ABSTRACT

This research discusses the traces of Hadramaut intellectualism through the relationship of the scholarly genealogy of Hadramaut ulama with the 20th century Nusantara ulama. In addition, it analyzes the typology of Hadramaut Pesantren and the role of their alumni in developing the da’wah movement in Indonesia. This research is a literature review study through a library research approach, focusing on books, articles, and online news, strengthened by interviews and field observations. This research found that: first, the Hadramaut Pesantren is connected through the sending of Indonesian students to Darul Musthafa, Rubath Tarim, and al-Ahgaфф University; the three institutions show an inclusive character that is still suitable to be applied in Indonesia. Second, the influence of Hadramaut intellectualism can be seen through the relationship between the scholarly genealogy of Hadramaut ulama and Nusantara ulama in the book of safinat al-najā, sulâm al-taufiq, muqaddimatu al-hadromiyyah, all of which became the reference books of Nusantara ulama in compiling sharah or explanations of the book of kāsyifat al-sajā, faidh al-hijā 'alā naili al-rojā, nadzam nailul roja, kasyful hijā 'fī tarjamati safīnat al-najā, tanwīru al-hijā 'fī nadzmi safinat al-najā, i'nat al-rafiqq 'alā nadzmi sulâm al-taufiq, inqōdzu al-ghoriq 'fī nadzmi sulâm al-taufiq, mirqōtu al-shu'ūdî al-tashdīq 'fī syarhi sulâm al-taufiq and mauhi batu dzî al-fadhli al-hasyîyati 'alâ muhtashor asfâdhol. Third, the influence of Hadramaut alumni, especially the alawiyyin circles, still has a fairly strong proselytizing
influence in Indonesia after the first batch of 30 students in 1998 Darul Musthafa returned to Indonesia and developed da'wah by establishing taklim assemblies or Pesantrens.

**Keywords:** Hadramaut, Intellectualism, Nusantara, Pesantren

**ABSTRAK**


*Kata kunci: Hadramaut, Intelektualisme, Nusantara, Pesantren*

**INTRODUCTION**

Yemen is one of the countries in the Middle East in the form of a Republic (al-Jumhūriyah al-Yamaniyah). Yemen's economy development is relatively slow with its 2018 total gross domestic product (GDP) of only USD23.49 million. As a result of war and prolonged conflict, Yemen has become the poorest in
the Arabian Peninsula\textsuperscript{1}. Not only dominated by deserts with fairly high temperatures, Yemen also has an Islamic cultural tradition that has not faded from generation to generation, including still consistently promoting the teachings of Islam based on the Shafi'i school of thought\textsuperscript{2}. One of the areas in Yemen, namely Shibam City, has been named the city centre of Islamic cultural architecture by UNESCO with the nickname “Manhattan of the desert”, due to its uniqueness of its traditional yet artistic buildings\textsuperscript{3}.

Despite being located in a relatively barren area, the State of Yemen is one of the destinations for Indonesian students to explore Islam. Indonesian students have spread across Yemen, the majority of which are Sunni-Sufi or moderate Islamic teaching that is widely practiced by Indonesian people\textsuperscript{4}. One of the main destinations for Indonesian students in Yemen is Tarim Hadramaut, which is famous as the land of saints and habibs\textsuperscript{5}.

Three most-chosen educational institutions in Tarim Hadramaut as selected by the Indonesian Student Association (PPI) are: Darul Musthafa, Rubath Tarim, and al-Ahgaff University. Based on the records of the Indonesian Embassy in Sana'a Yaman, until 2016 the number of Indonesian citizens consisting of students and workers in Yemen was approximately 848


people\textsuperscript{6}. Of many types of pesantren ranging from traditional pesantren (salafiyah), modern pesantren (khalaf) and semi-modern pesantren\textsuperscript{7}, Darul Musthafa and Rubath Tarim were chosen because their education system is not much different from traditional salaf or Pesantren in Indonesia\textsuperscript{8}.

In terms of intellectual discourse, the Hadramaut ulama produced their works through kitab kuning which are also studied in Indonesian Pesantrens. The Arabic text is in the Pegon script and printed on yellow paper containing various scholarly disciplines studied in Pesantrens, such as: aqidah, fiqh, morality, Sufism, and others. But very few of them know the history and its relationship with the intellectual genealogy of the Hadramaut clerics who influenced the intellectual tradition of writing Pesantrens in Indonesia. In Martin van Brueinessen's writing entitled Pesantren and Kitab Kuning: Maintenance and Continuation of A Tradition of Religious Learning, it was stated that kitab kuning uses yellow paper with comments (syarah) on the middle side of the margin or continues (hāsyiyyah) with the main text (matan) of the book becomes a distinctive character to call this classic text and embed it as an intellectual heritage\textsuperscript{9}.

One of intellectual works of Yemeni Hadramaut ulama studied by Nusantara ulama is the book of Safīnāt al-najā written by Sheikh Salim bin Sumair (d. 1855). The book is not only popular in Yemen itself, but also becomes the basic Fiqh book of reference for Indonesian ulama such as Sheikh Nawawi Banten (d. 1885) who made an explanatory book from the Safinah book

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{6} https://kemlu.go.id/sanaa/id/pages/hubungan_bilateral/1783/etc-menu accessed on 20 June 2022
\end{itemize}
entitled Kasyīfatu al-syajā. This book is a reference or many of the Indonesian ulama, especially from the pesantren\textsuperscript{10}.

