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PREFACE

The Seminar of ‘Warisan Nusantara 2’ (2nd Heritage Archipelago) which is held on December 18, 2012 at the State University of Semarang is an annual or biennial seminar, especially in collaboration with Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS) and several universities in Indonesia and Malaysia. The first seminar of ‘Warisan Nusantara 1’ (1st Heritage Archipelago) was held in UMS in 2011.

The topic of the seminar is "Preservation and Development of the Cultural Archipelago through Arts and Languages". It is organized to open a broader perspectives to all speakers, experts, humanists, and academics from different disciplines to share about the issues related to the topic.

Alhamdulillah, this seminar has received a very wide responses from many institutions and individuals. It is noted that there are 138 comparative speakers coming from 45 institutions (universities and other institutions), one keynote speaker, six speakers from five countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, French, and Japan. They will contribute for the completion of the proceedings of the seminar, as well as the academic accountability for the seminar committee.

Hopefully, the proceedings completed in such a short time can satisfy the expectations of its users. Thank you.

Semarang, December 17, 2012

Chairman of the Committee
The Seminar of “Warisan Nusantara 2”

Prof. Dr. Tjetjep Rohendi Rohidi, MA

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**THE MAWLID READING TRADITION AS THE SELAWATAN
PESANTREN AND ITS STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION TO THE
VARIETY OF MUSICAL PERFORMANCE FORMS IN
YOGYAKARTA SPECIAL PROVINCE**

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Abstract

This study discusses the *selawatan pesantren* genre as an Islamic music which is performed in some events of religious tradition of several traditional Islamic boarding school, known as the *pesantren*, in Yogyakarta Special Province. The discussion focused on musical structure and its general characteristic which is then compared to some forms of other musical performing arts that are recognized as the *selawatan*, in other locations outside of the *pesantren* environment. This study also investigates why almost all Islamic performing art characteristics in Yogyakarta can be traced back to the *selwatan pesantren*. Another question is why the *selawatan* as a musical art cannot be disobeyed from the phenomena of Islamic law interpretation concerning music. In order to solve its research problems this study utilizes theoretical reconstruction of ethno-musicological method through interdisciplinary approaches of historical, anthropological, analytical musicology, and Islamic speculative studies. This study concludes that based on the use of the *mawlid* Arabic texts as its main repertoire, the *selawatan* that are practiced within, and outside of, the traditional *pesantren*, is obviously an Indonesian representation of the *mawlid* musical traditions. The *selawatan pesantren* type has inspired other new musical genres out sides the *pesantren*. Even though some types of the *selawatan* also involve dances, body movements and other theatrical elements, these should be considered secondary as an accompaniment to the musically reading performance of the *selawatan* texts. Finally, through speculative consideration, it can be concluded that the performance of *selawatan pesantren* as well as its variants outside the *pesantren* complex is an interpretation phenomenon of the Islamic principle.

Keywords: *Islamic Music, Selawatan, pesantren, mawlid.*

Introduction

Indonesia with its largest Muslim population is rich with the variety of Islamic musical genres with local culture influences. From many Islamic musical genres that are practiced in the Islamic world, the *mawlid* perhaps is the most popular one among Indonesian Muslim. The word *mawlid*, which is literary means “the birth day,” is normally applied to both commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad birth date and the genre of Islamic prose that based on stories and miracles surrounding the prophet’s birth day. The later which is discussed in this paper, has been considered as well, as a religious musical genre. This music is performed by people within the *pesantren*.

Even though the *mawlid* characteristics are obvious enough, it seems not quite familiar yet among Indonesian as a musical genre terminology. On the other hand, the term *selawatan*, which is addressed to the practice of *mawlid* tradition, is more recognizable rather than the *mawlid* itself. As an Indonesian word, the *selawatan* has been understood as an act of reading tradition of the *selawat*, an Islamic praise supplication sentence, which is forwarded toward the Prophet Muhammad PBUH (Peace be upon Him). The *selawatan* is performed by a separate group of men or women, or the combination of both, whether it is sung simultaneously or by responding each other. The performance is normally accompanied by a frame drums (the *rebana*) that sometimes combined with other local percussion instruments. However, some of the *selawatan* groups also sung the *mawlid* verses without any accompaniment at all.

