

Platform-Mediated Devotion and Institutionalized Charisma: Digital Rituals of Majelis Rasulullah in Indonesia

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Abstract

Digital religion research has extensively examined online preaching, religious influencers, and changing religious authority, but less attention has been given to how digital platforms mediate collective ritual and reproduce the charisma of deceased religious leaders. This study examines how Majelis Rasulullah SAW uses digital platforms to mediate devotional performance, ritual participation, and the institutionalized charisma of its founder, Habib Munzir Al-Musawa. It employed a qualitative case study based on digital observation and limited offline participant observation conducted from February to May 2026. The digital dataset comprised approximately 130 Instagram posts, content from the organization's official website, and the YouTube livestream and live-chat interactions associated with the Thirteenth *Haul Akbar* of Habib Munzir. The data were analyzed thematically using Weber's concepts of charismatic authority and routinization, Joosse's concept of charismatic aristocracy, and Campbell's framework of networked religion. The findings show that the website primarily functions as an informational archive, whereas Instagram facilitates ritual mobilization, logistical coordination, and post-event circulation. YouTube enables geographically dispersed audiences to follow and respond to the ritual synchronously while making religious intermediaries and devotional performances publicly visible. However, engagement metrics and live-chat activity indicate visibility and participation rather than direct evidence of devotion or charismatic recognition. The study argues that Majelis Rasulullah's digital presence represents selective platformization: official digital channels extend established offline rituals by selecting and circulating event information, ritual images, religious figures, and organizational messages while maintaining institutional control over communication. Platform-mediated charisma is therefore reproduced through commemorative ritual, visible intermediaries, organizational curation, and the convergence of online and offline participation.

Keywords: *Digital Religion; Institutionalized Charisma; Majelis Rasulullah; Religious Ritual; Platformization*

A. Introduction

Max Weber's concept of charismatic authority remains influential in sociological analyses of leadership because it locates charisma not merely in the personal attributes of a leader but in a social relationship through which followers recognize an individual as extraordinary. Charismatic authority

therefore depends on recognition, commitment, and repeated demonstrations of loyalty by followers rather than on personal qualities alone, distinguishing it from forms of authority sustained primarily through established order and routine (Shils 1965; Weber [1921] 1978). Although Weber developed the concept beyond its earlier theological usage, charisma continues to be especially relevant to the study of religious authority, where claims of spiritual distinction are sustained through ritual performance, collective recognition, and institutional continuity (Smith 1998; Joosse 2014).

This relational understanding is particularly important for examining the authority of *habaib* in Indonesia. The honorific *habib* is commonly associated with male descendants of the Prophet Muhammad and carries religious, genealogical, and social significance in many Indonesian Muslim communities. However, genealogical status alone does not fully explain how a particular *habib* acquires and maintains public authority. Charisma must also be enacted and recognized through preaching, ritual leadership, narratives of moral distinction, institutional affiliation, and the devotional responses of followers. The present study therefore approaches charisma as a socially produced relationship rather than an inherent personal possession.

Joosse's concept of the "charismatic aristocracy" provides a useful framework for examining this process. Charismatic aristocrats are influential followers or members of a leader's inner circle whose visible devotion contributes to the construction and reinforcement of the leader's charismatic status (Joosse 2017). Their submission does not compete with the leader's authority. Instead, their recognition, ritual conduct, and public affirmation demonstrate to a wider audience that the leader deserves extraordinary loyalty. From this follower-centered perspective, devotional performance becomes a constitutive element of charismatic authority rather than merely a consequence of it. Research on digitally mediated charisma similarly indicates that online representations and interactions can contribute to the construction, transmission, and continuation of religious authority (Tee 2019; Golan and Martini 2020).

