert rather than a *majelis*, except for the sermons and *dhikr* it consists of.

There are several characteristics of *majelis* in Indonesia, from a relatively 'clean' *majelis* and a more entertaining *majelis*. What is considerably clean *majelis* is a *majelis* that has no additional musical instruments or with particular strict rules, i.e., rules between male and female congregates. One example of the clean *majelis* is Habib Novel's *majelis* Ar-Raudhah, Solo. The *majelis* consists of only many sorts of *terbangs*, without any additional musical instruments, and the rule is strict regarding the male and female congregates.¹⁹⁴

Negotiating pursuits regarding the excessive actions from audiences have been made by Muslim scholars and even *majelis* leaders. Periodically, one of the earliest discussions regarding the practice of *hadrah* occurred in 2014 by Habib Novel Alaydrus. The *hadrah* performance included dances and too many screams.¹⁹⁵ There is no clear evidence of the dances and the screams, but Habib Novel states, "*I will not go home until you (terbang performers) can play your terbangs softly.*" The criticism was likely about the excess of playing the *hadrah* and dances. These are the reasons Habib Novel Alaydrus states that they (*hadrah* performances and audiences) were not respectful enough in mawlid celebrations.¹⁹⁶

Regarding the dances, there are videos on TikTok that went viral of girls dancing in the *majelis*. The videos are either showing themselves dancing with *ṣalawāt* as background music, or videos of themselves dancing in *majelises*. The back sounds are, but not limited to, those Javanese or Bahasa Indonesia songs, as in the case of the modified Bushrā Lanā song. The arrangements made in those songs might be one of the biggest factors because the final sounds from the *hadrah* musical instruments are like some sort of *koplo*, a subgenre of *dangdut*, a local music genre of Indonesia. For this kind of practice, Habib Syech and Habib Bidin both state that their followers should behave, not dance, or at a minimum, do not exaggerate their movements.¹⁹⁷ Habib Syech and Habib Bidin even ask the followers not to sing the arranged version of the Bushrā Lanā song in Ahbabul

¹⁹⁴ MAULID AKBAR MAJELIS AR-RAUDHAH 1445H, directed by Habib Novel Alaydrus, 2023, 2:39:34, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e1VWoMvcZcA>. The *majelis* Ar-Raudhah is relatively a popular *majelis*, with 200 thousand subscribers on its YouTube account "AR-RAUDHAH OFFICIAL - YouTube."

¹⁹⁵ In Bahasa Indonesia, he stated, *joget-joget dan teriak-teriak*.

¹⁹⁶ *Adab Bermain Hadroh Yang Benar Menurut Habib Novel Bin Muhammad*, directed by ibens KANSAS, 2016, 47:17, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GpQdGqG8A3Y>.

¹⁹⁷ *Habib Bidin Marah Karena Majlis Sholawat Joget Sembarangan*, directed by Abdul Alim 07, 2019, 0:26, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ea_O_EFkKpQ; *HABIB SYECH MARAH KETIKA SHOLAWATAN ADA YANG BERJOGET*, directed by Barokah TV Nganjuk, 2020, 4:48, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hQsymLH_9S8; *Habib Bidin Marah Karena Majlis Sholawat Joget Sembarangan*.

Musthofa and Az-Zahir *majelises*. It is stated to be closer to *koplo* rather than *şalawāt*. Habib Bidin states that the modification of the song attracts people to dance, which should not happen. The refrain of this arranged version is ‘*yā nafsū ʔi ʔi ʔi*’, which allowed *hadrah* musical instruments to perform in a similar way as *koplo* instruments.¹⁹⁸

In another hand, KH. Ali Sodikin states that the followers of Mafia Sholawat believe that the *majelis* is relatively softer than other *majelises* and allows their followers to dance, to some extent, in *syi'iran* (verses, or ‘regular’ songs), but not to dance when *şalawāt* is being chanted. “*But when shalawatan, don’t dance. At maximum, you can move your hands and your head,*” he states. Nevertheless, they should behave if they attend other *majelises*, and he reminds them that it is embarrassing if they bring Mafia Sholawat’s identity to other *majelises* if they do not behave.¹⁹⁹ Another example of support for dance and joyful acts in *majelis* came from Gus Kapten, the leader of Majelis Bahrus Syafa’at Lampung. Regarding the dance in *majelis* and *şalawāt* accompanied by dances, he states, “*With this joyful feeling of şalawat, ... For those who criticise and question şalawāt with dances, you should come (to majelis)! Do not talk too much. We should show our joy in şalawāt.*” He also addressed the criticism from people who object to *şalawāt* songs that are arranged to resemble the *koplo* genre. His argument was, “*These people’s (his followers’) brains are also koplo.*”²⁰⁰

In another pursuit, Habib Syech and Habib Bidin’s *majelises* have a moderate *majelis* between the clean and appropriate *majelis* and the more entertaining *majelis*. Their *majelises*, namely Ahabul Musthofa and Az-Zahir, respectively, perform *hadrah* with additional musical instruments such as bass drum and congregate between males and females in the same but separate place. In several *majelises*, they state their disagreements and criticism of popular dance and arranged songs that occur on social media.²⁰¹ There was a bold statement from Habib Bidin regarding *majelis*, in which he prefers not to use the argument that people would be better off attending *majelis* events compared to not

¹⁹⁸ *Begini Tanggapan Habib Bidin Terkait Lagu Ya Nafsuti*, directed by SANTRI NU, 2023, 5:01, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=38WerT8Ck0s>. *TANGGAPAN TEGAS HABIB SYECH SOAL SHOLAWAT VIRAL YA NAFSUTI | HABIB SYECH BIN ABDUL QODIR ASSEGAF*, directed by jojo alfaruq, 2023, 9:53, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OOasivXNAYM>.

¹⁹⁹ TikTok, “gusyudi9955 di TikTok.” Regarding the *koplo* referred to his followers’ brains, as self-depreciation. It might mean that his followers already lost their minds, or they were not smart enough.

²⁰⁰ “BSL_Nyell di TikTok,” TikTok, accessed January 30, 2024, https://www.tiktok.com/@bsl_nyell/video/7313018841951489285?_r=1&_t=8jNdoOjpHla&social_sharing=1.

²⁰¹ For instance, see *HABIB SYECH MARAH KETIKA SHOLAWATAN ADA YANG BERJOGET; Habib Bidin Marah Karena Majlis Sholawat Joget Sembarangan*.

attending *them*. “*For me, if you cannot respect the Prophet (by doing such inappropriate acts in the majelis), you had better not come to majelis events.*”

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter highlights the continuity of *hadrah* practices exemplified by Al-Muhibbin, Tulungagung. His routines and ongoing activities serve as a testament to the enduring relevance of these practices. Al-Muhibbin’s album serves as a valuable resource, guiding the preservation of *hadrah* practices that continue to be practised today. The 4/4 time signature, commonly known as common time, contributes to the continued preservation of *hadrah al-banjari*, even if it is not practised more frequently. This preservation is further supported by Muslim scholars and *da’i*, especially Ḥaḍramīs, who, in their assemblies, express their preference for the *hadrah* music model, sometimes even advocating for its simplicity, with only the terbang as an additional musical instrument. This chapter underscores that while Indonesia has become more receptive to music, as discussed in the previous chapter, *hadrah* can still be preserved through its close alignment with Islamic propriety and values.

CHAPTER 4

FESTIVALISING HADRAH: PURSUING ISLAMIC ART THROUGH FESTIVAL AL-BANJARI

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the intersection of *hadrah* with Indonesia during the process of continuous Islamisation. This is evident in the growing prevalence of Islamic symbols and the increasing visibility of Islam in public spaces.²⁰² *Hadrah*, an Islamic tradition practised since the 19th century, has undergone significant development and transformation. It has evolved in its musical aspects, with the emergence of music albums, the incorporation of instruments, and diverse approaches. Despite these changes, *hadrah* continues to resonate with Islamic values while maintaining and even popularising its appeal as an art form. The phenomenon, however, does not exclusively happen in *hadrah* or in the Indonesian Muslim context, but it happens in Malaysia through negotiating *nasyid* music, a popularised Islamic music without the accompaniment of musical instruments.²⁰³

I will delve into the significance of *hadrah* performances on festival stages, particularly in East Java, as a testament to the ongoing efforts of Islamisation amidst the diachrony of commercialisation and the increasing affordability of media. The festivalisation of *hadrah* performances is a crucial aspect of these events, as it involves a delicate balance between the organisers' rules and preferences, as well as the willingness of both parties to participate.²⁰⁴ In this chapter, I will focus on two prominent *al-banjari* festivals: the *festival al-banjari* held by IQMA (Ikatan Qori' Qori'ah Mahasiswa) UIN (Universitas Islam Negeri, State Islamic University) Sunan Ampel Surabaya²⁰⁵, which has become an annual fixture, and the *al-banjari* festivals organised by national political figures and government entities, such as Muhaimin Iskandar and Moeldoko. These festivals will be compared to earlier festivals to highlight the evolution of *hadrah* performances over

²⁰² Hasan, "The Making of Public Islam"; Ansor, "Post-Islamism and the Remaking of Islamic Public Sphere in Post-Reform Indonesia"; Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur'an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*; Rijal, "Consuming and Disputing Aisha Song: The Quest for Pleasure & Islamic Romance in Contemporary Indonesia"; Rijal, "Performing Arab Saints and Marketing the Prophet."

²⁰³ Seneviratne, *Countering MTV Influence in Indonesia and Malaysia*; Sarkissian, "Religion Never Had It so Good."

²⁰⁴ See, ee, Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur'an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*; Rasmussen, "The Qur'an in Indonesian Daily Life."

²⁰⁵ IQMA is an UKM (*Unit Kegiatan Mahasiswa*, Student Activity Unit). Until 2013, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya was IAIN (*Institut Agama Islam Negeri*, State Islamic Institute) Sunan Ampel Surabaya.

time. Additionally, I will explore the complex rules and regulations that govern these festivals, which aim to preserve, enhance, and challenge participants to excel.

This chapter will conclude with a discussion of how *hadrah al-banjari*, a genre of music performed at festivals, finds its audience on social media. I will demonstrate how *hadrah al-banjari*, both from festival recordings and exclusively produced for content, reaches its audience. This conclusion reinforces my argument that *hadrah al-banjari* is preferred musically and from an Islamic perspective due to its close ties to traditional Muslim traditions, its restrictive and challenging *festivalisation*, and its performances in both real and virtual public spaces.