Even though there are many types of the *selawatan* practiced in almost the entire part of Indonesian archipelago, this study is focused on some types only that are still practiced by traditional Muslims in Yogyakarta Special Province (the DIY which is the official abbreviation for the state Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, will be use for the rest of this paper). It seems that the word *selawatan*, that sometimes known nationally with some other similar spellings, such as, the *selawatan*, the *sholawatan*, the *shalawatan*, the *solawatan*, and the *slawatan*, exists only in Javanese traditions. In some other Indonesian Islamic sub-ethnics outside of the Javanse cultures, the suffix “-an” is never applied to entitle any Islamic performing art forms. In Sumatra, the word *selawat* is normally combined in pair with other word to build a new meaning that indicates the *selawat* type. The *shalawat dulang* or *shalawat talam* from West Sumatera province is one example of the *selawatan* type that is not accompanied by a frame drums ensemble, but two or more big serving metal plates instead. The plates are treated as an idiophone instruments that are rhythmically tapped by hands (Bahar, 1997; dan Sriwulan, 1999). Based on current updated Indonesian main dictionary, the

spelling of this kind of Islamic performing arts that has been chosen as a general term for this study is the “*selawatan*.”

This study who surveys the transformation of *selawatan pesantren* as the representation of Islamic arts is necessary to be done, especially as an effort of identification, preservation, and documentation of its originality. The ubiquitous spread of Islamic performing arts as well as traditions in almost all of the entire parts Indonesian archipelagos could be the evidence of Islamic influence through the *selawatan* arts that is not subject to complaint. At the same time the influence of local cultures have also played an important role to refine the transformation of the *selawatan* to be some new forms. Even though local influences on the *selawatan* can be considered positive in contributing to its creativity improvement, there is an anxious among Muslims that Islamic substance of the arts would sometimes be disappear. Along with this anxiety, the *selawatan Jawa*, for example, which is the Javanese version of the *selawatan*, has recently been adjusted to a new religious tradition by some Catholic local groups of Javanese-Christian in Yogyakarta through the inculturalism movement (*Berita Nasional*, 2004). Apart from Arabic to Javanese languages change, through the imculturalism of the *selawatan* theological content has moved from the core concept of Islamic arts.

This study limits its investigation to the study of the *selawatan* position within the taxonomy of Islamic musical genres, its structures within its supporting societies, the spread of sub-variant forms of the non-pesantren *selawatan*, and finally, the relationship between the *selawatan* as a kind of musical art and the Islamic law.

The study raises several questions: (1) How is the structure of the *selawatan* which is practiced by Muslim within and outside the *pesantren*? (2) Why the *selawatan pesantren* should be considered as Islamic religious music? (3) Why almost all of Islamic performing arts in Yogyakarta having characteristic that can be traced back to the *selawatan pesantren* types? Why the existence of the *selawatan* as a musical art cannot be disobeyed from Islamic law interpretation phenomena concerning music? Answers to these questions is aimed at: 1) obtaining knowledge on the characteristics of textual elements that are formed the *selawatan pesantren* tradition as a religious Islamic performing arts in Yogyakarta; 2) uncovering the *selawatan* musical dimensions to find out the religious content quality of its melodies; 3) gaining knowledge about the place of the *selawatan pesantren* among its variants within the taxonomy of Islamic performing arts; 4) understanding the position of music in Islam and to uncover conceptual implication behind the formation of musical attitude and characteristic within the *selawatan* tradition as an Islamic music.

Research Method

This study has been done within ethnomusical study framework due to comparison dimension that is exist between the *selawatan*'s structures, as traditional music representation of a certain ethnic groups, and musical acculturation phenomenon of various cultural elements (see Kunst, 1959). In addition, effort of conservation as well as documentation that is purposed in this research, to save traditional arts from extinction, is in accordance with the basic principle of ethnomusicological method that looks at the connection between the two fold investigations of music and culture (see Merriam, 1964; see also Nettl, 1964 and 1983). The four issues have been studied by utilizing four theoretical approaches: 1) historical, 2) textual, 3) con-textual, and 4) speculative-conceptual on Islamic studies.