The relationship between charisma and institutional continuity is equally important. Weber argued that charismatic authority is inherently unstable and must eventually be routinized if it is to survive beyond its initial emergence (Weber [1921] 1978). Routinization may involve the formation of offices, organizations, recurring rituals, authorized successors, and material resources. In religious organizations, however, institutionalization does not necessarily eliminate charismatic recognition. Ritual commemoration, narratives about the founding leader, and the public performances of devoted followers may preserve or reactivate charisma after the leader's death. This study examines digital media as one of the infrastructures through which such institutionalized charisma is reproduced and circulated. In this article, institutionalized charisma refers to the

continued recognition and ritual reproduction of a founder's charismatic legacy through recurring commemorations, authorized organizational roles, established communication channels, material resources, and formalized practices after the founder's death. Because Habib Munzir had died before the ritual examined in this study, the charisma discussed here is posthumous in its object but institutionalized in its mode of reproduction.

Digital media have transformed the environments in which religious identities, practices, and authorities are presented and negotiated. Early scholarship distinguished between *religion online*, referring primarily to the provision of religious information, and *online religion*, referring to interactive or participatory religious activity conducted through digital media (Helland 2005). Although analytically useful, this distinction may imply a sharper separation between online and offline religious life than contemporary practice permits. Religious organizations now routinely combine physical gatherings, websites, social media posts, livestreams, digital texts, online donations, and audience interactions within interconnected communicative environments.

Building on the broader understanding of contemporary society as increasingly organized through electronically mediated networks (Castells 2004), Campbell's concept of networked religion offers a more integrated approach to these developments. Networked religion is characterized by networked community, storied identities, shifting authority, convergent practice, and multisite reality (Campbell 2012). These characteristics emphasize that digital religion does not simply replace offline religious practice. Instead, online and offline activities become mutually connected, while institutional traditions, technological affordances, and user practices jointly shape religious participation. This perspective is especially relevant to ritual communities whose digital presence remains closely dependent on recurring physical gatherings.

Digital platforms are not neutral channels through which offline religion is simply transmitted. Platform interfaces, metrics, recommendation systems, livestream facilities, and modes of visual presentation structure what becomes visible and how audiences can participate within a broader culture of platform connectivity (van Dijck 2013). Social media may simultaneously increase access to religious leaders and preserve a sense of symbolic distance. Image-mediated representations can reduce geographical distance while continuing to emphasize hierarchical distinction, sacred status, or institutional authority (Immergut and Kosut 2014; Golan and Martini 2020). Digital participation therefore produces neither complete proximity nor complete detachment. Rather, it reorganizes the relationship between accessibility, visibility, distance, and recognition.

Existing research has established that religious authority can be constructed and transmitted through digital media and that online and offline religious practices and communities are increasingly interconnected (Campbell

2012; Campbell and Vitullo 2016; Tee 2019; Golan and Martini 2020). Nevertheless, less attention has been given to how ritualized performances of devotion by influential followers and religious intermediaries are extended through platform infrastructures, particularly in institutionalized *habib*-centered communities. Studies of digital religious authority frequently concentrate on sermons, religious content, personal branding, virtual communities, or direct leader-follower communication (Alrissa, Winoto, and Khadijah 2025). Such emphases can understate the role of collective ritual, commemorative practices, and the visible devotion of a leader's inner circle in sustaining charisma.

This article addresses that issue through a qualitative case study of Majelis Rasulullah SAW, a prominent Indonesian *habib*-centered religious organization founded by Habib Munzir Al-Musawa. The organization combines recurring offline gatherings with a website, Instagram communication, digital religious materials, and YouTube livestreams. Its annual commemoration of Habib Munzir provides a particularly relevant setting for examining how a deceased leader's charismatic legacy is institutionally preserved, ritually reenacted, and digitally circulated.

The study focuses on the Thirteenth *Haul Akbar*, the large annual commemoration of Habib Munzir Al-Musawa, held on April 26–27, 2026, together with the organization's website, Instagram posts, YouTube livestream, and a smaller recurring gathering observed offline. It asks: How do Majelis Rasulullah's digital platforms mediate devotional performance, ritual participation, and the reproduction of Habib Munzir's institutionalized charisma? More specifically, the analysis examines how platform-based communication connects online and offline participation, makes devotional performances visible to geographically dispersed audiences, and supports the continuing role of charismatic intermediaries within the organization. By bringing Weberian charisma, charismatic aristocracy, and networked religion into a single analytical framework, the study seeks to clarify how digital infrastructures extend rather than simply replace the ritual processes through which religious charisma is reproduced.