4.2 *Festival al-Banjari: a brief discussion and its earlier years*

As a historically rooted tradition for Indonesian Muslims, *hadrah* began to face competition as early as 1934 in Tasikmalaya, West Java, to accompany the celebration of the Prophet's birthday. As discussed in Chapter 2, this competition was an Islamic music competition, with *hadrah* and *terbang* emerging as superior practices among the contestants. The festival attracted 60 groups and was held over two consecutive days.²⁰⁶ However, I couldn't delve deeper into *hadrah*'s competitive phase until it became more evident in the final years of the New Order.

Hadrah, a genre of Islamic music and performance, appeared at the Festival Istiqlal held in Jakarta in 1991 and 1995. During these appearances, *hadrah* was showcased alongside other Islamic arts like *qasidah* and *rebana*. *Hadrah* was seen to represent East Javanese Muslim tradition, as well as a Sufi tradition.²⁰⁷ Before the 1998 Reformasi, *hadrah* lacked a dedicated stage for its own genre, and it was often categorised alongside other Islamic sonic and performative arts. However, after the Reformasi, the Festival Tetauhan was held in 2001, which featured *hadrah* as one of its contested categories.²⁰⁸

In the present day, in East Java, the *festival al-banjari* constitutes a competition with a variety of prize pools and levels. The rule of each festival might differ, but in the basics, it is the same; four *terbangs* and a hand bass, and the performance must be based on *hadrah al-banjari* rhythms. In November 2022, one of the vice speakers of the House of Representatives of Indonesia (*Wakil Ketua Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik*

²⁰⁶ *Alg. Handelsbl. Voor Ned.-Indië*, "Algemeen Handelsblad Voor Nederlandsch-Indië," Dag edition, June 30, 1934.

²⁰⁷ T. I., "Festival Istiqlal Diharapkan Dorong Pusat Kebudayaan Islam," *Kompas* (Jakarta), July 19, 1991; ION and ARY, "Dari Festival Istiqlal Menonton Warna Seni Islam dari Madura dan Aceh," *Kompas* (Jakarta), October 19, 1991; TI/KEN, "Keragaman yang Menggoda," *Kompas* (Jakarta), October 11, 1995.

²⁰⁸ "Lintas Jatim: Festival Tetauhan di Malang," *Kompas*, November 6, 2001.

Indonesia') held Gus Muhaimin's²⁰⁹ *Festival Albanjari se-Jawa Timur* (Gus Muhaimin's *al-banjari festival all-East Java*). It was held in seven cities all over East Java. The winners of each city will be competing in the final stage, which consists of 30 groups.



Figure 4.1. A pamphlet of the Gus Muhaimin Festival al-Banjari.
(Source: liputanjatim.com)²¹⁰

Gus Muhaimin Festival Albanjari gave a hint of the exposure that *al-banjari* has been getting. It also shows that *al-banjari* is a respectable commodity to be concerned about, even by a national politician. As a Muslim music tradition, which, in a way, is very simple, it has its own audience and performers that could sustain itself in the context of 'modernity'. The intersection between traditions, especially Islamic traditions, with modernity has recently concern for many scholars. In the intersection between a sort of *mawlid*, *al-banjari* is on the opposite side compared to *Zikir Maulud*, which argues to struggle in its intersection with modernity.²¹¹ For this context of intersections between *al-banjari* and modernity, I use Thimm's argument that 'modernity is the ability and possibility to bridge the past with the present.'²¹² In this context, *festival al-banjari* could be understood as a pursuit to negotiate the past (*al-banjari*, as an Islamic music tradition)

²⁰⁹ Gus Muhaimin is after his very name, Muhaimin Iskandar. He is also the chairman of *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (PKB, 'National Awakening Party'), and a candidate of vice president of the 2024 Presidential Election.

²¹⁰ T. Deni, "Dear Group Al-Banjari Jawa Timur, November 2022 Ada Event Lomba Bergengsi Nih! Total Hadiah Ratusan Juta," Berita, *LIPUTAN JATIM*, October 24, 2022, <https://www.liputanjatim.com/dear-group-al-banjari-jawa-timur-november-2022-ada-event-lomba-bergengsi-nih-total-hadiah-ratusan-juta/>.

²¹¹ Mee, "The Ebb and Flow of Popular Islamic Music Forms."

²¹² Viola Thimm, "Embodying and Consuming Modernity on Muslim Pilgrimage: Gendered Shopping and Clothing Practices by Malaysian Women on 'Umrah and Ziarah Dubai,'" *Asian Anthropology* 17, no. 3 (2018): 188, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1683478X.2018.1483477>.

with the present. On the one hand, *al-banjari* performances retain their Islamic identity and symbols through the songs they sing. However, festivals, which are characterised by competition, are a sign of modernity because they reflect the consumption and materialism associated with commodification.²¹³

Festival al-banjari has not only been conducted by Islamic institutions but also by more neutral and secular institutions, such as Bank Indonesia (the central bank of the Republic of Indonesia), Jawa Pos (a mainstream mass-media in Indonesia), the official government (as individuals or offices), etc. In those events, it is common to find the obligatory jingle songs being sung on the stages by the participants. In Gus Muhaimin Festival Albanjari, every group is obligated to sing certain keywords, such as “Gus Muhaimin Presiden 2024”²¹⁴, in the context of Gus Muhaimin *Festival al-Banjari*.²¹⁵ Another example is to mention a certain brand in their performance, such as “*Luwak White Coffee*.”²¹⁶

To some extent, the rule in the *festival al-banjari* might never be the same. There are additional rules like the *jingle* I mentioned above, *lagu wajib* (obligatory song), or even, to a musical extent.²¹⁷ One of the fundamental rules in *festival al-banjari* (in later years) is the number of participants in each group and the musical instruments allowed. A group of participants must consist of 10 people, with 5 as vocalists and 5 as terbang and bass performers. This rule seems to have emerged in later years, but in the earlier years, many groups often used this format, and the winners also used this format. However, this is merely a correlation, not necessarily a causation, as other sources have shown that the first champion performance included more than 10 people and also involved dance.

²¹³ See, Dietrich Jung, “Modernity, Islamic Traditions, and the Good Life: An Outline of the Modern Muslim Subjectivities Project,” *Review of Middle East Studies* 50, no. 1 (2016): 18–27.

²¹⁴ ‘(Gus) Muhaimin president of (Indonesia) in 2024’. 2024 is when the Presidential Election will be held in Indonesia.

²¹⁵  [LIVE] GRAND FINAL GUS MUHAIMIN FESTIVAL AL-BANJARI SE-JAWA TIMUR, directed by Muhaimin Iskandar, 2022, 11:54:55, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LusIB8e9he0>.

²¹⁶ *Zalزالah Uin Malang Juara 2 Final Jawapos 2013*, directed by Delta Musik, 2013, 8:05, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bDN6onBa_xg. *Luwak White Coffee* is a relatively big coffee brand in Indonesia. In the context of Festival Ramadan Jawa Pos, it was the main sponsor of Festival Ramadhan Jawa Pos 2013.

²¹⁷ Musical rules regarding the tempo of the playing, for example, and the playing itself. In the 2019, in Festival al-Banjari Dies Natalis IQMA UIN Surabaya, participants must play with different scheme from what Agha explained before. Instead of playing with two main roles, they must play it with three main roles.



Figure 4.2. *Festival Banjari* at Malang level in 2006. There is a *darbuka*—goblet drum—and a bass played by a single person.

(Source: Mas Budh's Facebook post)²¹⁸



Figure 4.3. One of the participants in the Festival al-Banjari in Lamongan, 2005. It seems another musical instrument(s) were performed, with only three vocalists.

(Source: PONPES IHYAUL ULUM MANYAR LAMONGAN YouTube channel)²¹⁹



Figure 4.4. One of the participants in Festival Sholawat al-Banjari, all-Jombang and Mojokerto in 2006. There are only 4 vocalists, but without any additional musical instruments.

(Source: Santri Dentan YouTube channel)²²⁰

²¹⁸ Mas Budh, "Laskar Jabal Rohmah Periode 2005-2006," Facebook, 2012, <https://www.facebook.com/share/199dvqLxmY/>.

²¹⁹ *Festival Shalawat Manyar 0004*, directed by PONPES IHYAUL ULUM MANYAR LAMONGAN, 2018, 8:58, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VtE2SG5t5vw>.

²²⁰ "Dwi Muhasabatul Qolbi - Al Ahmad - Suluk Labbaikallah - Bismillah Labbaina 2006 - YouTube," n.d., accessed December 1, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MszYde-swEg>.



Figure 4.5. The winner of the Festival Sholawat al-Banjari, all-Malang and Pasuruan in 2010.
(Source: Nasih Muhammad YouTube channel)²²¹



Figure 4.6. Two vocalists share a microphone in *Festival al-Banjari* at PPQ. Nurul Huda Singosari, Malang 2009.
(Source: Pondok Pesantren al-Qur'an Nurul Huda YouTube channel)²²²

The early years of the *festival al-banjari* were characterised by random contests. Some groups performed dances, used additional instruments like the terbang and bass, or had more than five vocalists. It remains uncertain whether this was due to the rule not accommodating these conditions or if the groups simply wanted to do so. This phenomenon might be attributed to the lack of authority within *al-banjari*. Essentially, until now, there has been no authority in *al-banjari*. In the context of a festival, anyone can conduct the *festival al-banjari*, and anyone can be a member of the judging panel. This vague situation has been tried to be minimised by the attempts to get the authority of the judges. In the later years, the authority seems to emerge, since the committee of the judge is filled by particular people, especially those who are affiliated with IQMA (Ikatan Qori'-Qori'ah Mahasiswa, Student Qāri'-Qāri'a Association)²²³ UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya.

²²¹ *Festival Albajari Se Pasuruan Malang Al Asyiqiyah Juara I Hasbi Robby*, directed by Nasih Muhammad, 2012, 4:51, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LXm88GUkCkx>.

²²² "*Ala Ya Rosulallah*" by *Darussalam*, directed by Pondok Pesantren Al-Qur'an Nurul Huda Singosari, 2020, 5:04, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ejKOEsn5yI>.