The role of Hadramaut Ulama is also seen in developing the pattern of the da'wah movement in Indonesia which has recently been played by the Bani Alawi or Alawiyin, also known as the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad as habib. The increasing number of assemblies established by Habib and other Hadramaut alumni indicates that the regeneration carried out by Hadramaut ulama such as the students of Habib Umar bin Hafidz increasingly shows the existence of his da'wah in Indonesia. They performed da'wah through sermons and the nuances of their mahabbah for the Prophet Muhammad attracted many jamaah, especially those who wanted to be closer to the descendants of the prophet (alawiyin) such as: Majelis Rasulullah (Habib Munzir al-Musawa), Ahbabul Mustafa (Habib Sheikh bin Abdul Qadir al-Segaff), Nurul Mustafa (Habib Hasan bin Jakfar al-Segaff) and so on.

With all of these phenomena, the study of the influence of Hadramaut intellectualism to explore the network and typology of Hadramaut Pesantren, the scholarly genealogy relationship of Hadramaut ulama with Nusantara ulama, and the Da’wah movement of Hadramaut alumni is important and interesting to study. This paper is formulated in several ways, namely: the relationship between the Hadramaut pesantren and pesantrens in Nusantara, the scholarly genealogy relationship between the Hadramaut ulama and the Nusantara ulama, and the beginning of Hadramaut alumni da’wah network. The purpose of this study is to explore the traces of the intellectualism of Hadramaut ulama through the relationship between pesantren, the influence of the kitab kuning and the role of Hadramaut alumni in developing the growing da’wah in Indonesia. This research is expected to provide new scholarly contributions in the network of Hadramaut Ulama in Nusantara in terms of thought and movement.

Previous studies on Hadramaut topic were quite numerous, such as: *the Habaib Network in Java in the 20th Century* (2020)\(^{11}\), *Indonesian Hadhramis and the Hadhramaut: An old diaspora and its new connections* (2014)\(^{12}\), *Revitalizing Hadhrami Authority: New Networks, Figures and Institutions among abā' ib in Indonesia* (2020)\(^{13}\), *Bani Alawiyyn in Indonesia and the Malay World: Network, Development and the Role of Institution in Transmitting the Peaceful Mission of Islam* (2019)\(^{14}\). What have not explored by these studies is the genealogical relationship between the Hadramaut ulama and the Nusantara ulama, along with the role of the first 30 alumni of Habib Umar bin Hafidz's santri in developing da'wah in Indonesia. This present is attempts to fill this gap.

This research is library research using documentation study to written documents and online media, supported by interviews, and observations. According to Danandjaja, reference sources in library research can be done by analysing articles, books and writing sources that are still relevant to the theme. To get accurate analysis results, interpretation analysis can be done to reveal the objectives and answers to the research problems that arise\(^{15}\).

In discussing the early education of the first generation students Habib Umar bin Hafidz at Darul Mustafa (30 students), a historical approach was employed. According to Kuntowijoyo

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12 Slama, “Indonesian Hadhramis and the Hadhramaut: An Old Diaspora and Its New Connections.”


(2013), historical research generally has five stages: topic selection, heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. The heuristic stage is the stage of in-depth research efforts to collect historical traces or collect documents to find out all forms of events that occurred in the past\textsuperscript{16}. Thus, historical studies in the heuristic approach need to be seen in the way they research, documents and primary history that are the initial evidence in research. The primary source is a source that shows direct testimony at the time when the incident occurred.

Furthermore, the verification stage is the stage of checking the truth of the sources that have been found. The interpretation or explanation stage is the stage of interpretation or analysis of a source that was found and then analysed or interpreted. The interpretation stage is carried out in two stages, first analysing and describing, then synthesizing. A good history is an objective history in accordance with reality according to research methods. The historiography stage is the stage of writing historical events\textsuperscript{17}. As such, historiography is a form of reconstruction of sources that have been criticized to become a historical event. The primary sources are sources that show direct testimony at the time of the incident by interviewing several alumni of the first batch of students of Habib Umar bin Hafidz and of course referring to previous written sources. Then from the analysis of the data, it is assembled in historical writing (historiography) which is a form of reconstruction of sources that have been criticized to become a historical event\textsuperscript{18}.

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

**The Historical Overview of Tarim Hadramaut Yemen**

Linguistically, Hadramaut comes from the words *hadoro* (come) and *maut* (die). In another version, it is stated that


\textsuperscript{17}Kuntowijoyo, 74–78.

Hadramaut comes from the words Hazarmaveth and Hydreumata (spring of water) which was inspired by the journey of the Greeks who found water sources in the region. There is also an opinion that links the region with a figure named Hadramaut descendant of Yakrub bin Qathan bin Nabi Hud. While in Hebrew it is also called havermavt.19

Based on the news of the Qur'an and hadith, it is explained that the tomb of the Prophet Saleh was in Hadhramaut, a remote place called Sur Valley, a remote area about 100 km from the city of Seiwun. It was in the Sur valley area at the foot of the hill that the Prophet Saleh with the remnants of the Thamud who believed in Allah and remained stay until his death. The long tomb depicts the tall stature of Prophet Saleh, like the picture of the Thamud described by the Qur'an, namely people who have big and strong bodies20. While the reason the Hadhramaut valley became the destination of the migration of the Prophet Salih and his followers was because previously in the area it was a field for the da'wah of his ancestors, namely the Prophet Hud and his followers, even the Prophet Muhammad himself had thought of emigrating to Yemen before finally getting Allah's instructions to emigrate to Medina in upholding the symbols of Islam21.

Prophet Saleh asked his people to believe in Allah, but his people mocked the Prophet just like the Ad people who denied Prophet Hud. They even called the Prophet Saleh as a person who was hit by magic. Having the situation, Prophet Saleh remained patient and continued to convey the mandate of Allah. The Thamud killed his camel and its calf, so the punishment of

Allah was brought with a hail of stones that fell on the killers of the camels of the Prophet Saleh\textsuperscript{22}.

