

TRACES OF HADRAMAUT'S INTELLECTUALISM IN THE 20TH CENTURY IN NUSANTARA AND THE ROLE OF ITS PESANTREN ALUMNI

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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 Pesantrens 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-Ahgaff 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, sulām al-taufīq, muqoddimatu 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 safīnat al-najā, i'ā nat al-rafiq 'alā nadzmi sulām al-taufiq, inqōdzu al-ghorīq fī nadzmi sulām al-taufiq, mirqōtu al-shu'ūdi al-tashdiq fī syarhi sulām al-taufiq and mauhibatu dzi al-fadhli al-hasyīyati 'alā mukhtashor afādhol. 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

Penelitian ini membahas tentang jejak intelektualisme Hadramaut melalui hubungan genealogi keilmuan ulama Hadramaut dengan ulama Nusantara Abad ke-20, dan juga menganalisis tipologi pesantren Hadramaut dan peranan alumninya dalam mengembangkan gerakan dakwah di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan studi pustaka (library research) melalui buku, artikel, dan berita online, diperkuat dengan wawancara dan penelusuran lapangan (observasi). Penelitian ini menghasilkan kesimpulan bahwa: pertama, jaringan pesantren Hadramaut terhubung melalui pengiriman santri Indonesia ke Darul Musthafa, Rubath Tarim, dan Universitas al-Ahgaff yang ketiga lembaga tersebut menunjukkan karakter inklusif yang masih cocok diterapkan di Indonesia. Kedua, pengaruh intelektualisme Hadramaut dapat dilihat melalui hubungan genealogi keilmuan ulama Hadramaut dan ulama Nusantara dalam kitab safinat al-najā, sulām al-taufiq, muqoddimatu al-hadromiyyah, yang semuanya menjadi kitab rujukan ulama Nusantara dalam menyusun syarah atau penjelasan kitab kāsyifat al-sajā, faidh al-hijā 'alā naili al-rojā, nadzam nailul roja, kasyful hijā fī tarjamati safinat al-najā, tanwīru al-hijā fī nadzmi safinat al-najā, i'ānat al-raqīq 'alā nadzmi sulām al-taufiq, inqōdzu al-ghorīq fī nadzmi sulām al-taufiq, mirqōtu al-shu'ūdi al-tashdīq fī syarhi sulām al-taufiq dan mauhibatu dzi al-fadhli al-hasyiyati 'alā Mukhtashor Bafādhol. Ketiga, pengaruh alumni Hadramaut terutama kalangan alawiyyin sampai saat ini masih memiliki pengaruh dakwah yang cukup kuat di Indonesia setelah 30 santri angkatan pertama tahun 1998 Darul Musthafa pulang ke Indonesia dan mengembangkan dakwah dengan mendirikan majelis taklim atau pesantren.

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 Peninsula¹. 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 thought². 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 buildings³.

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 people⁴. One of the main destinations for Indonesian students in Yemen is Tarim Hadramaut, which is famous as the land of saints and habibs⁵.

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

¹Hilal Kholid Bajri, Nugrah Nurrahman, and Muhammad Fakhri, “Efek CNN Dalam Perang Yaman,” *Jurnal ICMES*, Volume 3, No. 1 (2018): 2, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.35748/jurnalicmes.v3i1.30>.

²Saadan Man, “Kedudukan Mazhab Syafi'i Dalam Perkembangan Ahlus Sunnah Di Negeri Perlis,” *Jurnal Fiqh*, Volume 4, No. 1 (2007): 143, <https://doi.org/10.22452/fiqh.vol4no1.7>.

³Anwar Ahmed Baessa and Ahmad Sanusi Hassan, “An Evaluation of Space Planning Design of House Layout to the Traditional Houses in Shibam, Yemen,” *Asian Culture and History*, Volume 2, No. 2 (2010): 15, <https://doi.org/10.5539/ach.v2n2p15>.

⁴Agung Sasongko, “Yaman Destinasi Favorit Belajar Agama,” *Republika*, 2018, https://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/dunia/pd1_7fs313/yaman-destinasi-favorit-belajar-agama, accessed on 21 May 2022.