²²³ It is an UKM (Unit Kegiatan Mahasiswa, 'Student Activity Unit'). Qāri' and qāri'a mean man and woman al-Qur'an reciters (to some extent, skillful). But the UKM is not exclusively for the Quran reciters. In IQMA, there are other Islamic art sections for students, such as calligraphy,

The aforementioned significant festivals, such as the Gus Muhaimin Festival al-Banjari, Moeldoko, and the Festival al-Banjari Pekan Sholawat Nusantara Situbondo, employ judges affiliated with IQMA. In the subsequent section, I delve into the process through which IQMA-affiliated judges formulate their assessments. This process is intrinsically linked to IQMA's annual organisation of the *Festival al-Banjari*, which commenced in 2005. On the one hand, the judges contribute to the development of the widely recognised assessment form, providing IQMA with a platform to showcase their evaluation. Moreover, the Festival al-Banjari presents challenging requirements that motivate participants to enhance their performance, encompassing both musical aesthetics and Islamic values.

4.3 Pursuits from within: the assessment forming and IQMA's *festival al-banjari*

As I discussed above, nowadays *festival al-banjari* tend to choose IQMA-affiliated judges, which can be a sign of their authority. How they get their authoritative position in *festival al-banjari* seems to be an organic process, but it is worth discussing their pursuit to 'improve' *al-banjari* through *festival al-banjari*'s rules. Their decision to make the *festival al-banjari* IQMA examined by 11 judges is a statement of their greatness and authority. It was also they to formed the scoring form.²²⁴ The scoring form they created is very popular at East Java's *al-banjari* festivals, and its widespread existence is also worth considering.

Basically, the total point of the performance is 100, and it is divided into three assessed categories: voice and songs (40 points), *terbang* or music (30 points), and *adab and syair* (etiquette and lyrics) (30 points). The assessment is based on point reduction, and every participant starts with 100 points before their point is reduced because of the mistakes they make. The mistake is divided into two scales, *jali* (clear mistake) and *khafi* ('invisible' mistake), while the former is 2 times bigger than the latter.

The idea behind the form assessment is to have a more objective assessment for the participants. The point system was then to add as many points until the maximum points, but it creates problems such as the subjectivity of the judge. "So, there are no more sayings such as 'that is my student, or that is my family member,' that affect the assessment." Moreover, the closer assessment form comes from LASQI (*Lembaga Seni Qasidah Indonesia*), but it is not compatible with *hadrah al-banjari*. The form doesn't concern the *hadrah al-banjari* patterns. After a series of discussions, IQMA's seniors, such

sholawat, and *gambus*. For *qāri'* and *qāri'a* in depth, see Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur'an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*.

²²⁴ 'form penilaian', which consists of several aspects to be examined by each judge. It seems as new and as an attempt to formalise the *festival al-banjari*.

as Ust. Rizal, Ust. Suaib, Ust. Farid and a non-IQMA member, Gus Mas Hafidz, conclude the form. The form is generally inspired by the MTQ (*Musabaqah Tilawatil Qur'an*, the Qur'an Recitation Competition), with an addition within the *terbang* or music category, as well as slight changes in the voice category.²²⁵

The voice and song category consists of the following areas:

- 1) *Keutuhan dan power suara*: totality and power or strength of the voice
- 2) *Kejernihan, kehalusan suara*: clarity and refinement of the voice
- 3) *Variasi suara*: voice variations
- 4) *Kesesuaian vocal dan backing vocal*: vocalist and backing vocalists' harmony
- 5) *Peralihan lagu*: the song transition
- 6) *Keutuhan dan tempo lagu*: the wholeness of the song (melodic line) and the totality of the tempo
- 7) *Keindahan lagu*: the song fineness
- 8) *Kreativitas*: creativity.

The *terbang* assessment category consists of:

- 1) *Irama Dasar al-Banjari*: basic rhythm of al-Banjari
- 2) *Power pukulan*: the power or the strength of the beat
- 3) *Akurasi pukulan*: the accuracy of the beat
- 4) *Tempo*: the tempo
- 5) *Dinamika*: the dynamics of the beats
- 6) *Keserasian*: congeniality
- 7) *Variasi al-Banjari*: variations
- 8) *Harmonisasi*: harmony

And the *adab dan syair* category consists of:

- 1) *Muro'atul Kalimat*: word considerateness
- 2) *Kesiapan Peserta & Performance*: the performers' readiness and performance
- 3) *Ekspresi & Penghayatan*: expressions

The influence of the MTQ's assessment form is evident in the voice and song category, while the other two categories are determined based on the agreed-upon terms among IQMA judges. In the voice and song category, additional sections are provided to

²²⁵ For further discussions about MTQ, see, Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur'an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*. In Rasmussen's work, there is also a discussion regarding the assessment forms. The newer MTQ form is also available online. See, Ahmad Zayadi et al., *BUKU PEDOMAN MUSABAQAH AL-QUR'AN & AL-HADITS TAHUN 2023* (Direktorat Penerangan Agama Islam, 2023); "Blanko Formulir Penilaian MTQ Jatim XXX 2023.Docx," accessed June 10, 2025, https://docs.google.com/document/d/e/2PACX-1vSPVLFn2BxmTUCjxbKJeLMOdGfwE6rlulG4OX8QvK3F1IPACbpTbKDm2HXIqH_2fA/pub.

accommodate the context of the lead vocalist and the backing vocalists, as there are no backing vocalists in MTQ. These additional sections include voice variations that the judges perceive as distinct tonal expressions used to create choir harmony, particularly during the lead vocalist's chanting. This type of variation adds complexity and aesthetics to the song. This variation is also evident in the newer albums of Syauqul Habib and Muhasabatul Qolbi.

The song transition section covers how performers can correctly sing different parts of their performance during the festival. Generally, a festival can force the participants to perform *ibtihāl*, *mawāl*, or a solo improvisation by a lead vocalist before the first song. Thus, the song transition covers the transition from the *ibtihāl*, to the first song and the second song. The *nagham* of each part, however, is not necessarily the same, but the progression has to be performed correctly.

The tempo section focuses on how the vocalists can perform the song thoroughly with a consistent and steady tempo. While variations in tempo are acceptable, sudden changes or beat mistakes are considered incorrect. The *keindahan* and *variasi* sections are more subjective. Both sections emphasise the performers' ability to deliver a good performance, avoiding excessive deviations or even surpassing the original *munshid*. The reference to the original *munshid* highlights Ust. Suaib and Mas Hafidz Basyaiban's preference for aesthetics and decorum in the performance. However, the music judges, such as Ust. Farid, considers Near Eastern songs more challenging to perform, favouring them in that regard. The preference was also shown during the IQMA's festival al-banjari 2018, where the participants must perform a song from the Near Eastern *munshids*. The *munshids* are 'Imād Rāmī, Nūruddin (Khūrshīd), Muṣṭafā al-Ja'farī, Mas'ūd Kurtis (Mesut Kurtis), Abū al-Jūd, Mu'taṣim bi'Llāh (al-'Asalī), Yaḥyā Baṣal, and 'Ammār Ṣarṣar.



Figure 4.7. A pamphlet of the Festival Sholawat Al-Banjari held by IQMA.
(Source: Nita Yunita's Facebook post)²²⁶

Compared to the earlier *festival al-banjari*, the present-day participants of *festival al-banjari* are relatively better in terms of songs and voice scoring. This is because they have improved their choral execution and the complexity of their songs. Ustadz Suaib Effendi agrees that there are significant improvements in the *festival al-banjari* scenes.²²⁷ In one of his interviews, he states jokingly, “Nowadays, the quality of the festival al-banjari participants is very good, especially vocal-wise and *terbang*-wise. But if you still do not win anyway, ah! I do not know. You should know the problem better.”²²⁸

Moving back to discussing the assessment category. The *musik* or *terbang* category concerns how the *al-banjari* rhythm is played. *Irama dasar* is the basic al-banjari rhythm, which the participant must fulfil those 5 patterns in their songs. The *irama dasar* point highlights the importance and attempts to perform the *al-banjari* rhythm. The *power pukulan* point is about how powerful the beat of the *terbang*. It has no objective indicator of how performers' beats are powerful enough or not. There is also no indicator of the *akurasi* point, which concerns the accuracy of the *tak* and *dum* sounds performed. It depends on how the judge perceives the sounds.

²²⁶ Nita Yunita, Facebook, July 4, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2151151615170540&set=a.1809786235973748&type=3>.

²²⁷ Cak is a Javanese term. It means big brother. In this context, the term is a sign of respect.

²²⁸ *Penilaian Vokal Fesban Jawa Timur !! - Ust. Suaib Effendi | 3 Tune Official*, directed by 3 Tune Official, 2021, 59:46, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xLW3B0i7xpA>. The interview was conducted in 2021, and published in 1 October 2021.

The dynamics section is interesting because it concerns how the *al-banjari* patterns are performed, and it is related to several accentuations in many beats, to create a more *dynamic* sound. Thus, although the patterns seem to be plain because they consist of just *tak* and *dum*, the play is cadenced. In several beats, it must be accentuated, and generally, during the backing vocalists' part, the beats must be louder. The *dinamika* aspect is meant for the terbang performers to mimic the complex cadence of the *hadrah al-banjari*, which was then played by more than 4 *terbangs*.

The variation section, however, involves ornamenting the beats to enhance the song's beauty and aesthetic appeal. Several *festival al-banjari* require participants to incorporate musical variations from Arabic rhythms (*iqā'āt*), fill the transition between songs with terbang variations, or conclude the performance with *terbang* variations. These pursuits aim to elevate the *hadrah* performance without compromising the *irama dasar*, and the limited percussion instruments that can be played, which are four *terbangs* and a bass.

Moving to the *adab* and *syair* category, it consists of *murā'ā al-kalima* ('word consideration'), *kesiapan dan performance* (readiness and performance), and *penghayatan dan ekspresi* (solemnity and expressions). The *murā'ā al-kalima* forces participant to carefully observe their pronunciation and songs' lyrics. The reasons are to educate the participants about their Arabic pronunciation, so the meaning of the lyrics is also correct. Mas Abdullah Hafidz Basyaiban (henceforth Gus Hafidz) told me, "For instance, if we mean *Rabbī 'allimnā* (o, God, teach us!) but recite it with *Rabbī 'allimnā* (o, God, hurt us!), mind the difference!" In the end, the goal is to make the participants used to recite correctly, and eventually they recite the Quran correctly, as at least in the *fātiha*, so they can practise their *ṣalā*.

Although the term is simple, *murā'ā al-kalima* consists of more than just a word consideration. It also concerns the song or verse used during the *festival al-banjari*. Gus Hafidz told me that before the assessment form was settled, he found a participant performing a Shī'ī verse. "The song is all about praising 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and I couldn't find any praise for the Prophet Muhammad. Then I discuss it with other judges, that we have to do something about the problem." The latter events of the *festival al-banjari* show that the performers must perform *munajat* and/or *sholawat*. Both terms are general, and they mean either the verse must mean the prayer to God and/or the praises to the Prophet Muhammad. Mas Abdullah Hafidz repetitively told me that the performers (to the extent of *majelis*'s performers) should know better the meaning of what they recite. "It is very unfortunate that we, all this long, don't know what we do and what we recite," he adds.