The land of Yemen whose people were praised by the Prophet Muhammad as a people who are gentle and easy to accept faith, \textit{al-īmān yaman, wa al-hikmatu yamāniyah} (faith is in the hearts of the Yemeni people and wisdom is in them). The Messenger of Allah also prayed for the inhabitants of the land \textit{allāhumma bārik fī syāminā wa yamāninā} (bless our Sham and Yemen). In addition, Abu Bakr's friend also said that \textit{yanbutu al-auliyā' fī Tarīm kamā yunbitu al-mā' al-baql} which means that the guardians of the city of Tarim will grow like water that grows water algae\textsuperscript{23}.

History records that the Yemeni population later became the protector and defender of the Prophet. In the next period, the descendants of the Prophet, namely Imam Muhajir Ahmad bin Isa (d. 924) emigrated from Basrah Iraq to the Hadramaut valley to save his children and grandchildren from the fitnah of \textit{qarāmithah} (communists) and the residents of the area were so gracious in accepting the descendants of the Prophet. Furthermore, one of the descendants of Imam Muhajir named al-Faqih Muqaddam Muhammad bin Ali Ba'alawi (d. 1232) who is famous for the originator of \textit{manhaj kasru al-saif} or the way to break the sword which means avoiding conflict and upholding peace according to the teachings of the Prophet\textsuperscript{24}.

This migration momentum then changed the Hadramaut map into a religious and scholarly area. In its development, through the role of alawiyin (habib) who lived in Hadramaut then spread Islamic da'wah until it was able to penetrate India and the Southeast Asian region including Indonesia. Van Den


\textsuperscript{24}Ahmad bin Zein Al-Habsyi, \textit{Syarhul 'Ainiyyah} (Kerjaya: Singapura, 1987), 129.
Berg (1989) found that the Hadramaut area was inhabited by sayids/habibs, the majority of whom were descendants of Husayn bin Ali bin Abi Talib.\textsuperscript{25}

For Nusantara ulama, Hadramaut cannot be separated from one of the famous cities, Tarim, especially in terms of education. Several ulama and habibs are so popular to Nusantara ulama, such as Habib Salim Assyatiri (d. 2018), Habib Ali al-Jufri, and Habib Umar bin Hafidz. Tarim is identical as the city of knowledge and the city named the city of seribu wali (a thousand guardians)\textsuperscript{26}. Most pilgrims who come to Tarim primarily aim to study at either Darul Mustafa, Rubath Tarim or al-Ahgaff University. In addition, there is also a program (circle) for 40 days which many Indonesians participated in by attending ta'lim to the habibs and visiting the graves of the saints, especially the tomb of Abdullah bin Alawi al-Haddad (d. 1720) in Zanbal.

In the context of Tarim's relationship with Nusantara, there are some opinions that Walisongo and other figures who spread Islam in Nusantara are descendants of Tarim Hadramaut. This can be seen from the pattern of religious life in Tarim and Indonesia which have similarities, especially in religious traditions and the Imam Syafi'i school of thought. Likewise, the traditions of the ta'lim assemblies, haul, ziarah wali, and the birthday of the prophet are also commonly found in Indonesia\textsuperscript{27}. Furthermore, the entrance of Islam brought by the descendants of the alawiyin based on the Majelis Musyawarah 165 Ulama in Sidogiri Pasuruan in 1962 resulted in the conclusion that the first


arrival of Islam in Nusantara was brought by the Hadramaut alawiyin with the Shafi'i学校 of thought.28

The Intellectual Centre of Hadramaut-Indonesia: Darul Mustafa, Rubath Tarim, and al-Ahgaff

There are three educational institutions in Yemen that are most in demand by Indonesian students. These institutions develop the da'wah of ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah and use the Shafi'i mazhab. One of the institutions in Hadramaut is Darul Musthafa. Darul Mustafa was founded by Habib Umar bin Salim bin Hafidz, one of the popular ulama from the alawite circles. According to the narrative of one of Habib Umar's students, Habib Hasan al-Muhdhor (2022), the founding father of the Darul Musthafa Pesantren was motivated by the high interests of Indonesian students and also students from other regions who wanted to study with Habib Umar bin Hafidz in the city of Tarim Yemen.29

Darul Musthafa was founded in the month of Shawwal or in 1993 AD and soon became a learning destination of Indonesian students. The majors offered as takhasus programs (special programs) are fiqh and ushul fiqh, al-Qur'an and ulûmul al-Qur'an, hadith science, sirah and lughah. The learning method is called halaqah, namely learning directly under the supervision of the teacher. Interestingly, based on historical records, the students who first came and wanted to learn from Habib Umar bin Hafidz came from Indonesia, with 30 students who started coming around 1994.