Data collection has been done through participation observation techniques by utilizing the combination of four observation approach models interchangeably based on appropriate field situation as well as condition. Rather than fully positioned as a complete participant, sometimes I also positioned myself as other models such as "observer as participant," "complete observer," and "participant as observer" (see Burns, 2000:509)

Because a musical ethnography should be based on real musical events, samples collection always tried to be taken from a set of musical production. This production encompasses musical performance aspects, including the *selawatan* performance and its related human aspects. These aspects represented by the *selawatan* group members as performers and other supporting people as their audience. The data then further developed to be used for textual and finally contextual investigations. Some musical performances recorded in this research were selected from the regular scheduled of the *selawatan* tradition, especially part of weekly traditions and annual feast day occasions (see Seeger, 1995:88).

The musical samples that were recorded from life performance in the field during 2009 were limited to the *selawatan pesantren* type and some others from its sub-variant that ubiquitously spread among Muslim societies outside the *pesantren* complex. The *selawatan pesantren* samples that are studied include two variants. The first repertoire were the *simthuddurrar* performances during the Asyura Day celebration in the Pondok Pesantren (PP) Al-Munawwir, Bantul, and during the Haul Kyai Nur Iman celebration in the square of Masjid Jami' Mlangi mosque in Sleman. The second repertoire was the *dzibaiyah*, which were both done during the weekly student's (the *santri*) tradition and the annual *pesantren*'s tradition, the *muharoman*, practiced in the PP Al Munawwir. Besides in Yogyakarta city samples of non-*pesantren selawatan* were recorded in three other districts of the DIY, they were Bantul, Sleman, and Gunungkidul.

Discussion

Islam has given a significant influence on both the new forms of imported Islamic music as well as old music that is originated from Indonesia. The blend between them is interesting to be discussed. The *selawatan* is among Indonesian Islamic performing arts that according to Sedyawati (2002:63) can be classified into three categories; the arts that are influenced by Islamic messages, new arts that has already had Islamic elements since they were firstly introduced, and contemporary arts that has Islamic element but do not tautened by any traditions. It seems that Hastanto (2002) dan Yampolsky (2002) have been agree that the *selawatan* is part of the second category. In the mean time, Pigeaud (1933) categorizes some forms of traditional music in the DIY into dichotomy between the court and public arts, while in the context of contemporary demands Soedarsono (1999) added the tourism package of arts as the third. Both Pigeaud and Soedarsono have placed the *selawatan* into the cateogory of public arts. Studies on the *selawatan* that have been done to date (see for example, Rabimin, 1979; Bahar, 1997; Sriwulan, 1999; Suryati, 2002; Sinaga, 2002; dan Sunaryadi *et.al.*,1982) are still parsially focused on certain kinds only. Because of that reason they have not successful yet to uncover the general existence of slawatan. In addition the *selawatan* has been understood as a non musical art branches, such as theatre and dance, and consider musical elements attached to the arts as their accompaniment (Rachman, 1979; Sunaryadi, 1982; Iswantara, 2002).

Former studies concerning the *selawatan* in the DIY as well as other provinces (see Djoharnurani, 1994; Rachman, 1979; Sunaryadi, *et.al.*, 1982; Suryati, 2002; Iswantara, 2002; Sriwulan, 1999; and Sinaga, 2002), consider Islamic performing arts as an independent folk arts which fall under the branches of dance and theatre. However, based on similarities in the content of their song lyrics as well as their musical accompaniment that have never been part of their attention, there is actually an aspect that connects those arts that all referred to a popular Islamic classical text, the Al Barzanji. Among those studies only Djoharnurani (1994), who uses data that geographically cover some area outside of Java, applies the term “*selawatan*” in national context. What we can learn from studies on Indonesian Islamic performing arts is the relationship among several traditional genres with Islamic influences.