The shift between the earlier years of the *festival al-banjari* and the later years is evident from this perspective. Another pursuit under the *adab* is the dismissal of dancing in the *festival al-banjari*. One aspect of the scoring form is *penghayatan* (solemnity) and *ekspresi* (expressions). Dance is considered incorrect and violates these aspects. In the musical context of the scoring, the rules of the *festival al-banjari* now only allow the use of four *terbangs* and one bass, which clearly distinguishes it from other festivals like ‘*festival hadrah*’, ‘*festival rebana*’, etc.

Ustadz Nada, another prominent judge member for the vocal and songs category, states that chorale in the *festival al-banjari*, in a more sophisticated version and with relatively good execution, was started in 2010. It was done by an *al-banjari* group from ITS (*Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember* Surabaya). That performance was in the Festival Ramadan Jawa Pos 2010 in Surabaya. Before that, the chorale from *al-banjari* groups existed, but in a simpler way. For example, Afqorul Waro from Jombang, in the Festival al-Banjari PPQ. Nurul Huda had already done that kind of composition in 2008.²²⁹ The chorale was done in two different voices, and three at maximum (in a relatively small part of the song). In the nowadays *festival al-banjari*, the chorale is more sophisticated because it consists of four different voices and one lead vocalist. Nevertheless, the chorale at the *festival al-banjari* is not perfect. Ustadz Nada, as a musician and an arranger, talks about this in one of his interviews:

“People are sometimes confused, does voice number two²³⁰ raise his tone or not? ... [T]here are two ways to be able to make a harmony: the first is by intuitions, which are mostly done by the festival al-banjari performers, and the second way is by learning its theory.”

Both Ustadz Suaib and Ustadz Nada are related to IQMA, but they have different backgrounds. Ustadz Suaib is older and has more experience in the al-banjari scene. There is a video of his voice with a description of the *al-banjari* music album by IQMA in 2005.²³¹ Besides his al-banjari experience, he was also one of the officials for the Mojokerto team in the MTQ conducted in 2023.²³² Similar but not the same, Ustadz Nada was close with *tilāwa* (Qur’an recitations) since he was a child, but since his time in high school, he started to like music. His interest in music was later strengthened by joining PSM (*Paduan Suara*

²²⁹ *Festival Al Banjari PPQ Nurul Huda 2008, JINAL MADINAH, Afqorul Waro*, directed by Ensemble Studios, 2023, 3:20, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZZDBrAjzMMM>.

²³⁰ This is a simplified term for a voice with a note above (not always the case) the original note for chords.

²³¹ *Al-Banjari IQMA 2005; LEGEND !! Asmaul Husna - Ust. Suaib Effendi | IQMA 2005*, directed by Abdul Aziz At - Trawasiy, 2022, 5:03, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAZjfTKbCAA>.

²³² “Data Peserta Sesuai Kafilah | Musabaqah Center,” accessed January 17, 2024, <https://musabaqah.id/mtq-jatim-30-kota-pasuruan/daftar/rekap/kafilah/kabupaten-mojokerto>.

Mahasiswa, Students' Choir Community) in IAIN Sunan Ampel (now UIN Sunan Ampel). His meeting with al-banjari was in 2008, with the IQMA al-banjari group at a festival al-banjari in Masjid Al-Akbar Surabaya.

Other authoritative judges have similar backgrounds to Ustadz Suaib and Ustadz Nada; either they have a big influence in IQMA, or they are members of Syauqul Habib. Syauqul Habib has a higher ratio of judges from the same group compared to other big groups in the same period, such as Kun Fayakun, Muhasabatul Qolbi, and Asy-Syubbani. The close relationship between IQMA and Syauqul Habib is one of the reasons for that because IQMA organises the festival al-banjari every year, and in later years, the judges are 11 persons, consisting of 5 to judge vocals and songs, 5 to score music (*terbang*), and 1 to score the *adab* category. Besides the quantity of judges and the scoring format, the *festival al-banjari* in IQMA also tries to push participants by specific rules related to musical aspects that challenge participants to prepare harder to perform in the festival.

REKAPITULASI																		
PENILAIAN FESTIVAL AL BANJARI IQMA 2016																		
NO	NO PESERTA	NAMA GROUP	ALAMAT	NILAI											JURILAH	PERINGKAT		
				VOCAL					Rata2	BANJARI							Rata2	ADAB
Jun 1	Jun 2	Jun 3	Jun 4	Jun 5	Jun 1	Jun 2	Jun 3	Jun 4		Jun 5								
53	53	IQAS	MALANG	30.5	30.5	30.5	30.5	37	30.00	29	29	30	29	29.5	29.30	28.5	98.80	1
59	59	AR ROUZHDIH	JOMBANG	30	30	30	30	37	30.40	29	28	30	27	28	28.40	28	94.80	2
41	41	ASY SYAFARIH	SIDOARJO	38	37.5	37.5	38	37	37.60	28.5	29	29.5	27	27	28.20	27.5	93.30	3
52	52	ALAMAK	SIDOARJO	38.5	38.5	39	38	38	38.60	29	29	29.5	28	29	28.50	28.5	92.60	4
43	43	NASHA	IQBANJARI	38	38	37	37	37	36.60	27.5	28	28.5	27	28	27.80	27.5	91.80	5
44	44	NASA	MALANG	37	38	37.5	36	33	36.30	29	28	29.5	26.5	26	27.60	27	91.10	6
37	37	AS SALVIA	MALANG	37	35.5	37	37.5	31	35.60	28.5	28	30	28	28	28.50	28.5	90.60	7
39	39	AL HABIB	STAN KEDIRI	38	35	36	37.5	36	36.50	28	27	28.5	26	26	27.10	27	90.60	7
57	57	TSAMROTUL QOHWAH	JOMBANG	38	36.5	36.5	37	36	37.60	28.5	27	29	25	28	27.50	24.5	89.60	9
58	58	AL KAROMAH	SIDOARJO	38	38.5	37.5	38	36	37.60	28.5	27	29.5	27	28	28.00	24	89.60	9
61	61	AZ DAMANI	WONOCOLO SURABAYA	39	38	38	37.5	36	37.70	28.5	28	29	27	26	28.90	25	89.60	9
43	43	ASHATUL MUHIBIN	STAN KEDIRI	35.5	36	35	35	32	34.70	28.5	27	28	26	27	27.30	25.5	88.50	12
48	48	SULTANUL ACHAR	IRIMBARO	35	37	34.5	36	34	35.50	28.5	27	29	27	26	27.50	24	88.80	13
58	58	ORCHIBARU	MALANG	36	36	35	35	33	34.60	26.5	27	26	26.5	27	26.00	25	86.20	14
60	60	NTE	SIDOARJO	35	35	35.5	35.5	34	35.70	27.5	28	27.5	26.5	26	27.10	25	85.60	15
9	9	SYAUQUL ILAH	MALANG	33.5	34	37	34	31	34.50	28	28	28	25	25	26.40	24.5	85.40	16
25	25	AN NUZULIA	TAMBAK SARI SURABAYA	38	35	35	36	32	35.20	27.5	27	29	24	26	26.70	23.5	85.40	16
50	50	SYAUQUL HABIB	SURABAYA	34	36	31	34	30	33.00	28	27	28.5	27	27	27.50	24.5	85.00	18
51	51	EL RASYD	TULUNGAGUNG	36	37	36	35	35	35.80	27.5	25	28	25	26	26.30	22.5	84.60	19

Figure 4.8. The result of the Festival al-Banjari Dies Maulidiyah IQMA 2016, which shows the points from 11 judges.

(Source: Muhammad Yazid Albustomi's Facebook post)²³³

Starting in 2015, there was a specific rule requiring participants to prepare one fixed song to perform and two additional songs that would be chosen before their performance. The challenge was really to find 3 different songs that match each other in the context of note (or *nagham*²³⁴, to simplify the context) and duration. Compared to preparing only two songs, which is usually what one group does before a festival, IQMA sought to push the limits of the participants. In 2016, the rule was that the two songs that would be sung consisted of one obligatory song, which was shuffled from *yā Rasūl Allāh*, *ṣalātullāh mā lāḥat kawākib*, *yā Badra timm*, *yā Nabī salām 'alayk*, and from Qaṣida al-Burda by al-

²³³ Muhammad Yazid Albustomi, "Rekap Nilai Fesban IQMA 2016," Facebook, May 8, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1289970121031529&set=pcb.1037938562957323>.

²³⁴ A system of scales. *Nagham* is also called as *maqām*. For the details, see Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*, 4.

Būṣirī. The other song was chosen by a judge from several songs that participants had prepared. Participants were only informed about these two songs before their performance.

In 2017, besides the songs that needed to be provided, the distinctive rule was to perform a song with a slow tempo. This ‘slow tempo’ song is related to *terbang* plays, because with ‘slow tempo’, *terbangs* are played in different ways, but not totally different from the ‘original’ format.²³⁵ In 2018, performers were obligated to sing only one song, but they were obligated to provide four songs, by ten specific ‘original’ *munshids*, and then the judge would choose one song. Another distinctive rule in 2018’s IQMA was to start each performance with *ibtihāl*, or a solo lyric recitation by a person.²³⁶ In 2019, the rule was to provide 4 songs which would be chosen to be performed.



Figure 4.9. Eight out of 11 judges of the Festival al-Banjari IQMA 2019. (Source: GENCAR RECORD YouTube video)²³⁷

The emergence of ‘authoritative’ judges and distinctive rules in the *festival al-banjari* can be seen as a progressive development within the scene. But it was said by Ustadz Suaib and Mas Abdullah Hafidz Basyaiban that distinctive rules and developing the scoring format are meant to improve *al-banjari* performers outside the *festival al-banjari*. He states that the aim is to improve the quality of them in the *majelis*. Therefore, one of the rules at the IQMA *al-banjari festival* was to perform one song from a popular mawlid; it is hoped that performers can be more familiar with *mawlid*-based songs and verses. From the *adab* perspective, it is expected of them to recite mawlid and songs with better pronunciation, and even to respect the texts and lyrics. From the vocal perspective, it is expected of them to sing a song and recite mawlid texts more beautifully. From a music perspective, they are expected to play *terbangs* of better quality.²³⁸ The mentioned aim is a

²³⁵ For al-banjari players, a ‘slow tempo terbang plays’ means *terbang lambatan*. Its literal meaning is (playing) *terbang* slowly. It is not always related to certain bpm (beats per minute) of the song, but more to the decision to play the form of *lambatan* or not.