B. Methods

This study employed a qualitative case study design to examine how digital platforms mediate devotional performance, ritual participation, and the reproduction of institutionalized charisma within Majelis Rasulullah SAW. The organization was selected because it combines longstanding offline religious activities with an established presence on Instagram, YouTube, and its official website.

Data were collected from February to May 2026 through digital observation and limited offline participant observation. The digital dataset

comprised approximately 130 publicly accessible Instagram posts purposively selected from content uploaded between February and May 2026. Posts were included when they concerned routine religious activities, the Thirteenth Haul Akbar, organizational communication, donation appeals, logistical information, livestream promotion, or post-event documentation. Each carousel or video post was treated as one unit of analysis. Particular attention was given to posts and interactions related to the *Haul Akbar*, including event announcements, logistical information, ritual documentation, donation appeals, and audience responses during the livestream. The offline data were obtained through participant observation at a routine *Jalsatul Itsnain* gathering. The researcher participated in the event while maintaining analytical distance through systematic field notes. This observation was used to contextualize the relationship between digitally mediated communication and the organization's established offline ritual practices.

The data were analyzed thematically in four stages. First, the digital materials and field notes were reviewed to identify recurring patterns of ritual representation, participation, interaction, and organizational communication. Second, the materials were grouped according to platform, content type, and communicative function, including archival information, ritual mobilization, logistical coordination, devotional representation, livestream interaction, donation communication, and post-event circulation. Third, the identified patterns were interpreted using Weber's concept of charismatic authority and routinization (Weber [1921] 1978), Joosse's concept of charismatic aristocracy (Joosse 2017), and Campbell's framework of networked religion (Campbell 2012). Finally, online and offline observations were compared to examine how devotional performances and charismatic authority operated across interconnected physical and digital settings.

Only publicly accessible digital content was examined. Usernames and other identifying information from social media comments were excluded from the presentation of findings. The researcher did not contact users or intervene in the online interactions observed. Because the study relied primarily on one religious organization, one major ritual event, and one limited offline observation, its findings are intended as an analytically focused interpretation rather than a generalization about all *habib*-centered communities.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Results

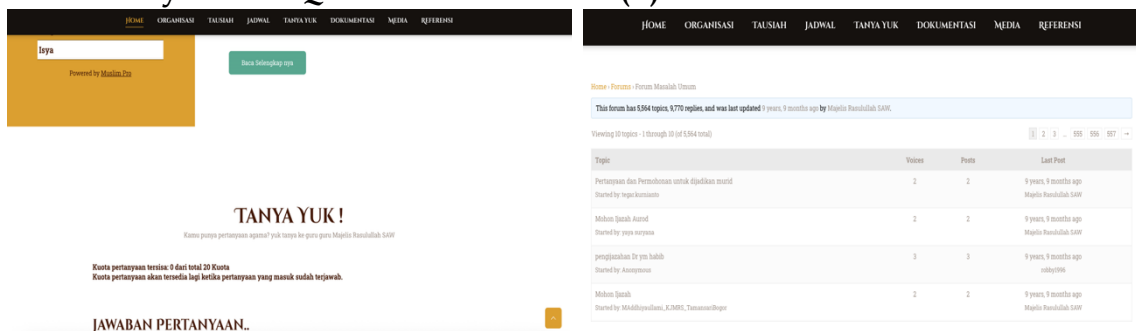
1) Majelis Rasulullah's Website and Limited Online Interaction

Majelis Rasulullah SAW maintains an official website containing information about the organization's history, location, religious teachings, event documentation, digital prayer texts, media content, references, social media

links, and donation channels. The website also includes interactive features, particularly the “Tanya Yuk!” (“Let’s Ask!”) question section and a discussion forum.