These former studies have let us to consider the fact that up to the present particular studies concerning the interrelationship between different types of the *selawatan* in Indonesian Islamic societies is hardly found. Some studies on the *selawatan* cover specific types and areas only. Their diachronic implication concerning the origin of various *selawatan* forms has not been placed as its main purpose. In addition the diachronic historical explanations of the *selawatan* that

were mostly based on qualitative data collection from the field has not yet enough to be considered as the evidence of the origin of *selawatan* in general. Even though several former studies has discussed the *pesantren*'s performing arts including the *selawatan*, but they have not demonstrate its detail characteristic and identified its difference with various forms of *selawatan* that are exist outside of the *pesantren*.

Apart from the former studies above, some historical studies concerning Islamic civilization and the early arrival of Islam in Indonesia (Le Bon 1974; Saptono, 1994; Ma'arif, 1993; Ricklefs, 1981; and Kamal, *et al.*, 1994) as well as a discussion concerning music within Islamic religious considerations (Choudhury, 1957), have given an implication that the appearance of new musical genres in Islamic world has an indirect sociological relationship with the history of an ongoing controversial religious issue on the prohibition of music in Islam. The latest consideration held by most Islamic scholars, is the believe that the acceptance of music in Islamic societies and cultures should be determined by its closure levels to the art of Quranic recitation (Raji dan Lamya Faruqi, 1986; Shiloah, 1995).

In Java, the influence of Islamic religious messages in the *gamelan* music is more reflected in its philosophical concepts rather than its musical idioms (Becker, 1993). Current transitional era has an impact on the gamelan interpretation shift, which is moved from the *dakwah* effort on enjoining people to the religion) mission that was symbolically inserted by the Sufis to the Javanese mysticism, through the Hinduism as well as the Budhism influences (see Softwan, 2000: 74-75, and also Suprpto, 1987: 181-182). However, Sufi traditions themselves are at the same time still practiced by the Javanese traditional Muslims, for example, the Zikr (remembrance) and the *Selawat*, that are varied from its original forms to those that have been transformed into a new forms by the influence of local traditions. It seems that Javanese traditional Islamic society preoccupation in practicing Islamic local traditions has caused the issues of Islamic ruling on music being not popular among them. Because of that reason it can be assumed that many of Islamic traditional music in Indonesia is as a matter of fact an indirect reflections among contradictive interpretations of Islamic law concerning the prohibition of music, especially that is held by some groups of Sufi.

Efforts on reconstructing the history of Islamic music in order to understand historical connection between the Indonesian *selawatan* and other Islamic musical genre in general as well as its within the taxonomy of Islamic musical genre has been done through historical approaches. Some academic colleagues have suggested to be based this analysis through the social history of arts. The approach looks at the existence of arts that is not only appear as a

reflection as well as interaction result between an artist and society but also always fastened by the characteristic of European-centric as well as diachronic cultural evolutions (see Hauser, 1985: 77, 219, 221, 429, and 443). Because of that reasons it seems that the approach is not fully appropriate for non-European traditional arts studies, such as for the *selawatan* in Indonesia. Different to music from in the modern world the *selawatan* music was not initially born from the creativity of an artist but from traditional societies. However, both historical approaches are also beneficial to be used as an instrument in a general survey of the history of Islamic music. Although not exactly applied in this study, an interval model of social historical approaches has been borrowed to survey the place of the *selawatan* within Islamic musical genres taxonomy. Theoretically, interval model describes social changes phenomenon that tend to be synchronic in nature and does not concern with causal relationship so that would results a non perfect diachronic account (Kuntowijoyo, 1944: 33-39, and 44-45).

The first and the fourth methodological approaches have been applied to uncover the structure of the *selawatan* in the DIY. The anthropological structuralism who belief that a structure is actually a kind of interactive bound between relations that encompasses at least two layers, identified as surface and deep structures (see Ahimsa-Putra, 2001: 61-71). This theory has been borrowed to deeply analyze the structural interrelationships between different types of the *selawatan* sub-genres. Through this analysis the characteristic as well as structural transformation of the *selawatan* sub genres found in the field, are studied. In this application the *selawatan* transformation has been defined as a feature change from the suspected original form to its new variants. In the outer surface various transformations of the *selawatan* have been studied by applying a comparison between one variant to another. In the first step the *selawatan* transformation has been studied not only from its linguistic usage, that is not only the understanding of its Arabic text, but also of the variety of its sub genre terms, which indirectly represents cultural element of language application.