²³⁶ The *ibtihāl* term in festival al-banjari is also known as *mawal* and *suluk*, but the practice is basically the same.

²³⁷ *Bustanul Azhar - FesBan Dies Maulidiyah IQMA 2019*, directed by GENCAR RECORD, 2019, 07:11, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N6L9PYc8VWo>.

²³⁸ *Penilaian Vokal Fesban Jawa Timur !! - Ust. Suaib Effendi | 3 Tune Official*.

clear message that the *festival al-banjari* is not only a medium for entertainment but also serves a religious purpose for which it originated.

4.4 Result from within, pursuits from without: the media and the big *festival al-banjari*

In 2009, there were pursuits from *al-banjari* enthusiasts who shared the recording of the *festival al-banjari* on Facebook or their blogs. With those posts, *al-banjari* was more accessible. Nowadays, a video taken from the *festival al-banjari* can hit hundreds of thousands of views (see Figure 4.10 and Figure 4.11). Furthermore, there are YouTube accounts dedicated to publishing *festival al-banjari* videos, as well as *al-banjari* content in general (see Figure 4.11).

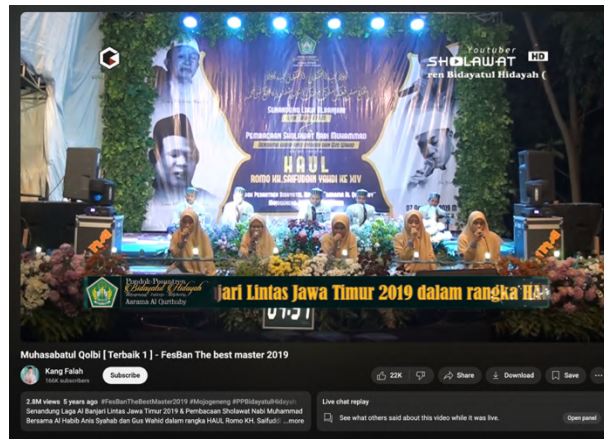


Figure 4.10. A video of Festival al-Banjari in Mojokerto 2019 with 2,8 million views. (Source: Kang Falah YouTube channel)²³⁹



Figure 4.11. A video of Festival al-Banjari in Madiun 2019 with 1,1 million views. (Source: SEMANGAT BERBAGI YouTube channel)²⁴⁰

²³⁹ *Muhasabatul Qolbi [Terbaik 1] - FesBan The Best Master 2019*, directed by Kang Falah, 2019, 09:56, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X_KYi3pS6_U.

²⁴⁰ *Sukarol Munsyid - FesBan KEMENAG Madiun 2019*, directed by SEMANGAT BERBAGI, 2019, 10:34, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VaZ6KOC4Qd4>.

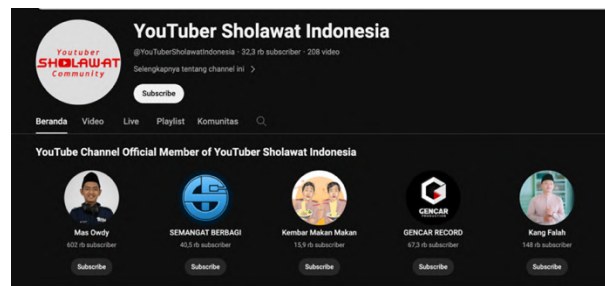


Figure 4.12. YouTube accounts dedicated to *festival al-banjari* and *hadrah al-banjari* in general.
(Source: YouTuber Sholawat Indonesia)

Mas Owdy, the biggest account compared to others, started to provide al-banjari on the internet through his blog around 2014, owdyworld.blogspot.com (now inactive). In his blog, he self-proclaimed himself as a journalist of *al-banjari*. To spread his content, he utilised Facebook groups from the big *al-banjari* groups such as Syauqul Habib and Muhasabatul Qolbi. On his blog, as he mentioned in his pamphlet, he provided info for al-banjari's events, audio files, videos, lyrics, recordings, and 'news'. Another notable blog of this kind is nuryahman.blogspot.com (now inactive). The blog started earlier than Mas Owdy's, as it was started in 2009. Mas Owdy's blog consisted of, but was not limited to, *al-banjari*. It consisted of other Islamic songs, such as groups that used electronic musical instruments.²⁴¹



Figure 4.13. A pamphlet of 'a blog of al-banjari's journalist.' It was shared in 2014.
(Source: Facebook group of 'Syauqul Habib (group sholawat al-banjari'²⁴²)

²⁴¹ It is still seeable through waybackmachine (web.archive.org).

²⁴² "Syauqul Habib (Group Sholawat al-Banjari) | Facebook," accessed January 16, 2024, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/185452864807671/permalink/747773681908917>.

Festival al-Banjari, or in the more general context, has been contested at various levels. As I explained above, the *festival al-banjari* has been organised by Islamic institutions, government or political figures, Islamic and non-Islamic universities, or by individuals to celebrate certain personal events such as marriage, circumcision (*khitān*), *aqīqa*, etc. *Festival al-banjari* from Islamic institutions, such as *pesantren*, Islamic universities, Islamic organisations, and branches of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Even several *pesantrens* have been organising the *festival al-banjari* as their annual agenda. For example, Pondok Pesantren Al-Kautsar Durenan Trenggalek has the *festival al-banjari* for their annual agenda in *mawlid* celebrations.²⁴³ Other Islamic organisations that organise *festival al-banjari* are *Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama* (IPNU, Nahdlatul Ulama's student association), mosques, and madrasas.

In the case of non-Islamic universities and the *festival al-banjari* they have been organising, it is mostly through the religious units of student activity (UKM, *Unit Kegiatan Mahasiswa*). For example, UKM *Seni Religi* (student activity associations of religious arts) Universitas Brawijaya Malang in 2021 and 2022.²⁴⁴ Other organisers, such as Bank Indonesia in 2016, mainstream media, such as Jawa Pos in 2011—2019, and government officials or political figures, such as the Government of Situbondo, the regent of Malang, Muhaimin Iskandar, Moeldoko²⁴⁵, etc. The latest mentioned organisers are relatively bigger than normal events in terms of the prize pools. In return, those big festivals, *al-banjari*, consist of rules such as jingles with several words related to the organisers' interests.

The big festivals promised multiple times bigger prize pools compared to ordinary events. That is with a consideration of the level they have. For instance, in 2023, there are ordinary festivals that give the first winner Rp3.000.000, and the level is all of East Java. Compared to Festival Al-Banjari Masjid Dr. H. Moeldoko in January 2023, with the same level, the first winner got Rp15.000.000, even though the participants had to pass three stages. In mid-2023, there were the same festivals in several areas, and they were meant for a more regional level. Those areas are Malang, Banyuwangi, and Bojonegoro.²⁴⁶ In

²⁴³ They have been organizing the festival al-banjari since 2015 until now. Other *pesantrens* such as PPQ. Nurul Huda Singosari also had annual festival al-banjari events from 2003 until 2019.

²⁴⁴ *AL JALALAH (TERBAIK 1) - FESBAN GBQ UB IX NASIONAL 2022 | PELAJAR*, directed by Seni Religi UB, 2022, 7:10, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SibBeRUn7BE>; *FESTIVAL AL-BANJARI GEBYAR BRAWIJAYA QUR'ANI KE-8 || HARI 1*, directed by Seni Religi UB, 2021, 4:19:05, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NfrS9Kk1M-s>.

²⁴⁵ Chief of Presidential Staff of Indonesia.

²⁴⁶ *Hadiri Festival Al Banjari Di Malang, Moeldoko : Anak Muda Harus Punya Sikap Bersaing – Kantor Staf Presiden*, n.d., accessed January 17, 2024, <https://www.ksp.go.id/hadiri-festival-al-banjari-di-malang-moeldoko-anak-muda-harus-punya-sikap-bersaing.html>.

those areas, although the level was lower, the prize pools were the same as the festival held in Jombang at the level of all of East Java.

“*Masjid Moeldoko mengabdikan untuk Umat, berdaya untuk masyarakat*” is the obligatory jingle for the Festival al-Banjari Masjid Dr. H. Moeldoko in Jombang. The line translates to “Moeldoko Mosque, serving the (Muslim) people, empowering the people.” The obligatory line for the regional al-banjari festival was different: “*Fesban Moeldoko mengabdikan untuk umat berdaya untuk masyarakat*.” The difference lies in the first word, mosque and *fesban* (abbreviation of *festival al-banjari*). This difference might be attributed to the venue itself, as the *Festival al-Banjari* Dr. H. Moeldoko in Jombang was held at Moeldoko Mosque, while the venues in other cities were different. For instance, in Malang, it was held at Universitas Gajayana (Gajayana University), in Banyuwangi, it was held at the village field of Tegalsari, and in Bojonegoro, it was held at Pesantren Al-Fatimah.²⁴⁷

The first winner of the event is Auladum Musthofa, a group based in Nganjuk, East Java.²⁴⁸ After the obligatory line of ‘*Masjid Moeldoko mengabdikan untuk Umat, berdaya untuk masyarakat*,’ the group presented a solo improvisation of the verse of Abū Ḥaṣṣ ‘Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1234 AD) entitled *adīr dhikra man aḥwā*.²⁴⁹ After the intro by solo vocal improvisation (*mawwal*, but it is often understood as *ibtihāl*)²⁵⁰ part by the vocalist, the group chant a song entitled *Ṭāba lī khal’ idhārī fī hawā al-Badr al-tamām* (I found delight in casting off my reserve in the love of the full moon). The song was performed on the slower side of the tempo. The group then presented the second song, an obligatory one, entitled *sa’altu Allāh Bārīnā yuballighnā amānīnā* (I asked Allah, our Creator, to grant our wishes). The second song is relatively short with only one refrain to be sung.

In the *festival al-banjari* held by Moeldoko, there was a participant from a group named *Polisi Santri* (Santri Police).²⁵¹ The group is part of the Polda Jawa Timur (Police of East Java District), and their performance has unique features that clearly show they are

²⁴⁷ *Hadiri Festival Al Banjari Di Malang, Moeldoko*, n.d.; “Moeldoko Hadiri Festival Banjari Piala Masjid Se-Jatim Di Ponpes Al-Fatimah”; “Festival Al Banjari Piala Masjid Moeldoko, Diikuti 34 Grup Dari Berbagai Kota Dengan Hadiah Rp 40 Juta - Radar Banyuwangi.”