The “Tanya Yuk!” section was designed to allow visitors to submit religious questions within a quota of 20 submissions. However, during the observation period, the feature was no longer active. The discussion forum, including sections such as *Forum Masalah Umum* (“General Issues Forum”), contained questions about *ijazah*—authorization from a religious teacher to recite or practice a particular prayer—and requests to become a disciple. Most visible discussions dated from approximately nine years earlier. Responses appeared to have been provided by representatives of Majelis Rasulullah rather than directly by Habib Munzir. During the observation period, the website contained extensive informational and archival materials, while its interactive features showed no recent activity.

Figure 1.
Inactive Interactive Features on the Majelis Rasulullah SAW Website: (a) “Tanya Yuk!” Question Section and (b) General Discussion Forum



2) Instagram as a Platform for Ritual Mobilization and Coordination

As of the final observation in May 2026, Majelis Rasulullah’s Instagram account displayed approximately 168,000 followers and 1,936 posts. Most posts concerned ritual activities, including schedules, locations, photographs, videos, livestream information, and post-event documentation related to *mawlid* celebrations commemorating the Prophet Muhammad’s birth, *haul* rituals commemorating the death of a respected religious figure, *Jalsatul Itsnain* (“Monday Gathering”), and *Jalsatul Lailatul Jum’ah* (“Thursday Night Gathering”). Less frequent posts presented hadith excerpts and other religious messages.

Instagram played an important role in organizing and publicizing the Thirteenth *Haul Akbar*—the large annual commemoration of Habib Munzir Al-Musawa. Posts provided detailed information about procession routes, parking areas, meeting points, toilets, merchant stalls, gender-separated routes, participant formations, emergency vehicles, sanitation arrangements,

commemorative merchandise, donation channels, and the submission of deceased relatives' names for inclusion in collective prayers.

Engagement increased substantially for *Haul Akbar*-related content. Routine-event posts generally received approximately 1,000–2,000 likes and between zero and five comments. By contrast, announcements, directions, livestream promotions, and documentation related to the commemoration received approximately 4,000–5,000 likes and, in some cases, up to 50 comments. Post-event documentation continued to be uploaded for several weeks after the event.

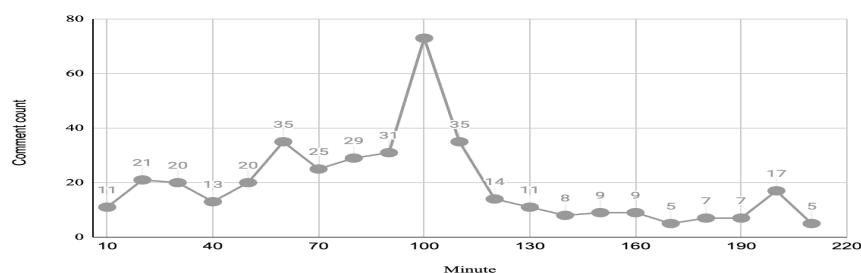
3) Livestreamed Ritual and Audience Interaction

As of the final observation in May 2026, the YouTube livestream of the main Haul Akbar event had received more than 24,000 views. The event included pilgrimage activities, *mawlid* recitations, *shalawat*—devotional praises and blessings addressed to the Prophet Muhammad—accompanied by *hadrah*, a form of devotional musical performance using frame drums, religious sermons, processions, traditional performances, a waste-collection campaign, and food and merchandise distribution.

More than 400 live-chat comments were recorded during the broadcast. The highest level of activity occurred between 1:30:00 and 1:40:00, when more than 70 comments were posted. This interval coincided with *mahallul qiyam*, a segment of the *mawlid* ritual during which participants stand and collectively recite *shalawat*. The average number of comments during this period was approximately seven per minute, compared with an overall average of approximately two comments per minute.