⁵Martin Slama, “Indonesian Hadhramis and the Hadhramaut: An Old Diaspora and Its New Connections,” *Antropologi Indonesia*, Volume 29, No. 02 (2014): 32, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v29i2.3531>.

people⁶. Of many types of *pesantren* ranging from traditional pesantren (salafiyah), modern pesantren (khalaf) and semi-modern pesantren⁷, Darul Musthafa and Rubath Tarim were chosen because their education system is not much different from traditional salaf or *Pesantren* in Indonesia⁸.

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 Bruinessen'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 (*hāsyiyah*) with the main text (*matan*) of the book becomes a distinctive character to call this classic text and embed it as an intellectual heritage⁹.

One of intellectual works of Yemeni Hadramaut *ulama* studied by Nusantara *ulama* is the book of *Safinat 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

⁶ https://kemlu.go.id/sanaa/id/pages/hubungan_bilateral/1783/etc-menu accessed on 20 June 2022

⁷ Muhammad Nihwan and Paisun, "Tipologi Pesantren (Mengkaji Sistem Salaf Dan Modern)," *JPIK*, Volume 2, No. 1 (2019): 79.

⁸ M. Abror Rosyidin, "Tarim Kota Santri Dan Kota Wali Di Yaman (Bagian II)," *Tebuireng Online*, 2017, <https://tebuireng.online/tarim-kota-santri-dan-kota-wali-di-yaman-bagian-ii/>, accessed on 20 May 2022.

⁹ Martin van Bruinessen, "Pesantren and Kitab Kuning: Maintenance and Continuation of a Tradition of Religious Learning" in Wolfgang Marschall (Ed.), *Texts from the Islands: Oral and Written Traditions of Indonesia and the Malay World: Ethnologica Bernica*, Berne: University of Berne, 1994, 1-4.

entitled *Kasyīfatu al-syajā*. This book is a reference or many of the Indonesian ulama, especially from the *pesantren*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 Alawiyyin, 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 (*alawiyyin*) 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.

¹⁰Ahmad Tholabi Kharlie, "Literatur Pembelajaran Fiqh di Pondok Pesantren Propinsi Banten," *Jurnal TAJDID*, Volume 26, No. 1, (2019): 95.

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 Alawiyyin 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 arise¹⁵.

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

¹¹Agus Permana and H Mawardi, "Jaringan Habaib Di Jawa Abad 20," *Al-Tsaqafa: Jurnal Ilmiah Peradaban Islam*, Volume 15, No. 2 (2018): 155–80.

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

¹³Syamsul Rijal, "Revitalizing Hadhrami Authority: New Networks, Figures and Institutions among Ḥabā'ib in Indonesia," *Studi Islamika*, Volume 27, No. 2 (2020): 239–73.

¹⁴Suparto, Halid, and Samsul Adabi Bin Mamat, "Bani 'Alawiyyin in Indonesia and the Malay World Network, Development and the Role of Institution in Transmitting the Peaceful Mission of Islam," *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Volume 13, No. 2 (2019): 267–96, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2019.13.2.267-296>.

¹⁵Faizal Amin dan Rifki Abror Ananda, "Kedatangan dan Penyebaran Islam di Asia Tenggara : Telaah Teoritik tentang Proses Islamisasi Nusantara," *Analisis : Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, Volume 18, No. 2 Tahun 2018, 71.

(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 past¹⁶. 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 events¹⁷. 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 event¹⁸.

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

¹⁶Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2013), 70–74.

¹⁷Kuntowijoyo, 74–78.

¹⁸Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2013), 70–74.

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

¹⁹Tim Majelis Khoir, *Sejarah Hadramaut* (Malang: Majelis Khoir Publishing, 2020), 3. Lihat juga Faris Khoirul Anam, "Model Pengembangan Kurikulum Madrasah Hadramaut Di Pesantren Darul Faqih Malang," *Fikroh : Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pendidikan Islam*, Volume 14, No. 1 (2021): 49, <https://doi.org/10.29300/attalim.v16i2.845>.

²⁰Faisal Zikri, "Kisah Nabi Saleh dan Jejak Petilasannya di Hadhramaut," Sanad Media, 2021, <https://sanadmedia.com/post/kisah-nabi-saleh-dan-jejak-petilasannya-di-Hadhramaut>.