In the next step, elements shift of the *selawatan* is identified and finally the comprehensiveness of *selawatan* unit framer elements is monitored. Structural analysis to the *selawatan* has been done, firstly by exposing its surface structure that in this matter is, a cultural phenomenon of the mapping of *selawatan* types in the DIY, in order to further uncover its deep structure pattern. Through this structural anthropology transformation analysis process the synchronic relations has been put into account rather than diachronic relations. Because of that reason this analysis does not refer to the cause-effect characteristic of diachronic relations but to the rule of “feature change” within a structural configuration that belong to the synchronic relations characteristic

The *selawatan* musical genres within and outside of the *pesantren* have been discussed through the performing arts textual approach that is applied in musicological analysis of the *selawatan* songs as the product of arts (see Marinis, 1993: 1-2, 47; Soedrasono 1999, 69). Besides the *selawatan* songs studies, structural studies on the *selawatan pesantren* as well as representation form variants of non-*pesantren* types has been considered portion of this textual approaches. Based on hermeneutic studies that applies two approach models, symbolic and structural investigations (Ahimsa-Putra, 1998: 19), Sukoco (2004:36-37) believes that the textual inquiries of a musical product is an acoustic happening studies on symbols that have been agreed by its supporting society. Those agreements are in form of notations, and analysis of acoustic factors as well as the formation of musical structure units such as tones, harmony, melody, and rhythm, that are united within the symbols. Because of that reasons the borrowed textual analysis in this study should be considered as an anthropological oriented model of ethnomusicologist's problem that tries to understand what has been done by a group of people, in this context is the *selawatan* structure, by applying a standard knowledge of Western musicology in order to uncover the *selawatan* musical structure (Seeger, 1980: 270). The aim of this approach is finally to prove the performance role of *selawatan* as the art of music representation.

The textual investigation of this study applies theoretical concept of musical anthropology that look at music as a social process as stated by Seeger (1987: xiii, xiv) that: "musical anthropology looks at the way musical performances create many aspects of culture and social life." Based on this concept, studies on the *selawatan* variants that are practiced within the outside of pesantren environment can be proceed by using the framework of ethnographic problem as upraised by Seeger: "Anthropologically-oriented ethnomusicologist ask two deceptively simple questions: 'what is that the members of this group are doing?' and 'Why are they doing it in that particular way?'" The first question represents the complement of textual investigation of this study, that it is applied not to the *selawatan pesantren* but to its variants that are spread in the entire of the DIY. The second question is applied to investigate other hidden aspects behind the existence of *selawatan* variants in order to understand concepts that would relates between each variants so that their interconnection with the *selawatan pesantren* would be uncovered.

Effort to understand the implied concepts behind the relationship between the *selawatan* as a form of musical arts and the related Islamic law, this study utilizes a speculative analysis approach. The speculative approach of a musicological study tries to formulate philosophical as well as theoretical perspectives of supporting people behind music that is being investigated. This methodological approach is rarely utilized due to its risk being too subjective

where the researcher let him or herself to be brought on to an unconfirmed idea (See Watanabe, 1967:5). This kind of investigation is resembles one among research models concerning philosophical perspective of a group of people in the field (see Bakker and Zubair, 1990: 91-92). Based on this theoretical approach, this study is speculatively looking at a positive conceptual implication of the *selawatan* as a musical art derived from Islamic law interpretation phenomenon that is developed within Islamic societies.