Another increase in comment activity occurred near the 60-minute mark, during a prayer recitation led by the *khalifa*, the appointed ritual leader responsible for guiding key recitations, and shortly after the arrival of Habib Muhsin bin Idrus Al-Hamid. During less intensive ritual segments, users commonly posted prayers or identified the locations from which they were watching.

Figure 2.
Number of Livestream Comments by Time Interval during the Thirteenth Haul Akbar of Habib Munzir Al-Musawa



Note: Comment counts were manually recorded from the publicly available livestream. The highest activity occurred during the *mahallul qiyam* segment.

A considerable proportion of comments during the peak period concerned interrupted signals, buffering, audio problems, and livestream quality. These comments show that audience participation included both devotional responses and reactions to the technical conditions of the broadcast.

Figure 3.
Examples of Livestream Comments Concerning Signal and Broadcast Quality



4) Visible Religious Intermediaries in the Livestreamed Ritual

The livestream repeatedly positioned several religious figures at the center of the ritual presentation. The *khalifa* led key recitations, while Habib Muhsin bin Idrus Al-Hamid and other attending *habaib*—the plural form of *habib*, referring here to respected male descendants of the Prophet Muhammad—occupied prominent positions during the main ritual segments. Their leadership of key recitations, prominent physical positioning, and participation in collective ritual sequences made their institutional roles publicly visible within both the onsite event and its livestreamed representation.

The data do not establish how individual viewers interpreted these figures. However, the livestream presented them as central actors in the continuation of the commemorative ritual and in the public representation of Habib Munzir's religious legacy.

The offline observation of *Jalsatul Itsnain* showed that Majelis Rasulullah's religious activities remained strongly organized around collective ritual participation. Recitations, leadership roles, spatial arrangements, and audience responses observed offline provided contextual support for interpreting the digital presentation of similar practices. Because the study included only one offline observation, these findings were used as contextual evidence rather than as a basis for broad comparison.

2. Discussion

The findings indicate that Majelis Rasulullah's digital presence does not constitute a separate religious sphere detached from its established offline practices. Instead, its website, Instagram account, and YouTube livestream operate as interconnected extensions of an organization whose religious life remains centered on collective rituals. Instagram facilitates attendance by distributing schedules, routes, facilities, donation information, and ritual documentation, while YouTube allows geographically dispersed audiences to follow the event synchronously. This pattern supports Campbell's (2012) concept of convergent practice and multisite reality, in which online and offline religious activities become mutually embedded rather than institutionally separate. It also reflects the dynamic relationship among digital media use, religious meaning systems, and social relationships within religious communities identified by Müller and Friemel (2024). Studies of Indonesian digital religious practices similarly show that online activities often modify, extend, or reorganize existing practices without necessarily replacing their offline forms (Aida, Supena, and Sulthon 2024).

However, the findings do not support the stronger claim that digitalization has transformed Majelis Rasulullah into a fully interactive online religious community. The organization's website contains interactive features, but the dormant question section and inactive forum indicate that the website currently functions more as a controlled informational archive. Golan and Campbell (2015) demonstrate that religious organizations may deliberately regulate online participation through strategies of control, layering, and guidance rather than adopting the Internet's participatory affordances without restriction. In the present case, limited website interaction may therefore reflect either organizational priorities or declining maintenance rather than a general inability to engage digitally. Because the study did not interview website administrators, the organizational intention behind this arrangement cannot be established.

The contrast between the inactive website and the active Instagram account also shows that digital participation depends on platform-specific functions. The website preserves institutional history, texts, and organizational information, whereas Instagram is used for rapid communication, event mobilization, visual documentation, and audience engagement. Comparable research on Pesantren Tebuireng found that institutional social media can extend trusted religious communication and connect established religious organizations with wider audiences (Munawara, Rahmanto, and Satyawati 2020). Nevertheless, visibility should not be equated automatically with dialogic participation. Majelis Rasulullah's Instagram activity remains predominantly

organization-led: followers may comment, share, and respond, but the organization determines the timing, format, and content of communication.