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31 Halaqah is a learning method under the supervision of a teacher or a face-to-face learning in the same site. Halaqah is also a discussion to understand the content of kitab. See: Mastuhiu, Dinamika Pendidikan Pesantren, (Jakarta: Inis, 1985), 88.
In addition, there is also Rubath Tarim which is often called *qolbu al-tarīm* or the heart of the City of Tarim which was officially opened on 14 Muharram 1305 H or around 1886 AD. This Rubath was first pioneered by Habib Abdurrahman al-Masyhur (d. 1902) who composed the book *Bughyat al-Mustarsyidīn*. This was continued by his son, Habib Ali bin Abdurrahman al-Masyhur (d. 1926), until 1344 H or 1926 AD when he passed away gracefully that year on the 9th of Shawwal. Furthermore, it was continued by Habib Abdullah bin Umar as-Syatiri (d. 1942). Habib Abdullah bin Umar as-Syatiri devoted his life for 50 years of *khidmah* (serving) by teaching students without fee, including those known from Indonesia: Habib Abdul Qadir bin Ahmad Bilfaqih from Malang and Habib Idrus bin Salim al-Jufri from Palu. In the next period, the contemporary era, during the time of Habib Hasan bin Abdullah bin Umar as-Syatiri (d. 2004) and Habib Salim bin Abdullah bin Umar as-Syatiri (d. 2018). Meanwhile, al-Ahgaff University was founded by Habib Abdullah bin Mahfudz al-Haddad (d. 1996). He was a mufti of Hadramaut, one of the Yemeni provinces. Al-ahgaff University was established under Ministerial Decree No. (5) in 1994 AD published on 27 Sha’ban 1414 H coincided with 8 February 1994 AD. To date, al-Ahgaff University has been involved in the global education, including administration and treasury in accordance with the basis of law, order, and rules applicable in the state. The initial establishment of the university was intended for students from all over the world such as Pakistan, Africa, Tanzania, Kenya, Somalia, and most of them from Indonesia. Al-Ahgaff University is located in the city centre of Mukalla, the capital of the Hadramaut province. The learning process at the University began in 1995 AD beginning with two

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faculties, the Faculty of Economics and Administration, and the Faculty of Sharia and Law. After that, in 1997/1998 AD, the Faculty of Computer Science and the Faculty of Womens were opened with the Education and Sharia Sciences study program. Later in 2006/2007, the Language and Literature Faculty was opened with the English language study program. The first alumni were declared to have graduated from the University in the 1998/1999 academic year. Al-Ahgaff University is currently under the care of Habib Abdullah bin Muhammad Baharun and Habib Alwi bin Abdurrahman.

The Existence of Indonesian Students in Hadramaut: Moderate vs Fundamentalist

When the communist regime collapsed, the two countries of South and North Yemen united in 1990; relations between Indonesia and Hadramaut were revived. There were two factors that led to this revival. The first is the emerging charismatic ulama Habib Umar bin Hafiz who was born in 1963. Since 1996, he had received many students from Indonesia and had become a patron of many alawiyyins in the country. The second factor is the desire of Indonesian alawiyyins to reconnect with their ancestral lands.

Habib Umar who was the son of the honourable alawiyyins in Hadramaut. His father Habib Muhammad bin Salim (d. 1972) was assassinated during the communist regime who forced him to leave the country and lived in Saudi Arabia while studying. He returned to Yemen after the country unification in 1990 and later founded the Darul Mustafa madrasah in Tarim Hadramaut in 1996. One of the aims to establish the madrasah was to preserve and protect the alawiyyin’s religious traditions, such as the daily reading of the maulid book and visits the sacred graves. Accor-


ding to Knysh (2003), the emergence of Habib Umar and Darul Mustafa was a reaction to the growing development of the Wahhabi Salafi group in North Yemen. This Salafi group was led by Sheikh Muqbil bin Hadi al-Wadi'i (d. 2001). Sheikh Muqbil founded the madrasah Darul Hadith al-Khairiyah in the province of S'a'da in 1979. This institution later became one of the leading Salafi teaching centers in the world. Many of his students came from Indonesia, one of them was Jafar Umar Talib. He went to Yemen after leaving Pesantren al-Irsyad Tengaran, Semarang. In 2000, Talib declared a jihad war in the Maluku Islands with his military group called Laskar Jihad.\textsuperscript{37}

It is thus not surprising that from January 2015 onwards, Huthi reached in non-Zaydi majority areas, in Taiz, al-Baydha and Aden met direct opposition from Salafis, along with other Sunni Islamists. Some figures such as Hashim al-Junaydi, Mahran al-Qubati, Abdul al-Wahhab al-Humayqani or Hani Bin Burayk, were all affiliated with Salafi ideology in the network of institutions founded by al-Wadi'i\textsuperscript{38}. The ideological difference is due to the truth claim, so that the way of thinking Darul Hadith Dammaj students is exclusively different from that of al-Ahgaff, Rubath Tarim and Darul Musthafa students who are moderate in style\textsuperscript{39}.

\textbf{Traces of intellectualism: The genealogical scholarly relationship between Hadramaut Ulama and Nusantara Ulama in the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century}

The intellectual relationship between Nusantara ulama and Haramain ulama was established in the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} century.


Azra explained that Islam in Indonesia was very cosmopolitan, meaning that it was closely related and connected to other parts of the world. Thus, Islam in Indonesia is not isolated or apart from the dynamic of Islam in other places (peripheral). In the network of ulama, the students of ashābul jawiyyin (students from Java) who studied in Mecca and Medina, then met and studied with cosmopolitan ulama from various parts of Islamic world.\(^40\) The arrival of these students from Java was to learn various kinds of knowledge in the field of exoteric sciences (such as Fiqh and Tafsir) and esoteric sciences such as Sufism\(^41\).

It is important to note that these distant ulama or students when they return to their homeland were always actively involved in the process of contextualizing Islam into local culture. This was reflected in the 17\(^{th}\) century ulama such as Sheikh Abdurrauf Singkil, Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassar, Sheikh Nuruddin ar-Raniri, and in the 19\(^{th}\) century ulama such as Sheikh Abdus Samad al-Palembangi, Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Sheikh Nawawi al-Bantani, Sheikh Saleh Darat, Sheikh Mahfudz at-Tarmasi, among others. All of them were considered as cosmopolitan ulamas, but at the same time they contextualized Islam, or in terms established by Gus Dur, the indigenousization of Islam (pribumuisasi Islam)\(^42\).