²⁴⁸ *Auladum Mushtofa -Nganjuk | Juara I Festival Al Banjari Piala Masjid Moeldoko*, directed by BB Production, 2023, 09:44, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3zCD3AbPANI>.

²⁴⁹ *Adīr dhikra man aḥwā, wa law bi-malāmi, fa-inna aḥādīth al-Ḥabīb mudāmī* (speak of my beloved, even if they scorn, for his sweet words are the wine I adorn). See the complete verse and about Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Dīwān Ibn Al-Fāriḍ* (Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 162.

²⁵⁰ The term *ibtihāl* is found in many *festival al-banjari* technical guidance. The performers understand it as a vocal improvisation. A vocal improvisation in the *festival al-banjari* is also understood as *suluk* and *mawāl*. In its original meaning, *ibtihāl* is a genre of hymns or invocations in Islamic music. See, Heba Arafa Abdelfattah, “The Ibtihalat in the Digital Age: Public and Private Domains,” *Religions* 12, no. 10 (2021): 866, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12100866>; Farraj and Shumays, *Inside Arabic Music*.

²⁵¹ Santri refers to a devout Muslim, or student who learns in pesantren. See, Geertz, *The Religion of Java*; Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat*; Dhofier, *Tradisi pesantren*.

police officers. They performed in their uniform and began with the typical police salute. Alongside the festival organised by Moeldoko, the group frequently participated in many events, such as in Sabilu Taubah, Blitar, and more recently, in Mojogeneng, Mojokerto, where they finished as the sixth winner of the event.²⁵²

Another big *festival al-banjari* in terms of the prize pool was Festival Albanjari Gus Muhaimin. It provided a total of Rp250,000,000 as the prize pool. It was held on 11—26 November 2022 in two stages: the first stage was the elimination stage, which was divided into 7 different cities, and the second stage was the final stage. Every group that passed the first stage was given Rp 2,500,000. In the grand final stage, the first winner was awarded Rp15,000,000, the second winner and the third winner were awarded Rp12,500,000 and Rp10,000,000 respectively. Furthermore, the fourth, fifth, and sixth winners were awarded Rp7,500,000, Rp5,000,000, and Rp2,500,000, respectively. There was another award for the best vocalist, which was awarded Rp5,000,000.²⁵³

Compared to the *festival al-banjari* by Moeldoko, the Festival Albanjari Gus Muhaimin Iskandar was clearer in terms of its intention. The obligatory line was, “Gus Muhaimin Presiden 2024”, which means “Gus Muhaimin (will be) the president (in) 2024”. To put it into some context, 2024 is the year of the Indonesian general elections. Muhaimin Iskandar, as the chairman of PKB, has been trying to be a presidential candidate since the festival was held, when Muhaimin Iskandar was not officially a candidate for the presidential elections in 2024. In September 2022, he said that he is confident to be a presidential candidate in 2024, regardless of his party alone, PKB, which was not eligible to register a presidential candidate on its own because of the number of parliamentary seats.²⁵⁴ It was very logical for Muhaimin Iskandar and PKB to attract more voters from East Java by organising the *festival al-banjari* because East Java is the basis of PKB. In the

²⁵² *Polisi Santri Polda Jatim - Fesban Se-Nusantara Harlah Sabilu Taubah Ke-6, Blitar 2025*, directed by Cak Tebee, 2025, 09:43, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uIlgNNOfQ4>; *POLISI SANTRI || GRAND FINAL FESBAN PIALA MASJID MOELDOKO SE JAWA TIMUR 2023*, directed by Muhammad Shidqi Agus Nuruddin, 2023, 07:10, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0qXB5wjmyFA>; *POLISI SANTRI JATIM [BEST JINGLE] | FESBAN NURUL JADID SE-NASIONAL*, directed by Pondok Pesantren Nurul Jadid, 2024, 09:33, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ucBJbsqZ4BM>; (*TERBAIK 6*) *POLISI SANTRI : WANI MELAYANI WANI DI AJAK BANJARI !* | *Fesban The Best Master 2025*, directed by PPBH AL QURTHUBY, 2025, 09:29, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ojoba887bU>.

²⁵³ Liputan6.com, “30 Grup Al Banjari se Jatim Tampil di Final Gus Muhaimin Festival 3 Desember”; VIVA, “Gus Muhaimin Lestarikan Tradisi Lewat Festival Al Banjari”; Mubyarsah, “Muhaimin Iskandar Gelar Festival Banjari untuk Pencinta Salawat - Jawa Pos.”

²⁵⁴ “Cak Imin Ungkap Alasan Ingin Maju Di Pilpres 2024,” accessed January 17, 2024, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20220627114641-617-813923/cak-imin-ungkap-alasan-ingin-maju-di-pilpres-2024>.

2019 elections, PKB got 4,2 million votes from East Java. It was the biggest number compared to other provinces.²⁵⁵

Regarding the political result of the *festival al-banjari*, especially by Muhaimin Iskandar, it is still unknown whether his *festival al-banjari* was successful in strengthening his position. But in the presidential election in 2024, he, as the vice-presidential candidate, alongside Anies Baswedan as his presidential candidate, lost to the current president, Prabowo Subianto. Regardless of the result, the pursuit that has been made by him and PKB through the *festival al-banjari* can be understood as that *al-banjari* in festivals cannot be seen as either an Islamic rite only or entertainment. It is now a tradition that is growing as a commodity, to 'sell' Islam itself, and is also related to PKB's ideology. Muhaimin Iskandar stated, "Today, we are committed, together maintaining our cultural traditions [by] carrying out Barzanji in various places."²⁵⁶ The line 'our cultural traditions' can be understood that he acknowledges people to know, that he is one of the *al-banjari* people. Another statement regarding his festival is, "*Alhamdulillah, al-banjari* activists are increasingly showing their existence. This means that the roar of *ṣalawāt* is becoming more and more colourful in the land of East Java. That is why, PKB friends and I in East Java want to give appreciation to *ṣalawāt* activists by organising the Festival Albanjari Gus Muhaimin."²⁵⁷

4.5 Conclusion

Following the evolution and continuity of *hadrah* through cassettes and public performances, as described in the previous chapter, this chapter explains how *hadrah* has become a vital part of preserving and continuing Islamic arts, a long-standing tradition among Indonesian Muslims. This chapter shows that, unlike some *hadrahs*²⁵⁸ that have declined, *hadrah al-banjari* continues to attract attention, if not overwhelming, from the public and other stakeholders, including the state, for its ongoing preservation. The *hadrah* festivals that are held are spread across different levels, from school level (even elementary school), university students, and the general public, with many organisers holding them, from the private sector, Islamic, and state. Festivalisation reflects a deepening Islamisation that not only requires *hadrah* as a performative Islamic art but also calls for performers to

²⁵⁵ "10 Daerah Sebagai Lumbung Suara Terbesar PKB pada Pemilu 2019 | Databoks," accessed January 17, 2024, <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2023/09/01/10-daerah-sebagai-lumbung-suara-terbesar-pkb-pada-pemilu-2019>.

²⁵⁶ VIVA, "Gus Muhaimin Lestarikan Tradisi Lewat Festival Al Banjari."

²⁵⁷ Azmi, "Cara Cak Imin Apresiasi Pencinta Selawat Al Banjari."

²⁵⁸ Mee, "The Ebb and Flow of Popular Islamic Music Forms"; Suhaya et al., "Percussion Pattern of Terebang Gede in Panggung Jati Studio, Panggung Jati Village, Serang."

embody deeper aesthetic and Islamic values. Therefore, *hadrah* festivals, while live-performance intensive, are conducted within norms considered Islamic and appropriate. Islamisation, as part of the pursuit of a more Islamic society, has enabled other parties—facilitated by technology and the internet—to participate further, share, and preserve *hadrah*. The online presence of *hadrah* videos is substantial, and the preservation of *hadrah*, and possibly Islamisation, may continue.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

In the global context, Islamisation persists, and since 1980, following the Iranian Revolution in 1979, it has become more apparent. This increased visibility influences how Muslims perceive Islam in their lives. Society progressively incorporates Islam into daily routines, serving as one example. This integration makes Islam more noticeable both privately and publicly. Although Islamisation is not something that can appear suddenly, in Indonesia, after a long period of conflict between devout Muslims and abangan and PKI-affiliated groups was suppressed in the 1960s, some evidence of Islamisation, especially by the grassroots Muslims, at least through the arts, had been present since before the global phenomenon. With non-Islamic arts and rituals gradually eroding, Islamisation became more pronounced in the 1990s, with the more apparent support by the government as evident through the establishment of such ICMI and *Festival Istiqlal*.

Islamisation is not confined to politics or religious matters but also extends to the arts. The arts are becoming more Islamicised to some degree; at the same time, Islamic arts are more visible and circulated. Concerning music, Islamic music in Indonesia has been produced earnestly since the 1980s, with the examples of such Nasida Ria and Kiai Kanjeng groups that produce music with Islamic values in their songs, with the fact that the former-mentioned group attained global popularity. On the other hand, *hadrah*, in its simplest and most accepted form, accompanied by *terbang*, continues to gain attention. The *terbang*, as a musical instrument, is very traditional and does not fall into the category of popularisation, but this thesis still shows that this simplest form of *hadrah* remains preserved, if not increasingly, among Indonesian Muslims. That may be caused by how Indonesian Muslims become more Islamic, and how *hadrah* is well-preserved.

Hadrah, in its simplest form and accepted within an Islamic context, has persisted and gained popularity in Indonesia since the 1990s because it combines historical legitimacy, Islamic acceptability, and active promotion through festivals and media, in line with broader Islamic revival and technological change. It represents traditional Islamic culture that has not undergone many changes or adaptations to what is considered 'popular'. Yet, *hadrah* remains popular. This is evident from online statistics related to *hadrah*. While it has not achieved the same level of popularity as other types of music, the figures for this simple and specific form are quite significant. In short, *hadrah* has been evolving to this extent as a result of continuing negotiation between *hadrah* as an Islamic art and a more Islamic society, and between traditionality and modernity. *Hadrah*, as an Islamic art, can be festivalised because of a more Islamic society, and the festivalisation of *hadrah* can

result in a more Islamic society. Furthermore, *hadrah*, in its traditional form, supported by embodied traditions by Muslims, can survive in this modern period.