²¹Idrus Alwi Al-Masyur, *Sejarah, Silsilah Dan Gelar Etnis Nabi Muhammad Saw Di Indonesia, Singapura, Malaysia, Timur Tengah, India Dan Afrika* (Jakarta: Saraz Publishing, 2013), 95.

Allah was brought with a hail of stones that fell on the killers of the camels of the Prophet Saleh²².

The land of Yemen whose people were praised by the Prophet Muhammad as a people who are gentle and easy to accept faith, *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 *allāhumma bārik fī syāminā wa yamāninā* (bless our Sham and Yemen). In addition, Abu Bakr's friend also said that *yanbutu al-auliya' 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 algae²³.

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 *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 *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.²⁴

This migration momentum then changed the Hadramaut map into a religious and scholarly area. In its development, through the role of alawiyyin (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

²²Desi Aditia Ningrum, "Gara-Gara Bunuh Unta Nabi Saleh, Kaum Tsamud diberi Azab Pedih," merdeka.com, 2016, <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/gara-gara-bunuh-unta-nabi-saleh-kaum-tsamud-diberi-azab-pedih.html>.

²³Abdullah Muhammad bin Ismail Al-Bukhari, *Shahih Al-Bukhari* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiah, 1992), 979.

²⁴Ahmad bin Zein Al-Habsyi, *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.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)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 Indonesia²⁷. 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

²⁵Lodewijk Willem Christiaan Van Den Berg, *Le Hadhramout et Les Colonies Arabes Dans l'archipel Indien*, Terj. Rahayu Hidayat, (Jakarta: INIS, 1989), 33.

²⁶Wan Suhailah Wan Abdul Jalil and Abu Dardaa Mohamad, "Manhaj Dakwah Habib Umar Bin Hafidz," *Al-Hikmah*, Volume 11, No. 01 (2019): 146.

²⁷Kholili Hasib, "Menelusuri Mahzab Walisongo," *Tsaqafah*, Volume 2, No. 1 (2015): 146, <http://dx.doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v1i1l.257>. The habibs in Indonesia whose genealogically from Hadramaut, including the ancestors of Walisongo as the spreader of Islam can also be seen in: Muhammad Hasan Al-Aydrus, *Asyraf Hadramaut dan Peranan Mereka dalam Menyebarkan Islam di Asia Tenggara*, Cet.I (Lentera, 1996), 54.

arrival of Islam in Nusantara was brought by the Hadramaut *alawiyin* with the Shafi'i school of thought²⁸.

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 Yemen²⁹.

Darul Musthafa was founded in the month of Shawwal or in 1993 AD and soon became a learning destination of Indonesian students³⁰. The majors offered as *takhasus* programs (special programs) are *fiqh* and *ushul fiqh*, al-Qur'an and ulūmul al-Qur'an, hadith science, *sirah* and *lughah*. The learning method is called *halaqah*, namely learning directly under the supervision of the teacher³¹. 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.

²⁸Novel bin Muhammad Alyadrus, *Jalan Nan Lurus Sekilas Pandang Tarekat Bani Alawi*, I (Surakarta: Taman Ilmu, 2006), 25.

²⁹Interview with Habib Hasan bin Ismail al-Muhdhor, Pesantren Az-Zahir Probolinggo, 2022.

³⁰A Rifai, "Diaspora Ulama Yaman di Mekkah-Madinah pada Abad 20," *UIN Syarif Hidayatullah* (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2015), 23.

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: Mastuhu, *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*.³² 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)³³.

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 Indonesia³⁴.

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

³²Rifai, "Diaspora Ulama Yaman Di Mekkah-Madinah Pada Abad 20," 20–23.

³³Abdurrahman Istiqomah, "Rubath Tarim, Yaman, Mencetak Ratusan Ribu Ulama," *embunhati*, 2016, <https://embunhati.com/2016/04/20/rubath-tarim-yaman-mencetak-ratusan-ribu-ulama/>, accessed on 3 June 2022.

³⁴Rifai, "Diaspora Ulama Yaman Di Mekkah-Madinah Pada Abad 20," 25.

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 Abdurrahman³⁵.

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 lands³⁶.