Therefore, the works of these ulama always have been localized to their contexts, because the actual Islam is Islam that can be contextualized (i.e. fits into any context). It is not merely Islam-imported from another country then planted in Indonesia. On the other hand, the network of ashabul jawiyyin students who later became great ulama in Indonesia were those who always developed their Islamic thoughts. They contextualized the know-


ledge they acquired in Mecca and Madinah to their local languages (vernacularisation of Islam).43

Regarding the network of Hadramaut ulama and Nusantara students in the 17th and 18th centuries, there is limited authentic evidence towards their connection. The author assumes that the influence of intellectualism at that time was still centered on the tradition of intellectualism in Haramain as mentioned by Azra. The relationship between Hadramaut and Nusantara can be seen through the books of Abdullah bin Alawi al-Haddad (d. 1720) who lived at that time.

One of the Yemeni Hadramaut Ulama, named Habib Abdullah bin Alawi al-Haddad, had influenced the scholarly character of pesantrens in Indonesia. He compiled books that were published and studied, including in Indonesian pesantrens. Abdullah bin Alawi al-Haddad was quite productive; he wrote many books, of which were widely studied in Indonesia, such as al-nashā`īh al-diniyyah wa al-washā`iya al-imaniyyah, al-da`wah at-tammah wa at-tadzkīrah al-`ammah, risālāt al-mu`āwanah wa al-muzhāharah wa al-mu`āzarah lī al-rāghibīnā min al-mu`āminīn fī sulūkī tharīqī al-ākhirah, al-fushūl al-`amaliyyah wa al-ushūl al-hukmiyyah, sabil al-adzkār bīna yamur bi al-insan wa yunqadhi lahu min `umrihi, al-nafāís al-uluwiyyah fī al-masā`īl al-shufīyyah, al-Hikām, Itfah al-sā`īl bijawābī al-masā`īl, risālah adābī sulūkī al-murīd, al-washūya al-nāfi`īh, aqīdatul islām, al-mukhtār mina al-fatāwā, tukhfātu al-abrūr fīh sholātī ālā al-nabiyyī al-mukhtār, al-durru al-manzhūm lidzāwī al-`uqūlīh, al-washūyla al-`amaliyyah wa al-fuhūm, nahju al-Haqīqī fī nadzma al-mu`āzonah, mukātabātah wayatakūnu min al-majlidin, wasīlatu al-`ibād mina al-da`wāt wa al-`urūd al-ma`tsūrot ʿani al-rosūlī, risālah al-mudzākarah ma`ah al-ikhwān al-muhibbīn min ahli al-khairi wa ad-dīn, tattsītu al-`fu`ād, sabīlu al-muhtadīn, and others44.

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A well-known set of remembrance called Wirid Ratib al-Haddad, was compiled by Abdullah al-Haddad on the night of Lailatul Qadar, namely the night of 17 Ramadan in 1071 H\textsuperscript{45}. In the syarah ratib it is explained that the preparation of the Wirid book was at the request of someone from Bani Sa'ad named 'Amir al-Haddad. Sa'di who lived in Shibam, one of the villages in Hadramaut Yemen\textsuperscript{46}. The reason for the request was to protect them, so that they could defend and save themselves from the heretical teachings, namely the Shia Zaidiyah which was engulfing the city of Hadramaut at that time\textsuperscript{47}. In other word, the philosophical ground of this Ratib is related to self-guard towards a new belief that deviates from Islamic teachings.

Regarding the Nusantara-Hadramaut ulama network, in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century it was connected through a genealogical relationship. Many of the written works of the Hadramaut preacher were well received by ulama and leading ulama in Indonesia. The Hadramaut-Nusantara intellectual network can be identified through a book of Fiqh called Safīnat al-najā written by the Hadramaut’s Syekh Salim bin Sumair al-Hadrami (d. 1855)\textsuperscript{48}.

Kitab Safīnat al-najā received the attention of a Javanese ulama named K.H. Ahmad Qusyairi (d. 1972) from Pasuruan. He made a book of syarah (commentary) in the form of nadzam entitled Tanwīrul hijā fī nadzmi safīnat al-najā. The book also received attention from K.H. M Maksum from Cirebon who

\textsuperscript{45}Al-Malibari, Al-Imdad Bi Al-Syarhi Rotibul Al-Haddad, 49. In another version it is mentioned the 27th night of Ramadan, see Al-Malibari, 50. In another version it is arranged on the 27th night of Ramadan.

\textsuperscript{46}Alwi bin Ahmad bin Hasan Al-Haddad, Syarhu Ratibil Al-Haddad (Tarim: Dar al-Hawi, 2003), 73.


composed a nadzam named Nailul rojā. Later, the syarah of the Nailul rojā book was also made by K.H. Ahmad Sahal Mahfudz (d. 2014) named Faidh al-hijā 'alā naili al-rojā. These series of works indicate the great attention of Indonesian ulama in understanding the work of Hadramaut ulama. The author of the book Safīnat al-najā Syekh Salim bin Sumair who came from Hadramaut moved to Indonesia and participated in the struggle against the Dutch colonialists until his death in Batavia in 1885 AD.

The Syarah of Safīnat al-najā is called Kāsyifat al-sajā alā syarāhi safinat al-najā which was written by Sheikh Muhammad Nawawi al-Bantani (d. 1897). This commentary was widely spread among Indonesian students. To make it easier to understand, Safīnat al-najā was also translated by K.H. Muhammad Uthman al-Ishaqi (d. 1984) from Surabaya entitled Kasyfu al-hijā fi tarjamati safīnat al-najā translated into Madurese.