Additionally, this study demonstrates how Islamic music, embodying widely accepted Islamic values, also emerged in the form of audiocassettes in the 1990s and became more apparent in public places. *Hadrah* is one of the Islamic music traditions in Indonesia that has existed since before the 19th century. Records also attest to the continuity of *hadrah* as a tradition within Indonesian Muslim society. This continuity results in one of the most significant phenomena in Indonesia regarding Islam during this period, the *majelis*. *Hadrah* is performed in *majelis*, with various performative forms. Regardless of the form, Muslim scholars still generally prefer that *hadrah* or Islamic music in its simplest form remains the most accepted.

This study has investigated the historicity of *hadrah* as a foundational element rooted in Indonesian society. The connection between Muslims and *hadrah* endures into more recent times, supported by increasingly affordable recording and cassette technologies, along with a more Islamic-oriented government. This combination produces a cassette album of *hadrah* in its simplest form, featuring songs in Arabic. Although the form and language seem unsuitable for mass appeal, these songs have already gained popularity among devout Muslims. They have become a vital part of the tradition of reading the *mawlid* in Indonesia. The signs of Islamisation through these recordings continued to grow after the Reformation period (*Reformasi*). With the advent of the internet and modern technology, as well as greater openness between Indonesia and the outside world, the songs increasingly reflect influences from the Middle East, especially Syria. To some degree, this influence introduces additional elements of Middle Eastern music, such as the melodic scale (*nagham*) and broader Islamic poetry.

Furthermore, this study examines how *hadrah* also helps promote Islam through festivals. Festivals can be understood as large stages, such as in several *majelis taklim* that are popular in contemporary Indonesia, or they can also be seen as contests. This study discusses how festivals, in the form of competitions, are also quite popular in East Java and other regions. *Hadrah* festivals showcase the organisers' and participants' willingness to share their interests. These festivals combine entertainment with educational efforts, particularly in the musical and Islamic aspects. From a musical standpoint, there are considerations related to preserving the traditional *hadrah* performance, ensuring accurate recitation of Arabic lyrics, and promoting appropriate behaviour during performances.

The pursuits in *hadrah* festivals regarding Islamic values to be concerned about show that although *hadrah* is a performative Islamic music art, it has to meet certain

standards to meet the ideals. Thus, those findings may contribute to discussions about *being* more Islamic or *looking* more Islamic. Ishadi SK discussed the shallow understanding of Islam on Ustadtainment,²⁵⁹ while Otterbeck notes a criticism of the superficial nature of Islamic activities offered to Muslim youth.²⁶⁰ But *hadrah* performances and their performers may also be just superficial and lack a deeper understanding of Islamic, as I found that there are many odd or misinterpretations regarding the lyrics. Regardless of the problems, in the festivals, the pursuits continue to idealise and Islamise *hadrah*. The findings of this study may also be aligned with discourses regarding the trichotomy of *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi* that have been challenged and discussed. For instance, Hasbullah notes that the emergence of the Muslim middle class marks the death of Geertz's trichotomy, because the emergence marks the Islamic intensification in Muslim society.²⁶¹ The findings of this study may also support Zamhari's argument regarding the narrower gap between *santri* and *abangan* because *abangan* (in his term, nominal Muslims).²⁶²

However, *hadrah*'s simplest form has been continuously challenged by more modern music genres and the more *popular* forms of music, such as *koplo* and *dangdut*. The latter musical instruments can incorporate *hadrah al-banjari*'s rhythmical pattern because of the musical commonality in their time signature. Thus, besides the lack of mediation of the music traditions, the odd time signature may be the strongest factor regarding the decline of other *hadrah*'s sub-genres, such as *Zikir Maulud* in Sambas, *terbang kecak* and *turunan* in Lampung, and *terebang gede* in Banten. The debates and negotiations continue, while the *festivals* still lack the authority that may maintain and claim the originality and the values of both musical aesthetics and Islamic values of the *hadrah*.

This thesis contributes to the study of Muslim societies, both globally through the phenomenon of Islamisation via traditional Islamic arts, and locally through an in-depth study of *hadrah* art, particularly in East Java, Indonesia. Moreover, *hadrah* exhibits both preservation and resistance — preserving tradition with certain values and resisting art in general or popularised art with specific modifications. *Hadrah* reflects efforts and attitudes that are both different from and similar to the Islamisation of music or other arts, which

²⁵⁹ Weintraub, *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia*, 40.

²⁶⁰ Otterbeck, *The Awakening of Islamic Pop Music*, 55.

²⁶¹ Moeflich Hasbullah, "Cultural Presentation of the Muslim Middle Class in Contemporary Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 7, no. 2 (2000), <https://studiaislamika.ppimcensis.or.id/plugins/generic/pdfJsViewer/pdf.js/web/viewer.html?file=https%3A%2F%2Fstudiaislamika.ppimcensis.or.id%2Findex.php%2Fstudia-islamika%2Farticle%2Fdownload%2F708%2F591%2F1283>.

²⁶² Zamhari, "SOCIO-STRUCTURAL INNOVATIONS IN INDONESIA'S URBAN SUFISM."

takes place in many parts of the world. Additionally, this thesis enhances the understanding of the musical recording and historiography of traditional Indonesian Islamic music.

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Interviewees

Dimas al-Jawad, Probolinggo, East Java.

Mas Abdullah Hafidz Basyaiban, Gesik, East Java.

Ustadz Ahmad Bahrinnada, Surabaya, East Java.

Ustadz Farid As'ad, Surabaya, Surabaya, East Java.

Ustadz Rizal Musabbah, Mojokerto, East Java.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Technical Guidance of the Festival al-Banjari Dies Maulidiyah IQMA XXVIII.



PANITIA DIES MAULIDIYAH XXVIII
IKATAN QORI' QORI'AH MAHASISWA (IQMA)
UIN SUNAN AMPEL SURABAYA

Sekretariat: Masjid Ulul Albab Lt.2 Jln. A. Yani 117 Surabaya Telp. 085607363545 email: iqma.uinsa@gmail.com

**KETENTUAN DAN TATA TERTIB PERLOMBAAN DIES
MAULIDIYAH IQMA KE XXVIII**

I. FESTIVAL AL – BANJARI
A. KETENTUAN UMUM

1. Kategori dari festival shalawat ini adalah Shalawat Al Banjari se-Jawa Timur.
2. Jumlah personil dalam satu group maksimal 10 orang.
3. Setiap group atau personil group hanya diperbolehkan tampil satu kali, jika diketahui tampil dua kali maka akan di diskualifikasi.
4. Setiap group shalawat menyiapkan 6 lagu; 3 lagu wajib versi pukulan lambat & 3 lagu bebas:
 - Lagu pertama dengan pukulan versi lambat non variasi
 - Sebelum memulai lagu pertama harus diawali dengan *Ibtihal* (suluk)
5. Kriteria lagu:
 - Lagu bebas berbahasa arab non MARS
6. Pada setiap lagu harus ada irama dasar banjari.
7. Festival dilaksanakan pada hari Kamis, 11 Mei 2017 mulai pukul 07.00 WIB di Gedung Auditorium UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya.
8. Kejuaraan ditentukan berdasarkan hasil penilaian dewan hakim dengan mengambil enam peserta terbaik dan penghargaan kepada vocal terbaik, aransemen terbaik, dan

Appendix 2. Technical Guidance of the Gus Muhaimin Festival al-Banjari (2022).

TATA TERTIB GRAND FINAL GUS MUHAIMIN FESTIVAL AL BANJARI TINGKAT UMUM SE-JAWA TIMUR

1. Peserta wajib melakukan registrasi ulang;
2. Registrasi ulang peserta Gus Muhaimin Festival Al Banjari sesi grand final dilaksanakan pada saat hari sabtu tanggal 03 Desember 2022;
3. Panitia Gus Muhaimin Festival Al Banjari melayani registrasi ulang peserta hanya pada saat pukul 07.00 WIB – 11.00 WIB;
4. Peserta yang tidak melakukan registrasi ulang, maka akan didiskualifikasi;
5. Semua peserta wajib mengikuti opening ceremonial;
6. Pengundian nomor urut penampilan peserta dilaksanakan setelah opening ceremonial disaksikan oleh seluruh peserta;
7. Pada saat registrasi ulang, peserta wajib menyetorkan Fotocopy KTP/Kartu Identitas;
8. Panitia akan melakukan validasi peserta berdasarkan KTP/Kartu Identitas;
9. Peserta Gus Muhaimin Festival Al Banjari sesi grand final tidak boleh ganti personil, harus sesuai pada saat zonasi;
10. Apabila terdapat pergantian personil, maka group tersebut dinyatakan diskualifikasi;
11. Peserta wajib menyetorkan teks lagu sebelum tampil;
12. Peserta tidak diperkenankan latihan di lokasi ketika festival berlangsung;
13. Setiap group yang dipanggil 3 kali saat penampilan tidak hadir, maka akan didiskualifikasi;
14. Apabila penampilan melebihi durasi (10 menit) maka akan dikurangi 5 poin;
15. Peserta wajib membawakan 1 jingle Gus Muhaimin Presiden Tahun 2024;
16. Peserta wajib membawakan 1 sholawat pilihan dan 1 sholawat bebas;
17. Peserta wajib mengenakan ID card dan nomor urut yang telah diberikan oleh panitia pada saat tampil;
18. Kriteria penilaian festival al banjari
 - a. Vokal (40 poin)
 - 1) Suara
 - a). Keutuhan dan power suara;
 - b). Kejernihan dan kehalusan suara;
 - c). Variasi suara; dan
 - d). Kesesuaian vokal dan backing;
 - 2) Lagu
 - a). Peralihan lagu;
 - b). Keutuhan & tempo lagu;
 - c). Keindahan lagu;
 - d). Kreativitas;
 - b. Musik Banjari (30 poin)
 - 1) Irama dasar banjari
 - a). Power pukulan;
 - b). Akurasi;
 - c). Pukulan ;
 - d). Tempo;
 - e). Dinamika;
 - 2) Variasi Al banjari
 - 3) Harmonisasi
 - c. Adab dab Syair (30)
 - 1) Muruah
 - a). Kalimat;

- b). Huruf;
 - c). Harakat;
 - 2) Kesiapan peserta dan performance;
 - 3) Ekspresi dan penghayatan;
 - 4) Jingle Gus Muhaimin Presiden 2024.

Appendix 3. Technical Guidance of the Festival al-Banjari Masjid Moeldoko (2022).