Outcomes of this study is an understanding on the *selawatan* structures, its musical dimensions, its transformation into various type of Islamic performing arts, and its inter relationship to negative as well as positive considerations the Islamic law concerning the prohibition of music. The *pesantren selawatan* type is an Islamic vocal arts which is performed in form of the *mawlid* text reading, especially on the two most popular texts, the *Addība'iy* and *Simpthuddurrar*, which are practiced as part of weekly as well as annual co-memoration traditions of the most traditional *pesantrens* in the entire of the DIY region. As a weekly tradition, the *selawatan pesantren* is read by groups of *santri*, normally done separately between female and male groups, within a traditional *pesantren*, or by a specific group of non *pesantren* members living surrounding the *pesantren* complex that has received a quite strong cultural influence from the *pesantren* traditions. Some groups of the *selawatan* utilized a set of *rebana* accompaniment within certain parts of the reading process while some other groups just perform it as unaccompanied choirs. The *selawatan* performance is part of annual *pesantren* traditions. There were three annual performances recorded during the fieldwork. The first was the Islamic New Year commemoration known as the *Muharoman* where the unaccompanied *Addība'iy* groups were competed among *santri* group within the PP Al-Munawwir. The second was the performance of *Simpthuddurrar* group in the opening ritual celebration of the Asyurra Day co-memoration in the PS Al-Munawwir. The third was the Haul Kyai Nur Iman co-memoration in Masjid Jami Mlangi in Sleman.

All performance types of the *selawatan* that have been observed in this study has revealed a similar performance structure that applies three main sections which is preceded by a couple period structure of a distinct introduction poem and concluded by a quite long closing prayer by the group head. The three main reading sections of the *selawatan* are the first section which is performed in a sitting position, the second in a standing position, the third in sitting position. The *mawlid* text, which is mainly read during the entire of first section, comprises some couplets of poem and prose which are set in alternate positions. The poem sections arranged in a couple of antecedent-consequent period lines, mostly a combination of statement and agreement phrases. The prose describes around the entire stories of prophet's life which also include the period before his birth.

While the poem parts are definitely sung together and mostly accompanied by a percussion ensemble, the story parts, the prose, are read in turn without accompaniment by each member of the group except the instrument players.

There were two main types of the *selawatan pesantren* observed for this study. The *Addība'iy* that was performed informally by a group of *santri* members with a limited audiences within the *pesantren* complex, while the *simthuddurrar* by a professional group with a quite large audiences in an outdoor space. The performance of the *simthuddurrar* in the front square of the Mlangi mosque is an evident that the *selawatan pesantren* is also performed by societies outside of the *pesantren* complex.

Musical dimensions of the *selawatan* are clearly recognized from both performances of the prose (the *riwayah*) section and the poem couplets which were sung between several prose sections. The reading of prose paragraph which were alternately filled by the *selawat* supplication sentence, was done with an accurate pronouncing technique (the *tartil*) as well as melodiously recitative way as normally practiced in the Qur'anic fast recitation. Due to improvisatory performance character that has no certain pattern, meter, and consistent treatment, the melodious recitative practice could not be easily transcribed into a standard musical notation.

However, several external songs that were sung interchangeably with poem couplets singing between prose sections, had clear musical elements and therefore could be transcribed for further analysis. While some song text were taken from the *mawlid* poem couplets, the remaining were from non-*mawlid* Arabic poems. The thirteen melodies taken from the sound archive collected during fieldwork were transcribed to musical notes for further analysis. They are classified into two types: (1) Melodies that were performed without any accompaniment during the performance of *mawlid ad'Diba'i*, and (2) with accompaniment such as in *mawlid simphudurrar*. Generally, all melodies had conventional musical dimensions so that they were recognizable by the ear of most music lovers, especially when they were accompanied by the *rebana* ensemble during its performance. Religious indication of the melodies appeared obviously from the domination of its "conjunct" melodic movement that happens when a note moving stepwise to its upper or lower neighboring notes. Sometimes series of conjunct movement are terminated by the "disjunct" movement where a note jumping to the next lower or upper note by passing its neighboring notes. The religious characteristic of the *selawatan* melodic movement is also obvious from some "melismatic" ornamental treatment of passages that happened quite often.