Another kitab written by Hadramaut ulama who also received special attention from Indonesian ulama was Sulāmu al-taufig by Habib Abdullah bin Husain bin Thahir (d. 1855). Some Indonesian ulama who composed nadzam based on this kitab were: K.H. Mahmud Mukhtar (d. 2008) from Cirebon with his book entitled I‘ānat al-rafīq 'alā nadzmi sulām al-taufig; K.H. Ahmad Masda‘in (d. 1941) brother of K.H. Arwani Amin (d. 1994) Kudus with his book entitled Inqōduz al-ghorīq fī nadzmi sulām al-taufig. Meanwhile, among the ulama who recommended the kitab of Sulām al-taufig was Sheikh Nawawi Banten with his book entitled Mirqōtu al-shu‘ūd al-tashdīq fī syarhi sulām al-taufig.49

Furthermore, another Turats kitab of the Hadramaut ulama which became and still becomes a reference for Nusantara ulama is Muqoddimat al-hadromiyyah by Abdullah bin Abdurrahman Bafadhol (d. 1512), a.k.a Mukhtashor bafādhol which was commented by Imam Ibn Hajar al-Haitami in his book entitled


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Minhāj al-qowīm.\textsuperscript{50} Then the meanings and problems discussed in the book were explained by one of Nusantara ulamas, namely Sheikh Mahfudz Termas (d. 1920) in his hāsyiyah book named Mauhibatu dzil fadhli hāsyiyati 'alā mukhtashor bafādhol in 7 volumes\textsuperscript{51}. Indonesian santri could listen to the kitab teaching led by Habib Umar bin Hafidz in monthly kajian Adabul 'ālim wal Muta'allim. The online teaching is broadcasted online through the Jakarta Nahdlatul Ulama Da'wah Institute (LDNU).

The Nusantara-Hadramauat ulama network gave important contributions in the construction of Indonesian Islam with its distinction, a hallmark of Islam in Indonesia. Hadramaut and Nusantara ulama connection had developed both religious traditions and intellectual traditions. The following section describes the intellectual works of Nusantara ulamas (in the for of syarah/ commentary) in responding to the work of Hadramaut ulama.

### Table 1.
Kitabs of Hadramaut ulamas and their syarahs by Nusantara ulamas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Books</th>
<th>Hadramaut Ulama</th>
<th>Syarah</th>
<th>Nusantara Ulama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b. Faidh al-hijā ‘alā naili al-rojā</td>
<td>b. K.H. Ahmad Sahal Mahfudz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. Nadzam nailul roja</td>
<td>c. K.H. M Maksum (Cirebon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d. Kasyful hijā fi tarjamati safīnat al-najā</td>
<td>d. K.H. Muhammad Utsman al-Ishaqi (Surabaya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e. Tanwīru al-hijā fi nadzmi safīnat al-najā</td>
<td>e. K.H. Ahmad Qusyairi Pasuruan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{51}Rizki Septiawan, “Peranan Syekh Nawawi Al-Bantani dalam Penyebaran Dakwah Islam di Nusantara,” Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan (UIN Raden Intan Bandar Lampung, 2019), 97.
2. **Sulām al-taufīq**

| a. | Habib Abdullah bin Husain bin Thahir | I‘ānat al-rafiq ‘alā nadzmi sulām al-taufīq |
| b. |  | Inqōdzu al-ghorīq fī nadzmi sulām al-taufīq |
| c. |  | Mirqōtu al-shu‘ūdi al-tashdīq fī syarhi sulām al-taufīq |

| a. | K.H. Mahmud Mukhtar (Cirebon) |
| b. | K.H. Ahmad Masda‘in (saudara K.H. Arwani Amin Kudus) |
| c. | Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani |

3. **Muqoddimatu al-hadromiyah or Mukhtar Bafādhol**

| a. | Syekh Abdullah Bafadhol | Mauhibatu dzī al-fadhli al-hasyiyyati ‘alā Mukhtashor Bafādhol |

| a. | Syekh Mahfudz Tremas Pacitan |

Source: Kitabs under study, 2022.

From Table 1, the genealogy of the Hadramaut ulamas with the Nusantara ulamas can be seen through the writing of the syarah or matan (content) which refer to the kitabs written by the Hadramaut ulamas. This dialogical intellectual works suggests that there was an intellectual relationship between Hadramaut and Nusantara. In addition, these kitabs were and are still being studied in pesantrens Indonesia, especially the Salafiyah pesantrens affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama pesantren.

**The diaspora of the first generation:**

**The Alawiyin Da'wah in Indonesia**

According to Van den Berg in his research in 1885 AD, the arrival of the Hadramaut (Hadrami) people to Indonesia occurred at the end of the 18th century. Initially, they stopped in Aceh, Palembang, Pontianak until they arrived in Java in 1828 AD. The population of Hadramis in Indonesia increased drastically in the 19th century, the majority of whom were aiming at achieving prosperity. They are divided into four groups, namely alawiyin (habib), Hadramaut natives, middle class, servants/slaves.

In the later period around the 20th century, the relationship between Indonesia and Hadramaut was maintained through

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the Hadrami diaspora in Indonesia who chose to send their children to Hadramaut to study Islam. This relationship stalled in 1967 due to the Yemeni political situation involving the South occupied by the communist regime. As a result, the anti-communist President Suharto restricted migration between Indonesia and Yemen. This policy changed the network connections between Hadramaut and its diaspora community in Indonesia. The last migration from Hadramaut to Indonesia occurred in the 1950s\textsuperscript{53}. The creative power of \textit{alawiyin da’wah} on their Sufi path was supported by the Alawiyah tarekat, an attempt to secure the place in Indonesia while protecting the superiority of their distinctive lineage. This strength was supported by the construction of a new Bani Alawi center in Kwitang, Jakarta, and the establishment of a scholarly network linking the Bani’ Alawi and local Kyai (Indonesian Islamic leaders)\textsuperscript{54}.