MASJID Dr. H. MOELDOKO

Jl. Raya Kayen No. 01 Kec. Bandar Kedungmulyo Jombang Jawa Timur
Sekretariat : Jl. Raya Kayen No. 01 Bandar Kedungmulyo, Jombang, Jawa Timur HP: 081335267468
Email: icmmasjidmoeldoko@gmail.com

TATA TERTIB

A. Ketentuan Pendaftaran

1. Pendaftaran peserta Festival Al-Banjari Tingkat Umum dimulai sejak 15 Desember 2022 sampai dengan 27 Desember 2022 (pendaftaran akan ditutup sewaktu waktu apabila kuota sudah terpenuhi).
2. Pendaftaran bisa melalui via link : <http://bit.ly/festivalbanjarimasjidmoeldoko> Atau Whatsapp dengan format : (Nama_Group_Pimpinan_Alamat_No.Telp)
Contact Person : Nurman 089617307179 / Kirom 085546698145
3. Peserta tidak dipungut biaya (GRATIS)

B. Ketentuan Umum

1. Group yang tampil sudah terdaftar dalam "FESTIVAL SHOLAWAT AL - BANJARI SE - JAWA TIMUR".
2. Wajib mengumpulkan kartu identitas (KTP/KTM/Kartu Pelajar)
3. Jumlah personil dalam satu group maksimal 10 orang. Apabila salah satu personil group tampil 2x (digroup lain), maka kedua group tersebut didiskualifikasi.
4. Setiap group wajib membawa alat sendiri.
5. Peserta tidak di perkenankan memakai peralatan elektronik pada waktu penampilan.
6. Peserta diwajibkan memakai alat (4 terbang, 1 bass).
7. Peserta wajib menyetorkan judul dan teks lagu (wajib tulis tangan). Apabila tidak menyetorkan teks akan dikenakan pengurangan nilai (-2)
8. Peserta di panggil menurut nomer undian penampilan.
9. Peserta dipanggil 3x berturut-turut tidak hadir, maka akan dirolling pada akhir shift masing-masing, dengan konsekuensi pengurangan nilai 10 poin pada nilai ADAB, jika diakhir shift dipanggil tidak ada maka dinyatakan gugur.
10. Peserta berpenampilan/berpakaian rapi dan sopan (muslim&muslimah).
11. Peserta hadir 60 menit (1 jam) sebelum waktu penampilan dengan langsung mendaftar ulang kepanitia dengan mengambil nomer undian penampilan.
12. Peserta wajib memakai nomor urut undian yang diberikan panitia pada waktu tampil.
13. Peserta tidak diperkenankan mematikan mic setelah selesai tampil.
14. Pada setiap lagu harus ada irama dasar banjari.
15. Tidak diperkenankan latihan di area festival.
16. Final diambil 10 peserta.
17. Setiap group harus mengikuti aturan dan rute ketika di hall (panggung)

C. Ketentuan Lagu

Tahap 1 online (virtual)

1. Peserta wajib mengirimkan video 1 bebas berbahasa arab dengan berdurasi 5-7 menit
2. 1 grub terdiri dari 10 orang
3. Di rekam dalam bentuk video (1 shoot)
4. Mengumpulkan teks lagu

Tahap 2 Semifinal

1. Membawakan 1 *jingle* + 1 lagu bebas berbahasa arab. *jingle* dengan kata kunci "Masjid Moeldoko Mengabdikan Bagi Umat Berdaya Untuk Masyarakat."
2. Durasi maksimal 7 menit

Tahap 3 Final

1. Wajib membawakan *jingle* dengan kata kunci "Masjid Moeldoko Mengabdikan Bagi Umat Berdaya Untuk Masyarakat.", ibtilah, 1 lagu wajib (*Qod Tamamallah, Ya Fattah Ya Karim, Sa'atullahBarina*), dan 1 lagu bebas berbahasa arab.
2. Durasi maksimal 10 menit



MASJID Dr. H. MOELDOKO

Jl. Raya Kayen No. 01 Kec. Bandar Kedungmuljo Jombang Jawa Timur
Sekretariat : Jl. Raya Kayen No. 01 Bandar Kedungmuljo, Jombang, Jawa Timur HP. 081335267468
[Email : icmmasjidmoeldoko@gmail.com](mailto:icmmasjidmoeldoko@gmail.com)

D. Ketentuan Waktu

Tahap Semifinal

- Durasi maksimal 7 menit
- 1) Lampu kuning pertama, isyarat persiapan
- 2) Lampu hijau, tanda mulai (menit 1-6)
- 3) Lampu kuning kedua, tanda persiapan mengakhiri penampilan (menit 6-7)
- 4) Lampu merah pertanda waktu sudah slesai (mic akan mati/off dengan otomatis)

Tahap Final

- Durasi maksimal 10 menit
- 1) Lampu kuning pertama, isyarat persiapan
- 2) Lampu hijau, tanda mulai (menit 1-9)
- 3) Lampu kuning kedua, tanda persiapan mengakhiri penampilan (menit 9-10)
- 4) Lampu merah pertanda waktu sudah slesai (mic akan mati/off dengan otomatis)

E. Penjurian

1. Kriteria Penilaian meliputi :

Vocal

- 1) Suara
 1. Keutuhan dan power suara
 2. Kejernihan dan kehalusan suara
 3. Variasi suara
 4. Kesesuaian *vocal* dan *backing vocal*
- 2) Lagu
 1. Peralihan lagu
 2. Keutuhan & tempo lagu
 3. Keindahan lagu
 4. Kreativitas
- 3) Jingle (buat tahap ke2 dan ke3)
 1. Kreatifitas
 2. Variasi

Banjari

- 1) Irama dasar banjari
 - a) Power pukulan
 - b) Akurasi
 - c) Pukulan
 - d) Tempo
 - e) Dinamika
- 2) Variasi al banjari
- 3) Harmonisasi

Adab Dan Sya'ir

- 1) Muro'atul kalimat
 - a) Kalimat
 - b) Huruf
 - c) Harakat
- 2) Kesiapan peserta dan performance

Ekspresi dan penghayatan

2. Apabila ada akumulasi nilai yang sama, maka akan di prioritaskan pada ADAB>BANJARI>VOCAL.
3. Keputusan dewan juri dan panitia tidak bisa di ganggu gugat

F. Technical Meeting

Technical Meeting dilaksanakan pada:

Hari,Tanggal : Jumat, 30 Desember 2022

Waktu : Pukul 14.00 s.d Slesai

Tempat : Masjid Moeldoko, Jalan Raya Kayen No. 01, Kec. Bandar Kedungmuljo, Kab. Jombang, Jawa Timur. Depan Exit TOL Bandar Kedung Mulyo/Kertosono

Appendix 4. The assessment form of Festival al-Banjari.

FORM PENILAIAN BIDANG ADAB & SYAIR

Nomer Peserta :

No	Jenis Nilai	Max	Min	Jali (x2)	Khafi (x1)	Keterangan
1.	Muro'atul Kalimat	15	5			
2.	Kesiapan Peserta & Performance	10	5			
3.	Ekspresi & Penghayatan	5	2			
Nilai Maximal 30				Jumlah Nilai Akhir 30 -		

Pasuruan, 03 Agustus 2018

Juri Penilai

.....
(nama terang dan tanda tangan)

FORM PENILAIAN AL-BANJARI

Nomer Peserta :

No	Jenis Nilai	Max	Min	Jali (x2)	Khafi (x1)	Keterangan
1.	Irama Dasar Al-Banjari	6	2			
	a. Power Pukulan	3	1			
	b. Akurasi Pukulan	3	1			
	c. Tempo	3	1			
	d. Dinamika	3	1			
	e. Keserasian	3	1			
2.	Variasi Al-Banjari	5	3			
3.	Harmonisasi	4	2			
Nilai Maximal 30				Jumlah Nilai Akhir 30 -		

Pasuruan, 03 Agustus 2018

Juri Penilai

.....
(nama terang dan tanda tangan)

FORM PENILAIAN BIDANG SUARA & LAGU

Nomer Peserta :

No	Jenis Nilai	Max	Min	Jali (x2)	Khafi (x1)	Keterangan
A. Suara						
1.	Keutuhan dan Power Suara	8	2			
2.	Kejernihan, Kehalusan Suara	6	2			
3.	Variasi Suara	6	2			
4.	Kesesuaian Vocal dan Backing Vocal	6	2			
B. Lagu						
1.	Peralihan Lagu	4	1			
2.	Keutuhan & Tempo	4	1			
3.	Keindahan Lagu	3	1			
4.	Kreativitas	3	1			
Nilai Maximal 40				Jumlah Nilai Akhir 40 -		

Pasuruan, 03 Agustus 2018

Juri Penilai

.....
(nama terang dan tanda tangan)

Appendix 5. The technical guidance of the Festival al-Banjari PP. Nurul Jadid Probolinggo 2024.



FESTIVAL AL-BANJARI NASIONAL 2025

PONDOK PESANTREN NURUL JADID

KETENTUAN FESTIVAL AL-BANJARI SE-NASIONAL 2025
DALAM RANGKA MEMPERINGATI HAUL DAN HARLAH KE-76
PONDOK PESANTREN NURUL JADID PAITON PROBOLINGGO

Festival Sholawat Al-Banjari adalah salah satu serangkaian lomba yang diselenggarakan oleh Pondok Pesantren Nurul Jadid dalam rangka memeriahkan Haul dan Harlah Pondok Pesantren Nurul Jadid Ke-76, yang akan dilaksanakan pada:

Hari, Tanggal : Jum'at & Sabtu, 03 - 04 Januari 2025
Waktu : Pukul 19.00 WIB - Selesai
Tempat : Aula II PP Nurul Jadid

1. PERSYARATAN PESERTA

- Peserta harus mendaftarkan grup/kelompoknya melalui CP yang tertera.
- Peserta adalah kategori Umum Putra.
- Jumlah Personil masing-masing kelompok/grup maksimal 10 orang.

2. REGISTRASI PESERTA

- Membayar Kontribusi sebesar Rp 150.000 ke no. rekening Bank Jatim 0136979477 a.n Dwiky Jatmiko Aji, paling lambat tanggal 21 Desember 2024. Jika peserta belum melunasi sampai melebihi batas tanggal yang ditentukan, maka peserta dinyatakan tidak bersedia mengikuti perlombaan.
- Setelah melakukan transfer biaya pendaftaran, peserta wajib melakukan konfirmasi pembayaran melalui WA kepada PANITIA, dalam waktu 1 x 24 jam setelah transfer dilakukan.
- Peserta diharapkan menyerahkan makro' atau lirik lagu berupa *soft file*, setelah mendaftar untuk ditashih kepada dewan juri. Batas waktu pengumpulan paling lambat tanggal 23 Desember 2024.