The appearance of questions concerning *ijazah* on the organization's website also reflects a broader digital negotiation of authorization in Sufi-oriented religious practice, although the inactive forum limits the extent of such negotiation in the present case (Rizki and Rusdi 2024). Studies of Indonesian preachers on TikTok, Instagram, and other digital platforms show that religious authority may be developed and routinized through attractive packaging, personal visibility, informality, and familiarity with platform conventions (Mutamakin et al. 2025; Naamy 2023; Syarif, Hannan, and Sulaeman 2023). Febrian (2024), for example, finds that religious influencers use visual proximity while strategically preserving sufficient distance to maintain authority. Majelis Rasulullah does not rely primarily on the construction of a new individual influencer. Its platforms instead circulate the legacy of a deceased charismatic founder through organizational accounts, recurring rituals, affiliated religious figures, and collective remembrance. The case therefore illustrates the digital continuation of institutionalized charisma rather than the initial construction of platform-native charisma.

The annual *Haul Akbar* is central to this continuation. Weber's concept of routinization explains how charisma may be stabilized through recurring practices, organizational roles, material resources, and institutional procedures (Weber [1921] 1978). The annual commemoration transforms remembrance of Habib Munzir from an episodic expression of affection into an organized ritual involving schedules, processions, designated leadership roles, donations, logistical arrangements, and media production. Digital platforms strengthen this process by extending the temporal circulation of the ritual: announcements precede the physical event, the livestream accompanies it, and documentation continues afterward. Digital media therefore do not preserve charisma independently; they mediate an already institutionalized commemorative structure.

The livestream also makes devotional performances and religious intermediaries visible beyond the immediate ritual setting, illustrating how mediated religion can extend ritual presence beyond the physical boundaries of a congregation (Stout et al 2008). The *khalifa*, Habib Muhsin bin Idrus Al-Hamid, and other *habaib* occupy prominent positions, lead recitations, and participate visibly in collective ritual sequences. Joosse's (2017) concept of charismatic aristocracy offers a tentative interpretive lens for understanding how influential religious intermediaries may contribute to the public continuation of a founder's charisma. In the present case, the available data establish these figures' ritual prominence and institutional proximity more clearly than their membership in a formally identifiable charismatic inner circle. Their authority does not necessarily

displace Habib Munzir's posthumous charisma. Rather, their ritual participation can reaffirm the legitimacy of the commemorative tradition and demonstrate continuity between the founder and the present organization.

This interpretation must nevertheless remain qualified. The observations establish the intermediaries' visual prominence and ritual functions, but they do not reveal how viewers understood their actions. The category of charismatic aristocracy cannot be assigned merely on the basis of genealogical status, stage position, or membership among the *habaib*. It is analytically appropriate only where visible conduct contributes to the public recognition of the central charismatic figure. The available data therefore support an interpretation of mediated charismatic intermediation, but not a definitive claim about viewers' motives or internal experiences.

The increase in live-chat activity during *mahallul qiyam* further indicates that digital engagement is structured by ritual temporality. The highest volume of comments occurred during an emotionally and performatively intensified segment, rather than being distributed evenly throughout the broadcast. This suggests that remote audience activity was responsive to the rhythm of the ritual. Aida, Supena, and Sulthon (2024) similarly demonstrate that religious practices negotiated across online and offline spaces can acquire forms of participation that differ from conventional face-to-face practice. Yet comment volume alone cannot establish religious intensity, emotional transformation, or the production of charisma. Some comments expressed prayers and location-based identification, while many others concerned signal quality and buffering. Engagement metrics must therefore be interpreted according to comment content and ritual context rather than treated as direct measurements of devotion.