In the contestation of the da’wah in Indonesia, the ‘\textit{alawiyin}’ emphasize more on majelis taklim through sermons. For example, Habib Ali Kwitang (d. 1968) was pioneering of Majelis Taklim\textsuperscript{55}. His students scattered and founded majelis taklims in the capital city of Jakarta. Habib Ali Kwitang in addition to being known as a pious person, he is remembered by the public as the originator of the Maulid at the end of Thursday in Rabiul Awwal after the death of Habib Muhammad bin Idrus al-Habsyi from 1338 H/1920 AD to 1355 H/1937 AD at the Jamiat Kheir madrasah. Habib Ali Kwitang is known for his calming da’wah which is liked and easily followed by the jamaah. One of Habib Ali’s da’wah methods is regular teaching at the Majlis Taklim Kwitang every Sundays morning. Interestingly, the \textit{alawiyin da’wah} stage also became one of the connecting points between


Nusantara and Hadramaut by inviting lectures from Hadramaut-born ulama such as Habib Abdul Qadir bin Ahmad al-Segaff (d. 2010) at the Habib Ali Kwitang majelis taklim in 1974 until the next period was continued by Habib Umar bin Hafidz.

Habib Umar bin Salim Bin Hafidz is a world scholar who has travelled to various countries. His gentle and touching da’wah attracted people and many converted to Islam with him. His journey for da’wah in Indonesia was initiated by the orders of his teacher, Habib Abdul Qadir al-Segaff\textsuperscript{56}. According to the narrative of Habib Abdurrahman Basyuro, at first the arrival of Habib Umar bin Hafidz to Indonesia was caused by a sense of concern for Habib Anis al-Habsyi (d. 2006) Solo and Habib Umar Mulachela when Habib Abdul Qadir al-Segaff was considered too old to do his task in da’wah. Regarding that condition, both of them asked Habib Abdul Qadir to appoint a successor from his students who could replace him to come to Indonesia, especially to attend large majlis places such as Solo haul and others\textsuperscript{57}. Then, Habib Abdul Qadir contacted the young Habib Umar. Habib Umar finally came to the majelis and received orders from Habib Abdul Qadir al-Segaff to go to Indonesia with Habib Anis bin Alwi al-Habsyi and Habib Umar Mulakhela. Both prepared to leave for Indonesia accompanied by Habib Ali bin Abdurrahman al-Jufri who is now also popular among Indonesian alawiyins\textsuperscript{58}.

As previously explained, the beginning of the alawiyin da’wah movement began with the visit of Tarim ulama to Indonesia. Ulama such as Habib Abdul Qadir al-Segaff Tarim visits Indonesia to fulfill invitations for taklim events and haul commemorations such as the Habib Ali Kwitang Majelis Taklim, and also the Solo haul event which was attended by many


\textsuperscript{58}Interview with Habib Abdurrahman Basyuro Solo, 2022.
jamahs. In its development in 1993, one of the young ulamas from Tarim, namely Habib Umar bin Hafidz visited Indonesia on a da'wah duties until finally he planned to bring cadres of santri to study and study at Tarim Hadramaut.\textsuperscript{59}

Chronologically, Indonesian santri (students) went to Hadramaut in 1994 to study with Tarim ulama, then in August 1998 AD coincided with the month of Rabiul Sani 1419 H, around 30 students of the first batch of Darul Mustafa returned to their homeland in Indonesia by being delivered directly by Habib Umar bin Muhammad bin Salim bin Hafidz. Based on the narrative of Habib Hasan bin Ismail al-Muhdhor (2022), there were 30 students in the early generation who were raised by Habib Umar bin Hafidz namely Habib Mundzir bin Fuad al-Musawa (Jakarta), Habib Quraish Baharun (Bangil), Habib Sholeh al-Jufri (Solo), Habib Jindan bin Novel (Jakarta), Habib Ja'far Bagir al-Attas (Jakarta), Habib Muhammad al-Baiti (Sumenep), Habib Haidar al-Hinduan (Situbondo), Habib Sadiq Hasan Baharun (Sumenep), Habib Muhammad Haikal Khanamen (Jakarta), Habib Hadi al-Aydrus (pasuruan), Habib Ali Zainal Abidin al-Hamid (Jember), Habib Ali Zainal Abidin al-Hamid (Jember), Habib Hasan bin Ismail al-Muhdhor (Purbalingga), Habib Anis bin Husin al-Attas (Pekalongan), Habib Mahdi bin Muhammad al-Hiyed (Tegal), Habib Abdullah bin Hasan al-Haddad (Tegal), Habib Sholeh bin Abdullah Al-Kaff (Jatibarang Brebes), Habib Hasan al-Muhdhor (Samarinda), Habib Abdul Bari bin Smith (Manado), Ustadz Junaidi (Pontianak), Ustadz Azmi at-Tamimi (Pontianak), Ustadz Ibrahim at-Tamimi (Pontia son), Ustadz Munthohhar Ridho (Pontianak), Ustadz Ridwan al-Amri (Puncak, Bogor), Ustadz Hamzah (Bekasi), Ustadz Ubaidullah (Jakarta), Ustadz Mufty Ahmad Nasihin (Pasuruan), Ustadz Nurhadi (Pasuruan), Ustadz Ahmad Idris (Palembang), Ustadz Salim Nur (Malang), and Ustadz Yahya Rosyad (Purwodadi).\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{59}Interview with Habib Abdurrahman Basyuro Solo, 2022.
\textsuperscript{60}Interview with Habib Hasan bin Ismail al-Muhdhor, Pesantren Az-Zahir Probolinggo, 2022.
Based on the author's observations and searches, the first 30 students of Habib Umar bin Hafidz currently have da’wah networks and pesantren spread across their respective regions, and the influence of their da’wah can be said to be quite significant. For example, Habib Mundzir bin Fuad al-Musawa (d. 2013) has quite a lot of jamaah through the Majelis Rasulullah. The jamaah is based in the capital city of Jakarta and has many branches outside it. Interestingly, most of the lovers of the Majelis Taklim Rasulullah are in demand by the youth of the capital city who, on the other hand, have a hedonistic or pleasure-oriented lifestyle.