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-

³⁵Rijal, "Revitalizing Hadhrami Authority: New Networks, Figures and Institutions among Ḥabā'ib in Indonesia," 251. Lebih lanjut lihat di <http://indo.ahgaff.edu/profil-al-ahgaff/perkembangan-al-ahgaff.aspx>

³⁶Syamsul Rijal, "Internal Dynamics within Hadhrami Arabs in Indonesia: From Social Hierarchy to Islamic Doctrine," *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Volume 11, No. 1 (2017): 243.

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-Khairiyyah in the province of Sa'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 Tenggara, Semarang. In 2000, Talib declared a jihad war in the Maluku Islands with his military group called Laskar Jihad.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'i³⁸. 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 style³⁹.

Traces of intellectualism: The genealogical scholarly relationship between *Hadramaut Ulama* and *Nusantara Ulama* in the 20th Century

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

³⁷Muhammad As'ad, "The Dynamics of The Indonesian The Hadramis On The Maulid Celebration," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies (QIJIS)*, Volume 8, No. 2 (2020): 407.

³⁸Laurent Bonnefoy, "Yemen: Salafis and the War," *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*, No. 18 (2020): 1–4, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-99675-2_417-1. See "Masih Ada 100-an Pelajar RI di Perguruan Dar Al-Hadits Yaman," *Detik.com*, 2011, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-1779227/masih-ada-100-an-pelajar-ri-di-perguruan-dar-al-hadits-yaman>.

³⁹Shinta Nurani, "Salafi, Media Baru Dan Moral Panic; Studi Atas Majlis Al-Khidhir," *Jurnal Aqlam Journal Of Islamic and Plurality*, Volume 4, No. 1 (2019): 140.

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 Sufism⁴¹.

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 17th century ulama such as Sheikh Abdurrauf Singkil, Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassar, Sheikh Nuruddin ar-Raniri, and in the 19th 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 cosmopolit ulamas, but at the same time they contextualized Islam, or in terms established by Gus Dur, the indigenousoziation 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-

⁴⁰Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy et al., "The Social History of Ashab Al-Jawiyyin and the Hadith Transmission in the 17 Th Century Nusantara," *ISLĀMIYYĀT*, Volume 43, No. 2 (2021): 106.

⁴¹Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Mizan, 1994), 126.

⁴²Qudsy et al., "The Social History of Ashab Al-Jawiyyin and the Hadith Transmission in the 17 Th Century Nusantara," 113.

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 *al-nashā'ih al-diniyyah wa al-washāya al-imaniyyah*, *al-da'wah at-tammah wa at-tadzkiarah al-'ammah*, *risālatu al-mu'āwanah wa al-muzhāharah wa al-mu'āzarah li al-rāghibīna min al-mu'minīn fī sulūki tharīqi al-ākhirah*, *al-fushūl al-'amaliyyah wa al-ushūl al-hukmiyyah*, *sabīl al-adzkār bima yamur bi al-insan wa yunqadhi lahu min 'umrihi*, *al-nafāis al-uluwiyyah fī al-masā'il al-shufiyyah*, *al-Hikām*, *Itfah al-sā'il bijawābi al-masā'il*, *risālah adābi sulūki al-murīd*, *al-washōya al-nāfi'ah*, *aqīdatul islām*, *al-mukhtār mina al-fatāwa*, *tukhfatu al-abrōr fī sholāti 'alā al-nabiyyi al-mukhtār*, *al-durru al-manzhūm lidzāwi al-'uqūl wa al-fuhūm*, *nahju al-Haqqi al-rosyīd fī nadzmi risālati al-murīd*, *mukātabātah wayatakūnu min al-majlidain*, *wasīlatu al-'ibād mina al-da'awāt wa al-aurād al-ma'tsūrot 'ani al-rosūli*, *risālah al-mudzākarah ma'ah al-ikhwān al-muhibbīn min ahli al-khairi wa ad-dīn*, *tatsbītu al-fuād*, *sabīlu al-muhtadīn*, and others⁴⁴.

⁴³Muhammad Fazlurrahman, "Ashab Al-Jawiyyin In Haramain: Aktiwisme Sosio-Religius Islam Nusantara Activism On Century 17 And 18," *Proceedings of Annual Conference for Muslim Ulama*, No. Series 1 (2018): 241, <http://proceedings.kopertais4.or.id/index.php/ancoms/article/view/126>.