Technical complaints are not external to the digitally mediated ritual. They show that platform infrastructure becomes part of the conditions under which participation is experienced, confirming that digital religious practice depends on wider sociotechnical arrangements rather than on religious content alone (Ibrahim 2024). When viewers discuss audio quality, camera presentation, interrupted signals, or buffering, they collectively negotiate access to the ritual. Digital participation is consequently shaped by both religious performance and technical mediation within platform environments that organize connectivity, visibility, and interaction (van Dijck 2013). Kholili, Izudin, and Hakim (2024) argue that digital Islamic communication is conditioned by infrastructures and regulatory arrangements rather than operating as an unrestricted transfer of religious messages. In the Majelis Rasulullah case, the platform expands access but simultaneously makes participation dependent on connectivity, production quality, interface design, and organizational media capacity.

The findings also complicate claims that digital media necessarily decentralize religious authority. Online platforms can enable new preachers and

alternative religious sources to challenge established institutions (Campbell 2007; Berger and Golan 2024). Indonesian research likewise identifies intensified competition between established religious authority and media-oriented preachers (Naamy 2023; Mudhofi and Karim 2024). Majelis Rasulullah, however, demonstrates that digital platforms can also reinforce established institutional authority. Its official accounts select the figures displayed, determine the ritual narrative, distribute authorized texts, and direct followers toward recognized events and donation channels. Rather than producing an uncontrolled authority shift, the organization uses digital media to extend institutionally curated authority.

At the same time, platform metrics should not be treated as equivalent to religious legitimacy. Likes, views, follower counts, and comments indicate visibility and measurable engagement, but they do not independently demonstrate theological competence, follower loyalty, or charismatic recognition. Berger and Golan (2024) show that digital users assess religious sources through complex negotiations between autonomy and recognized epistemic authority. The Majelis Rasulullah data do not disclose how followers evaluate religious knowledge or choose among competing authorities. Consequently, the present study can demonstrate the public visibility of institutional authority, but it cannot conclude that platform popularity has replaced traditional sources of religious legitimacy.

Majelis Rasulullah's digital strategy is best understood as selective platformization because the organization adopts particular platform functions while preserving offline ritual as the center of its religious life. Instagram and YouTube are actively used to mobilize participants, broadcast rituals, circulate devotional images, and preserve collective remembrance, whereas the website offers primarily archival information and limited interaction. This arrangement produces neither a simple transition from *religion online* to *online religion* nor the disappearance of institutional control. Instead, digital media reorganize the visibility, accessibility, and spatial reach of established ritual authority. The principal contribution of this case is therefore to show that platform-mediated charisma may be reproduced not only through the self-presentation of a living religious influencer but also through commemorative rituals, visible intermediaries, organizational curation, and the continuing convergence of online and offline religious participation.

D. Conclusion

This study shows that Majelis Rasulullah SAW uses digital platforms primarily to extend, organize, and circulate established offline religious rituals rather than to create an autonomous online religious community. Instagram supports event mobilization, logistical coordination, documentation, and post-

event circulation, while YouTube enables geographically dispersed audiences to follow ritual activities synchronously. By contrast, the organization's website functions mainly as an informational archive because its interactive features are no longer active. These platform-specific functions demonstrate that digital religion in this case operates through selective convergence between online communication and offline ritual practice.

The findings also indicate that digital media contribute to the public circulation and ritual reproduction of Habib Munzir Al-Musawa's institutionalized charismatic legacy. The annual *Haul Akbar*, the visible ritual roles of the *khalifa* and other *habaib*, and the continued circulation of ritual images and livestreams publicly connect the present organization with the legacy of its founder. However, the data do not establish how individual followers interpret these performances or whether platform engagement directly produces charismatic recognition. Likes, views, comments, and live-chat activity should therefore be understood as indicators of visibility and participation rather than as direct measures of devotion or religious legitimacy.

The study contributes to research on digital religion by providing a context-specific account of how platform-mediated charisma may be sustained through commemorative ritual, organizational curation, and visible religious intermediaries, not only through the self-presentation of living religious influencers. Because the analysis focuses on one organization, one major commemorative event, and limited offline observation, its conclusions are analytically specific rather than broadly generalizable. Future research should incorporate interviews with organizers and participants, comparative cases, and longer-term observation to examine how different audiences interpret digitally mediated ritual authority.

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