Most of Islamic performing arts in the DIY, except religious popular entertainment genres, such as *samroh*, *kasidah*, and *nasyid*, can be considered as

the transformation result from the *selawatan pesantren* genres. The *selawatan pesantren* has been an indirect source to many kinds of Islamic performing arts in this province which are known with various names. The transformation genres can be classified into two types: 1) A vocal group that normally accompanied by the *rebana* (or mostly recognized with the name *terbang* ensemble, by the Javanese); 2) The *selawatan* type which is applied as the musical accompaniment to dances or theatrical movements.

Both types hold two social functions: 1) Islamic ritual function that dominated by the Arabic reading of the *selawat* as well as other relevant supplication sentences as the representation of religious aspects; 2) entertainment function for local community and other invited external communities. This type is dominated by profane elements such as dances, movements, and the use of accessories. Interconnection of both types with the *selawatan pesantren* type as their source of inspiration have been proved by some important aspects that attached to those performing arts as an avoidable evidences, such as: 1) the use of *selawat* sentences, 2) the involvement of *mawlid* repertoire especially the *al-Barzanji* texts, 3) mostly performed in sitting position on the floor, 4) involves a *srokak* part that where everybody joined, including performers and audiences in the assembly are singing in standing position; and 5) the use of Arabic language as well as the *pesantren* accessories.

From the discussion above it can be understood that the *selawatan* can be considered as an Islamic religious musical genre. As happened to any nations of all over the world, music in the world of Islam also exist as the expression of Muslim culture as its cultural background. Generally, Islamic societies wherever they are will have the same perception in emphasizing their culture based on Islamic law as their way of life. Because of that reason all of Muslim activities, including anything which is related to music, have to have a clear religious law basis. Specifically, musical characteristic as well as attitude of the *selawatan pesantren* and its supporters are of course having a close relationship with concepts that come from Islamic belief. The existence status of the *selawatan* can be seen from two positions: 1) the *selawatan* as a kind of creativity in worship; and 2) the *selawatan* as musical arts. The conceptual basis of the first is a religious obligation issued directly by the God as well as His Prophet, Muhammad PBUH, and the second is Muslim responsibility to enjoin people into Islam.

If the *selawatan* would be considered as a musical genre as other music, the relevant Islamic conceptual basis should be the relevant religious verdict concerning music by religious scholars that remains controversial. There are two controversial interpretations concerning music in Islam, licit or illicit. Based on the first interpretation, which has never been debated, it is clear that the *selawatan* is a religious musical genre. However, this study would speculatively offer an

alternative perspective from a positive side toward the negative interpretation. It should be noted that this perspective is addressed to the significance of musical characteristic of music. From musicologist perspective it seems that this prohibition on music among Muslims has been addressed to Western music, or any music that is performed in Western influenced culture, rather than Islamic music such as the *selawatan*. Due to the characteristic contrast between Islamic religious music and secular Western music, which is forbidden according to the verdict, musicological perspective sees the indication that the verdict is actually asked Muslims to be proud with their own music. By respecting this understanding, Muslims should maintain, strengthen, and making clear, the Islamic music cultural identities, in order to prevent it from foreign characteristics as well as non-Islamic culture influences.

Conclusion

This study found that some of the *selawatan* performances which are practiced outside of the *pesantren* where their characteristic do not demonstrate the domination of Javanese locality, resembles the *mawlid* reading tradition that is practiced in some traditional models of the *pesantren*. Based on this phenomenon, besides coding the second as the *selawatan pesantren*, to differentiate it from other non-*pesantren* models of *selawatan*, this study also assumes that the *mawlid* reading tradition is the original form of any other *selawatan* forms. Because of that reason I presume that the *selawatan pesantren* has transformed into various forms of performing arts as well as traditions outside the *pesantren* and having strong influences from varied local cultures. In addition, as the impact of syncretism elements intervention with other non Islamic beliefs, the form and function of the *selawatan pesantren* has far shifted from its original fashion. Finally, it can be concluded that various forms of *selawatan* in the DIY indicates the surface structure of culture transformation of the *selawatan*. On the other hand, apart from the similarity among them, the use of the *selawat* supplication toward the Prophet Muhammad PBUH in all types of the *selawatan* indicates the deep structure of this phenomenon, where the inner surface connects the *selawatan pesantren* as the original form so that the other *selawatan* types as its transformation result.

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