⁴⁴Abdulloh bin Alawi Al-Haddad, *ad-Da'wah at-Tammah wa at-Tazkirah al-'ammah* (Beirut: Dar al-Hawi, 2008), 9. See also al-Malibari, *al-Imdad bi al-Syarhi Rotibil al-Haddad*, 20.

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 H⁴⁵. 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 Yemen⁴⁶. 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 time⁴⁷. 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 20th 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)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

⁴⁵Al-Malibari, *Al-Imdad Bi Al-Syarhi Rotibil 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.

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

⁴⁷Abdullah bin Ahmad Ba Sudan Al-Kindi, *Dhakhirat Al-Ma'ad Bi-Syarh Ratib Al-Qutb Al-Haddad* (Kairo: Mathba'ah al-Mishriyah, 1959), 48. Lihat juga arif Hidayatuloh, "Studi Analisis Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Akhlak Dalam Kitab Risalatul Mu'awanah Karya Al-Habib Abdullah bin Alwi bin Muhammad Al-Haddad" (IAIN Salatiga, 2015), 28.

⁴⁸Muhammad Haryono, "Peranan Komunitas Arab Dalam Bidang Sosial-Keagamaan Di Betawi 1900-1942," *Al-Turās*, Volume 21, No. 01 (2015): 176, Arab-Hadrami, Betawi, Jamiat Kheir, ar-Rabita al-Alawiyah, L.W.C Van den Berg.

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 syar—hi safīnat 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 fī tarjamati safīnat al-najā* translated into Madurese.

Another kitab written by Hadramaut ulama who also received special attention from Indonesian ulama was *Sulāmu al-taufīq* 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-rafiq 'alā nadzmi sulām al-taufīq*; K.H. Ahmad Masda'in (d. 1941) brother of K.H. Arwani Amin (d. 1994) Kudus with his book entitled *Inqōdzu al-ghorīq fī nadzmi sulām al-taufīq*. Meanwhile, among the ulama who recommended the kitab of *Sulām al-taufīq* was Sheikh Nawawi Banten with his book entitled *Mirqōtu al-shu'ūd al-tashdīq fī syarhi sulām al-taufīq*.⁴⁹

Furthermore, another Turats kitab of the Hadramaut ulama which became and still becomes a reference for Nusantara ulama is *Muqoddimatu 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

⁴⁹Anam, "Model Pengembangan Kurikulum Madrasah Hadramaut di Pesantren Darul Faqih Malang," 49.

Minhāj al-qowīm.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 bafādhhol* in 7 volumes⁵¹. 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-Hadramaut 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 syarabs
 by Nusantara ulamas

No.	Name of Books	Hadramaut Ulama	Syarah	Nusantara Ulama
1.	<i>safīnat al-najā</i>	Syekh Salim bin Sumair al-Hadrami	a. <i>Kāsyifat al-sajā</i> b. <i>Faidh al-hijā 'alā naili al-rojā</i> c. <i>Nadzam nailul roja</i> d. <i>Kasyful hijā fī tarjamati safīnat al-najā</i> e. <i>Tanwīru al-hijā fī nadzmi safīnat al-najā</i>	a. Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani b. K.H. Ahmad Sahal Mahfudz c. K.H. M Maksum (Cirebon) d. K.H. Muhammad Utsman al-Ishaqi (Surabaya) e. K.H. Ahmad Qusyairi Pasuruan

⁵⁰Muhammed Zein El-Hudawie, “Secuil tentang Muqoddimah Hadhromiyah,” Kompasiana.com, 2014, <https://www.kompasiana.com/elhudawie/552a5e64f17e613e01d62400/secuil-tentang-muqoddimah-hadhromiyah>, accessed 20 April 2022.

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

2. <i>Sulām al-taufiq</i>	Habib Abdullah bin Husain bin Thahir	a. <i>I'ānat al-rafiq 'alā nadzmi sulām al-taufiq</i> b. <i>Inqōdzu al-ghorīq fi nadzmi sulām al-taufiq</i> c. <i>Mirqōtu al-shu'ūdi al-tashdīq fi syarhi sulām al-taufiq</i>	a. K.H. Mahmud Mukhtar (Cirebon) b. K.H. Ahmad Masda'in (saudara K.H. Arwani Amin Kudus) c. Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani
3. <i>Muqoddimatu al-hadromiyah or Mukhtashor Bafādhol</i>	Syekh Abdullah Bafadhhol	<i>Mauhibatu dzi al-fadhli al-hasyiyati 'alā Mukhtashor Bafādhol</i>	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 Alawiyyin 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 *alawiyyin* (habib), Hadramaut natives, middle class, servants/slaves⁵².