The Majelis Rasulullah also scheduled a major activity at the National Monument (Monas) to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad or known as the Maulid Nabi. In fact, it is not uncommon for Habib Mundzir bin Fuad al-Musawa with his Majelis Rasulullah to present Habib Umar bin Hafidz from Tarim Hadramaut in the commemoration so that it invites more jamaah.

The influence within pesantren was also played by one of Habib Umar bin Hafidz's students, for example Habib Quraisy Baharun Bangil Pasuruan with the pengasuh the Dalwa Pesantren (Darullughah Wadda'wah). The pesantren has many students and is one of the largest pesantren in Pasuruan, East Java. The curriculum of these boarding schools adopts the Hadramaut model curriculum, so that many Dalwa alumni continue their education in the City of Tarim Hadramaut. Likewise, the relationship between the Hadramaut pesantren and Indonesia today can be seen from its alumni who take care of pesantren and majelis taklim such as the Majelis Rasulullah Jakarta, Pesantren Dalwa Pasuruan, Bifaqih Malang, Az-Zahir Probolinggo, Darul Musthafa Karanganyar, Darul Batul Solo, Al-Busyro Pesantren and Ta’lim Darusschofa Medan, Madinatul Munawwaroh Semarang, Darul Musthafa Purwodadi, and others.

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Like the pioneer generation of Middle Eastern alumni in the pre-Independence era, post-Independence Middle East alumni were tested for their consistency in the tradition of scholarly enlightenment, enrichment of treasures and devotion to the nation and state. Especially in the last decade, they have been challenged to remain strong and competent in articulating two challenges at the national level: first, how Middle East alumni maintain the spirit of patriotism of the Republic of Indonesia, high nationalism, and prioritize the defence of the nation and state of the Republic of Indonesia under any conditions. Second, the compatibility of idealism and reality, the knowledge they learned there can be useful and in line with the identity of the Indonesian nation, providing solutions to the problems faced by the nation as well as being a driving factor for the progress of the nation and state.\(^\text{62}\)

Regarding the relationship between Hadramaut and the archipelago, there are several important things, including: first, the pattern of religious understanding in Indonesia is heavily influenced by the network of Nusantara ulama based in Haramain (Mecca and Medina) since the 17\(^{\text{th}}\) and 18\(^{\text{th}}\) centuries AD, then dialogued with the socio-political and religious contexts in Indonesia, so that Islamic ideas with a distinctive Indonesian style emerged. After Haramain, the Center for Religious Studies that was in contact with religious understanding in the archipelago also emerged from al-Azhar Egypt as the results of Mona Abaza's research. After Egypt, the Tarim Hadramaut emerged as a centre for Islamic studies.\(^\text{63}\)

Maftuh's research (2020) tries to develop this theory by revealing in detail the study of moderation. Islam from Tarim alumni, Hadramaut Yaman in Indonesia, as a form of transmission of moderate teachings from Yemen that has not been disclosed by previous researchers. Second, the alumni of Tarim Hadramaut Yaman belongs to the moderate-reformistic typology,


which is a tendency to believe that both turats and modernity are good, but a small percentage of alumni are also affiliated with conservative Islamic groups. Even though they express Islam more clearly and emphatically, most alumni continue to follow the “ummatan wasathan—the middle way of moderation without resorting to extreme attitudes. They move more to the right, become more rigid and rigid—they can then be referred to as the conservative Moderate group or in Luthfi Asyaukanie's words as Ideal. Third, the religious understanding of Tarim which was brought to the archipelago has historically started with the da'wah of the Wali'songo by means of religious and cultural acculturation. The method of acculturation is very effective because it does not eliminate the ancestral traditions of the archipelago. Acculturation is certainly different from assimilation, acculturation is the unification of several elements, yet the character of these elements is still there, while assimilation means to merge and blend into the new character. The Alumni of Tarim Yaman further confirms the existence and role of alumni in Indonesia, that is to strengthen the role of the organization where they serve so that the role of alumni is more visible as a teamwork not as individual.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that: First, the network of Hadramaut pesantren with Indonesian pesantren is connected through three main pesantrens in Hadramaut which become the main destination of Indonesian students. The three pesantren have established relationships with salaf pesantren in Indonesia, especially those developed by habaib such as Pesantren Darullughah Wadda'wah (Dalwa) in Bangil Pasuruan. However, there is one Pesantren in Hadramaut which has an exclusive pattern, namely the Darul Hadith Pesantren in Dammaj. Second, the influence of Hadramaut intellectualism in Nusantara in the 20th century can be seen through the genealogical relationship between Hadramaut ulama and Nusantara ulama. One example is the book Sa'fat al-Naja written by Sheikh Salim bin Sumar al-Hadrami which was syarah or commentary by the Nusantara scholar Sheikh Nawawi al-Bantani.
through the book Kāsyifat al-sajā. In addition to the Safīnah book, there are also other books such as the Sullāmu al-taufiq and the Mukhtashor bāfadhol, each of which is also recommended by Nusantara ulama. Third, the stage of alawīyyin da'wah in Indonesia is increasingly developing after the 30 students of the first generation of Habib Umar bin Hafidz returned to Indonesia such as Habib Mundzir bin Fuad al-Musawa who founded the Majelis Rasulullah which has thousands of jamaahs and establishes pesantrens.

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