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

⁵²Lodewijk Willem Christiaan Van Den Berg, *Hadramaut Dan Koloni Arab Di Nusantara (Jilid 3)*, ed. Rahayu Hidayat (Jakarta: Inis, 1989), 72.

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 1950s⁵³. The creative power of *alawiyyin da'wah* on their Sufi path was supported by the Alawiyyah 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)⁵⁴.

In the contestation of the da'wah in Indonesia, the *'alawiyyin* emphasize more on majelis taklim through sermons. For example, Habib Ali Kwitang (d. 1968) was pioneering of Majelis Taklim⁵⁵. 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 *alawiyyin da'wah* stage also became one of the connecting points between

⁵³Muhammad As'ad, "The Dynamics of The Indonesian The Hadramis On The Maulid Celebration," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies (QIJIS)*, Volume 8, No. 2 (2020): 406.

⁵⁴Ismail Fajrie Alatas. "Becoming Indonesians: The Bā 'Alawī in the Interstices of the Nation", *Die Welt des Islams*, Volume 51, No. 1 (2011): 45-108, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/157006011X556120>.

⁵⁵Dedik Priyanto, <https://www.kompas.tv/article/270631/sosok-habib-ali-kwitang-ulama-berpengaruh-di-tanah-betawi>, accessed on 3 Jun 2022.

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-Segaff⁵⁶. 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 others⁵⁷. 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 *alawiyyins*⁵⁸.

As previously explained, the beginning of the *alawiyyin 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

⁵⁶Umar bin Hafidz, Umar Bin Hafidz, Taujih an-Nabih Li Mardhaah Baarih, Habib Umar Bin Hafidz Menjawab: Tanya Awab Keseharian Tentang Mendekat Kepada Allah SWT, ed. Husen Nabil, Terj. (Tangerang: Putera Bumi, 2016), vii.

⁵⁷Ahmad Zuhud Rijal, "Kisah Pertama Kali Habib Umar Mendatangi Indonesia," Laduni.id, 2020, <https://www.laduni.id/post/read/68153/kisah-pertama-kali-habib-umar-mendatangi-indonesia>, diakses 20 Mei 2022.

⁵⁸Interview with Habib Abdurrahman Basyuro Solo, 2022.

jamaahs. 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 Hadramaut⁵⁹.

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 Ubaidillah (Jakarta), Ustadz Mufty Ahmad Nasihin (Pasuruan), Ustadz Nurhadi (Pasuruan), Ustadz Ahmad Idris (Palembang), Ustadz Salim Nur (Malang), and Ustadz Yahya Rosyad (Purwodadi).⁶⁰

⁵⁹Interview with Habib Abdurrahman Basyuro Solo, 2022.

⁶⁰Interview 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 pesantrens 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 Taklim 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 jamaah⁶¹.

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-Busyuro Pesantren and Ta'lim Darusshofa Medan, Madinatul Munawwaroh Semarang, Darul Musthafa Purwodadi, and others.

⁶¹Syamsul Rijal, "Kaum Muda Pecinta Habaib: Kesalehan Populer Dan Ekspresi Anak Muda Di Ibu Kota," *Afkaruna*, Volume 14, No. 2 (2018): 170–81, <https://doi.org/10.18196/aaijis.2018.0086.166-189>.

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.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 17th and 18th 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.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,

⁶² Maftuh, *Moderasi Islam Tarim: Kajian Tentang Peran Alumni Yaman di Indonesia*, (Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel, 2020), 192.

⁶³ Maftuh, *Moderasi Islam Tarim: Kajian Tentang Peran Alumni Yaman*, 193.

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 Walisongo 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 team-work 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 *Safinat al-Najā* 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-taufīq* and the *Mukhtashor bāfadhol*, each of which is also recommended by Nusantara ulama. Third, the stage of *alawiyyin 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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